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Danish Yearbook of Musicology

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During the last few years, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* has changed quite significantly due to the increasing recognition of the publication by the international community of musicologists. To turn *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* into a peer-reviewed journal has proven to be a good decision as the number of copies sold has increased. Topics related to Danish music and musicology in the widest sense is not a matter of interest for Danes only, as Danish musical culture has always been part of international cultures. A national yearbook, however, does not affect the range of topics discussed among Danish musicologists and we intend to retain the breadth of the different approaches to musicology in the same publication. We are convinced that there is a need for periodicals not limited to specific areas of musicology, such as popular music or nineteenth-century music, since the framework should be *Music*, even if this is not the immediate subject matter of each and every article. In the present issue, this is one of the points made by Morten Michelsen in the first article on the ideology of rock historiography. Not only does rock historiography use models established in other areas of music and art history: it is also as a genre positioned in a continuously moving music-historical field. From another point of interest, a similar question is reflected in the article of Peter E. Nissen on the reception of the music of Franz Liszt in Danish musical life in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. He reveals that certain genres are considered more popular and less sacred and thus more open to new forms of musical expression than others. This had a considerable impact on the reception of the music of Franz Liszt and on how the views changed over time. Symphonic poems challenged the aesthetics of Leipzig-oriented symphonic institutions, whereas his piano music and church music found less resistance and a broader audience. The article by Steen Kaargaard Nielsen discusses the performative self-dramatization of the rap artist Eminem. As a rap artist he is cultivating his public persona in order to pursue his career (this might apply to Franz Liszt, too); he achieves it by working with three distinct public personae related to a 'real' person behind all this in a number of quasi-autobiographical songs, which is developed into a very complex matter.

Having established English as the primary language of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* and, since last year, also being a peer-reviewed journal, the editors are ready to take the next step. As we have agreed with Aarhus University Press to take over the distribution, this will be the last issue distributed by DanMusik. Thus we join a publishing house which has distribution and marketing of academic journals as a core feature and which can provide new possibilities for future developments. We would like to thank DanMusik for a good relationship over the years and would also like to thank the contributors to this issue, and especially Juliana Hodgkinson and Peter Hauge for helping out with questions of style and proof reading in English. Last but not least, the funding by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities is gratefully acknowledged.

Copenhagen and Århus, March 2007
Michael Fjeldsøe & Thomas Holme Hansen

Will Musicology Survive?

MICHAEL FJELDSØE

As of 2006 there are no departments of musicology in Denmark. Though the term does survive at the University of Aarhus, it is only a Section of Musicology within a larger department named the Institute of Aesthetic Studies. At the University of Aalborg, the former Department of Music and Music Therapy has been split between the Department of Communication and Psychology and the Department of Language and Culture. And as the last of these departments, the Department of Musicology in Copenhagen has since 1 January 2007 been a section of the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies. After more than a century with musicology as an academic discipline at Danish universities – during most of the period organized as independent departments – this is indeed remarkable.

The reason for having departments of musicology (or history or literature) was the idea that research in a scholarly discipline should be organized under guidance of members from that particular academic environment. This idea has been abandoned, partly because of a new philosophy of professional leadership which values leadership as a profession *per se*, partly due to an economic model of ‘big is beautiful’ which facilitates running the business according to professional management theories. Furthermore, the idea was that an academic discipline would carry out research and at the same time would establish an education in the field. Hence, there was a board of studies at each department which was responsible for the degree of musicology. In addition, academics from the discipline would decide on the teaching and define a state of the art education within the field. The boards of studies have also been merged into larger bodies responsible for either the whole education in a large department (as in Aarhus and Copenhagen) or a major part of the educations in a department as in Aalborg.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that musicology cannot survive merely because the departments of musicology did not. However, it might be worth considering in what form musicology will be able to survive under these new conditions, and not least who will make the decisions. It changes some very fundamental conditions for the practice of musicology and thus for musicologists. It affects the structures of decision-making in some very crucial ways and changes the ways in which one has to act as a musicologist – that is, if one wishes to retain a major degree of independence. Strategic decisions have always been made to determine the type of research to be carried out, but it was a tool employed in order to decide how many

researchers should be employed within a specific field. Thus, based on discussions in the scholarly community, they would be free to choose the kind of research to be carried out and how to perform it.

Though this freedom has not been annulled, it is nevertheless being challenged by demands for fast and expedient results in areas which politicians and media – or the other way around: media and politicians – choose to focus on at any moment. The major issue is not the few instances when politicians decide in detail that something needs to be done. This happens quite openly, and what you see is what you get. I find it more disturbing, however, that general buzzwords employed in politics, such as globalization and integration of foreigners in western cultures, tend to take control over the discourse on research, making it difficult to find out what is happening. More funding is placed in strategic research programmes and consequently it is of the utmost importance to be able to communicate using the same language as the awarding authorities in order to obtain a share in the available financial resources. What happens if really independent research of true value to the society is not carried out because of the established agendas? Could it be that what society really requires from the universities are genuine, independent, and critical discussions of great significance and the ability to ask better questions?

INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND DISCIPLINARITY

It might seem I am opposing the calls for interdisciplinarity which have been raised by former ‘viewpoints’ in this journal as well as elsewhere; however, this is not the case: I am convinced that large areas of research need to be done as cross-disciplinary studies and that we have to keep abreast of results in other subjects as well as our own. Furthermore, I have been looking forward to becoming acquainted with new colleagues in a larger department, hoping for improved conditions for working across traditional borderlines. But I am also convinced that interdisciplinarity presupposes disciplinarity. When working with academics from other areas, the optimal setting is that everybody takes the point of departure from within their own discipline with an awareness of its traditions and with a profound knowledge of the field, its theories, and its manners of posing questions. Other views based on thorough contemplation and knowledge, and confronted with your own serious efforts to cope with a problem is what makes the relationship interesting. This requires researchers from different traditions to start the preparation of common projects from the bottom.

If structures are not established so that musicology can join in discussions on equal terms with those representing interdisciplinarity, the lack of departments of musicology could cause serious problems. Rights are a requisite for confronting power. Otherwise those who claim to represent the interdisciplinarity will have the power to decide the framework, and members of the academic disciplines with no power are forced to accept doing research on those terms or lose the quest for funding. As a matter of fact, the claim that someone could represent interdisciplinarity

as such is an ideology in the old fashioned way of ‘false consciousness’. The disciplines claiming to represent interdisciplinarity are similar to those who used to fight for superiority in the field of theoretical thinking. It is the same old story about that particular claim stating that it is universal. Recognizing your own distinctiveness and that each scholar is part of a tradition of academic disciplining needs to be established before interdisciplinary work can be done. But lacking structures that back up disciplinarity, while establishing new leadership on the multidisciplinary departments, makes it possible to define strategies, topics, questions, and ways of working from outside the disciplines. Problems emerge when interdisciplinarity becomes the goal itself.

ORGANIZING MUSICOLOGY

Musicology, I think, is well prepared to join interdisciplinary projects formed by joined efforts of researchers from different areas. During the last decades, musicology has developed approaches informed by various traditions, leaving the battlefield of the 1970s when one approach by definition seemed to exclude others. In Denmark, there is a tradition of collaboration between – and the coexistence of – distinct areas such as traditional music history, music theory, the study of popular music and musical cultures, and ethnomusicology in the same department at the universities. This might be the case in some other European countries too, but is quite different from US traditions. To suggest that the departments of musicology until recently have been operating as they did thirty or forty years ago is simply not true.

Musicology should then be able to cope with the challenges of the twenty-first century. The point is that it is crucial to establish ways of decision-making that provides the possibility to do this from within the discipline, not leaving it to others to define how and when. It might require more professional means of organizing the decision-making. I have, to a large degree, been committed to the idea of increasing efficiency and taking leadership seriously at the universities. It should be remembered that modern leadership is concerned with providing results based on the potential of the organization as such, not about taking the largest number of decisions.

Strategic plans for research mean using long-term perspectives. What should be avoided is short-term politics and media interests defining future fields of research. First, these interests would be long gone before the results could be presented. Second, if the questions are too constricted, the answers might be predictable. This is not to say that we should not care whether the results are of interest to the community. However, it is important to consider means of developing strategies for research that provide interesting and useful knowledge which might even surprise us. How to achieve this is a difficult question, but to my mind the point of departure should be to ensure that interdisciplinarity is acknowledged as consisting of the cooperation of researchers from different traditions and disciplines.

Writing Local Histories within Transnational Frameworks

MORTEN MICHELSEN

In August 2005 I travelled around the United States to visit popular music museums in Seattle, Cleveland, Nashville, and the Memphis area. Although I should have known better, I was surprised by the way the exhibits retold very traditional narratives about canonized and ‘authentic’ genres and stars. Also, the exhibits excluded most women, a lot of African-Americans, and everybody else not Anglo-American. I was not taken by surprise or inspired by the arrangement of artefacts or the stories told about them at any time during the four weeks of museum visits.¹ These observations made me rethink my understanding of the demise of traditional rock ideology which I had taken almost for granted after having read some of the many criticisms of this narrative coming from nearly all positions within popular music studies in recent decades. Despite such criticisms, despite the fact that hip hop has been making fun of rock for 20 years, and despite more recent genre cultures like electronica tend to ignore it entirely, it still looms large over the field popular music as a hegemonic, homogenizing, and excluding narrative.

In this article I would like to contribute to the criticisms of rock ideology advanced by popular music studies by focusing on a few aspects of rock historiography. First, I will discuss briefly how Anglophone rock history writing has contributed to the structuring of the rock field by developing into a grand narrative. The second part will touch upon how theories of globalization may help in offering historical narratives different to the ones related to existing writings on rock history, and the third part will exemplify this using the advent of rock’n’roll in Denmark as a case.²

1 Among the museums visited were Experience Music Project (Seattle), Rock’n’Roll Hall of Fame + Museum (Cleveland), Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum (Nashville), Stax Museum of American Soul Music (Memphis), Mississippi River Museum (Memphis), Memphis Rock’n’Soul Museum (Memphis), Graceland (Memphis), Delta Blues Museum (Clarksdale), Elvis Presley Birthplace and Museum (Tupelo), and National Museum of American History (Washington, DC).

2 This article is a revised and extended version of the opening key note address presented at the conference *The Local, the Regional, and the Global in the Emergence of Popular Music Cultures* (University of Copenhagen, 24–26 October 2005) arranged by the research project *Danish Rock Culture from the 1950s to the 1980s*. I would like to thank my project colleagues for discussions and inspiration in relation to this article, especially Annemette Kirkegaard and Henrik Bødker. Further information about the project can be found at www.rockhistorie.dk.

ROCK IDEOLOGY AND ROCK HISTORIOGRAPHY

Numerous authors have argued that it is impossible to define rock as a genre on the basis of musical similarities. Instead, the word rock is taken to indicate a certain ideology formulated for the first time in connection with some ruptures within youth-oriented music in the second part of the 1960s that resulted in the split between rock and pop. In this cultural construction pop became ostracized by rock as the latter came to consider itself a more 'serious' music that made 'a difference'. Notions of authenticity, oppositionality, revolt, community, marginality, anti-commercialism, freedom, and originality became attached to rock and came to constitute central elements in a rock ideology whose textual manifestations circled around such notions in ever-changing patterns depending on time and place.³

An important part of rock ideology is its self-conscious relation to its own historical dimension. Often, the history of rock has been – and is – written intentionally as contemporary history, sometimes only a few years after the fact. This happened in the late 1960s, and 1990s' music magazine articles about acts like Nirvana in North America and the Blur/Oasis Britpop controversies in England are more recent examples. As such rock has been one of the most history-aware genres within popular music because the historicizing process itself is part of its history and an active and integral part of rock ideology.

Historical writing on rock saw the light of day in the late 1960s and early 1970s when the music acquired the contours of a specific genre among other youth-related genres. Its main function was to explain the new music-cultural phenomenon as a historical consequence of earlier popular music genres and in the process contribute to a legitimization of the music. From 1966 the quickly expanding North American rock press (*Crawdaddy!*, *Rolling Stone*, *Creem*) became the primary institutional agent in this development, while a few journalists and a few academics published books on the subject before 1970.⁴ Despite a few efforts from academics in the early 1970s rock-historical writing, lexicography and biography became the turf for journalistic endeavours,⁵ especially after English magazines *New Musical Express*, *Melody Maker*

- 3 Keir Keightley, 'Reconsidering Rock', in Simon Frith, Will Straw, and John Street (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock* (Cambridge, 2001), 109; and Richard Middleton, 'Rock', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online* (www.grovemusic.com, accessed 7 Jan. 2007). Middleton even views rock as 'a particular category of pop music'. For general discussions of the development of and changes in the ideology of rock see Motti Regev, 'Producing Artistic Value: The Case of Rock Music', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 35/1 (1994), 85–102, and Ulf Lindberg, Gestur Gudmundsson, Morten Michelsen, and Hans Weisethaunet, *Rock Criticism from the Beginning: Amusers, Bruisers, and Cool-Headed Cruisers* (New York, 2005), and for a critique of its role in popular music studies see Philip Tagg and Bob Clarida, *Ten Little Title Tunes* (New York and Montreal, 2003), 57–88.
- 4 Among the journalists are Nik Cohn, *Pop from the Beginning* (London, 1969) and Arnold Shaw, *The Rock Revolution* (New York, 1969). Among the academics are Carl Belz, *The Story of Rock* (New York, 1969) and Dave Laing, *The Sound of Our Time* (London and Sydney, 1969).
- 5 The academic sample consists of Richard Middleton, *Pop Music and the Blues: A Study of the Relationship and its Significance* (London, 1972) and, partly, Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* (London, 1970). The journalistic one is quite large, for example Jerry

and *Sounds* joined the ranks of *Rolling Stone* and *Creem* at the beginning of the 1970s. The (very) few academics studying popular music could simply not keep up with the enormous amount of words being published.

Surprisingly fast, a number of successive genres and important bands came to make up *the* structure for all historical representations.⁶ At first the narratives were plainly evolutionary. 1950s' rock'n'roll was presented as a birth and the 'child' slowly developed towards manhood, and to authors around 1970 the best of times were the present. Through the 1970s this changed as the 1960s began to appear as a lost 'Golden Age' to several authors using the Altamont festival and the Beatles split as proof of the fall from grace.⁷ Both the evolutionary and the nostalgic narratives and the succession of genres as historical structures had their parallels in the histories of the arts. To the authors, most of whom had frequented a university for at least a brief period, rock histories had to be written that way, it was *the* model for art historiography and for them a logical way to legitimize rock. Also, the authors were no strangers to canonization as an integral part of most rock journalists' work was to write reviews. But apart from a few acts like Bob Dylan and The Beatles, the canon was continually up for discussion. The discussions had their limits, though, and a picture quickly emerged, namely that male, white, English-singing songwriters and guitar players were at the top – either as individuals or as groups.

What was probably most important to the general field of popular music was that the appearance of a rock-historical narrative sedimented the split between pop and rock that had slowly emerged since the mid-1960s. Also, it contributed to a split between genres associated with African-Americans and Anglo-Americans.⁸ Contemporary pop and soul were not the stuff that histories were made of, except as precursors or 'sidelines' to what was thought of as 'authentic' rock. Such processes of exclusion of the 'bad' helped immensely in defining and legitimizing rock as a primarily white, proto-art form.

As mentioned in the beginning, the basic principles for rock-historical narratives laid down around 1970 are still part of different media representations of rock history. A few examples might support this claim.

An obvious example of exclusion is the Cleveland Rock and Roll Hall of Fame + Museum's representation of the history of soul. It is told using a 20–25 yards long,

Hopkins, *The Rock Story* (New York, 1970); Ken Barnes, *Twenty Years of Pop* (London, 1973); Jeremy Pascall (ed.), *The Story of Pop* (London, 1974); Lloyd Grossman, *A Social History of Rock Music: From the Greasers to Glitter Rock* (New York, 1976).

- 6 Even though the names for each single genre might vary, they would run something like this: rock'n'roll, schlock rock, the British invasion, folk rock, psychedelia, singer/songwriter, heavy rock, punk, new wave.
- 7 For example Tony Palmer, *All You Need Is Love: The Story of Popular Music* (New York, 1976) and Jim Miller (ed.), *The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll* (New York, 1976).
- 8 For early formulations of this, see Belz, *The Story of Rock* (1969; 2nd edn., New York, 1971), 197; Cohn, *Pop from the Beginning* (1969; rev. edn. *Awopbopalooop Alopbamboom: Pop from the Beginning*, London 1970, reprint 1996), 123. In the US, Cohn was published as *Rock from the Beginning* (New York, 1969).

full-wall exhibition case, containing one (1) artefact out of 85 related to a woman (Aretha Franklin), and out of 18 songs on the listening post one was sung by Franklin. The supreme irony of it was that the exhibit case's main title was 'Respect'. Another example is that while text books lay out their narratives as one linear, chronologically organized narrative, the museums avoid presenting such narratives, and they do not state any intentions as to the exhibits covering everything. Instead there are several semi-independent narratives or exhibits which the spectator may choose at her own leisure. The result is the exclusion of whole genres like heavy metal and in the case of Cleveland, hip hop. In most cases the organizing principle is a band, a musician, a genre, or a place. A third and completely different example of exclusion is that of the present day music industries. They are completely invisible in the museums, maybe in order to avoid a clash with notions of rock's authenticity or simply because they are too powerful. Contrary to the old independent record company 'heroes' (e.g., Sun's Sam Phillips and Atlantic's Ahmet Ertegun who were canonized in the first wave of rock histories) Sony and Warner are beyond the canon even though they have immense economic interests in its continuing dominance as it creates at least some sort of stability in the market.

Another and more subtle example of the museums' underpinning of rock ideology is the Seattle-based Experience Music Project's Bob Dylan exhibit. The narrative of his childhood years in Hibbing, Minnesota is told using pictures and text mounted on a wall clad with iron ore from Hibbing (one of the largest iron ore mining districts in the world). In this way it is suggested (but not explicitly stated) that Dylan rose from American soil. He was not only born there, but represents nature and man's use of it.

During the last 15 years or so the English rock press has developed a new genre, a sort of monthly rock history digest, which focuses on bands from the 1950s to the 1980s. *Mojo* and *Uncut* are among the most successful as their circulation is only topped by *Q Magazine*,⁹ and the most frequent act on their covers is The Beatles *in toto* or as individuals. Television is another medium for rock-historical narratives stamped by rock ideology. Time-Warner and the BBC have each produced a 10-episode series while North American MTV has promulgated it through the 1990s.¹⁰

A final example is the writing and publication of undergraduate textbooks on rock history which has become a lucrative market as the many editions attest to.¹¹

9 The circulation numbers for first half of 2006 were *Q* (158,271 copies), *Mojo* (121,746 copies), and *Uncut* (88,756 copies). *New Musical Express* was down to 74,206 copies. About one third of *Mojo* and *Uncut* copies are sold outside Great Britain (Audit Bureau of Circulation, www.abc.org.uk, accessed 6 Nov. 2006).

10 *The History of Rock 'n' Roll* (Warner Bros., 1995); *Dancing in the Street: A Rock and Roll History* (BBC, 1996); Roger Beebe, Denise Fulbrook, and Ben Saunders, 'Introduction', in Beebe, Fulbrook, and Saunders (eds.), *Rock Over the Edge: Transformations in Popular Music Culture* (Durham and London, 2002), 5–6.

11 The quality of these is varying. Some continue in the slipstream of rock ideology, for example Paul Friedlander, *Rock and Roll: A Social History* (Boulder, CO, 1996; 2nd edn., 2006); Katherine Charlton, *Rock Music Styles: A History* (Boston, 1989; further edns., 1994, 1998, 2003, 2006); Joe

John Covach's recent *What's that Sound: An Introduction to Rock and its History* can be taken as an example. It is probably intended as a rock parallel to Grout's and Palisca's 'classic' *A History of Western Music* from the same publishing company (W.W. Norton) and Mark Gridley's *Jazz Styles: History & Analysis*.¹² Like Grout's and Palisca's, the Covach book is backed up by an internet site (www.wwnorton.com/college/music/rockhistory/) and by various teaching materials available from the publishers.

The book is divided into decades with the 1960s and 1970s taking up a bit more than half of its 555 pages, a rough indication of a notion of a rock 'Golden Age', and of course the Beatles is mentioned in most detail (the 1960s are even interpreted as a 'short' decade lasting from 1964 to 1969). Even though African-American popular music is acknowledged as an integral part of rock and as a seminal influence (a very important word in Covach's narrative) on most other genres, it only takes up a bit more than 20 per cent of the text devoted to the 'Golden Age' – and the development of hip hop in the 1980s takes up eight pages! Apart from a series of British bands 'invading' North America, his approach is very US-centric. London and Jamaica are the only places of any importance to his narrative outside North America, while Kraftwerk is only mentioned in passing and ABBA is not mentioned at all. Covach's background in music theory makes him discuss about 70 songs in some detail. This is a good idea if only he did not solely focus on musical form. Form is of course one central element but there are many others which are sadly missing. And it becomes quite quaint when the Monkees are somewhat rehabilitated due to musical-formal complexities and when a formal overview claims to make sense of James Brown's 'Papa's Got a Brand New Bag'.¹³

From a methodological perspective his use of charts as one factor in deciding what to include and what to exclude from the narrative seems rather naive, especially as they are used in order to 'guard against presenting biased accounts of rock history'.¹⁴ Such notions of objectivity might be the reason why *What's that Sound* ends up being a compilation of facts, of innumerable musicians' names and album titles at the expense of explanations or interpretations of musical and cultural changes within rock. By basing the structure of his narrative on more conservative, musicological art music narratives and that of traditional rock history he manages to make

Stuessy, *Rock and Roll: Its History and Stylistic Development* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 1990; further edns., 1994, 1999, 2003, 2006). See Morten Michelsen, 'Histories and Complexities: Popular Music History Writing and Danish Rock', *Popular Music History*, 1 (2004), 23 for a short discussion of these. To my knowledge no scholars based in Great Britain have written such text books for a long time, and nobody within English-language journalism has written general historical accounts of rock or popular music in the last decade. Today, the 'overview', or rather, the holding together of the entire field of rock in the broad sense is left to magazines, to encyclopedias, and to US text books.

12 John Covach, *What's that Sound: An Introduction to Rock and its History* (New York and London, 2006); J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (7th edn., New York, 2006); Mark Gridley, *Jazz Styles: History & Analysis* (7th edn., Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2006).

13 Covach, *What's that Sound*, 212 and 251.

14 Ibid. 7.

knowledge about the two look alike but to the benefit of no one – maybe except those teachers who have to grade the classes that have to read the book.

All in all, the Covach book represents a condensation of most of the criticisms aimed at the ideology of rock above, and it demonstrates how the narrative structure, the canonization and exclusion processes, and notions of authenticity have combined into an ideology of rock that has proven incredibly resilient – although always contested. It has withstood changing musical tastes and generational conflicts. It has survived despite different musical and cultural practices by some musicians and some audiences and despite harsh critiques from the academy. Part of its resilience may stem from the fact that the generation who formed the narrative was quite young at the time of construction. They have kept it alive through diverse career paths which have led some of them to very influential posts within different kinds of institutions. Another reason for its resilience is that the narrative structure is flexible, like mythical structures. Genres and bands go through birth, blossoming, and decay, and the hierarchical structure distributes value. In Bourdieuan terms rock ideology still constitutes the basic rules for the power plays in the field of rock-related popular music genre cultures.

Judging from the museums, the magazines, and the text books, public interest in rock history is quite impressive. Each of the two largest North American museums have 400,000 visitors per year, *Mojo* and *Uncut* combined sell more than 200,000 copies each month, and some of the older text books have had several impressions. So, although we may laugh at, criticize, or try to ignore this rock-historical grand narrative, it is alive and well. Apart from writing text books the interest in rock or popular music historiography (here understood as the academic writing of history) in popular music studies has, on the other hand, not been great. Among the exceptions are books by Peter Wicke, Lars Lilliestam, and Motti Regev (they are all situated outside England and North America).¹⁵ The reasons why only few have involved themselves in historical work can only be guessed at. Maybe the many results of popular music studies do not so easily lend themselves to historical presentations? Maybe historiography itself is considered problematic? Nevertheless, the vacuum caused by the academic critiques of grand narratives has been left to itself, but the time might be right to take on the challenge of discussing even the macro levels of popular music history. As the museum examples demonstrate, we need them in order to tell different, better, and maybe even more true stories.

In theoretical arguments Richard Middleton, Peter Wicke, and Keith Negus have argued for what I would like to call a complexification of popular music history.¹⁶ Such complexification does away with simplistic chronological divisions, with legi-

15 Peter Wicke, *Von Mozart zu Madonna: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Popmusik* (From Mozart to Madonna: A Cultural History of Pop Music) (Leipzig, 1998); Lars Lilliestam, *Svensk Rock: Musik, lyrik, historik* (Swedish Rock: Music, Lyrics, History) (Gothenburg, 1998); Motti Regev, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkeley, 2004).

16 Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia, 1990), 1–100; Peter Wicke, 'Heroes and Villains': Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Popmusik und Musikgeschichtsschreibung' ('Heroes and Villains': Remarks on the Relation between Pop Music and Music

timizing accounts, with canons of great male musicians, and with a concept of music that focuses on works/songs and on artists/musicians. Instead, music is to be historicised within its cultural and societal contexts leaving room for the multiple meanings produced by musicians, industry people, and audiences, and it is important to acknowledge that the field of study is in constant change, driven on by the partial and ever-changing dichotomies inherent within it. Such complexifications are necessary in order to offer different models and different results. Local and national studies may be one important way to do this, because the comparatively small field of study makes it possible to do thick descriptions of individual parts of music cultures. Such descriptions are important in order to find alternatives on which to base other historical narratives.

A related issue is ‘the history of what?’ Music, popular music, rock, pop? Traditionally, popular music researchers do popular music, historical musicologists do unpopular music, ethnomusicologists do music out there, and jazz scholars do their thing. It is, however, problematic to accept this division of labour because popular music goes back way before the split between art music and popular music was of much relevance; because popular music as a delimited tradition only makes sense in some ways – in other ways understanding only comes when popular music is seen in a broader and relational perspective; and because accepting the great divide makes a genre like jazz an odd bedfellow. It is wiser to follow Richard Middleton’s advice that concrete studies must take place within the continuously moving ‘whole music-historical field’.¹⁷ Not every study should be that broad, but it is a basic frame of reference. This is not to neglect differences within a field which is still hierarchically organized but to suggest that music-cultural changes affect more than one genre as for example the continuous development of technology shows.

It would be wrong to view rock-historical writing as merely a commercial hoax and a hegemonic discourse. It is, but it serves a real purpose as well to all those who use it some way or another. It may be pure entertainment; it may help changing sound into verbal discourse in order to caress your favourite music with words; it may help understanding some way or another the music better by grounding it in more or less fictive persons or places and make the musical experiences more nuanced and rich. A great part of rock ideology has to do with coping, with individual existence and identity (especially authenticity), with making sense of the workings of power structures (especially canons), and with grasping the immense complexity of modern everyday life. This grand narrative is one frame among several within which to understand these social workings, and the music that it is related to makes the understanding affective.

Historiography), in Nico Schüler (ed.), *Zu Problemen der “Heroen”- und der “Genie”-Musikgeschichtsschreibung* (On Problems of ‘Hero’ and ‘Genius’ Music Historiography) (Hamburg, 1998); Keith Negus, *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1996), 136–65. See Michelsen, ‘Histories and Complexities’, for a more detailed discussion of the term complexification.

17 Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, 11.

The actual products of the grand narrative tend to reify the narrative. The structure is frozen and the same stories are retold in still greater detail, stories about the Beatles being the prime example. This is not a call for the banishment of the great narratives (it is probably not possible, anyway), but for a deconstruction of the present structure, which holds on to existing distributions of power. Power-sensitive reinterpretations of the stories and the writing of new stories might break up the structure. For the present they will probably serve as counter-narratives, narratives that do not homogenize the battles and changes within music cultures, narratives that relate the micro *and* the macro levels, and narratives that are sensitive to the ways music produces meanings and the ways music is enjoyable or horrible in an ever changing reality.

TRANSNATIONAL CULTURAL FLOWS

The discrediting of grand narratives has helped lay bare many ideological constructions and point to the actual complexities inherent in the cultures and machinations studied. Theories of globalization might be yet another example of a grand narrative, but the many debates surrounding it make it much less monolithic and much more contested, at least until now. Nevertheless, a few aspects of globalization theory will be discussed in the following in order to suggest a way to shed light on the cultural complexities lying behind the homogenizing discourse of rock history.

In the museums it was obvious that although rock and other popular music genres have been central agents in globalization processes throughout the previous century, such aspects of the narratives were not important to American curators or (presumably) audiences. Instead, a formal difference was made between national and local levels, the national being (North) American music (and thus, in a strangely local way, global to Americans?) and the local being the music of the area in which the museum was situated (several exhibit cases devoted to popular music in the North West Territory (in Seattle) and to rock in the two largest Ohio cities (in Cleveland)). The difference was not complete, though, as a certain amount of national popularity or notoriety was necessary in order for musicians and bands to be admitted to the local exhibit cases. Thus the exhibits supported a grand narrative about North American music, even though small parts of the exhibits were taken up by local narratives. Covach's text book, on the other hand, does hardly focus on place at all, thus implicitly stressing the national level.

Even though the North Americans mentioned tend to ignore transnational aspects of rock, globalization processes seem central, and globalization theories might be one important way to challenge the structure of the rock-historical grand narrative. During the last 50 years or so several theories of globalization have been developed in close relation with the changes in the actual processes of globalization. More recent changes in the globalization processes have resulted in the concept of transnational flows of culture in order to highlight that culture is appropriated differently

in diverse local contexts and that these flows and the relations of power between them are immensely complex.¹⁸ Using the flow of a river as basic metaphor Ulf Hannerz defines cultural flow in this way:

The cultural flow thus consists of the externalizations of meaning which individuals produce through arrangements of overt forms, and the interpretations which individuals make of such displays – those of others as well as their own. ... More precisely, the flow occurs in time and has directions ... In one way or other, the flow is everywhere ...¹⁹

Social anthropologists have begun to talk about transnational cultural flows instead of globalization processes, partly to avoid the neo-liberalistic connotations, partly because flows 'have origins and destinations, and the flows are instigated by people. The ideational and institutional framework of the flows may be 'placeless' or global in principle ... , but their instantiation necessarily involves situated agents and delineated social contexts.'²⁰ Simple models of understanding, often linked to colonialism, have been superseded, sometimes helped by different kinds of post-structuralist theory which have undermined earlier models by destabilizing centres, deconstructing narratives, and pointing to the mechanisms of old and new power relations.

The intensification of the rock cultural flow because of the media developments tends to complicate Danish rock culture still more as the old national borders become more blurred as well as strengthened. For example, in the last decade European MTV has become still more regionalized and Danish rock bands have been able to enter the flow to become hugely popular in South-East Asia. On the other hand local artists basing their musical style on North American styles have been immensely popular within the national borders and have succeeded in contributing to the understanding of what popular music means within a national discourse. Also, very early on, the channels through which rock'n'roll arrived in Denmark were not only simply as American import. Much of the actual music (live performances and records) were filtered through mainly English traditions, but also through Norwegian and Swedish musical traditions. Such examples show the complexity of the workings of transnational cultural flows. The riverbed only seldom leads the flow in clear directions, the flow is never solely inscribed with imperialistic power, often it is understood and used in oblique ways compared to their sources, and sometimes it does not influence local cultures to any important degree. Thus narratives of local cultures may be used, among other things, to present alternatives to the grand narrative, always remembering that there are similarities as well as differences. The grand narrative is not right, but it is not always wrong either.²¹

18 Ulf Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning* (New York, 1992), 4–10.

19 Ibid. 4.

20 Thomas Hylland Eriksen, 'Introduction', in Eriksen (ed.), *Globalisation: Studies in Anthropology* (London and Sterling, VA, 2003), 4.

21 The Beatles' global breakthrough in 1963–64 might be an instance were the grand narrative is the most appropriate way of understanding what was going on at the time.

To many, the analysis of centre–periphery relations are still important in globalization processes, and Hannerz points to their complex workings while at the same time stressing that the relation is asymmetrical with regard to power.²² Arjun Appadurai, on the other hand, contests such an analysis and claims that the ‘new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center–periphery models (even those which might account for multiple centers and peripheries)’.²³ Such messy (or complex) descriptions of centre–periphery relations are appropriate when analysing the spreading of rock music and rock history, even though Appadurai’s claim might be too radical in this concrete analysis.

Anglo-American rock culture – including its history of itself – has worked and still works as a major cultural flow influencing musicians, the music business, and audiences in many parts of the world. They use it in different ways, and some of the musical results are recirculated within the flow, thus making the centre less dominant. Although local music is recirculated, some of the basic structures seem to remain quite stable as in the case of the rock-historical narrative. This means that the flux of the cultural flow is based on quite stable and strong premises, probably especially with regard to rock history as music is easier to circulate for different uses than verbal flows.

