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Within this spring, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* will present on www.dym.dk the free online archives of the yearbook. At the same time, the website will be redesigned. The archives will at this point offer the volumes 23–35 as free pdf files while the present issue as well as printed copies of older issues will be available from our distributors at Aarhus University Press. Within the next year, the digital archives will be completed with all issues back from 1961. This feature will enlarge the public access to the articles and reviews previously published and hopefully serve as a platform for a wider public recognition of the yearbook. The digitalization of the archives is made possible through special funding from the Danish Research Council of the Humanities.

Volume 36 (2008) presents three articles and a viewpoint which cover a wide range of musicological research. In the viewpoint, Peter Vuust offers an overview on a fairly recent branch of musicology, which uses the methods and results of brain research to establish knowledge on how the brain functions in relation to musical activities and how these results can be useful to musicians. The article by Annemette Kirkegaard is an account of how censorship and other kinds of political and social regulations function in the case of Tanzanian taarab music, highlighting issues of race, religion, and culture. Inger Damsholt examines the relation between dance and music in the Danish *Lanciers* by means of the method of East European ethno-choreology. One special feature is that the Danish *Lanciers* uses another version of the music than outside of Denmark and thus alters the relation between dance and music at a crucial point. Last but not least, Henrik Smith-Sivertsen presents a study of Danish popular singer Birthe Kjær, focusing on the question of how she silently negotiates her repertoire with the public during her public performance at the Hillerød fair. Furthermore, this issue presents reports on current projects and recent conferences, book reviews and a bibliography of literature on music related to Danish topics or by Danish authors.

The editors especially wish to thank the Danish Research Council of the Humanities for granting funding for three more issues including the present one and for the funding of the digitalization of the archives of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*. Furthermore, all authors, the editorial board, and peer reviewers are thanked for their indispensable contributions. And in particular thanks are due to Colin Roth and Peter Hauge for help and proof reading concerning the English texts.

Copenhagen and Århus, April 2009
Michael Fjeldsøe & Thomas Holme Hansen

Viewpoint

Perception, Cognition, and Learning: Cognitive Research at the Music Academies in Denmark

PETER VUUST

In recent years, the six Academies of music in Denmark have been subject to an increasing demand to do research. This is no easy task for institutions rooted in a practical approach to music with a long tradition of one-to-one teaching predominantly based on personal experience. At the Royal Academy of Music, Aarhus (RAMA) we are following a relatively ambitious research strategy based on an existing collaboration with the brain research centre, Center of Functionally Integrative Neuroscience (CFIN), at Aarhus University Hospital aiming at doing first-rate research at the international level presenting prospects of advancing the way in which we listen, play, and teach. In the following viewpoint I shall describe this collaboration, present some examples of the research that we are doing and discuss the possible implications of this research for the academies as well as for new music research.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES FOR THE ACADEMIES OF MUSIC

The increasing demand for doing research at the academies of music, a trend that is also seen internationally, is apparent in the Education Executive Order for the academies in Denmark that now as something new includes research as a basis for the education. Moreover the research is subject to the standard research definition of the ministerial orders of the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation implying increased demands for quality and rigour of the research.

This forces the academies to rethink the role played by research in the education as well as in the interface to the outside world. On one side, the music academies are synonymous with top level art and creative musical practice providing excellent conditions for research within the fields of musicology and music education. On the other side, due to the focus being on the creative artistic practice, the music academies lack general research competencies as well as the knowledge of scientific methods. Thus, strengthening research competence, enhancing the qualifications of the staff as well as having research in mind when hiring staff, must be top priorities for the academies in the years to come.

Owing to its practice-orientated rather than theoretical background, the academy is by default scientifically paradigm-neutral and can thus establish partnerships across academic boundaries, for example between the humanistic and scientific paradigms. For this reason, some of the most successful research projects taking place at the various academies in Denmark are multidisciplinary and multi-institutional co-operations using the resources and specialist knowledge of the local research environment, such as, for example, the collaboration between The Carl Nielsen Academy of Music in Odense and Department for Occupational Medicine at Odense University Hospital.

Gathering classical, rhythmic, and electronic music, the Royal Academy of Music, Aarhus, is probably the most versatile music academy in Denmark. This provides an essential background for doing research as it makes research projects across genres possible. At RAMA, we have been capable of establishing a firm collaboration with relevant faculties and departments at the University of Aarhus as well as at international research institutions resulting in seven joint Ph.D. scholarships, two of these successfully completed, in collaboration with CFIN, the Department of Computer Science, the Institute of Information and Media Studies, and the Department of Psychology, all at the University of Aarhus.

As we wish to bring the relationship between music and subject into our centre of attention, we have focused our research on the areas of musical perception, cognition and learning. The focus on these particular areas of research falls in line with the competencies of the academy as an artistic and educational institution, and provides a greater research potential in relation to the general activities of the academy.

PERCEPTION, COGNITION, AND LEARNING

Whereas the departments of music at the universities traditionally deal with music in a historical perspective, the music academies have a more natural predisposition towards practical and theoretical issues regarding the actual music making. Recently, some musicologists have advocated that studies of cognitive processes in relation to music in modern social and cultural life is a natural next step for music theory in general¹ as well as for the music academies in particular,² since traditional music theory only to a very small extent captures the phenomena characteristic of e.g. contemporary music for the concert hall, electronic music, and improvisational music such as jazz and rock.

Nowadays research in musical perception and cognition is a vastly growing field entailing a considerable proportion of publications, public awareness, and an increasing number of research communities and international conferences such as the International Conference on Music Perception and Cognition (ICMPC). This research covers a wide field. The research presented at the ICMPC conferences comprise studies of pianists' hand and finger movements, observational studies of rehearsal processes, studies on communication and music, signal processing, artificial

¹ D. Huron, *Sweet Anticipation* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2006), 374–75.

² J. Brincker, 'Art, Research and Education at the Music Academies', paper given at the conference Research at the Academies of Music in Denmark, RAMA, 31 Oct. 2002.

intelligence, acoustics, behaviourism, and studies on how music affects the brain side by side with traditional musicology and ethnomusicology. A large proportion of this research is directed towards the educational practice.

MUSIC IN THE BRAIN

Recent years have seen a strong conceptual convergence in cognitive research on brain organization and the cognitive research mainly studying human competencies and the products of human activity. This convergence is exemplified in the collaboration on cognitive music research in the 'Music in the Brain' research group established between RAMA and CFIN. Our group aims to facilitate contacts between different scientific approaches to studying music and the brain, and to introduce this scientific field to a broader audience within the Danish music community. Through this collaboration, the academy has entered into a research environment offering connections to researchers and Ph.D. students from many different university departments, for example semiotics, anthropology, statistics, medicine, neurobiology, and psychology. The methodical and experimental aim of this research is to create an understanding of the way in which core human competencies such as music, communication, and language will affect the effective and functional connections of the brain and how factors such as competence, emotion, consciousness/awareness, and knowledge influence both actions and perception. This mainly involves experimental studies using brain scanning techniques and conceptual studies of cognitive semiotics, linguistics, psychology, and theoretical neurobiology.

TWO IMPORTANT RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Contrary to music research, traditionally belonging to the field of humanities, brain research offers a novel scientific method of examining some of the basic questions concerning music. To students and teachers at the music academies two of the most interesting questions within this field are: How do we create emotions in listeners, and what influence does musical training have on our brains? In the following I shall try to give an overview of the current status of research that we and others perform into these two questions. First I intend to shed light on how emotions are transferred from music that we play to the brains of listeners propagating the viewpoint that anticipation is the key to understanding music and the effects of music on emotion. Second, I shall review some of the literature showing how musicians' brains change anatomically and functionally as a consequence of the intense training necessary for becoming an expert musician.

MUSIC AND EMOTION

Music is an integral part of life's highly pleasurable activities such as having good dinners, dancing, going to the movies, and hanging out with friends. Music can

evoke a range of different emotions including everyday emotions such as happiness, sadness, surprise, and nostalgia, as well as emotions that are unique to music such as for instance the sensation of swing.

Recently, Juslin and Västfjäll have tried to establish a framework for understanding how music translates into human emotion.³ Juslin and Västfjäll claim that the study of musical emotions has suffered from a neglect of the underlying psychological mechanisms evoking these emotions and propose that these mechanisms could be summarized as (a) Brain stem reflexes, (b) Evaluative conditioning, (c) Emotional contagion, (d) Visual imagery, (e) Episodic memory, and (f) Musical expectancy. A problem with these categories is that they are not ordered hierarchically, are not mutually exclusive and only category (f), musical expectancy, directly links musical and psychological mechanisms as such. This limits the scope of the proposed framework especially if its purpose is to act as a guideline for experiments trying to identify the brain systems involved in processing musical emotions. We believe that such a framework would be more useful if the mechanisms for evoking musical emotions were organized hierarchically, with musical expectancy as the most fundamental mechanism, as we have recently argued in a number of papers.⁴

It is hard to imagine that musical emotions are evoked without some sort of musical meaning assigned to what is heard, unless we think of emotions, such as fear, evoked by the mere occurrence of a loud sound. However, in this case it is questionable whether one would define this as music. Most music theoreticians consider musical anticipation as one of the principal means by which music conveys meaning and emotion. According to this point of view, understanding music is related to the anticipatory interplay between local auditory events and a deeper structural layer partly inherent in the music itself, and partly provided by mental structures in the listener induced by the music.⁵ In short, the musical experience is dependent on the structures of the actual music as well as on the expectations of the interpreting brain. These expectations are dependent on long term learning of musical structures (culture dependent statistical learning), familiarity with a particular piece of music, short term memory for the immediate musical history while listening to a musical piece, as well as deliberate listening strategies.⁶ Brain structures underlying musical expectation are thus shaped by culture as well as personal listening history and musical training.⁷

3 P.N. Juslin and D. Västfjäll, 'Emotional responses to music: the need to consider underlying mechanisms', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 31 (2008), 559–75.

4 P. Vuust et al., 'Predictive coding of music – Brain responses to rhythmic incongruity', *Cortex*, 45/1 (2009), 80–92; P. Vuust et al., 'To musicians, the message is in the meter: pre-attentive neuronal responses to incongruent rhythm are left-lateralized in musicians', *Neuroimage*, 24 (2005), 560–64; P. Vuust and M.L. Kringelbach, 'The Pleasure of Music' in *The Pleasures of the Brain* (Oxford University Press, in press).

5 P. Vuust and A. Roepstorff, 'Listen up! Polyrythms in brain and music', *Cognitive Semiotics*, 3 (Fall 2008), 131–59.

6 P. Vuust et al., 'It don't mean a thing ... Keeping the rhythm during polyrhythmic tension activates language areas (BA47)', *Neuroimage*, 31 (2006), 832–41.

7 Vuust et al., 'To musicians'; P. Vuust, 'Den musikalske hjerne', *Kognition & Pædagogik*, 70 (2008), 58–69.

Moreover, as soon as one hears the first sound of a musical piece, structures enabling anticipation such as metre, tonality, and memory for particular musical pieces seem to be in place already and unavoidable. Thus, it is difficult to imagine any of the proposed mechanisms acting without the involvement of musical expectation.

Juslin and Västfjäll believe that musical expectation is something that develops slowly over time during listening experience and is not fully developed until the age of 5–11. This may well be correct if musical expectation is restricted to anticipation of complex musical structures such as the hierarchy of harmony dependent on long term learning.⁸ However, expectation of the simple repetitive sound patterns, such as pitch deviants in successive pitch trains, has been detected even before birth, as indicated by the mismatch negativity (MMN, a brain wave indexing change in auditory patterns) measured by EEG/MEG (electroencephalography/magnetoencephalography). Moreover, in an elegant study, Winkler et al. showed that the auditory predictive model is updated for each new acoustic event in the sound environment, indicating that the anticipatory structures of music are in constant flux during the listening experience.⁹ These results demonstrate that anticipation has a role at many levels in the hierarchy of musical structure.

Juslin and Västfjäll also claim that the degree of volitional influence on musical anticipation is low. However, we recently conducted a study in which musicians were asked to maintain either the main metre or a counter metre while listening to Stings ‘The Lazarus Heart’.¹⁰ In this experiment the subjects could volitionally impose two very different anticipatory frameworks onto the music. Deliberately listening to a melody from the perspective of two different tonalities would be another example of volitional control of the anticipatory framework.

The relationship between musical expectancy and emotion was originally explored by Leonard Meyer and has recently been elaborated by Huron in his book *Sweet anticipation*.¹¹ If we consider music expectation/anticipation as the fundamental mechanism for musical experience, then this maps nicely onto recent theories of how the brain works. Karl Friston has provided a promising model of brain function, in which predictive coding, as a central principle of brain function, provides an account of how the brain identifies and categorizes the causes of its sensory inputs. The model posits a hierarchical organization whereby lower level brain regions estimate predictions of their expected input based on contextual information through backwards connections from higher level regions. A comparison between prediction and actual input produces an error term that, if sufficiently large, will be fed back to call for an update of the model. This generates a recursive process, which aims at minimizing the difference between input and prediction. As the representational capacity of any neuronal assembly in this model is dynamic and context sensitive,

8 S. Leino et al., ‘Representation of harmony rules in the human brain: further evidence from event-related potentials’, *Brain Research*, 1142 (2007), 169–77.

9 I. Winkler, G. Karmos, and R. Naatanen, ‘Adaptive modeling of the unattended acoustic environment reflected in the mismatch negativity event-related potential’, *Brain Research*, 742 (1996), 239–52.

10 Vuust et al., ‘It don’t mean a thing’.

11 Huron, *Sweet Anticipation*.

this, among other issues, addresses the problem of top-down control. Lately, we have argued that processing violations of musical anticipation in different aspects of the music (e.g. rhythm/harmony) evokes different error messages (MMN/early anterior negativity (EAN)) and networks.¹² These effects are training dependent and can be explained by the predictive coding theory. Thus, in our opinion, musical expectation is a good candidate for the fundamental mechanism guiding the experience of musical meaning as well as emotion. Anticipation in itself may evoke a wealth of emotions such as awe, surprise, discomfort, the sensation of swing, etc. According to Huron this is due to a variety of different survival-related responses to anticipation in particular the ‘prediction response’ that rewards fulfilled expectations. However, anticipatory structures such as metre and tonality act indirectly on the other proposed mechanisms in that they form the basis for musical memory as well as for musical meaning.

If we consider the large amount of neuroscientific research on music that has been published in recent years, it is certainly true that studies of musical emotions seem to be pointing in different directions. Consider for instance the somewhat different activation patterns reported in studies in tow of our own studies of major and minor mode music supposedly evoking very simple emotions (happy/sad).¹³ Even though these results may be due to many different factors contributing to the emotional state of the subjects under different experimental conditions, we agree with Justlin and Västfjäll that one of the reasons for these somewhat inconsistent results may be found in the lack of a theoretical framework. However, this framework needs to be organized hierarchically with music anticipation as the guiding mechanism.

Positioning music anticipation as the guiding mechanism for musical emotions may be a product of a musician’s way of thinking, and it is certainly also useful to think of extra-musical mechanisms such as the ones described by Juslin and Västfjäll, in relation to composing or performing music. However, the predictive coding theory, that entails that learning is a way of enhancing the brain models for structure, an up-date of the brain’s software so to speak, is a radical novel way of understanding learning and the influences of training on brain structure and function.

LEARNING MUSIC ALTERS THE BRAIN ANATOMICALLY AND FUNCTIONALLY

Thus, music perception and cognition is crucially dependent on the predictive model that meets the incoming acoustic signal and ‘learning’ is basically updating this brain model. To the music academies the most exciting aspect of neuroscience is

- 12 Vuust et al., ‘Predictive coding of music’; P. Vuust and C. Frith, ‘Anticipation is the key to understanding music and the effects of music on emotion’, *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 31 (2008), 599–600.
- 13 K.J. Pallesen et al., ‘Emotion processing of major, minor, and dissonant chords: a functional magnetic resonance imaging study’, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1060 (2005), 450–53; A.C. Green et al., ‘Music in minor activates limbic structures: a relationship with dissonance?’, *Neuroreport*, 19 (2008), 711–15.

probably the scientific evidence from recent years regarding functional and anatomic differences especially in motor and auditory cortices between musicians and non-musicians. In the following I shall review some of the neuroscientific studies that we and others have performed investigating how learning music alters brain structure and predictive brain models in musicians.

ANATOMY

There are various techniques with which researchers are able to measure the thickness of the human cortex. At Harvard Medical School in Boston a group of researchers lead by the German neurologist, Gottfried Schlaug have used the so-called voxelbased morphometry (VBM) with which it is possible to measure the amount of grey matter, containing the cell bodies of the neurons, in various areas of the brain. Gottfried Schlaug's group showed in 2001 that musicians possessing absolute pitch, the ability to name a pitch without the aid of reference pitches, were equipped with relatively more grey matter in the Planum Temporale, an auditory area on the dorsal temporal lobe of the left hemisphere, than musicians or non-musicians not possessing absolute pitch. By comparing the cortices of twenty professional musicians with the cortices of twenty amateur pianists' and forty non-musicians the same group also found enlargement of the cortex in pre-motor, motor- and sensori-motor cortices, areas likely related to coding from score to music, as well as enlargement in left inferior gyrus (Broca's area) an area considered as a language area by some researchers.¹⁴

Other studies have shown that string players' motor cortex have a larger representation of the left than the right hand, which is not surprising considering the specialized performance of string players' left hand, compared to the right. It is also known that the number of hours musicians practice per day correlates with the absolute and relative size of the cerebellum compared to the rest of the brain.¹⁵ Corpus callosum, the main fiber connection between the two hemispheres is enlarged in musicians compared to non-musicians, indicating enhanced coordination between the two hemispheres.¹⁶ From a musician's point of view Vanessa Sluming's study of musicians from Liverpool Symphony Orchestra showing that the volume of Broca's areas does not decrease with age for musicians compared to non-musicians, is reassuring evidence that music may have beneficial side-effects.¹⁷ In other words, practising music preserves areas essential to music and language.

So even though the issue of how to interpret thickness of the cortex is currently under debate, it appears that daily music practising leads to structural changes in areas of the brain related to motor, auditory activity, and probably also certain areas essential to language. These studies mainly employ self reports in order to classify

14 C. Gaser and G. Schlaug, 'Gray matter differences between musicians and nonmusicians', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 999 (2003), 514–17.

15 S. Hutchinson et al., 'Cerebellar volume of musicians', *Cerebral Cortex*, 13 (2003), 943–49.

16 G. Schlaug et al., 'Increased corpus callosum size in musicians', *Neuropsychologia*, 33 (1995), 1047–55.

17 V. Sluming et al., 'Voxel-based morphometry reveals increased gray matter density in Broca's area in male symphony orchestra musicians', *Neuroimage*, 17 (2002), 1613–22.

musicians and e.g. to calculate the number of hours of practice per day. There are however no studies investigating the direct correlation between musical abilities and thickness of the cortex.

In collaboration with the Canadian researcher, Mallar Chakravarty, I therefore scanned 17 jazz/rock musicians' brains using MRI (Magnetic Resonance Imaging) while testing their ear training abilities outside of the scanner.¹⁸ The test we used was a modified version of the test used in entrance and final examinations at the Danish music academies known to provide a good indication of students' rhythmic abilities. It consists of 30 rhythmic 1½ bar sequences that the student is asked to imitate. The average score for musicians was 14, within the range 7–19. We correlated this score with the thickness of the musicians' cortices using an advanced new method termed 'deformation-based morphometry'. We found significant local thickening of motor and auditory cortices according to increasing rhythmical competence. This corroborates and extends the results found in Schlaug et al.'s studies, but also indicates that their results probably have direct relation to participants' musical abilities, in this case their rhythmic abilities. A new finding was enlargements of the cortex in areas in the frontal lobe also known as BA 46 and BA 9, a part of the brain that is usually related to working memory. Six out of eight areas were localized in the left hemisphere, indicating that grey matter mainly in the left hemisphere enlarges while developing rhythmic competences. This left-lateralization corresponds well with results from our functional studies that similarly link rhythmic competence to activity in the left hemisphere.¹⁹

FUNCTIONAL BRAIN SCANS USING EEG AND MEG

Brain scanning techniques are not limited to studying anatomy. When using MR (magnetic resonance) and PET (positron emission tomography) scanners it is actually possible to measure cerebral blood flow in various areas of the brain, providing information on which areas of the brain are active when subjects perform specific tasks. Electrical currents in the brain can be measured by EEG and MEG, completely silent techniques, making them preferred methods for studying brain processing of auditory stimuli such as language and music; even though the measured signals are more difficult to localize spatially.

A row of studies have shown functional differences between musicians and non-musicians and between people who play different instruments. Musicians are generally more sensitive to variations in intervals and musical contour. Musicians' brains respond faster to rhythmic and melodic incongruence, and musicians' brains react to rhythmic deviations of 20ms, as opposed to non-musicians who do not respond to such small deviations. Trumpet players and violinists are particularly sensitive to small variations in pitch.

18 M. Chakravarty and P. Vuust, 'Got Rhythm? Investigating the relationship between anatomy and rhythmic ability using Deformation Based Analysis', poster, Neuromusic III Conference, Montreal, 2008.

19 Vuust et al., 'To musicians'; Vuust et al., 'It don't mean a thing'.

Using MEG we measured brain responses to various disturbances of a rhythmic pattern in a group of nine jazz musicians, all students of The Sibelius Academy in Helsinki, and we compared this to a group of eight non-musicians.²⁰ Prior to the study all subjects were tested using the imitation test described above. Only musicians with a score of 16 or more and non-musicians with a score lower than 3 were allowed to take part in the study. Considering these rather strict inclusion criteria the musicians in this study were highly rhythmically competent whereas the non-musicians could be termed inept. In line with previous studies made by other researchers we found large and fast brain responses when the rhythmic pattern was broken. This activity was localized to the auditory cortex. The more interesting and rather surprising part of this study was the differences we found when comparing musicians to non-musicians. The amplitude of the response was generally much larger in the brains of jazz musicians than non-musicians, and whereas the jazz musicians' main brain responses were localized in the left hemisphere, the non-musicians responded with stronger activation in the right hemisphere. Furthermore, the activity in musicians' left hemisphere was much faster than the activity of non-musicians' left hemisphere, indicating a fundamentally different unconscious processing of salient musical events in skilled musicians.

Thus, one of the lessons that musicians can take from this research is that when discussing musical issues with non-musicians or musicians at a different level than themselves it is important to remember that the perception of music in these people may differ from their own on a very fundamental level.

PERSPECTIVES IN A NEUROPSYCHOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) APPROACH TO MUSIC

So why is research in perception, cognition, and learning in general and neuroscientific music research in particular important to the academies of music and why should academies engage into a path seemingly difficult and cumbersome? I think that there are at least three good reasons for this.

First, I believe that music education will benefit greatly from cognitive research in music in the years to come, especially as methods such as brain scanning techniques become more trustworthy and available. This does not mean that musicians should expect tangible, practical advice that can be applied directly to musical learning and performance, nor that excellent instrumental teachers should give up their way of teaching shaped not only by a lifetime's experience but based on centuries of music teaching tradition. The neuroscientific research in music up till now has pre-dominantly provided valuable explanations of brain mechanisms underpinning musical abilities as well as general aspects of music cognition such as the above mentioned perception of musical emotions. However, over time, the insights gained from neuroscience may prove very useful not only as a way to informed hypotheses about the efficiency of specific musical training methods, but also neuroscientific methods may

20 Vuust et al., 'To musicians?'

be used to detect weaknesses and strengths in students' musical abilities. As an example of the latter I should mention our ongoing EEG-study in collaboration with CBRU (Cerebral Brain Research Unit, Helsinki) and the Sibelius Academy in Finland, in which we seek to find an objective method to determine musicians' abilities to discriminate deviants in basic aspects of music or sound such as pitch, rhythm, intensity, timbre, and location compared to a 'normal' population of musicians. Also, certain scientists propagate newly developed scientifically based strategies such as e.g. neurofeedback, which refers to the monitoring of one's own brain activity with a view to influencing it, as a way of optimizing concert performance.²¹

For practical advice on optimal training methods however, there is probably more to be gained through behavioral experiments. An example of this is the research performed by Hans-Christian Jabusch et al. who investigate the relationship between practice and pianists' performance.²² One of their astonishing discoveries is that pianists at the age of 22–26 need more than $3\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour of daily practice in order to improve basic motor skills, a simple fact with obvious implications for students and teachers at the academies of music.

Second, anatomical and functional studies of the influence of music and musical expertise on the brain is an important way to learn more about the plastic potential of the brain, with implications for learning as well as rehabilitation. In studying musicians versus non-musicians scientists are offered a unique model to study brain plasticity in that musicians perform daily activities over a long stretch of years that enables them with amazing motor, auditory, coordination, and creative skills not only uniquely separating them from non-musicians but in many instances from musicians playing other instruments or styles of music. In recent years, many researchers within this field with a background in neuroscience have discovered that the only way to ask musically relevant questions is to collaborate with expert musicians, who have a profound knowledge of the inner workings of music. In this respect, teachers and students at the academies of music possess expertise that is not elsewhere available and only this kind of true interdisciplinarity can ensure research that is both rigorous and interesting at the same time.

Third, science in general presents a window between the music academies and the outside world, through which people can have a gaze at the hidden creative process of music that may appear mysterious to an outsider but to musicians is a natural part of their everyday life. Also, in doing research that is based on the daily experiences and challenges that expert musicians face may prove to be relevant not only for these musicians in particular, but have an impact that reaches beyond the music world. Studying the motor system in expert musicians, Eckart Altenmuller, who is both

21 T. Egner and J.H. Gruzelier, 'Learned self-regulation of EEG frequency components affects attention and event-related brain potentials in humans', *Neuroreport*, 12 (2001), 4155–59; T. Egner and J.H. Gruzelier, 'EEG biofeedback of low beta band components: frequency-specific effects on variables of attention and event-related brain potentials', *Clinical Neurophysiology*, 115 (2004), 131–39.

22 H.C. Jabusch et al., 'The influence of practice on the development of motor skills in pianists: A longitudinal study in a selected motor task', *Human movement science*, 28 (2009), 74–84.

neurologist, director of Institut für Musikmedizin in Hannover, and trained flutist, has found a way to help musicians suffering from the disabling condition known as focal dystonia or ‘musicians cramp’ by treating them with a combination of botox injections and muscle training. This illness is not restricted to musicians but may strike any professional that uses specialized fine-motor skills, such as e.g. typists or athletes. At RAMA we have several research projects with external implications. One of these is associate professor Bjørn Petersen’s Ph.D. project. Petersen is investigating the possible beneficial effects of intensive music training of cochlear implantees trying to help them to a better speech perception as well as to be able to enjoy music and thereby to a substantially better quality of life. Following another line of research professor Wayne Siegel works with adaptive music: music that changes in interaction with the listener or with dancers’ movements. This research may potentially be of great interest to computer game programmers who are interested in developing the auditory side of their products towards a more artistic and maybe more aesthetically interesting expression.

It is certainly not within the reach of all students and teachers at the academies of music to do research that meets academic gold standards and the academies of music must remember that many of their teachers and students are simply good at playing and teaching. However, though not all musicians find scientific endeavours worthwhile or within their reach, verbalizing about their art can create new audiences, and the up-grade of personal qualifications that doing research entails may open new career possibilities for teachers as well as for students. Research, however, should be seen as an opportunity for the academies of music, not as a frightening ‘must’.

Censoring Music through Race

*The struggle between African and Arab values and politics
in the music of Zanzibar*

ANNEMETTE KIRKEGAARD

During the time I have been studying the East African musical style taarab, international as well as local impressions, evaluations, and understanding have undergone great changes. When I first visited Zanzibar in 1981, taarab was recognized as an all present but little known music coming out of *chai*-houses and contributing to the local soundscape, but since that time international and primarily western interest has grown and today the music is part of the cultural industry which markets Zanzibar as a peaceful and exotic destination for tourism. However, taarab music is deeply embedded in a social and political discourse which relates to the islands' complex historical situation. By sounding a taarab song or giving a particular drum beat in performance an utterance is given which, depending on its context and its relation to race, class, and ethnicity, is interpreted in terms of the cultural and political soundscape. Because of its contested and important role, control over the taarab environment has been crucial and censorship has been clandestinely or openly employed. The musician Seif Salim Saleh was a prominent member of the Zanzibari musical environment and through his story, which I had the privilege of hearing from him directly and over time, I will discuss how one important aspect of the censorship in taarab was based on race.

The study of the influence and impact of the censorship of musical utterances is a relatively new matter in musicology, and it is theoretically related to post-colonial studies. Traditionally, studies of censorship in music have been mostly related to forms that ally music to words, that is primarily music for theatre and operas. As the present Grove entry on censorship has it: 'Censorship is not readily practised on music, because music does not as a rule convey a precise statement such as persons in authority might wish to tone down or ban.'¹

In this article I argue that even if music does not convey precise or semantic statements, it affords a unique affective platform for expressing meaning and identity² and contributes to social and human dialogue. For this reason and despite the general belief that words are more at risk of being banned, music and its practitioners are made subjects to regulations, prohibitions, and silencing surprisingly often. More attention has been paid to writers and the international PEN has been a major force in fighting for the right to freedom of expression, but recently researchers

1 John Rosselli, art. 'Censorship', *Grove Music Online* (accessed Nov. 2008).

2 Bruce Johnson and Martin Cloonan, *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 141.

have documented and drawn attention to the numerous cases in which musicians, singers, and composers have been harassed, persecuted, and even killed because of their music and sound.³

As a new area of interest and concern to both musicologists and ethnomusicologists, the field of research is in my opinion still very open and undefined. However, research on musical censorship draws on basic principles of post-colonial theory which regards culture in relation to power relations and political action, and acknowledges that music is not an innocent agent in social and cultural matters.⁴

Swedish musicologist Johan Fornäs proposes three major ways in which censorship is applied to music. He defines these as state laws, market rules, and life-world constraints. The three might work independently controlling each their part of society, but they might also work together in intricate ways, affecting artists and performers severely.⁵ In the case examined here, all three sections are at work as national interests, economic earnings, and civil society's values all influence the discourse about race. However, a study of censorship must not only include its victims but also its initiators. Here Martin Cloonan offers the insight that censorship 'is the process by which an agent (or agents) attempts to, and/or succeeds in, significantly altering, and/or curtailing, the freedom of expression of another agent with a view to limiting the likely audience for that expression'.⁶ In the Zanzibari case these initiators and agents must be found among participants in the contemporary cultural life as well as with the conveyors of previous power structures which can and must be traced through a historical examination.

Race – albeit substantially also tied to power relations – draws on seemingly different assumptions, and as it is also according to Ronald Radano and Philip Bohlman one of the most conspicuous reasons for censorship in music, it adds a particular dimension to the debate.⁷ Tracing bans and exclusions through the major diasporic master narratives of the Jews and the African Americans in modernity, they argue that race is embodied in music. In the history of the popular East African music culture, taarab, racial distinctions play important roles and have resulted in severe cases of musicians having been silenced. These took place in colonial times and even before, when slavery and human trafficking were dependent on racial defi-

3 Since 1998 also the NGO Freemuse – The World Forum for Music and Censorship – has been pioneering in documenting and raising attention to musical censorship, seeing their work as an equivalent to what the international PEN organization is doing for writers. I am indebted to Freemuse for inspiration in the work presented here.

4 Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, 'Introduction', in Born and Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (London: University of California Press, 2000), 5.

5 Johan Fornäs, *Limits to musical expression* (Copenhagen: Freemuse, 2002), 2 (internet publication on www.freemuse.org).

6 Martin Cloonan, 'Call That Censorship? Problems of Definition', in Martin Cloonan and Reebee Garofalo (eds.), *Policing Pop* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 13–29, on 15.

7 Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, 'Music and Race, Their Past, Their Presence', in Radano and Bohlman (eds.), *Music and the Racial Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 1–53.

nitions and separations of peoples in tribes and the differing colour of their skin. But the repercussions of colonialism have also dominated social life in the larger part of the twentieth century. In order to explain why race can be understood as a basis for censorship in Zanzibar and to highlight the complexity of the processes which are at stake in censoring music through racial categories, the following short examples will serve as appetizers.

Having been a guest in Zanzibar during several periods of fieldwork covering many years, it is striking how diversified the population and the city look. The architecture differs greatly as do dressing and ways of life. Some people have very light complexions and look like Indians or fair skinned Arabs. Others are very black and look like the stereotyped 'Africans'. In the daily routines and the cityscape the colours mingle but even so racial divisions can be spotted, for instance in social and musical life. The dancers of ngoma are usually all very dark, while the performers at a taarab concert display a larger variation, some of the musicians and singers clearly being Indian or Arab. Controversial as observations like these are, they are nevertheless at the heart of the discussion I offer here.⁸

Race is also an important part of taarab history. The famous Siti Binti Saad who is celebrated as the first and most skilled taarab female singer is a good example. Saad was already a legend along the entire Swahili coast in her own lifetime, and her fame became international through recordings in India in the 1920s. Siti Binti Saad was born in Zanzibar around 1880 and both her parents were immigrant workers from the mainland. When Saad moved to Zanzibar Town around 1910, she met several musicians and was introduced to music, to the Arabic language and the Qur'an as well as Arabian literature. Saad became the first woman in Zanzibar to be a popular star and her fame quickly made her a frequent guest in the house of the Sultan.⁹ This was a rather paradoxical position for a woman singer of mainland origin in a traditionally male-dominated and Arab centred culture. Her band was small and the male musicians in the group were in no way connected to the elite in Zanzibar Town. It included a *dumbak* – the small drum which gave name to the taarab style *Kidumbak*,¹⁰ and which is associated with Ngoma events. Saad often sang in a veil, but she did sing in public – an otherwise forbidden activity in Muslim culture of that time. It has been discussed why Siti Binti Saad covered her face in the *buibui* when she sang. Traditionally it has been believed that the reason was

8 In this article I use the words 'African', 'Arab', and 'Asian' or 'Indian' as discursive terms, as 1) they are used so in the empirical world and 2) that they are in my theoretical understanding fundamentally subject to manipulation.

9 Seif Salim Saleh remembers that Siti Binti Saad used to sing there once a week and primarily on Thursdays; personal communication with Seif Salim Saleh, Zanzibar, Oct. 1994. All references to information obtained during my fieldwork are referred to in this manner. Primary interviews for this article were conducted during fieldwork in Zanzibar in 1994 and 1998 with the late Seif Salim Saleh. A number of other interviewees made important contributions, but in order to shield them in the ongoing struggle over meaning, race, and power in this rather small community of Zanzibar I have chosen not to give their names.

10 Janet Topp Fargion, 'The role of Women in *taarab* in Zanzibar: an Historical Examination of a Process of "Africanisation"', *The World of Music*, 35/2 (1993), 117.

that Saad was ugly. Historian Laura Fair gives reasonable evidence that she was in fact not ugly per se, rather she was African and looked like it. The *buibui* – itself a signal of urbanity and modernity – concealed both class and race, and gave access to recognition otherwise not available for people of African origin.¹¹

HISTORY, ETHNICITY, AND RACISM IN ZANZIBAR

Its long history of cultural encounter, dating at least back a millennium, has resulted in a particular demographic composition and a diversified socio-political identity among the peoples of Zanzibar. Many different waves of immigration have taken place and Arab and Portuguese sailors and merchants in particular have influenced the development of the region. The most numerous and well known people of the coast, crossing modern national borders, are the Swahilis. Being essentially urban and commuting continuously between Arab and African values and cultural forms, the Swahilis have dominated the history of the region. In Zanzibar the term Swahili includes many different groups and through wars, economic supremacy, and slavery the peoples have experienced shifting and conflicting relations.

However, since independence inherent ethnic complexities and clashes have been muted in public and political discourse, and the image of the population in Zanzibar has been that of peaceful coexistence, relatively smooth cultural integration, and accordingly a musical style embracing the demographic diversity in gentle and beautiful sounds. Today this interpretation has become a trope cleverly used by entrepreneurs in the emerging tourist industry. The discourse is nevertheless superficial and misleading, and the music scene offers a good view of a contested space, in which the performance of *taarab* can be interpreted as an active statement in an ongoing political and cultural struggle.

