

Musical Constructions of Nationalism:
Essays on the History and Ideology of European
Musical Culture 1800–1945

edited by
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CORK **c**
u UNIVERSITY
p PRESS

First published in 2001 by
Cork University Press
University College
Cork
Ireland

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Musical constructions of nationalism / edited by Harry White and Michael Murphy

p. cm.

Includes biographical references and index.

ISBN 1-85918-153-8 (alk. paper) – ISBN 1-85918-322-0 (pbk.: alk. paper)

1. Music–Europe–19th century–History and criticism. 2.

Music–Europe–20th century–History and criticism. 3. Nationalism in

Music. I. White, Harry, 1958- . II. Murphy, Michael, 1968-

ML240.1.M86 2001

781.5'5'99'09–dc21

00-065880

ISBN 1 85918 153 8 hardback

ISBN 1 85918 322 0 paperback

Typeset by Tower Books, Ballincollig, Co. Cork

Printed by MPG Books Ltd, Cornwall

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Introduction

MICHAEL MURPHY

Despite the familiarity of 'musical nationalism' in musicological literature, particularly in the study of nineteenth-century European musical culture, it is a subject that has received relatively little attention from musicologists for most of the twentieth century. While Joseph Kerman noted that after the Second World War 'the anti-Romantic reaction [in musicology] . . . passed and musicologists . . . moved back with confidence to the study of nineteenth-century music',¹ this renewed vigour did not include analysis of the political meaning of that repertoire with respect to nationalism. In short, that *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* has not included an article on the subject is a measure of the bibliography on musical nationalism in Anglophone musicology to date.²

A number of phenomena have brought about a strong interest in the study of political nationalism in recent decades: the persistence of nationalism and ethnic conflict throughout the world, the perceived threat to national identity in the face of economic and political integration in Western Europe, and the emergence of over a dozen ethnically based states in the wake of the break-up of the Soviet Union.³ In 1990 Eric Hobsbawm suggested that in the period between 1968 and 1988 there was a larger output of scholarship on the subject of nations and nationalism than in any prior period of twice that length.⁴ More recently, John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith have contrasted the 'reserve' of Anglo-Saxon scholars during the greater part of the present century with the recent profusion of books, articles, journals, conferences, and university courses on ethnicity and nationalism, and they cite a substantial list of disciplines that have engaged with the subject.⁵ It is only in the last decade that musicologists have begun to investigate the issue in light of new analytical approaches.⁶

The editors of *Musical Constructions of Nationalism* asked the contributors to consider how nationalist ideology was a vital factor in conditioning musical culture with respect to nationalism in Europe. This is a vague instruction, and no normative description of nationalism was

offered by the editors. Thus this volume does not constitute a history of musical nationalism, nor is it primarily theoretical in its focus. Nevertheless, the editors intend that this volume should contribute to the general reorientation of perspective that is currently in train with regard to musical nationalism.

The balance of this introduction is divided into three sections: a survey of theories of nationalism, a survey of musicological scholarship on nationalism in the twentieth century and a review of the contents of the present volume.

Theories of nationalism

A survey of the theoretical literature shows that no normative definition of 'nation' or 'nationalism' is possible. This daunting situation reflects the fact that nationalism is not a single doctrine, that its origins are spurious and various and that its manifestations are moulded by circumstance. As Anthony Smith noted, an historian may be tempted to abandon the search for a 'unitary concept' of nationalism and opt instead for a 'contextualist' approach.⁷ But such an approach presupposes a general idea of nationalism that the particular instances exemplify, thus allowing it to be compared or contrasted with other social, cultural and political movements.

The broadest sketch of nationalism shows that the nineteenth century took for granted that the world was divided naturally into nations, and that, in the modernist crisis between established ecclesiastical authority and secular state power, intellectuals, politicians and educated populations throughout Europe looked to the nation as the source of identity, education, state power, culture, history and destiny. Clearly, nineteenth-century nationalism must be viewed in the context of the modernisation of society: namely the change from feudalism to citizenship and social mobility, the move to industrialisation and capitalism, the nationalisation of previously 'regional' languages and the development of national education systems. Furthermore, we can trace a fundamental change in the dynamic of nationalism as the nineteenth century progressed. While the proclamation of the Second Republic in France in 1848 was seen across Europe as the fulfilment of the promise of 1789, and the consequent demise of the Holy Alliance saw the rise of popular parliament in the 'Spring of the Peoples', the course of nationalism changed throughout Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century as a consequence of its own assumptions and in response to historical developments. The initial universalism of nationalism that sought freedom for all nations was superseded by a narrower brand of nationalism based on historical rights, economic interests and policies of protectionism (e.g. *Machtpolitik* and *Realpolitik*).