On the one hand, the sheer size of North America and the many local scenes taking place in numerous cities indicate that it is hard to think of the whole country as one centre. On the other hand, the industries and agents who turn a small part of North American rock into a transnational cultural flow are situated in a few city centres, mainly New York, Los Angeles, and London (England). This does not make one centre, but a few which are related, and they do not qualify as centres in every way. For example, they might act as media ‘shipping ports’ for musical practices taking place within and outside the centres. Also, other alternative centres have been able to connect into the flow (e.g., the Danish music export to the Far East) or even create their own (e.g., Brazilian music in Europe). In this way, the traditional Anglo-American centres are contested even if they are still the main centres.

With regard to rock history it might be easier to point out a centre, not a localized one, but a discourse regulated by Anglo-American writers.²⁴ There are no studies of the spread of rock histories, but in a recent study of a related topic, that of Nordic rock criticism, Lindberg et al. concludes:

The dynamics of the relations between centre and periphery are indeed complex. When globalization only indicates that impulses from the centre are given a local outlook, the old one-directedness is still at work. On the other hand, British/American rock ‘imperialism’ has supplied new forms of cultural expression that have helped to change

22 Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity*, 217–67.

23 Arjun Appadurai, ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, in Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London, 1996), 32.

24 As it is done in Lindberg et al., *Rock Criticism*.

power relations in the periphery. When globalization indicates that localized variations of global culture bounce back into global circulation the centre–periphery model seems less viable as an explanatory thesis. This stage of the process has been going on for a while in rock music, but not in rock writing.²⁵

Also, 1970s and 1980s Danish music journalists have used North American magazines like *Rolling Stone* as a key inspiration for both writing style and music aesthetics,²⁶ and they have received the structural backbone for a narrative of Danish rock from Anglo-American journalists. Radio journalist Palle Aarslev wrote one of the first sketches for a national narrative, a squarely evolutionary one like the ones mentioned earlier, that did not touch much upon foreign influences but articulated a succession of local, male musicians (except for Annisette, vocalist in the beat group Savage Rose).²⁷ Since then, only few book-length historical presentations have appeared and they only deal with a limited span of years. Narratives of 1960s' 'Golden Age' have been the most common: In 1981 Beate S. Piil lamented the missing fulfilment of the alleged socialistic promise of late 1960s beat, 20 years later Niels Martinov did much the same and stressed the ruining consequences of big business, while Peder Bundgaard's book is a personal memoir, the pages being filled with sweet nostalgia.²⁸ Also in Anglo-American mode, Jakobsen et al. interpret Danish rock 'n' roll as a forerunner to 1960s' youth revolts by focussing on its protest character and to a large extent ignoring its homely qualities.

Instead of using the Anglo-American template for writing rock history, and thus reproducing rock's grand narrative as Danish writers tend to, it seems wiser to take the consequences of the theories of cultural flows. First, they may work as theoretical basis for critiques of existing music-historical writings and dominant ideologies. Second, they indicate a contested and complex centre–periphery structure through which a focus on both cultural differences and similarities may be established. Most local cultures, however they may be defined, are in contact with others in some way or another. They are partly determined by other local cultures and by global developments in often asymmetrical meetings. Meetings and borders are important to investigate, as meanings often become visible in the interstices in between. This goes

25 Ulf Lindberg, Gestur Gudmundsson, Morten Michelsen, and Hans Weisethaunet, 'Critical Negotiations: Rock Criticism in the Nordic Countries', *Popular Music History*, 3 (in press).

26 Lindberg et al., 'Critical Negotiations'.

27 Palle Aarslev, 'Den danske beatscene 1954–69' (The Danish Rock Scene 1954–69), in Derek Johnson (ed.), *Beat musik* (København, 1969). The article is based on a radio series aired in 1968. See Morten Michelsen and Annemette Kirkegaard, 'Introduktion: historier, kulturer, genrer, geografier' (Introduction: Histories, Cultures, Genres, Geographies) (in press) for a more detailed assessment of Aarslev's article.

28 Beate S. Piil, *Beat på dansk* (Rock in Danish) (Århus, 1981); Niels Martinov, *Ungdomsoprøret i Danmark. Et portræt af årene, der rystede musikken, billedkunsten, teatret, litteraturen, filmen og familien* (The Youth Rebellion in Denmark. A Portrait of the Years that Shook Music, Arts, Literature, Theater, Film, and the Family) (København, 2001); Peder Bundgaard, *Lykkens Pamfil: Dansk rock i 60erne* (Lucky Chap: Danish Rock in the 60s) (København, 1998). Also, recent years have seen an impressive amount of small and large books dealing with 1960s music in specific parts of Denmark being published (see www.rockhistorie.dk for a full list).

for small subcultures (say, electronica), broader taste cultures (say, rock culture), and national cultures (say, Denmark) although the concrete relations might be very different. In this way, understanding the local and the regional has changed as well because the dominance of the global over the local is always contested.²⁹ Clear cut definitions of centres and peripheries are often hard to make, even though centres still exist – just think of the transnational music and media corporations.

THE MEETING OF THE LOCAL AND THE TRANSNATIONAL: ROCK 'N' ROLL IN DENMARK

As mentioned, the narrative structure of rock-historical writing lends itself to many things. Among these are that they have been used to structure narratives in other places, in this case Denmark. This does of course make perfect sense in some ways, as Anglo-American music and culture has meant and means a lot to most people living in Denmark. It has influenced the local ways of making and understanding music. But in other ways the transnational narrative has distorted what happened. For example, the advent of rock 'n' roll or punk was quite different compared to similar situations in North America and in England. Likewise, left wing politics influenced rock to a much greater extent in Denmark than in Anglo-phone countries. Some of the meanings that emerged were comparable, others were not, but in Danish rock narratives local meanings tend to equal those of English or North American narratives.³⁰ In the following, I will take a closer look at the advent of rock 'n' roll in Denmark in order to highlight the differences compared to North America.

There is hardly any doubt that North American youth culture and music came to constitute a transnational cultural flow in the later half of the 1950s. At the time it was quite unclear to most – Americans as well as Danes – what was happening, but later historical narratives has seen to it that it has become clear. I will not repeat this narrative here, assuming the reader's acquaintance with the general contours of it. The point is that Anglo-American history writing as part of a later wave in that flow came to structure local narratives in ways that are not fully consistent with what actually happened (and it may be questioned as well if the North American narrative is an accurate picture of what happened there).

A brief sketch of Danish events would run like this: As jazz earlier and rap later, rock 'n' roll was introduced by Danish entrepreneurs and media as a dance, a new variation of the Lindy Hop, and not as a new musical genre in the autumn of

29 In this context the local and the regional are regarded as the smaller and the larger within an overall global frame. While the global is fixed (in principle, the whole world), the local and the regional change according to perspective. The local may be a specific locality or a subculture within the regional, say, a nation state. Nation states as well might be considered local within a group of nation states, e.g. Denmark within the EU or the Nordic countries.

30 Cf. Michelsen and Kirkegaard, 'Introduktion', and Morten Michelsen, "'Hver eneste gang en ungdom ...': Rock 'n' roll og ungdom i dansk underholdningsmusik i 1950'erne" ('Everytime Youth ...': Rock 'n' Roll and Youth in Danish Popular Music in the 1950s) (in press).

1956.³¹ First at a high end dancing restaurant and a few days later at ‘The People’s House’, both situated in Copenhagen. A fortnight later a large rock’n’roll dance was held in a sports facility, and afterwards a news journalist paid a few youngsters to stir up trouble. These hit the front pages next day and made the expected connection between rock’n’roll and riots.³² After touring the dance show to a few Danish cities not much was heard about the new phenomenon for nearly a year. In August 1957 five days of riots broke out in connection with the premiere of the film *Rock Around the Clock*. This time at such a level that social researchers were asked to investigate it. Some years later they concluded that hardly any of the riot participants had seen the movie. They joined because of the press reports.³³

Rock’n’roll as a musical style came about slowly. The record ‘Rock Around the Clock’ had been available since 1954,³⁴ the sheet music since 1955, and it was possible to buy foreign rock’n’roll records released at major labels. One exception was Elvis Presley as RCA did not have a distributor in Denmark until 1958. Even though a few Danish records from 1956 used the tag rock’n’roll, it was left to a new generation of teenage amateurs to take up the new style and slowly learn it. They performed in Copenhagen working class areas and the first records were released in 1959. It is estimated that the number of groups in this Copenhagen phenomenon did not exceed 20.³⁵ None of these bands with their new musical style and practice made a mark in their time.

A youth-oriented music inspired by Anglo-American ideals only became broadly popular when Danish musicians and svengalis took inspiration from teenage singing stars related to production centres in Philadelphia and New York. The young crooner whose core audience consisted of young girls was a figure more familiar to Danish audiences and foreign inspiration could blend with this. The singers stayed within known musical patterns and played concerts in the usual places, but at the same time they became a new type of musical idol to be adored and, not least, by singing in English they signalled a clear fascination with all things English and American.

31 Niels W. Jakobsen, Jens Allan Mose, and Egon Nielsen, *Dansk Rock ’n’ Roll: Anderumper, ekstase og opposition. En analyse af dansk rockkultur 1956–63* (Danish Rock’n’Roll: Duck-Tails, Ecstasy, and Opposition. An Analysis of Danish Rock Culture 1956–63) (Tappernøje, 1980) is a detailed study of the arrival of rock’n’roll in Denmark and most of the following facts are taken from it.

32 While earlier studies of the Danish reception of rock’n’roll tended to stress negative press accounts recent studies have shown that quite a lot of relatively positive newspaper stories downplay the foreignness and look upon the rock’n’roll phenomenon as yet another youth folly. See for example Sissel Bjerrum, ‘Rock’n’roll: mødet mellem dem og os’ (Rock’n’Roll: The Meeting Between Them and Us) in Klaus Petersen and Nils Arne Sørensen (eds.), *Den kolde krig på hjemmefronten* (The Cold War on the Home Front) (Odense, 2004), 81–93.

33 John Andersen, ‘“Rock and Roll”-begivenhederne i København 5.–10. august 1957’ (The ‘Rock’n’Roll’ Occurrences in Copenhagen 5–10 August 1957), *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Kriminalvidenskab*, 52 (1964), 175–226; Britt-Mari Persson Blegvad, ‘Newspapers and Rock and Roll Riots in Copenhagen’, *Acta Sociologica*, 7/3 (1964), 151–78.

34 Jakobsen et al., *Dansk Rock ’n’ Roll*, 97.

35 Ibid. 125.

In this way, apart from the moral panics about youth riots, the introduction of rock 'n' roll into the Danish popular music field was not spectacular in any way. Actually, it was only clear to a minute minority of Danes at the time what rock 'n' roll was in North American terms. Thus the traditional narrative of the North American rock 'n' roll period from 1955 to 1958 with its flamboyant performers and million-selling stars does not sit well with Danish realities. There are of course similarities but in this context it is more illuminating to notice what some of the differences that met the transnational flow were.

In general, North American rock 'n' roll met with a local culture in which an influential cultural elite, whether left or right wing, was anti-American and criticized heavily the consuming of American popular culture (mainly comics and pulp literature), while a non-elite, many of whom were pro-American, took it to heart.³⁶ The meeting took place between a North American culture whose main dividing line was that of race (which was even inscribed in the music) and a Danish one where class distinctions were still central (probably inscribed in the music as well, but that remains to be investigated). Danish journalists vaguely sensed this difference, but their only means of articulation was to use the racial stereotypes used in connection with jazz 30 years earlier, first and foremost indicating exoticism rather than actual racial conflict.³⁷

For some years, a few North American cultural products were banned as Danish cinema owners boycotted movies from over there from May 1955 until May 1958 when the owners accepted the raised cost of film rent. Only two Copenhagen cinemas (and a few provincial ones) ignored the boycott and showed North American movies, thus making the premiere of *Rock Around the Clock* possible at all.³⁸ Not being able to see what rock 'n' roll looked like before mid 1958 might be one reason why most Danes did not take to the new music in the same way as the Swedes.³⁹ As mentioned, RCA records did not have a local distributor between 1956 and 1958, which made Elvis Presley recordings scarce, and no distribution channels existed for most North American independent companies (Dot being an exception). Thus it is hard to tell which musicians Danish listeners actually heard. For example, going through various materials from the 1950s I have found no mention of Sun or Chess recording artists.

What this new North American music culture met was not a resolutely local music culture but, among other things, earlier appropriations of genres of North American popular music. In the 1950s Danish popular music culture was slowly turning away from a continental European schlager tradition towards a North Ameri-

36 Hans Hertel, 'Kulturens kolde krig: Polarisering, antikommunisme og antiamerikanisme i dansk kulturliv 1946–60' (Culture's Cold War: Polarization, Anti-Communism, and Anti-Americanism in Danish Cultural Life, 1946–60), *Kritik*, 35/158 (Aug. 2002), 18–21.

37 Erik Wiedemann, *Jazz i Danmark i tyverne, trediverne og fyrverne: en musik-kulturel undersøgelse*, vol. i–ii (Jazz in Denmark in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s: A Music-Cultural Study) (København, 1982), i, 11–30.

38 Jakobsen et al., *Dansk rock 'n' roll*, 48.

39 Local rock 'n' roll was immensely popular in Sweden, see Lillistam, *Svensk rock*, 75–79.

can Tin Pan Alley tradition. This meant that rock'n'roll met with vocal performance ideals related to crooning (in Danish or English) or to music hall belting, and both traditions were dependent on Danish meta-linguistics. The turn towards North America also slowly made the local music business realize the economic potential of recording stars in contrast to live performing stars thus promoting young singers that had not proven their worth through years of performing with bands or in theatrical productions. Being a recording star became an option – if only for few. Also, Danish musicians' version of swing jazz were extremely popular. With regard to age the audience was broad, but jazz must be considered the most widespread (but not the only) music among Danish youth throughout the decade whether for dancing, for listening to, or for playing yourself. Large parts of the Danish jazz scene consisted of amateurs playing in youth clubs, students' clubs, or regular jazz clubs. And eventually, it was amateurs who took up rock'n'roll as well.⁴⁰

In order to show in more detail what happened when young Danes began to play rock'n'roll, a few analytical remarks about Melvis Rock Band's recording of 'Jailhouse Rock' are relevant using the Presley recording as reference.⁴¹ Presley's recording was made in 1957 at Radio Recorders' studio in Hollywood with a band of professional studio musicians including Scotty Moore and Bill Black, while Melvis' was made two years later in the back room of a Copenhagen church at a day when the room normally used as echo chamber was not available.⁴² Melvis' recording may be heard as a meeting or a dialogue between existing Danish music conventions and the new American music and as a local appropriation of a concrete item in the transnational rock'n'roll flow recorded more than three years after Presley's North American national breakthrough with 'Heartbreak Hotel'.

Presley's voice and arrangement is clearly present in the Melvis recording but the track is also different in important ways. Melvis Rock Band is quite close to a sort of 'hard' North American rock'n'roll style, but the over-all groove is split between swing,

40 1950s music-cultural changes are discussed in detail in Michelsen, "Hver eneste gang en ungdom". Jazz writer Thorbjørn Sjøgren describes the 1950s as 'the decade of the amateurs', cf. 'Jazzen i Danmark 1950–2003' (Jazz in Denmark 1950–2003) in Peter Larsen and Thorbjørn Sjøgren (eds.), *Politikens jazzleksikon: udenlandske og danske jazzbiografier* (København, 2003), 1–50.

41 Melvis (Ivan Haki Haagenen, 1941–1999) grew up in a small village north of Copenhagen. He quickly became interested in jazz and a bit later in rock'n'roll because of the Tommy Steele movie *The Tommy Steele Story* (1957) and his concerts in Copenhagen. The line ups of Melvis' backing groups changed continuously but at least in 1959 the number of musicians remained five. That year the group received its break-through at a rock'n'roll-extravaganza at Bellahøj, one of the Northern suburbs of Copenhagen, which resulted in a recording contract. In the second half of 1959 they recorded eight songs: three from the repertoire of Presley ('Jailhouse Rock', 'Troubles', 'King Creole'), one rock'n'roll standard ('Rip it Up'), two less well known songs ('Rock Pretty Baby', 'Goodness It's Gladys'), and two original songs by Melvis ('Beth's Rockin' blues', 'It Knock Down in my Head'). Keld Jakobsen and Thomas Gjurup, *Melvis Anthology 1: The Rock'n'Roll Years 1959–1963* [liner notes] (Frost, [2004]), is the most detailed account of Melvis' career so far.

42 Ernst Mikael Jørgensen and Erik Rasmussen, 'Sessionography' and 'Discography', in *The King of Rock'n'Roll: The Complete 50's Masters* [text book] (RCA, 1992); Jakobsen and Gjurup, *Melvis Anthology 1*, 8.

boogie and rock 'n' roll. The marked amateur singing indicates a new type of voice in Danish popular music culture different to the well-known crooners and actors. Melvis tends to ignore the semantic meaning of the lyrics, which he probably did not understand much of, in order to focus on and experiment with his vocal expression as such. His vocals are dominated by Danish meta-linguistics but the foreign language makes it possible to include sneering and long drawn out, out of tune notes which were otherwise not possible within Danish vocal conventions. The sung and shouted word rock becomes an over-all signifier for newness.

Another point is that many of the cultural references in North American rock 'n' roll pointed to by many commentators do not surface here, one obvious thing being the question of race, another that of difference between North and South, country and city. Instead a class distinction is probably at work. I cannot deduct that from the actual performance, only from its context, i.e. the places the music was played and the general class associations connected with the use of American popular culture in the 1950s.

The results of Melvis' negotiations with a North American musical genre are representations of *both* Americanness and Danish working class culture. On the one hand it contains the security of a local history and the promise of an open (North American?) future, on the other hand, the reality of the local and the promise of the global. All of it placed in the fusion of the local and the global in the now of the musical performance – here recorded for posterity.

CONCLUSIONS

Melvis is one concrete example of negotiations within a transnational cultural flow. Others took place with varying results. The most popular and profitable before 1960 was the one that happened between Anglo-American teenage stars and their Danish equivalents. Negotiations are also appropriations, a grounding of a diffuse and mediated music culture with no clear point of origin. I have not named all of the complexities surrounding Melvis – the name being one more. But I have pointed to some of them in order to underline that the practices and cultural contexts of Danish rock 'n' roll are somewhat different to that of their North American and English equivalents.

Also, I would like to think, that such analyses and perspectives can become part of a historiography that is not only rock's, but popular music's within the whole music-historical field. And if so, that the academy might pave a road for alternatives to journalistic rock history writing, an alternative that accepts Anglo-American music's part in globalization processes and its partial domination at times. And an alternative that highlights local audiences' and musicians' use for their own purposes, which are sometimes a par with Anglo-American purposes, sometimes not. An alternative that suggests a different narrative structure where the focus keeps changing between the stars as musicians, the industry, the audience, and the everyday uses of music.

I have not been arguing for *an* alternative to Anglo-American rock-historical narratives, and not for a historiography of difference, but for one of difference *and*

similarity. For a historiography, that accepts the coexistence of the transnational cultural flows in local spaces and which analyses their impact on the local – and the local talking back, when necessary. I am arguing for historical work being done at local and regional levels that contests such narratives. One aim would be to demonstrate that Anglo-American popular music makes sense both as a localized music and as a transnational phenomenon, but that the two may imply quite different cultural meanings. Only then will we reach a better understanding of the music-cultural practices inherent in different notions of globalization. When such work has been done, it will be appropriate to consider if it is possible to do historiography at an even more general level that may seriously challenge the existing, global rock-historical discourse.

SUMMARY

Using examples from rock museums, from the rock press, and from text books on the history of rock I establish that the rock ideology first articulated in the late 1960s is alive and well in the 21st century. One aspect of this ideology is the rather self-conscious relation to history writing which has resulted in a grand narrative based on traditional art music historiography complete with a canon of white, male, guitar-playing singer-songwriters. This narrative even seems to dominate history writing in other places than England and North America, in this case Denmark. Theories of transnational cultural flows – including their focus on centre–periphery relations – are suggested in order to analyse this domination and to articulate other narratives that do not mirror the structure of the Anglo-American narrative. The article closes with some remarks on the differences between rock'n'roll in Denmark and North America using the Danish musician Melvis' recording of 'Jailhouse Rock' as an example.

Wife Murder as Child's Game

– *analytical reflections on Eminem's performative self-dramatization*

STEEN KAARGAARD NIELSEN

Among the defining characteristics of the vocal art of American rap artist Eminem (born 1972)¹ is his ongoing preoccupation with autobiographical material and its performative dramatization. Dealing with a recording artist who directs himself as performer of his own lyrics in which he himself and his life story are usually the all-important subjects automatically brings the theme of self-representation to the fore. This theme is of course relevant to the understanding of any artist related to the originally African-American performance culture of hip hop. But in the case of Eminem several factors make the exploration of this theme especially relevant and indeed rather fascinating: Textually, autobiographical facts and references pertaining to both his private and public lives are constantly brought into play and mixed indiscriminately with purely fictitious ingredients in lyrics ranging from almost documentary realism inspired by so-called 'reality rap' to stylized tongue-in-cheek cartoon fiction. Sometimes stylistic extremes are even mixed within the same text displaying a constant interplay of various subject positions. This somewhat eclectic strategy spills over into the vocalization of the songs in the recording studio resulting in a rather complex and unpredictable game of self-dramatization.

The aim of this article is to explore and discuss this variety in Eminem's artistic constructions of performative self-dramatization by focusing on five thematically related songs written between 1997 and 2004, in all of which Eminem has cast himself as either father or husband: '97 Bonnie and Clyde', 'Kim', 'My dad's gone crazy', 'Hailie's song' and 'Mockingbird'. As I wish to concentrate primarily on the interplay between Eminem's lyrics and his vocal performances, leaving out 'additional' meaning produced by visual representations like music videos, concert performances and cover art, I have, with one exception, chosen to comment only on studio recordings of non-video songs.²

PRESENTING SLIM SHADY, MARSHALL MATHERS AND/OR EMINEM

As mentioned above the broader cultural and aesthetic context for Eminem's vocal art and its performance conventions is the African-American rap performance culture adopted by the artist. Being a Caucasian rapper Eminem's relationship with

1 For a short introduction to Eminem, see Edward G. Armstrong, 'Eminem's Construction of Authenticity', *Popular Music and Society*, 27/3 (2004), 335. A short updated biography by Jason Ankeny and Bradley Torreano can be found at www.allmusic.com/cg/amg.dll?p=amg&sql=11:oadjvwzua9tk~T1.

2 It should be noted that '97 Bonnie and Clyde' did inspire the cover art of *The Slim Shady LP* (Aftermath Entertainment/Interscope Records 490 287-2, 1999).

this originally predominantly African-American culture is complex, and racial debates alone have been a major issue in the critical reception of his work.³ However, as an exploration of the cultural rootedness of Eminem's art *per se* is not a goal of this article, only a brief comment on the primary musico-cultural framework that 'grounds' his music is given here, first and foremost to provide a springboard for the analytical reflections that follows.⁴

The performance culture of rap is obviously rooted in the 'talking black' culture of African-American and African-Caribbean communities, in which according to sociolinguist Roger D. Abrahams as paraphrased by Simon Frith, 'there is not (as in European and European-American cultures) a clear distinction between "dramatic-type performance" and "other types of interactional behaviour". Rather, workaday talk and conversation are constantly framed as performance ... as the street itself becomes the site of a "constant self-dramatization"'.⁵ Thus talk-as-performance is a cultural given and to the young African-American 'man-talk ... is part of the masculine self-image and is deeply involved in the proclamation of his style-centered "reputation". ... Performing by *styling* is thus one of the means of adapting oneself to the street world, of developing a public persona through which one can begin to establish and maintain one's *rep*'.⁶ To the struggling rap artist this cultivation of a public persona through styling is in any case an essential ingredient when pursuing a career as a professional musician.

A key feature in Eminem's art is his ongoing stylistic juggling of no less than three explicit public personae, who manifest themselves both textually and vocally in his songs. The first persona, Slim Shady, was invented and developed in the summer of 1997 when the other members of D12, a collective of Detroit MCs⁷ of which Eminem was and is the only white member, did the same. According to Anthony Bozza, MC Proof (born DeShaun Holton) had suggested that 'each rapper in the group create a dark-half alter ego to allow each of them to experiment with hardcore styles unlike their own'.⁸ The Slim Shady persona, a purely fictitious cartoonish character not to be taken seriously, is an evil and totally amoral drug-addicted monster, the ultimate dark side, whose cocky and speeded rapping was instrumental in Eminem's breakthrough as a solo artist. On the intro of the early independent *The*

3 For an exploration of this theme, see Armstrong, 'Eminem's Construction', 338–43.

4 Not only further discussion of Eminem's appropriation of black musical culture is needed, but also of the influence on his work of 'his own' white cultural heritage and the culturo-aesthetic hybridization that results. In her contextualization of two of Eminem's 'murder ballads' Elizabeth L. Keathley more than hints at this unexplored issue; see Elizabeth L. Keathley, 'A Context for Eminem's "Murder Ballads"', *ECHO: a music-centered journal*, 4/2 (2002), paragraphs 3 ff. For information on the cultural context of rap music in general a good starting point is Tricia Rose's by now classic study *Black Noise – Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Middletown, 1994).

5 Simon Frith, *Performing Rites – On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 210, citing Roger D. Abrahams, *Talking Black* (Rowley, 1976).

6 Abrahams, *Talking Black*, 10 and 43.

7 MC (within hiphop culture originally an abbreviation for 'microphone coordinator') is a commonly used alternative term for rapper.

8 Anthony Bozza, *Whatever You Say I Am: The Life and Times of Eminem* (London, 2003), 28.

Slim Shady EP from late 1997 or early 1998,⁹ Slim Shady appears as a ghostlike monster voice that returns from the beyond to haunt and taunt a frightened Eminem – a dark side that he cannot leave behind. In the song lyrics collection *Angry Blonde* (2000) Eminem himself suggests that this persona nonetheless became an almost therapeutic instrument:

Thing was, the more I started writing and the more I slipped into this Slim Shady character, the more it just started becoming me. My true feelings were coming out, and I just needed an outlet to dump them in. I needed some type of persona. I needed an excuse to let go of all this rage, this dark humor, the pain, and the happiness. Yet I wanted to tell you to take some mushrooms at the end and don't worry about it.¹⁰

In contrast to Slim Shady, the Marshall Mathers persona, who shares the artist's given name, represents the private person 'behind the artist', a regular guy with plenty of personal and family issues trying to get to terms with his sudden fame, sometimes resigned and reflective, sometimes confused and angry. The final persona is the professional rapper Eminem (originally a pet name made up of his initials). He is a self-conscious, competitive and vengeful word equilibrist, always wrongfully attacked by incompetent and misunderstanding critics, politicians, parents, et cetera. Highlighting the complex interconnections between private and public, between fact and fiction, between star persona and song characters, all three personae are present on each of Eminem's first three major-label solo albums, appropriately named after them, thus *The Slim Shady LP* (1999), *The Marshall Mathers LP* (2000), and *The Eminem Show* (2002). While some songs are written and performed from within the position of one of these three personae, other songs are less persona-driven and merely hint at their possible presence. Also crowding the artist's albums, on which songs are interspersed with short documentary-like skits, is a large gallery of additional characters and voices based on both real and fictional characters. Most are performed by Eminem himself while the rest are done by guest performers, often appearing as themselves. Drawing on a wide range of vocal gestures, vocal timbres, vocal modes (speaking, rapping, singing) while slipping in and out of characters, role-playing is a key feature in the artist's vocal posing, facilitated and high-lighted by the endless possibilities of technological mediation offered by today's recording studio. Thus Eminem the writer is completed by Eminem the vocal artist and occasional song producer in this artistic project of self-dramatization.

9 Eminem, *The Slim Shady EP* (Web Entertainment, catalogue number unknown, 1997 or 1998). Sources disagree as to when this 37 minute EP was released. However, according to Eminem himself the whole EP was recorded in the winter of 1997–98 in about two weeks; see Eminem, *Angry Blonde* (New York, 2000), 38. In addition to a comprehensive selection of Eminem lyrics *Angry Blonde* contains an introduction plus short comments on most lyrics by Eminem. Most comments are focused on the biographical circumstances of the lyric writing and song recording. However, only as an exception is the exact time frame of these specific biographical occurrences given, which is hardly surprising based as they seem to be on recollection. The accuracy and reliability of these autobiographical comments are of course open to questioning, considering the author's otherwise 'creative' use and performative renderings of his own life story.

10 Eminem, *Angry Blonde*, 3.

ON LISTENING TO AND ANALYSING (RAP) SONGS

When pursuing the theme of self-dramatization as a key feature in Eminem's songs the characterization above ties in well with Simon Frith's reflections on the complex character of songs as objects of analysis.¹¹ He approaches various aspects of this key question throughout his book *Performing Rites – On the Value of Popular Music* (1996) but I find theoretical points from three consecutive chapters, 'Songs as Texts', 'The Voice' and 'Performance' of particular relevance in the present context. They are brought together in the following to generate a usefully multi-faceted and dynamic conceptualization of the song as analytical object grounded in everyday musical experience.¹²

To Frith the traditional analytical approach to songs as literary objects, the mere text of the lyric sheet, is not adequate or even appropriate as songs are always experienced as 'words in performance' (unless, of course, one is prone to only reading pop lyrics). Taking song listening for granted he points to the perceptual complexity (though hardly experienced as such) that this everyday activity entails:

In listening to the lyrics of pop songs we actually hear three things at once: *words*, which appear to give songs an independent source of semantic meaning; *rhetoric*, words being used in a special, musical way, a way which draws attention to features and problems of speech; and *voices*, words being spoken or sung in human tones which are themselves 'meaningful', signs of persons and personality.¹³

This performative 'dynamization' of the analytical object, which also implies the interaction between song and listener as part of the analytical agenda, constitutes the singing or rapping performer as a key element. According to Frith the inevitable performative presentation of a song's textual element lends lyrics an unmistakable narrative character. As he puts it:

Lyrics ... let us into songs as stories. All songs are implied narratives. They have a central character, the singer; a character with an attitude, in a situation, talking to someone (if only to herself).¹⁴

In short, we experience songs as 'narrative-in-action' voiced by a singing (or rapping) performer. The interpretive approach of the singer to the lyrics may of course vary from 'sincere' identification to parodic dissociation, but whatever the strategy its success will usually depend upon adherence to the stylistic conventions of the musical genre in question.

11 This approach to Eminem's art is not to be viewed as a dismissal or critique of Adam Krims' rich contribution to rap music analysis in *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity* (Cambridge, 2001), but simply as an attempt at a different approach directly inspired by my listening to Eminem's music.

12 As my short summary cannot do justice to Frith's detailed discussion, the reader is encouraged to consult Frith's text for inspiring reflections on this subject.

13 Frith, *Performing Rites*, 159.

14 *Ibid.* 169.

From a performance perspective, however, song singing entails more than simply performing the lyrics. Professional song singing is in itself a multi-layered phenomenon, the various facets of which resonate within the performance of the song. Frith again:

Singing, as an organization of vocal gestures, means enacting the protagonist in the song, enacting the part of the star, *and* giving some intimation of a real material being—a physical body producing a physical sound; a physicality that *overflows* the formal constraints of the performance.¹⁵

When listening, the simultaneous interplay of all of these meaning-producing factors (words, sounds, gestures, etc.) emanates from the performer's sounding voice, engaging us in a complex yet intimate communicative process.¹⁶ No other instrument is as personal as the human voice (in everyday life we often identify individuals by the sound of their voice alone — *per sona*), and to no other instrument are we as sensitive as to the infinite nuances of this built-in sound-machine. This no doubt explains why the question of credibility or authenticity is so important even when we listen to the multi-mediated professionalized voice of the popular singer. The more convincingly a singer comes across—that is the more we believe her and/or her message—the more satisfying the experience. But as already noted this effect is usually accomplished within the framework of 'naturalized' stylistic conventions that characterize every musical genre. I find no reason to assume that rapping, which in today's popular music is as common and varied as singing, is either more or less stylized than various popular singing styles, and thus should present a special case in this respect.

Adam Krims offers an overall rhythmic-stylistic terminology for the various styles of *flow* or rhythmic delivery that is a defining feature in rapping: In contrast to a 'sung' rhythmic style, 'referring to rhythms and rhymes equivalent (or parallel) to those of much sung pop or rock musics', Krims suggests two 'effusive' styles referring to 'a tendency in rap music to spill over the rhythmic boundaries of the meter, the couplet, and, for that matter, of duple and quadruple groupings in general'.¹⁷ One style termed 'percussion-effusive' involves 'a combination of off-beat attacks with a sharply-attacked and crisp delivery that accentuates the counter-metric gestures' resulting in a percussive flow, while the other style termed 'speech-effusive' tends to 'feature enunciation and delivery closer to those of spoken language, with little sense often projected of any underlying metric pulse'.¹⁸ This stylistic differentiation is to be viewed as a continuum rather than as separate groupings, and although some rap artists may cultivate one style in particular, other artists draw from the whole palette even mixing colours within the same song.

15 Ibid. 212.

16 Frith suggests that to capture the multi-faceted meaning-making of the voice we should approach it under four headings: as a musical instrument, as a body, as a person, and as a character. For a detailed discussion of each of these four aspects, see Frith, *Performing Rites*, 187–99.