Kelly Askew and John Kitime have convincingly documented the way in which musical censorship has been part and parcel of Tanzanian politics since the days of colonialism.¹² Ngoma regulations which in the first decades of the twentieth century strived at controlling primarily the organizations around the *Beni* dance, which was modelled on German military drills and customs and whose leaders held titles like ‘Kaiser’, ‘König’ and ‘Bismarck’, often included bans and prohibitions on performing the dances. In the eyes of the British authorities, *Beni* dance organizations not only bore associations to the ‘enemy’, but more seriously via their trans-tribal composition provided a cultural platform which opposed the divide and rule strategy of the British colonial system. Therefore it had to be censored. In Zanzibar the conditions were even more complicated because of the importance of the East African and Indian Ocean trade. The islands had been the site of the former slave market and

11 Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics. Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar 1890–1945* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 85 ff.

12 Kelly M. Askew and John Francis Kitime, ‘Popular Music Censorship in Tanzania’, in Michael Drewett and Martin Cloonan, *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 137–56. Tanganyika was a German colony until 1916, when it came under British rule.

because slave labour had been imported from the mainland to work the big plantations ‘racial’/ethnic dynamics in Zanzibar developed along much more politicized lines than in Tanganyika.¹³

HISTORY

As ethnic and demographic relations in Zanzibar were fused with both slavery and colonialism, the cultural encounter was not always a peaceful marriage.¹⁴ Some cultural markers are nevertheless coherent and they seem to indicate a kind of affinity or homogeneity of the islands.

One such important factor is the presence of Islam. On the coast and in Zanzibar, Muslim faith is ascribed to almost 95 per cent of the population, and historically the introduction of and adherence to Islam has had great impact on ethnic and racial identities. The Omani Arabs who settled in Zanzibar saw the Swahili coast as a periphery of the Arabian world and therefore on the borders of civilization. The Swahilis of the coast of course saw it differently. Being Muslim, the Swahilis felt part of the total Islamic community – the *umma*. Thus they saw themselves clearly differentiated from the ‘impure’ people of the hinterland and their towns as social centres in a wilderness of unbelievers.¹⁵ Music served as a crucial vehicle for conversion¹⁶ and the reading of the Qur’an, being a clear marker of religious identity, has audibly affected musical preferences, even outside the Qur’anic schools (the *Madrassas*) and the Mosque.

Language provided another important factor in coastal culture and served increasingly as a unifying phenomenon. Kiswahili is the linguistic result of the merger of African and Arab words and enforced by the practice of Islam. The Zanzibari version of the language – believed by many to be more refined and authentic¹⁷ – gives a notion of supremacy and civilization to the island culture. Since taarab relies heavily on poetry and communication, the capacity of Kiswahili to express nuances and meanings in dialogue is crucial to the social power of taarab.

The Swahilis have a reputation for being open to news, fashion, foreigners, and guests, and their culture is said to be eclectic. This is officially held to be positive, not least in music and culture, but below the surface, there is and has always been strong ethnic and social competition. As Laura Fair has documented, cultural markers such as clothes, sports, and music display an inherent conflict, and the negotiation over slavery, manumission, and positioning within the Zanzibari urban society is often

¹³ Ibid. 144.

¹⁴ Already before the advent of the wealthy sultans from Oman in the beginning of the 1830s, Arab merchants and soldiers, Bantu or African chiefs and warlords, and shifting guests from Persia, India, and even China had a role to play in the genesis of both culture, language, and skills of for instance sea and land transport.

¹⁵ John Middleton, *The World of the Swahili: an African mercantile civilisation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 162.

¹⁶ Radano and Bohlman, ‘Music and Race’, 20.

¹⁷ This is apparently due to its stronger relation to Arabic and to poetry.

expressed in these events.¹⁸ In the early part of the twentieth century female veiling signalled social status as only freeborn citizens were allowed to cover their heads. However, soon after being manumitted former slaves took up the use of the black *buibui*, in this way claiming equality with their former mistresses. Likewise restrictions and rules, many of them gendered and based on class, governed the making and performance of music, but also soon afforded possibilities for changing usages.

Problems of defining ethnicity and race are related to social power relations and often there is insecurity over categories like Shirazi (Persians), Omani or even Arab, mirroring of course the impossibility of essentializing ethnicity.¹⁹ Many categories are simply based on British colonial ideas and therefore to a very large extent constructed. Zanzibari history shows shifting instances in which ethnicity and race are negotiable and where people decide according to the situation which group they want to belong to.²⁰

This leaves us with the basic recognition that ethnic and demographic relations in Zanzibar are variable and shifting. Race, however, appears to be a stubborn marker of identity (probably because of its visual presence) and as suggested by Bohlman and Radano racialization limits choices and options.²¹ When ruling cultures and elites make use of colour distinctions and physical appearance to limit choices and to impose differences and borders between people, the process must be termed racism. Colour is, however, still subject to interpretation, and the definitions of which 'shade' belongs to which group can, as in the Zanzibari case, at a general level vary grossly through history. It is, however, my claim that music is a strong agent, and possibly complicit, in conducting, performing, and negotiating these structures.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF TAARAB IN ZANZIBAR

The origin of taarab music is profoundly tied to the ethnic and racial distinctions of Swahili culture and to historical power struggles between local African peoples and incoming Arab and European rulers. But migration within the so-called Indian Ocean Area was also of great importance to the development of taarab. When Sultan Barghash returned to Zanzibar in the 1880s after a prolonged stay in India, he brought with him the style and culture he had met in the East.²² He copied the exuberance of Indian culture, as is still visible in the architecture of the stone town of Zanzibar, and he sent for the most famous musicians in the world

18 Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 64 ff.

19 Martin Stokes, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music', in Martin Stokes (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The musical construction of place* (Providence: Berg, 1994), 20.

20 From the 1931 census to the census in 1948 the population of Shirazi decreases from 40,891 to 175, which is 'neither due to mortality nor to emigration, but simply that the same people changed their ethnic or racial identity and adopted another'; J. Mosare, 'Background to the Revolution in Zanzibar', in I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu (eds.), *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 214–38, on 222.

21 Radano and Bohlman, 'Music and Race', 8.

22 Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 171.

at the time, that is, musicians from the Egyptian court in Cairo and the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. Accordingly the court culture in Zanzibar rose to famed heights for its splendour and romance, which also pleased European guests and allies. The palace of the Zanzibari Sultan became the point of departure and return for European travellers and missionaries en route to the dark interior of the continent, and tales of its hospitality and civilization were reported by both Richard Burton and David Livingstone.

The style of taarab is believed to originate in the male clubs, the oldest of which, The Ikhwani Safaa Musical Club, goes back to the early twentieth century. The name taarab, which means to enjoy or be moved, is probably also from this time.²³ The clubs were organized in brotherhoods, common all over the Muslim world, and in the club houses the music was enjoyed as an aesthetic art form among equals. The language was initially Arabic and its musical instruments, modes, scales, and vocal lines were part of an international Muslim world culture.

Since the 1920s, however, new musical influences made their way into taarab. The migrant mainlanders and descendants of manumitted African slaves gradually claimed social and cultural importance, and soon they began to adopt the musical art form of the ruling elite – that is, taarab. It was, however, happening in clear opposition to the Sultan, who tried to get control of the style by restricting the legal use of taarab to the palace grounds exclusively. The rules were broken easily, and taarab was increasingly performed outside the palace walls. From this time on rhythms known to the African part of the population from ngoma events were introduced into taarab, and simultaneously male privileges were challenged by female singers.²⁴

The introduction of the Kiswahili language into taarab is one other feature often attributed to women and especially Siti Binti Saad. The clubs were still centred on ethnic, gendered, or even racial affinity – some being exclusively for Arabs and others for Africans – and even if women had access, social distinctions were upheld. The Michenzani Social Club was formed in 1954 in the Michenzani district of Ng'ambo, and significantly '[t]he club was the first to be started in Ng'ambo [the African Quarters of town], and the founder members were all people of African Descent'.²⁵

Siti Binti Saad was never a member of a club, and certainly not of the Ikhwani Saafa Musical Club, which according to present day taarab 'idol', Bi Kidude, only accepted Arabs.²⁶ Still she was a regular guest in the court of the Sultan, where she sang in weekly performances.²⁷

23 The word, however, is a localization of the concept *tarab*, which is known broadly in Arab music. See, for instance, A.J. Racy, *Making Music in the Arab World: The Culture and the Artistry of Tarab* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

24 Topp Fargion, 'The role of Women in *taarab* in Zanzibar', 110.

25 Janet Topp, *Women and the Africanisation of taarab in Zanzibar* (unpubl. Ph.D. diss.; London: School of Oriental and Asian Studies, 1992), 89.

26 During an interview in the film *As Old as My Tongue, The Myth and Life of Bi Kidude* (2006 DVD-edn.), cf. www.asoldasmytongue.net (accessed Jan. 2008).

27 A plate in the Sultan's palace states that Saad used to sing every Thursday; field notes 1994.

MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ZANZIBARI TAARAB

Classical taarab is musically characterized by the prominence of the sung word or rather, sung poetry. This has a strong influence on the form, which is strophic and in verse rather than cyclic as many African musics. The dialogue between solo parts and a mixed choir singing in unison is extended to a repeated interchange between voice and an instrumental group, and in breaks between lines and verses, instruments take over in call response structure. Both in vocal and instrumental passages, the harmonic structure is based on what is known in large parts of the Muslim world as *heterophonia*, which is singing or playing a shared melodic line in parallel octaves and with variations in intonation, rhythmic timing, and sonority. Singing in harmonies is very seldom heard as it remains closely related to Christian missionary song, thus the affinity with Arabic musical ideals is still audible.

Many of the instruments used in taarab, like *oud*, *qanun*, and violin, have equally strong relations to the Arab Muslim world and thus carry a unique and recognizable sound. This closeness is further strengthened by the occasional use of modes and scales from the classical Arab music system, and it determines the melodic lines of the songs and tunes.²⁸ Vocal lines often have Eastern tonality (so-called micro tonal intervals) and the voice quality relies on both Arab and Indian influences.²⁹

However, the increasing presence of musics of local African people, immigrant plantation workers from the mainland, and women's musical organizations, have continuously challenged the style of taarab. It has influenced the repertoire, the instrumentation, and the structure of the music as well as the sound. The introduction of ngoma rhythms and later also Latin American dance rhythms, which probably came by way of the post-independence urban dance musics from the mainland,³⁰ was heavily influential on taarab style in the middle of the twentieth century.

The creative openness of the culture has resulted in a ready acceptance of new ideas, and during the twentieth century electric instruments such as guitars, bass, keyboards, and synthesizers, and global dance rhythms as well as elements from Indian film music have all been included. Accordingly, taarab can be found in different formats ranging from large scale orchestras with up to 40 participants, formal membership, and regular practice evenings, to small groups put together on an occasional basis. The sounds are very different, but taarab to its audience still emerges as an audibly recognizable and coherent style. However, disputes over control of the style are frequent, most clearly seen in the conflicting relations concerning so-called 'modern taarab',³¹ and are in some cases included in the performative structures of the culture. The competitiveness between orchestras is strong and often they duel in pairs. Much energy is put into inventiveness and creating images, and these often involve ethnicity and race.

28 Interview with Seif Salim Saleh, Zanzibar, Oct. 1994.

29 Seif Salim Saleh demonstrates this vocal style on his song 'Nipepee', which was recorded by Globestyle, cf. Annemette Kirkegaard, 'Nipepee, en taarab-sang fra Zanzibar', *Musik og Forskning*, 16 (1991), 155–68.

30 Dance rhythms have also been believed to relate to influences from Indian commercial music.

31 Modern taarab is based on the influence of more dance related musics and uses synthesizers.

Taarab thus is a melting pot in both musical and cultural ways, but also a contested space. Seated listening to the music is associated with Arabness and Muslim values, while dancing to the music adheres to Africanness. In a typical Zanzibari compromise, at public taarab concerts dance is often transformed into an elaborate walk to the stage in order to spray the performers.³² Instrumental pieces like the *Basrafs* of the large orchestras are in close encounter with popular musics of the Arab world, while initiation tunes and musics like the *Unyago* of rural Zanzibar signal a unity with African and mainland cultures. Sometimes the issues merge, and accordingly political and ideological dialogues and conflicts are often acted out in taarab performance.³³

THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION AND TAARAB

By the end of the 1950s, the British colonial period declined and independence was at hand on the African continent. In Zanzibar independence was obtained 10 December 1963. Backed by British interests in upholding Muslim norms and values in the islands, the Arabs hoped for a continuation of the sultanate, and due to dubious election procedures they won the election in spite of the absolute majority of votes of the African population. An independent sultanate was proclaimed.

In January 1964 the African side reacted in a violent revolution, during which tens of thousands of Arabs were killed and many more forced into exile.³⁴ After the revolution the biggest African party – Afro-Shirazi-Party (ASP) – took over, but unrest continued. Power in the new state was concentrated in the hands of Sheik Abeid Karume, who worked to establish a socialist state. The calamities which followed have to be understood partly as a reaction to centuries of suppression and economic exploitation of the African population, but they had clear racial overtones. All major plantations – for many the quintessence of Arab supremacy – were nationalized, and those individuals who could not document African descent were robbed of their citizenship. Karume was popular in the African part of the population because of his campaign against the Arabs, but still hated by most groups because of his tough policy of rationing. After having survived two attempted assassinations, Karume was murdered in 1972 and power was transferred to Sheik Aboud Jumbe.

The violent struggle had major consequences for taarab music. In the period between the election and the revolution the Sultan's government required that all music aired on the radio should be Arabic music, 'thus fuelling fears that Zanzibar was being turned into an Arab, rather than an African, state'.³⁵ When the revolutionary forces broke into Radio Zanzibar on the morning of 12 January 1964, they destroyed

32 This procedure is very popular and primarily women flock to the stage donating small amounts, so that they can go to the stage many times in order to be seen.

33 Kelly M. Askew, *Performing the Nation. Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 127.

34 This is a painful part of the history of the islands. See, for instance, the internet site 'Zanzibar Unveiled' for photos and reports (www.zanzibarhistory.org).

35 Askew and Kitime, 'Popular Music Censorship in Tanzania', 144.

almost all the old 78 rpm records containing taarab music.³⁶ From around the same time Latin American rhythms imported from mainland popular dance music such as Congolese and Swahili pop began to dominate taarab. It is not known whether this was deliberately promoted by those in power, but it is clear that the new government in its quest to emphasize everything 'African' wanted to do away with Arab rhythms in particular, which had dominated the music for a long time.

But the new rulers were not opposed to music and culture; for instance Karume himself is reported to have owned a taarab-club for Africans before independence.³⁷ The regime, however, strongly opposed the alleged Arab character of most taarab music, so clubs and other leisure activities based on ethnic or racial grounds were forbidden from the first day of the revolution.³⁸ Also all groups were ordered to sing exclusively in Kiswahili instead of Arabic. In fact most of the purely Arab clubs were closed for shorter or longer periods, and they were all forced to Africanize their names. The Ikhwani Safaa Musical Club became Ndugu Wanaopendana ('Brothers who love one another'),³⁹ but soon the group was merely called Malindi Musical Club after the location of their house in Zanzibar Town. Like other social organizations it became a branch of the local ASP. After the political thaw in 1984 the club officially reinstated its old name, Ikhwani Safaa. However, many people in Zanzibar today still call them Malindi.⁴⁰

In 1964 the taarab group Shime Kuokoana, a youth group affiliated with the ASP, formed the basis of the political construct The Zanzibar and Pemba Dramatic and Musical Club, which was set up under the direct order of the Ministry of Culture. Later renamed Culture Musical Club, since that period the club has been regarded as the group of the ruling nationalist party, while Ikhwani Safaa remains associated with the days of the sultanate and the Arab-Omani rule. As the ruling party had strong ideological links to the mainland, it also has a racial dimension, since mainlanders are considered more 'African'.

Accordingly, a socialist, African culture was initiated also changing the themes of taarab lyrics from romance and love to political instructions and praises. In order to be able to control the taarab musical scene, Swahili lyrics were demanded instead of the Arabic texts which were not intelligible to the official censorship boards. What happened around independence is a classical example of state censorship as defined by Johan Fornäs,⁴¹ and the way in which different parts of society during the unrest of the election and the subsequent revolution tried to seize control over music and taarab lyrics through bans and prohibitions illustrates the importance of music and culture in nation building.

36 Interview with a record dealer, Zanzibar, 1994.

37 This was reported to me during fieldwork in 1994 but I have not been able to substantiate it.

38 Esmond Bradley Martin, *Zanzibar, Tradition and Revolution* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), 59.

39 Topp, *Women and the Africanisation of taarab in Zanzibar*, 100.

40 This is based on personal communication with local people in Zanzibar, Oct. 1994.

41 Fornäs, *Limits to musical expression*.

MUSICAL CENSORSHIP IN POST INDEPENDENCE ZANZIBAR

In October 1964 Zanzibar had joined Tanganyika in the political union, Tanzania. But relations with the mainland were problematic and full of conflict, and strict borders with custom and currency boundaries and special passport-rules were upheld between the two partners. Zanzibar's ruling party, ASP, merged with Tanzania's TANU to become the united Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). However, even though it was subordinated to the federal government, an independent constitution, parliament, and president governed Zanzibar.

In the Karume years a rule built on fear was founded and through a strong influence from East German intelligence (who tested their policies for development aid in Africa in Tanzania and Zanzibar especially) new measures for controlling civic society were practised.⁴² Also Chinese expatriates – on a similar mission – were present in Zanzibar in big numbers.⁴³

The new Zanzibari rulers, inspired by the cultural policies already launched in mainland Tanzania in 1962, wanted to use the music scene politically, as a vehicle through which it might liberate itself from both the Eastern and the Western domination of arts and culture, which were felt to suppress the indigenous culture of the country. Accordingly, imports of music, films, and books from outside were broken off, and '[w]estern publications were subject to censorship and occasionally banned'.⁴⁴

The state controlled and monopolistic radio was an important factor in the struggles in Zanzibar as well as in Tanzania, and censorship boards were set up to control lyrics and musics. A general ban on soul music had been issued in the mainland on 12 November 1969 by the coast Regional Commissioner⁴⁵ and soon this spread to the islands as well. The regulation was not strictly followed, but in 1975 a more severe censorship was put on broadcasting foreign music on the national radio TRD in order to 'promote local culture and impede Western cultural (and capitalist) imperialism'.⁴⁶

Film censorship was systematic and based on moral values, but the censorship also affected song lyrics and bans were put on selected records. In Zanzibar 'those who refused to comply were dismissed or hit with a cane'.⁴⁷ Throughout this period Arab musical ideals in taarab were downplayed in both national politics and public performances, and many events concerning the Arab-Asian population in Zanzibar went underground.⁴⁸ Rumours of harassment and discouragement of cultural associations

42 Bernd Fischer, 'Das Wirken der Hauptverwaltung A in der "Dritten Welt"', in Klaus Eichner and Gotthold Schramm (eds.), *Hauptverwaltung A. Geschichte, Aufgaben, Einsichten* (Berlin: Edition Ost, 2008), 122–52. Fischer states that Karume invited the East Germans to assist in the securing and stabilization of the young state by building security organs and creating a new profile for the police force, *ibid.* 138f.

43 Martin, *Zanzibar, Tradition and Revolution*, 60: 'By the late 1960s, there were 700 Chinese, 50 Russians and 200 East German residents in Zanzibar.'

44 *Ibid.* 63.

45 Askew and Kitime, 'Popular Music Censorship in Tanzania', 148.

46 Martin Sturmer quoted in *ibid.* 148.

47 Sturmer quoted in *ibid.* 149.

48 Personal communication, Zanzibar/Tanzania, 1994.

with the Arab world were heard, but these have never been properly examined. In addition, due to strict custom regulations following economic problems, the availability of musical instruments decreased.⁴⁹

In the early 1980s reports of human rights violations and torture and detainment in prisons on the islands began to emerge, and it appeared that the taarab environment was also affected by the situation.⁵⁰

In 1985 Tanzania's first president, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, withdrew and was succeeded by Ali Hassan Mwinyi. Being a Zanzibari, Mwinyi's appointment meant a softening of the tense relationship between the mainland and Zanzibar. After his accession, first as president in Zanzibar and later of Tanzania, some of the restrictions towards the Arab-Asian population were eased. The environment for culture and for taarab in particular began to grow and due to foreign interest in the music a legendary recording by Ben Mandelson and Werner Graebner for Globestyle in 1985–86 drew international attention to the style. The recordings, *The Music of Zanzibar*, vols. 1–4, featured all the major groups and orchestras in Unguja (Zanzibar Island) and displayed a diversity stretching from large orchestras to smaller bands, not least the exciting phenomenon of women's taarab, the *Tarabu ya Wanawake*.⁵¹ These groups, consisting of all female members and singers but drawing largely on the assistance of hired male instrumentalists for performances, enhanced the traditional strategy by using song to make social comments. The strong and often abusive language was termed *mipasho* and the backbiting of the texts grew to unheard-of dimensions. As the competition between the leading groups, as for instance The Royal Air Force Musical Club and Royal Navy Musical Club – note their clear origin in colonial structures – began to cause serious trouble in the community and fears of violent clashes, the government intervened and banned the activity.⁵² Then, simultaneous with restrictions on the competing groups of Ikhwanī Safaa and Culture, who were also on the threshold of causing riots in the community due to their fierce competition, the government enforced united, national ensembles for male as well as female taarab. The Kikunda Cha Taifa (National group) came into being in 1985 and it has since played at important national events such as the National Day and has travelled abroad. In these groups the best singers and musicians were asked to take their part and a temporary truce was established.

In this case the censorship is close to what Johan Fornäs has termed 'life-world constraints', as the moral and emotional questions which were acted upon were

49 In mainland Tanzania the market for foreign goods also decreased dramatically and this meant that the only people who had access to instruments and musical gear were bar and hotel owners, who hired musicians. This situation meant that control over the music was moved to the new patrons; cf. Annemette Kirkegaard, *Taarab na Musiki wa densi* (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis; Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1996).

50 I was informed of this by my Danish contact in Dar Es Salaam, Niels Vittus Hansen, who worked in Zanzibar as an architect. He reported dubious trials and prison violence and he supported the opposition as early as 1981 (field notes, Dar es Salaam, 1981).

51 *The music of Zanzibar*, ORBD 032, 033, 040, 041, released 1988–89 by Globestyle Records, London.

52 Topp Fargion, 'The role of Women in taarab in Zanzibar', 118.

more related to civil society and community concerns than to state interests. It was, however, the state which had the capacity and the power to impose the prohibitions and accordingly it censored for the benefit of the community.

But the most important consequence of restrictions in the life-world is that self censorship becomes the order of the day, and that musicians and artists adjust to the moral, religious, and political demands of civil society. The impact of self censorship is hard to measure as it is the most opaque kind of silencing, but most researchers agree that in relation to music it is crucial.⁵³

In 1995 the first multi-party election was scheduled to take place, and tensions between the two major parties, the ruling CCM and the oppositional Civic United Front (CUF), which has a strong propensity toward the Arab World, were rising. The elections were postponed several times, and during the campaign the leader of the CUF advocated relative independence for Zanzibar, thereby seriously challenging the Union with former Tanganyika.⁵⁴ I was on fieldwork in Zanzibar in the autumn of 1994 and already at that time political rallying was frequent. As at the time of the revolution in the 1960s, both parties were drawing on the popularity of music and taarab in their campaigns, but it was clear that the favourite of the CCM was again Culture Musical Club, which for a period in the 1990s won the privileges of playing at important events and state celebrations. Some claimed that the Ikhwani Saafa and its former members were actively being excluded from the taarab scene, and it was obvious that the club in that period had very few jobs. Some of the musicians went instead to play in Pemba, which was and is the base and stronghold of the CUF. It was also obvious from talks with both Zanzibaris and Danish expatriates that a more open discourse seemed to surface and grow stronger, probably because the strict systems of cultural control were increasingly destabilised by the growth of commercialism and the subversion of the television and radio monopoly through satellite technology.⁵⁵

The transition to multi-party rule had implications for socio-cultural conditions, and a new awareness of diversity has emerged since that time. Despite the official policy of praising the multi-ethnicity and eclecticism of Zanzibari cultural life, the distinction between 'races' is still commonly heard and 'colour' is noted in daily talk. People associate pale skin with 'Arabness', just as a very dark complexion suggests African ancestry – sometimes even indicating servility and slavery.⁵⁶ According to some of my informants in Zanzibar in the 1990s the distinction often led to molestation of members of the Arab-Asian community. The situation was dominated by fear and many of the former nationalist Africans at the first multiparty election still voted, though reluctantly, for the CCM because they feared a return of the Arab sultanate and the Muslim values and suppression which had been the norm in the days prior to independence.

53 See John Baily, *Can you stop the birds singing* (Copenhagen: Freemuse, 2001), also available as internet publication on www.freemuse.org.

54 Kirkegaard, *Taarab na Musiki wa densi*, 127.

55 Field notes, 1994.

56 Numerous conversations with Zanzibaris and expatriates during my fieldwork in 1994 and 1998.

Throughout this period and because of the complexity of the political situation, Zanzibar was reported by international NGOs for violating human rights and suppressing freedom of speech and assembly.⁵⁷ Citizens of the islands have experienced this in numerous ways, and it has affected their lives profoundly. It also acts on the music.

SEIF SALIM SALEH – A MUSICIAN’S PERSPECTIVE

During my fieldwork in 1994 and 1998 one of my most important contacts was the late Seif Salim Saleh (1942–2000). He had been a prominent musician in the taarab environment since the 1960s and was for a long time a core member of Ikhwani Safaa Musical Club as one of the most skilled instrumentalists. He played the *ud*, the *ney*, and the violin, and claimed knowledge of both Arab and European music theory. In the 1980s he was director of the Department of Arts and Culture in the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Tourism in Zanzibar; he had travelled to Europe as a performing musician and he had given lectures on taarab in London and Germany. In the mid-1980s he had been recorded on the previously mentioned Globe Style anthology *The Music of Zanzibar*, both on the volume of ‘classical’ *ud* and *qanon* and with the Ikhwani Safaa Musical Club on volume two.⁵⁸ When I met with Saleh in 1994 he had recently been taken out of his office in the Ministry of Culture to teach in Nkhruma College, a little north of Zanzibar town. He was not very pleased with this situation, as it did not involve much music and it could easily be seen as a kind of demotion. He was still a performer and held a ‘revered’ position in Ikhwani, though I never saw him play. In Zanzibari ethnic discourse Saleh belonged to the Arab-Asian part of the population and one informant indicated that the harassment he went through was caused by his being ‘white’.⁵⁹ What was even more conspicuous was the fact that he was a strong defender of the so-called classical taarab (the style which is called ‘ideal’ by Janet Topp).⁶⁰ This style, which is conspicuous for its big orchestras of up to 40 members, a large group of stringed instruments and their formal dress, in suits and ties with evening gowns for the female singers, was also the style which in his own words balanced the four major components of taarab music:

57 Cf. www.amnesty.org for documents from Amnesty International. – In 1998 Denmark in unison with other Scandinavian countries cut off official relations with the Zanzibari CCM branch, because of the internment of leading CUF members without trial. The imprisonment went on for years and every month embassy staff attended the mock trials (Field notes, 1998).

58 *The Music of Zanzibar*, vols. 1–2.

59 This is the term used to signify Arabness and light or pale complexion. It has as its counterpart ‘black’ and the words are sometimes used derogatorily. In this case the informer was an important administrative officer, who gave the opinion (Field notes, 1994).

60 Seif Salim Saleh was also a primary informant to the work of Janet Topp Fargion. In her dissertation from 1992 he is quoted for many important statements on the history of the taarab environment, and his shifting roles as musician, teacher, and administrator are mirrored in the double layered explanations he gave, cf. Topp, *Women and the Africanisation of taarab in Zanzibar*.

... Taarab shouldn't be polluted so much the way it is now. It should remain the way it was in the 1960s, because I feel at that time everything was in balance, the Indian flavour, the Arabic flavour, the African flavour, and the European flavour – could combine very nicely, and give us a very good thing that is unique by itself. That's what is my feeling.

But going to one side more really distresses me. I don't mind if there would be a touch of it but not too much.⁶¹

The quotation refers to the musical styles which were present in Zanzibari taarab at that time, and Seif Salim Saleh's remark about 'going to one side more' is here directed at the so-called modern taarab, which involves dancing and 'indecent' lyrics. It is, however, very important that his stress on 'balance' between the Arab, African, and European musical flavours is established as the ideal.

Saleh was not only a skilled instrumentalist, but also a composer of many songs – some of which he performed himself in a highly ornamented way. He composed these from texts, and he explained carefully how he would look for the right sounds to convey or express the meaning of the lyrics.

He was classic, conservative and kept in mind the historical orientation towards the East, which made him prefer Arab, Omani, and not least Egyptian sounds. He was, in other words, finding the core identity of taarab in the modal tonality and instrumental sounds of the Arab musical system.

When I asked Saleh about the origins of taarab he gave this explanation:

We don't know exactly when it started but because the instruments which are used in taarab are all foreign, we say that taarab started when the first foreigners came to this place – with their instruments in their white sailed dhow.

They took something that would make them occupied during their leisure time, so in most of these dhows were musicians who used to entertain; they introduced these instruments.⁶²

This statement, however, in dissonance with the earlier quotation, indicates that taarab is not an indigenous musical style but instead defined by its foreignness through the importance put on the origins of the instruments here. In this interpretation Saleh is clearly advocating a return to the classical instruments of taarab and their musical sound, but he is also making a political statement, perhaps directed at the ongoing struggle over control of the taarab environment, and perhaps even directed at the nationalist use of the style by the CCM and competition with Culture Musical Club. In 1994 Saleh never directly referred to the political situation, but only deplored his limited opportunities to play the music he loved.

When I came back in 1998 many things had changed. The political situation was different, multi-party rule had replaced the former one-party system and, as Saleh told me by e-mail, he had become a professional musician. Maybe he was sacked

61 Interview with Seif Salim Saleh, Zanzibar, Oct. 1994.

62 Ibid.

from his job in Nkrumah College, maybe he did not want it anymore. He said that he was tired of sitting idle as a musician in Ikhwani Safaa (hinting perhaps both at their amateur attitude to the music⁶³ and of the exclusion from the official events as mentioned above) and had therefore started collecting instruments at his own home and developed a new way of playing, relying more on acoustic sound. He also carefully explained that during this time he got the idea of playing taarab for the tourists, because he thought that this could save the music.⁶⁴ Before this move, like so many other taarab musicians, Saleh had made a relatively good income from playing at private wedding celebrations, some of them held at the renowned Bhawani Hotel and attracting very large audiences. The money for these concerts was paid both by the hosts and by the audiences who, when satisfied with the music and not least the lyrics, sprayed the singers and instrumentalists lavishly. It was this commercial but non-official side of the musicians' work that he now also brought to a more public sphere, significantly one in which audiences were strangers and outsiders to the taarab tradition.

What I witnessed was that he lived in Stone Town, that he owned his own phone and car, which he did not like to drive, though, and that he had a regular job playing at the Serena Inn, at that time the most luxurious new hotel in Zanzibar town. He was also negotiating jobs and concerts for his small group, a new version of the band Twinkling Star, with Emerson Skeens, an entrepreneurial American who has had strong influence on the cultural life of Zanzibar Town for some time.⁶⁵

In Serena Inn, Saleh and three members of Twinkling Star played acoustic taarab at sundowner time twice a week. The group also performed at special events and many private wedding parties.⁶⁶ Occasionally they teamed up with Bi Kidude who, being a contemporary of Siti Binti Saad, is increasingly being seen as an icon for women's taarab and ngoma.⁶⁷ Her combination of dance rhythms and maqam-inspired vocal lines are unique at present and even if Kidude is representing the 'African' side of taarab, she is welcomed by all.⁶⁸

63 The ideal of Muslim male clubs was typically following the complicated relation of Islam to music and culture, that the time spent on performing should not be exaggerated and that accordingly the preferred position was that of the free amateur, cf. Kirkegaard, *Taarab na Musiki wa densi*, 131 ff.

64 Interview with Seif Salim Saleh, Zanzibar, Oct. 1998. He believed that the demands of tourists would be directed towards the somewhat old fashioned Egyptian sound and that they would in this way raise so much attention to the music that it could survive the fierce competition with so-called modern Taarab, a style held to be more westernized, synthesizer-backed and played at dances.

65 Skeens is the initiator of many of the initiatives in Zanzibar which have sought to reinstall cultural forms from the past, and he is probably also the initiator of the 'Dhow Countries' concept as a commercial label. He is founder and committee member of both the Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF), the Sauti Ya Busara music festival, and the Dhow Countries Music Academy (DCMA).

66 Interview with Seif Salim Saleh, Zanzibar, Oct. 1998.

67 Cf. *As Old as My Tongue, The Myth and Life of Bi Kidude*.

68 While she is generally held to be a living link to the legendary Siti Binti Saad, her voice and her singing differs greatly. This can be clearly heard from recordings of the two.

The music at Serena Inn was played solely on acoustic instruments – violin, *udney*, *darabouka*, *qanun*, and accordion, and the small size of the band was at the insistence of the owners. This band line is synonymous with the instruments mentioned by Saleh as the ones brought to Zanzibar by foreigners and thus represents an Eastern influence. Songs were partly from the well known taarab repertoire ‘Juwa toka’, ‘Nipepee’ and older basrafs, partly ‘modern songs’ like ‘Dr. Zhivago’, ‘Quantamera’, and ‘Never on a Sunday’ in taarab setting.⁶⁹

The group sat with their backs to the Indian Ocean dressed in white *kanzus* and *kofias* (gown and cap), giving the audience a view of the setting sun, occasionally with a white sailed dhow in the background. This was a highly exoticized setting which also in musical terms, despite the international repertory, was more Arab in its tone than African. This kind of taarab was popular with tourists, but the hotel also gave traditional ngoma evenings. It is beyond any doubt that the staging of both ngoma and taarab has undergone a process of stylization and revival,⁷⁰ and that in that process, racial and ethnic markers have resurfaced. The demand for authenticity is at the heart of the needs of the tourist markets, but it also provides an asset for re-invoking formerly suppressed or neglected musics. In the case of Twinkling Star and Saleh this situation also meant that a style which, for both political and generational reasons had been looked down upon and sometimes even silenced, could be given an active role in contemporary Zanzibari culture. In 1998 this was a relatively new situation and the musicians were struggling to overcome the mistrust in ‘Arab’ music and its Eastern affinity. Many daily troubles were annoying. It was difficult to find instruments, to get spare parts such as qanun-strings and it seemed that only a very few people mastered the technique of playing the old instruments. The development since then of the Dhow Countries Music Academy and the annual festivals of ZIFF and Sauti Za Busara have reduced this difficulty, making ‘Arab’ sounds available in the public scene and giving new musicians access to instruments and instruction.⁷¹

But while the re-emergence and interest in the ‘classical’ and more ‘Arab’ or ‘Eastern’ elements and history of taarab now allows its display side by side with ‘African’ traditions, demonstrating publicly the diversity of the style, the importance of racial concerns is not diminishing. Bohlman and Radano claimed that ‘[t]he transnational mix has not erased race from music, rather it has recontextualized it’,⁷² and this statement is indeed relevant for the Zanzibari cultural struggle. By playing a rather classical taarab on Arab instruments at their concerts in Serena Inn, Saleh and Twinkling Star were actually perpetuating the struggle over meaning and sound of race and ethnicity.

69 Annemette Kirkegaard, ‘Tourism Industry and Local Music Culture in Contemporary Zanzibar’, in Maria Eriksson Baaz and Mai Palmberg, *Same and Other: Negotiating African Identity in Cultural Production* (Stockholm: Elanders Gotab, 2001), 59–76.

70 Tamara E. Livingston, ‘Music revivals: Towards a General Theory’, *Ethnomusicology*, 43/1 (Winter 1999), 66–85.

71 I wish to thank Daniel Nygaard Madsen and Hanna Trondalen for important updates on the Dhow Countries Music Academy and the restoration of taarab.

72 Radano and Bohlman, ‘Music and Race’, 37.

Taarab is part of the world music circuit, and it is globally sold and commercialized distinctively on the grounds of its Arab-Asian identity rather than as an African music.⁷³ In fact, referring to Johan Fornäs' distinctions, taarab can in this sense be claimed to be commercially censored by the international market to the benefit of Arabness.