But nationalism was not only a public political ideology and movement, it was registered also in the identification of the individual's fate with that

of the nation. By the early decades of the nineteenth century Hegel was able to declare in his *Philosophy of World History* that

Individuals withdraw into themselves and pursue their own ends, and this . . . is the nation's undoing . . . The worth of individuals is measured by the extent to which they reflect and represent the national spirit.⁸

The imperative status of 'national identity' proved to be a powerful agent in the emergence of nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

When we turn to the scholarship on nations and nationalism we are confronted with a plethora of theories, many of them oppositional, especially with regard to the vexed question of typology. At the risk of oversimplification we can see that nations fall into one of two categories: the cultural or the political. This division was famously formulated by Friedrich Meinecke in his *Welthürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1907) and it has persisted in various forms ever since. Meinecke distinguished between 'nations that are primarily based on some jointly experienced cultural heritage [*Kulturnation*], and nations that are primarily based on the unifying force of a common political history and constitution [*Staatsnation*'].⁹ While the *Kulturnation* was defined in terms of common language, literature and religion, the *Staatsnation* was the product of political nationalism as defined by the spirit of the French Revolution with its ideas of self-determination and sovereignty.

Hans Kohn subsequently distinguished between Western and Eastern models of the nation. The Western model describes nation-formation in England, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United States and the British Dominions where 'the rise of nationalism was a predominantly political occurrence; it was preceded by the formation of the future national state'.¹⁰ In Eastern Europe (east of the Rhine) and Asia, nationalism was not only a later phenomenon but was characterised by its protest against and conflict with the existing state pattern.¹¹ Kohn identifies this Eastern nationalism as essentially cultural in nature due to the 'backward' state of political and social structures. In Kohn's formulation, German nationalism was non-Western in as much as it 'substituted for the legal and rational concept of "citizenship" the infinitely vaguer concept of "folk", which, first discovered by the German humanists, was later fully developed by Herder and the German romanticists'.¹²

Such rigid distinctions have been questioned in recent scholarship. Anthony Smith modified the inflexibility of Kohn's model by identifying a 'civic-territorial' model on the one hand and an 'ethnic-genealogical' model on the other.¹³ This is a useful distinction that does not rest solely on geo-political criteria. Furthermore, it can be applied to conflicting versions of the nation *within* a single nation. For example, Heinrich August Winkler noted that the question 'What is the German Fatherland?' was one that 'the liberals of 1848 tended, in the main, to answer tactically'.¹⁴ In this

regard, Peter Alter analyses the fluctuating German claims for minority groups:

before 1918 Germans emphasized subjective, political factors in the case of East Prussian Masurians who spoke a Polish dialect, and pointed to objective, cultural considerations [i.e. the German language] where Alsatians were concerned.¹⁵

Thus, when Renan stated that 'A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite',¹⁶ he was arguing against the theory of historical rights and ethnic solidarity that the Germans used to justify the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 against the will of its population. At the same time, Renan's Republican patriotism was in opposition to conservative Catholic French nationalism.¹⁷ As history clearly shows, nationalists were prone to adapt their dogma according to circumstance.

It is evident that theorists who rely on statist models of the nation have tended to devalue or ignore the cultural aspect of nationalism. John Hutchinson has challenged Kohn's failure to appreciate the modernising effect of cultural nationalism in non-Western countries. While carefully distinguishing between cultural and political nationalism, Hutchinson argues that cultural nationalism is itself a political movement that rejects the passive isolationism of traditionalism, and promotes the nation as a progressive and modern culture.¹⁸ He sees cultural nationalists as 'moral innovators' who establish 'ideological movements at times of social crisis in order to transform the belief-systems of communities, and provide models of socio-political development that guide their modernizing strategies'.¹⁹

If theories of nationhood are contentious, so too is the question of the origins and development of nationalism. In recent years there has been a move away from the history of ideas to a broadly sociological approach. This may be represented by Ernest Gellner's uncompromising belief that to focus on the intellectual history of nationalism is to enter a state of false consciousness. In particular he rejects Elie Kedourie's 'perplexing and unfair inculcation' of Kant's philosophy of self-determination in the origins and development of nationalism.²⁰ Gellner argues that Kant was essentially concerned with the 'universal' in man', rather than 'the culturally specific'.²¹