17 Krims, *Rap Music*, 49–50.

18 Ibid. 50–51.

Although his vocal performance is no doubt the most prominent feature in Eminem's art and the primary focal point in this article, it does not stand alone.¹⁹ In rap music the primary function of the musical track,²⁰ as indicated above, is to provide a regular metrical and rhythmical anchor and jumping-off-ground in 4/4 time for the usually polyrhythmic intricacies of the flow. When choruses are sung, this basic 'tension' may be temporarily suspended and the song take on an almost on-hold character while the now singing performer 'makes peace with' the track. The different character (and perhaps status) of the chorus is indicated by the fact that often it is performed by backing singers or based on sampling.

The musical track itself may of course also be used and/or heard as an expressive or narrative device, for instance as mood setting. This is often the case with Eminem's songs, where the musical track spiced with sampled sound effects almost takes on the character of a cinematic soundtrack,²¹ a quite common feature within the now dominant hip hop subgenre of 'gangsta rap'.²²

On the basis of the conceptual framing and implied analytical approach outlined above I will now turn to the five thematically related songs, all casting Eminem in the role of father and/or husband, in order to illustrate the variety in Eminem's artistic constructions of performative self-dramatization.

SETTING THE SCENE FOR DADDY

Contrary to the scenario of most rap music, the following selection of songs all relate to everyday domesticity. As Elizabeth L. Keathley puts it in relation to the first two songs, but of relevance to all:

[The raps] are not set against an exoticized urban landscape of pimps and hoes and do not speak in the tongue of sexual *braggadocio*; rather, they resemble any other bourgeois melodrama in their presumption of the rightness of the patriarchal, nuclear family.²³

The melodrama in these songs, whether small or grand, tragic or comical, results from the fact that the dysfunctional family unit portrayed fails to live out the dream of the

19 Yet I do often find that stripped *a cappella* versions of Eminem's songs, usually released for promotional purposes only, provide quite satisfactory listening experiences. Also, 'undisturbed' by the musical track, they expose both the performative and technological aspects of the voice production.

20 In using the term 'musical track' I follow Adam Krims and refer to his discussion of the term and its use; see Krims, *Rap music*, 45. Eminem himself uses both 'track' and 'beat' throughout *Angry Blonde* without making any apparent distinction between them.

21 Although the musical tracks on Eminem's recordings most often are created and produced by various musical collaborators, there is usually some 'editorial' involvement on his part.

22 'Gangsta (slang for 'gangster') rap' began as a 'hardcore' subgenre in the late 1980s (Ice T, N.W.A.) but became mainstream in the late 1990s. The subgenre has stirred much controversy with its realistic or stereotypical (depending on point of view) descriptions of black inner-city ghetto life, being accused of endorsing violence, misogyny, homophobia, promiscuity, materialism, etc.

23 Keathley, 'A Context', paragraph 8.

stereotypical patriarchal, nuclear family held by the traditional head of family through the eyes of whom all songs are seen and told. To the narrator the basic conflict is one between family protector (the first person narrator) and home wrecker (his adulterous wife) with their offspring (a baby daughter) in need of protection.²⁴

The first two songs, '97 Bonnie and Clyde' and 'Kim', are companion pieces that constitute one continuous storyline. However, before we begin with the second half of the story, a word of caution as to the extreme language and blatant depictions of violence that follow. At the same time I wish to encourage the reader to seek out and listen to the selected songs to experience the full impact of Eminem's admittedly extreme art.²⁵

GOING FOR A RIDE WITH CLYDE

'97 Bonnie and Clyde', written in the late summer or autumn of 1997, was originally entitled 'Just the two of us' when first released on the early album *The Slim Shady EP*.²⁶ That Eminem would choose a title identical to that of a song recently released by rapper Will Smith also dealing with a father-child relationship and the fact that both songs draw inspiration from the exact same musical source (Bill Withers' 1980 hit recording) is hardly a coincidence.²⁷ Smith's song is addressed to his five year old son, reassuring him that his father loves him and will always be there for him, although he has broken up with his mother. Will's son even has a few spoken lines in what amounts to a somewhat sentimental enactment of the 'perhaps not perfect but definitely good' father character.

Thematically Eminem's song treads the same ground being a dialogue between a reassuring father and his baby daughter. However, this song is realized as a short audio drama (what the artist himself refers as a concept song²⁸): a car ride in three chronological scenes corresponding to the song's three verses. The narrative structure and flow is simple and classic (see Table 1). In contrast to the story-advancing character of the verses, the recurring chorus simply sums up the theme of the song: Father and daugh-

24 Eminem's basically sympathetic portrayal of this stereotypical husband/father figure forms part of his general depiction of white masculinity, which has met with much criticism, not least because of its often misogynistic character. For explorations and discussions of this key subject in different theoretical contexts, see Keathley, 'A Context', paragraphs 1-41; Lindsay R. Calhoun, "'Will the Real Slim Shady Please Stand Up?': Masking Whiteness, Encoding Hegemonic Masculinity in Eminem's *Marshall Mathers LP*", *The Howard Journal of Communication*, 16 (2005), 267-94; and Vincent Stephens, 'Pop goes the rapper: a close reading of Eminem's genderphobia', *Popular Music*, 24/1 (2005), 21-36.

25 In the US Eminem's albums are available in both 'explicit' and 'clean' versions. However, the 'clean' versions, aimed at 'underage' consumers and mainstream radio, are to be avoided as the rapper's flows are marred by the strict and technically rather crude censoring of swearwords and explicit references to sex and violence.

26 The song was produced by Mark and Jeff Bass.

27 The song appeared on Will Smith's first solo album *Big Willie Style* (Columbia 488 662-2, 1997) released 25 Nov. 1997 in the United States.

28 See Eminem, *Angry Blonde*, 31.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| Song form | CHORUS/INTRO | 1. VERSE | CHORUS | 2. VERSE | CHORUS | 3. VERSE | CHORUS | OUTRO |
| Vocal mode | singing/talking | rapping | singing | rapping | singing | rapping | singing | talking |
| Narrative structure | FRAME | SCENE 1 | SCENE 2 | SCENE 3 | SCENE 3 | SCENE 3 | SCENE 3 | FRAME |
| | | into car leaving home | in car en route | out of car at destination | | | | |

Table 1. Vocal modes and narrative structure in Eminem’s ‘97 Bonnie and Clyde’ (*The Slim Shady EP*, 1997 or 1998).

ter going for a car ride on their own. The drama only contains two parts; the part of father is performed by Eminem while the baby’s part is limited to short samplings of the voice of Eminem’s daughter, Hailie Jade Scott. Thus, as the following extract (verse one) clearly shows, the song is best characterized as a dramatic monologue:

C’mon Hai-Hai, we goin’ to the beach / Grab a couple of toys and let Da-da strap you in the car seat / Oh where’s Mama? She’s takin’ a little nap in the trunk / Oh that smell (whew!) Da-da musta runned over a skunk / Now I know what you’re thinkin’ — it’s kind of late to go swimmin’ / But you know your Mama, she’s one of those type of women / That do crazy things, and if she don’t get her way, she’ll throw a fit / Don’t play with Da-da’s toy knife, honey, let go of it (no!) / And don’t look so upset, why you actin’ bashful? / Don’t you wanna help Da-da build a sand castle? (yeah!) / And Mama said she wants to show how far she can float / And don’t worry about that little boo-boo on her throat / It’s just a little scratch — it don’t hurt / Her was eatin’ dinner while you were sweepin’ and spilled ketchup on her shirt / Mama’s messy, ain’t she? We’ll let her wash off in the water / And me and you can pway by ourselves, can’t we?²⁹

Made up of plain everyday conversation Eminem’s speech-effusive rap adheres to the vocal inflections of everyday speaking and is obviously character-driven. The wording is that of a father talking to a very young child, some of the words even with childlike pronunciation (e.g. ‘sweepin’ for ‘sleeping’ and ‘pway’ for ‘play’). Later in the song the father even reverts to incomprehensible baby talk when needed to calm the child. This impression of a patient and responsible father taking his daughter to the beach is reinforced by the rather simple laid back musical track coloured by an almost lounge-like synthesizer background soundscape tinged with soothing harp glissandi.³⁰ However, it soon becomes clear that being ‘just the two of us’ comes at a terrible price, as several factors belie the perfect family situation enacted by Eminem. Woven into ‘da-da’s’ reassuring remarks is the actual reason for the car ride, namely the disposal of the three dead bodies placed in the trunk of the car following a crime of passion, in which ‘da-da’ has killed ‘mama’, her new boyfriend and his young son. The ‘game’ that the clearly unrepentant father and ignorant daughter are going to play ‘at the beach’ –

29 Ibid. 32–33. As in all quotations from Eminem’s lyrics the author’s idiomatic spelling and punctuation is retained. The sampled baby talk is bracketed.

30 The musical track for ‘97 Bonnie and Clyde’ was created by DJ Head.

and indeed do play – is dumping ‘mummy’ in a lake in the middle of the night and then head for the nearest border. As ‘da-da’ remarks: ‘’97 Bonnie and Clyde, me and my daughter.’³¹ In view of this knowledge the collage of documentary sound effects that opens the song depicting the dragging of a heavy object, which is then dumped into the trunk of a car, suddenly makes perfect sense.

The exact same sampled collage of sound effects ends the companion piece ‘Kim’ written in late 1998 and released on Eminem’s *The Marshall Mathers LP* in 2000.³² Thus plotwise this song constitutes a prequel to ‘’97 Bonnie and Clyde’ centring on the murder of ‘mama’. The narrative structure of this piece of sonic cinema mirrors that of the first song (see Table 2): Another car ride at night in three short scenes though with a different purpose. Again the song is cast as a dialogue between two characters, this time the two adults. But in terms of mood the two songs could hardly be further apart.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|---------------------------|---------|
| Song form | INTRO | 1. VERSE | CHORUS | 2. VERSE | CHORUS | 3. VERSE | CHORUS |
| Vocal mode | talking | rapping | singing | rapping | singing | rapping | Singing |
| Narrative structure | SCENE 1 | | | SCENE 2 | | SCENE 3 | |
| | scene at home | into car leaving home | | in car en route | | out of car at destination | |

Table 2. Vocal modes and narrative structure in Eminem’s ‘Kim’ (*The Marshall Mathers LP*, 2000).

The opening of ‘Kim’ returns us momentarily to the harmonious father–daughter relationship of ‘’97 Bonnie and Clyde’ with ‘daddy’ talking softly to his sleeping baby daughter. The sparse musical underscoring dominated by glockenspiel suggests the fairytale-like innocence of the nursery. Without a beat the father’s attitude changes drastically, from ‘Baby, you’re so precious, Daddy’s so proud of you’ to ‘Sit down bitch, you move again I’ll beat the shit out of you’.³³ However – though this is no doubt the listener’s first impression – this sudden violent aggression is not directed at the daughter but at her mother. And so the rest of the song unfolds as an unrelenting verbal and ultimately physical assault by the crazed, jealous and self-pitying father character on his overwhelmed wife, who is reduced to short scared and pleading utterances. The dramatic climax is reached at the end of the last verse, when having reached their destination the calculated murder is finally committed after the father has outlined a cover-up for all three murders:

31 Eminem, *Angry Blonde*, 34.

32 Eminem, *The Marshall Mathers LP* (Aftermath Entertainment/Interscope Records 490 629-2, 2000). The song was produced by Mark and Jeff Bass.

33 Eminem, *Angry Blonde*, 80.

You and your husband have a fight. One of you tries to grab a knife / And during the struggle he accidentally gets his Adam's apple sliced / (No!) And while this is goin' on, his son is woke up, and he walks in. She panics and he gets his throat cut / (Oh my God!) So now they both dead and you slash your own throat / So now it's double homicide and suicide with no note / I should have known better when you started to act weird / We could've ... HEY! Where you going? Get back here! / You can't run from me Kim. It's just us, nobody else! / You're only making this harder on yourself / Ha! Ha! Got'cha! (Ahh!) Ha! Go ahead, yell! / Here, I'll scream with you! AH SOMEBODY HELP! / Don't you get it bitch, no one can hear you? / Now shut the fuck up and get what's comin' to you / You were supposed to love me / [Kim choking] / NOW BLEED! BITCH BLEED! / BLEED! BITCH BLEED! / BLEEEED!³⁴

The sound effects leave no doubt that the wife has her throat slit while her husband is screaming at the top of his lungs. This frenzied scenario is complemented by a dark and unrelenting musical track dominated by heavy industrial-like percussion and a bas drone adding a claustrophobic nightmarish quality to the drama: There is no escaping this ride or its outcome.

Again a high degree of realism characterizes the simple wording of Eminem's rap. But even more striking is the extreme vocal delivery of this lyric, alternating between shouting, screaming, whining and crying, thus going way beyond what we usually associate with vocal posing in rap music. The very performative projection of the volatile emotional states of the husband seems to border on chaos itself, which coupled with the gruesome plot, may make for quite an overwhelming listening experience. Thus the pronounced formal aspects of the text, like the elaborate rhyming schemes and dialogue structure, are completely overshadowed, although the underlying meter of the musical track and the recurrent melancholy chorus keep a tight rein on the song as a whole. In stark contrast to the chaotic verses, the choruses are carried by a distant heavily processed voice – cold, metallic, mechanical and matter-of-factly – showing neither emotion nor regret:

So long, bitch you did me so wrong / I don't wanna go on / living in this world without you.³⁵

This statement is somewhat equivocal but can certainly be read as the husband simply justifying his act by invoking his right to punish an out-of-control wife: 'If I cannot have what rightfully belongs to me, no one can.'³⁶

The character combination in the two songs of caring father and cold-blooded wife killer, man and monster rolled into one, and the enactment of his bloody deeds,

34 Ibid. 81. 'Kim's' short utterances are bracketed. Due to its extreme slasher movie nature this song was not simply censured but altogether replaced by the song 'The Kids' on the 'clean' version of the album.

35 Eminem, *Angry Blonde*, 80.

36 Interestingly Elizabeth L. Keathley compares this patriarchal attitude to the transgression-and-punishment paradigm of much nineteenth-century opera and literature, see Keathley, 'A Context', paragraph 10. Bizet's *Carmen* and Strauss' *Salome* come to mind as prime examples.

may in itself be disturbing and provocative to most listeners, though hardly cutting-edge material in today's world of post-Tarantino fiction. However, Eminem has another card up his sleeve: the already indicated use of autobiographical facts and references, the moral implications of which have led to much discussion.³⁷ In '97 Bonnie and Clyde' this card is played rather cautiously. Only the fact that the father character calls his daughter Hai-Hai, Eminem's actual pet name for Hailie Jade Scott, hints at a possible autobiographical resonance in this vengeful fantasy. At the time of the writing Eminem had temporarily split up with Kim(berly) Scott, Hailie Jade Scott's real-life mother. However, in 'Kim' the main characters refer explicitly to each other as Marshall, Kim, and Hailie throughout the song. Eminem thus situates his own family in this short story of domestic tragedy. His own role is no longer only that of the portrayer, but also that of a song character being portrayed. Some might argue that his intense and physically extreme vocalization has the effect of minimizing or even collapsing the distance between the artist perceived as performer and portrayer and the artist perceived as the actual physical and mental embodiment of the private person apparently portrayed.³⁸ If so, the extreme vocalization might invite us as listeners to experience this eerie performance as the outcome of an authentic emotional investment drawn from traumas of a private life now on display in an act of self-revelation. And if thus convinced, the song may even beg the question: Does he really mean it?

Although the immediate emotional impact of an extreme, seemingly improvised vocalization may add to a sense of transparency and immediacy on the part of the listener that belies the multi-faceted mediation that preconditions any commercial popular song as a cultural product,³⁹ several aspects work to implode this illusion of actual intention. Both songs are highly stylized and disciplined examples of sonic cinema adhering to a classic song structure and explicit rhyming schemes, and the use of sound effects evokes only cinema realism. In 'Kim' both 'Marshall the assailant' and 'Kim the victim' are performed by Eminem, which however may be apparent only to listeners familiar with Eminem's many character voices. To this listener the distinction between star persona and song characters remains clearly drawn in these songs. However, their unusual conflation of autobiography and horror fiction does make for uneasy listening probably preventing empathy and identification on the part of most listeners. Primarily demonstrating his skills as dramatist, character actor and skilful provocateur,⁴⁰ this theatrical staging of songs as audio mini-dramas are an Eminem

37 For a sampling of the various and often extreme views on Eminem and his art mostly by music critics, see Hilton Als and Darryl A. Turner (eds.), *White Noise: The Eminem Collection* (New York, 2003).

38 Adam Krims points out that 'one of the principal authenticating strategies of early gangsta rap has precisely been the symbolic collapsing of the MC onto the artist – the projection that the MC himself ... is the persona – a voice from the "streets," speaking from authentic experience', Krims, *Rap Music*, 95.

39 For further discussion of this aspect in relation to Eminem, see Petter Dyndahl, *Truly Yours, Your Biggest Fan, This Is Stan: Dramaturgi, remediering og iscenesettelse hos Eminem* (Elverum, 2003), 19 ff.

40 These concept songs can be viewed as audio precursors to the series of animation shorts entitled *The Slim Shady Show* released on DVD (Shady World Productions DV 1116, 2003).

trademark, the best-known example being the song ‘Stan’ from *The Marshall Mathers LP* about a deranged Eminem fan.⁴¹

SCENES OF DOMESTIC BLISS AT THE EMINEM HOUSEHOLD

My third example ‘My dad’s gone crazy’, which ends the 2002 album *The Eminem Show*, begins as another piece of sonic cinema.⁴² The scene is the single-parent home of Marshall Mathers, who is flipping TV channels and snorting cocaine. Hailie walks in on her ‘dad’ just as a well-meaning pedagogue on TV is talking to children about father–daughter relationships, asking: ‘Do you have a daddy?’. Hailie answers the question by asking one herself: ‘Daddy, what are you doing?’. Indeed, Hailie does have a father! At this point a simple bouncy and cartoonish boom-tchik-a-boom drum-beat coupled with a stylized string pizzicato figure kicks off the song.⁴³ Together Dad and Hailie ask the listener to listen up, before Dad answers Hailie’s question: He is going to hell. As if it’s all a game, Hailie mock-pleads: ‘Somebody please help him! I think my dad’s gone crazy’. The main part of the song can be viewed as that cocaine trip to hell in the form of a typical ‘kill-’em-all’ Eminem rap laid out in three verses. Still basically anchored in colloquialism this rap is a percussively charged spewing of anger with verbal boasts and attacks almost tripping over each other in a stream of seemingly free association giving the impression of an on the spot improvised rap. In verse two, sexual imagery has a field day:

It’s like my mother always told me, rana rana rana rana rana rana rana rana rana and codeine and / goddammit you little muthafucker if you ain’t got nuthin’ nice to say then don’t say nuthin’ / ... uh, fuck that shit bitch eat a muthafuckin’ dick, chew on a prick and lick / a million muthafuckin’ cocks per second, I’d rather put out a muthafuckin’ gospel record / I’d rather be a pussy whipped bitch, eat pussy, and have pussy lips glued to my face with a clit ring in my nose than quit bringin’ my flows / quit givin’ me my ammo. Can’t you see why I’m so mean? If y’all leave me alone this wouldn’t be my M.O. / I wouldn’t have to go, eenee meenee meini, mo, catch a homo by his toe, man I don’t know no more / am I the only fuckin’ one who’s normal any more? / (Dad)⁴⁴

Apart from a few short interjections by Hailie reacting to her father’s rap, and her recurrent ‘I think my dad’s gone crazy’ in the choruses, the scene is again dominated completely by Eminem, not however as a fictitious song character ‘daddy’ addressing his daughter in a self-contained play, but as a star persona, who emerges out of the trip of the father character and addresses a ‘you’ out there in the real world of the listener.

41 For a detailed analysis of this perhaps Eminem’s best known song made up of the fictive correspondence between Eminem and an obsessed fan, who cannot distinguish between Eminem as private person and as artist, see Dyndahl, *Truly Yours*.

42 The song was produced by Andre Young (a.k.a. Dr. Dre).

43 The musical track was created by Andre Young, Ron Feemster, and Mike Elizondo.

44 Quoted from the CD booklet of the Eminem album *The Eminem Show* (Aftermath Records 493 290-2, 2002), no page numbers. Hailie’s concluding remark is bracketed. ‘M.O.’ is an abbreviation for *modus operandi*, here probably with specific reference to the use of the term in connection with crime (the ‘signature’ of a criminal).

This is the artist Eminem posing as the aggressive and provocative star rapper Eminem almost in dark Slim Shady mode, attacking all his critics whether politicians, parents, homosexuals, or as in the extract above even his own mother. A voice to match the words is required and is accomplished by the technological empowering of the artist's rather small clear voice through multi-tracking, a key characteristic that often distinguished Eminem's vocal posing as almighty rap star. The perhaps most impressive example of this performative strategy is the song 'The way I am' from *The Marshall Mathers LP*, where Eminem's voice takes on an almost monster-like quality.

But what exactly is the purpose of the theatrical father–daughter framing of 'My dad's gone crazy'? For a start it gives the artist the opportunity to caricature the abomination of an irresponsible drug-addicted father that some of his critics make him out to be, thus cheekily adopting and flaunting a character of *their* making as a song character. Towards the end of the rap, after the spewing of a busload of grotesqueries, Eminem the rapper finally calms down and comments on his own role as father. After another intertextual reference to 'Clyde Mathers and Bonnie Jade', he addresses concerned parents posing as a politically correct father stating: 'I don't blame you, I wouldn't let Hailie listen to me neither', which in view of the theatrical framing of the song, with Hailie witnessing a cocaine trip, is pretty hilarious. But the main purpose of the presence of the daughter, performed by five-year-old Hailie Jade Scott herself, becomes clear only at the very end of the song. After the music stops, only one final comment by the laughing Hailie remains: 'You're funny, daddy!' Thus we are made to understand that, unlike his critics, she, just a child, gets the reckless humour in her father's art while seeing through his act.

If Eminem as single-parent father figure is pure caricature in 'My dad's gone crazy', a contrasting strategy is adopted in 'Hailie's song' also from *The Eminem Show*.⁴⁵ In what is discursively presented as a straight-out autobiographical song the artist expresses his love for his daughter and how much it means to him that he has been awarded joint custody of her after the divorce from Kimberly Scott in October 2001: Every time Hailie, the light of his life, returns to him the almost unbearable boulder on his shoulder is lifted, and he is released from a state of melancholy.⁴⁶

Apart from the spoken lines at the end of the song, this solo is not addressed at Hailie, but once again at the listener, and Eminem is anxious to give the impression that it is sung not from the point of view of but *by* Marshall Mathers, private person. Textually he makes this quite explicit in the following lines from verse three, while evoking a caricature character like the one portrayed in 'My dad's gone crazy' as a fitting contrast:

45 The song was produced by Eminem.

46 However, the prevailing mood of the song is nonetheless that of melancholy, which fits well with the fact that Eminem planned to use a sampling from George Harrison's 'While my guitar gently weeps' as chorus. According to Eminem as quoted by Chuck Weiner, that plan was nixed by Harrison's widow after Harrison's death in November 2001, and Eminem's musical collaborator Luis Resto had to write a new chorus that clearly draws more than inspiration from the Harrison original; see Chuck Weiner, *Eminem "Talking"* (London, 2002), 73.

Now you probably get this picture from my public persona that I'm a pistol packin' drug addict who bags on his mama / But I wanna to just take this time out to be perfectly honest ...⁴⁷

But what distinguishes this song from all other songs in his entire production is how this unmasking of an artist of many masks is handled performance-wise, how the alleged confessional intimacy and heart-rending honesty is staged. The means are simple: Marshall Mathers turns out to be a would-be singer. He opens the song by stating that he cannot sing, but because he is so happy, he feels like singing as a tribute to his daughter. After two sung verses he reverses to rapping in the third explicitly admitting defeat. But at this point the artist has already demonstrated how far he is willing to go as a father out of love for his daughter, and added another dimension to his strategy of performative self-dramatization. At the beginning of each sung verse we hear an exposed, dull, weak, and insecure voice. It sounds like the voice of a sad blue-eyed amateur not quite in control of his obviously incomplete instrument. Thus the professional performer hands over the stage to the amateur whose voice, thanks to his lack of skills and control, seems to point to or even reveal the man behind the voice. However, this exposure of Marshall Mathers and his vocal and personal insecurities is, of course, staged by Eminem the artist; *that* is the dramatic exercise attempted in this song. But because this staging sounds, at least in my ears, like a caricature, an imitation of an inexperienced boy band singer carrying his first ballad, it fails in its attempt to convince me as listener that when leaving all the masquerading behind an authentic subject position, a true identity if you will, is to be found and trusted. Instead the main impression is that one is witnessing a strategy of self-dramatization that simply does not work.

EMINEM SAYS GOODNIGHT

On his fourth solo album *Encore* from 2004 Eminem pursues a similar strategy of authenticity in the song 'Mockingbird',⁴⁸ another Hailie-song with extensive autobiographical references – in the video Eminem is sitting all alone watching old home videos of Hailie with certain faces masked, which of course only adds the impression of authenticity at work. Based on the well-known traditional lullaby 'The Mockingbird song' (also known as 'Hush little baby'), the simple piano-dominated beat⁴⁹ provides a tranquil backdrop to the intimate confessions of a successful artist/troubled daddy this time addressing his daughter (and her niece) in an almost monotonous voice that appears to forsake dramatic vocal posing altogether (beginning of verse one):

47 Quoted from the CD booklet of *The Eminem Show*, no page numbers.

48 The song was produced by Eminem with additional production by Luis Resto.

49 The musical track was created by Luis Resto as a minor variation on the melody of the original lullaby.

Hailie I know you miss your mom, and I know you miss your dad / when I'm gone but I'm tryin' to give you the life that I never had / I can see you're sad even when you smile even when you laugh / I can see it in your eyes deep inside you wanna cry / cause you're scared. I ain't there, Daddy's with you in your prayers / no more cryin' wipe them tears daddy's here no more nightmares.⁵⁰

In this rather laid-back speech-effusive rap written in a language befitting an intimate father-to-daughter moment Eminem returns to the reassuring monologue heard in '97 *Bonnie and Clyde*, but without the melodramatic setting and dark subtext, although daddy's assurances that 'momma' is going to be alright, she is only gone for the moment do echo the false promises of the early song.

The calm recounting of 'unfortunate' autobiographical events, both past and present, that have clouded Hailie's childhood takes up most of this attempt at a lullaby as 'daddy' tries to explain and even take some of the blame. The mood changes only briefly towards the end of the song, when Eminem unexpectedly invokes the fictitious world of the original lullaby in the last chorus:

And if you ask me to, daddy's gonna buy you a mocking bird / I'ma give you the world, I'ma buy a diamond ring for you, I'ma sing for you / I'll do anything for you to see you smile. / And if that mocking bird don't sing and that ring don't shine / I'ma break that birdies neck, I'll go back to the jeweler who sold it to ya / and make him eat every carat don't fuck with dad.⁵¹

In contrast to the complaisant parent in the original lullaby, who just keeps buying a new present for every 'malfunction' of the previous, this father is less forgiving. A tinge of Slim Shady anger and violence is allowed to surface as he threatens both mocking bird and jeweller, immediately followed by a short disarming laugh. Perhaps he is trying to avoid that the implicit critique levelled at single parent Will Smith's sentimental 'Just the two of us' in his own '97 *Bonnie and Clyde* now comes back to haunt this song, which does come perilously close to repeating Will Smith's act. Playing the game of 'keeping it real' isn't easy.⁵²

A CONCLUDING REMARK

Let me conclude by offering the suggestion that at least some of the extremely negative reactions to Eminem, before he was embraced by many liberal American critics following his semi-autobiographical and very 'straight' portrayal of a young rapper in Curtis Hanson's mainstream movie *8 Mile* (2002), may have resulted from the

50 Quoted from a text card in the Eminem album *Encore (Shady Collector's Edition)* (Aftermath Entertainment/Interscope Records 0602498646700, 2004).

51 Ibid.

52 For yet another example of Eminem's ongoing production of father-daughter songs, listen to 'When I'm Gone', one of three new songs on the 2005 greatest hits album *Curtain Call – The Hits* (Aftermath Entertainment/Interscope Records 0602498890844, 2005).

confusing mix of ‘incompatible’ ingredients in these artistic constructions of performative self-dramatization: The artist’s constant blurring of the imagined boundaries between private and public, between autobiography and fantasy, between documentary and satire, and between representation and the notion of authenticity. What comes across as a shameless and slippery blend of reality and fiction in both lyrics and vocalizations is perhaps an unexpected challenge that leaves listeners unsure of how to read this truly unreliable first person narrator and his life story songs. And the spicing of an already explosive cocktail with night-black humour, that to some is incomprehensible and therefore has no disarming effect or is viewed as downright disrespectful, only adds to this sense of discomfort: Do we know for sure at what or whom we are laughing, when we embrace this artist? Will we somehow be supportive of his apparently misogynistic and homophobic outlook? The world may be his stage, but understandably no one wants to be reduced to an unwilling accomplice in the self-mythologization of a piece of white trash.

SUMMARY

A key characteristic in the vocal art of American rap artist Eminem is a rather complex and unpredictable game of performative self-dramatization pinpointed in his studio recordings. The songs present the listener with autobiographical material staged in disturbing and yet fascinating audio mini-dramas coupled with a purposefully slippery interplay of various subject positions related to the artist’s three public personae: Marshall Mathers, Eminem and Slim Shady. The aim of the present article is to explore and discuss key elements in these artistic constructions of performative self-dramatization by focusing on five thematically related songs, in which the artist casts himself as father and/or husband: ‘97 Bonnie and Clyde’, ‘Kim’, ‘My dad’s gone crazy’, ‘Hailie’s song’, and ‘Mockingbird’.

Franz Liszt and the Birth of Modern Musical Institutions

The reception of Franz Liszt in Danish musical life, 1839–1928

PETER E. NISSEN

Franz Liszt is not a prominent figure in standard accounts of the history of Danish musical life.¹ The most probable reasons for this are that only a few Danish composers have been directly inspired by him in their compositions, and that his works have been granted only moderate exposure by Danish concert institutions. In traditional historiography, composers are singled out for attention in proportion to their status, and the question of why certain composers have become more important than others has rarely been answered convincingly. In research on Danish musical life in the nineteenth century, it has been pointed out that the music of Richard Wagner was very popular in Copenhagen concert life, from the end of the century into the first decades of the next.² It is therefore interesting to investigate why Liszt's music, which in many ways is related to that of Wagner compositionally and aesthetically, did not enjoy the same status. This article is a study of the extent to which Liszt's music achieved or failed to achieve such a breakthrough, and suggests some reasons for these patterns.

In order to answer this question, I have conducted research on the reception of Franz Liszt in Danish musical life from 1839, through the following 90 years, to 1928.³ The year 1839 marks the first public performance in Denmark of a work by Liszt (the transcription of Schubert's *Erlkönig*). 1928 was the year when the composer Rued Langgaard succeeded in giving the first Danish performance of Liszt's symphonic poem *Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe*, in Langgaard's own short-lived *Klassisk Musikforening* (Classical Musical Society), as part of an attempt to revive Liszt's symphonic music within the Danish musical agenda, after years of decline.

My methodical point of departure is the reception categories formulated by Hans Robert Jauß. Jauß describes the aesthetic of reception (*Rezeption*) and effect (*Wirkung*) as 'a process of aesthetic communication' between three instances: author, work and recipient (where 'recipient' includes readers, listeners and viewers, critics,

1 The most influential histories of Danish music are Nils Schiørring, *Musikkens historie i Danmark*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1978) and Kai Aage Bruun, *Dansk musiks historie*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1969).

2 Claus Røllum-Larsen, *Impulser i Københavns koncertrepertoire 1900–1935* (Copenhagen, 2002), i, 86–104.

3 This choice of investigation can also be seen in the light of Michael Saffle's point, that analyses of Liszt's reception can throw new light on Liszt's bad reputation within traditional musicology, see Michael Saffle, 'Liszt's Reputation: the Role of Rezeptionsästhetik', in Angelo Pompilio et al. (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale de Musicologia Bologna*, 27.8.–1.9. 1987, iii: *Free Papers* (Torino, 1990), 805–10 and Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany 1840–1845* (Franz Liszt Studies Series, 2; Stuyvesant, NY, 1994), xi and 203–17.

and audiences).⁴ The analytical focus is a historical comprehension of composer and work, which is created in the union of composer, work, and recipients.⁵

Although Jauß' interest is primarily in the reception of works, the main issue here is the reception in the light of institutional and cultural perspectives. My concentration is on the reception of Liszt among various social and cultural groups in Danish musical culture.

In my approach, the reception of Liszt's works will be related to their genre. This is relevant according to Liszt's own performance of his piano works from his years of travelling.⁶ According to the interpretation of Liszt's symphonic poems in the Danish concert institutions of this time, it is also relevant to interpret Liszt's instrumental music from the perspective of genre, not least in comparison with Wagner's operas.

There is every advantage in dividing the period of reception into three periods of 30 years (i.e., a generation) according to the changes in attitudes towards Liszt's music. The first period (1839–70) can be characterized by the term *introduction* because this was the period when Danish musical culture was introduced to Liszt and his music. The second period (1870–1900) marks Liszt's *breakthrough*, when his work acquired greater acceptance and acknowledgement. The last 28 years (1900–28) may be seen as a *decline* for Liszt's influence in Denmark with a decreasing number of his works being performed (see Table 1).