It is without doubt a fact that the life cycle of Seif Salim Saleh followed the ups and downs of racial, ethnic, and social struggle within the Zanzibari environment and that this combat in his case was conducted in musical sounds: true to his general ideas he struggled to find acceptance and financial success during the many years he made music. The fact that he spoke out quite openly in the late 1990s about the horrors during the revolution and the repression of Arab-Asians under the Karume years can be seen as a result of the new agenda of the multiparty system and the surfacing of the CUF, and of the subsequent return, for better or worse, of race-related discourses in public culture.

In this way his example represents the fact that musicians are important and even dangerous because of their role in society: '[t]heir positions result from the possession of certain skills and capacities that the average member of a social group does not have'.⁷⁴ From the very beginning of his musical career Saleh claimed that this capacity could also be used positively. To the BBC correspondent, Will Ross, he stated: 'You can find people of different political opinions, different religions and different races in a Taarab club. Taarab is beyond all these things so I think it has contributed to the harmony of life in Zanzibar'.⁷⁵ But as seen above, the balance is fragile and the situation can also lead to censorship and restriction of their activities, which was certainly also a tough reality for Saleh.

The fact that Seif Salim Saleh and other so-called 'white' members of the community who were, for racial or ethnic reasons, controversial in the life-world nevertheless held a position in the music business has two explanations. For one, their skills were much appreciated and favoured in the taarab community, not least because of their knowledge of instruments and their musical abilities. The other is that the emerging world music market, because of its fascination of the exotic and even orientalist 'clothing' of the music, in fact preferred the 'Arab' part of the musical conflict.⁷⁶ This tendency has developed further and the newly established Dhows Countries Music Academy enhances this tendency by bringing teachers from Cairo

73 I am aware of the work done by Werner Graebner and others to rightly oppose the master narrative of taarab as a music primarily rooted in the court music of the Sultanate, but in the marketing of taarab this story is the primer, cf. Werner Graebner, 'Between Mainland and Sea: The Taarab Music of Zanzibar', in Kevin Dawe (ed.), *Island Musics* (Oxford and London: Berg, 2004), 171–97.

74 Alenka Barber-Kersovan, 'Music as a parallel power structure', in Maria Korpe (ed.), *Shoot the Singer! Music Censorship Today* (London and New York: Zed Books Ltd., 2004), 6–10, on 9.

75 *Rhythms of the Continent. Tanzania & Kenya, The Modern Voice of Taarab*. By Will Ross for BBC World Service at www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/rhythms/tanzaniakenya.shtml (accessed Jan. 2008).

76 Annemette Kirkegaard, 'East African Taarab as a Contemporary Mediator of the Diversity and Vitality of a Musical Tradition within Islamic Culture', in *Proceedings from the conference Music in the World of Islam, Assilah, Morocco*, internet publication on www.mcm.asso.fr/site02/music-wislam/articles/Kirkegaard-2007.pdf (2007).

and Palestine to the academy in order to enhance knowledge of the Arab instruments *ud*, *qanon*, and *ney*, yet again bringing the tonality of the *maqam* to work within the taarab circles. Even if a similar tendency of professionalization and formal education can be seen within the so-called African styles like *unyago* and ngoma in general, the change is remarkable.⁷⁷

PERSPECTIVES

Is, then, what is going on in the taarab environment censorship, and is it based on racial distinctions? There is definitely a censoring of the expression of musicians and performers, and, yes, to some extent it can be said to happen on the grounds of racism and ethnic division. But in what way is it internalized in the music and its cultural frame?

The sound of taarab – for instance in Saleh’s reception and work – seems very different from ngoma. The difference is audible in modes, in instrumentation, in voice quality, and in the musical form, still strictly in verse. The size of the groups differ greatly and the smaller *kidumbak* ensembles, which are related closely to ngoma and African cultural values, are at the moment favoured for wedding celebrations at the cost of the larger bands.⁷⁸

However, borders and limits between the different musics in Zanzibar are blurred and elements from one are taken over by the other, and vice versa, as for instance in the inclusion of ngoma rhythms in taarab in the early part of the twentieth century and today in the emergent mix of taarab and hip hop. Increasingly the limits and boundaries between ngoma and taarab are being questioned. The career of Bi Kidude (and possibly even Siti Binti Saad) bears witness to a possibly more intimate relation between the two sides than that which is normally perceived. However, race as well as gender are very important elements in the historiography of musical life in Zanzibar, and thus the undoing of the previously accepted official accounts of the development of taarab is in fact a post colonial reading.

The continued struggle for supremacy between Culture Musical Club and Ikhwani Safaa is clearly based on politics and cultural power relations and represents the outcome of a fierce competition within a highly complex musical culture. Lyrics to the taarab songs illustrate this, as utterances from Culture Musical Club very often allegorically represent outright CCM positions in ongoing conflicts and political themes. Often these are answered by other orchestras. Ikhwani Safaa represents old time values and musical elements related to the Arab music system and perhaps also a close tie to Omani and Egyptian partners, and they are often considered ‘white’ in local discourse.

The enforced merger between the groups in the 1980s in order to form a national taarab ensemble was marked by mistrust and superstition between the members, but the idea survived in such a way that even at the 2008 annual Sauti Za Busara

⁷⁷ The website for DCMA, www.zanzibarmusic.org (accessed 2008).

⁷⁸ Kirkegaard, ‘East African Taarab as a Contemporary Mediator?’

festival, a national taarab orchestra was performing.⁷⁹ It is important to remember that the fight was also expressed in purely musical terms as when Seif Salim Saleh accused the leader of Culture Musical Club of not knowing the maqam system properly.⁸⁰ The ideology and history accordingly must be understood as embedded in the musical sound and as Alenka-Kersovan has stated: ‘[t]he integrative force of music is based on values and normative orientations. In most cases these orientations are implicit and yet able to fulfil their social function even if the protagonists are not aware of them.’⁸¹

The distinction between race and ethnicity in relation to music censorship must be understood as contested. Arab-Asian musical sounds and ideals are brought to the fore when authorities – and now also the market – wishes to do so and are used as grounds for limitation and exclusion, when the political and cultural tide is turning. The people of the exposed ‘race’ can do nothing to hinder that, and contrary to the implications of racial imagination, the possibility of using or exploiting the ethnic lines and borders gives room for acting and a space for singers and musicians to choose.

Both instances are in reality constructed, but the agency behind the construction is determining whether one can say that censorship is based on ethnicity or race.

In the Zanzibari case it must be concluded that throughout history and relying on intricate and complex power relations, the censorship of music has in varying degrees and more or less openly been based on race and racial demarcations.

Some of the incidents could possibly be coincidental, and others have much to do with the Zanzibari cultural community and its way of acting, its competitiveness and secrets, the doubletalk and the use of coded language relying on proverbs and local sayings for taarab lyrics. Maybe this distinction is not that interesting to the people affected: censorship, restrictions, and limits to freedom of expression are in themselves almost always an injustice.

The danger of music – and accordingly the reason to censor it – is perhaps given in the understanding of music’s role in identity making. No longer just mirroring identities, but rather performing these, it must be seen as an agent of affinity making. Barber-Kersovan states that music can be a sensual instrument of power, and she further emphasizes how instead of believing that social or ethnic groups have their inherent music, ‘[w]e talk about music-centered social groups.’⁸² This understanding of music as an identity maker actively opposes the idea of essentializing sound. Taarab, its history and the different and complex ways in which it has been censored through time, race, and ethnicity, gives evidence for this understanding.

In this article I have illustrated how the categories ‘state’ and ‘market’ coined by Johan Fornäs have been at work in the cultural history of Zanzibari taarab over the last hundred years. Fornäs’ last category ‘life-world constraint’, which I interpret as ‘civil society’, is however also at work, when local audiences and performers, hotel

79 See Sauti Za Busara Festival program at www.busaramusic.org/festivals/2008/index.php.

80 Interview with Seif Salim Saleh, Zanzibar, Oct. 1998.

81 Barber-Kersovan, ‘Music as a parallel power structure’, 7.

82 Ibid.

owners, international donors, and cultural entrepreneurs all contribute to the continued discourse over taarab.

By combining the definitions of music censorship proposed by Martin Cloonan in his claim that censorship must be systematic in order to qualify with the statement of Radano and Bohlman that race as opposed to ethnicity is less negotiable,⁸³ I believe that censorship based on race is a particular and possibly dominant phenomenon. It has the double strength of making use of seemingly biological features and social categories. The fact that both are negotiable does not change the overall suppression, and in the past as well as in our own time the limitations that this phenomenon of racially based censorship is enforcing on musical utterance are severe.

Radano and Bohlman claim that the presence of the racial imagination in musicology has affected the knowledge of musical development and history and obscured or even muted important elements in the complex negotiation over style and identity in music.⁸⁴ Seen in this light I believe that many of the ‘unclear’ points in Zanzibari cultural history and the musical shaping of taarab are caused by the contested presence of the racial divisions in the state, the market, and the life-world of the Zanzibari people.

SUMMARY

Since the beginning of the popular musical style taarab in the eighteenth century, many instances of musical censorship have occurred. The diverse restrictions have often been related to the continued struggle between Arab and African values. Language, religion, singing style, instruments, and the inclusion of women have all been issues of great importance in the history of taarab. In this article I trace instances of the impact and effect of ethnic diversity and racism in taarab music in Zanzibar.

83 Radano and Bohlman, ‘Music and Race’, 8.

84 Ibid. 10.

The One and Only Music for the Danish *Lanciers*

Time, space, and the method of East European ethnochoreologists

INGER DAMSHOLT

While *The Lanciers' Quadrilles* or *Les Lanciers* went out of fashion in all other European countries around World War I, it is still widely popular in Denmark. From a choreomusical¹ perspective it is of particular interest that the traditional Danish *Lanciers* is closely bound to a specific work of dance-music, which is not the original suite of dance music for *Hart's Lanciers* from the early nineteenth century, but a suite entitled *3eme Quadrille des Lanciers* composed by J. Mikel four decades later. Within Danish dance practice, however, this latter music is considered the one and only music for the *Lanciers*, closely bound to the dance in its structural make up, artistic expression and interpretation. Dance instructors frequently advise dancers to 'listen to the music because it tells you what to do'. Needless to say such a claim calls for a thorough and critical examination of *how* and according to *which parameters* the dance-music is bound to the dance. Secondly it is of particular choreomusical interest that the Danish *Lanciers* has developed a specific choreographic trademark that dates back to the 1870s – the popular 'Herremøllen' (the Gent Wheel) – as well as a choreographic peculiarity that probably has to do with the score for Mikel's *3eme Quadrille des Lanciers*.

In order to examine the choreomusical relationships in the traditional *Lanciers*, I have adopted the analytical method for Dance Form analysis proposed by the ICTM

- 1 Choreomusical analysis focuses on the relationship between dance and music. Choreomusicology is 'an emergent interdisciplinary branch of research that encompasses musicology, dance studies, history, performance studies, and critical theory'; 'Note from the executive editor', *The Opera Quarterly*, 22/1 (Winter 2006), 2.
- 2 The methodology for Dance Form Analysis was originally proposed by the Study Group on Ethnochoreology and published by William C. Reynolds in 'Foundations for the Analysis of the Structure and Form of Folk Dance: A Syllabus', *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, 6 (1974), 115–35. The article was written in German by the Study Group as a collaborative work and later translated to English by William C. Reynolds. Derived from the Greek, the word choreology might simply be translated to 'dance studies'. The term was first coined in the 1920s by Rudolf von Laban and has since been associated with his theories and analysis of movement. Since the 1950s, the term has been used more or less in reference to the theories of Laban. Most of the original members of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology were trained in Laban's theories and analysis of movement. Their term Ethnochoreology was coined as a parallel to the concept of Ethnomusicology, signifying 'the study of folk dance' but also associates Laban's choreology. In the UK the word choreology has two significant meanings: In contemporary dance circles the theories of Laban play a central role in *Choreological Studies (Laban)*. In the ballet world, the term choreology strongly associates the *Benesh Movement Notation system* developed by Rudolf and Joan Benesh. Today, those trained in the Benesh Notation are known as choreologists, and most of the world's major ballet companies have a choreologist on their staff.

Study Group on Ethnochoreology that was founded in 1962.² The Study Group, whose founding members predominately were East Europeans (including György Martin and Ernő Pesovár), continues to develop the methodology of their collective work. Recently Anca Giurchescu and Eva Kröschlova have published an updated and revised description of the method in an article entitled ‘Theory and Method of Dance Form Analysis’.³ (The methodology of dance form analysis presented in this latter text will from this point onwards be referred to as ‘the E(ast)-E(uropean) method’.) One of the aims of the E-E method is to investigate the ‘Relationship between the Choreographic Form and the Musical Form’, thus the choreomusical relationships are analysed in terms of the dimension of the constituent form-units, of their coincidence, their conjunction, and their inner organization.⁴ The relationship between dance and dance-music may be termed either *congruent* or *non-congruent*. However when it is necessary to be more precise about non-congruency, further possibilities can be added in verbal description. Differences and similarities according to the following range of factors further determine the inter-relationship between the dance and the dance-music: tempo, rhythm, dynamics, metre, melody, harmony, instrumentation, polyphony, and text segmentation.⁵

In the present article my intention is to exemplify the applicability of this choreomusical tool in the context of the Danish *Lanciers*. Ironically, Giurchescu and Kröschlova admit that the E-E method ‘has cultural limits indeed. For example, for our analysis the time dimension is very important, and therefore emphasis is put on rhythm, considering it a fundamental patterning feature of dance movements and organizer of the basic form units. However, for some dance categories of Western Europe (such as quadrille, country dances, square-dances) the main patterning feature is the *space dimension* and therefore importance may be given to the floor patterns and couple formations’.⁶ In other words, Giurchescu and Kröschlova suggest that the E-E method has its limits when it comes to the quadrille and thus to the *Lanciers*. Nevertheless, in the present article I proceed to show how choreomusical relationships in the *Lanciers* – pertaining to temporal as well spatial parameters – can be revealed by means of the E-E method. I focus on a particular ‘dance instance’ of the *Lanciers* that occurs as a part of an instructional video from 1997 produced by the Fredie-Pedersen Dance Studio.⁷

3 Anca Giurchescu and Eva Kröschlova, ‘Theory and Method of Dance Form Analysis’, in Adrienne Kaepler and Elsie Ivancich Dunin, *Dance Structures: Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, 2007), 21–52.

4 Ibid. 36–41.

5 For differences in tempo, rhythm, dynamics, and metre, see *ibid.* 36–37.

6 Ibid. 23.

7 *Lær Les Lanciers og Wienervals med RadioUnderholdningsOrkestret, Hærens Officersskole og Fredie-Pedersens Dansestudio*, RadioUnderholdningsOrkestret, 1997.

ANALYSIS: THE DANISH *Lanciers*

According to the E-E method the form of a dance results from the composition of its structural units. The hierarchical levels of a dance are:

T = Dance	(Latin <i>totus</i>)	Dance name
P = Part	(Latin <i>pars</i>)	(I)
St = Strophe	(Greek <i>strophe</i>)	I
S = Section	(Latin <i>sectio</i>)	ı
Ph = Phrase	(Latin <i>phrasis</i>)	A
M = Motif	(Latin <i>motivus</i>)	a

Mc = Motif-cell	(Latin <i>cella</i>)	a'
Me = Motif-element	(Latin <i>elementum</i>)	α

The analytical study of a dance form can follow two directions starting from the basic level of the Motif; up towards the dance as a whole – the Totus, or towards ‘the minimal and indivisible Motif-element’.⁸ A Motif is ‘the smallest significant Form-unit having meaning for both the dancers and their society and for the dance genre/type within a given dance system’.⁹

How can motifs be located in the *Lanciers*? As an insider of my own culture my knowledge of the dance is comprehensive both in terms of theory and practice. Being born and raised in Denmark I have danced it on various occasions since the 1970s and since the 1990s I have instructed and accompanied the dance on many occasions. In my experience, the most readily recognized form units of the *Lanciers* are the separate *Five Tours* (in Danish ‘De fem ture’) as well as choreographic structures such as the *Lady Wheel* or the *Chain*, or on a smaller scale the *Chassé* as a core step. In the instructional video which is the object of my analysis, Mickey Fredie-Pedersen begins with an instruction on how to dance the chassé step after which Jytte Fredie-Pedersen monitors a verbally commented run-through of the individual tours before they are danced with musical accompaniment. This type of verbal commentary or instruction can also be found in specific instructional manuals¹⁰ and this verbal element of the tradition entails that significant form-units of the dance are explicitly defined. In the first chapter of *Lanciers bogen* (1996) Claus Jørgensen defines the *Lanciers* as ‘a suite composed of five independent dances, called tours’.¹¹ The Danish names for the five tours are: ‘Første tur’ (La Dorset), ‘Anden tur’ (La Victoria), ‘Tredie tur’ (Les Moulinets), ‘Fjerde tur’ or ‘Visitturen’ (Les Visites) and ‘Femte tur’ (Les Lanciers). Jørgensen proceeds: ‘Every tour in the *Lanciers* is opened with a prelude (during

8 Giurchescu and Kröschlova, ‘Theory and Method of Dance Form Analysis’, 28.

9 Ibid.

10 See, e.g., Claus Jørgensen, *Skal vi danse les lanciers* (København: Wilhelm Hansen, 1991) and Claus Jørgensen, *Lanciers bogen* (Lyngbe: Bogan, 1996).

11 Jørgensen, *Lanciers bogen*, 13.

which the dancers honour their partner). Thereafter the music is played through four times; one can say that four verses are being played. In accordance with this the dance is performed four times; one can say that there are four *dance verses*. Taking turns – one couple per verse – the four couples are assigned a sort of main role. The couple that has the main role is called the performing couple. Thus the four dance verses are similar, but are not danced by the same dancers all four times.¹² Jørgensen goes on to consider the composition of a tour: In the first tour, ‘every dance verse comprises three figures that we call A, B and C. Every figure has its music. Every figure is danced in the same way every time it occurs, but the “cast” changes.’¹³

In Jørgensen’s view each dance or ‘tour’ of the *Lanciers* consists of four verses and every verse consists of a number of figures. ‘Except for figure C in the fifth tour (“the three chords”) all figures in all of the five tours of the *Lanciers* are of equal length; they last as long as it takes to take 16 walking steps ... In every figure one can count to 16 in time with the music.’¹⁴ Jørgensen’s concept of a verse is similar to the understanding of verse used in popular music in which a *verse* roughly corresponds with the poetic *stanza*. His concept of figure is taken from the traditional way of describing these structural units in Danish descriptions of the *Lanciers*.¹⁵ In the E-E terminology, ignoring the preludes, Jørgensen’s analysis could look like this:

<i>A SUITE</i>				
Totus:	<i>La Dorset + La Victoria + Les Moulinets + Les Visites + Les Lanciers</i>			
Strophes:	III	III	III	III

In Jørgensen’s analysis a single tour equals the E-E totus – an independent dance – and his verse equals the E-E strophe.

In my own analysis of the *Lanciers*, as opposed to Jørgensen’s, I choose to let the highest structural level – the totus – be the total form of the series of five tours – the *Lanciers*. This choice is made in order to be able to reveal choreomusical relationships that cut across the individual tours. In accordance with the next structural level of the E-E model the set of five tours is referred to as the five parts. Except for the introductions that Jørgensen refers to as preludes, each of the parts comprises a fixed group of four strophes:

Totus:	The Danish <i>Lanciers</i>									
Parts:	(I)	+	(II)	+	(III)	+	(IV)	+	(V)	
Strophes:	I I I I		II II II II		III III III III		IV IV IV IV		V V V V	

12 Ibid. 15 (my translation).

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid. 16.

15 See, e.g., *Lærebog i Ældre danse* (København: Danse-ringen, 1952).

For the sake of clarity in my choreomusical analysis, I have chosen to name the four strophes of each part according to their occurrence: I¹, I², I³, I⁴ in part (I) and II¹, II², II³, II⁴ in part (II) etc. (see App. 1). This should not be confused with the index for general variation described in the E-E method, thus I am not naming the dance strophes according to their identities as general variations.¹⁶

The level that Jørgensen describes as ‘figure’ is similar to my phrase level – a structural unit of sixteen counts (see App. 1). In his account of the individual tours Jørgensen divides each of the sixteen count figures into smaller segments of four or eight counts. In Jørgensen’s book each of the segments is accompanied by a drawing of the dancer’s spatial floor pattern. These segments, however, do not have names – a circumstance that could be interpreted as a sign that these units do not have meaning for the dancers, for their society, or for the dance as a Quadrille dance. In my analysis, however, I have located the motif units of the *Lanciers* as segments of eight counts, thus all seventeen dance motifs (except dance Motifs o, p, and q) are comprised of four bars (see App. 2). My reason for locating the motif on this level must be seen in the light of the dance system of the international genre ‘Quadrille dance’ as well as Jørgensen’s construction of eight count segments and the pedagogical praxis of which his documents are part. To give some examples, dance Motif a is the internationally known *advance/retire sequence* (a sequence that consists of a forwards chassé step, a forwards ‘step and close’, a backwards chassé step finishing with a backwards ‘step and close’) and dance Motif b the *turning sequence/tour de main* (a sequence that consists of three chassé steps finishing with a ‘step and close’).

Commenting on the E-E-method the dance scholar Egil Bakka has stressed that the method ‘is generally based on structures where caesuras of the larger units usually coincide with caesuras of smaller ones which allows clear and tidy structures’.¹⁷ During his attempt to apply the method he found that in some of his material ‘there was hardly any such regular coincidence’.¹⁸ Whereas the motif concept of the E-E method is almost exclusively used with footwork, in his study of Norwegian couple dances Bakka chose to work with two parallel motif lines: one for step motifs and one for couple motifs. In my own analysis of the *Lanciers* the dance motif is also seen as a score – a number of superimposed lines of structured movement – thus several series of motifs might be seen to go on at the same time; motifs of step patterns, motifs of hold or fastening, motifs of spatial direction, and so on. Nevertheless, unlike Bakka, I have not defined specified parallel lines of motifs – only one. My dance motif is defined primarily by step patterns. However, I have deliberately distinguished between different variations of a motif in reference to other parameters. To give an example: Motif a (*advance/retire*) is a step pattern comprised of two sub-motifs – the *advance* and the *retire*. The first sub-motif, the *advance*, is a

16 In that case I would be doing it incorrectly as the first statement of strophe I should then be a blank I, and not I₁ indicating a first general variation of the unit I.

17 Egil Bakka, ‘Analysis of traditional dance in Norway and the Nordic countries’, in Kaepler and Dunin, *Dance Structures*, 106.

18 Ibid.

grouping of Motif-cell a' (a *chassé* (step-close-step)) and b' (two walking steps). The second sub-motif, the *retire*, is a spatial variation of the first sub-motif – the direction changes on the sagittal plane, from forwards to backwards, but the weight on the feet stays the same. (In other words the *advance* is right-left-right, left, right forward and the *retire* is right-left-right, left, right backwards). Every time dance Motif a is executed, this step pattern is performed. However whereas Motif a is danced by two couples facing each other, Motif a₁ is danced by two rows of four people facing each other – two couples in each row. Motif a₂ is danced by two rows of four people facing each other – one row of ladies, one row of gents. In my further analysis of the dance motifs (and dance phrases) I am continuously naming the units by means of variation indexes for *participation* (variation in number and gender) and for direction in *space* (floor pattern). These indexes are written with lowered characters and placed on the right side of the symbol of the structural unit (p for participation and s for space). In my analysis I have chosen to conceive of the dance motif and phrase as units that include all of the four couples. Thus within a dance motif or a dance phrase couples either execute the same steps or rest in place. Unless all eight dancers rest – as in the last four bars of the introductory phrase – the rests are not accounted for in the description and analysis of the motifs and phrases.

According to the E-E method the description of the dance form analysis progresses in the following manner: formal analysis (in verbal description), kinetic content of the motif-cells, relationship to the instrumental music accompaniment, graphic table of the form levels, and shorthand graphic notation. In this article I will skip the detailed description of the kinetic content of the motif-cells as well as the shorthand graphic notation, but instead extend my description of the relationship to the instrumental music accompaniment. I shall also continue to comment on my analytical choices in a comparison with Jørgensen's analysis whose body of work I am deeply indebted to. Before I proceed I want to underline that it is a prerequisite for the E-E method that the hierarchical levels of totus, part, strophe, section, phrase, motif, motif-cell, and motif-element can be located in music. Nowhere in the mentioned publication presenting the E-E method have I found explicit definitions of a musical phrase, motif, sub-motif, and so on. Nevertheless, in this article I do not intend to challenge the question of comparable form units in the relationship between music and dance. I have simply taken for granted that comparable musical levels can be identified.

FORMAL ANALYSIS

In my analysis of the *Lanciers*, the form of the dance is comprised of four hierarchical levels. The highest structural level represents a fixed five-segment form of five parts. The parts are equally important segments with a fixed relation of interdependence. These are contrasting in terms of metre and tempo. Each of the five parts is made up of a preliminary introduction followed by a fixed group of four strophes. All sixteen dance phrases consist of eight bars, except Phrase L (16 bars) and Phrase M (1 bar).

All motifs consist of four bars. There are three exceptions to this rule: music Motif t/dance Motif o consists of one bar but because of its temporal/rhythmic content the length of it equals four to six bars of the surrounding bars. Music Motif w, dance Motif p, and dance Motif q consist of eight bars each (see App. 2).

The kinetic content of the structural levels in the *Lanciers* are superimpositions of several kinetic elements. It seems clear that the *space dimension* is a main patterning feature of the traditional Danish *Lanciers*, considering the importance given to the floor patterns and couple formations. In the following section I shall proceed to show how choreomusical relationships in the *Lanciers* – pertaining to parameters of dimension, coincidence, conjunction, and inner organization – can be revealed by means of the E-E method.¹⁹ Furthermore, under the subheading ‘choreomusical spaces’, I shall focus specifically on relationships that embody spatial parameters.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT

Dimension

According to the E-E method, the dimension parameter refers to the temporal length of units and entails four possible categories or modes of relationships: *full dimensional congruence* (\equiv), *partial dimensional congruence* (\neq/\equiv), *non-congruence* and *complete dimensional non-congruence* (\neq).²⁰ In the *Lanciers* full dimensional congruence is evident in the overall organization of the dance and dance-music.

There is full dimensional congruence on the level of parts, strophes, and phrases in the first four parts of the *Lanciers* (see App. 1). In Part (V) the relationship between music and dance is also dimensionally congruent on the levels of parts, strophes and phrases although the relationship is a bit more complex. Strophes V¹, V², and V³ consist of 49 bars each and Strophe V⁴ comprises 65 bars. The music of the first three strophes consists of seven grouped phrases while the dance only comprises six phrases. The music of Strophe V⁴ consists of nine grouped phrases while the dance comprises seven phrases.²¹

19 Unfortunately it has not been possible to obtain specific information as to which version of the score Kim Bohr-Christensen and RadioUnderholdningsOrkestret has used for the particular recording of the music used in the video. According to their PR assistant they used ‘an arrangement by Robert Kaas’.

20 *Full dimensional congruence* occurs when the structural units of dance are concordant with those of the music on all hierarchical levels. *Partial dimensional congruence* occurs when the highest structural levels of dance and music are congruent while frequently at the level of motifs the dimensional relationship is non-congruent. *Non-congruence* is when dance and music is non-congruent at higher structural levels, when dance and music have different numbers of structural units (but can be congruent at the level of motifs). *Complete dimensional non-congruence* occurs when the structural units are dimensionally non-congruent at all hierarchical levels. If congruence occurs after an indeterminate number of repetitions it is not perceived by the dancers as pertinent to the relationship between dance and music. Cf. Giurchescu and Kröschlova, ‘Theory and Method of Dance Form Analysis’, 36–38.

21 Unlike Jørgensen I have chosen to conceive the grand chain as one phrase of sixteen bars rather than Jørgensen’s two phrases of eight bars, ‘Chain’ and ‘The chain continues’; cf. Jørgensen, *Lanciers bogen*, 34.

Reaching the motif and sub-motif levels of the *Lanciers* it becomes clear that the dimensional relationship is even more complex (see App. 2). At this analytical level of motifs and sub-motifs the dimensional relationship between the dance and the music in the various strophes is significantly less congruent. Comparing the number of dance bars to the number of music bars, Strophe III includes the most congruent dimensional relationships on the motif level. But in an overall characterization of the entire *Lanciers*, the choreomusical relationship is considerably less congruent on the motif level than on the higher hierarchical levels.²² All in all we may conclude that in the case of the *Lanciers* we may speak of *partial dimensional congruence* – congruence on the highest levels of the structural hierarchy and non-congruence on the motif level (see Table 1).

Coincidence

The coincidence parameter refers to the beginnings and endings of dance and music. According to the E-E method, dancing commonly ‘does not begin simultaneously with the musical accompaniment because a short period is needed for dancers to “feel the music” and catch the rhythm.’²³ In other words, while the form units of dance and music might be dimensionally congruent, they do not necessarily begin and end at the same time. The coincidence parameter entails two possible categories or modes of relationships: *coincidence* and (periodic) *non-coincidence*.

Generally speaking, the *Lanciers* might be described as belonging to the *coincidence* category, thus the dance and music seem to begin and finish at the same time. The endings of dance and music coincide with each other in all of the five parts of the *Lanciers*.²⁴ The beginnings of the parts need a more detailed clarification. In all of the five parts the dancers honour their partners and corner partners during the first four bars of the music after which the dancers pause for the remaining four bars of the introduction (see App. 1).²⁵ Musically speaking, all of the parts except Part (V) start with an up-beat or anacrusis in the musical introduction.²⁶ In this instance we might speak of a relationship of (periodic) *non-coincidence*, thus while the dance and music phrases are both comprised of phrases of eight bars, the musical phrase constantly starts before the dance. However it might also be argued that the

22 The introductory honours are performed to a different music phrase in every part. The dimensional relationship between the dance and the music is congruent on the motif level in the first half of the introduction to Part (I) and in the second half of Part (II), (III), and (IV). Other than these instances the dimensional relationship is non-congruent on the motif level.

23 See Giurchescu and Kröschlova, ‘Theory and Method of Dance Form Analysis’, 51, n. 44.

24 In many local traditions the dancers consistently mark the end of every Strophe 4 by clapping their hands on the last beat (or chord) of the music. In the video the dancers clap their hands after the music has ended, indicating the number of the part that has just ended. After Part (I) they clap once, after Part (II) they clap twice and so on.

25 In many local traditions honours are performed in a way in which the movements fill out the eight bars of the music.

26 In Part (I) three quavers are heard as an anacrusis for Phrase C, in Part (II) six semiquavers are heard as an anacrusis for Phrase F, in Part (III) two quavers are heard as an anacrusis for Phrase H, and in Part (IV) two quavers are heard as an anacrusis for Phrase K.

Table I. Graphic table of form levels (the Dance Form in relation to the Musical Form).

<i>Lanciers – Part (I)</i>							Relation to musical form		
							Dim.	Conj.	Org.
St	I						≡		≡
Ph	A		B		C		≡		≠ / ≡
M	a	b	c	c	d	b _I	≠ / ≡		≠
Bars	4	4	4	4	4	4			

<i>Lanciers – Part (II)</i>							Relation to musical form		
							Dim.	Conj.	Org.
St	II						≡		≡
Ph	D		E		F		≡		≠ / ≡
M	a	e	f	b ₂	a _I	b ₃	≠ / ≡		≠
Bars	4	4	4	4	4	4			

<i>Lanciers – Part (III)</i>							Relation to musical form		
							Dim.	Conj.	Org.
St	III						≡		≡
Ph	G			H			≡		≠ / ≡
M	g	h	i	i			≡		≠
Bars	4	4	4	4	4	4			

<i>Lanciers – Part (IV)</i>							Relation to musical form		
							Dim.	Conj.	Org.
St	IV						≡		≡
Ph	I		J		K		≡		≠ / ≡
M	j	j ^I	k	k	l	l	≠ / ≡		≠
Bars	4	4	4	4	4	4			

<i>Lanciers – Part (V)</i>											Relation to mus. f.			
											Dim.	Conj.	Org.	
St	V ^(1, 2 & 3)										≡		≡	
Ph	L				M	J _v		N	F		O	≡		≠ / ≡
M	m	n	m	n	o	k	k	p	a ₂	b ₃	q	≡		≠
Bars	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	8	4	4	8			

anacrusis constitute a condition for the *coincidence* of the music and dance in the introductions. Upon hearing the up-beat or anacrusis the dancers initiate their turning moves in order to synchronize the first (foot) step with the first (down) beat of the first bar of the musical phrase, and/or the honour with the first (down) beat of the second bar of the musical phrase. In this way, the choreomusical relationship seems to coincide completely. And more importantly, in this perspective the music might be said to tell the dancer, if not *what* to do then *when* to do it. This also explains why the very opening of Part (V) seems less congruent, in terms of choreomusical coincidence, than the first four parts: the lack of an anacrusis makes it impossible for the dancers to anticipate the beginning of the music, thus any complete coincidental congruence might in fact be considered ‘coincidental’. However, rather than taking the first step simultaneously with the first beat of the music, dancers adjust their steps with the remains of the musical phrase thus making the music and dance phrase congruent as soon as possible.

Considering the relationship between music and dance on the lowest hierarchical levels in view of the coincidence parameter, there are several instances in the video in which the dancers are out of time with the pulse of the music. On a hierarchical level just above the individual beat there are instances in which a dancer displaces or reverses his *chassé*-step so that it creates a counter-rhythm in relation to the step-rhythm of the other dancers (step, step-close as opposed to step-close, step). Nevertheless it could be argued that such a relationship should not be considered coincidentally non-congruent since it is in the relation among the dancers that the counter-rhythm manifests itself – not in relation to the musical accompaniment.

Conjunction and inner organization

The conjunction parameter of the E-E method refers to the succession (linkage) of dance and music structural units according to whether they are in a *fixed, constant relationship* (||) or in a more free independent relationship.²⁷ The parameter entitled inner organization ‘refers to the relationship between dance and music in terms of their structural Form’ which might be described as *congruent* (\equiv) or *non-congruent* (\neq).²⁸

At the highest hierarchical levels of the *Lanciers* the conjunction is fixed and constant and the inner organization is congruent. At the totus level, the *Lanciers* has its own particular piece of corresponding music – Mikel’s *Les Lanciers* or *zeme Quadrille des Lanciers*. At the part level the conjunction is also fixed and constant.²⁹ At the strophe level the conjunction of dance and music is mostly fixed but a bit freer. The four music strophes in each part are identical, but the four dance strophes vary considerably within each part.³⁰ The reason for this is to be found at the core

27 For a more in-depth explanation of conjunction and inner organization see Giurchescu and Kröschlova, ‘Theory and Method of Dance Form Analysis’, 40–41.

28 Ibid. 41.

29 Exceptions to this rule can be found thus in some local traditions musicians might tease the dancers by playing ‘the wrong music’ for the part as a joke.

30 Strophe V⁴ is, as mentioned above, extended by 16 bars compared with the first three occurrences of Strophe V.

of the quadrille structure: the four musical strophes represent the four dancing couples that are always numbered. In many descriptions of *Lanciers* the first strophe is led by the first couple, the second strophe is led by the second couple, and so on.³¹ While the dance phrases of the four strophes within each part are the same in terms of movements, steps, and rests, the *distribution* of phrases among the four couples or eight dancers vary considerably from one strophe to another. In other words the dance strophes vary according to *participation* (variation in number and gender) and to direction in *space* (floor pattern) (see App. 1).

Considering the inner organization of the *Lanciers* there is full congruence on the phrase level in the first four parts of the *Lanciers* (see App. 1).³² In the first four parts the music might be said to ‘tell the dancers *what* to do’ in the sense that the occurrence of specific musical phrases is congruent with specific dance phrases. But the exact repetitions of the musical phrases within each strophe do not provide information for the dancers concerning questions of *who* should rest and *who* should be doing steps, or in *which direction* the steps should be performed. According to the E-E method, good examples of fixed conjunction in the relationship between dance and music are found in the Danish ‘sanglege’ or song-games (for example, ‘Så går vi rundt om en enebærbusk’ or ‘Finger Polka’). While the *Lanciers* might not be categorized as a song dance, in many areas of Denmark the dancers stress the conjunction and congruent choreomusical organization in certain phrases by transforming the dance instructions into lyrics that can be sung along. The best example is found in Strophe II in which it is common to sing ‘et chassé til højre, og et chassé til venstre’ (one chassé to the right and one chassé to the left) to the music Motif h (see App. 2). In the analysed video the dancers do not sing along in Strophe II. In Strophe V, however, another tradition is present in the video, thus in all of the five great chains (specifically in dance Motif m) the dancers shout ‘venstre, højre, venstre, højre’ (left, right, left, right) in conjunction with the downbeats of the music Motif s (see App. 2).³³

In terms of the overall total structure of Mikel’s music, repetitions and variations only occur internally within the limits of a single part. In terms of the dance, however, some dance phrases occur in two different parts (see App. 1). In Part (V) dance Phrase F from Part (II) and dance Phrase J from Part (IV) reoccur but are not accompanied by the music phrases of these prior parts. In Part (V) dance Phrase J_v is accompanied by music Phrase M and dance Phrase F is accompanied by music

31 In the video the first couple is the ‘performing couple’ in the first instance of Strophe V, the third couple is the ‘performing couple’ in the second instance of Strophe V, the second couple is the ‘performing couple’ in the third instance of Strophe V and the fourth couple is the ‘performing couple’ in the fourth instance of Strophe V.