Gellner's influential scholarship identifies the modernist character of nationalism. While nationalists propagated the myth that nations had existed from time immemorial and that nationalism, therefore, was the revival of nations from slumber, Gellner emphasises that we should not accept the 'sleeping-beauty' model of nationalism (e.g. *Risorgimento*); rather, we should regard nations as the crystallisations of new social units. Nationalism is 'in reality the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each

protected by its own state'.²² We may represent Gellner's conclusion with the following powerful credo:

The basic deception and self-deception practised by nationalism is this: nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population . . . But this is the very opposite of what nationalism affirms and what nationalists fervently believe. Nationalism usually conquers in the name of a putative folk culture. Its symbolism is drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants, of the *Volk*, the *narod*.²³

We may contrast Gellner's model with that of another sociologist's, Anthony Smith. If we consider the relationship between state and nation we can see fundamental differences in Gellner's and Smith's conclusions. Gellner believes that nationalism was primarily a political principle which 'holds that they [nation and state] were destined for each other'²⁴ and that the nation cannot survive without its own 'political shell, the state'.²⁵ Smith, however, argues that 'nationalism is an ideology of the nation, not the state'.²⁶ On Smith's view, the concept of the nation-state was not the *raison d'être* of nationalism. As Smith argues, the acquisition of statehood was neither necessary nor universal in early theories of nationalism (e.g. Rousseau, Herder), and many nationalists (e.g. Scots, Flemish, Catalan) were more concerned with 'home rule and cultural parity in a multinational state than with outright independence'.²⁷ He continues: 'More than a style and doctrine of politics, nationalism is a *form of culture* – an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness'.²⁸ If nationalism is about the imposition of high culture, as Gellner argues, then nationalism has been conspicuously successful. But the fact that Poland and Ireland in the nineteenth century, for example, generated and sustained national cultures without a state apparatus, and indeed against a colonial state apparatus, demonstrates that nations are, in essence, independent of statehood.

A central feature of Smith's scholarship is his emphasis on the role which ethnicity has had in defining national identity. Ethnic distinctiveness, which he defines as 'shared ancestry myths, common historical memories, unique cultural markers, and a sense of difference, if not election' remains 'a *sine qua non* of the nation'.²⁹ For Smith, the potency of ethnic elements for national identity lies in the fact that the ethnic model of the nation was compatible with 'the pre-modern "demotic" kind of community' which remained widespread throughout the world in the modern era; in his phrase, 'the ethnic model was sociologically fertile'.³⁰ However, it is worth entering the caveat that the reputed 'ethnic distinctiveness' of a nation does not mean that it is ethnically homogenous; nations were typically formed around a dominant *ethnie*.

Smith also promotes the role of historicist intellectuals in generating the ideology of political nationalism and, at times, in leading it.³¹ Smith argues for the importance of a sense of 'identity crisis' amongst intellectuals who found themselves in the midst of the demise of traditional religious forms of culture and society, and who were challenged by political revolution and emerging scientific states. The importance of the historicist myth for intellectuals was that it allowed for a world-view that was just as 'cosmic' as were the more traditional religions. In this new context, intellectuals did not create national(ist) cultures *ex nihilo* but from the models of collective identity that they inherited from late medieval and early modern Europe.

In the postmodern world, national identity is continually being explored and debated across the globe. Whether this signifies the demise of national identity in favour of regional identity or a resurgence of national identity in the face of perceived globalisation is impossible to predict.

With the continuous research into political and cultural nationalism across a wide range of disciplines there is little chance of finding a unitary model of nationalism and nationhood that musicologists can readily apply to the study of musical culture. In the following section we will see that the division between the history of ideas and the sociological method has come to dominate current debate on the musical nationalism.

The musicological study of nationalism in the twentieth century

The marginalisation of the study of musical nationalism in musicology during the twentieth century was a result of both musicological and political factors. In the early twentieth century Guido Adler assigned the investigation of the development of musical style to musicology.³² Leo Treitler describes this methodology 'as an effort to "mediate between aesthetics and history," to write history without "doing violence to the aesthetic autonomy of works," to the "strong concept of art."³³ In this regard, an overtly nationalist aesthetic fell short of the status of the great works of art of the Austro-German canon, the chief characteristic of which was autonomy.³⁴ Historical musicology assumed the presence of 'an "ideal object" whose continuity is followed in the narrative'.³⁵ Treitler states

The correlate is a history of compositional technique, or of musical logic. That meant music history as a narrative of change, with the emphasis on novelty. What 'belongs to history' is what is new. The framework of continuity in such narrative was the biographical or organismal model.³⁶

Clearly, musicological methodology was incompatible with the study of nationalism as an ideology, and focused by default on the questions of national style and national histories.