The reception history of Franz Liszt in Denmark is as yet an unexplored field. One short article about Liszt's influence on Danish musical culture has appeared.⁷ In the last decade, two articles have also focused on Liszt's relationship to Scandinavia.⁸

The following discussion of the reception of Franz Liszt in Denmark is the story of a segment of the repertoire that neither originally belonged to, nor ever became, an accepted part of Danish musical culture. But it also concerns the developing role of modernity in Danish musical culture, an intriguing issue that will be touched

4 '... einen Prozeß ästhetischer Kommunikation ... an dem die drei Instanzen von Autor, Werk und Rezipient (Leser, Zuhörer und Betrachter, Kritiker und Publikum) gleichermaßen beteiligt sind', Hans Robert Jauß, 'Rezeption, Rezeptionsästhetik', in Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer (eds.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, viii (Basel, 1992), 996. I have used the English translation of Jauß' terms *Rezeption* and *Wirkung* according to Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1984), 53–82.

5 Jauß, 'Rezeption, Rezeptionsästhetik', 996–1004. See also Hans Robert Jauß, 'Rückschau auf die Rezeptionstheorie. Ad usum Musicae Scientiae', in Hermann Danuser and Friedhelm Krummacher (eds.), *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft* (Laaber, 1991), 13–36; and Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford, 1999), 379–86.

6 This has been called to attention by Jim Samson, 'The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism', in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool Music Symposium, 1; Liverpool, 2000), 110–27.

7 Bengt Johnsson, 'Liszt og Danmark', *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 37 (1962), 79–82 and 38 (1963), 81–86. This article was translated into English, 'Liszt and Denmark', *Liszt Society Journal*, 21 (1996), 2–10.

8 Lennart Rabes, 'Liszt's Scandinavian Reputation', in Michael Saffle (ed.), *Liszt and his World* (Analecta Lisztiana, 1; Stuyvesant, NY, 1998), 217–46 and Mária Eckhardt, 'Liszt und die Musik der Skandinavischen Länder', in G.J. Winkler (ed.), *Liszt und die Nationalitäten* (Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland, 93; Eisenstadt, 1996), 151–62.

upon at the end of this investigation.⁹ This will also be put into a broader perspective, through comparison with recent analyses of Liszt's European reception.¹⁰ Much of the Danish reception of Liszt's works is similar to the reception patterns in other European cultures, but the Danish reception can also throw new light on the general interpretation of Liszt, both historical and present.

FIRST PERIOD 1839–1870: THE INTRODUCTION OF LISZT IN DANISH MUSICAL CULTURE

Liszt's arrival in Denmark

In 1839, the Danish capital was about the only place in the country where professional musicians could find venues to perform in. Copenhagen's sole local piano virtuoso, the young German-born pianist Rudolf Wilmers (1821–1878), performed Liszt's transcription of Schubert's *Erlkönig* as part of a concert programme at Det Kongelige Teater (The Royal Theatre) in May 1839. Like many of the virtuosos, Wilmers' performance did not interest the critics, and they probably did not register this new work by Liszt.

In Denmark, Liszt was regarded from the beginning as just another one of the many contemporary virtuosos continuously visiting the city.¹¹ Liszt's visit to Copenhagen in 1841 was part of a concert tour of northern Europe, and he had just participated in the third Northern German Music Festival in Hamburg.¹² Already on 15 July, the day after his arrival, Liszt played at a recital at Christiansborg Palace for the king, Christian VIII. It was wise of Liszt to begin his stay there, because the king's good will would open the city's only venue for public music Det Kongelige Teater for him, something Liszt had already learnt to value, through his experience as a travelling virtuoso: 'One says that this is a very musical town with a court which is sympathetic and benevolent towards us poor musicians.'¹³

9 On the relationship between Liszt and modernity, see Michael Saffle, 'Liszt and the Birth of the New Europe: Reflections on Modernity, Wagner, the Oratorio, and "Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth"', in Michael Saffle and Rossana Dalmonte (eds.), *Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe – Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio (Como) 14–18 December 1998* (Analecta Lisztiana, 3; Hillsdale, NY, 2003), 3–24.

10 In recent years, historical analyses of Liszt reception have been conducted primarily within American musicology, inspired by new approaches from historical cultural studies, for instance by Richard Leppert and Stephen Zank, 'The Concert and the Virtuoso', in James Parakilas (ed.), *Piano Roles – Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven, 1999), 237–81; by Lawrence Kramer, 'Franz Liszt and the Virtuoso Public Sphere', in *Musical Meaning – Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), 68–99; and by Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge, 2004).

11 Heinrich W. Schwab, 'Kopenhagen als Reiseziel ausländischer Virtuosen', in Christian Meyer (ed.), *Le musicien et ses voyages (Musical Life in Europe 1600–1900. Circulation, Institutions, Representation)* (Berlin, 2003), 144–55.

12 Saffle, *Liszt in Germany*, 110.

13 'C'est une ville très musicale dit-on, et la Cour est tout à fait gracieuses et bienveillante pour nous autres croque notes'. Letter to M. Schlesinger dated 'Copenhague aussitôt débarqué 14 Juillet', quoted in Jacqueline Bellas, 'La Tumulteuse Amitié de F. Liszt et de M. Schlesinger', *Littératures* (Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Toulouse, NS 1), 12 (1965), 16–17. The English translation is quoted from Rabes, 'Liszt's Scandinavian Reputation', 217.

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| 1839-1870 |
| MAY 1839: <i>Erlkönig</i> performed at a public concert by Rudolf Wilmers |
| JULY 1841: Franz Liszt's visit |
| APRIL 1842: Clara Schumann's visit |
| MAY 1847: Sigismund Thalberg's visit |
| OCTOBER 1857: <i>Les Préludes</i> performed at a private concert |
| JANUARY 1859: <i>Orpheus</i> played in Musikforeningen |
| 1870-1900 |
| OCTOBER 1871: The first public concert in Denmark by a pupil of Liszt (R. Joseffy) |
| APRIL 1873: The first public performance of a sacred work (<i>Psalm 13</i>) |
| SEPTEMBER 1873: First performance of a Liszt symphonic poem (<i>Les Préludes</i>) since 1859 |
| JULY 1886: The death of Franz Liszt, followed by performances of his works, discussed in the press |
| FEBRUARY 1893: Next performance of a Liszt symphonic poem (<i>Les Préludes</i>) in Musikforeningen |
| 1900-1928 |
| 1911: The centenary of Liszt's birth with many concerts |
| JANUARY 1921: The first public performance of <i>Die Ideale</i> in Denmark |
| APRIL 1928: The first public performance of Liszt's last symphonic poem <i>Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe</i> by Rued Langgaard in his own Klassisk Musikforening |

Table 1. Important events relating to Liszt reception in Denmark, 1839–1928.

According to Liszt's own letters, and in descriptions by others, his visit to Copenhagen was socially characterized by gatherings in the upper bourgeois circles, where he met leading Danish personalities and artists, such as the composer J.P.E. Hartmann and the poet Hans Christian Andersen. Liszt met Andersen again several times on the artists' respective journeys around Europe.¹⁴ In addition, he met the prominent liberal politician Orla Lehmann, who played an important role in introducing democracy to Denmark in 1849.¹⁵ In this respect, Liszt's behaviour corresponded to other descriptions of his social life in the places he visited on his concert tours.¹⁶

Liszt gave three public concerts in Copenhagen, performing a typical standard programme which consisted mainly of transcriptions and arrangements of popular songs and opera arias (see Table 2).¹⁷ As was common at such events, the theatre

14 Cf. Anna H. Celenza, *Hans Christian Andersen and Music* (Aldershot, 2005) and Inger Sørensen, *H.C. Andersen og komponisterne* (Copenhagen, 2005), 140–57.

15 According to a paragraph in *Aalborg Stiftstidende og Adresseavis*, 29 July 1841 (also quoted in *Fyens Avis og Avertissements-Tidende*, 2 Aug. 1841). See also Claus Bjørn, *Fra reaktion til grundlov – 1800–1850* (Gyldendals og Politikens Danmarkshistorie, 10; 2nd edn., Copenhagen, 2003), 327–32.

16 For example, his visit to Prague, see Alexander Buchner, *Franz Liszt in Böhmen* (Prague, 1962), 66–100. See also Janos Kárpáti, 'Liszt the Traveller', *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 27/103 (1986), 108–18.

17 The detailed programmes were presented in *Fædrelandet* the day before each recital. They are reprinted in my dissertation, Peter E. Nissen, *Klaverkonge i Abbatedragt? – Franz Liszts receptions-*

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| <p>Saturday, 17 July</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ouverture Guillaume Tell (Rossini) 2. Beethoven's Geistliche Lieder 3. Ständchen (Schubert) 4. Réminiscences de Robert le diable (Meyerbeer) 5. Aufforderung zum Tanze (Weber) 6. Grand Galop Chromatique <p>Wednesday, 21 July</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Konzertstück (Weber) 2. Fantasie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La sonnambula (Bellini) 3. Marche hongroise 4. Soirées musicales: La danza (Rossini) 5. I puritani (Bellini) 6. Hexaméron (Bellini) <p>Saturday, 24 July</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Scherzo 2. Symfoni pastorale (Orage and Finale) (Beethoven) 3. Fantasie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La sonnambula (Bellini) 4. Duo (sonata) with Violin (Francois Prume played the violin) 5. Réminiscences de Robert le diable (Meyerbeer) 6. Improvisation on musical themes suggested by the audience Grand Galop Chromatique (encore) Erlkönig (Schubert) (encore) |
|---|

Table 2. The programme of Liszt's three recitals in Copenhagen, 1841.

was only half-full at the first recital, but by the final two it was totally filled, and the response of the audience was similar to that of those in many other European cities. Both the metropolitan and the provincial newspapers continued writing about this extraordinary phenomenon for several days. Most of the critics focused on the stagings, the man himself and his uncommon skills and performance, and all of them emphasized the new approach to playing and organizing concerts.¹⁸ As in many other cities, the recitals developed into sensational events with fainting ladies, post-concert processions, and an adjacent merchandise industry, etc.¹⁹

og virkningshistorie i dansk musikliv 1839–1928 (Piano King in Abbot Dress? – Franz Liszt's history of reception in Denmark 1839–1928) (University of Copenhagen, 2005), 27–28.

18 For example in *Dagen*, 19, 22, and 26 July 1841, *Fyens Avis og Avertissements-Tidende*, 20 July 1841, and *Aarhus Stifts-Tidende*, 28 July 1841.

19 For more details from the event, see Nissen, *Klaverkonge i Abbatedragt?*, 29–32. On the reception in the other cities, see Robert Stockhammer's list and presentation of all the tours of Liszt in *Franz Liszt – Im Triumphzug durch Europa* (Vienna, 1986). Amongst other studies of specific regions, it is worth mentioning Saffle, *Liszt in Germany*, and David I. Allsobrook, *My Travelling Circus Life* (London, 1991) on Liszt's travelling on the British Isles.

Danish musical culture at the time

As in many other European cities, a group of citizens in Copenhagen formed a concert society, here called Musikforeningen (The Music Society). The society was founded in 1836 to promote Danish music, through activities such as organizing concerts and composition prizes, and sending advertisements about new Danish music to leading foreign music journals. Musikforeningen put on its first concerts in 1843, and under the direction of the composer Niels W. Gade (1817–90) from 1850, it became fully established with a regular series of symphonic concerts. Gade had been the director of the Gewandhaus concert society in Leipzig for four years (following Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy), and his leadership of Musikforeningen can be regarded as a continuation of his experiences from Saxony.

The organizers behind Musikforeningen were, like their fellows in Leipzig, driven by social and aesthetic ideas of philharmonic concerts regarded as spiritual communities centred around ‘The Great Symphony’, as composed by Beethoven and the composers of Leipzig. By virtue of the symphony’s universal character, it was regarded as an international phenomenon. The treatment of the Danish composer Gade and his symphonies in Leipzig was an example of this. The idea of the symphony’s universal character became an important part of German bourgeois *Bildungskultur*, and the German-Romantic idea of the absolute and original work of music enhanced this process.²⁰

This *Bildungskultur* rested partly on the idea that it was the duty of the enlightened (‘die Kenner’) to guide uneducated but music-loving audiences (‘die Liebhaber’). On the basis of their professional knowledge and their ability to reflect upon and evaluate music, these experts believed in the concept of good taste. The rising phenomenon of the music critic in newspapers and renowned music journals became an important part of this musical enlightenment.²¹ The new culture of musical experts can be regarded as a sign of the consolidation of bourgeois identity in a revolutionary era when both the aristocracy and royalty were losing power.²²

Concerts by virtuosi were one of the areas where a split in reception among audiences in Denmark can be observed. These charismatic musicians were banned from Musikforeningen, where they were judged to be superficial entertainers and

20 Wolfgang J. Mommsen, ‘Kultur als Instrument der Legitimation bürgerlicher Hegemonie im Nationalstaat’, in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler (eds.), *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001), 61–74, and Siegfried Oechsle, ‘Nationalidee und große Symphonie. Mit einem Exkurs zum “Ton”’, in *ibid.*, 166–84. See also Celia Applegate, ‘How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century’, *19th Century Music*, 21/3 (1998), 274–96. On Niels W. Gade in Leipzig, see Yvonne Wasserloos, *Kulturzeiten. Niels W. Gade und C.F.E. Horneman in Leipzig und Kopenhagen* (Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft, 36; Hildesheim, 2004), 149–91 and Inger Sørensen, *Niels W. Gade – Et dansk verdensnavn* (Copenhagen, 2002), 69–161.

21 Erich Reimer, ‘Kenner – Liebhaber – Dilettant’, in Albrecht Riethmüller (ed.), *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (Stuttgart, 1974), 1–17, and Walter Salmen, *Das Konzert. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Munich, 1988).

22 Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 203–6.

referred either to Det Kongelige Teater, or – from the mid-1840s – to commercial institutions. In these latter private venues, scepticism towards the virtuosi depended almost entirely on whether they were able to sell tickets or not. The driving force behind the establishment of these institutions was the francophile merchant Georg Carstensen (1812–1857). He spent several years of his youth in France, and strove to introduce French fashions in the Danish capital in the 1840s.²³ His summer amusement park, Tivoli (established 1843), and the winter theatre Casino (established 1847), contributed to the establishment of a new culture of entertainment in Copenhagen. Parallel to this, Carstensen also popularized magazines such as *Portefeuillen* and *Figaro*, which published stories about fashion, music, and gossip in upper-class circles from all over the world. In relation to Liszt, *Portefeuillen* orientated the readers about Liszt's tours and published sensational stories about the musician and his travels in translations from French music journals such as *Gazette musicale*.²⁴ *Figaro* was the first magazine to announce Liszt's Copenhagen visit in July 1841.²⁵

Carstensen was not the only one who looked to France for inspiration during those years. As in many other European countries, a flourishing Danish political movement within bourgeois social circles had begun to agitate for the diminution of royal power by a democratically based constitution, inspired by the French revolution of 1830.²⁶ The daily national newspaper *Fædrelandet* (launched in 1839) was the most important organ of the democratic movement. In this era of political censorship, the press had to be subtle in its methods of agitating within the limits for political expression. Thus, *Fædrelandet* quoted Hector Berlioz' enthusiastic appraisal of Liszt from *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the days before his arrival, and the newspaper expressed great expectations of Liszt's upcoming visit.²⁷

Two directions in Liszt reception and their increasing divergences

Many of the opinions that later characterized views on Liszt and his music began with his visit to Copenhagen in July 1841. They developed in two directions.

One group of critics was positive, connecting Liszt to new musical currents from France. *Figaro* judged Liszt's performance in the same vein as prominent French critics, among these F.-J. Fétis from his treatise *Traité élémentaire de musique* (1832). *Figaro* heralded Liszt's works (*L'Années de pèlerinage*) and playing style as a new school of piano performance.²⁸

The reviewer from *Fædrelandet* associated Liszt with the French revolution and famous French artists such as Lamennais and George Sand. In an unusually lengthy

23 According to the first issue of *Figaro*, 4 July 1841. See also Steffen Auring et al., *Dansk litteraturhistorie*, vol. 5: *Borgerlig embedskultur 1807–48* (3rd edn., Copenhagen, 2000), 490.

24 For example a piece on Liszt's surprising visit in a small town ('Blandinger', *Portefeuillen*, 1841, 167).

25 *Figaro Supplementblade*, 11 June 1841.

26 Bjørn, *Fra reaktion til grundlov*, 201–6.

27 *Fædrelandet*, 15 July 1841 (from *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, no. 48).

28 *Berlingske Tidende*, 27 July 1841; 'Liszt og den nyere Tids Claveer-Compositioner', *Figaro*, 1841, 186.

review, Liszt the man was interpreted as a ‘child borne of the revolution’ (‘Revolutionsens ætbaarne Barn’) and his music was characterized as a means of expressing the spirit of the revolution in sound. The reviewer appealed to the bourgeois segment of the public to join Liszt in his fight for freedom and a glorious future.²⁹ Although it is doubtful that the major part of the audience shared this interpretation of Liszt, *Fedrelandet* was supported by the satirical magazine *Corsaren*.³⁰ Elsewhere, Hans Christian Andersen wrote: ‘The Orpheus of our age has let his tones swell through the world metropolis of machinery, and we have found and acknowledged, as a Copenhagen once said, that “his fingers are truly railroads and steam engines”’.³¹

The reviewer from *Kjøbenhavnsposten* was the only one to focus on the music. At first, the newspaper let Liszt’s first recital pass without comment, but was later forced to do otherwise because of the sensation that the concert caused, together with the fact that it confirmed Liszt’s artistic qualities.³² The commentator was at pains to distance himself from other critics’ enthusiasm for Liszt, stating that a local reserved taste was acceptable on the basis of past experiences in Copenhagen, even though this reservation would differ from the enthusiasm with which Liszt was received in the rest of the world. The *Kjøbenhavnsposten* critic was reluctantly positive towards this new way of performing. The final judgement rested on the question of allegiance to piano schools, and this reviewer had confidence in the new French way of playing introduced in the 1830s.³³ The elitist standards presupposed by this review and the critic’s reservations towards foreign judgements was targeted at the franco-philie *Figaro* and *Fedrelandet*.

Liszt’s performance made a great and lasting impression on audiences. Tivoli’s popular orchestra played an arrangement of Liszt’s *Hungarian Sturm-March* in 1844, orchestrated by the director Hans Christian Lumbye. Lumbye’s orchestra was successful in adapting the entertainment concept popularized by the Strauss family in Vienna, and many of Lumbye’s arrangements were named after popular artists of his day.³⁴ The arrangement of Liszt’s *Sturm-March* for the Tivoli orchestra indicates the positive and continuing impression that Liszt had made on Copenhagen’s musical life.

29 *Fedrelandet*, 19 July 1841.

30 *Corsaren*, 30 July 1841, 3 (reprint, Copenhagen, 1977, 324).

31 Hans Christian Andersen, *En Digtters Bazar* (Copenhagen, 1842), 13. The quotation is translated into English by Celenza, *Hans Christian Andersen and Music*, 108.

32 *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, 19 July 1841. This is confirmed by the fact that a short notice was followed by longer in-depth reviews, where a number placed at the bottom indicates a co-writer. The paper also carried a longer review of Willmers’ concert on 31 October. This might indicate a change in attitude at the paper towards virtuosi following Liszt’s visit.

33 Later, agreement was reached that something new had happened in the history of piano playing in Paris around 1830. See Linde Grossmann, ‘Klavierspiel’, *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 5 (1996), 425–31.

34 Schiørring, *Musikkens historie i Danmark*, ii, 334–40.

Comparisons with Clara Schumann and Sigismund Thalberg

Clara Schumann's visit to Copenhagen in April 1842 helped convince the reluctant reviewer from *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, who judged her way of playing as both appealing and impressive. She was noted particularly for her modest style, and the group behind Musikforeningen invited her to make a private recital in the exclusive Hotel d'Angleterre. Schumann had one of Liszt's works on her programme (*Réminiscences of Lucia di Lammermoor*), but the work itself made little contribution to the overall valuation of her performance. On the contrary, compared with Liszt, her personal and musical style was praised as the right alternative for the future virtuoso.³⁵ A dichotomy between Clara Schumann and Liszt was thus created, and not only in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*.

This time even the otherwise pro-French *Figaro* introduced into Denmark the popular international presentation of Liszt as demonic and diabolic, and his performance style was regarded as superficial compared with Schumann's more profound interpretations. The view of Liszt as superficial would cling to him in later years, when Liszt's most famous rival Sigismund Thalberg passed through the Danish capital in May 1847. Though Thalberg did not play any works by Liszt, the composer was once again demonized as a musical parallel to Victor Hugo, indicating Liszt's connection to topical French artists. Like Schumann, Thalberg was presented as the acceptable alternative. In conclusion, both Schumann and Thalberg helped critics to place Liszt. There was a tendency to judge him as superficial alongside other popular virtuosos, and if Liszt was to be taken seriously, then he was regarded as symbolising something nasty with his demonic and diabolic way of playing and his music's ability to create chaos in the concert hall.

The introduction of Liszt's symphonic poems

Only a few pianists in Liszt's own generation dared to play his virtuous works, most often with bad results. In the years after Thalberg's visit, there was an almost total silence about Liszt in Denmark. Liszt himself had taken up residence in Weimar from 1848, where he was busy making the town a new centre for his musical ideas. As a part of his reformation, Liszt had invented a new symphonic form, 'symfonische Dichtung', in which poetry and music were closely integrated. Liszt's first six symphonic poems were published in 1856. The new editor of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Franz Brendel (1811–68), agitated aggressively for Liszt's new music, creating heated debate throughout Europe. Richard Wagner was connected to Liszt as a part of a 'neu-deutsch' music of the future.

The first performance of a symphonic poem by Liszt in Copenhagen was the rendition of *Les Préludes* at a private concert in October 1857. Richard Wagner's overture to *Tannhäuser* was also included on the programme. *Les Préludes* had been in-

³⁵ *Kjøbenhavnsposten*, 5 Apr. 1842.

roduced to audiences at the Leipzig Gewandhaus and in Vienna, in February and March the same year.³⁶

The judgement of the Danish press was harsh. While *Tannhäuser* gained enough acceptance to represent an opening for further acquaintance in the future, *Les Préludes* was condemned as a musical monster. Even the editor of the newly founded music journal *Tidsskrift for Musik*, whose mission was to promote ‘The Music of the Future’, accepted defeat, concluding that the symphonic poems had not succeeded elsewhere either. The audience was small, and the editor Emmanuel Réé speculated critically on the possibility that many of the city’s music lovers had stayed away from this concert, because they only liked the music and the performances of Musikforeningen.³⁷

Against this critical background, Niels W. Gade showed courage in choosing to programme another of Liszt’s symphonic poems, *Orpheus*, at Musikforeningen in January 1859. It did nothing to change attitudes, however, and *Orpheus* was accused of lacking ‘naturalness’ (Naturlighed) and inventive power. This was not a new verdict, but echoed judgements in the German music press. Shortly after the Copenhagen performance of *Orpheus*, *Tidsskrift for Musik* published a biographical article about Liszt from Eduard Bernsdorf’s recently published *Lexicon der Tonkunst* (1857). In this article, Liszt was praised as a pianist but not as a composer. His symphonic poems were criticized, and the author wrote polemically against *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and other agitators who backed the New German School. Thus, the current European battle about music of the future arrived in Denmark in the 1850s, and even though Liszt’s symphonic music had hardly been played in Copenhagen, the verdict was – as in Leipzig – clearly negative.³⁸ Fourteen years were to pass before a large-scale work of Liszt was performed in the city again.

SECOND PERIOD 1870–1900: LISZT’S BREAKTHROUGH IN DANISH MUSICAL CULTURE

Danish musical culture at the time

Danish interest in Richard Wagner during the 1860s undoubtedly helped the promotion of Liszt. The performance of *Lohengrin* at Det Kongelige Teater in 1870 was the first in a line of Wagnerian opera productions that were to become highly popular in Denmark during the final decades of the nineteenth century. During this period, the old city ramparts in Copenhagen were abolished and the capital grew rapidly. Enhanced welfare in the city created new music societies, popular magazines, music journals, and a proliferation of entertainment venues for the new middle class. In addition, a younger generation of more open-minded musicians and critics changed attitudes

36 Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (Franz Liszt Studies Series, 3; Stuyvesant, NY, 1997), 99–114.

37 *Tidsskrift for Musik*, 1857/12, 1.

38 Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 99–104 (about Leipzig). See also the discussion in this article below.

towards Liszt. The success of Liszt's piano music was re-established. A new generation of foreign pianists, who had been directly educated by Liszt, began to visit Copenhagen, and their reception indicates a new attitude towards Liszt's music, more akin to the reception of Liszt's own performances in 1841. The opinion that Liszt's piano music as a work in itself was nothing special still surfaced repeatedly, but in performance something happened that swept audiences off their feet and impressed the critics. This effected a shift of attention from the musical work and the composer to the performer. One compensation for this was the prevalence of descriptions of Liszt in popular magazines, where he was pictured as an eccentric genius with divine gifts. On his death in 1886, the music journal *Musikbladet* also devoted considerable space to analyses of Liszt's works and their influence within European music.³⁹ This climate made it difficult for the powerful management of Musikforeningen to ignore Liszt.

Liszt's breakthrough

Ultimately, the breakthrough for Liszt's orchestral works came through the Church. On Easter Day, 1873, *Psalms 13* for tenor, choir and orchestra was performed in Copenhagen's central church (Vor Frue Kirke) by Det Kongelige Teater's opera chorus. The choice of a non-symphonic work was wise, in the light of reactions towards the symphonic poems in the 1850s. At the same time, *Psalms 13* was a work of moderate stylistic experiment in comparison with the symphonic poems. The psalm was performed once more in the same church the following year, and in the newly established concert society Koncertforeningen (established 1874) in November 1876. The performances were successful, and were met with enthusiastic applause. Although reviewers noted with some criticism the deviation of style from traditional church music, *Psalms 13* received a positive judgement. The concert was followed by the performance of extracts from Liszt's oratorio *The Legend of St. Elisabeth* and *Les Préludes* by the symphonic orchestra of Tivoli the same year (1873). *The Legend of St. Elisabeth* was also programmed on Easter Day in 1876 and a part of it in an Easter performance in 1877 (*Crusader March*). Extracts from Liszt's second oratorio, *Christus*, were performed in 1876 and in following years.

The only critic to uphold the previous entirely negative attitude towards Liszt's music was the reviewer from the conservative newspaper *Dagbladet*. Many of the same formulations from the 1850s were retained in his characterization of Liszt's music as either popular and superficial (in the case of the piano music) or obscure and in bad taste (the symphonic music).⁴⁰

In 1886, the musician Frits Bendix wrote a statement in the newspaper *Politiken* which in many ways represents the understanding of Liszt's music among conserva-

39 For example A. Göllerich's catalogue of Liszt's works was published in *Musikbladet*, 4/5 (1887), 24, and Liszt's importance for the development of modern piano music was discussed in L.S. [Ludvig Schytte], 'Lidt om Klaverspil og Klaverkomponister', *Musikbladet*, 3/2 (1886), 6, and K.C.A., 'Lidt om Liszt's Kompositioner', *Musikbladet*, 3/17 (1886), 87–88.

40 See for example the review in *Dagbladet*, 24 Oct. 1886.

tives in Musikforeningen. Bendix' statement is a reply to the reviewer Alfred Møller who had challenged the negative reception of Liszt's works in Copenhagen. Bendix took up the case for the defence of the conservatives, criticizing Liszt's symphonic works (alongside those of Berlioz) for their lack of substance, which he sought to clarify through comparison with Beethoven's symphonies. Bendix firmly believed that the orchestral music of Beethoven and his German successors was the best art ever made, and was thus insurpassable. Instead, Bendix regarded opera as the right place to seek renewal in music, exemplified by Wagner's dramas.⁴¹

This judgement of Liszt's music among the new generation within Musikforeningen marks an institutional distinction. The 'new German' modernization was acceptable within the institution of opera, but not within the philharmonic concert society. At the same time, Liszt was respected as a great composer for the piano, and reservations about Liszt's popular piano music, such as the Hungarian rhapsodies, were subsiding. But this depended on the containment of that kind of music within the virtuoso recital. The situation in this period is summarized in the popular magazine *Illustreret Tidende*. Following a philharmonic concert in March 1884, the reviewer from *Illustreret Tidende* characterized 'the Berlioz-Liszt-Wagner trio' negatively, as canonized saints of 'the musical left'. This musical movement was criticized for its narrow focus on being modern, at the expense of demands on quality and clarity.⁴²

The question of programme music

The international debate around the conflict between programme music and absolute music was summarized for Danish readers in a review of the first performance of Liszt's *Faust Symphony* in 1873. At this time and during the following decade, attitudes towards programme music were reserved and sceptical, although not as strongly negative as in the 1850s. By the time the last institutional stronghold Musikforeningen opened its doors for Liszt's music again in the 1890s, other symphonic poems by Liszt, such as *Die Ideale* and *Tasso*, had been performed in Copenhagen. But it was still *Les Préludes* that was most often played. Nothing seems to indicate a significant interest in the symphonic poems in their diversity, but *Les Préludes* had become a regular popular orchestral work in the repertoires of Copenhagen orchestras. Though the many performances of the work can be seen as a sign of acceptance, its critical reception was increasingly dominated by negative attitudes. Views expressed by the prominent Viennese critic Eduard Hanslick were regularly quoted. Most of the Danish criticism leaned on the conservative German press and on the

41 Frits Bendix, 'Om Konservatismen i vort Musikliv' (About Conservatism in our Musical Life), *Politiken*, 22 May 1886.

42 *Illustreret Tidende*, 9 Mar. 1884, 290. This point of view is similar to the discussion in Germany, where the three composers were also connected with French realism, cf. Martin Geck, *Zwischen Romantik und Restauration – Musik im Realismus-Diskurs 1848–1871* (Stuttgart, 2001), esp. 140–42 on the role of Liszt.

repetition of the well-rehearsed complaint against Liszt's perceived superficiality. The symphonic and choral works of Johannes Brahms were also performed in Copenhagen from the 1880s (Brahms had visited Copenhagen in 1868), and whenever critics compared the two (e.g. *Christus* with *Ein deutsches Requiem*), Brahms gained the upper hand.

THIRD PERIOD 1900–1928: LISZT'S DECLINE IN DANISH MUSICAL CULTURE

Danish musical culture at the time

The time after the turn of the century was characterized by a declining interest in Liszt's music – both within professional circles and popular musical culture. The increasing number of recitals by foreign virtuosi gave less space for attention to the single performance, in spite of the fact that unknown music by Liszt was sometimes performed. Typically, the works of Liszt and other composers of virtuoso music were reduced in the press to the role of showpieces, chosen to demonstrate the skills of the performer.

With the death of Musikforeningen's founding generation, the traditional concert society began to decline, and new concert societies became strong rivals. The new generation of composers and musicians behind these newer institutions were more interested in younger composers such as Claude Debussy (1864–1949) and Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), and the local composer Carl Nielsen (1865–1931, conductor of Musikforeningen 1915–27) was favoured as the new national composer after Niels W. Gade.

Another threat towards traditional music societies such as Musikforeningen was the establishment of the national radio, Statsradiofonien, in 1925, where classical concerts had an important role in transmissions right from the start.

Performance and reception

The period was characterized by audiences' weakening interest in Liszt's music, as opposition against his music increased. Although Liszt's music was still played at popular recitals, the musical style of his compositions was now regarded as outmoded. In the critical literature of the period Liszt was emphasized as a piano player and not for his symphonic production. As for the new composers, Liszt could no longer compete, and his spiritual fellow Wagner was a staunch rival by comparison. Wagner's opera cycle *The Ring of the Nibelung* was introduced successfully to the Danish audience at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The positive potential for Liszt's sacred music diminished during these years. When *Tu es Petrus* from the oratorio *Christus* was performed in Musikforeningen on the occasion of Liszt's 100th anniversary in 1911, the music was criticized as presenting a style considered improper for church music. This negative critique was supported by a general criticism of Liszt and his world. Liszt's symphonic poems came under fire twice during this period; first, at a performance of *Die Ideale* in Musikforeningen in

January 1921, and then at the first Danish performance of *Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe* in Rued Langgaard's Klassisk Musikforening in April 1928. *Die Ideale* was regarded as anachronistic, and its style was characterized as a mere transferral of Liszt's piano virtuosity onto the orchestral apparatus.⁴³ *Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe* was regarded as simply weak and trivial.⁴⁴

This situation was a source of regret for Denmark's first professional scholar in musicology, Angul Hammerich, a venerated reviewer. Hammerich did not understand why opposition against Liszt was so strong, and he found the harsh judgements of Liszt's works excessively one-sided and political, based on superficial conclusions. He observed a consistent 'anti-Lisztianism' in the capital, without being able to account for it.⁴⁵

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES

The history of Liszt's reception in Denmark 1839–1928 can be seen as a cultural clash between French and conservative German musical influences within a society that was at the periphery of Europe. Danish musical culture tried to orientate itself towards outside influences, whilst still maintaining its independence. This was already evident during Liszt's visit in 1841, where he was seen as a part of the French revolutionary movement not only by liberal democrats, but also within the new amusement business (Georg Carstensen, for example) and among conservative professionals and German/Leipzig-orientated factions within the bourgeois audiences connected with Musikforeningen.