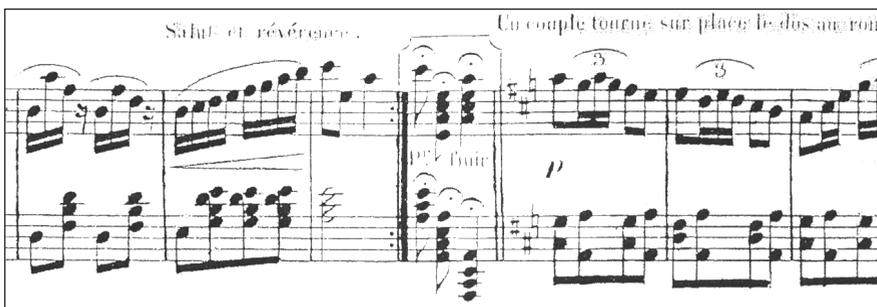
32 The only exception to this rule is that the introductory honours (dance Phrase Z) are performed to a different musical phrase in the beginning of every part. In this case I have deliberately adopted Jørgensen’s choice concerning the manner in which to conceive of the first phrases. The first group of eight bars of music in every part is interpreted as a prelude since the actual dance has not yet started. Hence music Phrase C is heard before Phrase A and B, and so on.

33 The words do not refer to the dancers’ feet but indicates which hand should be given in the great chain. In some local traditions the order of given hands in the chain is ‘right, left, right, left’ thus when dancers of different traditions meet, the great chain is often the cause of passionate disputes.

Phrase N. But when music Phrase M is repeated in a varied shape (M_v) the dance phrase is N and not a repetition of J_v which would have made the relationship congruent. Reaching the motif level of the *Lanciers* it becomes clear that the conjunction and the inner organization are even more complex (see App. 2). As it occurs, the relationship between the dance and the music is non-congruent on the motif level in terms of inner organization. The only exception is found in Strophe I where the first occurrence of music Motif a is congruent with the first dance Motif a, and the first occurrence of music Motif d is congruent with the first dance Motif d.

All in all we may conclude that in the *Lanciers* the conjunction or linkage of structural units of music and dance are fixed and constant while the inner organization is only partially congruent. Despite the overall congruence on the highest levels of the structural hierarchy (totus, parts, and strophes) the relationship becomes less congruent on the phrase level and completely non-congruent on the motif level (see Table 1).

One of the choreomusical structures that makes the inner organization of the *Lanciers* so complex is the so-called ‘three chords’ or ‘pour finir’ bar in Part (V) – music Phrase (P) and dance Phrase M (see App. 1 and 2). As mentioned earlier, the Danish *Lanciers* contains a specific choreographic peculiarity that probably has to do with Mikel’s *3eme Quadrille des Lanciers*. In the traditional English *Hart’s Lanciers* version of Part (V), after the grand chain, dancers dance into the formation of a row of four couples during a musical phrase of eight bars. But in the traditional Danish *Lanciers* a bar of three chords is played after the chain – in every Strophe V – and to these three chords the dancers walk, run, or jump into the formation of a row of four couples. According to Jørgensen this choreographic peculiarity seems to have been caused by a particular phenomenon in the original sheet music for Mikel’s *3eme Quadrille des Lanciers* as well as in the first Danish publication of the music (see Ill. 1).



Ill. 1. The sheet music for Mikel’s *3eme Quadrille des Lanciers* as reproduced in Jørgensen, *Lanciers bogen*, 66.

In Mikel’s third Lanciers’ quadrille (just before music Phrase M) a single bar of three tonic fermata chords (marked ‘pour finir’ – at the end) appears. The bar repeats the

three notes of the melody – and chords – of the previous music Phrase L. According to Jørgensen, Mikel probably never intended this single bar to be played in the middle of the strophe but only at the very end as a concluding finale to the last repetition of Strophe V and thereby to the entire *Les Lanciers*. His hypothesis is that a musician or an arranger might have mistaken the expression ‘pour finir’ for a particular French way of writing ‘fine’.³⁴ Nevertheless, in comparison with Hart’s choreography one of the dance phrases has been abbreviated to a single bar in the now traditional Danish *Lanciers* and a new dance Phrase O – the *Gent Wheel* – has been added. As an overview of choreomusical relationships in Part (V) prior to 1870, consider the schemata in App. 3.³⁵ The fact that the dance Phrase M has been abbreviated from eight bars to one bar is signified by means of the italicized symbol for the *M*.³⁶ I have named the ‘pour finir’ bar Phrase (P) indicating that as an actual finish or finale the bar is played at the end of Part (V), long after the music Phrase O.³⁷ As it occurs, prior to 1870 the choreomusical inner organization of Part (V) has probably been more congruent on the phrase level than in the contemporary Danish *Lanciers*, especially in the way music Phrase N and dance Phrase N are linked (see App. 3). I shall return to this particular choreomusical relationship below.

Choreomusical Spaces

Besides the more systematized categories of dimension, coincidence, conjunction, and inner organization, the E-E method allows for a choreomusical consideration of a wider range of factors. In terms of melody and harmony I find that there are several choreomusical phenomena at play in relation to the *spatial*, thus in this section I focus specifically on relationships that are based on musical melody and harmony as well as choreutic parameters of dimensional directions and floor patterns of the dance.

The intricate use of the polarities in the horizontal and sagittal planes is a trademark of the quadrille.³⁸ These spatial patterns of the dance relate to the melody and harmonic progression of the music in several ways. In some instances the total lack of harmonic modulation underlines the dancers’ feeling of security, of ‘being just where they are supposed to be’. This is the case in the relationship between the dance and music in Part (V), Phrase O (the *Gent Wheel*), thus the lack of modulation in the music creates a feeling of spatial home that counterbalances the relative choreographic virtuosity of the floor pattern. In other instances the melodic and

34 For more information on how and why this might have happened see Jørgensen, *Lanciers bogen*, 64–69.

35 In the video the ‘pour finir’ bar is actually not played at the very end of Part (V). Thus my analytical choice of naming the musical unit P should be seen as a result of my historical knowledge of the dance and of the analyses carried out by Jørgensen.

36 In the logic of the choreography *M* represents a sort of momentary interruption in which the dancers take their positions in a row of four couples thus it does not have the character of an actual phrase similar to the other dance phrases of the *Lanciers*.

37 As a consequence it is parenthesized: (P).

38 In choreomusical analysis melodic direction have often been linked with the vertical dimension – the choreographic parameter of highness/lowness. However in the *Lanciers* the use of the polarities of the vertical dimension is very limited.

harmonic progression of the music mirrors the fact that dancers are travelling away from their spatial ‘home’ in the square.

Part (IV) opens with music Phrase K (harmonically a simple change between D major and A major) which accompanies the introductory honours of the dancing couples (Z). But in the music Phrase I that follows, the harmonic progression from the D major chord via B major, E minor and a diminished seventh chord leading to the concluding cadence in D major is much more complex. I propose that this harmonic progression in the music supports the dancers’ feeling of ‘taking a trip’ in order to arrive at the ‘home’ of the couple they are going to visit (see Example 1).



(D): T → T (D) Sp (D) Sp D \sharp D \flat_4 -D \flat_7 T

Example 1. Music Phrase I.

In music Phrase G, Part (III) the harmonic progression in the music takes part in creating a sense of confusion in the dance. Thus in bars five and six of the music Phrase G, the harmonic progression from G major to the a diminished seventh chord on the fermata underlines a sense of ‘dead end’ in the dance, where dancers are frequently unsure of ‘what comes next’. Finally the concluding full cadence in C major in the music of Phrase G underlines the sense of being in the right place for the *Lady Wheel* (see Example 2).



(C): D_7 T $D\sharp$ D \flat_4 D \flat_7 T

Example 2. Music Phrase G.

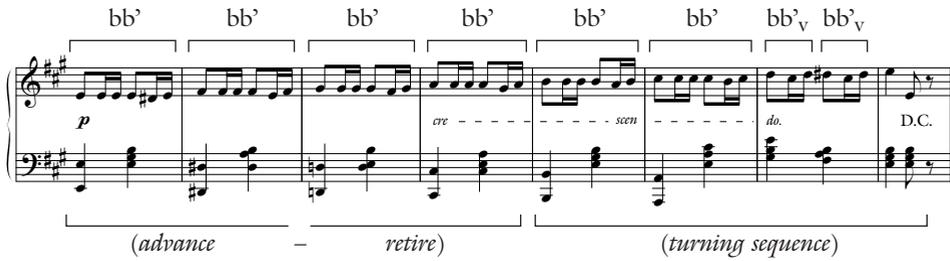
In Phrase A I find that the varied repetition of music Motif-cell a’ as a’_v is mirrored in the fact that the dancers do a turning sequence which starts with an advance but ‘goes further’ and continues in a forward motion (see Example 3). Similarly, in Phrase F of Part (II) the melodic line and harmonic progression (via D major and G major) of k’_v is mirrored in the fact that the dancers ‘go further’ by doing a *turning sequence* with the own partner (see Example 4). Note that the difference between dance Phrase A and dance Phrase F has to do with variation in *participa-*

tion (variation in number and gender) and for direction in *space* (floor pattern). This difference is visible on the motif level – dance Phrase A consists of a and b whereas dance Phrase F consists of a₁ and b₃ (see App. 2).

Example 3. Music Phrase A / Dance Phrase A.

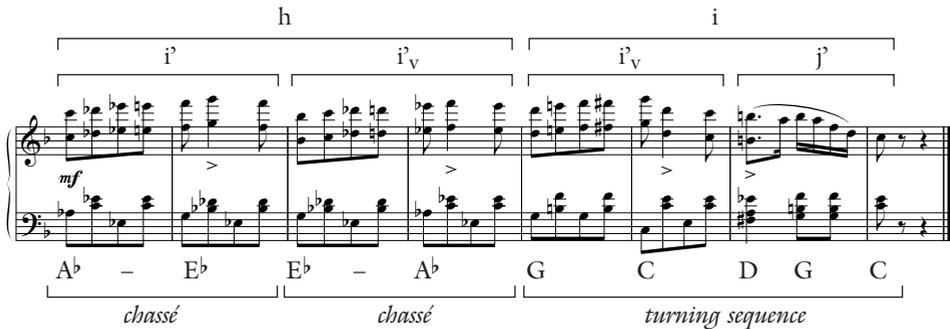
Example 4. Music Phrase F / Dance Phrase F.

In music Phrase N the harmonic progression, the ascending melody, the descending bass line as well as the gradual crescendo creates a massive build up which signals that something important is about to happen: the *Gent Wheel* (see Example 5). However, the choreography that is danced to music Phrase N is merely a repetition of dance Phrase F. It might be argued that the progression and the gradually ascending melodic line in music Phrase N indicate that the dance Phrase F ‘goes further’ in the sense that the dancers do not just advance and retire. At the end of the dance phrase they ‘go further’ by means of a turning sequence with their own partner where after they get ready for the *Gent Wheel*. It should be noted, however, that the material of music Phrase N also seems to mirror the floor pattern of the choreography for which it was originally composed – dance Phrase N (the *Parade*) (see App. 3). In the contemporary version of the Danish *Lanciers* the music for dance Phrase N is the varied music Phrase M. In this case the addition of snare drums in the variation of M underlines the clapping and encourages the dancers to march rather than to chasse.



Example 5. Music Phrase N / Dance Phrase F.

The last type of choreomusical structure I want to mention in this context is a passage in which the dance moves sideways – to one side and then to the other – and in which the music only moves back and forth between harmonies within the tonal cadence. Phrase E is an example of this structure. The melody of music Motif h (i' , i'_v) as well as the harmonic change between Ab major and Eb major, are mirrored in the dance Motif f – the symmetrical repetition of the *sideways chassés* – out and back (a' b' a' b') (see App. 2). The new ‘foreign’ harmonies (G major, C major, incomplete dominant to G major and C major) and melodic material of music motif i (i'_v and j) is mirrored in the dance Motif b_2 in the sense that the dancers ‘go further’ in the dance, namely around with ones partner and out into a new formation of lines (a' a' a' b') (see Example 6).



Example 6. Music Phrase E / Dance Phrase E.

The other examples of this structure are found when dance Phrases J and J_v are performed – a step pattern similar to the *sideways chassés*, namely the *sideways chassé and balancés*. Note that the difference between dance Phrases J and J_v has to do with variation in *participation* and direction in *space*. When dance Phrases J and J_v are performed the harmonic change between dominant and tonic chords in the music mirrors the ‘out and back’ pattern of the dance. This happens respectively in part (IV) and (V) and Example 7 illustrates how the structure is to be found in part (V) where dance Phrase J_v is performed to the music Phrase M.

D T D T
D T D T

chassé, balance, balance, balance
chassé, balance, balance, balance

Example 7. Music Phrase M / Dance Phrase J_v.

CONCLUSION

In the present article my analysis has revealed how choreomusical relationships in the *Lanciers* – pertaining to temporal as well spatial parameters – can be revealed by means of the E-E method. The choreomusical analysis has shown that ‘the one and only music for the Danish *Lanciers*’ is closely bound to the dance in its structural make up, artistic expression, and interpretation. In terms of temporal parameters the analysis has shown that dance and music generally coincide and that their relationship is fixed and constant in terms of conjunction. However, the analysis has also shown that the relationship between dance and music is only partially congruent in terms of dimension and of the inner organization. Despite the overall congruence on the highest levels of the structural hierarchy the relationship is completely non-congruent on the motif level.

In terms of spatial parameters the analysis has revealed instances in which music and dance seem to mirror the other: lack of harmonic modulation underlines the dancers’ feeling of security, or melodic and harmonic progression of the music mirrors the fact that dancers are travelling away from their spatial ‘home’ in the square. Thus while the spatial dimension is inarguably an important patterning feature of the dance structure of the quadrille – including the traditional Danish *Lanciers* – this view does not eliminate the location of *congruent* relationships in terms of spatial progression in dance as well as in music.

SUMMARY

The article presents a choreomusical analysis of the Danish *Lanciers*. In Denmark, the dance is considered closely bound to a specific composition by J. Mikel: the *3eme Quadrille des Lanciers* – not the original music for *Hart’s Lanciers*. The method for Dance Form Analysis, proposed by East European ICTM Ethnochoreologists, is applied to show how, and according to which parameters, the dance music is linked to the dance. The analysis shows that dance and music generally *coincide* and that their relationship is fixed and constant in terms of *conjunction*. But it also reveals that the relationship between dance and music only is partially congruent in terms of *dimension* and of the *inner organization*. Despite the overall congruence on the highest structural levels the choreomusical relationship is completely non-congruent on the motif level.

Appendix I. Strophe and Phrase levels.

Part (I)

Strophe:	(Intro) I ¹	I ²	I ³	I ⁴
Music Phrase	C	A B C	A B C	A B C
6/8	8	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8
Dance Phrase	Z	A B C	A _p B _p C	A _p B _p C
6/8	8	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8

Part (II)

Strophe:	(Intro) II ¹	II ²	II ³	II ⁴
Music Phrase	F	D E F	D E F	D E F
2/4	8	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8
Dance Phrase	Z	D E F	D _p E _p F _s	D _p E _p F _s
2/4	8	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8

Part (III)

Strophe:	(Intro) III ¹	III ²	III ³	III ⁴
Music Phrase	H	G	H	G
6/8	8	8	8	8
Dance Phrase	Z	G	H	G _p
6/8	8	8	8	8

Part (IV)

Strophe:	(Intro) IV ¹	IV ²	IV ³	IV ⁴
Music Phrase	K	I J K	I J K	I J K
6/8	8	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8
Dance Phrase	Z	I J K	I _{p1} J _p K _p	I _{p2} J K
6/8	8	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8

Part (V)

Strophe:	(Intro) V ¹	V ²
Music Phrase	O	L L (P) M M _v N O
2/4	8	8 8 1 8 8 8 8
Dance Phrase	Z	L M J _v N F O
2/4	8	16 1 8 8 8 8

Strophe:

V ³	V ⁴
Music Phrase	L L (P) M M _v N O
2/4	8 8 1 8 8 8 8
Dance Phrase	L M _{s2} J _{vs2} N _{s2} F _{s2} O
2/4	16 1 8 8 8 8

Appendix 2. Phrase and Motif levels.

Strophe I

Music Ph	A		B		C			
Music M	a	a ^I	b	c	d	e		
Music Mc	a'	a' _v	b' c'	d'	e'	e' _v	e' _v	f'
Bars	4	4	2 2	4	2	2	2	2
Dance Ph	A		B		C			
Dance M	a	b	c	c	d	b _I		
Dance Mc	a' b'	a' b'	a' a'	a' b'	c' d'	c' d'	a' a'	a' b'
Bars	2	2	4	4	2	2	4	

Strophe II

Music Ph	D		E			F			
Music M	f	g	h	i		j	j ^I		
Music Mc	g'	h'	i'	i' _v	i' _v	j'	k'	k' _v	
Bars	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	
Dance Ph	D		E			F			
Dance M	a	e	f	b ₂		a _I	b ₃		
Dance Mc	a' b'	a' b'	a' b'	a' a'	a' b'	a' b'	a' a'	a' b'	
Bars	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	4

Strophe III

Music Ph	G					H		
Music M	k		l			m	m ^I	
Music Mc	l'	m'	l' _v	n'		o'	o' _v	
Bars	2	2	2...	2		4	4	
Dance Ph	G					H		
Dance M	g		h			i	i	
Dance Mc	a' b'	a' b'	c' d'	c' d'	b'	a' a'	a' b'	a' a' a' b'
Bars	2	2	2...	2		4	4	

Strophe IV

Music Ph	I		J				K				
Music M	n	o	p	q			r	r ^I			
Music Mc	p'	p' _v	q'	q' _v	r'	s'	t' t'	u'	t' t'	u' _v	
Bars	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Dance Ph	I		J				K				
Dance M	j	j ^I	k	k			l	l			
Dance Mc	a' b'	c' d'	a' b'	c' d'	a' e'	e' e'	a' e'	e' e'	a' a'	a' b'	a' a' a' b'
Bars	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	4			

Strophe V^(1, 2 & 3)

Music Ph	L				L				(P)
Music M	s	s ^I			s	s ^I			t
Music Mc	v ¹ v ² _v	w ¹	v ² _v v ² _v	w ² _v	v ¹ v ² _v	w ¹	v ² _v v ² _v	w ² _v	x ¹ x ² x ³
Bars	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Dance Ph	L								M
Dance M	m				n				o
Dance Mc	a ¹ a ²	a ¹ a ²	b ¹ d ¹	c ¹ f ¹	a ¹ a ²	a ¹ a ²	b ¹ d ¹	c ¹ f ¹	g ¹ g ² g ³
Bars	4	2	2		4	2	2		1

M		M _v		N				O		
u	v	u	v ^I	w				x	x ^I	
y ¹	z ¹ z ² aa ¹	y ² _v	z ¹ z ² aa ² _v	bb ¹ bb ² bb ³ bb ⁴ bb ⁵ bb ⁶ _v bb ⁷ _v					cc ¹	cc ² _v
4	2 2	4	2 2	2	2	2	2	4	4	
J _v		N		F				O		
k	k	p		a ₂		b ₃		q		
a ¹ e ¹ e ² e ³ a ¹ e ¹ e ² e ³	a ¹ a ² a ³ a ⁴ a ⁵ a ⁶ a ⁷			a ¹ b ¹ a ² b ²		a ¹ a ² a ³ b ¹		a ¹ a ² a ³ a ⁴ a ⁵ a ⁶ a ⁷		
4	4	8		2	2	4		8		

Appendix 3. Prior to 1870 – Strophe and Phrase level.

Part (V)

Strophe:

(Intro) V₁

V₂

Music Phrase	O	L	L	M	M _v	N	O	L	L	M	M _v	N	O
2/4	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Dance Phrase	Z	L	M	J _v	N	F	L	M _{SI}	J _{vsI}	N _{SI}	F _{SI}		
2/4	8	16	8	8	8	8	16	8	8	8	8		

Strophe:

V₃

V₄

Music Phrase	L	L	M	M _v	N	O	L	L	M	M _v	N	O	L	L	P
2/4	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	1
Dance Phrase	L	M _{S2}	J _{vs2}	N _{S2}	F _{S2}	L	M _{S3}	J _{vs3}	N _{S3}	F _{S3}	L	?			
2/4	16	8	8	8	8	16	8	8	8	8	16	1			

‘Er det mig, lille mig, du vil ha’

Musik og identitet på et kræmmermarked

HENRIK SMITH-SIVERTSEN

Fredag d. 29. august 2008 gav den danske sangerinde Birthe Kjær koncert på Hillerød Kræmmermarked. Ud fra pressematerialet, som indbefatter det officielle markedsprogram samt kræmmermarkedets hjemmeside, fremgår det, at der var tale om årets musikalske hovednavn.¹ Det første kunstnerbillede på det internetbårne markedsprogram er netop et stort portræt af en smilende Birthe Kjær. Dagen efter blev forsiden på hjemmesiden opdateret med følgende rapport fra koncerten:

Birthe Kjær begejstrede – Birthe Kjær tog som altid publikum med storm, da hun fredag aften gav koncert i Markedsteltet på Hillerød Kræmmermarked. Godt 1000 mennesker sang med på de velkendte sange i markedsteltet – en god gave til Birthe Kjær der på mandag fylder 60 år! Tillykke!²

Denne beskrivelse er meget rammende, hvis man vel at mærke forstår begrebet ‘de velkendte sange’ helt bogstaveligt. Der blev nemlig ganske rigtigt sunget med på en stor del af sangene. Dette gjaldt nærmere bestemt titlerne ‘Vi maler byen rød’, ‘Arrivederci Franz’, ‘Sommer og sol’, ‘Tag med ud å fisk’, ‘Eviva Espana’, et potpourri (‘Det er mig, du vil ha’/‘Lange Lars fra Langeland’/‘Casatchok’), ‘Den knaldrøde gummibåd’, ‘Den gamle Tennessee waltz’ og ‘Gid du var i Skanderborg’. Disse 11 numre udgjorde imidlertid ikke hele sætlisten (se figur 1).

I løbet af den små halvanden time lange koncert sang hun nemlig også syv sange, som tilsyneladende ikke var ‘velkendte sange’. I hvert fald var det meget småt med fællessangen, og faktisk forsvandt en stor del af publikum fra dansegulvet under disse sange for så talrigt at vende tilbage, hver gang de indledende toner til en af de andre 11 sange klingede ud over markedspladsen.³

Nærværende artikel tager udgangspunkt i denne iagttagelse, idet den giver anledning til at analysere hendes konkrete valg af repertoire i løbet af hendes optræden med henblik på at vise, hvorledes selve sangudvalget i forbindelse med koncertafviklinger kan bruges som afsæt til en diskussion af, hvordan den enkelte kunstner/gruppe navigerer i forhold til det konkrete publikums forventninger. At jeg har valgt at skrive denne artikel med udgangspunkt i Birthe Kjær skyldes, at der i relation til Kjærs optræden og repertoirevalg optræder nogle meget interessante problemstillinger angående hendes personlige biografi og genreplacering. Birthe

1 www.hillerod-marked.dk (besøgt 15.10.2008).

2 Ibid.

3 Grundlaget for beskrivelsen af koncertens forløb og Birthe Kjærs og publikums reaktioner er, hvor ikke andet er anført, mine feltobservationer fra begivenheden.

Kjær omtales og forstås bredt som ‘dansktoppens dronning’⁴ og har såvel inden for den danske musikbranche som hos et bredt publikum en høj placering som en af de fremmeste kunstnere i denne gren af dansk populærmusik. Denne genreplacering udgør i sig selv et vigtigt problem punkt, ikke mindst for Birthe Kjær selv, hvilket vil blive behandlet indgående i artiklen. Som det ses har jeg valgt at kalde artiklen ‘Er det mig, lille mig, du vil ha’, og heri ligger netop i høj grad en genrerelateret problematik: For tænk, hvis Birthe Kjær faktisk hellere ville være noget andet end ‘Dansktoppens dronning’?

1. ‘Vi maler byen rød’ (1989)
2. ‘Arrivederci franz’ (1968)
3. ‘Længe leve livet’ (2001)
4. ‘En at komme hjem til’ (2006)
5. ‘Sommer og sol’ (1971)
6. ‘Lys i mørket’ (2006)
7. ‘Vil du med’ (1986)
8. ‘Tag med ud og fisk’ (1962)
9. ‘På en fransk altan’ (2003)
10. ‘Hvordan syn’s du selv det går’ (2003)
11. ‘Eviva Espana’ (1973)
12. ‘Som en fugl i det fri’ (1998)
13. Potpourri:
 - ‘Det er mig, du vil ha’ (1972)
 - ‘Lange Lars fra Langeland’ (1970)
 - ‘Casatschok’ (1969)
14. ‘Den knaldrøde gummibåd’ (1970)

- Ekstranumre
15. ‘Den gamle Tennessee waltz’ (1974)
16. ‘Gid du var i Skanderborg’ (1968)

Figur 1. Birthe Kjær’s samlede sætliste ved koncerten på Hillerød Kræmmermarked.

4 Dette prædikat anvendes bl.a. i forskellige omskrivninger i en lang række presseomtaler og reklamemateriale fra diverse bookingbureauer og koncertarrangører. Mest direkte er Lykke Music & Events’ præsentationsside for Kjær, hvor overskriften kort og godt er “Birthe Kjær – dansktoppens dronning”, www.lykkemusic.dk/VisKunstner.asp?id=41 (besøgt 12.2.2009). Også på www.birthesvenner.dk, en meget omfattende fanside for Birthe Kjær, som i praksis med Kjær’s accept nærmest har funktion af hendes hjemmeside, har begrebet en central placering. På en underside, hvor sidens ophavsmand, Martin Løkke, udførligt gør rede for sit forhold til Kjær og formålet med siden, opsummeres det sidste med formuleringen, at hovedopgaven er: “At udbrede kendskabet til Dansktoppens Dronning nr. 1”, www.birthesvenner.dk/bkv-hvem.htm (besøgt 12.2.2009).

PÅ EN MARKEDSPADS

En given koncert er altid betinget af de rammer, den foregår under. Den koncert, Birthe Kjær gav på Hillerød Kræmmermarked 2008, er ingen undtagelse, og hvis jeg i stedet havde været til en af de jubilæumskoncerter, hun gav fra slutningen af september og frem, ville såvel oplevelsen af publikum som selve repertoireet have været noget helt andet.⁵ Netop derfor er det vigtigt i det følgende at give en kort indføring i kræmmermarkedet som musikalsk mødested.

Hillerød Kræmmermarked har i sin nuværende form eksisteret siden 1983, da Handelsstandsforeningen i Hillerød genoptog en gammel markedstradition i forbindelse med sit 100 års jubilæum. Inspirationen blev hentet i Hjallerup i Vendsyssel, hvor man siden 1965 er lykkedes med at modernisere det tidligere kræmmer- og hestemarked ved at fokusere på kræmmerhandel og underholdning. Denne model dannede skole rundt omkring i landet, heriblandt ikke mindst i Hillerød.

Ifølge organisationen bag Hillerød Kræmmermarked er der årligt mellem 150.000 og 200.000 besøgene i løbet af de fire dage, markedet forløber.⁶ Disse besøgstal placerer Hillerød Kræmmermarked helt oppe på siden af Hjallerup Marked som et af Danmarks største. De besøgende kan foruden selve handelen i de over 300 studepladser, som er ligeligt fordelt på private handlende og professionelle kræmmere, bruge det store tivoli og nyde en række musikalske tilbud i de fire markedstelte af forskellige størrelser. Der synes at være et ønske om, at musikken skal ramme bredt forstået således, at det skal afspejle det forhold, at et kræmmermarkeds kundegrundlag som udgangspunkt er et tværsnit af den danske befolkning, eller 'hele familien Danmark', som markedets projektleder Ib Wilhelm formulerede det i 2007. Her berørte han i øvrigt også selve formålet med at præsentere musik på markedet ved at fremhæve, at "[v]i har et flot program med gode musiknavne, så det skal nok trække folk af huse".⁷ Spørgsmålet er så, hvad det er for en musik, der trækker folk til.

Hvis man gennemgår årets program, ser man hurtigt en rød tråd i musikvalget. Hvis man udelukkende ser på de store navne, som optrådte på markedets hovedscene, er der fortrinsvis tale om navne med en del år på bagen. I 2008 var det foruden Birthe Kjær 80'er-orkestret Rocazino, Fenders og Bjørn & Okay. Som det ses, er den danske schlager- og dansktopscene ganske pænt repræsenteret, og hvis man følger logikken med, at musikken er til for at trække folk til, må man antage, at det afspejler tidligere års erfaring fra markedsledelsens side.⁸ De store navne spillede i Markedsteltet, som var placeret i centrum af markedspladsen. Derudover var der en række mindre musikscener, som i 2008 udgjordes af ViseVersTeltet, Prangerteltet og Jazzteltet. På nær sidstnævnte telt, som stilistisk levede op til sit navn, var der musikalsk set tale om en skøn blanding af velkendt dansk og engelsksproget populærmusik fra anden halvdel af det tyvende århundrede. Musikerne var fortrinsvis

5 Dette bekræftes af sætlisten fra jubilæumskoncerten, som jeg venligst har fået stillet til rådighed af Birthe Kjær.

6 www.hillerod-marked.dk/index.php?id=32,0,0,1,0,0 (besøgt 12.2.2009).

7 'Kræmmermarked fejrer sølvbryllup', *Frederiksborg Amts Avis*, 16.8.2007.

8 Jeg har gennemgået programmerne fra 2002 og frem, og billedet er her det samme.

lokale festmusikere og såkaldte coverbands såsom Karl Hermans Trio, som spiller en blanding af gamle John Mogensen-hits og 'egne kompositioner i Mogensens ånd'.

Markedets musikalske højdepunkter placeres altid fredag og lørdag aften, hvor der traditionelt er flest mennesker. Disse aftener vrimler Hillerøds opland til fest på markedspladsen, og efter en lang eftermiddag med handel, pølser og fadøl og udsigt til weekend er folk traditionelt i god stemning fredag aften. Det var de også, da Birthe Kjær gik på scenen denne fredag kl. 21.30.

'JEG HAR EN SANG, JEG VIL GI' DIG'

Stemningen var allerede høj, da Birthe Kjær gik på scenen. Folk havde åbenlyst forsynet sig godt med fadøl i løbet af aftenen og var klar fra første tone lød. Publikum var i overensstemmelse med markedsledelsens egne forventninger en godt blandet forsamling. Aldersmæssigt forekom fordelingen således at spænde ligeligt fra teenagere til pensionister. Koncerten indledtes ved at orkestret satte i gang med 'Vi maler byen rød', som Birthe Kjær vandt det danske Melodi Grand Prix med i 1989. Birthe Kjær selv stod ved siden af scenen og løb under stor jubel op ad en lille scenetrappe under den 16 sekunder lange intro, som fulgte den ganske effektfulde 4 sekunders optakt. Optakten syntes velkendt, da mange nærmest kom løbende ind i teltet fra siden, som vendte ud mod festpladsens hovedgade. Entréen var meget vellykket, og stemningen i teltet var med det samme meget høj.

Efter at have fremført første vers brugte Kjær den ca. 12 sekunder lange instrumentale bro til næste vers til at byde publikum velkommen og kort introducere orkestret. I løbet af dette første nummer strømmede publikum ind i teltet og placerede sig i rækker foran og med front mod scenen. Der var ingen, der dansede, og publikum opførte sig i det hele taget, som man gør til rockkoncerter. Mange stod og rokkede fra side til side med overkroppen og brugte armene til forskellige gestus. En stor del af publikum sang med på omkvædet, og Kjær havde i det hele taget en særdeles god kontakt til publikum fra det øjeblik, hun gik på scenen.

Kontakten etableredes blandt andet ved en meget rutineret performance fra Kjærs side. Hun flyttede konstant blikket rundt fra side til side som en sonde ved hjælp af små umærkbare dansetrin, således at alle i teltet havde mulighed for fornemmelsen af direkte kontakt. Dette koreografiske greb er meget anvendt i den schlager- og underholdningstradition, som Birthe Kjær er opdraget i, og er et klart ekstrovert signal.⁹ I rocksammenhæng anvendes denne teknik sjældent. Her etableres kontakt i hovedreglen ved, at man fysisk bevæger sig rundt på scenen. Hvis man i denne performancetradition holder sig centralt på scenen, er det ikke sædvanen, at man som Kjær konstant skifter fikspunkt. Omvendt benyttede Birthe Kjær stort set ikke

9 Teknikken er ligeledes velkendt i amerikansk underholdningsmusik. To stileksempler kan ses i Frank Sinatras optræden i Madison Square Garden 1974 (Warner Bros., DVD 6305323577 (1999)) og Dean Martins generelle liveoptræden (se eksempelvis www.youtube.com/watch?v=aS6-b7CONDI). Martins tidlige tv-optrædener er nærmest forbilledlige stileksempler på denne måde at få direkte kontakt til publikum. Det er tilsyneladende en så central del af hans sceneperformance, at han stort set ikke kigger ind i kameraet, hvilket han dog fik lært efterhånden.



Ill. 1. Birthe Kjær blandt sit publikum i Tivoli Karolinelund, Aalborg, i sommeren 2006. © med venlig tilladelse fra Martin Rosander Løkke.

et eneste introvert virkemiddel under hele koncerten, såsom lukkede øjne der kan signalere inderlighed eller koncentration. Det hele foregik med åbne øjne og kropssprog. Eneste performative undtagelse udgjorde nummeret 'Hvordan syn's du selv det går'. Nummeret er en duet, som hun indspillede sammen med musiker og komiker Jakob Haugaard, og i denne sammenhæng blev hans rolle overtaget af bassisten i orkestret. Sangens tekst fingerer et godmodigt skænderi mellem et ægtepar, og Kjær spillede rollen med alle de tilhørende replikker, som findes på indspilningen, og gjorde det ved at synge direkte henvendt til diskussionspartneren. Resultatet var et markant tab af publikumskontakt, som faktisk affødte aftenens svageste applaus.

Efter stort bifald i forlængelse af 'Vi maler byen rød' introducerede Kjær næste nummer ved at referere til sit kommende jubilæum. Herefter fulgte hendes første hit, 'Arrivederci Franz' fra 1968. Også her reagerede publikum særdeles positivt. Der blev ved med at strømme folk til, og stemningen var på kogepunktet. Efter bifaldet havde lagt sig, annoncerede Birthe Kjær, at vi nu skulle have "en dejlig livsbekræftende sang" og satte efterfølgende i gang med sangen 'Længe leve livet' fra 2001. For første gang i koncertforløbet reagerede publikum mærkbart anderledes end tidligere. Der var et markant fald i intensiteten hos publikum, og mange begyndte at småsnakke og vende sig væk fra scenen. Folk blev stående, men der var helt tydeligt et tab af kontakt mellem Kjær og publikum. Det samme gjaldt under næste nummer, som var 'En at komme hjem til' fra 2006, hvor Birthe Kjær dog modtog aftenens første rose af en tilskuer. Under dette nummer begyndte folk sågar at sive væk fra scenen. Kontakten reetableredes først for alvor, da hun efterfølgende

satte i med 'Sommer og sol' fra 1971. Igen strømmede publikum til fra alle sider og satte i med markant fællessang. I tredje koda overlod Kjær helt sangen til publikum, hvilket fungerede fint.