This marginalisation of musical nationalism in musicology is characterised by a number of familiar assumptions. The most characteristic of these is that nationalism in music is primarily a feature of 'the national schools'. This particular category sets these schools in opposition to the 'central' musical nations, an assumption which leads to the conclusion that, in Cecil Gray's words, 'National schools are invariably short-lived; they have no capacity for replenishment or renewal, but perish like mayflies after a short and brilliant career'.³⁷ To no small degree nationalism in music was perceived as a species of exoticism.

Of great significance was the methodological precedent set by Paul Henry Lang when he wrote his section on 'Nationalism in Music' under the rubric 'The Peripheries of Nineteenth-Century Music and Its Practice' in his influential *Music in Western Civilization*.³⁸ The continuity between Lang's treatment of musical nationalism in 1941 and that of many post-war writers is striking.³⁹ However, considering the hopes for a post-national polity in the aftermath of the Second World War, the reluctance to engage with nationalism in the historical and political sciences, to say nothing of musicology, is unsurprising.

We may register this sensitivity, from a musicological point of view, in the second edition of Warren Dwight Allen's *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600-1960*.⁴⁰ The central thesis of his survey of 317 music histories was that the idea of 'progress' in the history of music was an insufficient explanatory model when compared with the sociological method in the history of art and literature. While Allen had already made this point in the 1939 edition, in the 1962 edition he wedded it to a strident anti-nationalist stance which he adopted as a matter of American democratic duty. While he believed that 'doctrines of development and evolution' formed the basis for nationalistic music history, it is clear that his rejection of these models was more than a purely methodological concern.⁴¹ In particular he stressed 'that the histories of national musical life and the music of one's own area have tended to become neglected in a democratic country like our own and overstressed under dictatorships'.⁴² Clearly, Allen was reacting to certain trends in European musicology: he refers, *inter alia*, to a 'Nazi version' of Hugo Riemann's *Musiklexicon, Theorie und Geschichte der Musik*.⁴³

In direct proportion to his disdain of nationalism in European musicology was his concern to keep musical scholarship in America free from nationalism. As he was well aware, the influx of European musicologists to America before and after the war had a profound effect on American musicology: in his 'Preface', for example, he singled out Paul Henry Lang for his seminal contribution to the 'great strides made in American musicology in the last twenty years'.⁴⁴ Another notable immigrant was Alfred Einstein, whose *Geschichte der Musik* (1922) Allen declared was 'free from the virus of nationalism'.⁴⁵ This contrasts with Pamela M. Potter's view that Einstein had no

reason to abandon his Germanocentric view of music history.⁴⁶ She notes that Einstein's *Geschichte der Musik* promoted the idea of a resilient German musical spirit that overcame foreign domination and found its voice in Bach, Haydn and Weber.⁴⁷ There is evidence, however, that Einstein distanced himself from nationalism after he settled in America: most notably he prefaced his influential *Music in the Romantic Era* (1947) with a disclaimer against overt nationalism. After remarking that 'the emphasis laid on the national element is one of the essential marks of Romanticism', he continued:

If in this book the presentation of the Romantic movement in Germany occupies a wide space, it might be remembered that it is, at least in the eyes of a later generation, perhaps not a matter of pride for any nation to have been the one most strongly affected by the Romantic virus.⁴⁸

While *Music in the Romantic Era* lay outside the scope of Allen's survey of general histories of music, he could not have been unaware of its importance, nor of the significance of Einstein's disclaimer.

In his attempt to immunise his own readers from any potential nationalist virus, Allen conjured with the idea of America under a Fascist dictatorship where the jazz idiom would be banned 'on account of the Semitic influence' as would 'all subversive tendencies inherent in "inferior" Negro culture', and where the "'Stars and Stripes Forever" could thus be held up as the highest flower of American music evolution'.⁴⁹ Consequently, he devoted his volume to finding 'a pluralistic method by which we may deal in a scientific way with different arts of music in different areas, with different peoples made up of different individuals'.⁵⁰ In short, musicology remained in step behind the social, political and historical sciences, and declined to study the political meaning of nationalism in music.