This extraordinary reaction towards Liszt's compositions and performances is similar to Liszt's visits to other European cities. In his analysis of Liszt's reception in Berlin the same year, Dana Gooley emphasises that lack of freedom of speech and a weak public profile among aristocratic and bourgeois circles provided a breeding ground for excessively feverish atmospheres at large-scale public events.⁴⁶ It is natural to regard the reception of Liszt's Copenhagen visit in the same light, because of its timing (in the run-up to the democratization of the Danish monarchy in 1849), and other parallels such as *Fedrelandet's* characterization of Liszt as a revolutionary leader.

Liszt's music itself created cultural and political turbulence. To both critics and admirers, Liszt represented modern elements in musical culture, not only in his works, but also his performance style. Liszt's ability to create a new concert culture and thus contribute to the development of a Danish democratic musical culture is also evident in later periods. Liszt was a popular figure among amateur music lovers throughout the period discussed in this article, and this popularity was maintained by sensational stories in popular magazines that circulated in the new up-and-coming

43 Review by Gustav Hetsch in *Nationaltidende* and *Dagbladet*, 26 Jan. 1921.

44 Reviews by O., *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 12 Apr. 1928 and Vicar., *Politiken*, 12 Apr. 1928.

45 Review by A.H. [Angul Hammerich], *Nationaltidende* (morning edn.), 15 Dec. 1911.

46 Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 203–6.

middle classes.⁴⁷ Liszt's pupils managed to create much the same atmosphere at their recitals in the second half of the nineteenth century as Liszt himself had done in July 1841. These recitals helped a new type of audience to find its own culture of response to the expressions of Liszt's music and performance style, at the same time as helping them to find their musical identity in the concert hall.

Liszt's church music contributed to the latter development. The grand Easter concerts of the 1870s and 1880s gathered a broad audience from the royal court down to the lower middle classes, and some of the sacred concerts at which Liszt's music was played were even called 'popular church concerts' (folkkelige Kirkekoncerter).⁴⁸ This may be construed in Liszt's visions of a new kind of church music, which aimed to gather a broad segment of the population in a general movement towards cultural democratization.⁴⁹

In the 1870s, modern movements within Danish culture offered a breakthrough for Liszt's music, as also for other artistic and cultural manifestations from France. The interest in Wagner's operas and the successful performance of Liszt's sacred works gave new possibilities for some of the symphonic poems to be performed. But it was still difficult, because Liszt (unlike Wagner) chose the 'great symphony' as the genre within which to modernize musical culture. His symphonic experiments were not welcomed in symphonic institutions, and over time Liszt and his agitators – though establishing a base in Weimar in the centre of German culture – lost this cultural war.

The musical genres of opera and church institutions were easier to change and modernize. In these genres, there was not such a strong connection between a specific genre understanding and *bourgeois* education as there was in the philharmonic symphonic institution. Fritz Bendix's letter is an example of this. This was also the reason why the church provided a venue for Liszt's breakthrough, and why a minor work like *Psalm 13* received such an importance. It also explains why Gade chose an extract of the oratorium *Christus* when he chose to reintroduce Liszt's orchestral work at Musikforeningen, twenty-four years after the performance of *Ophéus*. When the churches closed their doors to Liszt's music after the turn of the century, there had been a change in understanding of church music by leading church figures towards a view similar to that which prevailed in the philharmonic music scene.

47 About the idolization of Liszt, see Kramer, 'Franz Liszt and the Virtuoso Public Sphere', 81–92 and Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, chapters 1–3 and 5.

48 The concerts in Vor Frue Kirke, 28 and 31 Mar. 1877, where a part of *St Elisabeth* was performed, were advertised as such.

49 Under the influence of the Saint-Simonians in Paris during the revolutionary 1830s, Liszt wrote a manifesto of the future Church music, *De l'avenir de la musique d'église* (1834), one of his series of articles about the future musician and his revolutionary role in society: *De la situation des artistes, et de leur condition dans la société* in *Revue et Gazette Musicale*. The article about church music was printed in the journal 30 Aug. 1835. It is reprinted with a German translation in the new critical edition, Rainer Kleinertz (ed.), *Franz Liszt – Sämtliche Schriften*, 1: *Frühe Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 56–59. An English translation of the article and a discussion on its coming into existence has been published by Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge, 1987), 7–25.

At the turn of the century, younger generations of composers and listeners were more interested in newer music. In the following decades, the movement against romantic music and the virtuoso culture established in the musical centres of Europe died out. This led to an increase in the number of performances of Liszt's works in concert halls. The doors of the (protestant) churches remained closed to Liszt, however, because as part of the anti-romantic movement church musicians had condemned Liszt's sacred music as profane and vulgar. Resistance towards Liszt's sacred music from the well-educated at the beginning of the twentieth century, and their wish to return church music to the style and practice of earlier times, can be seen as an attempt from the elite to regain control. This time, ideas about musical genre in the philharmonic concert hall and the church seemed to be allies.

Liszt in Leipzig

All this can be put into perspective by comparing Liszt's reception in Denmark with that of his reception in Leipzig. As in Musikforeningen, Liszt was received with great scepticism at his Leipzig concerts in 1840. His performances (in particular, his transcription of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony) were seen as displaying a lack of *Bildung*, and both Niels W. Gade's successor as director of the Gewandhaus, Julius Rietz (1812–77), and his successor in 1860, Carl Reinecke (1824–1910), were reluctant to programme Liszt's symphonic works. These works were only heard in the city on rare occasions until Reinecke's retirement in 1895. This was in consensus with the Gewandhaus committee and the Leipzig conservatory, which was later to become notorious for its conservatism. Leipzig was famous at this time for its many important newspapers and music journals, such as *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.⁵⁰ The first performances of Liszt's symphonic poems in the years 1857–60 were received with great reservation and indifference in the Leipzig press. Attitudes towards Liszt's music displayed an opposition to the so-called 'Zukunftsmusik', as well as nationalistic attitudes and a general dichotomy between German and French culture.⁵¹ Dana Gooley sees Liszt's visit to Leipzig as demonstrating a clash of cultures between French aristocratic and German conservative bourgeois cultures.⁵² By contrast, Liszt's performance style originated in a Paris that was marked by revolutionary norms with great social events for the public, in a city

50 Steffen Lieberwirth, 'Bruckner und Liszt im "Schutz- und Trutzbündnis" Leipziger Konzertvereine', in Renate Grasberger et al. (eds.), *Bruckner Symposion Linz 1986 – Bruckner, Liszt, Mahler und die Moderne. Bericht* (Linz, 1989), 79–86. See also Sieghart Döhring, 'Dresden and Leipzig: Two Bourgeois Centres', in Alexander Ringer (ed.), *Man and Music*, iv: *The Early Romantic Era* (London, 1990), 155–56; Yvonne Wasserloos, *Das Leipziger Konservatorium der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 2004), 54–62. On the discussion of Liszt in German journals, see Saffle, *Liszt in Germany*, 203–17.

51 Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt*, 101–4.

52 Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 157–64. See also Arno Forchert, "'Klassisch" und "romantisch" in der Musik-Litteratur des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts', *Die Musikforschung*, 31 (1978), 405–25.

concerned with greatness and with great men's ability to exceed ordinary expectations.⁵³ The situation in Copenhagen can be regarded as parallel to Leipzig, in as far as Danish musical society lent heavily on the Leipzig institutional model. This dichotomy was personified by Clara Schumann's visit in 1842. The aforementioned invitation extended to her, to perform not in the grand public theatre but in the exclusive environs of Copenhagen's grandest hotel (opposite Det Kongelige Teater) can be regarded as her symbolic transportation from Liszt's world among the many to the world of good taste enjoyed by the privileged few.

SUMMARY

Research on the reception of Franz Liszt in Danish musical life between 1839 and 1928 shows how Liszt's music was received in various ways due to factors such as the kind of audience, the genre, and the venue of the concerts. Turbulence and controversy arose from Liszt's visit in Copenhagen in 1841, and continued during the introduction of his works over the following years. Liszt was associated with French modern art, and was treated with suspicion among conservative *Kenner* in the local music society Musikforeningen, which leaned heavily on ideals derived from the Gewandhaus music society in Leipzig. On the other hand, Liszt was received with enthusiasm among the rising middle-class audience (*Liebhaber*), and used in propaganda by liberal democrats in the years leading up to the introduction of the democratic constitution of the Danish monarchy. In the 1870s, the operas of Richard Wagner helped pave the way for a breakthrough for Liszt's music in Denmark, but in contrast to Wagner's operas it was difficult for Liszt's works to maintain this foothold. An essential reason for this was the fact that while Wagner worked within the genre of opera, Liszt tried to modernize the symphonic genre – through his symphonic poems – within a hostile philharmonic culture. In addition, his church music was well received in the late nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, neither his piano works, his symphonic poems, nor his church music remained a part of the established repertoire.

53 Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998), 1–13.

Obituaries

HENRIK GLAHN

29.5.1919–16.8.2006

Henrik Glahn came from a well-known family in which clergymen and soldiers are plentifully represented. The name Egede, which is included in the names of several members of the family, derives from a distinguished forebear, Hans Egede (1686-1758), sometimes referred to as ‘apostle to Greenland’. The name Wiehe, which was one of the baptismal names of Henrik’s clergyman-father Thorkil, on the other hand, testifies to a relationship to the famous 19th century theatrical family. Though the Glahn family has fostered several architects, Henrik, who said that he would have chosen theology if he hadn’t chosen music, is apparently the only Glahn to have made a career as a musician and it is perhaps the artistic Wiehe strain in his genealogy that tipped the balance. In any case, his musical talent was early evident and after studying piano under Alexander Stoffregen and organ under Hakon Godsk Nielsen he took the organist diploma from the Royal Danish Conservatory of Music in 1941. At the same time he studied musicology at the University of Copenhagen under Erik Abrahamsen and, more especially, Jens Peter Larsen, completing his M.A. in 1945 with a thesis on Brahms’ symphonies. During the years of the German occupation of Denmark the military side of his inheritance had a chance to assert itself; in the difficult years 1943–45 Henrik was chairman for the Student Council of the university, whose political activities resulted for the chairman in a short period of imprisonment by the Gestapo. A person of authority and integrity, he was a natural leader, a quality of character that brought with it responsibilities which he tirelessly assumed to the advantage of persons as well as institutions throughout his life.

In 1945 he began a teaching career at the Department of Musicology at the University of Copenhagen that was to continue (lecturer 1957, reader 1964, professor 1967) until his retirement in 1989. He was a distinguished teacher, who represented the highest ideals of humanistic scholarship, which he felt (with many others) were frustrated by the ideological compromises represented by the constitution that was adopted by the university in 1973, very much against his opposition as a member of consistorium (1971–74). He was awarded the university’s gold medal in 1947 for a study of the rhythm of hymn tunes from the time of the Reformation, based on a study of the Danish hymnbook of Hans Thomissøn (1569), which was an important preparation for his doctoral dissertation, *Melodistudier til den lutherske salmesangs historie fra 1524 til ca. 1600* (Studies of the Melodies in the History of Lutheran Hymns from 1524 to c. 1600), i-ii (Copenhagen, 1954). With this the foundation was laid for what was to be the central theme of his life’s work as a scholar, unfolded in numerous articles and editions and culminating in the late summing-up, *Salmemelodien i dansk tradition 1569-1973* (The Hymn Tune in Danish Tradition 1569–1973) (Copenhagen, 2000). He added a practical dimension through his work as organist at Jægersborg Church (1947–59), and as one of the succession of distinguished organists (N.W. Gade, T. Laub, M. Wöldike, K. Jeppesen, and S. Sørensen) at Holmens Church (1959–64). He collaborated with J.P. Larsen and Mogens Wöldike on *Den danske Koralbog* (Copenhagen, 1954, 2nd edn., 1973), and was alone responsible for the third edition (1992). He was, furthermore, active in the work of *Samfundet Dansk Kirkesang*, as a member of its board of directors (1947–83), as chairman (1955–71) and as joint-editor (1950–88) of its Yearbook, to which he was also a regular contributor right up to 2005. In view of his

authority in this field, it was inevitable that he should be a member (1970–73) of the parliamentary commission on reform of the liturgy in the Danish church.

Henrik Glahn's research was not limited to hymnology, however. In his investigation and edition of music from the court of Christian III (*Dania Sonans. Kilder til Musikkens Historie i Danmark* (Dania Sonans. Sources for the History of Music in Denmark), Series IV-V (Copenhagen, 1978, 1986)), he was able, while remaining rooted in the Reformation period in Denmark, to cast light on an international repertoire that included works by some of the greatest composers of the Renaissance. Similarly of importance for its broad, international, perspective is the contribution he made to music history, Danish and European, through his work with The Museum of Musical Instruments in Copenhagen (founded in 1898 as The Museum for the History of Music, in 1977 'and Carl Claudius' Collection' was added to its name; since becoming part of the National Museum recently it is now known simply as The Danish Music Museum). In 1953 he was appointed assistant to Gotfred Skjerne, whom he succeeded in 1955 as director of the museum. During his 25 years as director he developed the museum into a well housed, modern research institution, which was one of the founding bodies of the international organization of museums of musical instruments. Glahn's achievements as director of The Museum for the History of Music required considerable administrative and diplomatic ability: in 1966 he succeeded in moving the museum from rented quarters in the Museum of Art and Design to occupy a home of its own in the former manse of the Reformed Church, a handsome building in Åbenrå St. in Copenhagen. Plans to enlarge the museum by annexing the adjoining house were complicated in the early 1970s by the occupation and proclamation of the projected building as the first 'Women's House' in Copenhagen. Glahn calmly proceeded nevertheless with the delicate negotiations needed to permit altering the terms of the bequest of Carl Claudius' Collection so that it could be incorporated with the The Museum for the History of Music into one institution. By the time this was achieved the 'Women's House' had without rancour abandoned Åbenrå 26-30, which Glahn had managed to raise money to renovate and join to the existing museum. By 1979, therefore, he could invite an interested public to visit a fine museum in an attractive row of buildings, Åbenrå 26-34, where the music-historical collection had grown to double its previous size. He retired as director in 1980, but continued as chairman of the board of directors until 1994.

Glahn's administrative and diplomatic skills and good judgement were always much in demand. He was, among much else, director of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (1971–93), a member of the council of the International Musicological Society (1972–82) and a member of the board of directors of the Carlsberg Foundation (1978–89). He was, in short, a pillar in the academic and cultural life of Denmark for more than half a century, but more than that, he was a noble character and a good friend, who is sadly missed.

John Bergsagel

CARSTEN E. HATTING

15.5.1930–30.5.2006

Carsten Hatting grew up in Copenhagen in a home characterized by established middle-class values. Throughout his life he managed to remain true to the best of these values while asserting in all his activities a social engagement, a social indignation and a clear position on the political left. His father was a military man, and on the mother's side he was a great-great-grandson of the poet Carsten Hauch, a family connection that Carsten Hatting cherished throughout his life and which presumably contributed, together with many other things, to his unflinching partiality for the Danish 'Golden Age'. His interest in music came primarily from his years as student at the Copenhagen Municipal Choir School in Hindegade – a school to which, incidentally, he later returned as teacher. After organ lessons as a private pupil of Søren Sørensen he took the organist exam at the Royal Danish Conservatory of Music in 1953, at the same time studying musicology at the University of Copenhagen, with Nils Schiørring and Jens Peter Larsen in particular as teachers. He took the M.A. degree in 1957.

Hatting first wanted to study theology – and indeed he began a theological course at Copenhagen University that was soon exchanged for music however – and even though it was music that came to occupy his professional career, he never lost his interest in religious matters. As early as 1954 he was installed in his first organist position at Dragør Church and in 1959 he was able to move to the prestigious position as organist of Jægersborg Church (succeeding Henrik Glahn), where he continued until 1981, contributing actively to the life of the church. As church musician he belonged, especially in his early years, to the circle associated with *Samfundet Dansk Kirkesang* and the ideals of Thomas Laub.

After a couple of years as teacher at the choir school (and continuing in that work for the next couple of years together with his new position), he was engaged in 1960 as a teaching assistant and subsequently instructor and lecturer at the Department of Musicology at the University of Copenhagen, where he continued until his retirement in 2000. Through his work in the university during nearly four decades Hatting exerted a decisive influence on music as a subject and as a course of studies in each of the three main areas such an appointment comprises: teaching, research and administration (university policy).

Carsten Hatting's research ranged wide, with its main emphasis on the two stars in his musical firmament, C.E.F. Weyse and W.A. Mozart, supplemented with subjects related to J.S. Bach, problems in the history of reception of the Viennese classics, Brecht and his composers, and new music in DDR in the 1970s and 80s. To these may be added a number of articles on Danish composers of the 'Golden Age' and on various subjects in the field of church music. In all his research he attempted to make a reflective, methodically deliberate approach to his subject based on a declared existential and political fundamental conviction, while at the same time maintaining the standards of scholarly precision, integrity, and documentation of sources that he had acquired in connection with his studies for his Master's degree at the University of Copenhagen – not least from J.P. Larsen. Few scholars have been so careful in their treatment of source-material as Hatting.

Already before he had completed his work for his Master's degree he had begun to study the music of C.E.F. Weyse seriously in the form of a prize-essay in 1955 on Weyse's cantatas, which was awarded the university's gold medal. Throughout his life he maintained an interest in Weyse's life and works, but it was first in his elder years that he returned to the subject in a more systematic way, now partly in the form of a practical scholarly edition of Weyse's seven symphonies (*Dania Sonans. Kilder til Musikkens Historie i Danmark* (Dania Sonans. Sources for the History of Music in Denmark), Series IX, vols. 1–4 (Copenhagen, 1998–2003)) and

partly in a series of preliminary sketches for a major work on Weyse. After Hatting's death his many notes and copies, written and collected with the intended monograph in view, passed to The Royal Library. Next after Weyse, it was Mozart who was closest to Hatting's heart – especially the reception of Mozart. He treated this subject from various angles in a number of papers at conferences, lectures, and articles, and he knew as few others every corner of the literature about Mozart. His most important contribution in this regard was to document and consider 'the divided reception' – that is, the two tracks in posterity's attitude to Mozart, which stemmed from Salzburg (with Nannerl as the main source) and from Vienna (with Constanze as the main source) respectively – in the big article 'Bemærkninger til Mozarts biografi' (On Mozart Biography) in *Musik og Forskning* 11 (1985–86), and the carefully-documented book *Mozart og Danmark* (Mozart and Denmark) (Copenhagen, 1991), in which he described Mozart's significance for Denmark from the first mention of the precocious child in *Adresseavisen* in 1764 until the fuss about the 'Odense symphony' and the Amadeus film in the 1980s.

Hatting's fundamental view of music history and historiography was most clearly expressed in two large projects in which he participated together with a number of colleagues. These were the publication of Poul Nielsen's posthumous Adorno-manuscript, *Musik og Materialisme* (Music and Materialism) (Copenhagen, 1978), and of *Gyldeendals Musikhistorie* (A History of European Music Culture) (Copenhagen, 1982–84). Here Hatting brought to the collaboration with his colleagues that which is his great strength throughout his production: the collection of factual material followed by reflection over the facts – or said in another way: Facts are indispensable, but they are not an objective in themselves.

Carsten Hatting's work came to leave its mark on a whole generation of music students for whom contact with him was of decisive importance for their future work, and Danish musicology has lost a highly respected, industrious, and conscientious scholar. We, who were close to him, will miss a committed, interested, and loyal friend, on whom one could always count in times both good and bad.

Niels Krabbe

Reports

Research Projects

MUSIC AND ENUNCIATION

From various positions in musicology it is claimed that we have to move beyond the structuralist work concept. Instead of viewing music as a text *carrying* meaning the current conditions of music offers us a view of music as an act *performing* meaning. Certainly, the avant-gardes are full of compositions that move our attention from the internal qualities of the object to the performative act enunciating this object as art – an act, which thus claims a certain aesthetic view from the listener. John Cage's 4'33" (1952) is a good example of this tendency. In aesthetic theory we see new notions of the aesthetic as a relation, an attention, and some scholars even talk about an enunciative paradigm in the arts, where the enunciation of something as art is enough to turn it into art.

The current Ph.D. project (2005–8, Department of Aesthetics and Culture (Interdisciplinary Aesthetics Studies), University of Aarhus) is motivated by these changes in the field of music. The objective of the project is to take these new perspectives on music into account, by performing a *general* study of music as a performative act, an act of enunciation. The project uses the term 'enunciation' as a key concept, because it refers exactly to the (performative) act of producing statements, as we see it in the linguistics of Èmile Benveniste (*Problèmes de Linguistique générale*, Paris, 1966 and 1974) and in later philosophical contexts.

In the study of enunciation in narratology and reception theory the subject matter is not the actual situation of enunciation (where somebody listens to or plays the music), but the *implicit* enunciation of the aesthetic artefact that is described in terms of the positioning of an implicit sender- and receiver position and discursive horizons of the artefact. In these theoretical understandings the perspective or attention given to the object is not just *applied* by the real recipient, but also *implied* by the artefact. It is this situation where the music meets our intentionality with its own implicit intentionality that is the main interest of this project; that is, the act of enunciation as it is implied in and between the implicit level of the text, the performance and the recording.

The unspecified term 'music' used in the project-title is not intended to refer to a prescriptive category, but to the specific medial expressions that we, in our culture, call music. The project will, however, with its offset in the avant-gardes and the question of aesthetics, focus on western art music and its historical constructed ways of establishing aesthetic relations, but it will also involve studies of other discourses of music. Each object of study is chosen in order to illustrate different perspectives of how music functions aesthetically.

Anette Vandsø Andersen

REPRESENTATIONS OF JAZZ IN AMERICA AT THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY

'Jazz is America's classical music'. Since the mid 1980s this has been the rallying call for the jazz community in the US. In 1987 Congress passed Resolution 57 deeming jazz a 'valuable national treasure' and since then jazz has experienced a significant shift of its cultural position becoming a signifier of sophistication and innovation – jazz has become cultural capital.

The present research project is the principal constituent of a Ph.D. fellowship with the Department of English, Germanic and Romance Studies at the University of Copenhagen from September 2004 till August 2007. It aims to trace the effect of these changes on the discourses surrounding jazz over the last 20 years, as the 20th century came to its end. There have been a number of studies on the representations of jazz in the last decade, but the majority of these centres on representations from the surrounding culture in the form of fiction, film, or art, such as Krin Gabbard's work in *Representing Jazz* (Durham, NC, 1995) and *Jamming at the Margins* (Chicago, 1996) as well as the two volumes edited by Robert O'Meally, *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture* (New York, 1998) and *Uptown Conversations* (New York, 2004). This project differs as it focuses on representations *within* the jazz community, investigating the contesting definitions through different types of media. A preliminary structure for the dissertation divides it into three main chapters: The first chapter provides an analysis of Ken Burns' documentary series *JAZZ* produced in the years 1996–2000 and aired on PBS the first time in January 2001; the second chapter discusses representations in *Down Beat* over a 20-year period (1985–2005); and the final chapter will investigate the genre of the jazz biography with a comparative analysis of several biographies on Miles Davis, including the ghost-written (by Quincy Troupe) autobiography.

The common foci of analysis in all three chapters rest on three paradigms of critical thought. One is what I call 'the perfect metaphor', signifying an understanding of the process of mythologizing and erasure of dialectics as jazz is used in various discourses as a metaphor for any number of (American) doctrines such as 'democracy', 'freedom', and 'e pluribus unum'. The paradox lies in the fact that it is often the perceived hybrid nature of jazz, its internal contradictions and dialectics that generates its use as metaphor, but in the process the dialectics and contradictions are ironed out as it, in the words of Barthes, passes from 'history to nature'. This function of jazz as a metaphor becomes particularly important in connection with the second paradigm of critical thought, the imagining of communities. The metaphor is particularly apt in the imagining of a national community (as the Ken Burns series proves), but also the jazz community itself uses strategies of imaging in which jazz as a metaphor is brought into play, negotiating terms of authenticity and tradition. Here the third and last paradigm comes into play by considering orality as the privileged mode of representation, thus providing a frame through which the jazz community can be seen as imaging and narrating itself.

Anne Dvinge

VOCAL MASKS: THE RHETORICAL SINGING TRADITION IN ITALIAN OPERA

My Ph.D. project (2005–8, Department of Aesthetics and Culture (Interdisciplinary Aesthetics Studies), University of Aarhus) focuses on the original productions of three works that occupy key positions in the Italian operatic canon: Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1643), Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787) and Verdi's *Otello* (1887). Rather than conceiving of their operatic scores as finished artworks, it is argued that the three composers saw them – albeit to varying degrees – as the source of performances, relying on the active musical contribution of the singers. Therefore, by involving contemporary accounts of the original performers of some of the leading roles, historical singing treatises, early sound recordings, as well as letters and other statements by the composers on vocal performance, the project attempts to reconstruct the musical and theatrical profiles of the singers for whom the composers wrote. This leads on to the reconstruction of some central aesthetic principles underlying what is seen as a specifically Italian performing style, the neglect of which throughout the 20th

century has had bearings on how the scores have traditionally been read by scholars as well as practitioners.

It is a central thesis that Monteverdi, Mozart, and Verdi all favoured a rhetorically based singing style which can be traced back to the rise of opera around 1600, and principles of which appear to have reigned within the Italian tradition all the way up to Verdi and Puccini. In the 18th century the rhetorical conception of music fell into disrepute, but its practical ideals survived among Italian singers and composers and could still be taken for granted by Verdi in the late 19th century. In line with classical rhetoric, the Italian tradition understood singing as the extension of speech which, in turn, was considered inseparable from its concrete affective and performative context. The strong sense of ‘speech in song’ led to the well-known ideals of the *bel canto* tradition – clear enunciation, expressive timbre and phrasing, textually determined use of ornaments – but also to some more overlooked conventions concerning song as a theatrical language, such as the character’s ‘vocal mask’. With this term I refer to a view of singing neither as the medium of a psychological subtext, nor as the display of the singer’s personal voice, but as the site of character portrayal, implying that the singer would change his/her voice according to the character represented. The vocal mask is the operatic equivalent of the technique of the classical actor who would put on a visual and vocal mask rather than identify psychologically with the role, which convention was suppressed with the advent of the naturalistic acting style in the late 19th century.

By reconstructing the original vocal masks of central roles in Monteverdi, Mozart, and Verdi we should get a clearer and more vivid image not only of the three particular operas as they were theatrically conceived by their composers, but also of a largely forgotten convention in Italian opera.

Magnus Tessing Schneider

Conferences

SPORTING SOUNDS, UNIVERSITY OF AARHUS 2006

Supported by the Center for Sport Studies (University of Aarhus), this conference on sport and music was held at the University of Aarhus on 27–28 September 2006. The relationships between sport and music were explored by an interdisciplinary and international group of scholars that ranged from studies that saw music as central to sport, to others that recognized the marginal nature of music to sporting practices. This spectrum seems to be an appropriate structure for this report.

In cases such as ice dancing, synchronized swimming and some gymnastics, musical accompaniment is stipulated in the rules and is therefore an essential part of the sport. ‘Music and figure skating’ formed the subject of a paper by Glenn Harman (Mayo Clinic, USA) in which musical and corporeal rhythm were shown to be correlated. Less essential, but nevertheless important, is the use of music as a motivational aid in sport training and in the enhancement of sport performance. Four papers addressed this dimension of musical applications to sport. There were ‘The Effect of Video and Music on Emotions’ by Georgios Loizou, ‘Psychological Effects of Music in Sport’ by Costas Katageorghis and ‘Emotional Response to Music in Sport’ by Daniel Bishop (all of Brunel University, UK). Additionally, a paper on the connection between ‘Rowing and Music’ was presented by Michael Mann (Luxemburg). A related paper by Peter Vuust (Aarhus University Hospital) suggested that relationships between musical development and the brain could be applied to sports.

Two highly significant papers with a more historical dimension were by Anthony Bateman (De Montfort University / Hallé Orchestra, UK) on “‘Ludus Tonalis’: Sport and Musical Modernisms, 1900-1935” and Jeffrey Seagrave (Skidmore College, USA) on ‘Music as Sport History; The Special case of Pietro Metastasio and the Story of the Olympic Games’. These papers illustrated the important, but more incidental place of music in sports. The same applies to ‘anthems’ and hymns in sports as in the paper by Jeffrey Hill (De Montfort University, UK) on ‘Singing the Nation: “Abide with me” and the FA Cup Final’. In this paper he reviewed the rise and fall of this well-known hymn in England’s premier football event.

Popular music in various sporting contexts was explored by Mike Huggins and Keith Gregson (St Martin’s College, UK) in their paper ‘Songs of Sporting Heroes in Victorian England’. The centrality of masculinity in lyrics and style in popular music was stressed in several papers: ‘Bouts of Kiwi Loyalty: Musical Frames and Televised Sport’ by Malcolm Maclean (Gloucestershire University, UK), ‘Friday Nights and the Gates are Low’ by Michael McGuinness (Teesside University, UK), and ‘Supporter Rock’ by Dan Porsfelt (University of Växjö, Sweden).

John Bale

SHOSTAKOVICH – TODAY, COPENHAGEN OCTOBER 2006

On the occasion of the Shostakovich centenary a two-day symposium, *Shostakovich – today*, was held in Copenhagen on 25–26 October 2006. This was only one of the events associated with the centenary celebration organized by Music Around, a body consisting of the symphony orchestras of Copenhagen and Southern Sweden. Within four weeks all Shostakovich’s 15 symphonies, in addition to numerous other works of the composer, were performed live in Copenhagen, Malmö, and Helsingborg. With the opportunity to hear all the symphonies, the symposium focused on this genre from the perspective of 2006 and provoked a reconsideration of some of the symphonies not very often played, providing a more complete view of the symphonies as such. Especially some of the ‘political’ symphonies, as the Second and Third from the late 1920s, and the Eleventh from 1957, have been neglected, the former often on the basis of Shostakovich playing down their importance later in his life, the latter being considered a muster of Socialist Realism. More differentiated views and a new interest in concepts of political music within the communist sphere give way to a more open-minded approach to the qualities of these works. This is also an indication that a genuine post-cold war reception has slowly emerged, opposed to the fierce discussions of the 1990s along the lines of pro- and anti-communism. The ‘new Shostakovich’ of the 1990s was still a by-product of the bipolar worldview of the cold war, even if the ‘whole Shostakovich’ might still not be uncontested as the Shostakovich of 2006.

The idea of the symposium was to engage students of the university in discussions with invited scholars, and this was the core of the first day when 11 students presented short papers at the Department of Musicology. The second day was a public session at The Royal Library presenting the guests as keynote speakers. Levon Hakobian from the Moscow Institute of Arts History gave ‘A history of Shostakovich’s relations with the Soviet ideology’, using the symphonies 2, 3, 11, 12, and 13 as examples. Being an art historian as well as a musicologist, concepts of ideology in visual arts was compared with concepts found in the symphonies. From the University of Bristol, Pauline Fairclough gave an introduction to Shostakovich reception in the UK, showing the changing views on Shostakovich the symphonist as well as on particular symphonies. Finally, David Fanning, University of Manchester, gave a paper on

‘Shostakovich and others: where his symphonies came from’, drawing on his huge knowledge of symphonic tradition. Taking influences from Mahler as granted, he showed numerous other connections and similarities with nineteenth and twentieth century symphonists. The symposium ended with a round table discussion.

The Danish Cultural Institute, The Royal Library and the Department of Musicology of the University of Copenhagen organized the symposium, and the association with Music Around was a very important factor to the success and the public attention, attracting close to 100 people during the two days.

Michael Ejeldsøe

Danish Musicological Society, 2006

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The Society’s general assembly took place on 22 March 2006. In his annual report among other issues the chairman stressed that the Society’s edition series, *Dania Sonans*, the first volume of which appeared in 1933 and the latest in 2003, was no longer part of the ‘active’ responsibilities of the Society. Formally, however, the *Dania Sonans* series is maintained for prospective publications. Following the assembly, Henrik Marstal – former member of one of the committees appointed by the Danish Ministry of Culture to compile a national, cultural canon – presented his views on ‘Cultural Canon – how and why?’, in relation to which research assistant, Fie Skovsbøg Thaning (University of Copenhagen) acted as respondent.

Under the heading *Challenges of Music Historiography to Danish Musicology* the third one-day symposium of the Society was held on 29 April 2006 at the Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen. An initial lecture with the title ‘Plaidoyer for a new Danish Music History’ was given by Siegfried Oechsle (Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel). Moreover, the programme comprised four sessions with a total of 12 papers. Finally, Jens Henrik Koudal (Danish Folklore Archives) presented a discussion paper on ‘Music in Denmark – Danishness in Music. Place and Nationality as Critical perspective? Ten Statements on writing a new *History of Music in Denmark*’ which led to a concluding plenary debate on the main topic. The day was rounded off by a recital by pianist Elisabeth Sivertsen playing a work by Danish composer Jørgen Jersild. A total of around 65 participants joined the symposium, and the majority of papers was subsequently published on the Society’s web-site (www.hum.au.dk/musik/dsfm/dsfm_m/dsfm1.html).

In October a revised membership directory was dispatched to the members of the Society. The Society’s fourth symposium is scheduled for 21 April 2007 and will address the topic *Musicology between visibility and professional legitimacy*. (General information on the Society can be found on p. 123).