Efter 'Sommer og sol' mente Birthe Kjær, at "nu skal vi ned i tempo og have lidt romantik". Det fik vi med 'Lys i mørket' fra 2006. Publikum var imidlertid tydeligvis ikke enige. Atter udbød markant småsnak, og mange forlod området foran scenen. Det blev ikke meget bedre under det følgende nummer, som var Kjærs 1986-bidrag til det danske Melodi Grand Prix, 'Vil du med?'. Sangen blev lidt bedre modtaget af publikum, men generelt var der en afventende stemning. Det fornemmede Kjær muligvis også, for efter det lidt spagfærdige bifald i kølvandet på 'Vil du med' sagde hun: "Jeg tror vi skal ha' en af de go'e gamle. Ikke en af mine, men en der var oppe omkring 1968. Gitte Hønnings 'Tag med ud å fisk'". Sangen var den første, som ikke var hentet i Kjærs eget bagkatalog, og jeg vil senere vende tilbage til dette punkt.

Uanset ophavet var reaktionen fra publikum markant. Atter strømmede folk til, og atter genlød teltet af fællessang. Efter et stort bifald følte Kjær igen, at det var tid til lidt romantik, og igen var der kontant afregning. Sangen var ellers en af hendes senere store succeser 'På en fransk altan' fra 2003, men det var den ikke på Hillerød Kræmmermarked. Publikum skrumpede undervejs ind til det mindste siden koncertens start, og meget bedre gik det ikke med det følgende nummer, 'Hvordan syn's du selv det går', hvor hun som nævnt ovenfor helt tabte kontakten til publikum. Midlet til at genskabe kontakt og stemning var 'Eviva Espana'.

Dette nummer var det andet, som ikke var hentet i Kjærs eget repertoire, men i modsætning til 'Tag med ud å fisk' blev dette ikke annonceret. Under alle omstændigheder var der umiddelbar respons fra publikum, som atter strømmede til scenen og for første gang i løbet af koncerten til dansegulvet. En del publikummer dansede med flamenco-markerende kastagnet-fingerknips til denne i øvrigt hollandske melodi.¹⁰

For sidste gang den aften forsøgte Birthe Kjær efterfølgende at præsentere noget nyere og afdæmpet materiale med sangen 'Som en fugl i det fri' fra 1998. Den blev introduceret med en biografisk reference til hendes eget liv og nærmere bestemt som et spring "tilbage til 99", hvor hun holdt sabbatår fra musikken. Det var publikum åbenlyst ikke særligt interesserede i, og scenariet fra tidligere gentog sig. Folk gik eller begyndte at snakke med hinanden.

Resten af koncerten holdt Birthe Kjær sig til de gamle og 'velkendte sange'. Først kom et potpourri bestående af tre hits fra begyndelsen af hendes karriere, nærmere bestemt 'Det er mig, du vil ha'' fra 1972, 'Lange Lars fra Langeland' fra 1970 og 'Casatchok' fra 1969. Mens der under de to førstnævnte sange var moderat fælles-

¹⁰ Sangen blev oprindeligt lanceret på hollandsk i 1971 af sangerinden Samantha, og gik Europa rundt de følgende år. Sangen var i øvrigt en de forholdsvist få udenlandske sange, som kom først på dansk og siden på svensk. Den danske og den svenske version kom på henholdsvis Dansktoppen og Svensktoppen i februar og juni 1973; jf. Henrik Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser: Populærmusikalske versioneringspraksisser i forbindelse med danske versioner af udenlandske sange i perioden 1945–2007* (ph.d.-afhandling; Københavns Universitet, 2007), bilag 1.4; *Svensktoppen, Arkiv*, www.sr.se/Diverse/AppData/Isidor/files/2023/3471.txt (besøgt 12.2.2009). Den danske version blev sandsynligvis til efter, at sangen i 1972 havde været en stor succes i Tyskland.

sang, var der helt anderledes markant respons under sidstnævnte sang, ‘Casatchok’ er den danske udgave af sangen om en russisk dans, som nåede Europa rundt i årene 1968-69, og som skiftede sprog mange gange undervejs. Stort set det eneste sprog, den i første omgang ikke blev udgivet på, var russisk, og arrangøren af sangen var en fransk bosat bulgarer.¹¹ Sangen blev lanceret som en russisk folkedans, og at dømme efter hvor mange der gik ned i knæ, mens Birthe Kjær sang sin version på kræmmermarkedet, forbandt også dette publikum den med russisk dans. Stemningen steg til eksplosionsagtige højder ved de indledende toner af aftenens sidste nummer i det ordinære sæt, som Birthe Kjær introducerede ved at sige, at “der er også en mere, vi skal ha’”. Det drejede sig om sangen ‘Den knaldrøde gummibåd’ fra 1970, som mærkbart udgjorde aftenens klimaks for publikum. Der blev skrålet, hoppet og danset i hele teltet. Selv de, som ellers havde siddet fast ved deres bænke langs teltets sider, rejste sig og hoppede på bordene, så fadøl og askebægre fløj til alle sider. Under stor applaus forlod Birthe Kjær scenen med et “tak for i aften” vel vidende, at hun nok ikke slap så nemt. Det gjorde hun da heller ikke, og efter en tids taktfaste klapsalver vendte hun tilbage og satte i med ‘Den gamle Tennessee waltz’ fra 1974. Også her blev der danset meget, og stemningen var stadig meget høj. Endnu engang takkede Kjær for i aften og forlod scenen, og endnu engang måtte hun tilbage, fordi folk blev ved med at klappe og råbe. Birthe Kjær gik direkte over til bassisten og forhandlede åbenlyst med orkestret om, hvad der skulle spilles. Det endte med at blive ‘Gid du var i Skanderborg’, som Dorthé Kollo indspillede i 1968 og dermed den tredje sang, som ikke kom fra hendes eget repertoire. Publikum var glade, sang med og klappede begejstret, da Birthe Kjær for tredje og sidste gang forlod scenen.

SCHLAGER OG DANSTOP

Det, der skete på Hillerød Kræmmermarked, var en ganske håndgribelig forhandling mellem en kunstner og et publikum om, hvad der skulle spilles. Formuleret lidt anderledes var det også en forhandling af, hvem publikum kom for at se, og hvem pågældende kunstner gerne selv ville fremstå som. Publikum var tydeligvis kommet for at se og høre en Birthe Kjær, som sang sine velkendte sange fra ‘de gode gamle dage’ og fra noget, man kunne kalde dansk schlager- eller dansktopkanon. Det var i hvert fald disse sange, man sang med på og applauderede, og modsat blev Birthe Kjær nærmest afvist, når hun forsøgte noget andet. Hun valgte efterhånden at strække våben og gjorde det ved nærmest demonstrativt at hente sange uden for sit eget repertoire. Ingen af de tre sange fra andres kataloger var med i Birthe Kjærs oprindelige oplæg til koncerten på kræmmermarkedet. I alle tre tilfælde inddrog hun dem spontant, fordi hun følte, at stemningen mere var til denne type musik.¹² Det vil sige, at hun direkte reagerede på publikums opførsel og gav dem, hvad hun mente, de ville have.

¹¹ Jf. sangdatabasen www.coverinfo.de. Denne database er ganske omfattende og pålidelig.

¹² Telefonisk interview med Birthe Kjær, 20.11.2008.

Den første gang var som vist 'Tag med ud å fisk', som blev introduceret som "en af de gode gamle ... der var oppe omkring 1968". På trods af en kronologisk uoverensstemmelse, idet Gitte Hænnings indspillede sangen allerede i 1962, passer sangen stilistisk ind i den del af Birthe Kjærs repertoire, som publikum åbenbart foretrak. Det samme gør 'Eviva Espana' og 'Gid du var i Skanderborg'. Alle tre sange er desuden fast inventar på diverse opsamlinger af dansktop- og schlagermusik på linje med en række af Kjærs egne gamle sange. Der er gennem tiden udkommet ganske mange af sådanne kompilationsudgivelser, senest cd-boksen *Alle Tidens Danske Schlager Hits* fra 2008.¹³ Derudover har mange unge danskere stiftet bekendtskab med musikken via showorkestret Sweethearts, som siden slutningen af 1980'erne har turneret med et repertoire, de selv definerer som dansktopmusik.¹⁴ Deres repertoire var og er primært hentet fra perioden 1968-1977, hvor DR bragte den dansksprogede hitliste Dansktoppen, som de fleste af sangene, de spillede, havde ligget på. Sweethearts blev voldsomt populære på den danske livescene og spillede for fulde huse på landets store scener og festivaler. I samme periode brød den nordjyske duo Sussi & Leo igennem med deres noget særprægede sceneshow. Også Sussi & Leo rodede godt op i gemmerne fra Dansktoppen og gjorde den tilgængelig for yngre generationer. Netop Sussi & Leo danner udgangspunktet for den foreløbigt mest grundige undersøgelse af et dansk livemiljø med hovedvægt på dansktop og schlagermusik, Alf Björnberg og Ola Stockfelts artikel om 'Kirsten Klatvask fra Vejle',¹⁵ som jeg vil vende tilbage til i den afsluttende diskussion. I tilfældet Hillerød Kræmmermarked virkede det som om, at i hvert fald den yngre del af publikum var der for at høre Birthe Kjør synge sangene fra Sweethearts, Sussi & Leo, dansktopopsamlingspladerne etc. Og det fik de så, uanset om Kjør hellere selv ville have spillet noget andet. Hun navigerede efter impulserne fra publikum og skiftede repertoire for at give dem en god aften, for som hun siger: "Jeg synger for dig og ikke for mig".¹⁶

Jeg vil inden jeg forlader Hillerød Kræmmermarked helt gå lidt nærmere ind på begreberne 'en af mine' og 'Gitte Hænnings'. Siden midten af det 20. århundrede har det været et helt afgørende aspekt af populærmusikkens idéhistorie, at et givet stykke musik er blevet og bliver forbundet med en specifik lagret fremførelse. Som jeg har redegjort for i min ph.d.-afhandling om praksissen at lave danske versioner af udenlandske sange fra midten af det 20. århundrede og frem, skete der i løbet af 1950'erne en markant ændring i måden, hvorpå man producerede og markedsførte populærmusik. Uagtet gramfonpladens indtog på markedet var den trykte node fortsat det medie, som musikken og musikindustrien var struktureret omkring op gennem første halvdel af århundredet. Musikken lå som udgangspunkt i nodeform og den traditionelle produktionspraksis var, at en given sang, som blev populær, blev indspillet i mange versioner på baggrund af den via musikforlagene formidlede node. Det gjaldt groft sagt om at få sangen udbredt, og det gjorde man ved at lade

13 Universal UNI 1766989.

14 Se eksempelvis orkestrets hjemmeside www.sweethearts.dk.

15 Alf Björnberg og Ola Stockfelt, 'Kirsten Klatvask fra Vejle. Danish pub music, mythscapes and "local camp"', *Popular Music*, 15/2 (1996), 131-47.

16 Telefonisk interview med Birthe Kjør, 20.11.2008.

mange indspille musikken, evt. i nationalsprogsversioner. Af en række årsager, såvel medieteknologiske som sociologiske, ændredes denne logik fra midten af århundredet og frem. På det medieteknologiske plan var det helt evident, at den øgede visualisering med først talefilmen og siden fjernsynets gennembrud havde en stor betydning for en øget sammenkobling mellem værk og afsender. På lydsiden havde den øgede adgang til internationale radiostationer den betydning, at specifikke indspilninger fik en forrang i forhold til andre.¹⁷ Denne udvikling forstærkedes via den øgede opmærksomhed fra de skrivende medier. I løbet af 1950'erne fødtes en række magasiner, som efter forskelligt temperament behandlede populærmusikken med billedmateriale,¹⁸ og der begyndte at udkomme billedbårne hånd- og årbøger i slutningen af årtiet. Dertil kom ikke mindst det vigtige, men oversete, forhold, at det med vinylpladens gennembrud i midten af 1950'erne bl.a. på dansk grund blev almindeligt, at pladerne blev forsynet med fotografier af den fremførende kunstner. Som det altid er med høns og æg, er det svært nøjagtigt at definere årsagsrækkefølgen, men faktum er, at der fra slutningen af 1950'erne fra musikindustriell side blev ændret strategi således, at man ikke længere spredte sangene ud på en vifte af kunstnere, men at man derimod i reglen lod en enkelt kunstner indspille og markedsføre musikken. Hvis han eller hun ikke slog igennem med sangen, kunne man prøve igen med en anden kunstner, men hvis det lykkedes første gang, lod man det som udgangspunkt blive ved det.¹⁹

Denne sammenkobling mellem værk og kunstner var i høj grad på spil ved koncerten. Som nævnt ovenfor introduceredes 'Tag med ud å fisk' med ordene "ikke en af mine", men derimod "Gitte Hønnings". Dette er et tydeligt eksempel på, hvorledes en given sang *tilhører* den kunstner, der først har indspillet den med succes. Birthe Kjær har faktisk selv indspillet sangen i forbindelse med DR's ønskekoncert Giro 413's jubilæum i 2000, men alligevel udnævner hun Gitte Hønning som sangens ejerkinde. Det er ikke sikkert, at alle i publikum lavede denne association, men det gjorde i al fald Birthe Kjær. Omvendt laver hun selv koblingen til de sange, hun selv har indspillet og er lykkedes med at lancere på dansk, ved at kalde dem *mine*. I ingen af tilfældene er der tale om ejerskab i ophavsretslig sammenhæng. Såvel de

17 Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og polser*, 19–50.

18 Cf. Morten Michelsen, 'Journalister, digtere og "seriøs" musik: Rockkritikken i Danmark', i Ulf Lindberg et al. (eds.), *Amusers, Bruisers & Cool-Headed Cruisers: The Fields of Anglo-Saxon and Nordic Rock Criticism* (Århus: eget forlag, 2000), 307–43.

19 Eksempelvis blev 'Tag med ud å fisk', der på dansk hittede med Gitte Hønning i første forsøg i 1962, først indspillet igen i 1992. Meget sigende var 1992-udgaven (Pladecompagniet PCMC 8046) indspillet af Bullerfnis, som dækker over skuespillerne Peter Frödin og Hella Joof. De optrådte i en meget succesfuld børneudsendelse på DR, hvor det var et gennemgående træk, at de i hver udsendelse sang en gammel 'dansktop-klassiker'. Det sigende bestod i, at der var tale om en begyndende interesse for den ældre schlager- og dansktopmusik, og at rammerne var lige dele hyldet og kitsch. Næste gang den blev indspillet var det ligeledes som en hyldet til genren af overfor omtalte Sweethearts (CMC 6218-201). Et eksempel på en sang, der krævede flere forsøg, var den oprindeligt amerikanske sang 'Jeg drømte mig en drøm i nat', som i løbet af 1960'erne blev indspillet af både Cæsar (1965) og Grethe Sønck (1967) inden Royal Strings storhittede med sangen i 1970. Herefter var der ikke flere, der forsøgte sig med sangen i mange år. Jf. det danske nationaldiskoteks database, som er tilgængelig på www.statsbiblioteket.dk.

syv foregående Birthe Kjær-sange som den ene Gitte Hønning-sang er, hvad tekst og musik angår, skrevet af andre personer. Ejerskabet består i, at de har indspillet og har lanceret sangene.

Denne form for ejerskab opfattes normalt, og sikkert også af Birthe Kjær og Gitte Hønning, som noget selvfølgeligt og positivt; men der er en dobbelt binding, som bedst beskrives med begrebet biografisk irreversibilitet.²⁰ Den biografiske irreversibilitet består i, at man ikke kan trække det, der allerede er sendt ud, tilbage. Dette gælder i høj grad indspillet musik. Gitte Hønning indspillede for første og foreløbigt eneste gang 'Tag med ud å fisk' i 1962. Hun var 16 år gammel, og det er hun stadig, når man hører pladen. En af konsekvenserne af, at pladen blev populærmusikkens primære lagringsform, er, at musikken og ikke mindst stemmen er den samme, hver gang pladen bliver spillet. Gitte Hønning kunne *gen*-indspille sangen, men den nye indspilning ville i så fald ikke erstatte og udviske den gamle indspilning, men i bedste fald blive opfattet som en ny-fortolkning, som under alle omstændigheder ville relatere sig til 1962-udgaven. Det er den oprindelige indspilning, der bliver betragtet som originalen,²¹ og det er den, som igen og igen er blevet udgivet på opsamlinger.

Dette forhold gælder alle, som har haft et hit. Også Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen og David Bowie er uløseligt forbundet med deres gamle materiale. Spørgsmålet er så, hvordan man forholder sig til det i eksempelvis koncertsammenhæng. I Bowies tilfælde spillede han i mange år nærmest demonstrativt ikke sine gamle hits. I Dylans tilfælde har strategien været løbende at lade sit repertoire undergå store stilistiske forandringer, og på den måde har han leget aktivt med originalindspilningsbegrebets status. I tilfældet Birthe Kjær er valget tydeligvis et andet. Hun ikke alene spillede de sange, folk ville have, det var også i arrangementer, som lå meget tæt på indspilningerne. Hendes primære formål er at underholde og give folk, hvad de gerne vil have. Samlet har hun formuleret det således:

Jeg står ikke på scenen for min egen skyld, så hvis en sang ikke virker ude blandt publikum, så synger jeg den hjemme hos mig selv – eller indspiller den på plade. Jeg er ikke interesseret i at påtvinge nogen noget eller opdrage på nogen. Jeg håber bare, at jeg kan gøre folk glade, og den bedste belønning, jeg kan få, er, hvis folk synger med, eller en ældre mand på plejehjemmet smiler mere, end han plejer. Jeg har lært at aflæse de der små tegn hos folk, der viser mig, at jeg har gjort en forskel. Jeg har givet dem en glæde, som de måske ikke kan huske om en time, men som gjorde dem glade i nuet. Det er vel min drivkraft. At jeg har gjort en forskel.²²

Underholdning er til for de andres, ikke for ens egen skyld. Det primære formål er at gøre folk glade, at *give dem det, de vil have*. Det gør Dylan, Springsteen og Bowie også, men strategierne og forventningerne er forskellige. Når disse tre (med de meget sigende aristokratiske kælenavne 'His Bobness', 'The Boss' og 'The Thin

20 Jon Helt Haarder, 'Litteraturvidenskab i den performative biografismes tidsalder' (2004), tilgængelig online på www1.sdu.dk/Hum/jhh/bioartikel3.pdf (hentet 6.11.2008).

21 Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser*, 30–35.

22 Tonic Yde Mørch, 'Kend hende på knækket', *Berlingske Tidende*, 10.8.2008.

White Duke') går på scenen, er det dem, der bestemmer, hvad der skal spilles og hvordan, hvilket er en del af konventionen. Hvis de spiller hittene, er det fantastisk, men det gør de kun, hvis de har lyst. I det konkrete tilfælde stak Birthe Kjær så at sige en finger i jorden undervejs, og besluttede, at publikum sandsynligvis helst ville gehøre de gamle hits, selvom der faktisk ikke var en eneste verbal opfordring i løbet af aftenen. Hun vurderede ganske enkelt, at hun for i bogstavelig forstand at kunne se sit publikum i øjnene, måtte skifte repertoire, og det gjorde 'Dansk-toppens Dronning' så.

Jeg vil i det følgende forlade Hillerød Kræmmermarked og gå lidt nærmere ind på, hvad det er for en kunstnerstype, Birthe Kjær repræsenterer, og herunder se nærmere på det forhold mellem musik 'for mig og for dig', som lå til grund for den lille magtkamp, som udspillede sig med publikum under koncerten.

BIRTHE KJÆR – DEN VENLIGE SMILENDE DAME

I et interview i anledning af sin 60 års fødselsdag beskrev Birthe Kjær sit forhold til det at være en offentlig person på følgende måde:

Jeg har hele min karriere været meget bevidst om at leve op til det billede, folk har af mig som den venligt smilende dame. Jeg klæder mig også altid pænt på og tager make-up på, når jeg går ud som den offentlige person, jeg er. Jeg er meget forfængelig og har det generelt godt med at være 'på'. Hvis jeg vil være anonym, kan jeg jo bare tage til Flensborg. Der kender ingen mig. Kendtheden, det at være så meget på, var stort for mig, da min karriere startede, men nu har jeg vænnet mig til, at folk er på hat med mig. Folk føler, de kender mig og for det meste for det gode.²³

Birthe Kjær tegner her et billede af sig selv som en person, der altid er på. Der refereres tydeligvis ikke til særlige begivenheder i forbindelse med koncerter eller andre optrædener i forbindelse med hendes professionelle liv, men derimod til hvad man kan betegne som hverdagens offentlige rum. Uanset om det drejer sig om en indkøbstur, et restaurantbesøg eller blot en gåtur er Birthe Kjær "den offentlige person, jeg er". Det fremgår ikke, hvor grænsen mellem det offentlige og det private går, men henvisningen til, at hun skal til Flensborg for at være anonym, signalerer en ganske bred opfattelse af den offentlige scene.

Som det fremgår af citatet, har Birthe Kjær en klar forestilling om, hvilket billede folk har af hende. Hun tror, at folk tror, at hun er *den venlige smilende dame*, hvilket hun så har valgt at bekræfte dem i. Hvorvidt dette billede er rigtigt eller ej, er ikke synderligt interessant. Birthe Kjær fremhæver selv senere i interviewet, at hun har "et lyst sind og kan for det meste vende de dårlige ting til noget godt"²⁴ men dette influerer som sådan ikke på det forhold, at det er den venlige smilende dame, som offentligheden skal kende, og som Kjær dermed har været i store dele af sit voksenliv.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

Den venlige smilende dame blev født søndag den 2. december 1968. Den dag blev hendes første indspilning, 'Arrivederci Franz', testet til Dansktoppen, som var blevet søsat tre måneder tidligere med Jørn Hjørtting ved roret. Ugen efter strøg hun og sangen direkte ind på Dansktoppens førsteplads, som hun og Franz besatte de følgende syv uger, inden hun 1. februar 1969 måtte vige pladsen for Bjørn & Okay's sang om 'Tro, håb og kærlighed'.²⁵

Ret beset kan hendes fødsel som offentlig figur dateres til 24. september samme år. Her bragte *B.T.* nemlig den første artikel om Birthe Kjær med tilhørende fotografi. Overskriften var 'Ny "Dorthe" på vej mod toppen – synger i aften i Århus-natklub'.²⁶ Konteksten var, at Birthe Kjær som annonceret i overskriften skulle optræde samme aften på natklubben Cabana, og det, at hendes kontrafej havde fundet vej til en landsdækkende avis, er det mest opsigtsvækkende ved omtalen, som nærmest havde notitsform. Birthe Kjær havde nemlig hverken indspillet eller optrådt i større offentlighed på dette tidspunkt. Alligevel var det åbenbart lykkedes hendes manager, Basse Bertram, at få hende talt i *B.T.*, som dagen efter fulgte op med en omtale af hendes debut. Uden nogen egentlig tolkning af, hvorvidt Birthe Kjær var spalteplassen værd, berettedes det, hvordan hun nu havde en god pladechance, fordi pladeproducent Johnny Reimar ville kigge forbi samme aften.²⁷

Johnny Reimar fortæller i sin biografi detaljeret om hele episoden, som blev indledning til Birthe Kjærs professionelle karriere.²⁸ Ifølge ham selv var han nærmest til stede på Cabana under tvang. Den pressenotits, som stod i *B.T.*, var publiceret uden hans viden af den gesjæftige Bertram, og hele denne indledende markedsføring af den hidtil ukendte sangerinde var mildest talt utraditionel men ikke desto mindre effektiv. Om aftenen den 25. september stod pressen, som foruden ovenstående aviser inkluderede *Se & Hør*, klar for at dække Reimars dom, og heldigvis for alle parter viste Kjær sig at kunne synge. To måneder senere var pladen indspillet og klar til at blive testet på Dansktoppen. Som nævnt gik 'Arrivederci Franz' direkte ind på førstepladsen, og en ny stjerne var født. De to sidste uger af 1968 var B-siden på Birthe Kjærs debut-single, 'Sig ja til kærlighed', oven i købet også repræsenteret som et fingerpeg om, at der var en stor efterspørgsel på mere materiale fra den nye sangstjerne. Det kom der i stor stil.

I marts 1969 vendte hun tilbage til Dansktoppen, denne gang i selskab med 'Cæsar og Cleopatra' som igen blev afløst 4 uger senere af Birthe Kjærs danske bud på, hvordan tidens store europæiske trend, den russiskinspirerede 'Casatschok', skulle danses. Her gentog hun i øvrigt kunststykket med at gå direkte ind på Dansktoppens

25 Samtlige oplysninger om placeringer på Dansktoppen i perioden 1968-1977 refererer til Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser*, bilag 1.4. I forbindelse med mit ph.d.-projekt indsamlede og registrerede jeg samtlige Danmarks Radios hitlister fra perioden 1963-1977. Disse oplysninger har ikke tidligere været tilgængelige i samlet og overskuelig form. Hitlisterne vil blive offentliggjort i løbet af 2009.

26 Qui, 'Ny "Dorthe" på vej mod toppen – synger i aften i Århus-natklub', *B.T.*, 24.9.1968.

27 Qui, 'Ny 19-årig pop-sangerinde med stor debut-succes i hjembyen', *B.T.*, 25.9.1968.

28 Johnny Reimar i samarbejde med Kenneth Wöhlisfelt, *Mr. Showbiz: Fra rock til ridder* (København: Aschehoug, 2000), 147.

førsteplads. Denne gang blev det kun til to uger på førstepladsen og i alt fem uger på listen, hvilket dog skyldtes, at Dansktoppen holdt ufrivillig pause fra april til september 1969. Da listen genåbnede, var der atter bud efter Birthe Kjær, der de følgende fem uger sang om 'Mucho Amore', og siden gik det slag i slag. I alt blev det i årene fra 1968 til 1977 til 23 Dansktop-placeringer, hvoraf ti lå i top tre.²⁹ Hvis man slår alle placeringer sammen, lå Birthe Kjær på Dansktoppen i 133 uger. Hvis man nærkigger på disse sange, er der nogle interessante oplysninger at hente.

For det første er 22 ud af 23 sange danske versioner af udenlandske sange.³⁰ Den eneste danskkomponerede melodi er 'Lange Lars fra Langeland'. De øvrige 22 sange fordeler sig på 8 tyske, 3 franske, 3 amerikanske, 2 britiske, 2 svenske og en enkelt fra henholdsvis Holland, Irland, Luxembourg og Spanien. Det vil sige, at der med en enkelt undtagelse var tale om udenlandske melodier, som var blevet forsynet med dansk tekst. Teksterne stod en lille skare på i alt syv tekstforfattere for. 12 af sangene havde Thøger Olesens signatur, mens Johnny Reimar, som producerede alle Birthe Kjærs indspilninger, selv kom ind på andenpladsen med tre bidrag. De sidste stod Susanne Palsbo og Per Juul for med hver to og med en hver Viggo Happel, Robert Arnold og sidst men ikke mindst Sejr Volmer-Sørensen. Fremhævelsen af Volmer-Sørensen skyldes, at han stod fadder til 'Den knaldrøde gummibåd', som har fået en særlig position.

Hvis man nærlæser sangenes oprindelse, tegner der sig nogle yderligere tendenser. 17 af de 22 udenlandske sange, som blev indspillet i danske versioner, stammer fra ikke-engelsktalende europæiske lande. Dette afspejler det forhold, at den danske musikindustri i slutningen af 60'erne og i 70'erne stadig var tæt knyttet til det europæiske populærmusiknetværk, som havde musikforlæggerne som vigtige aktører og som bindeled mellem de forskellige lande og sprogområder.

En kort gennemgang af de fem engelsksprogede sange tydeliggør, hvordan systemet fungerede. De tre amerikanske melodier er alle ældre og velkendte sange, som på det tidspunkt, hvor de blev indspillet på dansk, var blevet indspillet mange gange af forskellige kunstnere.³¹ Der er samlet tale om 'oldies but goodies', som sandsynligvis har været handlet mellem musikforlagene lang tid i forvejen. Hermed menes, at rettighederne til at lave danske udgaver allerede har ligget på skandinaviske hænder.

29 De øvrige 18 sange var: 'Dance og syng' (1969), 'Lange Lars fra Langeland' 1970, 'En elefant' (1970), 'Luk butikken' (1970), 'Den knaldrøde gummibåd' (1970), 'Drømmen om et land' (1971), 'Træet på min barndomsvej' (1971), 'Sommer og Sol' (1971), 'Et rødt æble' (1972), 'Rundt i Rundetårn' (1972), 'Kom med ombord' (1974), 'Lov kun det du kan holde' (1974), 'For evigt forbi' (1974), 'Dinge Dong' (1975), 'En enkelt gang' (1976), 'Vil du eller vil du ikke' (1977). Derudover lå hun i 1972-73 på DR's salgsbaserede hitliste, Hitparaden, i 17 uger med revyvisen 'Jeg Skal Aldrig Til Bal Uden Trusser'; Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser*, bilag 1.4.

30 Det følgende bygger på Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser*, 8-16 samt bilag 1.1. Det empiriske arbejde, som ligger til grund for min ph.d.afhandling, inkluderer en omfattende gennemgang af Kodas værkdatabase og gennemlytning af talrige versioner af sangene.

31 Det drejer om 'Tennessee Waltz' (1947)/'Den gamle Tennessee Waltz' (1974), hvor Birthe Kjær-udgaven på arrangementssiden tydeligvis refererer til Alma Cigans udgave fra 1964, som bl.a. lå på DR's Top 20 dette år; endvidere om 'The End of The World' (1962)/'For evigt forbi' (1974), hvor den nærmeste reference er The Carpenters' indspilning af sangen fra 1973; samt om 'The Chapel of Love' (1964)/'Vil du eller vil du ikke' (1977), hvor forlægget er den svenske duo Svenne & Lotta's engelsksprogede version fra samme år.

Indtil midten af 1960'erne var det ganske almindeligt, at lokale musikforlag i forlængelse af den traditionelle markedslogik på populærmusikområdet erhvervede sig de såkaldte sub-rettigheder, som indebar, at indehavere frit kunne forvalte en given sangs videre skæbne i et lokalt sprogområde.³² Denne logik ændredes, hvad angår engelsksprogede sange, i takt med den angloamerikanske populærmusiks sejrsgang. Det blev ganske enkelt sværere og dyrere at erhverve sig rettighederne til engelsksprogede sange, fordi de så at sige klarede sig selv uden hjælp fra lokale kunstnere og musikforlag.

De to sange med britisk ophav har en lidt anden historie. Begge er fra 1974 og er desuden sange hentet fra det internationale Melodi Grand Prix. Det drejer sig nærmere bestemt om det engelske og det irske bidrag, som begge blev udsendt på dansk i 1974.³³ I alt er seks sange hentet fra det Internationale Grand Prix. Udover ovennævnte drejer det sig om den eneste spanske melodi, en enkelt tysk, Luxembourgs bidrag fra 1972 samt det hollandske bidrag fra samme år.³⁴

At der er seks Melodi Grand Prix-sange repræsenteret siger noget om de kanaler, sangene kom til Danmark gennem. Det årlige Melodi Grand Prix var et af stederne, hvor alverdens musikkøbmænd mødtes og udvekslede kataloger. Andre centre var MIDEM-festivallen i Cannes og den italienske San Remo-festival. Her flokkedes man om fortidens og fremtidens hits, som man så placerede hos pladeselskaberne, som igen fandt en egnet kunstner til at indspille sangene. Jeg vil i det følgende gå lidt nærmere ind på, hvad det var for sange, der blev handlet og ikke mindst, hvordan Birthe Kjær repertoire var bygget op i perioden 1968-77.

GUMMIBÅDE, TYROLERHATTE OG ANDRE 'HOOKS'

Historien om, hvordan Birthe Kjær blev opdaget takket være en foretagsom manager, som ifølge Johnny Reimar oven i købet i bogstaveligste forstand forsøgte at sælge hende ved få sit eget navn indføjet i kontrakten,³⁵ er illustrativ for den unge Kjærs indgang til kunstnerlivet. Hun leverede stemmen og smilet og lod andre om resten. I hele den periode fra 1968 til 1977, hvor Birthe Kjær etableredes som en af dansk slagermusiks frontfigurer, var det ikke hende selv, men derimod hendes producer, Johnny Reimar, som stod for det overordnede valg af materiale og dermed den kunstneriske linje. Johnny Reimar havde tætte relationer til den tyske og svenske musikindustri og fik i Birthe Kjær en solist, som passede perfekt til det en af tidens sværvægttere, den svenske musikforlægger og tekstforfatter Stig 'Stikkan' Anderson, betegnede som 'Umpa-bumpa'-musik.³⁶ Hermed sigtes til den march-

32 Jf. Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser*, 43-52.

33 Henholdsvis 'Long Live Love'/'Kom med ombord' og 'Cross Your Heart'/'Lov kun det du kan holde'.

34 Henholdsvis 'Vivo Cantado'(1969)/'Danse og syng'(1969), 'Ein hoch der Liebe' (1968)/'Sig ja til kærlighed' (1968), 'Pomme Pomme Pomme' (1972)/'Et rødt æble' (1972) og 'Dinge Dong' (1972)/'Dinge Dong' (1972).

35 Reimar, *Mr. Showbiz*, 147-48.

36 Oscar Hedlund, *Stikkan - Den börsnoterade refrängsångaren* (Stockholm: Sweden Music Förlags AB, 1983), 85.

prægede germanske slagertradition, som i europæisk sammenhæng har langt dybere historiske rødder end den angloamerikanske populærmusik. 'Umpa-bumpa' var stort i slutningen af 1960'erne, og en af de tyske hovedleverandører af tidens schlagermusik, komponist og producer Christian Bruhn, placerer sig selv centralt som en af igangsætterne af denne bølge ved i sin selvbiografi at referere til en samtale med sin musikforlægger Peter Meisel i foråret 1962:

"Lass uns doch mal einen Marsch machen." – "Einen Marsch?" sage ich, "Peter, es ist Beatles-Zeit, Rock'n'Roll is angesagt, aber doch kein Marsch!" – "Lass uns einen Marsch machen", sagte er nur.³⁷

Det gik ganske godt med marchen, som ikke kun nåede de tyske hitlister i 1963, men også under skiftende titler blev indspillet flere gange i løbet af 1960'erne. Omend der er nogle kronologiske problemer i citatet, da The Beatles først slog igennem i 1963, er Bruhns lille historie om det, der blev til havenissesangen 'Gartenzwerg-Marsch', et godt eksempel på, hvad der fulgte. Musikforlæggeren havde set rigtigt. Marchen var vejen frem og åbenbart et godt redskab til at konkurrere med tonerne fra USA og England. I årene der fulgte, blev der produceret en lang række march-inspirerede slagere på tysk grund, og marchen blev sågar en stor eksportvare til ikke mindst de nordiske lande, hvilket tydeligt vises med et andet eksempel fra 1962.

Dette år indspillede afroamerikanske Billy Mo nemlig sangen 'Ich kauf' mir lieber einen Tirolerhut'. Faktisk lå sangen i den tyske udgave hele 13 uger på DR's Top 20 i 1963. Seks år senere blev den indspillet på dansk af Johnny Reimar, som siden har slidt mange tyrolerhatter i stykker. Som det ofte var tilfældet på den tid, var det dog ikke den tyske, men derimod en ny svensk udgave, 'Du borde köpa dig en tyrolerhatt' med Östen Warnerbring, som lå til grund for den danske version. Den svenske tekst var skrevet af førømtalte Stikkan Anderson. Anderson var via tætte forbindelser til den tyske schlagerindustri hovedleverandøren i Norden og satte selv svensk tekst til en lang række af disse sange. Foruden ovenstående eksempler findes fra hans hånd eksempelvis sangene om 'Romeo och Julia', 'Ingenting går upp mot gamla Skåne', og ikke mindst 'Arrivederci Frans', som Birthe Kjær som bekendt slog igennem med på dansk.³⁸ Sangene formidledes videre til Danmark og havnede blandt andet i vid udstrækning på Johnny Reimars bord.³⁹

Birthe Kjær var Reimars stærkeste 'Umpa-bumpa'-kort, hvis man ser bort fra hans egen produktion, som med tyrolerhatten gled over i stærkt tyskinspireret partymusik. Hendes stemme passede åbenlyst godt til disse up-tempo-melodier

37 Christian Bruhn, *Marmor, Stein und Liebeskummer* (Berlin: Schwarzkopf & Schwarzkopf, 2005), 146. Christian Bruhn har bl.a. leveret melodien til velkendte danske slagere som 'Gid du var i Skanderborg', 'Flower Power Tøj' og Birthe Kjærs 'Cæsar og Kleopatra'.