It was not until Carl Dahlhaus's writings started to exert an influence on Anglo-American musicology that the subject benefited from a more rigorous intellectual approach. His scholarship on musical nationalism reflected the dichotomy between the history of ideas and the sociological approach that existed in the historical and social sciences. In particular he suggested that musical nationalism should be studied in the context of political nationalism so as to determine whether there were any correlations between the condition of political nationalism and musical culture in a given nation.⁵¹ While this is now an obvious point, it represents a break from the reticence as expressed by Allen, for example. (Indeed, Dahlhaus's suggestion is the point of departure for the present volume.) However, recent studies of Dahlhaus's scholarship, in particular James Hepokoski's 'The Dahlhaus Project and Its Extra-Musicological Sources', demonstrate the need for contextualising such statements with particular regard to nationalism.⁵² Thus, Dahlhaus's statement that 'the national side of music is to be found less in the music itself than in its political and sociopsychological function'⁵³ is a methodological dispensation that is resonant with

ideological assumptions about the nature of nationalist music and its historiography. Hepokoski emphasises that Dahlhaus's primary concern was 'how to write an art *history* that is a history of *art*'.⁵⁴ To this end Dahlhaus rejected the idea of a 'metanarrative' of 'History', proposing instead 'empirical studies within a history of a "medium" order of magnitude'.⁵⁵ Hepokoski observes that the 'manifest plan of [Dahlhaus's] *Nineteenth-Century Music* is the study of differing, but contemporaneous, genres and categories, which we are apparently to understand as clusters of parallel but often conceptually separable *Geshichten*'.⁵⁶ However, he argues that Dahlhaus 'seems most centrally concerned with constructing the "History" of the Germanic institution of autonomous music'.⁵⁷ According to Hepokoski, Dahlhaus's emphasis on the immanent identity of the art work was a strategy to 'shelter the German Romantic canon from ideology critique'⁵⁸ in the atmosphere of late post-war divided Germany.

A more recent study of musical nationalism by Celia Applegate – 'How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century'⁵⁹ – has again highlighted the issue of ideological perspective. Her adoption of a sociological approach is specifically designed to deconstruct the edifice of German musical nationalism. In this regard, she challenges the conclusion, *pace* Rumph and Pederson, that the idea of aesthetic autonomy was the product of early nineteenth-century German nationalism.⁶⁰ In a revisionist style predicated on the model of Gellner as transmitted through James J. Sheehan,⁶¹ Applegate believes that authors such as Dahlhaus, Hepokoski and William Weber take German nationalism too much for granted. She states:

In each case [Dahlhaus, Hepokoski, and Weber], German nationalism or national identity or indeed nationhood looms as an undifferentiated whole, lurching its monolithic way through the nineteenth century into the disastrous twentieth and contaminating musical culture along with everything else.⁶²

Likewise, she accuses Rumph and Pederson of exaggerating the nationalism of Hoffmann and Marx 'by simplifying the politics of the time, the significance of nationalism in Prussian Berlin and in these critics' imaginary [*sic*].'⁶³ Applegate is primarily concerned with distancing musicology from 'yesterday's models of German national development' where Hoffmann and A. B. Marx are aligned with the Luther-to-Bismarck-to-Hitler trajectory in a bid to insert music into intellectual and political history. In particular, she contrasts her own study of Zelter with Georg Schünemann's 'stridently nationalist portrait' in which Zelter, Stein and Hardener are implicated in preparing 'the ground for a destined unification of Germany under Prussia'.⁶⁴

To demonstrate the incoherence of nationalism in the early decades of nineteenth-century Germany she opts for a socio-cognitive model that is

directed to a study of the music profession itself. She argues that the musicians who turned to a national discourse did so, not for political reasons, but rather for social mobility and ease of integration with the educated élite.⁶⁵ She repeatedly claims that musicians became the 'movers and doers' of society by developing the ideas and institutions that promoted music as 'serious' culture and, therefore, as 'German'.⁶⁶ In essence, the turn to nationalism by Zelter et al. can be understood in the context of the 'identity-crisis' amongst intellectuals in post-revolutionary Europe.

In a sense, Dahlhaus and Applegate represent the opposing perspectives of the history of ideas and the sociological approach. In the end, as Dahlhaus has suggested, most historians are eclectic in their approach. Equally, no one can be free from perspective. This volume represents a variety of approaches.