Thomas Holme Hansen

Book Reviews



Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.), *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture. Learning from the Learned*

Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, 4

Woolbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005

xxxii + 250 pp., illus., music exx.

ISBN 1-84383-166-X

GBP 60 / USD 105

Denne essaysamling er en hyldest til Margaret Bent i anledning af hendes 65 års fødselsdag fra en kreds af venner, kolleger og elever. Margaret Bent har gennem årtier været en fremstående skikkelse i international musikvidenskab takket været sin utrættelige forskning i det 14. og 15. århundredes musik. Hendes interesser favner dog langt videre, og hendes påvirkning af kolleger og elever skyldes i lige så høj grad hendes insistensen på eksakte metodologiske standarder, hendes nøje granskning af og intime kendskab til musikalske og teoretiske kilder, og hendes kompromisløse forsvar for de konklusioner, som hun drager af sine undersøgelser, over for dem, der læser kildematerialet på andre måder.

De 16 forfattere har sat sig på en slags prøve ved at bidrage til dette festskrift. Essays draget frem fra skufferne og støvet af til lejligheden ville næppe have store chancer for at leve op til Bents forventninger. Efter min vurdering slipper de rigtig godt fra prøven, og bindet står som en smuk hyldest. Det ydre og det tekniske er i orden. Teksterne er veldigerede med gode illustrationer og nodeeksempler, og bogen udstråler med sit blå lærredsbind kun smykket med en hvid seddel med titlen på forsiden en gammeldags aura af belæsthed.

Når man læser teksterne igennem, får man en fornemmelse af at være med til et af de tematiske symposier, som Margaret Bent så mange gange har været en drivkraft bag. Man får ligesom et blik ind i en lukket verden med sit eget kredsløb af forskningsresultater og forskningspapirer, publicerede såvel som upublicerede, der er kendt af de indviede. I denne højt specialiserede humanistiske tradition med dens selvfølgelig krav om kendskab til gamle sprog, til for længst glemte filosofiske skrifter og til eksotiske notationer kan det virke som om detaljer i fortolkninger og kilder endevendes i en selvoptaget uendelighed, især når man kommer fra Skandinavien, hvor i hvert fald undervisningen på universitetsniveau nødvendigvis må holde sig til langt mere generelle perspektiver. Det viser sig hurtigt at være et falsk billede. Som ved et symposium bydes gæster venligt og varmt inden for, hvis man vil yde en indsats for at forstå temaerne, og den lærde detaljerigdom i kildeundersøgelsen viser sig i næsten alle tilfælde at åbne op for en rigdom af nye perspektiver, der rækker langt ud over kildens tid og sted.

Der vil naturligvis være forskellige meninger om, hvilke der er de vigtigste bidrag i en sådan antologi, der tids- og emnemæssigt strækker sig vidt. Det tema, der rækker længst tilbage i historien, handler om sfærenes musik, *musica mundana*, og om middelalderens arbejde med at konceptualisere og aktualisere den begrebsverden, som var blevet overleveret gennem Boëthius. Susan Rankin analyserer 800-tallets konkretisering af den uhørlige harmoni i et tonesystem, som bliver placeret i sangens praktisk anvendelige omfang på en dobbeltoktav, og hun udgiver som bilag den fortryllende udsættelse fra 1000-tallet af digtet 'Naturalis concordia vocum cum planetis', hvor denne lærdom gøres aldeles hørbar. Senere i middelalderen kom man til at sætte spørgsmålstejn ved Boëthius' autoritet med læsningen af Aristoteles' *De*

caelo, hvori han beviser, at fraværet af luft i himmellegemernes sfærer udelukker klingende intervaller. Gilles Rico analyserer i artiklen “‘Auctoritas cereum habet nasum’: Boethius, Aristotele, and the Music of the Spheres in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries’ hvordan man i randkommentarer til teksten alligevel forsøgte at tilnærme synspunkterne, så det vedtagne syn på kosmos ikke blev rystet alt for meget. I det lange løb måtte Boëthius dog vige. Rico låner et billede fra 1100-tallets Alain de Lille, der beskriver hvordan næserne på autoriteternes voksfigurer kunne formes efter behag – her er det Boëthius, der efterhånden får en næse a la Aristoteles.

Det kronologisk seneste emne er Cristle Collins Judds ‘Learning to Compose in the 1540s: Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Si bona suscepimus*’, der analyserer Zarlinos motet dels i forhold til Philippe Verdelots berømte motet fra 1520’erne og dels i forhold til kompositoriske procedurer, som var blevet tradition i miljøet. Udover at påvise de åbenlyse citater fra Verdelot finder hun det af lige så stor betydning at se motetten som et resultat af komposition på grundlag af sædvaner og ikke mindst som et resultat af tilgang til en løbende musikalsk diskurs ført af forgængere og kolleger: “Such a framework of thought allows compositional tradition’s accumulation of utterances to serve as a model for the creation of a musical work, to create a contrapuntal grammar of the *sogetto*” (s. 205).

Vigtigheden af at kunne skelne det almene fra det specielle i en given musikalsk situation, banaliteten fra signifikante brud på etablerede mønstre, bliver et væsentligt tema i denne samling essays. Det er en stor udfordring for musikforskeren at gøre sig klart, hvad der kunne være de musikalske normer for en given periode, for en lokalitet, for en genre osv. Det kræver et detaljekendskab, som er næsten uoverkommeligt at nå at opbygge for ret mange emneområder. Denne skelnen er imidlertid uomgængelig, hvis ikke analyser skal fortregnes eller blive vilkårlige. Ikke mindst i formidlingen er det en udfordring, som forskningen alt for sjældent tager op, så musik enten præsenteres som en perlerække af brillante særtilfælde (‘mesterværker’) eller drukner i en stofmængde, der mest dokumenterer forskerens fortrolighed med stoffet. Margaret Bent har leveret vigtige incitamerter til fremme af denne synsvinkel.

Synspunktet kommer klarest frem i John Milsoms opgør med en alt for vidtstrakt brug af det upræcise, til tider næsten indholdsløse begreb ‘intertekstualitet’ i ‘*Imitatio*’, “Intertextuality”, and Early Music’, hvor han som overbevisende illustration bruger det faktum, at tætte kvintkanons på det nærmeste automatisk resulterer i ensartede melodiske formuleringer hos Du Fay og Josquin Desprez. Her og i andre lignende tilfælde er det spildt ulejlighed, hvis der ikke foreligger andre tvingende indicier, at analysere med henblik på at påvise intertekstualitet eller allusion. Lighederne fremkommer som følge af regler og sædvaner, som dele af hvad Milsom med en allusion til Margaret Bents banebrydende artikel fra 1998¹ kalder “the ‘grammar’ of counterpoint” (s. 151) – han kunne her også have inddraget tidens traditioner for mønsterafhængig, flerstemmig improvisation.

I en helt anderledes opsporing af normer har Lawrence M. Earp i ‘Declamatory Dissonance in Machaut’ ladet sig inspirere af Graeme Boones opdagelse af relativt faste konventioner for tekstdeklamation i Du Fays sange fra 1430’erne.² Han finder at de samme mønstre og forventninger til tekststavelsernes placering var virksomme langt tidligere med Guillaume de Machaut som sit hovedvidne, og at der er god grund til at spidse øren og sætte fortolkningsapparatet i gang, når digter-komponisten bryder konventioner og skaber bevidste dissonanser

1 Margaret Bent, ‘The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis’, i Cristle Collins Judd (ed.), *Tonal Structures in Early Music* (New York, 1998), 15–59.

2 Graeme M. Boone, *Patterns in Play: A Model for Text Setting in the Early French Songs of Guillaume Dufay* (Lincoln, 1999).

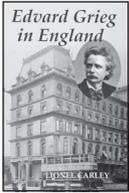
i forhold til forventningen. Det er en vigtig opdagelse, som skærper forventningen til at afprøve eller finde andre modeller på senere repertoarer, hvor kildernes markeringer af sammenhæng mellem tekst og musik kan være frustrerende vage.

Udnyttelsen af den almene klerikale lærdom, som blev udbredt i store ordbøger og *Florilegia* (samlinger af latinske citater og bevingede ord), der var blevet indsamlet og organiseret til støtte for hukommelsen gennem århundreder, kortlægges dels i Barbara Hagghs undersøgelse af brugen af citater i Johannes Ciconias traktat *Nova musica* fra omkring 1400, og dels i Andrew Watheys og Leofranc Holford-Strevens ('Fauvel Goes to School') analyser af citater i motetter af Vitry og fra *Roman de Fauvel* (1314-17). I de sidste tilfælde drejer det sig om det subtile spil med meninger mellem flygtige henvisninger til kendte citater, motetternes sungne tekster og musikkens fremhævelser af tekstlige elementer.

Helt i samme ånd er Bonnie J. Blackburns opsporing af de kryptiske latinske citater, hvorved nodeskriverne i Alamires værksted i årene efter 1500 gav sangerne besked på, at i næste sektion af musikken (ofte i passager med reduceret stemmetal) skulle de ikke sige en lyd. Skriverne morede sig med at finde på erstatninger for det kedelige "Tacet" (Her ties) med citater fra Biblen, klassikerne, ordsprog eller slet og ret platte vittigheder ("Benedictus non venit" – Den velsignede kommer ikke), og de inaktive sangere kunne bruge pausen på at spekulere eller prøve deres almene lærdom. Altsammen registreret med højeste lærdom og et befriende glimt i øjet.

Det mest subtile i samlingen er nok Reinhard Strohms numeriske analyse af Binchois' rondeau *De plus en plus se renouvelle* og Ockeghems messe over samme rondeau, der ses som en sandsynligvis posthum fejring af Binchois (død 1460). Strohm argumenterer overbevisende for at gentagelsesmønstret i en opførelse af Binchois' rondeau på grund af sangens optaktsbegyndelse bliver en anelse uregelmæssigt, for at første del af refrain'et bliver en semibrevis længere i den fulde fremførelse af refrain'et end når blot halvrefrain'et synges. Det giver nogle uregelmæssige talforhold, som Strohm genfinder i Ockeghems store messekomposition i en sådan grad, at "Ockeghem reacted to the peculiarities of *De plus en plus*, namely, the ingenuity of the variant durations including the prime number 41, and the metrical implications of an upbeat. In this way, he may also have honoured Binchois the performer" (s. 173). Det er ikke muligt at gå i rette med Strohms optællinger af semibrevis-enheder i værkerne eller at betvivle de fundne talforhold. Men det må i høj grad undre, at Strohm intetsteds i artiklen tager de mange diskussioner op, der har raset om nodeværdiernes relative længde ved udførelsen af henholdsvis *tempus perfectum* og *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, de to mensurationer i Ockeghems messe. Strohm tæller dem som lige lange enheder, uanset hvordan de vil fungere i en opførelse. På den måde kan det umuligt være Ockeghem "the performer" der ærer Binchois, kun talmagikeren. Ligesom i resten af artiklerne om Machaut og meget andet rummer denne samling essays masser af stof til eftertanke og modsigelse.

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen



Lionel Carley, *Edvard Grieg in England*
 Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2006
 496 pp., illus.
 ISBN 1-84383-207-0
 GBP 45 / USD 80

Lionel Carley's name is closely associated with that of the English composer Frederick Delius (1862-1934), on behalf of whose music he has for some forty years been actively engaged as a member of the Delius Trust and about whom he has written several books.¹ Anyone familiar with the life of Delius will appreciate how natural it is that he should now turn his attention to Edvard Grieg – indeed, the transition was clearly indicated some years ago when he published *Grieg and Delius: A Chronicle of their Friendship in Letters* (London, 1993). Though in the Preface to the present book (p. xvii) Carley credits its origin to an invitation to participate in a Grieg project at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Oslo in 1998, we in Denmark were privileged to be offered an anticipation of it five years earlier when he read a paper 'Grieg and Musical Life in England' at a symposium arranged by the Institute for Musicology of the University of Copenhagen in 1993 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Grieg's birth.² In that interesting paper Carley showed that there was still a corner of the well-documented world of Edvard Grieg that had not been adequately illuminated. Grieg's connections with Germany are familiar,³ but in this paper Carley called attention to the importance that England had had for Grieg and that Grieg in turn had had for England. The breadth and depth of this relationship has, I venture to say, heretofore remained unsuspected and what Carley broached in 20 pages in 1993 has now grown to occupy more than 20 times that number!

Lionel Carley might well have called his book *Grieg and the English*, since it is by no means limited to the time Grieg spent in England (calculated at six months in all) but documents Grieg's association with Englishmen outside England as well as inside. He was, in fact, born into an environment with strong British associations, since the family had for generations been the British consular representatives (for the most part unpaid) in Bergen in Norway, no doubt as a consequence of the first of them, Grieg's great-grandfather, having been born in Scotland. Edvard's godmother, furthermore, was a Scottish woman named Mary Widderburne Stirling and one wonders if she might have been related to Jane Stirling, who at just this time (1843) was Chopin's Scottish pupil and subsequent benefactor. At the Leipzig Conservatory, where he was sent in 1858, the young Edvard was a contemporary of several young English students, including Arthur Sullivan, Francis Edward Barnett, Walter Bache, and Franklin Taylor, who were to make their marks in English musical life and whose later connections with Grieg are here recounted in detail for the first time.

1 His two-volume edition *Delius. A Life in Letters* (London, 1983, 1988) was reviewed by the present author in *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning*, 18 (1987), 190–96.

2 The papers delivered at this symposium were published in *Musik & Forskning*, 19 (1993–94), the paper in question on pp. 73–92.

3 In the present book (pp. 173–74) Carley reports Grieg's embarrassment at having this association misrepresented in an interview printed in the London *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 March 1889, which he felt obliged to correct in a letter printed on 29 March under the heading 'Mr. Grieg and the Germans'. The misunderstanding was diplomatically serious enough at the time but it was quickly made good and when the end came the German Kaiser Wilhelm sent a representative to Grieg's funeral, who laid a wreath and expressed 'the deep sorrow of the Emperor and the German people' (p. 426).

Another fellow student who was to render important service to Grieg's music in England was technically an American when Grieg met him. This was Edward Dannreuther (1844–1905), who, though born in Strasbourg, had been taken as a child to Cincinnati in the USA. It was only on graduating from the Leipzig Conservatory in 1863 that he settled in London, where he became a leading pianist and teacher (of Hubert Parry, among others). It was Dannreuther who, unknown to the composer, gave the first, highly successful, performances in England of Grieg's Piano Concerto, which did so much to establish the young Norwegian's reputation as an important new voice in modern music.

Far from being 'das Land ohne Musik', as a German writer scornfully and misleadingly called it, England with its well-developed musical life was a Mecca for composers and performers from all over the world. After Händel, J.C. Bach and Haydn in the 18th century, such diverse composers as Ole Bull, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Liszt, Wagner, Gounod, Dvorak, Saint-Saens, and Fauré, to mention only a few, found enthusiastic audiences for their music in Victorian England and reaped considerable financial rewards. Encouraged by the reception of his Piano Concerto and 'urged by Wieniawski', as he said (chap. 3), Grieg began making plans in the late 1870s to visit England himself. However, apart from a visit made with his parents in 1862 after finishing his studies at the Leipzig Conservatory, an experience which seems to have had no musical consequence whatsoever, Grieg was not to visit England until 1888, by which time he was an acknowledged master.

Arrangements for proposed concerts were made in 1879, but these, as well as all the invitations to come to England that he received annually from 1883, he was unfortunately obliged to refuse or to cancel for reasons of health. When at last he was able to realize his wish to appear before the English public in May 1888, it was to be the first of only six visits that he was able to carry through: two in 1888, another in 1889, then again in 1894, 1897, and finally 1906. They were, however, visits that were to raise him to the absolute pinnacle of the musical hierarchy of the time.

Carley has, with a nod to musical form, organized his book with the visits in 1888–89, 1897, and 1906 as the main themes, preceded by and alternating with sections of English-related material from the periods when he was absent from England – seven sections, each consisting of several chapters (27 in all). Thus there is a 'Prelude', dealing with English contacts before coming to England; then the 'First Successes in England', which tells of the two triumphal visits to London and Birmingham respectively in 1888 and to London and Manchester in 1889. There follows an 'Interlude (1)' after he has left England and is 'staying in touch' with a view to a return visit. This section covers an interim of eight years and includes the story of his invitation to receive, in company with Tchaikovsky, Bruch, Boito, and Saint-Saens (Brahms and Verdi having declined), an honorary doctorate from Cambridge University in 1893. In the event he was unable to attend because of ill health and the conferring of his degree was postponed to the following year.

In the next main section, under the heading 'Grand Tour', we follow Grieg during the last three months of 1897 on his most extensive British concert tour, which included his only concert in Scotland (where much was made of his Scottish ancestry) at Edinburgh and a command performance before Queen Victoria (who spoke to him 'superbly' in German) at Windsor Castle. 'Interlude (2)' describes the years during which hopes of returning to England are repeatedly thwarted by ill health until in 1906 he makes his last trip to England to receive, under the professorship of Sir Hubert Parry, an honorary doctorate from Oxford University. Unlike the occasion of his Cambridge doctorate, this event, in connection with which he gave two concerts in London, is given separate – if brief – treatment in a section under the heading 'Final Curtain Calls'. Quite apart from the 'finality' of Grieg's return to

England after an absence of nine years – a sad prospect of which *The Musical World* appeared to be somehow prophetically informed when it wrote: ‘Edvard Grieg comes to this country to say farewell’ (p. 363) – historical events had given these concerts an unusually happy significance.

The first concert in 1906 was appointed to take place on 17 May, Norway’s National Day, and much had happened since the date of the concert had been agreed in the previous July. Events had moved rapidly: Norway had declared her independence of Sweden (7 June), the Swedish King Oskar II had finally abdicated (27 October) and the Danish Prince Carl had taken the oath to rule as King Haakon VII (27 November). That all this had happened with a minimum of acrimony. Grieg, who had feared armed conflict, was gratefully inclined to attribute to diplomatic assistance from England (p. 351) and he reported, ‘It was a glorious feeling to be allowed to represent Norway through my art on the first 17th May after our liberation’ (p. 373). During this visit he was once again summoned to appear at court, this time at Buckingham Palace before King Edward and Queen Alexandra, whose daughter Maud was now Queen of Norway. In London he also made the acquaintance of Percy Grainger, a young Australian pianist and composer who had written to him (in Danish) earlier in Norway but whom he met now for the first time. He came at once to hold him in high regard as friend and artist and Grieg was able to leave London on 31 May after an extremely busy three weeks asserting that ‘I shall always treasure the remembrance of these London days amongst my most happy memories’ (p. 394).

The remaining 15 months of Grieg’s life are accounted for in a section appropriately entitled ‘Closure’. The story ends, as it began, in Bergen, but with the added poignancy that when death incurred he had actually left Trolldhaugen, his home outside Bergen, on the first stage of yet another trip to England. *The Musical World’s* announcement of the previous year’s visit being his ‘farewell’ had apparently been unauthorized; no sooner had he arrived home in June 1906 than invitations to appear in England again began to come in, from which he accepted one to conduct at the Leeds Festival in October 1907, requesting that Percy Grainger be engaged to play his Piano Concerto. He got no further than Bergen, where he died on 4 September 1907. What may be called a ‘Coda’ to this section reports the aftermath in England, where his death was feelingly reported and the concerts which he should have conducted were given ‘In Memoriam’, as were many others in following months. The circle is closed when Nina Grieg, overcoming her reluctance to return to England without Edvard, finally accepted in 1912 an invitation to visit once more their old friends the Brodskys in Manchester.

In broad biographical outline the story of Grieg’s life, including his successful concerts in England, is well known, above all through the biography by Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe (1980) and the several editions of his letters and diaries listed in the bibliography of this book. What Lionel Carley has done here, however, is to reveal to us in detail the full extent of Grieg’s contacts and correspondence with England, ranging from pedestrian matters such as travel preparations, business arrangements, concert fees, daily expenses, and dealings with admirers, autograph hunters, and souvenir seekers, to the thoughtful self-revelation of diary entries and letters in which he expresses his feelings as an artist and warm appreciation of personal kindnesses. In addition, Carley has winnowed newspapers, musical journals, biographies, memoirs, and assorted unsuspected sources for references to Grieg and reviews of his music, all of which he has pieced together with consummate skill into a compelling narrative that tells the story, happy despite chronic ill-health, of Grieg’s experience of England and England’s equally happy reception of Grieg and his music.

When Grieg entered the hall to conduct the Philharmonic Society for his first appearance in England on 3 May 1888 he was greeted by such an ovation – ‘I think for more than three minutes!’ – that he confessed he didn’t know what to do: ‘... it just wouldn’t stop. Isn’t that

astonishing? In a foreign country' (p. 87). This is, of course, the essence of the book and contemporary sources offer two different explanations of Grieg's reception: according to the review of the concert in *The Musical Times*, 'Grieg, though personally a stranger, seemed intimately known to the audience ... no doubt due to the charm of the songs and pianoforte pieces which long since made his name a household word' (pp. 86–87). This familiarity was to a large extent due to the issuing in the 1870s of inexpensive editions of his music in the new Peters Edition series, published in London by Peters' English agent Augener & Co. (p. 29). The public thus learned to know his music, not in the concert hall alone, but by playing and singing it at home and he acquired the reputation for being 'the most popular musician in the home life of England since Mendelssohn' (p. 286). Grieg himself, however, when reporting the concert to his friend Frants Beyer, was inclined to see in the overwhelming greeting a tribute to something greater than himself: 'I really believe that the appreciation of the English for my art must come from their appreciation of Norway, for I can't explain yesterday's ovation in any other way' (p. 87).

It is certainly true that in the latter part of the 19th century English tourists, so disapproved in the novels of Knut Hamsun, had discovered Scandinavia and Norway – 'Norway is becoming more the rage every year!' (p. 198). Other travellers, such as William Archer and Edmund Gosse, became distinguished interpreters of Scandinavian literature.⁴ F. Cowen and F. Cliffe wrote 'Scandinavian' symphonies (1879 and 1889 respectively) and it is intriguing to encounter letters written by enthusiasts who had troubled to learn a Scandinavian language. Carley's vignette of one such letter-writer (p. 346) seems to contain in a few short sentences material for a whole novel! Most surprising, however, is the discovery that the well-known musician with the Dickensian name Ebenezer Prout, known to generations of music students for numerous textbooks on musical subjects and to singers for the standard edition of Handel's *Messiah* before it was superseded in 1947 by the edition of J.M. Coopersmith, was able to write to Grieg in Norwegian (p. 234).

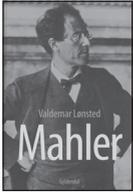
From the cultural-historical point of view this latter explanation has great interest and could bear to be further developed, in which case the role of the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in promoting in England an interest in Scandinavia deserves mention. Longfellow, who has escaped Lionel Carley's attention, became interested in Scandinavia in Copenhagen in 1835.⁵ He was for many years a professor at Harvard University and his poems, several with Scandinavian themes, were read and loved throughout the English-speaking world. It was from his *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863) that Edward Elgar adapted the text of his important choral work *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* (1896). Like Grieg, he received honorary doctorates from both Oxford and Cambridge (1868) and after his death in 1882, though an American, he was honoured with a memorial in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey in London. Seen in this light, perhaps Grieg's 'first and most unlikely [honour from British institutions] ... his appointment in 1884 as a member of the Council of Welcome to the American People' (p. xi) was not so inappropriate after all.

Lionel Carley has written a fascinating book about a great composer in an interesting cultural situation at a dynamic period in British history.

John Bergsagel

4 Cf. Edmund Gosse, *Two Visits to Denmark: 1872, 1874* (London, 1911; translated into Danish by Valdemar Rørdam, Copenhagen, 1912; reissued with a foreword by Kristian Hvidt, Copenhagen, 2001).

5 See Andrew Hilen, *Longfellow and Scandinavia, A Study of the Poet's Relationship with the Northern Languages and Literature* (New Haven, 1947).



Valdemar Lønsted, *Mahler*
 København: Gyldendal, 2006
 537 pp., illus.
 ISBN 87-02-03700-9
 incl. 1 CD
 DKK 399

Forfatteren har med denne bog fulgt sine to tidligere udgivelser, *Musikalske fortællinger* og *Flere musikalske fortællinger* (2000 hhv. 2003) op med endnu én, og denne gang af de helt brede, ikke kun omfangsmæssigt set, men også efter dens emne. For Gustav Mahlers kompositoriske værk betegner en art kosmologi, en udlægning af ophavsmandens verden eller verdensanskuelse. Ja, ifølge Mahler selv skulle enhver af hans symfonier, hovedgenren i hans produktion og den som bogen her koncentrerer sig om i musikalsk-analytisk henseende, "være ligesom verden. Den må være altomfattende" (Jean Sibelius' referat af en samtale med Mahler; s. 227) Dette, sammen med hovedpersonens spektakulære levnedsløb og karriere, gør også en fremstilling af Mahlers biografi til en opgave af de tungere. Han kan så afgjort fortjene at gøres til genstand for en 'fortælling' helt for sig.

Lønstedes bog er det første og ligeledes det største på dansk skrevne litterære bidrag om Mahler. Ellers foreligger, af noget lignende omfang og ærinde, kun en oversættelse af Th.W. Adornos bog fra 1960, med den samme lapidariske titel, *Mahler*, men med den ikke uvæsentlige tilføjelse: *En musikalsk fysiognomik*. I modsætning til Adornos tæt og labyrintisk strukturerede monografi er Lønstedes bidrag traditionelt anlagt, efter modellen 'liv og værk'. Og med hver ting for sig. En anden væsentlig forskel er at hvor Adorno, sin vane tro, kun fremlægger førstehånds refleksioner og analyser, kort sagt kritik (i ordets oprindelige betydning), er Lønstedes fremstilling i hovedsagen et kompilat af eksisterende forskning og dertil, i de selvstændigt udformede musikalske beskrivelser, almentforståeligt anlagt.

Disse omstændigheder gør det umiddelbart mindre indlysende at anmelde bogen i et videnskabeligt tidsskrift. Hvad der kunne omstøde en sådan tvivl og retfærdiggøre en recension i dette organ, måtte være en særlig kvalitet i formidlingsmæssig henseende. Og bedømt ud fra sin fremstilling, teksten taget så at sige på ordet, er det bestemt en læseværdig bog forfatteren har begået. Det gælder begge dens hovedaspekter, liv og symfonisk værk. Valdemar Lønsted skriver levende og han beskriver detaljeret. Derfor er opgaven som anmelderen her har påtaget sig også blevet taget alvorligt, med tanke på en seriøs og nuanceret bedømmelse for årbogens læsere.

Undervejs i denne arbejdsproces begyndte der dog at vise sig et problem, som har tvunget mig til at dreje anmeldelsen i en anden retning end den normale. For at sige det kort og klart: at undlade den mere detaljerede gennemgang og bedømmelse, for i stedet at koncentrere kritikken om det efter min mening fatale træk ved bogen som har gjort denne ændrede disposition nødvendig.

Lønstedes Mahlerbiografi er, vil jeg hævde, ikke blot af kompilatorisk art; den rummer også et element af plagiat, og ikke kun i mere beskedent omfang. Vist er det uundgåeligt, når man skriver en bog i erkendt afhængighed af allerede foreliggende litteratur om emnet, at fremstillingen resulterer i gentagelse af i forvejen kendt stof. Også en vis overtagelse af tidligere *koblinger* af sagsammenhænge kan det være svært at undgå. Lønsted erkender da også, i bogens forord, at være beroende på "tre vigtige støttepiller i [sit] arbejde" (s. 9), ligesom han undervejs i sin sagsfremstilling her og der har anbragt notehenvvisninger der angiver at fremstillingen baserer sig på bestemte kilder, typisk andre end de pågældende 'støttepiller'.

Men: én bestemt kilde angives ikke i forordets fremhævelse af den vigtigste baggrundslitteratur, og kun én gang med notehenvvisning undervejs i fremstillingen, nemlig s. 203, hvor

det siges at “det er ... udgivelsen af Mahlers breve til Alma der for en stor del ligger til grund for den følgende beretning”. Denne henvisning gælder afsnittet ‘Ægteskabet Mahler’, i kapitlet ‘De sidste år 1907-11’ (s. 203-20).

Den pågældende kildeangivelse, H.-L. de La Grange og Günther Weiß (eds.): *Ein Glück ohne Rub? Die Briefe Gustav Mahlers an Alma* (Berlin, 1995), antyder imidlertid for det første at forfatteren her bygger udelukkende på brevmateriale, mens realiteten er den at udgiverne har forsynet brevene med udførlige kommentarer og uddybende redegørelser, integreret i den løbende dokumentartekst. Og det er ikke mindst det sidstnævnte stof som Lønsted udnytter direkte og intensivt.

For det andet trækker forfatteren også tidligere i bogen, nemlig i afsnittet ‘Scener før et ægteskab’ (s. 140-61), på La Granges og Weiß’ ‘beretning’ i tilknytning til brevene. Og her viser det sig, når man foretager den nødvendige parallellæsning, at ske helt stiltiende og med mindst lige så åbenlys udnyttelse af forlægget. Det bliver kort sagt umuligt at befri sig fra den grimme mistanke at forfatteren bevidst har udgivet andres arbejde som sit eget.

Anmelderen er sig bevidst at dette er en alvorlig anklage. Den bringer afsløringen af Frank Esmanns overgreb mod Walter Isaacson’s Kissinger-biografi i erindring, hvor det vil huskes hvilken opstandelse og desuden hvilke forholdsregler Bent Blüdnikows dokumentation endte med at afstedkomme fra det danske forlags side. Og min påstand om et plagiat skal ses som end mere graverende af den grund at Lønsted ikke, som Esmann, har prøvet at dække sig ind overfor et copyrightmæssigt problem gennem talrige notehenvisninger.

Formelt set burde påpegelsen af forfatterens videnskabeligt lidet redelige fremgangsmåde ledsages af konkret og detaljeret dokumentation for fuskari. Dette vil kunne kræves, og det vil i givet fald blive imødekommet. Jeg vil imidlertid helst undlade at komme ind i sådanne detaljer førend forfatteren eventuelt udfordrer mig hertil. Men så meget skal siges her, til tydeliggørelse af grundlaget for efterlysningen af større fagmæssig redelighed, at det ikke så meget er nogle tekstlinjer her og der som bærer præg af at være overtaget fra La Grange og Weiß. Det beror mere på at der i de to ovenfor angivne afsnit foreligger en tydelig parallelitet mellem de to bøger med hensyn til hvilke detaljer – undertiden påfaldende detaljer – der er hentet fra den kommenterede brevdugave, og ligeledes i hvilken rækkefølge sådanne detaljer optræder og konstituerer Lønsteds tekst. Det er dette dobbelte forhold af overensstemmelse der – sammen med en omhyggeligt virkende kachering af den bagvedliggende kilde – røber karakteren af en utilstedelig afskrift.

Så afslørende for Lønsteds kildemæssige afhængighed opfattes det, indirekte, at man ved nærlæsningen noterer sig at han er gået helt henover Alma Mahlers åbenlyse betagelse af og uhammede flirten, på tilskuerpladserne i hofoperaen, med den flotte, unge dr. Louis Adler, netop i de afgørende dage hvor hun skulle træffe sit vanskelige valg mellem sine to passioner: Mahler og Alexander Zemlinsky, i december 1901. Denne i en helt anden forstand afslørende ageren, omtalt to gange i brevdugaven, s. 81 og 103 (som kommentarer hentet fra Almas dagbogsoptegnelser), undrer man sig over at forfatteren ikke har taget med i sin beretning om begivenhedsforløbet op til forlovelsen den 23. december.

En række helt neutrale sagsdetaljer skal til slut anføres som randbemærkninger. Til hovedindtrykket af en omhyggelig redigering følger der sig en række ‘smuttere’, fejl der især knytter sig til oversættelser fra tysk. Jeg har bl.a. noteret mig følgende: S. 41 (sidste linje) er slovensk blevet forvekslet med “slovakisk”. Mahlers ord til Alma s. 153: “mein Weib” er blevet til “min hustru”. Samme side bliver “hässlich” ikke til det rimeligste: “grim”, men oversættes ordret. Stadig på samme side må det hedde, med det underforståede: at leve, “for dig og min musik”; i bogen er det blevet forvansket til “til dig og af min musik”. S. 157 er Almas “Ach, wenn nur alles klar wäre!” fejloversat som “Ak, hvornår er alt mon rede!?” S. 204 finder man en forkludret

metaforik: “muren havde sænket sig” imellem ægtefællerne. S. 206 skriver Alma således i dagbogen: “Gustav lader disse tjenestepiger drikke af sit glas!”; originalens “diese Dirne” henviser kun til én sangerinde (fornemmeligst Anna von Mildenburg), og Almas valg af substantiv er her langt grovere end “tjenestepige”, nemlig snarere: luder. “Freund Hein” staves korrekt i forbindelse med den 4. symfoni, men konsekvent som “Hain” under omtalen af *Das Lied von der Erde*. På samme måde er det gået med ordet “Appell” i to forskellige tekstsammenhænge (også “Appel”).