38 Førstnævnte sang blev på dansk indspillet af Gustav Winckler og Sys Gregers i 1968. I hitlistesammenhæng var det dog den tyske udgave med Peggy Marsh, som gjorde sig i Danmark. Den lå således på DR's Top 20 i hele 18 uger i 1967–68. 'Ingenting går upp mot gamla Skåne' er i Danmark bedre kendt som 'Gid du var i Skanderborg', sunget af Dorthie Kollo, som selv oprindeligt havde lanceret sangen på tysk.

39 Reimar, *Mr. Showbiz*, 159; Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling med soft ice og pølser*, 94.

med markante messingblæsere som bærende instrumentgruppe. Birthe Kjær indspillede trofast, hvad hun blev præsenteret for op gennem 1970'erne, men faktisk luftede hun allerede dengang forsigtigt nogle tanker om at udvide sit arbejdsområde i et tidligt interview:

Birthe har været på toppen i 2 år og er glad og tilfreds “– så længe det går, og når det ikke går mere, kan jeg altid komme ned i Sparekassen igen!” Hun kunne dog godt tænke sig at prøve kræfter med en revy eller noget lignende og *smugler* små stille *viser* ind i sit repertoire “– når publikum er stille og opmærksomme ...” Såsom ‘Pige træd varsomt’, ‘Kærlighed’ og ‘Vinden gi’r dig svar’ – “simpelthen for at prøve at komme ud over *rytmestadiet* og få lejlighed til at *fortolke* et og andet ...”.⁴⁰

Citatet er fra 1970, og henvisningen til *viser* som et afsæt til at fortolke “et og andet” og at “komme ud over *rytmestadiet*” signalerer en egentlig meget skarp forståelse af, hvad der er på spil i schlagermaterialet fra Dansktoppen.

I visesammenhæng har tekstens semantiske indhold som udgangspunkt en central placering. Viser er med andre ord *tekstsensitive*. I slagtersammenhæng har teksten en helt anderledes funktion. Ovenfor omtalte Stikkan Anderson, som selv var en af slagertekstens mestre, henviste ofte til, at tekstens klangmæssige funktion i slagtersammenhæng er overordnet det semantiske indhold. De bedste eksempler på dette er de mange tekster, som han selv skrev til det svenske orkester ABBA. Dette gælder bl.a. teksterne til ‘Waterloo’, ‘Mamma mia’, ‘Fernando’, ‘Honey honey’, ‘S.O.S.’, ‘I do, I do, I do, I do, I do’, ‘Knowing me, knowing you’, ‘Hasta mañana’ og ‘Ring, Ring’. Alle disse sange er lysende eksempler på Stikkan Andersons fornemmelse for sangtekstens hooks. Stikkan Anderson formulerede det selv rammende på følgende måde: “Den vanliga slagern brukar inte vara berättande, inte inrymma en sluten story. Den är mest upphängd på löst sammanlänkade nyckelord”.⁴¹

Eksempler på sådanne nøgleord, eller såkaldte *hooks*, kroege som hænger fast i hjernen, findes i overflod i Birthe Kjærs gamle repertoire. Det var disse kroege, tekstforfattere som Stikkan Anderson og hans danske sidestykke, Thøger Olesen, havde øre for, og det var denne type sange, Birthe Kjær blev kendt for i den første dansktopperiode. Den eneste deciderede pladeanmeldelse, jeg har fundet af Birthe Kjærs debutsingle, indfanger ganske præcist, hvad der er på spil:

Det er mærkeligt med melodien ‘Arrivederci Franz’. – Den hænger bedre fast end nogen sang, jeg meget længe har hørt. Den klæber som en fluefanger, og lytteren er fluen. – Teksten virker som om den er strikket færdig i studiet, men den fungerer. Det væsentlige er ordene i titlen – og det er dem, man hummer med på, så snart man har hørt pladen bare én gang.⁴²

40 Torben Hoyer, ‘Birthe Kjær’, *Dansktoppen*, 1 (dec. 1970), 6, mine fremhævelser. Denne udgivelse var tænkt som første nummer af et tidsskrift, og serien indledes med en præsentation af alle centrale kunstnere, som havde været placeret på Dansktoppen, herunder Birthe Kjær. Der kom dog så vidt vides ikke flere numre.

41 Hedlund, *Stikkan*, 83.

42 Grev Christian af Rosenborg, ‘Nyt talent’, *Billed Bladet*, 1968/51 (20.12.1968), 47.

Bedre beskrivelse af, hvordan et tekstligt hook fungerer, findes næppe, og samme karakteristik kunne anvendes om 'Sommer og sol', 'Lange Lars fra Langeland', 'Casatchok' og ikke mindst 'Den knaldrøde gummibåd', som alle er nærmest arketypiske hook-sange, hvor tekstens semantiske indhold som udgangspunkt har en sekundær betydning.

Føromtalte schlagerkomponist Christian Bruhn fremhæver i en ekskurs om den tyske tekstforfatter Hans Bradtke, hvordan denne kun sjældent skrev abstrakte tekster, men derimod *malede* sine tekster. Bradtke var oprindeligt vittighedstegner, hvilket Bruhn ser som en nøgle til hans tekstforfatterskab:

Was zeichnet nun alle Texte von Hans Bradtke ..., dem Maler, Zeichner und Grafiker, aus? Sie wimmeln von Mausefallen mit Speck, von Bauchtanztruppen mit Tüllgardinen, von Fussballtoren, Badehosen, Botten in jeder Form, Gartenzwerge und Müll-eimern, Sparschweinen und Verlobungsringen.⁴³

Der har allerede været nævnt et eksempel på Bradtkes tekstmaleri med marchen om havenisser, men man behøver ikke drage til Tyskland for at finde relevansen af at inddrage ham i denne sammenhæng. Det var nemlig ham, der skrev den oprindelige tekst til 'Den knaldrøde gummibåd'.

Denne sang, som er blevet noget nær Birthe Kjær's kendingsmelodi, er fyldt med billeder. Der er udover selve gummibåden i alt ni genstande (en skumbus, et sejl, en motor, søstøvler, en kikkert, et skæg, vand, en cykelpumpe og en sikkerhedssele) samt to ikonografiske historiske personer, Lord Nelson og Christoffer Columbus. Sangen handler kort fortalt om et forelsket par i en båd, som muligvis får båden frem ved hjælp af elskov. I den tyske tekst kompenserer parret for manglen på motor og sejl ved at vugge eller gynge⁴⁴ "mit Liebe und sehr viel Humor in's große Glück hinein!": Hvad 'den store lykke' er, fremgår ikke direkte, men det er svært at forstå teksten som andet end fyldt med erotiske antydninger. Det kræver eksempelvis ikke stor fantasi at (mis)forstå cykelpumpen som billede på noget helt andet. Det er i denne forbindelse en vigtig del af det musikalske akkompagnement, at den meget markante vekselrytme udgør en pumpebevægelse, som i sig selv kan tolkes som en erotisk markør. Det kan også den markante optakt, som ender med et knald. I den danske tekst er det erotiske nedtonet til: "er man forelsket er drivkraften stor, man når nok, det man vil", men hele grunden til, at man skal passe på gummibåden, er, at den vender rundt, hvis man kysser, hvilket må være ensbetydende med, at det er det, de "alligevel" gør.⁴⁵

I forlængelse af Bruhns henvisning til Bradtkes fortid som vittighedstegner er det nærliggende at beskrive sangen som netop dette: En melodibåren tegneserie-

43 Bruhn, *Marmor, Stein und Liebeskummer*, 140–50.

44 Det tyske ord, som anvendes, er 'schaukeln', som både kan betyde den bevægelse et skib laver i vandet, at vugge et barn i armene eller i en vugge, at gynge på en gynge eller en gyngehest samt andre svingende bevægelser af denne type.

45 Birthe Kjær, som har optrådt med sangen i 40 år, har selv meldt pas med en tolkning af tekstens mening. Min tolkning er hjulpet af den tyske tekst, og det forekommer, at der ganske enkelt er forsvundet noget mening under den sproglige rejse til Danmark.

striben hentet fra et af tressernes meget populære *En halv bumørtime*-blade. Teksten er billedlig og i høj grad sluttet om sig selv. Hermed menes, at det ikke er en tekst, der tillader den fremførende kunstner at tilføje den andet end stemmen. Billederne taler og maler for sig selv.

Birthe Kjærs repertoire fra 1960'erne og 1970'erne bestod overordnet set af tysk-inspireret materiale, hvor tekstens klanglige og billedlige funktion var dominerende. Faktisk kan man også inddrage hendes største hit siden 1970'erne i denne gruppe sange. 'Vi maler byen rød' er et maleri, som nærmest kan bruges som tolkningsnøgle til Kjærs tidlige materiale: "Vi maler byen rød og himlen hvid af stjerneskår/ Det grå og triste får en ekstra farveklat."

Som nævnt allerede i indledningen var det dette materiale, publikum reagerede positivt overfor på Hillerød Kræmmermarked. Jeg vil afslutningsvis se nærmere på, hvordan Birthe Kjær selv forholder sig til den musik, hun optræder med.

TEKSTENS BETYDNING FOR BIRTHE KJÆR

Hvis man kigger ned over Birthe Kjærs 40 år lange professionelle karriere, kan man groft lave en skillelinje mellem tiden før og efter 1980. I 1980 udkom LP'en *Tak for al musikken*,⁴⁶ og denne titel fik nærmest symbolsk betydning, da den samtidig var den sidste frugt af samarbejdet med Johnny Reimar. Året efter skiftede Kjær nemlig til plademærket Eminent, som Reimars mangeårige kapelmester og producer Helmer Olesen startede. I første omgang var der ikke den store forandring, da såvel stilen som produktionsformen var den samme som hos Reimar, men alligevel indvarslede det nye tider. Kjær fik efterhånden mere indflydelse på, hvad hun ville indspille og hvordan, det skulle lyde, og i dag er hun selvbestemmende i alle aspekter. Hun skriver stadig ikke selv hverken tekst eller musik, men det hende, der tager alle de afgørende beslutninger. Dette har haft stor betydning.

I det tidligere nævnte fødselsdagsinterview fra 2008 reflekterer Birthe Kjær over teksternes betydning for hende og nævner i denne sammenhæng netop denne tekst på følgende måde:

"[D]et [er] vigtigt for mig, at teksterne siger mig noget. Jeg kan ikke selv skrive dem, det forsøgte jeg en gang, men det gik ikke, så jeg vælger ud fra andre. Men jeg kan da godt fremhæve nogle sange, hvor man sagtens kunne spørge, hvad siger den tekst dig lige?"

– Hvilke?

"'Den knaldrøde gummibåd' f.eks. Den tekst ville jeg ikke sige ja til i dag. Jeg er glad for at synge sangen, jeg er glad for, at den har fået en revival, men jeg spørger da mig selv om, hvad det lige er, den siger mig. Jeg har været igennem en udvikling de seneste 10-15 år, der har gjort mig mere kritisk over for teksterne, fordi det er vigtigt, at jeg kan sætte mig ind i dem. Jeg holder specielt meget af sange som 'Livets have' og 'Længe leve livet'. Den tekst siger mig en hel del."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ STARBOX LX 60028.

⁴⁷ Mørch, 'Kend hende på knækket'.

I interviewet skelner Kjær mellem tekster, der siger hende noget, og tekster, som ikke gør. Hun fremhæver et par sange, som har et budskab om livsglæde, men har omvendt svært ved at "sætte sig ind i" 'Den knaldrøde gummibåd'. Det interessante er, at hun hermed laver en skelnen med baggrund i teksternes semantiske indhold, som korresponderer fint med de tekstsensitive visetekster, hun forsøgte at smugle ind i repertoireet allerede i 1970. Det er i denne sammenhæng interessant, at Kjær i 1968 i den allertidligste artikel, som omtaler hendes egne musikalske præferencer, udnævner Ella Fitzgerald og Mahalia Jackson som sine to favoritsangerinder.⁴⁸ Der lå altså en jazz-elskende fortolker gemt i Birthe Kjær, som gerne ville ud. Det blev dog ikke jazzen, men derimod revy og viser, som Kjær kastede sig over for at få lov til at fortolke 'et og andet'.

Op gennem 70'erne prøvede hun således flere gange kræfter med revygenren, men på pladesiden fulgtes fortolkerlinjen for første gang op i 1976 med udgivelsen af LP'en *Det var en yndig tid* med ældre danskkomponerede viser.⁴⁹ LP'en adskiller sig stilistisk ganske meget fra hendes tidligere udgivelser ved for det første at være stort set blottet for præget af den marchprægede schlagerstil, Birthe Kjær gerne ville væk fra. Akkompagnementet er generelt afdæmpet og på instrumentsiden blottet for de ellers så dominerende blæsere og rytmegrupper fra slagerrepertoiret. At verden ikke ændres på en gang, vidner Kjær's næste LP *Fuglen og barnet* fra 1977 om.⁵⁰ Her er hun tilbage i mere vante rammer, såvel stilistisk som materielt. Samtlige sange er dansksprogede versioner af udenlandske sange og ligger stilistisk i naturlig forlængelse af pladerne før *Det var en yndig tid*. Der var altså ikke tale om et gennemgribende stilskitte, men alligevel signalerede *Det var en yndig tid*, at Kjær kunne og ville andet og mere end at synge slagere.

I 1980'erne fortsatte Kjær med at indspille rytmisk baseret popmusik, men der er såvel rytmisk som tekstligt stor forskel i forhold til Reimar-tiden. Denne udvikling er fortsat til i dag, hvor hun dels via et samarbejde med violinisten Kim Sjøgren og guitaristen Lars Hannibal "i mere end én forstand [var] med til at bygge bro mellem klassisk musik og underholdning"⁵¹ og dels løbende har leveret materiale til den genopståede Danskophitliste i DR-regi⁵² i en langt mere afdæmpet stil end tidligere. Birthe Kjær har således været vidt omkring og har udviklet sig væk fra sit oprindelige udgangspunkt, som hun så alligevel ikke kan slippe, fordi det er det, der gør folk glade.

48 Wez., 'Pigen på Danstoppen på vej til Tyskoppen', *B.T.*, 18.12.1968.

49 PHILIPS 6403 547.

50 PHILIPS 6403 900.

51 Artiklen 'Birthe Kjær', www.bandlist.dk (besøgt 23.10.2008). Bandlist.dk er en præsentationsside for danske kunstnere. De enkelte profiler er skrevet af kunstnerne selv eller bureauer og pladeselskaber, som repræsenterer dem.

52 18 bidrag fra 2004-7 med bl.a. 8 førstepladser som resultat, jf. www.birthesvenner.dk/danskstoppen2.htm (besøgt 14.2.2009). Registranten går kun til 2007.

KULT, KITSCH OG KJÆR

Jeg har i ovenstående ud fra en konkret koncertoplevelse beskrevet, hvordan en kendt og anerkendt dansk kunstner undervejs i koncertforløbet umærkeligt tilpassede sit repertoire til det tilstedeværende publikum. Følgelig har jeg forsøgt at nå frem til en forståelse af, hvad der var på spil. Min konklusion er, at hændelsesforløbet skal forklares ud fra Birthe Kjærs udgangspunkt i schlager- og underholdningsmusikken, hvor det, der fra kunstnerens egen side definerer en god performance, er evnen til at give publikum det, de vil have. I dette tilfælde var det primært den marchinspirerede schlagermusik fra perioden 1968-1977.

Der foreligger kun ganske få tidligere videnskabelige beskrivelser af danske schlager- og dansktopmusik-miljøer, og jeg vil runde af med at inddrage de to undersøgelser, som har beskæftiget sig med dette. Den ene er Lars Oles Bondes artikel fra 1988, 'Himlen er en valseblå mark'.⁵³ Udgangspunktet for denne artikel var en enkelt koncertoplevelse med dansktopkunstneren Jodle Birge. Artiklen fokuserer ikke på selve musikken men derimod på kunstneren og på Bondes oplevelse af Jodle Birge som *authentisk*. Med Bondes egne ord beskrives dette som "ægte indlevelse ... [d]en troskyldige begejstring, den enkle identifikation med sangenes musikalske og tekstlige udsagn, den smittende evne til at kommunikere i kraft af sin personlige fremtræden – det jeg for nemheds skyld vil kalde *autenticitet*".⁵⁴ Ud over denne personlige iagttagelse af, hvad Jodle Birge var og kunne, interviewede Bonde en række publikummer, som hver for sig fortalte om, hvorfor de godt kunne lide Jodle Birge.

På baggrund af sin oplevelse af Jodle Birge som en autentisk sanger, stiller Bonde i resten af artiklen en række kritiske spørgsmål til den traditionelle analyse af schlagermusikken og de musikkulturer, den er en central del af. Det problematiske ser han i, at de journalister, musikvidenskabsfolk og andre privilegerede stemmer, som vurderer og kritiserer schlagermusikken, gør det med baggrund i "en forenklet, og egentlig elitær, opfattelse", hvis resultat er, hvad Bonde betegner som "[d]en sociokulturelle centrisme".⁵⁵

Den anden artikel er som nævnt ovenfor Alf Björnberg og Ola Stockfelts artikel fra 1996, 'Kristen Klatvask fra Vejle. Danish pub music, mythscapes and "local camp"'.⁵⁶ Udgangspunktet for denne artikel er en koncertoplevelse på Skansen i Skagen, hvor den danske duo Sussi & Leo på det tidspunkt og i alt i 23 år spillede seks dage om ugen på en økonomisk særdeles lukrativ langtidskontrakt. Sussi & Leo blev landskendte i begyndelsen af 1990'erne som et udpræget kitsch-fænomen, hvormed menes, at deres overordnede image var, at de ikke spillede og sang særligt godt. Alligevel, eller måske netop derfor, blev de efterhånden en decideret attraktion i Skagen og tiltrak, som Björnberg og Stockfelt beskriver, et stort og uhomogent publikum. I

53 Lars Ole Bonde, 'Himlen er en valseblå mark. Et møde med Jodle-Birge, med segmenterne E og F – og nogle tanker om en helt uvurderlig musik', *Modspil*, 10/41 (1988), 24–29.

54 Ibid. 26.

55 Ibid. 28.

56 Björnberg og Stockfelt, 'Kirsten Klatvask fra Vejle'.

artiklen beskrives, hvordan Sussi & Leo kompenserer for deres manglende musikalske færdigheder ved hjælp af en række såkaldte taktikker, som sammenfattes i begreberne *banding* og *bonding*. Det, de kunne, var at skabe et fællesskab, og som Björnberg og Stockfelt opsummerer det: "When we arrive, Sussi & Leo are unknown celebrities. When we leave, they are old friends with whom we must keep in touch, whom we must visit soon again"⁵⁷ Det er især Sussi, som beskrives som den aktive part i denne proces med sin særdeles ekstroverte performance, som indbefatter at hun løbende kommenterer på, hvad der foregår i lokalet og henvender sig direkte til enkelte tilskuere. Hun er konstant kontaktsøgende og inviterende overfor publikum, som under hendes kyndige orkestrering omdannes til "one big beer-drinking family"⁵⁸ I lighed med Bonde tages autenticitetsbegrebet i anvendelse mod slutningen af artiklen, hvor Sussi citeres for, at hun godt ved, at mange mennesker griner af deres musik og kostumer, men at det ikke gør noget, fordi det gør folk glade:

In their self-appreciation Sussi & Leo seem to be aware of being laughed at, but avert this by accepting it at face value and consciously playing on it as part of creating the mythscape. Hence they get the last laugh themselves *together with* the audience: If they are camp, this is a peculiar, inclusive rather than exclusive version of camp. For the audience, a distanced critical stance is rendered untenable; the only remaining options are to join the laughter or leave the party.⁵⁹

Begge ovenfor refererede artikler berører problemstillinger, som er relevante i forhold til nærværende undersøgelse. På bundlinjen er det en grundlæggende præmis, at de musikalske udtryk og begivenheder, som beskrives, traditionelt ikke tillægges nogen større kulturel værdi. Den fælles konklusion, hvor autenticitetsbegrebet tages i anvendelse, peger indirekte på, at man har fundet noget, man ikke regnede med at finde. I begge tilfælde er der tale om musikforskere, som tydeligvis er på udebane, forstået således, at de befinder sig i musikalske og kulturelle sammenhænge, de ikke normalt bevæger sig i. Som bl.a. Keir Keightley, Allan Moore og Lars Lilliestam har beskrevet, er autenticitetsbegrebet et alment anvendt værktøj, som især er blevet anvendt indenfor det, Lilliestam betegner som rockdiskursen.⁶⁰ Keightley opsummerer denne sammenhæng på følgende måde:

Authenticity can be thought of as the compass that orients rock culture in its navigation of the mainstream ... 'Authentic' designates those music, musicians, and musical experiences seen to be direct and honest, uncorrupted by commerce, trendiness, derivativeness, a lack of inspiration, and so on.⁶¹

57 Ibid. 142.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid. 146.

60 Keir Keightley, 'Reconsidering Rock', i Simon Frith, Will Straw og John Street (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 109–42; Allan Moore, 'Authenticity as Authentication', *Popular Music*, 21/2 (2002), 209–23; Lars Lilliestam, 'Bilderna av Kent. En fallstudie av musikjournalistik, autenticitet och musikmytologi', *STM-Online*, 6 (2003), online on www.musik.uu.se/ssm/stmonline/vol_6/index.html.

61 Keithley, 'Reconsidering Rock', 131.

Ved at anvende autenticitetsbegrebet i forbindelse med henholdsvis Jodle Birge og Sussi & Leo blødes der op på disse hårde linjer genrer og musikkulturer imellem med den underliggende pointe, at 'den ægte vare' også kan findes dér, hvor man mindst venter det. Og det er i den traditionelle optik i schlager- og dansktopmusikken. Begge artikler afspejler således i høj grad øjenåbnende oplevelser af, at der også er værdi at finde i musik og hos kunstnere, som traditionelt roder rundt på bunden af høj-lav-skalaen.

Der er dog en væsentlig forskel på den måde, det autentiske beskrives på. I Bondes tilfælde er det selve Jodle Birge, som vurderes som 'den ægte vare'. Han *er* ganske enkelt sin dansktopmusik, og grænsen mellem figuren Jodle Birge og privatpersonen Birge Lønquist Hansen er ikke eksisterende. I Björnberg og Stockfelts tilfælde ligger det autentiske i, at Sussi & Leo vedkender sig deres roller i det sociale fællesskab. Det *er* roller, men det gør tilsyneladende ikke noget i praksis. Det vigtige er, at de gør folk glade, og så syr de gerne nogle grimme kostumer og griner lidt af sig selv. Den stemning og fællesskabsfølelse, de skaber, er ægte og opleves i forlængelse heraf som værdifuld. Her indfanger de i mine øjne det væsentlige i schlagertraditionen, som forbinder såvel Jodle Birge og Sussi & Leo som Birthe Kjær: Man spiller for de andre, men det betyder ikke, at man *lyver*, sådan som den traditionelle udlægning har været siden 1960'erne. Præmisserne er bare nogle andre end til rockkoncerter, og disse kunstnere har måske mest af alt en del til fælles med den traditionelle folke-musiks spillemænd, som netop har haft samme udgangspunkt for deres musikalske virke. Denne tradition har man ikke de samme kvababbelser med at anerkende, og måske burde man i højere grad forstå dansktop og schlagermusikens kunstnere som livemusikanter og ikke pladekunstnere?

Også Birthe Kjær forsøgte at skabe et fællesskab via sin optræden, men til forskel fra Sussi & Leo foregik det helt umærkeligt. Hun gik ikke i direkte dialog, men hun tilpassede sig det forhåndenværende publikum under den samme devise om, at det vigtigste var at gøre folk glade. I forhold til Sussi & Leos optræden på Skansen og for så vidt også Jodle Birge-koncerten, var der den afgørende forskel, at kræmmermarkedet udgjorde en meget åben scene, hvor der egentlig ikke var noget 'indenfor'. Alle var lidt på udebane, og det var det, der gjorde scenariet så interessant. På scener som denne er det meget svært for kunstneren på forhånd at vide præcist hvilket publikum, der dukker op med hvilke forventninger, hvilket ikke spiller så stor en rolle i tilfældet Sussi & Leo, som jo i den grad var på hjemmebane og selv definerede rammerne. Det samme gjorde Kjær selv ved sin jubilæumsturné måneden efter, hvor rammerne var helt anderledes stramme, fordi koncerten var bygget op over et fastlagt biografisk forløb. På Hillerød Kræmmermarked vidste Birthe Kjær ganske enkelt ikke i forvejen, om hun skulle være kult, kitsch, den modne romantiske sangerinde eller noget helt fjerde, men det fandt hun ud af undervejs. Hun ville helst være den modne sangerinde, men endte nok mest med kult og kitsch. Det var ikke det, hun helst ville være, men omvendt var det fint nok, for det kan Birthe Kjær også, hvis det er det, der gør folk glade. Og det er ifølge hende selv det vigtigste. Det, de fik, var hverken en *autentisk* Birthe Kjær, forstået som Jodle Birge-figuren,

eller *rollen* Birthe Kjær a la Sussi i sit hjemmesyede kostume. De fik en forhandlet løsning, hvilket ingen bortset fra Birthe Kjær, orkestret og undertegnede sandsynligvis opdagede. For som det stod på Kræmmermarkedets hjemmeside dagen efter: "Birthe Kjær begejstrede – Birthe Kjær tog som altid publikum med storm".

SUMMARY

In this article I discuss a specific concert performance by the female Danish singer Birthe Kjær at a major Danish market fair in Hillerød. Birthe Kjær is known as 'The Queen of Dansktop', which is a specific genre term derived from a Danish chart solely for songs in Danish called Dansktoppen. The chart was introduced in 1968 as a tool for competing with Anglo-American popular music which dominated the Danish charts during the sixties. Birthe Kjær had several hits on Dansktoppen before it was closed down in 1977. Stylistically her repertoire was closely related to a German schlager tradition, with up-tempo march tunes. Since the 1980s she has tried to change her profile towards a more sensitive and mature repertoire, but as this case study shows, the audience present at the fair still associated her with her early song material. In this specific concert situation Kjær tried to present some of her later material, but changed the set list as she felt a lack of response from the audience. Thus the concert could be read as a field of negotiation of identity, where the performer, because of her self-understanding as a performer and entertainer, puts her own preferences aside in order to give the audience what they expected.

Reports

Research Projects

FOREIGN MUSIC IN COPENHAGEN AND ROSTOCK IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

The main focus of this Ph.D. project (2007–10, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, Section of Musicology, University of Copenhagen) is to elucidate how foreign music and musicians affected local musical environments in the cities Copenhagen and Rostock. These two cities serve as examples of a capital with the seat of a reigning monarch and a commercial state centre respectively. In Copenhagen, music played a significant role at the court and the civic institutions such as the Latin school and the city churches. As for Rostock, the Latin school and the four main churches dominated the city's musical life. A part of the project throws light on the structures of these milieux in order to describe how music was used on an everyday basis. By focusing on these different social layers, the extent of the impact of foreign musical cultures across the city can be compared.

The impact of foreign music cultures on these two cities will be examined based on modern cultural theories, e.g. by using the concept of 'cultural traffic'. Different processes of the traffic in which music and musicians arrived at the two cities will be examined: 1) the mobility of musicians and their musical goods, 2) the local reception of music, and 3) the 'transformation' of local music environments as a result of that traffic. Through critical studies of known historical sources (e.g. music in print and manuscript, musical treatises and non-musical contextual sources), the extent and the purpose of these three steps will be scrutinized. The musical sources will be discussed in terms of different composing techniques and performance practices that seem to be stemming from foreign music traditions. This is done by looking at how known music from the two cities show signs of integrating techniques of e.g. *coro spezzati* and *bassus generalis*.

Bjarke Moe

Conferences

RESEARCH ON CHOIRS AND CHORAL SINGING, LUND, OCTOBER 2008

On 10 October 2008, *Körcentrum Syd* in Lund, the university centre of southern Sweden and home town of a great number of choirs, had arranged a small symposium with choral singing and songs as the topic, especially focused on research on these activities. The six lectures presented a broad and thought-provoking range of subjects associated with choral activities.

Mats Paulson presented the more practical perspective. A great many types of choirs have emerged, and singers reflect themselves in their choice of choir community: 'Show me your choir, and I will tell you who you are'. It is thus interesting to see which factors direct your selection. This again influences the way coming conductors and choir organizers are taught at the conservatories, and the development of their education through the last 100 years.

'The sung identity' was the title of Anders Hammarlund's lecture, where he resumed the thread in his observations of the Jewish community singing in especially 19th century Gothenburg. The participants had a Jewish as well as a Swedish background, and so they

created their own Swedish-Scandinavian version of Jewish music. Here parallels were drawn to modern integration processes.

Also very interesting and topical was Boel Lindberg's reflections on the phenomenon of 'choirs-for-everybody' and 'we-cannot-sing-choirs', now also featured on TV. Not much research has been conducted on this subject, but it seems as though the strengthening of self-confidence is the central impulse to participation as well as staying on in the choir. Mostly women participate, and in the beginning the choirs were linked to churches or other organizations, but now they also appear free of any affiliation, and the activity is gradually discovered by companies. Lindberg inquired about more demographic studies in the field.

Dorota Lindström talked about activities with choral singing as rehabilitation for the mentally ill, elderly people, and people with chronic diseases. Convalescents experience well-being, enhanced life quality, joy, and energy, and the activity often gives them a new way in life. Amazing results have been obtained.

From the University of Lund came Folke Bohlin with a suggestion for two urgent international research projects in the field of choir research. The first one examines the political role and influence of choir singing in the Baltic states and on the Balkans – areas where choral singing has played a very active part in the last 25 years of political history. The other project focuses on the role of the text in choral music that he called 'the counterpoint of feelings'. How do different groups such as the composer, conductor, singer, and listener perceive the text? Some authors do not want their texts set to music for fear of misinterpretation.

Finally Ragnhild Sandberg-Jurström concentrated on the musical communication in the choir work. How does the conductor formulate his intentions very directly to the singers, and how do they communicate mutually? Video studies help to unveil some of these strategies.

The symposium proved very inspiring and showed that the choral movement is extensive and important and deserves an intensified international research uncovering the numerous and changing facets of singing activities.

Anne Orbæk Jensen

'THE YEAR OF SINGING', UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN DENMARK, NOVEMBER 2008

The year 2008 has been selected as 'Sangens År' (The Year of Singing) in Denmark. The initiative was taken by the musician and choirleader Michael Bojesen and supported by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture.¹ There is a long and strong tradition of community singing in Denmark, but in the last decades there has been a decline in practising and promoting this area of Danish culture. The purpose of the event has been to promote and support community singing in all of its aspects in Denmark. The main focus has been on aspects of cultural integration, community singing by children and young people, and community singing among people in everyday life. Several arrangements have been made in many different places and institutions, e.g. at the University of Southern Denmark (SDU), which chose to make several community singing arrangements. These activities culminated in a research symposium on 22 November 2008, arranged by Institute of Literature, Media and Cultural Studies in cooperation with the University Library of Southern Denmark. Research in song and song culture is an old discipline at the university. A Centre for Ballad Studies was established in 1982, and University Library of Southern Denmark has some of the finest collections of hymn and song books in the country.

1 See the official website, www.sangensaar.dk.

The symposium contained seven papers by researchers within SDU. The overall theme of the day was to present current aspects of song and community singing research, and there seemed to be two categories, which dominated the program: aspects of hymnody and aspects of historical connections between Danish and German speaking culture. In the first category the papers focused on the hymns of Hans Christian Andersen presented by Johan de Mylius, the hymns of Bernhard Severin Ingemann by Knud Bjarne Gjesing, and the hymns of Hans Adolf Brorson from a linguistic perspective by Steffen Arndal. The second part focused on Ludvig Holstein and Carl Nielsen according to the international movement of vitalism by Mogens Davidsen, Jens Peter Jacobsens 'Gurresongs' in a Viennese reception about 1900 by Peter E. Nissen, the Prussian ban on Danish community singing in Schleswig by Inge Adriansen and last but not least German national community singing in Schleswig in the 19th century by Linda Maria Koldau (Frankfurt a.M.). The papers were of course supplemented by community singing from the audience, and the symposium ended up with a fruitful discussion about common and shared perspectives in the subjects.

The symposium showed that the academic interest and research in songs and community singing is still alive, and the day was an inspiration for the participants in order to continue research in the field and take part in similar arrangements in and outside the university in the future.

Peter E. Nissen

CARL NIELSEN: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS, MANCHESTER 2009

Nielsen research is not confined to Denmark and since the 1950s Anglo-American scholars have been working in this field. Seven years ago, a Nielsen conference in Birmingham gave evidence to the keen interest in his life and work, with strong emphasis on his participation in European musical and aesthetical currents of his time.¹ After some years, where the Danishness of Nielsen's music has been stressed in Danish public and political life, where his works were officially canonized in several categories of the Danish Cultural Canon, and where he more often than not is called our national composer, it was interesting to meet again with English and US scholars to discuss Nielsen. The conference was organized at the Martin Harris Centre for Music and Drama, University of Manchester, 29–30 January 2009, by David Fanning, Colin Roth, and Daniel Grimley.

As a tribute to the completion of the Carl Nielsen Edition, which within 15 years has accomplished a complete critical edition of all of Nielsen's music, papers considering Nielsen's texts and contexts were presented. From the US, Anne-Marie Reynolds and Raymond Knapp both discussed the issue of nation and music. Reynolds, as a preview of her forthcoming book, discussed his folk-like songs and the 'Danish national tone' with emphasis on the harmonic structure of the songs. Knapp discussed the conditions which open music, for example Nielsen's Fourth Symphony, for nationalist readings, a concept which does not imply that the music *is* national or nationalistic, but suggests a number of features which make nationalist readings possible. Most papers were considering Nielsen's contexts, for example the affinity of his music to the Danish tradition of storytelling (Colin Roth), to the European trend of 'vitalism' (Michael Fjeldsøe), to Soviet theories on 'symphonism' (David Fanning) or to the concepts of 'energetics' in German music theory (Daniel Grimley). New evidence of Nielsen from a Czech point of view, examining the letters between Max Brod and Janáček, was delivered by Tomas Kračmar, who carried on by revealing that three notes in the Czech folk song

1 Most of the papers from this conference were published in *Carl Nielsen Studies*, 1 (2003).

used in Nielsen's orchestral piece *Danish-Bohemian Folk Tone* are transcribed by Nielsen in a way that every Czech would recognize as wrong. At the end of the conference, the Nielsen Edition was addressed from the conductors point of view by Douglas Bostock and by the head of the Nielsen Edition Niels Krabbe, who gave a statement considering the value and usefulness of the edition and on hopes for the future that are yet to be fulfilled.

Michael Fjeldsøe

Danish Musicological Society, 2008

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The Society's annual general assembly took place on 26 March 2008 and two of the board members did not want a re-election, and we thus took leave of Morten Michelsen and Fie Skovsbøg Thaning. Instead Ph.D. fellow, Bjarke Moe and assistant professor, Ph.D., Tore Tvarnø Lind were elected and Morten Michelsen became 2nd deputy.

The *15th Nordic Musicological Congress* was held in Oslo, 5–8 August 2008 with a number of Danish participants. Morten Michelsen acted as the Danish representative on the programme committee.

At the annual one-day symposium, launched on 26 April 2008, the Society invited four musicological organizations with similar, but more restricted areas of interest: *Samfundet Dansk Kirkesang* (Society for Danish Church Song), *Dansk Selskab for Traditionel Musik og Dans* (The Danish ICTM), *Dansk Netværk for Musikpedagogisk Forskning* (Danish Network of Music Pedagogical Research) samt *Netværk for Tværvideenskabelige Studier af Musik og Betydning* (Network for Cross-Disciplinary Studies of Music and Meaning). The symposium was held under the title *Danske musikvidenskaber 2008* (Danish musicologies 2008), and it featured a presentation of the participating organizations and a number of papers from their special research fields, showing the broadness in Danish musicology and hopefully inspiring the participants to further cooperation.

In December the Society launched a new website (www.musikforskning.dk, also in English) with information about the Society, the symposiums and publications, where also abstracts and papers from the symposia can be read.

Also this year a revised membership directory was included in the autumn letter to the members of the Society along with preliminary information on the Society's 6th symposium scheduled to 14 March 2009 in Horsens, Jutland. It is arranged in cooperation with the festival *Holmboe in Horsens* as a celebration of Danish composer Vagn Holmboe's 100 years' anniversary.