Review of the contents

As a whole, the essays in this volume explore many aspects of musical culture beyond the issue of national musical style. To take a few examples, Marina Frolova-Walker and John Rosselli consider the question of nationalist historiography; Jeremy Dibble focuses on nationalism in musicology; Robert Vilain explores the literary reception of music; Stephen Downes explores the relationship between sexuality, politics and music; Annegret Fauser considers the politics of gender in relation to music; while Daniel Grimley and Ståle Kleiberg consider in detail the question of musical style. At the risk of oversimplification, one can observe that the majority of essays focus on musical culture after 1870 (cf. Dibble, Fauser, Vilain, Kleiberg, Grimley, Cooper, Downes, Ryan), and the others are mostly concerned with musical nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century (cf. Murphy, Rosselli, White, Frolova-Walker, Sweeney-Turner). Not surprisingly, therefore, a theme that is common to all but the chapters on Ireland, Scotland and mid-nineteenth-century Poland is the attempt to find a national source of cultural authority as an alternative to Germanism after 1870 (Frolova-Walker examines this issue in the mid-to late-nineteenth century). This question, however, is a very complex one, and nationalists were adept at simultaneously repudiating and assimilating German influences (cf. Dibble and Frolova-Walker, for example). As a cursory glance at the chapters will show, the question of musical nationalism cannot be reduced to the anxiety of influence. Indeed, those who can be called 'musical nationalists' were typically engaged with generating a cosmopolitan musical culture, the authenticity of which was underscored by the national element.

Jeremy Dibble's main concern is with the need for late nineteenth-century English musicology to put itself on an equal footing with the German tradition of *Musikwissenschaft*. Ironically, despite the Anglocentric bias of Grove's *Dictionary*, this scholarship reflected the high status and

formative influence of German musical culture in England.

In her comprehensive chapter, Annegret Fauser focuses on how the 'masculinising' of French art in the post-1870 era was a means of bestowing cultural identity and power on a defeated France. She theorises the gendering of nationhood in the context of a divided polity, and she extensively examines the intellectual discourses that dominated French scholarship and civic society, with particular reference to masculinised representations of Jeanne d'Arc.

The issue of international tension is further explored in Robert Vilain's examination of Wagner's reception in Germany and France. In particular he explores the complex relationship between the nationalistic and aesthetic elements in Thomas Mann's and Stéphane Mallarmé's reception of Wagner. The rivalry between Thomas Mann and his brother, Heinrich, is examined against the background of the political tensions within Wilhelm II's Germany.

The influence of German symphonism on Russian orchestral music is analysed by Marina Frolova-Walker in her critique of the enduring mythology of 'Russianness' in music. She notes that Western critics were happy to reproduce the Russian nationalist mythologies according to their quasi-oriental view of Russia, an interpretation which she shows does not withstand the scrutiny of those 'Russian' symphonies.

The fate of the multi-ethnic Hungarian nation is central to David Cooper's chapter on Bartók. Cooper argues that the composer's rejection of Gypsy music in favour of peasant music represented a musical and political *volte-face*, the musical modernism of which challenged the conservative nationalism of the Hungarian state.

John Rosselli, in his chapter on music and nationalism in Italy, observes that it was only after political unification, and the resulting discontent that it engendered, that nationalist discourse came to engage seriously with music. Rosselli argues that the coming of Italian nationhood led to a loss of confidence in the primacy of Italian music, and this, coupled with the perceived threat of Germanism, acted as a spur to the more nationalistically minded critics and composers.

Stephen Downes's exploration of the erotic nature of Szymanowski's work goes to the core of the meaning of nationalism as an ideology. In essence, Downes argues that Szymanowski's liberation of Eros had the power to subvert and transcend the insidious divisions at the heart of political nationalism.

Ståle Kleiberg explores David Johansen's national style in the context of the polarised condition of Norwegian nationalism, i.e. between those who wanted to Norwegianise the Danish language on the one hand and those who wanted to formulate a 'New' Norwegian literate language on the other.

Daniel Grimley considers the marginalisation of Scandinavian music in musicological writing with particular reference to the issue of nationalism.

He draws on Hutchinson's model of cultural nationalism to explore the progressive nature of Nielsen's construction of 'northernness'.