Forfatteren lader det s. 384 passere, med en kommentar i noteform der viser at han har tænkt nærmere over sagen, at der “mærkværdigvis ikke findes a-mol-symfonier fra tiden mellem Haydn, hhv. den tidlige Mozart og Mahlers Sjette”. Her har han overset både Mendelssohns “Skotske” og Gades Tredje. Og hans sporadiske omtaler af Bruckner og hans musik hænger fast i gamle fraser: Bruckners 5. symfoni beskrives som “kolossal” (s. 139); akkurat af en Mahlerskribent kunne man vel forvente en noget rimeligere proportionssans. Det går heller ikke længere an at påstå at “Bruckner lagde ud med flere symfonier før den egentlige nummer ét” (s. 257). Den såkaldt ‘nulte’ – rettelig: den ‘annullerede’ – er entydigt påvist at være fire år yngre end den 1. symfoni; og med det eneste forgængerværk til nr. 1, studiefymfonien i f-mol, havde Bruckner aldeles ikke “store startvanskeligheder” (ibid.), tværtimod: kompositionsarbejdet gik her særdeles rask fra hånden. Og at symfonien ikke blev lyst i kuld og køn skyldes kun at den var et “Schularbeit”.

Valdemar Lønsted har to steder i sit forord sammenlignet sine anstrengelser omkring *Mahler* med den udfordring det er at bestige en Himalaya-top, og bekender endda at have haft “en ubændig lyst til at bestige dette Himalaya” (s. 7). Jeg må jo nok sige, efter at have taget del i hans rejseberetning, at han har forsømt at nævne og takke én og anden *sherpa* for tungt slæb og endda kraftigt påskub, uden hvilket måske ikke ...? – Jo, dog nok alligevel. Så hvorfor have risikeret en sådan kalamitet?

Bo Marschner



Inge Bruland (ed.), *Else Marie Pade og Symphonie magnétophonique*
Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2006
156 pp., illus., fascimiles
ISBN 87-635-0468-5
incl. 1 CD: *Symphonie magnétophonique, The Little Mermaid, Face it*
DKK 475

Det første der springer i øjnene, er et portrætfoto af Else Marie Pade i knaldgul bluse, stående midt i et saftigt grønt vildnis, kastende et lysegrønt æble op i luften. Else Marie Pades gule bluse matcher bogens gule omslag med titlen: *Else Marie Pade og Symphonie magnétophonique*, skrevet med knaldsort. Billedet af Else Marie Pade viser sig at være en del af en sekvens af to. Bagerst i bogen står hun smilende i vildniset efter at have grebet æblet. Hun ser ret tilfreds ud.

Bogen er en imponerende og alsidig udgivelse, som på allerfineste vis formår at belyse Else Marie Pades værk *Symphonie magnétophonique* fra 1958 fra mange sider. Der er artikler og dokumentarisk materiale og både det oprindelige partitur og et tilhørende lyttepartitur i farver er gengivet. Bogen fungerer også som et portræt af en usædvanlig kvindelig dansk komponist, hvis elektroniske musik, efter årtier i dvale, har fået en renæssance gennem det danske techno- og electronica-miljøes opdagelse af hende. Udover tekster og partitur, indeholder bogen en cd med tre nøgleværker af Else Marie Pade: *Symphonie magnétophonique* (1958), *The Little Mermaid* (1957-58) og *Face It* (1970).

Peter Bastian indleder bogen i et poetisk tilbageskuende forord, og efterfølges af en overskuelig, klar og velskrevet indledning og biografi, skrevet af bogens redaktør, Inge Bruland, om Else Marie Pades liv som elektronisk og konkret musikkomponistinde fra 1950'erne og op til i dag. Om bevæggrundene for bogen skriver Inge Bruland: "*Symphonie magnétophonique* udkom på cd i 2002 (Dacapo Records), og formålet med nu at udgive partituret til symfonien er dels at dokumentere en side af komponistens arbejdsproces, dels at give lytteren mulighed for både med ører og øjne at kunne følge med i værket" (s. 9). Herefter får vi lov til at stifte mere personligt bekendskab med personen Else Marie Pade, gennem tre vidt forskellige interviews af henholdsvis trommeslager, electronica- og technomusiker Emil Alenius Boserup, bassist og komponist Jon Bruland og komponist, musikformidler, kurator og producent Jakob Goetz. Alle tre er de unge repræsentanter for det danske elektroniske musikmiljø. Der sættes trumf på personskildringen med de efterfølgende billeder af Else Marie Pade, fra ung jazz-gal pige til elektronmusikkens Grand Old Lady flankeret af en horde af unge elektronmusikere.

Herefter begynder en introduktion til det, som er bogens egentlige ærinde: udgivelsen af partituret til *Symphonie magnétophonique*. Partituret efterfølges af et til lejligheden specielt skabt lyttepartitur af grafikerens Lisbeth Damgaard. Bogens sidste del kredser historisk om den tidlige danske elektronmusiks vanskelige år. Her sættes diskussionen ind i en geografisk kontekst med København, Kalundborg, Holstebro og Århus som vigtigste poler. Desuden belyses historien gennem et interview med Bent Lorentzen af Inge Bruland og en tekst af Bent Lorentzen selv, gengivet fra Numus' programbog 1988. Bogen afsluttes af fem luftfotos af København: Radiohuset, Rådhuset med et udsnit af Tivoli i højre side, Christiansborg, Kongens Nytorv og Amalienborg, alle taget i 1951, akkompagneret af korte tekster om 1950'ernes vigtigste politiske og kulturelle begivenheder. Og endelig er der en litteraturliste med udvalgte litteraturhenvisninger til de enkelte afsnit i bogen.

Symphonie magnétophonique er et 19 1/2 minutter langt elektronisk musikværk, komponeret i 1957-58 af Else Marie Pade på Danmarks Radio. Stykket beskriver et helt almindeligt døgn i København i 1950'erne alene ved hjælp af lydoptagelser fra København. Fra mælkemandens fløjten tidligt om morgenen, morgentandbørstning og sang under brusebad, til hverdagslivet på fabrikken, på kontoret, i skolen og i hjemmet. Dagen sluttes af med en tur i Tivoli. Morgenavisen snupes med på vejen hjem og fortæller en anden historie om arbejdsløshed, vold og krig. Men som Inge Bruland påpeger er værket mere end blot en historisk lydreportage fra 1950'ernes København. Den er også et stykke sirligt komponeret musik, som drives frem af kontrapunktisk leg med båndsymfoniens forskellige lydlag. Selve partituret til *Symphonie magnétophonique* er en affotografering af det 49 år gamle originalpartitur. Else Marie Pades sirlige notation, navngivning af lyd-kilder og oplysende tekst om afspilningsretning bibringer symfonien en betydningsmæssig dybde, som tilskynder lytteren til, med fornyet interesse og nysgerrighed, at gå på jagt i Else Marie Pades lydunivers. Lisbeth Damgaards lyttepartitur fremstår smukt og selvstændigt, som en personlig fortolkning af Else Marie Pades symfoni, samtidig med at det på raffineret vis er tro mod sit forlæg.

I Jon Brulands interview får man indblik i Else Marie Pades stålsatte vilje til, gennem musikken, at leve og overleve både opholdet i koncentrationslejren Frøslev under anden verdenskrig og det danske musikmiljøes stærke skepsis mod de nye 'elektroniske' strømninger fra udlandet. Særlig interessant er Else Marie Pades beskrivelse af det konkrete samarbejde med blandt andre lydteknikerens Holger Lauridsen på Danmarks Radio, som giver et unikt indblik i ikke bare hendes kompositionspraksis men den tidlige danske elektronmusiks vilkår.

Både Emil Alenius Boserups og Jakob Goetz' interview kredser om hendes forhold til de to tidlige elektronmusikretninger i Europa, som hun har ladet sig inspirere af: den konkrete

musik (*musique concrète*) i Paris med Pierre Schaeffer som bannerfører, og den elektroniske musik (*elektronische Musik*) i Köln med bl.a. Karlheinz Stockhausen som frontfigur. Ganske kort fortalt mente man inden for den konkrete musik, at det sande alternativ til instrumentalmusikkens traditionelle lydrepertoire skulle findes i lydoptagelser af realløyd, hvilket vil sige de konkrete eller dagligdags lyde vi er omgivet af på arbejdet, i hjemmet, i naturen osv. Modsat mente man inden for den elektroniske musik, at det virkelig interessante og nyskabende skulle findes i syntetisk frembringelse af lyde, som i teorien tilbød et uendeligt repertoire af uhørte og dermed nye lyde. For Else Marie Pade er begge retningers måde at tænke praksis og materiale på interessant. De bliver to forskellige instrumentale eller kompositoriske “farvenesler” som hun udtrykker sig kunstnerisk ved hjælp af (s. 20).

I Jakob Goetz’ interview kommer Else Marie Pade blandt andet ind på den symbolske betydning som den elektroniske og den konkrete musik har for hende. Gennem begge interview får man en klar fornemmelse af, at Else Marie Pade på den ene side, gennem sit arbejde med den konkrete musik, får mulighed for at nærme sig det livsnæres realisme og kærligheden til dagligdagens tilsyneladende trivialitet. Og på den anden side, gennem sit arbejde med den elektroniske musik, får mulighed for at nærme sig det overjordiske og fantastiske. Begge dele er redskaber for hendes musikalske beskrivelser af og kærlighedserklæringer til livet, hvor hver må finde sin egen balance mellem det gode og det onde: “... det, jeg gerne vil, det er at lave oaser, fordi jeg synes, virkeligheden er et grumt spektakel, og det syntes jeg også som barn. Og så var der noget andet; jeg samlede på smukke og gode ting – ikke fordi jeg var noget dydsmønster, jeg blev smidt ud af skolen tre gange – men, jeg samlede altså på nogle ting, som ligesom kunne danne et værn, når verden blev for skrap” (s. 33–34).

Ingeborg Okkels



Greger Andersson and Ursula Geisler (eds.), *Fruktan, fascination och frändskap. Det svenska musiklivet och nazismen*

Malmö: Sekel, 2006

194 pp., illus.

ISBN 91-955222-7-9

SEK 130



Henrik Karlsson, *Det fruktade märket. Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, antisemitismen och antinazismen*

Malmö: Sekel, 2005

205 pp., illus.

ISBN 91-955222-5-2

SEK 130



Horst Weber and Stefan Drees (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte emigrierter Musiker / Sources Relating to the History of Emigré Musicians 1933-1950*, ii: *New York*

München: K.G. Saur, 2005

xliv + 465 pp.

ISBN 3-598-23747-2

EUR 78

De to første bøger er udsprunget af et svensk forskningsprojekt med titlen ‘Fruktan, fascination och frändskap. Det svenska kulturlivets och vetenskapssamhällets relation til nazism og

fascism 1920-1950', som er forankret ved Lunds Universitet under ledelse af Greger Andersson. Projektet er finansieret af det svenske Vetenskapsrådet inden for rammen af programmet 'Sveriges förhållande till nazismen, Nazityskland og Förintelsen'. Som titlen antyder er det et bredt og tværfagligt projekt, som ikke kun behandler musik- og kulturlivet, men også omfatter studier af tidens ideer og diskurser, videnskabshistorie og kirkehistorie. Ud over antologien redigeret af Greger Andersson og Ursula Geisler og monografien om Wilhelm Peterson-Berger er der annonceret endnu to monografier i form af ph.d.-afhandlinger om komponisterne og musiklivsaktørerne Kurt Atterberg og Moses Pergament samt en række andre publikationer, hvoraf nogle allerede foreligger (jf. www.historia.su.se/swenaz/pages/andersson.htm).

Henrik Karlssons studie af Wilhelm Peterson-Berger (1867-1942), hvis 'frygtede mærke' var hans anmeldersignatur P.-B., indledes af et forord af Lars M Andersson, hvor han definerer nogle teoretiske præmisser for studiet af antisemitismen. For det første at den ikke er identisk med nazismen og ikke går restløst op i denne. Dermed er også præciseret at der anlægges en historisk synsvinkel, hvor efterkrigstidens viden om Holocaust (Förintelsen) ikke på anakronistisk vis benyttes som målestok for førkrigstidens antisemitisme. For det andet påpeger han, at antisemitisme var et 'normalt' fænomen i den forstand, at der var bred konsensus om at der eksisterede et 'jødespørgsmål' og at spørgsmålet også blandt filosemitter og jøder blev diskuteret på denne principielt antisemitiske præmis. Endelig lægger han til grund, at begrebet 'jøde' konstrueres af antisemitten som essensen af alt det, antisemitten frygter og afskyr. På denne måde lægges grunden til en differentieret tilgang til undersøgelsen uden at antisemitismen bagatelliseres eller gøres ufarlig. Karlsson trækker desuden på en opdeling i fem grader af antisemitisme, hvor den første er 'salonantisemitisme' eller hverdagsantisemitisme, en ikke-formaliseret diskriminering af jøder, den anden er en juridisk udgrænsning og forfølgelse, den tredje er 'pogrom-antisemitismen' med fysisk vold, den fjerde fordrivelsen og den femte tilintetgørelsen (s. 56).

Karlsson bestemmer Wilhelm Peterson-Berger som principiel antisemit med baggrund i en kulturkonservativ og nationalkonservativ holdning. Fremstillingen er først og fremmest en analyse af Peterson-Bergers tænkning, som er dybt præget af Wagner, Nietzsche og Houston Stewart Chamberlain og en dyrkelse af den store, germanske kultur. Peterson-Berger var af samme generation som Richard Strauss og Hans Pfitzner, Carl Nielsen og Jean Sibelius, en generation for hvem uddannelse i forlængelse af den tyske musiktradition var en selvfølge. Han studerede i Dresden 1889-90, hvor han også underviste i årene 1892-94. Fra 1896 til 1930 var han med et kort ophold anmelder ved *Dagens Nyheter* i Stockholm. Materialet til belysning af hans antisemitisme er primært en læsning af hans anmeldelser, hvor antisemitiske holdninger kommer frem, ikke ofte men regelmæssigt, i perioden fra omkring første verdenskrig frem til slutningen af 1920'erne, som også udgør kulminationen. Der er ingen tvivl om, at han i sin tænkning udgrænsede jøder som fremmede, og i sin fejde med komponisten Moses Pergament, som også var musikkritiker, blev denne frakendt retten til at dømme om svensk musik, fordi han som jøde manglede rodfæstethed i den nationale kultur. Men han er også påfaldende inkonsekvent, som når han i forhold til Gustav Mahler, som han i mange år forsvarede, i løbet af 1920'erne skifter holdning og først da tillægger Mahler de negative træk som 'jøde', der indtil da havde været fraværende.

Peterson-Bergers antisemitisme hænger tæt sammen med hans kulturkonservativisme og indædte modstand mod alle former for modernisme og kakofoni. Her kobles hans ideer om den degenererede storby, jøderne, tolvtonemusikken, bolsjevismen og den vesterlandske kulturs forfald sammen i en fælles figur, hvor antimodernisme og antisemitisme uhindret glider over i hinanden. Karlsson påviser, hvordan denne figur dukker op i hans anmeldelser i begyndelsen af 1920'erne, og det ville have været oplagt at perspektivere til kulturdebatten i Tyskland, fx

ved at referere til Eckhard Johns diskurshistoriske afhandling *Musikbolschewismus. Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918-1938* (Stuttgart, 1994).

Interessant er fænomenet, at Peterson-Berger hurtigt, entydigt og med gennemslagskraft i den svenske offentlighed tager afstand fra nationalsocialisternes magtovertagelse. Det sker først og fremmest ud fra opfattelsen af, at nationalsocialismen ødelægger den store tyske kultur, og med sin dybe indsigt i det kulturkonservative, tyske tankegods er han i stand til at argumentere med Nietzsche og Wagner mod nazisternes udlægning af disse. Påfaldende er det også, at de antisemitiske angreb nedtones kraftigt efter 1930. Karlsson kommer ikke med en endelig forklaring på dette forhold, selv om han leverer brikker til en forståelse. Mest overbevisende synes parallellen til Thomas Mann at være, og en brevveksling fra 1937, gengivet som bilag, henviser til at Mann allerede i 1918 i sit essay *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* trækker på Peterson-Bergers Wagnerbog,¹ og gentager referencen i sit opgør med den nazistiske Wagnerdyrkelse i 1933. I brevet tilslutter Peterson-Berger sig Thomas Manns kulturnationale, antinazistiske position. En for nylig udkommet bog af Hans Rudolf Vaegt, *Seelenzauber. Thomas Mann und die Musik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), udfolder på interessant vis det forhold, at Thomas Mann var dybt fascineret af Hans Pfitzners opera *Palestrina* ved uropførelsen i 1917 og på dette tidspunkt lå tæt på Pfitzners tysknationale kulturkonservatisme. Derefter skilles deres veje, ikke mindst på spørgsmålet om tolkningen af Wagner. Det er en overvejelse værd, i hvor høj grad Peterson-Berger gennemløber en parallel udvikling.

Det er interessant at sammenligne med, hvordan spørgsmålet om Peterson-Berger og antisemitismen behandles i en anden ny bog om ham. Det er antologien *Wilhelm Peterson-Berger – en vägvisare*,² der er udkommet i Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens serie af vejvisere til svenske komponister, hvor der også for nylig er udkommet introduktioner til Dag Wåren og Hugo Alfvén. Her finder man tolv bidrag med fokus på komponisten Peterson-Berger, blandt andet to artikler om hans Wagnerinspirerede opera *Armljot* (til hvilken han drømte om at bygge et festspilhus på Frösön i Jämtland) og hans Nietzschesange. Men det er påfaldende, at intet sted i bogen, selv hvor hans konflikt med Moses Pergament berøres, benævnes det forhold at han havde antisemitiske holdninger. I Bengt Olof Engströms artikel, der handler om Peterson-Bergers forhold til Koncertforeningen i Stockholm, den betydeligste koncertinstitution på den tid, citeres endda hans angreb på Pergament for at være en 'utlandsk parasit' (s. 39), men i konteksten fremstilles det som et 'normalt', gensidigt konfliktforhold (jf. s. 38), underforstået som en undskyldelig bemærkning i kampens hede. Og Tomas Block, der skriver om Peterson-Bergers musiksyn i sammenligning med Kurt Atterbergs, nævner at Pergament måtte slås for ikke at blive marginaliseret på grund af sin jødiske herkomst (s. 59), men skriver alene om Peterson-Bergers angreb på Pergament, at det er et ubehersket modangreb, anbragt i en anmeldelse, hvor det egentlig ikke havde noget at gøre, men at dette er karakteristisk for Peterson-Berger og nok har gjort ham (!) mere skade end gavn (s. 62). Det understreger kun behovet for bøger som Henrik Karlssons, hvor der bliver talt åbent om tingene.

Den anden publikation fra forskningsprojektet, antologien *Fruktan, fascination och frändskap. Det svenska musikkivet och nazismen*, indeholder i alt syv bidrag af forskellig karakter. Indledningsvis finder man en diskussion af nationalsocialismen som begreb (af Lars M Andersson

1 Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, *Richard Wagner som kulturföreteelse. Sju betraktelser* (Stockholm, 1913), i tysk oversættelse som *Richard Wagner als Kulturerscheinung* (Leipzig, 1917).

2 Bengt Olof Engström, Orvar Eriksson, Lennart Hedwall, and Henrik Karlsson (eds.), *Wilhelm Peterson-Berger – en vägvisare* (Södertälje, 2006).

og Henrik Bachner) og bidrag af Greger Andersson og Ursula Geisler om henholdsvis 'Nazismen och musiken' og mere specifikt om forholdet mellem tysk nationalsocialisme og svensk musikkultur. Geisler giver i sin artikel et vue over den sparsomme svenske forskning på området og skitserer forskningsrådets problemstillinger med udgangspunkt i den primært tyske forskning. Derpå følger et par interessante casestudier, først af den svenske folkemusikforsker Karl Sporns virke i Tyskland efter 1933 og specielt den rolle, Nordische Gesellschaft spillede i den forbindelse, og derpå af Fritz Jödes virke i Sverige i samme periode. Det er veldokumenteret arbejde og tankevækkende, også i forhold til de mange paralleller til danske forhold.

Derefter følger en artikel af Greger Andersson om 'Receptionen af svensk musik i Nazi-Tyskland', der tematisk relaterer til bogens sidste bidrag af Boel Lindberg, "Exportera den där Hitlermusik till Tyskland", som studerer reaktionerne på programlægningen i svensk radio under krigen. Andersson viser, at samarbejdet med Nordische Gesellschaft også her spillede en central rolle og at samarbejdet fortsatte også under krigens første år. Han påpeger også, hvordan de tyske radiostationer promoverede nordisk musik, mens Lindberg omvendt viser, at den svenske radio, på trods af en streng neutralitetslinie, smuglede underforstået solidaritet med Finland og siden Norge og Danmark ind i musikvalget. Hun påviser også reaktioner mod hvad der opfattedes som pro-nazistisk musik, men materialet er her spinkelt, idet kun ti af de benyttede breve omtaler dette, og titlen er hentet fra et atypisk angreb, der betragter al klassisk musik i den tyske tradition for at være udtryk for nazisme.

De to resterende bidrag af Petra Garberding og Henrik Rosengren må betragtes som forarbejder til de to annoncerede afhandlinger om Kurt Atterberg og Moses Pergament. Petra Garberding skriver i sit bidrag om Kurt Atterberg og Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten. Denne organisation blev stiftet 1934 på tysk initiativ som en modorganisation til det 'kulturbolsjevistiske' ISCM og fungerede ligesom denne med repræsentation for de enkelte lande og med musikfester som sit primære virke udadtil. Dette arbejde blev stort set indstillet ved krigsudbruddet, men genoptaget i 1942 med det formål at reorganisere arbejdet med henblik på situationen efter krigen. I 1944 ophørte rådets arbejde. Når indlægget er interessant ud fra et dansk perspektiv, er det fordi Peder Gram på samme måde som Atterberg hørte til inderkredsen i organisationen gennem alle årene. Denne vinkel er ikke fremhævet i hendes arbejde, men det understreger behovet for lignende undersøgelser af danske forhold. Garberdings arbejde er del af et igangværende etnologisk doktorarbejde ved Stockholms Universitet. Hun beskriver sin tilgang som diskursteoretisk og analyserer interessant, hvordan sproget gengiver kampe om magten og retningen af arbejdet. En central problemstilling er magtkampen i sproget mellem nazistisk ideologi og forestillingen om at være en selvstændig international organisation. Men denne metode har sine begrænsninger, hvor man gerne ville have haft også en mere indgående historisk interpretation af kilderne. Breve og dokumenter er ikke kun diskurs, de er skrevet fra nogen til nogen for at give et bestemt indtryk af tingene eller for at opnå noget. Det er ikke kun et metodisk spørgsmål, men påvirker også vurderingerne. Jeg køber fx ikke det synspunkt, at fordi organisationen var oprettet på tysk initiativ, så var det en intenderet nazistisk organisation, inden for hvilken de nordiske repræsentanter og Richard Strauss kunne danne modvægt og påvirke i retning af en mere ligeværdig og upolitisk linie (s. 114 f.). Det undervurderer det faktum, at den nazistiske regering ikke havde brug for en nazistisk organisation, men for en organisation der kunne fremme tyske kultur- og udenrigspolitiske interesser. De havde brug for en organisation med international legitimitet, og det fik den kun, hvis den ikke fremstod som nazistisk. Det er her det bliver rigtig interessant, fordi medlemmerne ved at leve sig ind i den skitserede diskurs om nazister kontra kulturarbejdere legitimerer over for sig selv og andre, at det er et internationalt kulturarbejde og ikke nazistisk propaganda, de laver. Og først derigennem opfylder de

den tyske regerings udenrigspolitiske interesser. Men uanset dette kan man kun glæde sig til den færdige afhandling, som tegner til at blive spændende.

Også Henrik Rosengrens artikel om ‘Wagnerianeren Moses Pergament och “Das Judentum in der Musik”’ giver lyst til at høre mere. Han tager fat i det paradoksale forhold, at jøden Pergament på trods af Wagners antisemitisme opfattede sig som Wagnerianer. I artiklen analyseres hvordan Pergament repræsenterer en Wagnerforståelse, hvor der skelnes mellem privatpersonen Wagner og den lære, der kan uddrages af hans værk. Det er Rosengrens tese, at det antisemitiske på linie med det erotiske tilregnes det personlige og dermed anses for at være mindre væsentligt, mens Wagners lære i det væsentlige lå i musikdramaerne, som Pergament opfattede som almentmenneskelige og dermed overnationalt gyldige. Rosengren ser denne dyrkelse af Wagner som Pergaments integrationsstrategi i forhold til det svenske musikliv, men ser samtidig grænserne for denne strategi, der fx viser sig i at Pergament i modsætning til Peterson-Berger ikke diskuterer Wagners antisemitisme offentligt. Her bliver det også klart, at konflikten mellem de to ikke kun bunder i at de begge er komponister og musikkritikere, men også i at Pergament udfordrer Peterson-Bergers position som den førende Wagnerianer.

Udgivelser som disse viser behovet for lignende undersøgelser af det danske musiklivs forhold til og samkvem med Tyskland i perioden op til, under og efter besættelsen. Ud over dette svenske forskningsprojekt er der i de seneste år kommet enkelte bøger om andre nordiske komponister, fx Ruth-Maria Gleißner, *Der unpolitische Komponist als Politikum. Die Rezeption von Jean Sibelius im NS-Staat* (Heidelberg, 2002) og Carl Gunnar Åhlén, *Jón Leifs. Kompositör i motvind* (Stockholm, 2002). Men på dansk grund er spørgsmålet stadig helt jomfrueligt, bortset fra enkelte ansatser i fx Hans Bay-Petersen, *En selskabelig invitation. Det Kongelige Teaters gastespil i Nazi-Tyskland i 1930'erne* (København, 2003).

En anden side af forskningen i forhold til musiklivet under nazismen har været undersøgelser af den beslægtede problemstilling om forfulgte og exilerede musikere. Denne forskningsretning har under et været betegnet som eksilforskning og er gennem årene vokset til et stort og veletableret forskningsfelt. Forlaget K.G. Saur, der som et af sine specialer har bibliografiske kataloger, har påbegyndt en kortlægning af eksisterende kilder til denne eksilforskning. Her skal omtales andet bind i serien *Quellen zur Geschichte emigrierter Musiker / Sources Relating to the History of Emigré Musicians, 1933-1950*, som fokuserer på New York. Første bind med kilder fra Californien udkom i 2003. Som det fremgår af titlen, er det et til dels dobbeltsproget værk, idet de indledende tekstdele findes både på tysk og engelsk, mens selve kataloget er på tysk. (Dette sidste bliver i sig selv langt hen ad vejen også tosprogligt, fordi en stor del af kilderne i New York er på engelsk, fx post 5535: “Wilbur K. Thomas (Harvard Univ., Dept. of Music, Cambridge, MA) an Betty Drury (Emergency Committee, NYC); ... Gespräche ‘at William and Mary’ über Anstellung eines ‘foreign scholar’ am dortigen Music Dept.) ...”

Formålet er at samle et bredt udvalg af kilder fra offentlige samlinger i New York City, der belyser emigrationen af musikere, der er flygtet fra nazismen. Selv om der i udgangspunktet er tale om flugt fra Tyskland, er perspektivet bredt ud, så det også omfatter tyske musikere, der er flygtet via stationer i andre andre, og andre europæiske musikere, der er flygtet som følge af udvidelsen af det tyske herredømme gennem annektioner og krig. Udgivelsen er forestået af Stefan Drees og Horst Weber, der også har skrevet en meget informativ indledning om New York som eksilmål. I bogens slutning er desuden 38 centrale dokumenter gengivet i fuld længde. Her drejer det sig især om breve af kendte personligheder som fx Bruno Walter, Arturo Toscanini, Béla Bartók og Arnold Schönberg. Til sidst finder man et index over de nævnte personer og over navngivne person- og institutionsarkiver.

Hoveddelen på omkring 350 sider består af selve kataloget med i alt 7163 poster. Kataloget er bygget op efter samlingernes placering, fx er det første arkiv i selve byen New York arkivet fra American Composers' Alliance. Her får man arkivets kontaktoplysninger og nogle få sætninger om institutionens og arkivets art. Derefter følger udvalgte personakter, indledt med nogle få biografiske oplysninger om i første tilfælde Hermann Berlinski, og derefter følger en række poster, opdelt i korrespondance (en post for al hans korrespondance 1952-1990), officielle dokumenter (to poster med resume af dokumentets indhold) og biografisk materiale (tre poster, der indeholder hhv. programhæfter og værkfortegnelser).

Afgørende er naturligvis brugbarheden. Et prøveopslag på Béla Bartók viser, at han er nævnt 12 steder foruden to gange i indledningen. Af de 12 opslag er de otte til selve katalogen, resten vedrører de publicerede dokumenter. Allerede første opslag på s. 18 viser, at det ville have været en fordel, hvis det havde været fremhævet, hvor Bartók er hovedperson. Her lander man midt i en liste over André Singers brevveksling, hvor Bartók alene er nævnt i stikordene til et brev fra Richard Hauser fra 1948 under punktet Z: Zeitgeschehen. Kun to opslag berører Bartók direkte, hvor den ene er henvisningen til Béla Bartók Papers på Columbia University, der refereres over tre sider, og den anden hans breve i arkivet fra League of Composers. Et tredje opslag viser hen til et par breve, Joseph Szigeti har skrevet på Bartóks vegne. I dokumentdelen er gengivet to breve fra Bartók og han er nævnt i forbifarten i et tredje. Alene de opslag, jeg her har gjort, kunne i en elektronisk udgave være foretaget langt hurtigere, og der kunne løbende opdateres med nye opdagelser, hvor denne bog er begrænset af sin redaktions slutdato i foråret 2004.

Man må overveje, om ikke tiden er ved at løbe fra at publicere den slags på tryk. Den konsekvens har man i hvert fald draget i et beslægtet projekt på dette område, der er udsprunget af eksilforskningsmiljøet på Universitetet i Hamburg, som i 2006 har åbnet netstedet Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit (<http://cmslib.rz.uni-hamburg.de/lexm/content/home.xml>). Titlen er bevidst valgt for ikke at indsnævre sig til flygtede musikere og dermed på forhånd at udelukke centrale grupper af forfulgte. Stedet er under opbygning, og man kan fx ikke lave et opslag på Bartók, men allerede nu ligger der en bibliografi med 2771 henvisninger og flere hundrede biografier. Det er dog ikke en udgivelse, der på nogen måde gør Horst Webers og Stefan Drees' arbejde overflødig. Det er uanset publikationsform uhyre vigtigt, at der nu for første gang findes en samlet registrering og indholdsbeskrivelse af primærkilder. Det er utrolig væsentligt, at nogen laver den slags bibliografisk arbejde, der gør det muligt at gå målrettet til de rigtige samlinger i New York, og ikke mindst at undgå at gå forgæves til alle dem, hvor der ikke er noget at finde.

Michael Fjeldsøe



Lissa Nicolajsen, *Sang i landsbyskolen i 1800-tallet*
Herning: Folkeskolens Musiklærerforening, 2006
159 pp., illus.
ISBN 87-7612-239-5
DKK 240

Faget *sang* i den danske almueskole, som det blev udviklet ned gennem 1800- og 1900-tallet, er den historiske basis for store dele af nutidens musikpædagogiske landskab, og ikke mindst for skolefaget *musik* som det ser ud i dag. En samlet fremstilling af skolesangshistorien er,

trods tilløb, desværre aldrig blevet realiseret, og det er derfor meget velkomment at cand. pæd. Lissa Nicolajsen har samlet sin tidligere artikelserie i *Dansk Sang* om dette vigtige emne til den foreliggende bog. Det er en indbydende publikation med dejligt læselige typer og et glimrende billedmateriale. Forfatteren gennemgår på en levende og redelig måde sang og musikplacering i dansk skolevæsen fra tiden før almueskoleloven 1814 og til omkring 1900. Primære kilder er anvendt (lovstof, regulativer, sanginspektør-indberetninger etc. – foruden sangbøger) såvel som en ret fyldig litteratur centreret omkring det pædagogiske og skolehistoriske (rækken af publikationer kunne dog med fordel være udvidet med en række relevante specialer og publikationer fra Aarhus Universitet).

Kapitel 1 skildrer forhistorien: de tidlige skoletyper, den store skolekommissions arbejde, impulserne fra den progressive internationale pædagogik, J.A.P. Schulz' afgørende og langtrækkende indflydelse i dansk musik, og H.O.C. Zincks idealistiske mere end realbetonede indsats for seminarieundervisningen. Zincks udtalelse "Ej blot til Lyst fik Mennesket Synge- evner ..." er sat som motto for bogen.