General information on the Society can be found on p. 132 and www.musikforskning.dk.

Anne Ørbæk Jensen

Book Reviews



Martin Knust, *Sprachvertonung und Gestik in den Werken Richard Wagners*.

Einflüsse zeitgenössischer Rezitations- und Deklamationspraxis

Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Band 16

Berlin: Frank & Timme 2007

524 pp. + CD-rom (= 'Kapitel IV, Teil A: Einzelanalysen' – 308 pp. in pdf-format)

ISBN 978-3-86596-114-3; EUR 68

It is generally acknowledged that Wagner was 'a man of the theatre': He had a broad experience of, a practical engagement in, and a natural talent for more or less all aspects of contemporary stagecraft, and he is, furthermore, often considered the world's first *regisseur* (Hanslick was probably the first to accord this title to him – in *Aus dem Opernleben der Gegenwart*, vol. III (Berlin, 1884) – see for instance P. Carnegy, *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre* (New Haven and London, 2006), 4). And yet it has become a musicological commonplace to position Wagner as the inheritor of a certain 'emphatic' work-concept, which identifies the work as text, or as the *ideal*, rather than the *real* performance. This may, partly at least, be justified by (or at least be considered in accordance with) certain statements made by Wagner, such as one of the famous ones, made to Cosima during the process of composing *Parsifal*: 'Oh, I hate the thought of all those costumes and greasepaint! ... Having created the invisible orchestra, I now feel like inventing the invisible theater!' (*Cosima Wagner's diaries*, 23 September, 1878 – here quoted from Mary Ann Smart, *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004), 233). Stefan Kunze, Martin Knust informs us, has even gone so far as to infer the notion that 'Wagners Musikdrama ist imaginäres Theater', and that Wagner's work in general may be considered 'ein Produkt rein imaginärer szenischer Vorgänge, denen keinerlei theatralische Realität zukomme oder je zugekommen sei' (p. 76). And as Mary Ann Smart has pointed out, one might even say that Wagner has inspired a whole 'cult of the invisible' in contemporary opera studies (*Mimomania*, 164).

But the idea of Wagner's works as more text than performance, aimed at ideal rather than real performances, is not confined to 21st-century musicological trends. Dahlhaus, for one, formulated the matter in one paradigmatic version in the chapter 'Stildualismus' in *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1980). Here he explained that a Rossini score – which make up the very antithesis to the work-as-text scores by Beethoven and Wagner – is to be understood as 'eine bloße Vorlage für eine Aufführung', where it is the performance which make up 'die entscheidende ästhetische Instanz' (*Die Musik*, 7–8). How ironic, then, to read Wagner's comment (in May 1852) to Liszt on his *Lohengrin* score, as quoted by Martin Knust: '... denn es ist eben nicht ein "Buch", sondern nur die Skizze zu einem Werke, das erst dann wahrhaft vorhanden ist, wenn es so an das Auge und Ohr zur sinnlichen Erscheinung gelangt, wie Du zuerst es dahin brachtest.' (p. 27).

In *Sprachvertonung und Gestik in den Werken Richard Wagners*, Martin Knust effectively argues against the notion of Wagner as a dreamer of imaginary works, unfounded in the realities of theatrical practicalities. The main purpose of the dissertation is to substantiate the argument that contemporary practices of 'Sprechkunst' (a concept that includes two more or less distinct modes of artful text-delivery: recitation and declamation) fundamentally influenced Wagner's compositional technique, particularly when composing vocal lines. In 19th-century theoretical writings on the subject, recitation involved the reading aloud of a text

(text in hand), while declamation, on the other hand, involved a unity of vocal and gestural performance (generally more passionate, no text in hand). Theatrical practice, however, did not necessarily follow such distinctions. Rather, the art of theatrical speech would always, in various ways, involve a combination of the vocal and the gestural, the acoustic and the visual. And certainly, as Knust shows, Wagner's own style of recitation – which he practised almost every evening in front of his family and friends, or sometimes in quasi-public contexts – in no way followed the detached style of, say, the famous contemporary recitator, Ludwig Tieck. On the contrary, he seems to have been completely absorbed in his own performances, identifying emotionally with the characters of the texts, gesturing theatrically along the way, being physically exhausted afterwards. He read Shakespeare aloud this way, Lope de Vega, Schiller, Aeschylus, Homer, Walter Scott, and so on and so forth. And of course he also tried out his own works – in various stages of their genesis – in such reciting sessions. In Martin Knust's view, these sessions were very important for Wagner's creative process: They were a means of testing texts for their qualities as vehicles for vocal performances, and often phrases would owe their fundamental melodic contours to this process. Therefore it is the contemporary practice of stylized, theatrical recitation and declamation, *not* the operatic recitative (as is generally assumed), which should be identified, Knust argues, as the historical basis for the speech-like qualities of much of Wagner's melodic writing.

Stressing the importance of theatrical performance for Wagner in the way Knust does, makes it tempting to understand Wagner not as a composer, but primarily as a designer of physical, musico-dramatic *actions*. No surprise, therefore, that Knust is sceptical, to say the least, of the traditional reluctance to accept Wagner's stage directions – not least those that pertain to gesture – as part of the work proper. In Dahlhaus' view, Knust states, such stage directions on gesture do not belong to the 'Werkcharakter' of a work (p. 78). In opposition to this view, an important strand of Knust's study consists in arguing that gesture is in fact an integral aspect of Wagner's works, and that indeed a very large part of Wagner's music is best understood as 'tönende Regieanweisung' (p. 14). What the music does is quite simply to describe the bodily gesture that it is meant to accompany. As Knust writes in conclusion: 'Der Sprechvortrag ist ein komplexes optisch-akustisches Phänomen und als solches in Wagners Musik aufgehoben. Sowohl die gestische Aktion als auch die Sprechtonfälle des Schauspieldarstellers sind darin eingegangen.' (p. 411). In his capacity of *regisseur*, Knust demonstrates, Wagner was extremely concerned with ensuring that the gestures of the singers correspond exactly with the gestures prefigured in the music. Most modern opera directors would no doubt hate and reject this line of thought – indeed, nor does Knust argue that modern stagings of Wagner should or could reconstruct Wagner's own stagings (see e.g. p. 416) – but for a historiographical study, perspectives are rich and fascinating. So, for instance, Knust is able to make a case for the assumption that the style of text-delivery and gesture, which seems to have remained a point of reference for Wagner throughout his life, and which, then, had a decisive influence on his approach to composition, was that of the theatrical style which he experienced in his youth in Dresden and Leipzig in the 1820s and 30s, primarily in popular plays belonging to genres such as vaudeville, 'Liederspiel', and – most prominently – melodrama.

Knust's dissertation contains and combines several studies: An account of the arts of theatrical text-delivery ('Sprechkunst'), mime, and gesture in Germany in the 19th century; a large and informative chapter which may be described as a theatrical biography of Wagner; a thorough, chronological account of Wagner's work as stage director of his own works; and finally, an analysis of the vocal writing of *all* of Wagner's stage-works – in an attempt to chart the speech-like qualities of his style as it develops in the course of his career, as well as the integration of gesture in the musical fabric and dramatic structure of the works.

It is, at first at least, somewhat striking that although Knust's methodological take on Wagner has everything to do with theatrical *performance*, there is no reference whatsoever in his work to methodological considerations in contemporary performance studies, or to current theoretical discussions of the concept of performativity. Also, Anglo-American Wagner-studies are practically absent from the otherwise very extensive and useful bibliography of the work (no mention, for instance, of the above mentioned contributions by Carnegie or Smart, dealing with related issues). Knust may have had good reasons for such choices, for certainly there is not much in his work that smacks of either academic tradition. Even so, there are common concerns, and his dissertation certainly makes up a welcome and informative addition to existing literature dealing with the historical dimension of questions of performativity.

Jens Hesselager



Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project. Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-siècle Vienna*

Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007

355 pp., illus.

ISBN 978-0-19-517056-6

GBP 38,99 (hardback)

Hardly trained in Schenkerian theory at all, I might not be the obvious choice for reviewing a book on Heinrich Schenker. Yet, this is one of the most interesting books, I have read for years. Nicholas Cook takes on the challenging task to examine not just what is Schenker's project in terms of what he wanted to obtain, but to go beyond that asking how his aesthetic views, his aims, and his analytical tools were embedded in the culture of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Vienna. Music theory is viewed as an expression of values of a culture, where conscious views and choices are only the top of the iceberg, and shared values within that culture are at least as important. Cook states 'that Schenker's theory may be profitable understood as a discourse on the social and political at the same time that it is a discourse on the musical' (p. 9). On top of that, issues of race and place are included, as Schenker as a Jew of East-Galician origin was a member of Viennese culture only on certain conditions, he did not choose himself. As an outsider in terms of race and place of origin, Schenker had to fight even harder to be accepted as someone representing the values of classical music of which Vienna considered itself the centre. Cook suggests that this might be one reason, why Schenker stressed conservative and nationalistic positions which affected the grounds of his views on music theory and aesthetics.

It might not be a surprise that it is hard to give a fair impression of the richness of Cook's argument. The book comprises five large chapters, of which the first is called 'Foundations of the Schenker Project'. This is mainly discussions of Schenker in the context of the philosophy of his days, arguing that it is not a matter of 'influence', as most of his ideas were 'common currency' combined into a distinctive conception. 'More productive, then, is the attempt to recapture the connotations of what Schenker wrote, as for example when his theoretical terminology resonates with contemporary aesthetic, political, or racial discourses: such dimensions of meaning would have been taken for granted by Schenker's contemporaries, and there is nothing harder to recapture from the historical record than what is taken for granted.' (p. 46f.). This leads to discussions on his views in the context of formalist aesthetics and issues of musical logic. Second chapter, 'The Reluctant Modernist', argues that Schenker's views are founded in fin-de-siècle pessimism and that his 'critique of music formed, and

should be read as, part of a more general critique of fin-de-siècle culture', which is why his project 'aimed at a comprehensive reform of musical culture' (p. 97). Starting out as a fearless critic of contemporary music of the 1890s, his tone was still forward-looking. After a decade or two, his project became one of reconstruction and saving what was left of tradition.

The third chapter, 'The Conservative Tradition', discusses Schenker's conservative rhetoric in which the discourse of political conservatism occasionally is reflected in his rhetoric of conservative aesthetics. It is well known that some of his most extreme utterances were excluded from later editions and translations of his text. To Cook there is no point in playing this aspect of Schenker's views down, rather the point is to try to understand it: 'to understand is not to condone, while to condemn without understanding is futile' (p. 147). Chapter four, 'The Politics of Assimilation', discusses Schenker's project in the context of Jewish tradition and the conditions for being a Jew in Viennese society. His East-Galician background was yet another issue, as this part of the Austrian Empire was considered – rightly – the least modern and most remote part of the empire. German-speaking Jews, who had lived in Vienna for generations, were no less reluctant to accept the Galician Jewish migrants arriving in Vienna in large numbers than the non-Jewish inhabitant of the city. Fifth chapter, 'Beyond Assimilation', deals in the first part with ideas of aestheticism as a way of uniting individuals in a *Gemeinschaft*, where social and racial boundaries are of no importance. The second part is a discussion of 'The posthumous Schenker', addressing the issue of Schenker reception after his death. The core argument of the book is recapitulated at the end of the book, in a 'Conclusion' with the subheading 'Music Theory as Social Practice'.

Cook's project is a hermeneutic project, an attempt to reconstruct the spiritual, political, and social reality of Schenker's Vienna in order to 'bridge ... "the unbridgeable cultural chasm between our world and Schenker's"' (p. 32). Not only the outspoken discourse but also the quietly acknowledged common opinions of the culture are to be captured. Getting all this into one book and one argument is risky business. It is not one straight-forward argument but a complex of interdependent issues tangled together in various ways. One might say it demonstrates the difference between writing history and describing a culture. Still, Cook manages to keep it all together, although the complexity of the matter makes reading a true tour-de-force and I must admit that it is quite a job to finish the book. However, it is worth the effort.

Michael Fjeldsøe



Morten Kyndrup

Den æstetiske relation. Sansoplevelsen mellem kunst, videnskab og filosofi

København: Gyldendal, 2008

175 pp.

ISBN 978-87-02-06299-1

DKK 159

Den dansksprogede litteratur om æstetisk teori er sparsom, og ethvert nyt bidrag må hilses med glæde. Morten Kyndrups *Den æstetiske relation* er på en gang et sådant bidrag og en opfordring til en intensiveret beskæftigelse med æstetisk teori i streng forstand. Bogen munder ud i en stærk foretale for en ny 'videnskabeliggjort' æstetik, der udvikler nye og passende redskaber for forståelsen ikke blot af vores forhold til kunsten men også af æstetiske relationer, som de indstiller sig uden for kunstens traditionelle område f.eks. i mode, reklame og industrielt design. Vejen frem mod præsentationen af dette højst relevante og velbeskrevne teoretiske projekt er imidlertid lang og for nogle strækningers vedkommende tornebestrøet.

Bogen vil meget, perspektivet er bredt og fremstillingen er præget af et meget ambitiøst forsøg på at skabe en syntese af teoristof fra et stort og heterogent felt. Således tilbydes ikke blot en diskussion af aktuelle æstetiske grundlagsspørgsmål men også et forsøg på at indtegne det æstetiske aktuelle rolle i et kulturelt eller 'civilisatorisk' helhedsbillede. Udviklingen af dette helhedsbillede sker med rekurs til en evolutionistisk model, der fremstiller civilisationens (!) udvikling som en irreversibel proces frem gennem stadig højere grader af 'forskelliggørelse' til den tilstand af 'hyperkompleksitet', der antages at kendetegne vor tid. "En systematisk accelererende og fundamentalt irreversibel forskelliggørelse ser ud til at være et alment konstitutivt træk ved den menneskelige civilisations udvikling som sådan". Sådan læser vi på side 14, men det beskedne "ser ud til at være" transformeres i den videre argumentation til et underforstået 'er', og evolutionsmodellen bliver til en afgørende instans for værkets teoretiske gyldighedsfordringer, idet forandringer af det æstetiske stilling i det kulturelle helhedsbillede udlægges som konsekvenser af en historisk nødvendighed på et dybere niveau. Evolutionsmodellen selv, og særligt påstanden om dens irreversibilitet, begrundes blandt andet med henvisning til "al historisk erfaring" (s. 21). Kyndrup bemærker selv, at nogle af hans bemærkninger i denne sammenhæng er "monstrøst generelle" (s. 21).

Udgangspunktet for den i snævrere forstand æstetiske diskussion er det velkendte åbne spørgsmål om forholdet mellem æstetik og kunstteori. Æstetik og kunstteori har ikke altid været opfattet – og bør vel næppe opfattes – som en og samme sag. Da Baumgarten midt i 1700-tallet indstiftede den nye filosofiske disciplin *aesthetica*, definerede han den som 'videnskaben om den sanselige erkendelse' men bemærkede samtidig dens tilknytning til de skønne kunster. Æstetik handler altså her om en form for sanseoplevelse, som ikke er eksklusivt knyttet til kunsten, men som måske realiseres eksemplarisk i kunstoplevelsen. Flere forsøg har været gjort på at føre den æstetiske teori tilbage til dette udgangspunkt. For eksempel var det på dagsordenen i musikvidenskabelige diskussioner årtier tilbage, der teoretiserede over konsekvenserne af avantgardens intenderede brud med værkbegrebet, og for nylig har den tyske filosof Martin Seel meget overbevisende argumenteret for en afgrænsning af disciplinen i Baumgartens ånd. Denne afgrænsning gør kunstens område til en delmængde af æstetikens genstandsfelt, og Seel pointerer, at æstetikken for at kunne gøre teoretisk fyldest i sit arbejde med kunsten nødvendigvis også må have teoretisk greb om det æstetiske betydning uden for kunstsferen.

Modpositionen til denne holdning, der fastholder bindingen mellem æstetik og kunstteori og dermed sanselighedsaspektet, indtages blandt andre af Arthur Danto. Danto lader Duchamps readymades repræsentere det sandhedens øjeblik, hvor det åbenbares, at bindingen mellem æstetik og kunstteori er vilkårlig og ikke begrundet i sagens natur. Duchamps fundne genstande er fænomenalt identiske med tilfældige hverdagsgenstande, forklarer Danto, og følgerigtigt kan det ikke være deres sanselige fremtoning, der er bestemmende for deres kunstkarakter. Og er det ikke den fysiske fremtoning må det være tanken og ikke sansningen, der tæller, konkluderer Danto, og spiller dermed den sanselighedsdiskussion, disciplinen æstetik bringer med sig, af banen.

Også Morten Kyndrup argumenterer for, at 'ægteskabet' mellem kunsten og det æstetiske har overlevet sig selv, men han undgår at placere sig selv i en af de positioner, som den oven for skitserede diskussion allerede har defineret. I stedet forsøger han at gøre regnskabet op efter dette samliv – at opregne dets fordele og ulemper. På ulempeiden vejer det ifølge Kyndrup tungt, at æstetikken i sin symbiose med kunsten gør den æstetiske bedømmelse til en del af sin praksis, og at den påtvinger kunsten et kognitivt fokus, der truer dens sanselige kvaliteter (s. 53). Dette sidste argument – der principielt rammer både den romantiske æstetik med dens fokus på kunsten som et privilegeret medium for metafysiske sandheders tilsynkomst og avantgardens koncept-kunst – udvikles med udgangspunkt hos den franske

filosof og litterat Jean-Marie Schaeffer, der påpeges som en vigtig inspirationskilde, men hvis arbejder aldrig bliver genstand for nogen præcis og fokuseret præsentation og diskussion.

Dette er desværre karakteristisk for bogen, der for ofte snyder sin læser for en solidarisk præsentation og eksplicit diskussion af de myriader af teoridannelser, der inddrages i argumentationen. På sine værste sider skygger bogens essayistiske stil og dens retoriske bestræbelser for at få sine pointer i hus svært meget for de teoretiske diskurser, den interagerer med. Sproget er besynderligt. Nogle steder er det meget imødekommende. Andre steder er det unødigt svært med ikke-idiomatiske vendinger og terminologiske lån fra forskellige teori-traditioner og sprog. Dette kan være udtryk for travlhed hos forfatteren eller på forlaget. Men det fremmer hverken tankens klarhed eller budskabets formidling. Synd og skam – relevansen af det teoretiske projekt taget i betragtning.

Den æstetiske relation er en stofrig og tankevækkende bog. Den er også mærkelig, inspirerende og provokerende ujævn. For eksempel undres jeg stadig over forholdet mellem bogens generelle refleksionsniveau og den næsten naive, postulerende form, der præger de afsnit, hvor evolutionsmodellen præsenteres, og som (med eller mod forfatterens intention?) udstiller den universaliserende tænkings skrøbelighed.

Måske vil Kyndrup mere, end bogens 175 sider kan rumme? Måske kunne mere været nået ved en mere disciplineret fremstilling? Det er dog uden for diskussion, at *Den æstetiske relation* er en læseværdig og tankevækkende bog. Det er også en irriterende bog. Og i dette tilfælde er det måske to sider af samme sag.

Søren Møller Sørensen



Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen

Det kvindelige spillerum – fem kvindelige komponister i Danmark i 1800-tallet

København: Multivers, 2007

250 pp.

ISBN 978-87-7919-192-3

DKK 248

Research on women composers has not been a popular field among musicologists. A few researchers in Sweden, Norway, and Finland have devoted themselves to finding information about the unknown women composers, but we are just a few. Some books have been published in Norway, specially about Agathe Backer Grøndahl, who was the most well known female composer at the turn of the 20th century. She was also, as pianist, generally accepted by those involved in the musical life. Some books have also been published in Sweden, e.g. about Elfrida Andrée. Those who are particularly interested in women composers can find books also in English and German, which deal with composers from the European Continent and America only. Today is it very hard, if not to say impossible, to find a book on women composers from Scandinavia.

Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen's book about five Danish women composers is therefore more than welcome. Her perspective is feministic and the starting point is that women were considered (and still are?) of less importance than men and that, during the 19th century, negative ideas about women making music marked their lives.

Cora Nyegaard (1812–1891), Emma Hartmann (1807–1851), Frederikke Løvenskiold (1785–1876), Ida d'Fonseca (1806–1858), and Henriette Wienecke (1819–1907) were all born during the beginning of the 19th century, when professional training was practically unknown for women of the upper classes. Their conception of the world influenced their compositions, Ahlgren Jensen writes.

Cora Nyegaard grew up in a musically active family at the countryside who gave concerts at their home. She played the fortepiano and sang, and at the age of ten started to compose. She read some books on music theory, was interested in art music, and, before she married in 1845, composed more than 100 songs, about one-third of which are hymn melodies.

Emma Hartmann was married to the composer J.P.E. Hartmann. As Cora Nyegaard, she came from a well-to-do family who were also very interested in music. When she was 41 years old, she made her debut as a composer of romances under the pseudonym Frederik H. Palmer. Five booklets containing in all 40 songs were published.

Frederikke Løvenskiold's life was rather different. She was born in Norway but grew up with her aristocratic relatives at a country house in Denmark. She was educated by governesses, learned languages and music and got an education typical for her class. At Løvenborg, they were very interested in music and gave concerts in which Frederikke took an active part, playing the fortepiano. Already when she was a young girl, her musical knowledge was wide. At 1812 she married her second cousin and moved to Norway. The musical life in Norway was characterized by wind orchestras and Frederikke started to compose music for them. When she moved back to Copenhagen she continued to compose, and during the 1860s her music was performed at the amusement park Tivoli. Frederikke was established as a composer and her music was known in all of Denmark.

The next composer, the opera singer Ida d'Fonseca, had quite another kind of life. She was born into a more ordinary family and she had left her career as opera singer when she made her debut as a composer. Ahlgren Jensen writes mainly about her life as an opera singer, active at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen but also touring. Ida d'Fonseca composed 18 songs, published in two booklets in 1848 and 1853, respectively. Almost half the songs are composed to German poetry and their musical style is a mix of Italian bravura, German lied, and Nordic folk songs. The songs are harmonized in a simple manner and Ahlgren Jensen writes that they reveal that Ida d'Fonseca did not know a lot of music theory. d'Fonseca published the songs in her own name, in difference to for example Emma Hartmann.

Henriette Wienecke was born in Norway, but very young she married a Danish singer. He thought that she was talented and should develop her piano playing, and so she moved to Copenhagen to take piano lessons, where her husband joined her some time later. When Henriette's mother died, she became religious and started to compose religious songs. Ahlgren Jensen estimates her production to about 140 compositions.

In the following chapters Ahlgren Jensen tries to place the women's compositions socially and stylistically. All of them, except the aristocratic Frederikke Løvenskiold's are composed for voice and fortepiano. The compositions were linked to the social positions of the composers. Cora Nyegaard's songs were composed when she was a young girl, and they lack 'the finishing touches', Ahlgren Jensen states. Emma Hartmann was assisted by, among others, her husband in the scoring of her songs; Ida d'Fonseca composed simple songs as well as strongly ornamented through-composed songs. Henriette Wienecke's songs are mixed with religious and art musical styles. Ahlgren Jensen compares for example Wienecke's composition to the poem *Foran Syden Kloster* to Edward Grieg's and J.P.E. Hartmann's compositions to the same poem. Frederikke Løvenskiold was the only woman who composed for larger ensembles; she mastered the music for wind orchestras and she knew how to orchestrate. Her music was regularly performed during the 1860s.

Ahlgren Jensen writes, not very surprisingly, that none of these women composers affected the development of music history, for example as a model for younger (male?) composers. The women composed popular music; it was a kind of 'mainstream' music, Ahlgren Jensen states. Those women were not repressed by the men close to them; on the contrary, they were all encouraged by them.

Finally, Ahlgren Jensen discusses the problem of writing music history, a problem well known to all researchers of women history. With her feministic perspective, Ahlgren Jensen's negative attitude towards the 'male' music history increases throughout the book. The fact that music history books lack women composers is a fact not only for music historiography in Denmark, but in the whole Western world. Even if Emma Hartmann still is the only woman mentioned in Danish music history books, Ahlgren Jensen shows that Cora Nyegaard and her 'colleagues' were not unimportant. The six arrangements of Nyegaard's hymn 'Rejs op dit Hoved' (Raise your head) written by other composers show that the hymn continues to live into the 21th century.

Even if these women were no pioneers, Ahlgren Jensen's book shows that they lived a broad musical life and composed music that was performed and sometimes even well known. Perhaps you will miss a broader view of the musical world in the final chapter of the book. Where there no other women composers in Denmark at that time? Where there just five of them? As the situation, of course, was more or less the same in Germany, Sweden, and Norway, some comparisons would have been possible. But the fact that this research has been carried out and the book published is a big step forward. Making the women composers 'visible' would be a good feministic project.

Eva Öhrström



Annie Brøndsholm

Kvinder med takt og toner. Portræt af kvindelige dirigenter

Ballerup: Forlaget Skytten, 2007

227 pp., illus.

ISBN 978-87-987388-3-1

DKK 298

Med støtte fra Dansk Kapelmesterforening, Veluxfonden samt Knud og Dagny Andresens fond har Annie Brøndsholm udgivet et portræt af fem kvindelige dirigenter, der alle har fortalt om "deres liv med musikken" til forfatteren. De fem dirigenter er Grethe Kolbe, Kaisa Roose, Anne Marie Granau, Dorrit Matson og Mai-Ann Chen.

Lad mig slå fast med det samme, at der på ingen måde er tale om nogen videnskabelig udgivelse. Hvorledes forfatteren har forholdt sig til udvælgelsen af stof og vinkling fremgår således ikke. De fem interviews er alle gengivet i 'jeg'-form, og der er ikke nogen synlig fælles strukturering af stoffet. Der er ingen noter, der er fejl i billedtekster, der er diskografier med kuriose oplysninger (herunder oplysning om opstilling i folkebiblioteker) og umotiverede anbefalinger af de interviewede dirigenter, fremsat af deres mandlige kolleger. Det skal dog understreges, at bogen heller ikke giver sig ud for at være videnskabelig, men det skammer under alle omstændigheder, at stoffet ikke er gennemredigeret og homogent fremstillet. Dette giver sig bl.a. udtryk i, at der er store uformidlede sproglige forskelle i fremstillingen af de fem kvinder.

Indledningen til bogen rummer forfatterens opsummering af, hvad der skal til for at blive en god dirigent – uanset køn. Og kønnet svæver som et tema gennem fremstillingen, idet forfatterens meget personlige indledningskapitel med en beskrivelse af Malko-konkurrencens finalekoncert 2005 påpeger, at nu er dét, Danmarks første professionelle kvindelige kapelmester så brændende havde ønsket sig, gået i opfyldelse: at man ville tage en kvinde højtideligt som dirigent (s. 16).

Bogen rummer forskellige kvindelige orkesterdirigenter oplevelser af karrieren. Alle er de optaget af musikformidling først og fremmest, og hvad kønnet betyder, får vi aldrig svar på. Her svigter forfatteren med sin redigering af stoffet – det virker, som om tilgangen til køns-spørgsmålet er lagt op til den enkelte dirigent. Nogle forholder sig således til familieliv, andre til tradition, og nogle forholder sig faktisk slet ikke til spørgsmålet om køn. Det er og bliver

altså en fortælling om kvindelige dirigenter. Vi får desværre ikke præcise informationer om, hvordan dirigenterne er udvalgt, men de er alle danske eller har tilknytning til Danmark. Af de små personlige vignetter for hvert interview, der mest af alt minder om radioudsendelsers stemningsformidlende introduktioner, fremgår det dog, at det dels er uddeling af priser (Grethe Kolbe-prisen og Malko), dels er tilfældigheder der har bestemt hvilke kvinder, der skulle indgå i bogen. Dansk Kapelmesterforening tæller i august 2008 ti kvinder ud af 178 medlemmer – heraf er tre beskrevet i bogen. Bogens definition på en dirigent er tilsyneladende en orkesterdirigent – noget der heller ikke kommenteres, men som jo også ekskluderer mange kvindelige dirigenter.

Til trods for den manglende præcisering af synsvinkel og udvælgelseskriterier rummer den mange interessante oplevelser. Kapitlet om Grethe Kolbe bygger på uddrag fra forfatterens tidligere bog, *Jeg mærkede suset* (Skytten, 1999). Det er en levende fortælling om Kolbes liv og karriere fra amatør til professionel leder af Radiounderholdningsorkesteret. Stilen i dette afsnit er en blanding af anekdoter, tanker omkring livet og det at være kapelmester. Sikke en dame og sikke en vilje. Det er imponerende. Kaisa Rooses beretning om sin karriere, fra hun kom hertil fra Estland som ung (der er ingen nøjagtige oplysninger om data i bogen), er visse steder præget af et lidt kantet sprog, fx s. 91: “en nærmest opstemt glæde bemærkede sig mit sind”. Det hæmmer læsningen, at man ikke rigtig ved, om dette skyldes en direkte nedskrift, om det bygger på talesproget eller om det er forfatterens måde at individualisere jeg-formen på? Og som sagt virker det besynderligt at slutte afsnittet om Roose ved at lade tre mandlige dirigenter kommentere og rådgive Roose som dirigent. Anne Marie Granus begyndende karriere er mest af alt præget af beretninger om uddannelse og alle overvejelserne om det at skulle prøve kræfter med dirigenterhvervet og -karriere. Også afsnittet om hende afsluttes af mandlige udsagn. Det virker som om forfatteren ikke rigtig tør lade kvinderne selv føre ordet. Dorrit Matson har eget orkester i USA, hvor hun koncentrerer sig om at introducere skandinavisk musik for amerikanerne, mens Mei-Ann Chen er i gang med en international karriere. Skønt alle fem portrætter er bygget op omkring anekdoter, så er det Mei-Anns fortælling om de store afsavn, hun har måttet lide af hensyn til karrieren, der er den mest gribende.

Bogens styrke består i, at de fem musikerportrætter indbyrdes afspejler de forskellige vilkår og tilgange, de hver især har haft for at få en karriere som dirigent. Der er dels et diakront aspekt, dels et geografisk, dels et uddannelsesmæssigt og ikke mindst et kønspolitisk. Forfatteren kunne formidle disse aspekter gennem en strammere redigering af udsagn. Nu er det som sagt det anekdotiske, der er omdrejningspunktet. Læst som fem beretninger er bogen spændende men ujævnt fortalt. Det er ikke forskning, men bogen peger på, hvad det er forskningen kan: Gennem at klargøre og blotlægge synspunkter, tilgange og metoder løfter (vellykket) forskning empirien op på et højere niveau og blotlægger de strukturer, der ligger bag. Her må vi nøjes med anekdoterne – men for den, der har smag for fortællinger fra det virkelige liv, er de ikke desto mindre underholdende.

Charlotte Rørdam Larsen



Tony Franzén, Gunnar Sundberg and Lars Thelander
Den talande maskinen. De första inspelade ljuden i Sverige och Norden
 Helsingfors: Suomen äänitearkisto – Finlands Ljudarkiv, 2008
 411 pp., illus.
 ISBN 978-951-9222-28-8
 EUR 25

Reporting from the harvest fair in the Swedish town of Askersund in 1894, the local newspaper places two attractions side by side: “Å änkefru Nilssons gård vid torget hade man tilfälle

att få se på en neger samt höra tonerna från en fonograf, allt mot extra kontant förstås.' (In Mrs Nilsson's yard by the town square one could have a look at a Negro and listen to the sounds of a phonograph, all for extra cash, mind you) (p. 98). This lumping may strike us as rather odd today, but it pinpoints the fact that sound recording in its earliest days was received primarily as an exotic novelty. Uncovering and telling this obscure and indeed exotic story in a Swedish context (and in Swedish) is the challenging and pioneering task that Tony Franzén, Gunnar Sundberg, and Lars Thelander have undertaken in *Den talande maskinen. De första inspelade ljuden i Sverige och Norden* (The talking machine. The earliest recorded sounds in Sweden and Fenno-Scandinavia). What the title does not disclose is that the talking machine alluded to in the title is the phonograph, the 'precursor' of the gramophone. It is the long forgotten heyday of this sound recording and reproducing machine, lasting a mere two decades at the end of the 19th century, that is unearthed in what can best be described as an impressive media archaeological project, resting on a massive amount of archival research.

Overall, the book is divided into two main sections, a historical account and a catalogue, although the rather 'understated' typographical text framing, e.g. the use of very small captions, does not make this sufficiently clear.

Apart from a short chapter on the early development of sound recording technology in an international context – no more than an introductory recapitulation of a story told more extensively elsewhere – the first section (pp. 8–227) unfolds as a chronological tracing of the introduction and dissemination of the phonograph (in its many disguises) primarily in Sweden up until the turn of the 20th century when the gramophone emerged as a serious competitor and the record business 'as we know it' began to take off.

Of this roughly twenty year period the first half constitutes the short-lived era of the tinfoil phonograph covered in the first of three chronological chapters. Although not even a single recording is extant (thus relegating these pioneering years to eternal silence), the authors are able to trace the activities of early phonograph showmen through press coverage, adverts, and archival documents pertaining to the authorization of public demonstrations and their taxation. This focus on the phonograph entrepreneurs (showmen, agents, and later local manufacturers), which to some degree is dictated by the nature and selection of source material, remains a dominant feature throughout the historical construction. It eventually culminates in the concluding chapter of the first section, which takes the form of an annotated alphabetical listing of Swedish phonograph showmen that have not found their place in the preceding historical chapters.

In the second historical chapter highlighting the introduction of the 'perfected' phonograph (using wax-coated cylinders instead of tinfoil) in 1889–1890, the authors broaden their account to include short subchapters on the situation in neighbouring countries (Denmark, Norway, and Finland) before returning to their Swedish main story. These small digressions, hardly substantial enough to justify the book's subtitle, are only partially explained by the fact that this part of the Swedish story takes its beginning in Denmark with Danish agents. From a Danish perspective it is worth pointing out, as the authors explicitly do, that no corresponding research has been carried out in Denmark leaving the cultural history of this significant event in modern sound media in the dark. The detailed outline of the activities of the Swedish agencies, which included extensive recording, is spiced with illustrated fact-boxes on early recordings artists. They and their repertoire figure only somewhat sporadically throughout the main text, although the authors lament the fact that several of these recording pioneers have fallen silent as wax cylinders from the first half of the 1890s are exceedingly rare. And speculations on the possibility of finding one of the holy grails of early sound recording – the recorded singing voice of 'the Swedish nightingale' Jenny Lind – are laid to rest.

The concluding chapter entitled 'Från marknadsnöje till hemunderhållning' (From fair amusement to home entertainment) constitutes a detailed and inclusive account of how the

growing dissemination of the phonograph meant the development and diversification of phonographic practices and uses during the 1890s. Demonstrations of the phonograph, still a prevailing practice, spread to rural areas outside the major cities via fairs, schools, and even showmen travelling from farm to farm, often securing a degree of identification on the part of the dumbfounded listeners through the use of local recordings. At the same time enterprising local manufacturers produced their own talking machines, e.g. Björksell's *mimeofon*. The introduction of the horn in the second half of the 1890s (replacing the rather impractical listening tubes) and the marketing of ever cheaper models paved the way for the transformation of the phonograph from public to private entertainment, more or less as we know it today. Also included are fascinating subchapters on the concert phonograph (a concert practice that has never really succeeded) and the attempts at marrying early film technology with sound technology thus anticipating sound film.

Striking the right balance between fact-driven documentation and story telling is never easy, and the historical chapters are in themselves an obvious testament to the thoroughness of the authors' research. However, the myriad of machines, agents, and uses documented in these factually rich accounts make for a rather compact reading experience with narrative impetus in rather short supply even if spiced with a small selection of captivating illustrations. A CD of sound recordings to complement these would have been a most welcome and relevant addition.

The second section (pp. 228–363) consists of an annotated catalogue of commercially produced phonographs by Swedish companies. It also includes cylinders produced by foreign companies for the Swedish market, though with one significant omission, i.e. the French Pathé, covered by Tony Franzén, Lars Thelander, and Vidar Vanberg in *Pathé. Acoustic recordings in Scandinavia with historical survey and biographical data* (Helsinki, 1998). Privately recorded cylinders, perhaps one of the most fascinating but obscure aspects of a phonographic culture lost with the introduction of the gramophone, are understandably not considered.