If many European musical cultures needed to be 'liberated' from the hegemony of German music, Irish music needed to be liberated from itself. As Harry White argues, the concept of Irish music came to signify the 'soul of the nation' to the extent that the music itself became fixed in a metaphorical register and thereby all but ceased to exist as an independent art form. The legacy of this nationalism is explored by Joe Ryan, who pessimistically notes that, in the context of a largely musically illiterate nation, 'the few who seek to create through sound end up soliloquising or addressing a foreign audience'.

Steve Sweeney-Turner examines competing political interpretations of Burns's famous song, 'Bruce's Address to his Army' (also known as 'Scots Wha Hae wi' Wallace Bled'). In particular he explores how Burns was represented in the Scottish Radical tradition on the one hand, and British imperial culture on the other.

My own chapter considers Moniuszko's *Halka* in light of the conflicting theoretical debates that dominated Polish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century. I focus on the genesis of the opera, with particular reference to the revolutionist conception of social equalisation.

There is no ready definition that describes the relationship between political nationalism and musical culture. The limit of Dahlhaus's claim that 'Nationalistic music, it seems, invariably emerges as an expression of a politically motivated need, which tends to appear when national independence is being sought, denied, or jeopardized rather than attained or consolidated'⁶⁷ is easily reached. It is clear from the contents of this volume that those who generated musical culture were deeply concerned with the survival of 'the nation' in modern Europe. However, their engagement with nationalism transcended the strictly political concerns of statehood and independence, and focused instead on the more fundamental questions of the composition of civil society and national culture. In other words, the question 'What is the nation?' drew a response from composers, musical theorists, scholars and critics. In this regard, many of the contributors examine nationalist musical cultures in the context of conflicting models of the nation and nationalism. Furthermore, that nationalism was a powerful force for social and cultural homogenisation is a central issue in understanding the nature of musical nationalism: the question of how musicians contributed to or reacted against such processes of homogenisation is a frequent theme in this volume. In short, the degree to which musical culture was more or less nationalist was contingent on circumstance, and this volume is dedicated to examining such concrete incidents.

The title of the present volume suggests that when musical culture engages with political and cultural nationalism it constructs its own unique musical terms of reference that are nevertheless inextricably linked to the

wider world of nations. The plurality of musical culture disclosed in these essays confirms the plural condition of 'musical nationalism' itself. As a concept, as a term of reference which provides an interface (as it were) between art and ideology, 'nationalism in music' functions not as a peripheral or simplistic phenomenon. Rather it denotes a complex, multivarious and central manifestation of the often vexed relations between music, society and culture.

Notes and References

- 1 Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London, 1985), p. 38.
- 2 Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980). The seventh edition (forthcoming) will include an article on the subject.
- 3 For example, Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), p. 12, states: '... since World War II every successful revolution has defined itself in national terms – the People's Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and so forth – and, in so doing, has grounded itself firmly in a territorial and social space inherited from the prerevolutionary past'.
- 4 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 5.
- 5 John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism: A Reader* (Oxford, 1994), 'Preface'.
- 6 One important early study was the translation of Carl Dahlhaus's 'Nationalism and Music', in *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (California, 1980). More recent studies are discussed in the course of this introduction.
- 7 See Anthony Smith, *National Identity*, (London, 1991), p. 79. For a comprehensive introduction to nationalism with source readings see Hutchinson and Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*.
- 8 G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of World History* (1823–1831), quoted in O. Dahbour and M. R. Ishay (eds.), *The Nationalism Reader* (New Jersey, 1995), pp. 79–84. This is not to say that Hegel was a nationalist: as a rationalist, his primary concern was with the State not the nation; see Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London, 1960 [reprinted 1985]), p. 36.
- 9 F. Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (New Jersey, 1970), p. 10, quoted in Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Indiana, 1994 [1st edn., 1982]), p. 65.
- 10 Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1945), quoted in Hutchinson and Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, p. 164.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Smith, *National Identity*, pp. 11–12. For a further critique of Kohn see Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism*, pp. 66–9.
- 14 Heinrich August Winkler, 'Nationalism and nation-state in Germany', in Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter (eds.), *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 183.
- 15 Peter Alter, *Nationalism*, trans. Stuart McKinnon-Evans (London, 1989), p. 17.
- 16 Ernest Renan, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' (a lecture delivered at the Sorbonne in