I kapitel 2, "Mellem to skolelove 1814-1899", har forfatteren haft den storartede idé at 'grave' i et lokalområde, Kundby sogn, for at efterspore hvordan lovene udmøntedes i et enkelt sogns skoler – en lærerig og interessant undersøgelse, der ikke nok kan anbefales til efterfølgelse. Herefter skildres udviklingen i resten af århundredet, fra den ressourcemæssigt skræbede begyndelse over det berygtede europæiske spareprogram "den indbyrdes undervisning" eller "Lancasterske metode" og til tiden efter 1859, hvor oprettelsen af sanginspektørembedet bringer mere styr på sangundervisningen ud over landet – og betydelig magt til den siddende inspektør. Her er inspektionens resultater grundigt præsenteret ud fra A.P. Berggreens, Viggo Sannes og J.H. Nebelongs indberetninger til ministeriet. Løbende præsenteres de mange skolesangbøger som udgives i perioden, med Berggreens skolesangsværk i 14 hæfter 1834-76 som langt det vægtigste. Vi følger også de pædagogiske systemers historie, herunder ciffer-systemerne, disse velmente alternativer til den svære nodelæsning, som dog aldrig fik virkelig succes. Forholdet til de grundtvigske friskoler og til den grundtvigske fællessang kommer uvægerligt ind i billedet i århundredets sidste tredjedel. Sluttelig gør forfatteren status over de opnåede resultater set i forhold til de oprindelige intentioner bag skolelovene og sammenfatter "væsentlige træk" ved landsbyskolens sangundervisning i perioden. Det sker i en række punkter som hun selv kalder "uprioriterede stikord", under overskrifterne *Autoriteterne*, *Befolkningen omkring landsbyskolen* og *Landsbyskolens lærere* (s. 142-44).

Bogen skal naturligvis vurderes på de præmisser der ligger i at den primært er en håndbog for folkeskolens musikundervisning. Men når der nu er gjort så grundigt og formidlingsmæssigt udmærket et stykke arbejde, kunne man have ønsket sig – ikke tyngende teori eller lange udredninger, men et lidt bredere *perspektiv*, både ud i samfundets politiske og kulturpolitiske historie, som denne specifikke historie er en del af, og ud i andre dele af det omkringliggende musikliv, først og fremmest kirkesangsområdet. Det er nemlig svært at få en helt klar forståelse af de idémæssige modsætninger, der så markant træder frem i bogens stof, også i de afsluttende "stikord", hvis ikke skolesangens forskellige retninger betragtes som led i det større mønster af stridende politiske og dannelsesmæssige fløje i 1800-tallets Danmark. Skolehistorikeren Joakim Larsen betragtede selv skolehistorien i 1800-tallets anden halvdel i dette lys – og havde valgt side *imod* den 'alternative' grundtvigske bevægelse, for den officielle, borgerligt prægede skole. Det politiske liv, kultur- og undervisningspolitik, de folkelige bevægelser på land og i by, fællessangen i befolkningen, kirkesangen, skolesangen og i høj grad sanginspektionen – alt afspejler disse grundlæggende modsætninger i denne periode. Forfatteren har valgt en tilgang meget tæt ind til sit emne, ofte med beskedne eller, efter denne anmelders mening, rigeligt venlige og forsigtige formuleringer (fx s. 120 om hhv. Weyses,

Berggreens og Rungs talenter som komponist!). Det er jo ikke usympatisk, men kan også sløre visse forhold, fx Berggreens bedredende magtdemonstrationer, Viggo Sannes felttog mod den grundtvigske sang – og i hvor høj grad skolesangen i det hele taget var en kampplads. Det gjaldt også selve projektet: at erstatte almuens visesang med en anden sangkultur, jf. forfatterens egen formulering om “stor afstand mellem familiens hverdagsmusk og den sang, barnet blev præsenteret for i skolen” (s. 142).

Trods det her anførte må man ønske bogen stor udbredelse. Forfatteren bebuder en opfølgning som bl.a. skal vise hvordan nutidens musikundervisning er præget af arven fra 1800-tallet, og det må hilses særdeles velkomment.

Kirsten Sass Bak



Frank Büchmann-Møller, *Someone to watch over me.*

The Life and Music of Ben Webster

Jazz Perspectives, 11

Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark / Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, 369 pp., illus.

ISBN 87-7674-133-8 / 978-0-472-11470-2

DKK 279 / USD 32,50

Det er næsten en naturlov, at ægte jazz-aficionados også er passionerede pladesamlere. Herhjemme gælder det fx Erik Wiedemann, Arnvid Meyer, Karl Emil Knudsen, Thorbjørn Sjøgren og Frank Büchmann-Møller, og alle har de ud af denne samlermani skabt sig karrierer, der har gjort dem kendte langt ud over landets grænser. De har markeret sig hver på sit område, Wiedemann som forsker, Meyer som organisatorisk ildsjæl og leder af jazzcentret i Rønnede og Knudsen som pladeproducent (Storyville). Sjøgren og Büchmann-Møller er begge bibliotekarer af uddannelse og erhverv, og førstnævntes diskografier over bla. Ben Webster, Dexter Gordon, Sonny Rollins, Duke Jordan og Chet Baker har været med til at give Danmark en førerposition inden for det internationale jazzdiskografiske arbejde.

Büchmann-Møller er primært kendt for sit tobindsværk fra 1990 om tenorsaxofonisten Lester Young, der bestod af biografien *You just fight for your life* og den omfangsrige, kommenterede diskografi *You got to be original, Man!* En af Amerikas førende jazzforskere, Lewis Porter, har ved flere lejligheder fremhævet netop dette værk som et mønstereksempel på den biografiske/diskografiske monografi inden for jazzten. Og samme Porter er redaktør af serien Jazz Perspectives, hvori Büchmann-Møllers nye bog indgår.

Büchmann-Møller har barslet med endnu en gedigen biografi over en af jazzens store tenorsaxofonister, nemlig Ben Webster, med titlen *Someone To Watch Over Me, The Life and Music of Ben Webster*. Baggrunden for udgivelsen er kort fortalt den, at Statens Musikkraad i 1997 – i forbindelse med lukningen af *Det Danske Jazzcenter* i Rønnede – overførte en del af centrets store arkivsamling til Odense Universitetsbibliotek. Denne samling indeholdt bl.a. Ben Websters fonogrammer, herunder privatoptagede acetater og spolebånd, samt fotos og andet memorabilia, som blev samlet sammen gennem en lang og virksom karriere. Det blev Büchmann-Møller, der fik ansvaret for registreringen af samlingen, og det er altså dette arbejde, som nu efter mange år er mundet ud i udgivelsen af den nye Webster-biografi.

Selvom biografien – ligesom Lester Young-biografien – er populærvidenskabelig i sin fremstilling, så lever den op til samme gedigne, videnskabelige standarder som forgængeren. Büchmann-Møller redegør detaljeret for Websters liv og karriere, fra barndommen i Tom Pendergasts Kansas City med det blomstrende natte- og musikliv til de sidste år i Europa,

hvor København blev hans sidste hjem. Historien er turbulent, for 'Big Ben' var en farverig og temperamentsfuld herre, hvis musikalske karriere i øvrigt var helliget violinen, inden den blev smadret i vrede. Han udviklede sig derefter til en ganske ferm pianist i Harlem stride-stilen, hvilket i 1937 skaffede ham et job som akkompagnatør til stumfilm i den lokale biograf for næsen af Count Basie, inden han endelig som 20-årig kastede sig over saxofonen og blev oplært af Bud Johnson og ingen ringere end Lester Young. Webster skoledes i Midtvestens territorial bands, Andy Kirks, Bennie Motens og Willis Youngs, og senere banedes vejen til New York via Blanche Calloway, Fletcher Henderson, Benny Carter og Cab Calloway, inden han i 1940 blev permanent medlem af Duke Ellingtons legendariske orkester. Og dette var bare begyndelsen, senere kom så samarbejdet med Billie Holiday, foruden Teddy Wilson, Art Tatum, Stuff Smith, Charlie Parker, Jimmy Rowles, Mary Lou Williams, Gerry Mulligan, Joe Zawinul og mange andre.

Bogens kronologiske fremstilling afbrydes undervejs for at sætte spotlight på udviklingen i Websters solospil, som det blev dokumenteret undervejs i de mange pladeindspilninger, suppleret med Webstersamlingens privatoptagelser. Med disse analytiske spots sætter Büchmann-Møller fokus på Websters særlige stil og dybt personlige sound, der var unik blandt jazzens tenorsaxofonister. Opfattelsen af den personlige sound som jazzmusikerenes stemme og improvisationen som en historie, der fortælles, går tilbage til Lester Young, og den har stadig gyldighed blandt musikere i dag. NHØP udtrykker det således i bogen: "The story they tell relates to the sound, develops in context with the sound ... it is the voice of the man. When the voice is clear, you can use everything else you have to tell your story. If the voice doesn't carry, it's hard to tell your story" (s. 149). Den specielle psykologi, der gælder sammenspillet i jazzcomboet, berører Büchmann-Møller ved flere lejligheder, bl.a. i et interview med bassisten Milt Hinton: "I learned from Ben to research the artist I was playing with, to study his antics, what he likes, the type of rhythm he likes. If you're playing for this guy, and he likes the type of thing, you can hear it in his playing. Then you give him that" (s. 45). Büchmann-Møller redegør præcist for Websters mangeårige arbejde med at finde ind til sit ideal, som – da det først var etableret – forblev uforandret igennem resten af karrieren.

Til kapitlerne om barndommen og årene i Holland har Büchmann-Møller trukket på Jeroen de Valks hollandske Ben Webster-biografi fra 1992 (oversat til engelsk i 2001), eftersom de Valk rådede over særdeles gode primærkilder til netop disse perioder. Informationer om Websters indspilninger er primært hentet fra Langhorn og Sjøgrens diskografi, *Ben, The Music of Ben Webster* (København, 1996), sammenholdt med Heinz Baumeisters *Ben Webster Sessionography*, som er at finde på *The Ben Webster Foundations* hjemmeside (www.benwebster.dk/discography.php).

Ellers bygger Büchmann-Møller sin fremstilling på interviews med Webster selv samt en lang række andre personer, som på et eller andet tidspunkt har spillet med eller været i kontakt med Ben Webster, og dette kildemateriale er nok værd at knytte et par kommentarer til. Büchmann-Møllers brug af disse kilder leverer nemlig andet og meget mere end blot *second opinions* til Websters karriere og solospil; de personlige udsagn fra mange af Websters musikkolleger bærer også vidnesbyrd om jazzens som en gehørstradition og de særlige normer, der gælder for denne musikform, hvor den enkelte musikers individuelle spillestil – dvs. sound, frasering, foretrukne licks osv. – moduleres efter personlige forbilleder og udvikles videre i mødet med andre musikere, i samtalerne og sammenspillet i orkestrene, ved jam sessions og pladeindspilninger. Büchmann-Møller eksemplificerer her, hvordan udviklingstendenserne i jazzens kan studeres som et omfattende og fint forgrenet netværk af enkeltmusikeres personalspillemåder og deres indbyrdes relationer, her med Webster i fokus som den gennemgående røde tråd.

Bogens hovedkilde er to meget omfattende interviews med Webster fra årene i København, som Henrik Wolsgaard-Iversen og Per Møller-Hansen foranstaltede i 1969 og 1971,

og som dannede grundlag for et par radio- og TV-udsendelser i DR's regi. I disse time-lange interviews er der gravet oplysninger frem om Webster musikerkarriere, som aldrig tidligere har været dokumenteret i litteraturen. Dette materiale har Büchmann-Møller suppleret med personlige samtaler med op mod et halvt hundrede personer, der har haft tilknytning til Webster.

I sin research har Büchmann-Møller desuden botaniseret flittigt i de 122 interviews med amerikanske jazzmusikere, der fandt sted mellem 1972 og 1984 under *The Jazz Oral History Project*, og som nu befinder sig i arkiverne på Rutgers Institute of Jazz Studies i New Jersey. Dette enorme projekt er siden blevet fortsat af universiteter i Californien, Connecticut, New Orleans og endelig fra 1992 af The Smithsonian Institution i Washington, og tilsammen udgør de mange tusinde timers interviews et uvurderligt kildemateriale til studiet af jazzten.

Webster-biografien er velskrevet ud fra et minutøst tilrettelagt research-arbejde og med en historisk fremstilling, der overalt er veldokumenteret med et omfattende noteapparat.

Tore Mortensen



Rune Skyum-Nielsen, *Nr. 1 – dansk hiphopkultur siden 1983*

Informations Forlag: København, 2006

228 pp., illus.

ISBN 87-7514-156-6

DKK 248

Books on rap music and hip hop culture have been growing in number through recent years. However, despite this rise publications still do not match the increasingly dominant position of hip hop in contemporary popular music and culture. Therefore Rune Skyum-Nielsen's enthusiastic and well written account of the history of hip hop in Denmark, *Nr. 1 – dansk hiphopkultur siden 1983* (No. 1 – Danish Hip Hop Culture since 1983), is most welcome.

The book presents its subject in fourteen chapters, each representing a different angle on Danish hip hop culture. It opens with an attempted definition of hip hop as a global, competitive youth culture or lifestyle (p. 12) made up of at least four elements: break-dance, graffiti, rap and DJ'ing. Each of these elements are then explained and historicised with emphasis on major Danish contributors. Then follows a line of thematic discussions – of hip hop quarrels (so-called *beefs*); of hip hop as a resource for marginalized groups (especially immigrant youth); of machismo and gender issues; of (mis)interpretations of hip hop by the Danish media; of rap lyrics as art and their linguistic development; of political rap and the change of hip hop from subculture to mainstream phenomena (what the writer refers to as *hit pop*, p. 184).

Throughout the book the presentation takes the form of a long line of concrete and detailed anecdotes about the people and institutions involved in hip hop culture – a rich material based on more than 60 interviews (with artists, organizers, and researchers), alongside a considerable number of articles, reviews, essays etc. from newspapers, magazines, and scientific journals. Sadly references to the latter, i.e. earlier writings on the subject, are generally left out, being the most obvious indication that this is what may be described as a journalistic (i.e. non-academic) publication.

Writing hip hop history thematically (instead of chronologically) is in my opinion a fruitful way of providing not only a historical overview (patched together across the chapters) but also a collection of approaches to comprehending hip hop culture. The themes are well

chosen, though hardly surprising, and the point, that representing certain aspects and accounts of the story means the exclusions of others, is made from the outset (p. 13) – liberating both author and his readers from any ideas about historiographic encyclopaedism.

The downside of basing the history-telling on chosen informants is of course that it is their stories, that are represented. While this is a basic (and fully legitimate) consequence of the book's methodological set-up, it nevertheless becomes a bit problematic, when the author is as enthusiastic as is the case. Skyum-Nielsen definitely likes hip hop culture, and as a writer he tries to get close to his subject by signalling a certain affinity with it – using a moderate amount of slang (explained in a vocabulary in the back of the book) and stating established 'truths' and value judgements about for instance early Danish hip hop (p. 14) as assumed common knowledge. While these rhetoric means shows off the writer as knowledgeable, a higher degree of critical distance and questioning of the statements given by the informants would nevertheless have suited both the historicising of the four elements and the following thematic discussions. When for instance Danish rapper Per Vers claims that most Danish hip hoppers identify with the struggle fought by marginalized groups in the USA, it goes against the story otherwise told throughout the book, namely that Danish hip hop culture is mainly concerned with competition on skills (instead of politics). Still Vers' statement is not met with a demand for further elaboration (p. 180).

Another problematic consequence resulting from the author's reliance on interviews is the reproduction of some unfortunate memory lapses that could have been corrected by consulting historical sources. This may of course be what Skyum-Nielsen has attempted consulting the aforementioned newspaper articles etc. But still examples remain – as when the visit of Herbie Hancock and his accompanying DJ, Grandmixer D.ST. to Copenhagen is dated January 1985 (a year too late; p. 68), a mistake unfortunately used to explain how DJ'ing was the last of the four elements to be introduced to the Danish crowd. In fact Grandmixer D.ST. arrived just before break-dance (the first of the elements to be introduced according to the book) took off as a fad among Danish youth. But although the author makes reservations about this kind of memory lapses on behalf of his informants, this just leaves the readers with a conscious uncertainty about the correctness of the explanations offered.

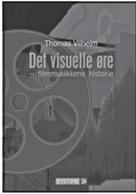
Finally and on a more abstract level the uncritical representation of informants, most of whom are prominent Danish hip hop artists, supports a rather narrow idea about hip hop culture as constituted by only its leading and most successful representatives, while the broader, less active part of hip hop fans along with the rest of Danish music culture and society are either left silent, portrayed as an obstacle (e.g. The National Danish Railroad and Danish news-media) or as struggling to understand hip hop (e.g. literary scholars and poets). Skyum-Nielsen makes reservations for not dealing thoroughly with the African-American roots of hip hop culture, but the question of the relationship between Danish hip hop culture (the actual subject of the book) and the society in which it is situated, is nonetheless essential and should have been paid more attention. I.e., *beefs* and sexism exemplify issues with different explanations (and resonance) in a poor, crime- and drug-ridden African-American ghetto-context compared to the conditions under which most Danish hip hoppers live and practise their art.

Nr. 1 is as mentioned what may be referred to as a journalistic publication, and its primary audience is not the academy (p. 13). This of course does not mean that it is of no interest to music scholars, and at the same time it does not excuse the problems, that I have been pointing at. A further area in which the book reveals itself as non-academic is in its rather scarce use of theoretically loaded terms. Examples are descriptions of hip hop as a *tribal community* (p. 10), a *subculture* (p. 29), and of certain hip hoppers as *insiders* (p. 155). And though an argument may be, that theoretical explanations and discussions of the assumptions,

that follow from e.g. referring to hip hop as a tribal community, would have rendered the book less appealing to its intended readers, these features would none the less have enriched the text and perhaps even facilitated a broader use of the book (e.g. in the gymnasium). Like the short 'side-stories' already present along the main text theoretical notes could have been added contributing an obvious extra source of reflection.

However, despite these critical remarks Rune Skyum-Nielsens book on Danish hip hop culture is an important contribution to the shedding of light on this increasingly important aspect of Danish popular music culture.

Mads Krogh



Thomas Vilhelm, *Det visuelle øre – filmmusikkens historie*

Århus: Systeme, 2005

325 pp., illus.

ISBN 87-616-0970-6

DKK 325

Danish publications on film music are still too few, given the important role this music plays in music culture and in many people's daily music consumption. Thomas Vilhelm's book, *Det visuelle øre – filmmusikkens historie* (The Visual Ear – The History of Film Music), is therefore a much needed publication. It must be emphasized straight away that this is not an academic work but a descriptive book based on interviews with composers and directors. Vilhelm neither theorizes nor analyses, but on the other hand, the book is a treasure trove of factual knowledge about film music, composers, and directors. For the first time the historical development of film music in Denmark is reviewed, and in addition alongside the developments in other European countries and USA. Due to the chosen structure of the material, the book is most useful as a reference book to have at hand if you have any interest in film music. But *Det visuelle øre* can also be read as a whole giving a perceptive updated overview of the history of film music in western societies.

The book's 325 pages are divided into four main parts, introduced by a short prologue and followed by a few notes, references, and indexes. The book is richly illustrated with black and white photos, though they are quite uniform – all but a few portraying composers and directors.

The first part is a historical review of the development of the film medium and film music primarily in the USA. It begins with the Lumière brothers and what is said to be the world's first public film screening on 28 December 1895 in Paris, and ends with Howard Shore's scores for *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001–3). In between we are told about the golden age of the Hollywood symphonic film score in the 40s, how jazz and rock influenced the film music of the 50s and 60s and how electronic music made its entry in the 80s together with a revival of the symphonic score beginning with *Star Wars* in the 70s. As a natural result of the relative closeness of the period, the general contours of the last 20 years are not apparent. Instead the 90s and the first years of this century are reviewed mainly by focusing on specific directors (e.g. Clint Eastwood and Quentin Tarantino) and films (e.g. *Magnolia* and *The Lord of the Rings*). The important perspective of the mutual dependency between the record industry and film music in the last decades is also briefly reviewed in this first part.

The second part has the same historical perspective as part one, now focusing on Denmark (chapter one) and the rest of Europe (chapter two). Again the author carefully ensures a wide

view for the reader, though primarily keeping to the main ‘canonized’ road. Chapter one begins with the Danish composer Jacob Gade and his job as responsible for the musical underscore to films (e.g. by Carl Th. Dreyer) shown at *Palads Teatret* (The Palads Theatre) in Copenhagen in the beginning of the 20th century. Well known Danish composers such as Bent Fabricius-Bjerre and Fuzzy are presented hereafter. The focus, however, is on contemporary composers (Joakim Holbek, Halfdan E, Søren Hyldgaard, Jacob Groth) and directors (Lars von Trier, Per Fly, Søren Kragh Jacobsen, Nicolas Winding Refn, Christoffer Boe), and here the author’s fruitful connection to the milieu is revealed. Chapter two presents the different European schools – many of them a reaction to the ‘fiction dreams’ produced in Hollywood: *Expressionism* in Germany (e.g. Fritz Lang and Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau), *Neo-Realism* in Italy (e.g. Rossellini, Fellini, and Bertolucci), *New Wave* in France (e.g. Truffaut, Godard, and Chabrol). But also individuals like the Swedish director Ingmar Bergman and the English composer Michael Nyman are mentioned. Almost each chapter in these first two main parts is followed by short portraits of the most influential composers of the period. They function as a supplement to the historical reviews, but also generate some redundancy, which is distracting when you read the book in its entirety. It can be difficult to distinguish the portraits from the rest, and the structure is further weakened due to the vague, almost invisible grey titles in the subsections, which is a general problem in the book.

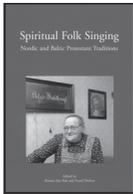
After the general historical review in the first two parts, the rest of the book goes deeper into the work of selected artists. Part three, ‘Komponisten og instruktøren’ (The composer and the director), describes the influential partnerships of Nino Rota and Federico Fellini, Ennio Morricone and Sergio Leone, Bernard Herrmann and Alfred Hitchcock, and finally Angelo Badalamenti and David Lynch. The last part of the book ‘De musikalske billedmagere’ (The musical image makers) focuses on different directors who were/are all deeply conscious of the use of music in their films: Charlie Chaplin, Stanley Kubrick, Martin Scorsese, and Spike Lee. In general, one of the main strengths of the book is that the music is not described as something isolated, but something we must understand in relation to the film context.

Det visuelle øre is ambitious, reaching far in both time and space and of course much is left out. The author’s only comment on this selection is, however, a sentence in the Introduction stating that the book deals mainly with the good examples, ‘the ones you can learn from and be inspired by’ (p. 7). But why are Disney Cartoons not mentioned (or animation films, or in general films for children)? They have been essential in the development of film music right from the beginning. And where is the film musical, which also plays a significant role in the broad development of film music? And what about the films and music from non-western countries? All these exclusions could have been acceptable if the author had mentioned them as de-selections instead of leaving the decision uncommented, instead providing the reader with a sub-title promising ‘The History of Film Music’. The main title ‘The Visual Ear’ is catchy but also rather misleading, since it is not a book about the senses and the experience of film music but mainly about the production side. It reverses the title of Birger Langkjær’s book about film music, *Den lyttende tilskuer* (The Listening Viewer, Copenhagen, 2000), which in contrast deals with the senses and their interaction in the film medium. Also the short introduction misleads the reader in that direction. Here questions about what music does to us and about the connection between music and emotion are raised – but never pursued. Indeed a more thorough introduction outlining the premise of the book would have been prudent. It is remarkable that none of the four books on film music published in Danish are mentioned in *Det visuelle øre*. That concerns Ansa Lønstrup, *Musik, film og filmoplevelse* (Music, Film and Film Experience, Århus, 1986); Birger Langkjær, *Filmlyd og filmmusik* (Film Sound and Film Music, Copenhagen, 1993); Martin Schmidt, *Short Cues* (Copenhagen, 1999),

and Birger Langkjær, *Den lyttende tilskuer*. Especially the historical perspective from *Filmlyd og filmmusik* and the interviews from *Short Cues* would have been useful in the context of Vilhelm's book, that generally supplements the existing Danish literature well.

In general *Det visuelle øre* is well-written in a fluent, easily read language. But the wide (journalistic) use of clichés and metaphors generates a nagging irritation that undermines the otherwise convincing presentation. This also applies to the titles of the chapters. A general inconsistency in the many film titles mentioned throughout the book also disturbs the reading: most are mentioned in Danish, some in English, and some in both languages. More serious proof errors also appear – for example Erich Wolfgang Korngold was not born in 1879 but in 1897 (p. 30). But these are details in a generally sturdy work that offers an impressive amount of information about and insight to the work and thoughts of professionals in film music.

Iben Have



Kirsten Sass Bak and Svend Nielsen (eds.), *Spiritual Folk Singing.*

Nordic and Baltic Protestant Traditions

Copenhagen: Forlaget Kragen, 2006

283 pp., illus., music exx.

ISBN 87-89160-11-8

incl. 2 CD's, DFS 9-10

DKK 300

Reading this book has been an exciting adventure, not least because of the articles from the Baltic areas, where the languages can seem impenetrable to non-natives. I think it would make a useful text book for university courses of ethnomusicology across Scandinavia (and why not in other countries?). The reader might already know a great deal about the singing in his or her own country, but the broad spectrum that this book presents makes it possible to compare the different singing traditions to each other and to discover interesting differences. The ten authors from eight countries (two from Norway and two from Iceland) are reputable and established researchers with many earlier published works in the area of ethnomusicology. The articles were written in 1999–2000.

The reader of this book might (perhaps not unexpectedly!) start by listening to the included two CD's, containing more than two hours of singing from all the countries, some of the 68 samples being very old (some recorded already in 1907), and others fairly new (2004). This makes listening confusing, and raises questions: 'What is common to all these differing recordings of folk singing?', 'Is this really one musical genre?'

The answer is given in the Introduction by Kirsten Sass Bak, one of the two editors. As there are many different local styles and ways of singing connected to different folk music styles, the 'spiritual folk singing' is also very disparate; even two neighbouring parishes might differ. This is not only due to historical and political circumstances, but is also shaped by individual singers. The introduction points out that there is no good international term for this traditional religious singing. The suggested term 'chorale variant' is judged to be inadequate, since it too much stresses the original melody but not 'the independent lives and shapes of the tunes in traditional practice' (p. 9). The book not only deals with this older 'traditional' way of singing, but also the singing with roots in the revivalist movements during the 19th century, material that still awaits much research. The common factors are thus a product of practical matters to do with singing, and the common use of variation, rather than a clearly defined repertoire: the book deals with Lutheran hymn singing in different tradi-

tional musical contexts. This topic became a popular part of musical life in a number of countries during the last two decades of the 20th century. Concert performances became the norm during this revival, rather than the use of the songs at home as an element within religious practice which had characterized the old piety-tradition.

In my opinion the article by Ingrid Gjertsen would have been better placed as the first article in the book. All chapters analyse the musical material: types of scales, variation techniques, complexity and so on. All chapters also give brief and interesting reviews of the historical preconditions in each country. But Gjertsen argues for a study of the singing as an expressive medium within this particular religious practice, part of a cult. She finds it important to listen to the performers' own opinions about the meaning of the singing. This environmental study is done in relation to, amongst others, the thoughts of Michhail Bakhtin. Her concrete example is the Haugian movement, in which the singing has mystical and deeply religious dimensions.

The second article from Norway, by Irene Bergheim, describes an old form of hymn singing near Aalesund. 80 local versions of old hymn tunes, transcribed by the parish clerk K.D. Stafset in the beginning of the 20th century, were discovered in 1981. Bergheim has many interesting things to tell about hidden melodies and indefinite intervals. As some earlier musicologists have suggested, the old two-part 'treble song' which was taught at the cathedral schools in the Middle Ages, might be a possible root for some melodies which differ very much from the oldest printed versions in Kingo's *Graduale* (1699).

In her chapter on traditional singing of Kingo hymns in Denmark, Kirsten Sass Bak informs us that this type of singing was practically unknown – even to musicologists and collectors until about 1970 – in contrast to the situation in Sweden and Norway. The Grundtvigian movement had for long time dominated the area of folk education and made folklore phenomena unknown concepts. The article is very informative on the Danish Kingo tradition, which mainly goes back to Thomisson's *Hymnal* (1569). One of the author's interesting questions is how the figuring was executed – was it a gliding intonation, or were some notes sung with greater accentuation than others?

Due to historical circumstances church hymn singing on the Faroe Islands was closely connected to Danish traditions until World War II. Marianne Clausen gives a well-informed account of the unaccompanied Kingo-singing here, which sometimes has been described as 'chaotic'. The notation of the samples both on the CD and in the text is a bit confusing, until the reader has come to terms with the author's system of notation (p. 208). She points out the almost unlimited freedom of the singer to do whatever he or she wishes, within the limits laid down by tradition.

The singing tradition on Iceland is different, even though it was under the auspices of Denmark until 1944. The main factors here are the first *Hymnal* (*Hólabók*, 1589), Guðbrandur's *Graduale* (*Grallari*, 1594), and Péturson's *Hymns of the Passion* (1659). The unique situation compared to other Nordic countries is that no changes were made in the tunes until the middle of the 19th century. The singing could thus develop on its own terms without interference from authorities. We find the oldest recordings on the CD's from Iceland. Two articles – with some discrepancies – by Smári Ólason and by Svend Nielsen deal with the history of hymn singing until today. The notated embellishment of some melodies are very gratifying, as is the analysis of them.

Urve Lippus' chapter not only deals with the Estonian but also the Estonian Swedish folk hymn variants (the latter contain more than 500 melodies). These are independent but co-existing traditions. It is noteworthy that orthodox music in Estonia has been deeply influenced by this protestant tradition of hymn singing. Interestingly the author admits to have

found some ‘awkward melodies’, in which the singer has misunderstood the tonal structure of the original melody and tried to adjust it to his or her own system of modal thinking.

Rimantas Sliužinskas tells that the people of Lithuania also changed the original German hymn melodies or created new ones according to their own singing practice. All these are in major mode, as sad melodies are sung in so called ‘sad major’. Temporary sharps or flats are unknown, which is the most important difference to Lithuanian-minor folk songs. This knowledge greatly changes the listener’s experience of the samples on the CD. (Here the reader might ask why there is no chapter on Latvia. The old provinces of Livland and Kurland are strongholds for the Lutheran church, which comprise about 25 per cent of the population).

Jukka Louhivouri concentrates on the singing in the Finnish sect called Besecherism, which originated in South-Western Finland in the middle of the 18th century and still uses the old hymn book from 1701. Since 2004 this and other sects with special singing practices can be studied on the internet through the Spiritual Folk Songs database which contains more than 8,600 melodies (www.jyu.fi/musica/sks/). Hopefully there will be databases from other countries in the future! The method is already here: you can search melodies according to melodic, rhythmic, metric, tonal, textual, and geographical features.

In her article Margareta Jersild describes the old Swedish hymn singing practice as ‘a part of the surrounding vocal folk music traditions’ (p. 18); thus there are many different styles. It is stressed that the preserved material in no way is representative of the geographical distribution of this singing practice in earlier times; also only a small part of the material has been published. Although the author tells us that most vocal folk melodies have been executed syllabically, she nevertheless has a tendency to appoint the (syllabic) chorale book of Hæffner (1820) as the main counter-part to this folk singing practice. My own work on this edition¹ makes me disagree with this picture. The editor was well aware of and open-minded to this practice; his main interest was to bring about better organ playing. Although he arranged the chorales for four-part choir, he never asked for prohibition of this folk singing practice. In the long run he hoped for what he called a ‘melodic’ singing. But it is noteworthy that this old kind of singing practice was still alive in the Cathedral of Uppsala ten years after his death, even though he had been the organist there for more than ten years. The ending of the old way of singing in Sweden had many more causes than Hæffner’s chorale book. Personally I think influences from America at the end of the 19th century were the big factor that changed both repertoire and singing practice.

After reading this book I find the photograph on the front cover very telling in relation to the content. It would though have been good to have more photographs in the text. And there are other things which I think could have been done otherwise. The layout has some unnecessary line breaks on several pages, which sometimes makes the reading somewhat difficult. There is no suggested literature for further reading or sources in some of the chapters. The order of the chapters could have been explained – the reason why Sweden comes first is not obvious. I also find too many reiterations in the last two chapters. The connections between the samples on the CD’s and the text of some chapters also seem to be very loose. Many good things would have been achieved by a clearer connection here. Some of the Swedish samples have closer relation to the Estonian article than the Swedish one, and they are also discussed there. I also think that computer technology of today provides ‘cleaning’

1 Anders Dillmar, *‘Dödshugget mot vår nationella tonkonst’. Hæffnertidens koralreform i historisk, etnohymnologisk och musikteologisk belysning* (‘The stab of death to our national art of music’. The chorale reform during the time of Hæffner in elucidation of history, ethnohymnology and theomusicology) (diss., University of Lund; Stockholm, 2001).

possibilities, which could have rendered more listener-friendly samples with lesser background noise, at least in the newly recorded tracks. There are good reasons not to change older recordings too much (though I think some of them also are improved) in order to maintain as much as possible of the original sound. But I do not understand why new recording should not sound good. I wish, too, that there was a chapter on Latvia.

Perhaps some of these problems will be corrected in a new edition of this book? For I am sure it will be in great demand. This is a very welcome book about a folk musical genre which has seen a revived interest in the last decades in many countries. In the discussions about what is authentic in music – related to all new computer technology in music making – this is an incomparable genuine and personal musical genre, which must and will maintain great interest.

Anders Dillmar

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The bibliography is primarily based on questionnaires. It has a dual purpose: to register on the one hand the scholarly work of Danish musicologists, and on the other the publications of music researchers from abroad dealing with Danish music. It includes only titles published in the year with which the bibliography is concerned, as well as addenda to the bibliography for the preceding year. As a rule the following types of work are not included: unprinted university theses, newspaper articles, reviews, CD booklets and encyclopaedia entries.

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