Unlike the first historical section that trails off at the turn of the century as the record begins to oust the cylinder, this would-be complete catalogue includes all cylinders made commercially available in Sweden, although the inclusion of e.g. all Danish Ruben cylinders seems somewhat puzzling. It is arranged alphabetically by company name, and catalogue number, recording artist and title are given for each cylinder, if possible, whereas exact dating still calls for further research in most cases. The annotation is limited to whatever factual information is available and therefore varies greatly from entry to entry. This endeavour remains a work in progress with lacunae exhibited by its very inclusiveness, as when the mention of one extant cylinder case points to the existence of an otherwise unknown company.

The book's three concluding registers (person, title, artist) add to the usefulness of the work as reference book even if a subject index is missed.

The overall composite nature of this book begs questions, which could and perhaps should have been addressed in a more comprehensive introduction. Thus, an elaborate discussion of the methodological challenges (and compromises?) that a research project of this magnitude as well as its presentation entail, might have offered useful theoretical reflections on the chosen historiographic approach to and angling of this sadly overlooked area of cultural history – how to balance or negotiate the notion of reconstruction based on the puzzle of a huge amount of fragmentary source material (as the authors put it) and the question of construction that the degree of fictionalization inherent in story telling inevitably raises. It would seem that a rather conservative view of historiography has kept the authors from attempting a bolder, more 'interpretive' story telling as, for instance, that represented by Jonathan Sterne's exemplary monograph *The Audible Past – Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

Still, bringing this much needed research project to fruition is in itself an impressive achievement that lays a solid and valuable foundation on which future research can build and draw inspiration for the telling of further and different stories, and thus keep ‘sounding the horn’ for a past culture that has all but succumbed to silence.

Steen Kaargaard Nielsen



Christian Munch-Hansen (ed.)
By af jazz. Copenhagen Jazz Festival i 30 år.
 Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel, 2008
 257 pp., illus.
 ISBN 978-87-413-0975-0
 DKK 299



Frank Büchmann-Møller and Henrik Wolsgaard-Iversen
Montmartre. Jazzhuset i St. Regnegade 19, Kbhvn K
 Odense: Jazzsign & University Press of Southern Denmark, 2008
 300 pp., illus.
 ISBN 978-87-7674-297-3
 DKK 299



Ole Izard Høyer and Anders H.U. Nielsen
Da den moderne jazz kom til byen. En musikkulturel undersøgelse af det danske moderne jazzmiljø 1946–1961.
 Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2007
 157 pp., illus.
 ISBN 978-87-7307-927-0
 DKK 199

With Erik Wiedemann’s extensive work on Danish jazz in the form of his doctoral dissertation *Jazz i Danmark* (Jazz in Denmark),¹ the formative years of Danish jazz from the twenties until 1950 is well covered. But from that point on, there is no inclusive research material on Danish jazz. However, a great variety of literature on Danish jazz has been published dealing with this period of time, mostly biographies, coffee table books, and other books written by journalists, musicians, etc. Two of the publications under review here, *By af jazz* and *Montmartre*, fall into this category of literature. The first one tries to capture the moods and the history of the 30 years of Copenhagen Jazz Festival while the other want to recall the history of the renowned venue Montmartre in St. Regnegade in Copenhagen. Both books are aimed at the jazz lover and jazz enthusiast.

Research-wise, very few texts follow up on Erik Wiedemann’s opus magnum other than his own article ‘The Montmartre 1959–76. Towards a history of a Copenhagen jazz house.’² The publication of Høyer and Nielsen, *Da den moderne jazz kom til byen*, presents itself as a sequel to Wiedemann’s work and thus covers the years 1946–1961 in order to fill out the gap between Wiedemann’s doctoral dissertation and the so-called Montmartre era.

1 Erik Wiedemann, *Jazz i Danmark – i tyverne, trediverne og fyrrerne. En musikkulturel undersøgelse*, 3 vols. (København: Gyldendal, 1982).

2 Erik Wiedemann, ‘The Montmartre, 1959–76. Towards a history of a Copenhagen jazz house’, *Musik & Forskning*, 21 (1996), 274–93.

When we celebrate a jubilee, whether a person or an institution is the centre of attention, we usually do not put on our critical glasses, but collect all the positive stories and make the jubilee appear unique and better than the best. That is also true of *By af jazz. Copenhagen Jazz Festival i 30 år* (City of Jazz. 30 Years of Copenhagen Jazz Festival) dealing with Copenhagen Jazz Festival, published on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the festival and probably also meant as part of a promotional vehicle for the festival, the sponsors, and other contributors.

The book is edited by music journalist Christian Munch-Hansen, who has written the chronological historical overview of the festival that opens the book and conducted the interviews with musicians Cæcilie Norby, Jan Kaspersen, and Kresten Osgood as well as jazz photographers Gorm Valentin and Jan Persson. Furthermore, the book contains poems by Ursula Andkjær Olsen, Peter Laugesen, Suzanne Brøgger, and Per Vers. There is a more discursive article by TV-journalist and former head of the department of entertainment in Danish Radio Henrik Wolsgaard-Iversen, and an article on the festival's relationship with the Danish Radio written by DR's own jazz specialist Ib Skovgaard. The appendix of the book contains prints of all the posters from Copenhagen Jazz Festival, and a discography of all published recordings made at the festival compiled by jazz journalist Thorbjørn Sjøgren.

The book appears fragmented and the texts are of varying quality. Best is the historical overview written by the editor, in which he pinpoints the most spectacular events from the period and reflects upon the changing status of jazz during the 30 years of the festival, from a music culture mainly situated in venues as bars and restaurants to the contemporary jazz scene with concerts dispersed all over Copenhagen from bars and cafés to renowned institutions like the old stage at the Royal Theatre and the Opera.

The quality of the poems about jazz and the festival varies considerably and some of them are oddly old-fashioned, more suitable for jazz in the 50s, e.g. rapper and hip hopper Per Vers's expression 'funktionærdrømme fordampet' ('the dreams of white-collar worker evaporates'). This is out of tune with contemporary jazz enjoyed by senior citizens with a glass of white wine at one of the classical institutions like the Royal Theatre.

The strongest part of the book is the visual elements. The more than 150 jazz photos by two of our foremost jazz photographers, Jan Person and Gorm Valentin, try to catch the sound and the mood in a visual expression. Together with the overview of the festival posters these give us a visual history of Copenhagen Jazz Festival, far more interesting than the written one. The short interview with the two photographers tells us more about the changing culture surrounding the festival than the interviews with the musicians. It shows how their working conditions have been both professionalized and become more difficult over the years. Many of the contemporary musicians are much more aware of the impact of the mass media, and thus the importance of the visual dimension of a musician's image, that therefore must be controlled to a much greater extent.

The publication is called 'City of Jazz', but it is precisely the meeting between the city and the festival that is absent. How does it feel to the shop owners or the ordinary citizen of Copenhagen when the whole city is transformed into a jazz festival? An evaluation of how the festival interacts with the city on a more general level would be useful. What are the interactions between the festival and the rest of the jazz and music scene in Copenhagen?

Apart from these absences this is a fine, nostalgic book, that you can immerse yourself in and relive moments from Copenhagen Jazz Festival. The book works best as a photo book and as documentation of the festival thanks to the list of posters and the discography.

As the title suggests, *Montmartre. Jazzhuset i St. Regnegade 19, Kbhvn K* (Montmartre. The Jazzhouse at St. Regnegade 19, Kbhvn K) is a book on the notorious Danish jazz venue Montmartre in St. Regnegade, Copenhagen from 1959 to 1976. The authors are Frank Büch-

mann-Møller, librarian at the jazz archives at the Carl Nielsen Academy of Music in Odense, and journalist and former head of the department of entertainment in Danish TV Henrik Wolsgaard-Iversen. Frank Büchmann-Møller, who has written well-reknowned biographies on Lester Young and Ben Webster, the latter reviewed in this journal in 2006,³ is responsible for the chronological parts of the book and the appendix while Henrik Wolsgaard-Iversen has written the portraits of musicians and employees.

A great nostalgia prevails around the so-called 'Montmartre era' in the Danish jazz environment. It was a golden age of modern jazz in Denmark and the venue Montmartre was the place where a generation of Danish jazz musicians was taught how to play jazz in an apprenticeship with experienced older American jazz musicians. Subsequently, the period has already been described by Erik Wiedemann,⁴ and in Leonard Malone's book on Dexter Gordon.⁵

The present *Montmartre* book starts out with a poem by the late author Dan Turéll, that immediately sets the mood of the old Montmartre and you are already strolling down memory lane. The story of Montmartre is told as a catching narrative, alternating between more anecdotal passages especially in the portraits and lots of facts about musicians and concerts. We experience the venue from different angles, its employees and its musicians, not least because of the wonderful photo material mainly delivered by house photographer Jørgen Bo, Jan Persson, and Kirsten Malone, and last but not least the drawings of Klaus Albrechtsen.

Büchmann-Møller draws a vivid picture of the jazz environment in the fifties from which Montmartre emerged, and leads us through the colourful history of Montmartre from the idea of the jazz club was conceived, during the first year with founder and owner Anders Dyrup, through the economical downswing and the closing down of Montmartre in January 1960, to the reopening on New Years Eve 1961 and the following period with Herluf Kamp-Larsen as owner. The narrative comes to an end with the financially bankruptcy in 1974, and the various attempts of resurrection up until 1976, when Montmartre definitively moves out of St. Regnegade.

The book gives a fine portrait of the environment in and around Montmartre in a sometimes discursive and anecdotal language and is as such not aimed at researchers or musicologists. Still the book is relevant in a research context, especially due to Frank Büchmann-Møller's very systematic work in the appendix, which contains an invaluable amount of information. The appendix consists of a comprehensive forty-eight pages calendar containing programmes from all concerts including names of musicians and bands from 1959 to 1979. Furthermore, it includes an extensive discography on all recordings from the Montmartre in the same period of time. All in all the book can be recommended to both the jazz researcher and the non-specialist who merely loves the music.

Da den moderne jazz kom til Danmark. En musikulturel undersøgelse af det danske moderne jazzmiljø 1946–1961 (When modern jazz arrived in Denmark. A music cultural study of the Danish modern jazz milieu 1946–1961) by Ole Izard Høyer and Anders H.U. Nielsen is a slightly edited MA thesis from Aalborg University. The two authors were both connected to the Centre for Danish Jazz History at Aalborg University at the time of publication as research assistant and visiting researcher, respectively.

Overall, the book and the project is a very sympathetic attempt to shed light on an underexposed period in the history of Danish jazz. The writers build their research on interviews

3 Cf. the review by Tore Mortensen, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 34 (2006), 92–94.

4 Wiedemann, 'The Montmartre, 1959–76'.

5 Leonard Malone, *More Than You Know, Dexter Gordon in Denmark* (København, 1996).

with pivotal participants in the Danish jazz scene, which in itself is an important act of documentation as many from this generation of musicians are now dead.

The first chapters unfortunately reveal the book's origin as a dissertation as it takes us through the compulsory syllabus of the development of jazz styles from bebop and beyond. This is trivial and unnecessary information as it does not address Danish circumstances and can be looked up in any jazz encyclopedia. Following a chapter summarizing Danish jazz until the 1950s, we finally embark on the period that the authors want to examine. The examination is divided into themes: The first theme is foreign inspiration, which deals with both mainly American musicians visiting or taking up residence in Denmark and Danish musicians visiting abroad. The chapter ends with mini-portraits of musicians who stayed in Denmark for a longer period of time. The next theme is environment and debate. Here we are introduced to the contemporary jazz magazines and some of the jazz debates of the fifties focusing on a debate between Erik Moseholm and Erik Wiedemann. Following the retelling of this debate, a couple of jazz reviewers are presented, and after that some jazz venues are described and the chapter ends with a section on jazz in the provinces and jazz on the radio.

The following chapter concerns Danish jazz musicians and their music containing mini-portraits, and very short descriptions of some chosen recordings. The conclusion is a summary of the books chapters and the discussion is rather tame.

The subtitle, 'A music cultural study', and the preface by Erik Moseholm suggests that the book is intended as a follow up to Wiedemann's *Jazz In Denmark*. This book, however, does not bear comparison to Wiedemann work and is best read without any such expectations. Like Wiedemann's dissertation the book is full of facts, band members, venues etc. but here the many enumerations result in a stiff, inflexible, and abrupt prose style. Many of these informations could have been placed in the footnotes or the appendix.

Unfortunately there are no reflections on method and theory at all, neither explicit nor implicit. As this is primarily a historical account, the absence of any historiographic discussion is problematic. Although Scott Deveaux's *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) is mentioned in the list of literature, his historiographic understanding is nowhere reflected, nor is there any theoretical framing of this account as a cultural narrative.

One of the pivotal dilemmas of modern jazz was its position between popular music and art music. Reflections in this direction could have been productive in the treatment of the jazz debate between Erik Moseholm and Erik Wiedemann. This interesting debate is retold, but there are no reflections on or understanding of the different positions and agendas of the two debaters in the jazz cultural landscape. A discussion about what is perceived as the 'work' in jazz, would also be useful here, when Wiedemann is accused of only wanting to review larger jazz concerts and records, and not jazz in the small clubs. Maybe the writers have edited some of these reflections out of the book to make it more accessible to a wider audience, but even as a book for high school students these discussions could have been productive and would have lifted the book up from being only descriptive.

The chapters on Danish modern jazz musicians and their music illustrate the problem concerning the target group. If the book is meant for high school students, these analyses of music need to be much clearer and more stringent, music examples are needed as is a CD with the music. All we have here is very perfunctory descriptions of the musicians and the music. For the sake of documentation it is a shame that the interviews are not published together with the mentioned extensive list of concerts with foreign visiting bands from 1950 to 1980 (p. 23), as I am sure other documentation from the archives would also be appreciated by future jazz researchers.

All these critical remarks do not change the fact that it is very praiseworthy that two young researchers try to shed light on this relatively undescribed period in the history of Danish jazz between its official golden age during World War II, and the second golden age centred around the venue Café Montmartre in Copenhagen in the 60s and 70s.

Pia Rasmussen



Mads Krogh and Birgitte Stougaard Pedersen (eds.)

Hiphop i Skandinavien

Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2008

223 pp., illus.

ISBN 978-87-7934-396-2

DKK 248

Academic discussion on hiphop in Scandinavia has been very sporadic. *Hiphop i Skandinavien* (Hiphop in Scandinavia) is in this way a very welcomed book. The book collects some interesting approaches and, as such, paves the way for further discussion on a more common ground. The contributions in the anthology are related towards rap, which is the genre within the creative styles of hiphop that has gained the most success commercially. Breakdance boomed in a relatively short period of fame in the start-mid '80s. DJ'ing has been overshadowed by rap and graffiti have primarily maintained its underground status as a criminalized practice. Rap has gained a number of distinct Scandinavian styles and at the same time American hiphop has been absorbed into mainstream Scandinavian pop culture. *Hiphop i Skandinavien* is a vital contribution in order to understand how these cultural changes have influenced youth and popular culture in Scandinavian.

In the introduction some of the few academic texts on Nordic hiphop are reviewed. It would, however, have been interesting to learn even more about previous research on Nordic hiphop as this could have situated *Hiphop i Skandinavien* more clearly within this field of research and marked more specific in what way the book wants to contribute. The three central themes in the book are presented as distinctions between mainstream and sub culture, between the global and local, and between the popular and art. The themes are predominantly analysed with focus on analysis of lyrics and public discussions. However, the contributions in the anthology are very different and will be reviewed separately.

The first chapter is one of the most original articles in the book and is based on Sune Qvortrup Jensen's ethnographic study of young male emigrants. He discusses how these young men actually capitalize on the intersection between ethnicity, youth, marginality, and masculinity. These young men's life situation is marginal in the Danish society and they use hiphop to produce a positive identity as sexual and dangerous, which to some degree make them reject their marginal position. This point is very important and could also be applied to the question of how more mainstream white non-marginalized youths capitalize on hiphop in order to position themselves as less mainstream. Jan Sverre Knudsen follows up with another contribution on ethnic minorities' use of hiphop. He focuses on a case with the production crew *minoritet*¹ from Oslo. He analyses how the creative processes of producing music in a small studio forms a hybrid identity where the local and global interacts. It is argued that the groups unite more by their common relation to an international style of music than because of the feeling of ethnic similarities.

Johan Södermann picks up on the still very vivid discussion within hiphop culture between creativity and sell-out (popularity). This article has an interesting review of hiphop literature related to this topic and takes the discussion a step further by applying a sophisticated

discourse analysis to interviews with Swedish rappers discussing their self-understanding. It is argued that the discourses of art and business in hiphop reflect a wider contrast in society between the marked and the arts. Petter Dyndal follows Södermann's article with another highly interesting theoretical perspective. He approaches Nordic hiphop with a concept of cultural identity. His theoretical discussion introduces the concepts of de-territorialization and re-territorialization. He argues that the Norwegian 'heimstad-rap' is constructing a hybrid of the local and the global. Dyndal dissolves the distinction between performers and listeners by showing how both groups actually are performative in the sense that all have to pick and mix from very different discourses. Anne Danielsen follows up by very convincingly showing how the group Tungtvann uses the global style of hiphop to re-position themselves within the Norwegian context. She argues that very few Norwegian 'hoods' would in fact work as a point of reference for a Norwegian rap identity that is associated with the typical ghetto urban context. This somehow self-evident point is, however, addressed most directly and clear by Danielsen. She describes how American gangster rap or reality raps use effects sampled from outside the field of music *in* the music. Police sirens, mini-dramas, or radio-spots are some of the most common effects used. These effects are used in American reality rap to create an understanding of the marginal position of rappers in ghetto neighborhoods. Norwegian Tungtvann creates and retells the history of the specific northern part of Norway as more hardcore (and in hiphop terms more 'real'), with the use of similar techniques.

Birgitte Stougaard Pedersen argues that rap is an aesthetic practice that not only transgresses the distinction between art and popular culture but also the distinction between post-modern (sampling) and the authentic (real). Her argument is that the global lifestyles of hiphop are as well transgressing the place (nationality) as they are re-locating it. Flow and the play with language are used in very different ways in the two cases analysed. Mads Krogh also deals with Danish Hiphop and picks up on some of the artists that are less discussed in Pedersen's chapter. Krogh focuses on – in his terms – 'radical tendencies' of Danish hiphop discourse. He argues that 'stodderrap' (bastard rap) can be understood as a local variation of the aesthetics of gangster rap or reality rap as well as in relation to mainstream hiphop. He focuses on how the specific style by Jokeren and LOC uses the realism of the gangster rap when localized in a Danish context. A higher degree of self-reflexivity seems to be important for the rappers. An example is that 'stodderrap' uses American hiphop slang like 'ho's', 'bitches' and so on in order *not* to fall into line with a political correct way of describing women in Denmark. It would have been interesting to get to know more about the clash between the mainstream discourse on gender in Danish society and the hiphop artists' understanding of gender/sexuality. This is especially interesting because it seems that 'stodderrappers' are presenting themselves as dangerous and sexy due to the hard hiphop language used (cf. Jensen's contribution). Lennart Nyberg discusses *how* hiphop has moved from sub-cultural to mainstream culture by analysing sales numbers and music awards rewarded to Swedish rap artists combined with an analysis of how rap styles have become accepted in mainstream culture. The focus is on artists Just D and Latin Kings. Nyberg finds that the more materialistic and non-political hiphop (so-called 'bling bling') have been integrated in the mainstream music scene in Sweden, hiphop with potential political implications has somehow been marginalized in terms of getting public success.

The book contributes with a number of interesting and well-written articles on different aspects of the production of hiphop rap. The articles contribute with a variety of cross-disciplinary approaches which – primarily – share a research strategy directed towards analysing music, production processes, and lyrics. It would have been interesting to extend the scope of the book to include hiphop as a lifestyle, consumer culture, and identity among (especially) youth. The distinction between participants (producers or performers) and consumers

(listeners) of hiphop would have been interesting to address further. This distinction might to some degree be theoretical out-dated within both cultural studies and youth studies. In these research fields the theoretical perspectives are directed towards the question of *how* both participants and consumers *actively re-produce* products in the sense that they use them in specific contexts and practices. Even though the distinction between users and producers, as such, might be less interesting as a matter of theoretical discussion, it would have directed a focus towards the users, of which we learn very little of in *Hiphop i Scandinavia*. Nevertheless, as a book which primarily addresses the production of rap in Scandinavian hiphop culture, it is still a very interesting and needed contribution.

Jakob Demant



Finn Gravesen

Hansen

København: Wilhelm Hansens Musikforlag, 2007

343 pp., illus.

ISBN 978-87-598-1469-7

DKK 299

Finn Gravesens *Hansen* er den tredje (i en vis forstand den fjerde) i rækken af jubilæums-skrifter om Wilhelm Hansens Musik Forlag. Den første markering af et jubilæum fandt sted i anledning af 100-året i 1957 i form af Axel Kjerulfs *Hundrede år mellem Noder: Wilhelm Hansen, Musik-Forlag 1857-1957* (København: Wilhelm Hansens Musikforlag, 1957) på et tidspunkt, hvor virksomheden var på sit allerhøjeste og produktion af trykte noder endnu var en lukrativ forretning; en yderst forkortet version af denne bog udkom samtidig på tysk i samme karakteristiske omslag som den danske version under titlen *Ein Jahrhundert mit Musik. Wilhelm Hansen, Musik-Forlag 1857-1957*. Fyrré år senere udkom næste jubilæumsbog, noget mindre prætentios og noget mere kortfattet end Kjerulfs bog – men anledningen var også det lidt mere ‘skæve’ 140 års jubilæum – med en titel, der forsøgte sig med et nyt ordspil, *140 år med tryk på* (København: Wilhelm Hansens Musikforlag, 1997), skrevet af Bent From. Og så nu Gravesens bog kun ti år senere i anledning af 150 året for firmaets grundlæggelse med den fyndige – og i forlagets optik næppe helt politisk korrekte – titel *Hansen*.

Det med forlagsnavnet er ikke helt uvæsentligt, selv om det under tiden kan være lidt svært at hitte rede i: “Wilhelm Hansen Musikforlag”, “Wilhelm Hansen Musik-Forlag”, “Wilhelm Hansen Musik Forlag”, “Wilhelm Hansen Edition”, “Edition Wilhelm Hansen” for blot at nævne varianterne af nyere dato. For de, der sysler med at datere danske nodetryk, er disse forskelle af betydning, for sammen med pladenumrene på de enkelte udgivelser kan de være med til at datere udgivelserne; for, som vi ved ikke mindst fra Dan Fog, er noder yderst sjældent forsynet med udgivelsesår – men det er en anden historie.

Det må have krævet en del overvejelser fra forfatterens side at sige ja til opfordringen om at skrive endnu en jubilæumsbog om WH. I hvert fald nedenstående forhold måtte tages med i overvejelserne: to tidligere fremstillinger om samme emne inden for de foregående 50 år; forlagets altdominerende position i dansk musik- og kulturhistorie (på godt og ondt) sammenholdt med, at opdragsgiveren har været forlaget selv; forlagets nuværende position i den moderne medieverden som delvist underlagt et udenlandsk selskab med en ganske anden historisk og ideologisk baggrund end forlagets egen; og endelig adgangen på Det Kongelige Bibliotek til et forlagsarkiv med breve og andre arkivalier af et omfang, som det er umuligt for en enkelt person at komme igennem i sin helhed inden for den tidsramme, der nødvendigvis må ligge bag en jubilæumsbog af denne art. At navigere i et sådant hav må ikke altid have

været lige nemt, og helt overordnet må man beundre den måde, hvorpå Gravesen har løst opgaven. Det mest prekære har formentlig været forfatterens bundethed/frihed i forhold til forlagets interesser. Allerede på bogens anden side tager han tyren ved hornene med følgende bemærkning, der næsten får karakter af en besværgelse: "Når familie og forretning er så tæt forbundet, som tilfældet er i det foreliggende emne, og familien er opdragsgiver, kunne man antage, at en helt bestemt version af historien ville være en del af opgabet. At mindre heldige egenskaber fx blev ønsket nedtonet og evt. mindre flatterende sider af det passerede udeladt. Sådan har det ikke været. Det er tilfredsstillende at sige at jeg har haft helt frie hænder Jeg har haft uhindret adgang til alt materiale" (s. 9). Det lyder næsten for godt til at være sandt.

Bogen indledes også med en anden form for besværgelse, som man som læser må beklage: det hedder, at eftersom bogen "... er tænkt til lystlæsning" og ikke har "... ambitioner om at være en videnskabelig udgivelse" (s. 2), er noteapparatet udeladt. I stedet henvises blot til den fyldige litteraturliste samt til "firmakorrespondancen fra alle årene, som befinder sig i Det Kongelige Bibliotek" (s. 2). Havde Gravesens bog været en overfladisk journalistisk fremstilling, havde en sådan disposition været forståelig – men netop i kraft af dens karakter af en bredere musik- og kulturhistorisk fortælling med både synspunkter og holdninger er det beklageligt, at man ikke får mulighed for at verificere og eventuelt arbejde videre med den anvendte empiri. Det med noter i en bog af denne art er jo en velkendt diskussion, og naturligvis tynger det fremstillingen. Her savnes de dog, først og fremmest som følge af bogens ambitionsniveau og den i mange henseender fine måde opgaven er løst på. Blandt mange eksempler, hvor man gerne ville have haft mulighed for at gå videre med kilderne, skal blot nævnes et enkelt: på s. 68 fortælles det lakonisk, at Wilhelm Hansen på et tidspunkt i 1883 holdt op med at levere nodemateriale til Musikforeningen. Årsagen antydes ganske vist, men det var dog en historie, der fortjente en lidt nøjere dokumentation, når man betænker Musikforeningens position i det københavnske musikliv i disse år.

Det er nærliggende at sammenligne Gravesens bog med de tidligere bøger om emnet nævnt ovenfor. Både i det ydre og i selve fremstillingen er der store forskelle. Om man bryder sig om det lidt klodsede kvadratiske format i *Hansen* er en smagssag, men det giver mulighed for en overdådig illustrationsgrad, som er udnyttet virtuost med et væld af illustrationer og nodefaksimiler, der ikke blot garnerer klummeteksten men tilfører den nye aspekter og supplerende informationer – netop sådan som man som formidler rettelig bør benytte illustrationer. Faktisk kunne man med udbytte 'gennemlæse' bogen alene ved at studere billeder og billedtekster. Naturligvis er en del af billedstoffet velkendt fra tidligere fremstillinger, men rigtig meget er nyt og overraskende – og alt sammen er yderst informativt.

Hvad Gravesens fremstilling angår, træder forskellen i forhold til forgængerne – først og fremmest Axel Kjerulf – endnu tydeligere frem. Sidstnævnte tager så at sige udgangspunkt i firmaet og dets personkreds og skildrer tingene 'indefra': det er forlagets indre anliggender og bedrifter, der står i centrum, og det omgivende musikliv belyses i det omfang, forlaget er indblandet, og set gennem forlagets briller. Gravesen gør det modsatte. I *Hansen* er det musiklivet og musikkulturen, der er udgangspunktet, og fra behandlede sider af denne musikkultur zoomes ind på forlagets rolle på de konkrete områder. Herved bliver bogen i mange henseender til en bred historisk – eller snarere socialhistorisk – fremstilling af 150 års danske musik og musikliv, hele tiden med den pointe i bagehovedet at inddrage Wilhelm Hansens rolle – både den åbenlyse og den mere skjulte. Det gør bogen til meget mere end en forlagshistorie; den bliver også et væsentligt bidrag til den almindelige beskrivelse af dansk musikhistorie. En enkelt svaghed ved denne tilgang skal dog nævnes, nemlig det forhold, at helhedsindtrykket undertiden kan virke lidt flimrende. Netop fordi bogen vil andet og mere end at anskue verden, som den tager sig ud i forlagets optik, efterlader den indtrykket af en række mere eller mindre afgrænsede enkelt-historier og kommer derved til at savne den store samlede

fortælling. Men da bogen ifølge sagens natur hele tiden må medtænke firmaet Wilhelm Hansens rolle omkring dette eller hint emne, kan det næppe være anderledes.

Hvad den overordnede disposition angår, har Gravesen valgt samme model som de tidligere fremstillinger – en model, der næsten også må være umulig at komme uden om: generationsmodellen. De seks generationer har fået hver sit hovedafsnit under de indforståede overskrifter ‘Jens og Hanne’, ‘Alfred og Jonas’, ‘Asger og Svend’, ‘Lone og Hanne’, ‘Tine’ samt ‘Tine og Louise-Marie’. En imponerende familiehistorie gennem seks generationer i lige linje fra grundlæggeren Jens Wilhelm Hansen, der åbnede forretningen i oktober 1857, til sidste skud på stammen, Louise-Marie Törnquist, der efter en glidende overgang overtog den daglige ledelse af forlaget i 2008, mens moderen Tine Birger Christensen trådte i baggrunden og indsattes i posten som bestyrelsesformand. Kun på et enkelt punkt har den seneste snes år brudt med de foregående mere end 100 års tradition: med Tine Birger Christensens tiltræden som direktør i 1989 ophørte traditionen med, at ledelsen bestod af to familiemedlemmer (et ægtepar, to gange to brødre, to søstre), der i kraft af deres forskellige naturer ledelsesmæssigt kunne supplere hinanden. Ikke mindst dette forhold har i årenes løb givet anledning til mange psykologiske iagttagelser og formentlig også gennem årene bidraget til forlagets monopollignende position i Danmark.

Og det er ikke småting, Wilhelm Hansen har været rodet ind i mellem år og dag, og netop derfor kommer Gravesens bog så vidt omkring. Her skal blot nævnes et par eksempler. Revyen i dens forskellige afskygninger havde fra første færd fyldt godt i Wilhelm Hansens katalog i form af enkeltudgaver af de mest populære numre. Men for de entreprenante WH-brødre Asger og Svend Wilhelm Hansen var dette ikke nok; i 1930’erne udvidede de virksomheden til også at omfatte bygningen af Arne Jacobsens nye Bellevue Teater i Klampenborg, der netop skulle huse revygenren og derved indirekte bidrage til gode salgstal for forlagets nodeudgivelser. Ti år forinden havde brødrene været aktive i en helt anden sammenhæng, nemlig i oprettelsen af Københavns Drengekor efter europæiske forbilleder fra bl.a. Leipzig og Wien – formentlig også i dette tilfælde med den bagtanke, at der på længere sigt ville være tale om en god aftager af en anden del af forlagets udgivelser. I det hele taget viser Gravesens bog – nok klarere og med større overblik end det tidligere har været gjort – i hvor høj grad forlaget har engageret sig i de mest forskelligartede projekter, hver gang med ikke ringe, men helt legitim, skelen til tallene på bundlinjen.

Man kan ikke beskæftige sig med Wilhelm Hansen uden at omtale yderligere to emneområder fra den brogede historie: rettilighedsspørgsmålet og Carl Nielsen. Hvad det første angår, kan brudstykker fra Gravesens bog sammensættes til en spændende beretning om de mange sider af problemerne omkring copyright, som WH har været involveret i: fra de allertidligste år i 1850’erne, hvor det var konkurrencen om de billigste udgaver af Mendelssohns *Lieder ohne Worte*, der gav Jens Wilhelm Hansen blod på tanden, via Danmarks tilslutning til Bernerkonventionen i 1903, frem til diverse retssager om ‘Tango Jalousi’ og visse værker af Carl Nielsen; for slet ikke at tale om forlagets sikre hånd om den vigtige organisation i disse sager, KODA.

Også forlagets forhold til Carl Nielsen, både som person og senere som ophavsmand til indtægtsgivende værker, behandles indgående. Netop dette emne udgør et af de mere følsomme områder af forlagets historie og selvforståelse, og man fornemmer, at Gravesen har måttet træde varsomt. Meget af dette er kendt stof, og netop om dette emne kunne man have ønsket sig en mere samlet fremstilling, som så ganske vist ville have brudt med bogens tidligere nævnte kronologiske disposition. Emnet omfatter såvel de gode personlige relationer mellem direktørerne og komponisten, striden om honorarer, bruddet i 1920’erne, Carl Niensens indirekte udfald mod forlaget i de berømte avisinterviews fra midten af 1920’erne, den ofte diskuterede historie om de 50 kr., som Nielsen mente at have fået for ‘Jens Vejmand’ i 1906 og frem til forlagets engagement i Carl Nielsen Udgiven i årene 1997-2009.

Og så lidt fra småtingsafdelingen vedrørende Carl Nielsen. Flere steder omtales hans opus 1, suiten for strygere (s. 79 og s. 87); Carl Niensens egen titel (både på hans nodemanuskripter og i samtidige koncertprogrammer) er 'Suite for Strygeorkester'. Det med, at den også er 'lille', stammer fra den trykte, tyske udgave ('Kleine Suite ...') men ikke fra nogen dansk kilde. Gengivelsen af titelbladet fra Nielsen og Laubs *En snes danske Viser* (s. 79) omtaler Skovgaard's forsideillustration med den legende dreng og den græssende hest uden at nævne, at tegningen er en parafrase over Poul Martin Møllers verslinjer "Hingsten græsser stolt på fædres grave / drengen plukker af de røde bær". Og J.A.P. Schulz fra *Lieder im Volkston* staves uden t (s. 79). Det er heller næppe den fulde sandhed at sige, at Carl Niensens afgang som dirigent ved Det Kongelige Teater skyldtes hans egen skuffelse over "at have klaret sig så dårlig som dirigent" (s. 109): det var muligvis andres dom, men næppe komponistens egen. Og endelig udkom 'Jens Vejmand' ikke i en WH-samling med titlen *Syv Sange* (s. 111, en sådan titel findes vist ikke), men derimod i *Strofiske Sange*, hæfte 1, ligesom det heller ikke er rigtigt at hustruen, billedhuggeren Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, var maler (s. 81).

Afsluttende i afdelingen for kritiske bemærkninger skal blot nævnes yderligere to detaljer: på side 83 karakteriseres klaverakkompagnementet i et af forlagets flagskibe, *Danmarks Melodibog*, som "4-stemmig sats" (s. 83) – det er altså ikke rigtigt; blandt de mere end 1500 satser findes alt fra enkel 4-stemmig koralstil til fuldt udskrevet romance-akkompagnement. På s. 293-305 i kapitlet 'Det bliver ikke lettere' skifter hele fremstillingen lidt pludseligt karakter. Teksten fremstår her i en række korte afsnit, nogen af dem på under ti linjer, forsynet med hver sin underoverskrift, nærmest i punktform: 'Familjen', 'Ungdomsmusikken', 'Musikundervisning' og mange andre. Her træder for alvor et af bogens hovedproblemer frem, nemlig manglen på en mere sammenhængende tekst over et længere forløb.

Generelt er *Hansen* en god bog. Den er velskrevet, underholdende, tankevækkende og i høj grad øjenåbnende. Det er imponerende, så langt forfatteren er kommet med det uhyre omfattende kildemateriale, der ligger i det store og endnu ikke færdigordnede forlagsarkiv på Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Der kan utvivlsomt trækkes endnu mere ud af dette arkiv, ligesom også Landsarkivet i Aarhus vil kunne give nye vinkler på stoffet, men med *Hansen* er vi for første gang virkelig kommet rundt om Hansen.

Lad Kjerulf og Gravesen hver for sig få det sidste ord – sammenstillingen af de to citater er tankevækkede; Kjerulf (1957): "I de 35 år, de nuværende chefer har ledet forlaget og musikhandelen, er der sket så gennemgribende ændringer i betingelserne for både at udgive og sælge musikaler, at det ville have været skæbnesvangert selv for et gammelt og solidt firma at føre forretningen ensidigt videre i det gamle spor. Retningslinjen har måttet være denne at tage ligeligt hensyn til de gamle traditioner og tidens ny signaler. Uden fornyelse ville det have været ikke blot tilstand, men tilbagegang" (s. 148); Gravesen (2008): "Det gamle verdensbillede gælder ikke ret mange steder mere – og slet ikke i et moderne musikforlag. Her er det nok så meget mediet, der gælder, og de sammenhænge, det etablerer. Hvis man synes, at en adagiosats af Vagn Holmboe vil forløse en bestemt scene i en dokumentarfilm om lystfiskeri, så hører de to ting sammen. Eller hvis en reklamefilm for stilmøbler befinder sig bedst med musik af Ellington. Wilhelm Hansen har nemlig det hele, og der skal tænkes – og ikke mindst ageres – på tværs" (s. 327).

Niels Krabbe

Bibliography 2008

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 encyclopedia entries.

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