- 1882), trans. and annotated by Martin Thom, 'Tribes Within Nations: The Ancient Germans and the History of Modern France', in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990), p. 19.
- 17 Thom argues, however, that Renan was not as committed to the 'voluntaristic' argument as his essay suggests: see Thom, 'Tribes Within Nations', in Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, pp. 22–43.
- 18 Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (London, 1987), quoted in Hutchinson and Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, p. 131.
- 19 Ibid., p. 127.
- 20 See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 30ff., for his critique of Kedourie, and see also Kedourie, *Nationalism* [reprinted 1985], pp. 142ff. for his reply to Gellner.
- 21 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 131.
- 22 Ibid., p. 48.
- 23 Ibid., p. 57.
- 24 Ibid., p. 6.
- 25 Ibid., p. 143.
- 26 Smith, *National Identity*, p. 74.
- 27 Ibid., p. 74.
- 28 Ibid., p. 91.
- 29 Ibid., p. 70.
- 30 Ibid., p. 41.
- 31 Ibid., p. 93. It is worth noting that Smith distinguishes between the intellectuals who generate ideas and artistic works from the much wider stratum of the intelligentsia whose function as professionals it is to disseminate those ideas and creations.
- 32 Guido Adler, *Der Stil in der Musik* (Leipzig, 1911).
- 33 Leo Treitler, 'What Kind of Story Is History?', in *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Harvard, 1989), p. 170.
- 34 Two recent articles argue that this notion of 'autonomy' was the product of German nationalism: see Sanna Pederson, 'A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity', *19th-Century Music* XVIII, 2 (California, 1994), pp. 87–107; Stephen Rumph, 'A Kingdom Not of This World: The Political Context of E. T. A. Hoffmann's Beethoven Criticism', *19th-Century Music* XIX, 1 (California, 1995), pp. 50–67.
- 35 Treitler, 'What Kind of Story Is History?', pp. 169–70.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Cecil Gray, *Predicaments. Or Music and the Future: An Essay in Constructive Criticism* (London, 1936), p. 136.
- 38 See Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), pp. 916ff.
- 39 See Donald J. Grout, *A History of Western Music* (London, 1962 [4th edn., 1988]); Alec Harman, Anthony Milner and Wilfrid Mellers, *Man and His Music: The Story of Musical Experience in the West* (London, 1962 [4th edn., 1971]); Ronald Stevenson, *Western Music: An Introduction* (London, 1971); Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music* (New Jersey, 1973); Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music. A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York & London, 1984).
- 40 Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600–1960* (New York, 1962 [1st edn., 1939]).
- 41 Ibid., p. 152.
- 42 Ibid., p. xxi.
- 43 See Allen, 'Bibliography', in *Philosophies of Music History*, p. 351. The Nazi version of Hugo Riemann's *Musiklexikon, Theorie und Geschichte der Musik* was edited by Josef Müller-Blattau.

- 44 Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, 'Preface', p. v.
- 45 Ibid., p. 133.
- 46 For the influence of German nationalism in American musicology see Pamela M. Potter, 'Musicology Under Hitler: New Sources In Context', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XLIX, 1 (1996), pp. 70–113.
- 47 Alfred Einstein, *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1922), quoted in Potter, 'Musicology Under Hitler', p. 106.
- 48 Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era: A History of Musical Thought in the 19th Century* (New York and London, 1947), pp. xi–xii.
- 49 Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, p. 170. Allen advises the reader that this was not in any sense derogatory of Sousa and his vital contribution to American music.
- 50 Ibid., p. xxvi.
- 51 Dahlhaus, 'Nationalism and Music', p. 89.
- 52 James Hepokoski, 'The Dahlhaus Project and Its Extra-Musicological Sources', *19th-Century Music*, XIV, 3 (1991), pp. 221–46.
- 53 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Berkeley, 1989), p. 217.
- 54 Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge, 1983), p. 129.
- 55 Ibid., p. 52.
- 56 Hepokoski, 'The Dahlhaus Project', p. 235.
- 57 Ibid., p. 236.
- 58 Ibid., p. 225.
- 59 Celia Applegate, 'How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th-Century Music* XXI, 3 (1998), pp. 274–96.
- 60 Ibid., pp. 277ff. See note 34 above re Rumph and Pederson.
- 61 See James J. Sheehan, *German History, 1700–1866* (Oxford, 1989), p. 372, for his debt to Gellner.
- 62 Applegate, 'How German is it?', p. 277
- 63 Ibid., p. 279.
- 64 Ibid., p. 294. The reference is to Georg Schünemann's *Carl Friedrich Zelter: Der Mensch und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1937).
- 65 Applegate, 'How German Is It?', p. 288.
- 66 Ibid., p. 295.
- 67 Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 38.