



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century

Pistoia - 18-20 May 2012

PROGRAMME

ORGANIZED BY

CENTRO STUDI
OPERA OMNIA
Luigi Boccherini



Amici di Gropoli

IN ASSOCIATION WITH



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Universidad
de Granada

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF



Provincia di Pistoia



CASSA DI RISPARMIO
DI PISTOIA E PESCIA



MUSIC AND PROPAGANDA IN THE SHORT TWENTIETH CENTURY

International Conference

18-20 May, Pistoia, UNISER - Polo Universitario di Pistoia

Organized by

Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca/Pistoia
Amici di Groppoli, Pistoia

In association with

Universidad de Granada

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Under the Auspices of

Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia
Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia
Provincia di Pistoia
UNISER - Polo Universitario di Pistoia



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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

MARÍA ISABEL CABRERA GARCÍA (Universidad de Granada)
GEMMA PÉREZ ZALDUONDO (Universidad de Granada)

FRIDAY 18 MAY

ore 10.00-10.30: *Welcome and Registration*

Room 'Cino da Pistoia', 10.30-11.00: **Opening**

- **MASSIMILIANO SALA** (President Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- **FEDERICA FRATONI** (President Province of Pistoia)
- **GIAMPIERO BALLOTTI** (President 'Amici di Groppoli')
- **IVANO PACI** (President Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia)

11.00-12.30 - **Music(ology) and Propaganda: Historiography and Methodologies**

(Chair: **MASSIMILIANO SALA**)

- SANJA MAJER-BOBETKO (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb): *Music Historiography and Propaganda in the First Half of the 20th Century: The Croatian Example*
- PAULO F. DE CASTRO (CESEM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa): «*Aber gewisse Dinge stehen gar nicht drin*» ("But Certain Things Aren't at All There"): *On a German Conductor, a Portuguese Symphony, and the Elephant in the Room*
- LUIS VELASCO PUFLEAU (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, CRAL/EHESS, Paris): *Music in War: Propaganda and Ideology*



13.00 Lunch



Room 1: 15.00-17.30 - **Music, Propaganda and the Press**

(Chair: **FULVIA MORABITO**)

- DANIELA GANGALE (Università degli Studi di Firenze): *Propaganda di sinistra: l'esperienza di «Cantacronache» (1958-1959)*
- LADA DURAKOVIĆ (Università 'Juraj Dobrila', Pola): *Musica e propaganda politica: l'influenza della stampa quotidiana sulla vita musicale di Pola e dell'Istria nel periodo tra le due guerre mondiali (1926-1943)*
- MARIA TERESA ARFINI (Università della Valle d'Aosta): *L'«arte degenerata» di Oskar Fischinger: una propaganda anti-nazista nel cinema astratto della Berlino anni Trenta*
- PAUL CHRISTIANSEN (University of Southern Maine, Portland, ME): «*Finish It, Whatever It Takes*»: *Musical Propaganda in Political Ads from the 2004 Bush U.S. Presidential Campaign*
- HARRY VANDERVLIST (University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada): «*Shostakovich, Jump through the Window!*»: *European Composers and the Opening of the Cold War Propaganda Battle in «Life» Magazine*

Room 2: 15.30-17.30 - **Propaganda and Musical Institutions I**

(Chair: **ROBERTO ILLIANO**)

- PINUCCIA CARRER and the students CECILIA MISSAGLIA, EMILIANO ROSSI, FRANCESCO STECA (Conservatorio 'G. Verdi' di Milano): «*Dux mea lux*»: *propaganda e musica nel mondo scolastico milanese*

- DAVIDE CERIANI (Columbia University, New York): *“Il centro irradiatore di propaganda e di sviluppo del teatro lirico nazionale”: fascismo, antifascismo e il ruolo politico del Teatro Reale dell’Opera di Roma tra le due guerre*
- ROSA PAULA ROCHA PINTO (CESEM, FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa): *Propaganda e istituzioni musicali: il caso della compagnia di balletti portoghesi ‘Verde Gaio’ (1940-1950)*
- JAVIER SUÁREZ-PAJARES (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *La cupola musicale della Spagna franchista nei festival di Bad Elster: 1941-1942*



21.00 - Seminario Vescovile (Via Niccolò Puccini 36, Pistoia)

Jazz Concert

‘LILI MARLEEN’

Songs from the Short Twentieth Century

STEFANIA SCARINZI, **voice**
 GIAMPAOLO CASATI, **trumpet**
 RENATO SELLANI, **piano**

STEFANIA SCARINZI

Born in 1967, Stefania Scarinzi was trained in Classical piano performing and singing at the Conservatorio ‘L. Cherubini’ (Florence) and Scuola di Musica in Fiesole; she is a qualified instructor of Vocal Power Method (Elizabeth Howard – Los Angeles). She has acquired a deeper understanding of the language of improvisation, arrangement and choir direction through her training with Bob Stoloff (Berklee School of Music of Boston) and her attendance of singing masterclasses by Norma Winstone, Sheila Jordan, Mark Murphy, Michele Hendricks e Jo Estill (founder of Voicecraft method). In 1997 she won a scholarship to attend specialized courses at the Manhattan School of Music at New York, where she collaborated with Terre Roche, Garry Dial, Rich De Rose. She has undertaken many concerts in Italy and beyond, collaborating with Dave Kikoski, Robin Eubanks, Cameron Brown, Garry Dial, Bob Stoloff, Fabio Morgera, Alfred Kramer, Piero Leveratto, Giampaolo Casati, Gianluca Tagliazucchi, Pietro Tonolo, Stefano Bollani, Francesco Cafiso, Werner ‘Vana’ Gierig, Renato Sellani, Bobby Durham, Bansigu Big Band di Genova and Krystian Brodacki. In 2002 she received the award of ‘best jazz talent’ from the Italian journal *Musica Jazz*. Between 1995 and 2005 she founded various choral ensembles: the *Coro Vivavoce*, the *Novo Grupo Vocal*, a female vocal ensemble dedicated to Brazilian repertory, and the vocal quintets *Voicings* and *Quinto Armonico*. From 1988 she taught in a number of schools (*Sound* in Pontassieve, *Blue Note*, *CAM* and *N.C.S. Il Globo* in Florence, *Lizard* in Fiesole, *Diapason* in Siena, Scuola di Musica di Scandicci, Accademia musicale, New York University), and now teaches at the ‘G.Verdi’ School (Prato) and ‘T. Mabellini’

School (Pistoia). Present projects include: *Lyrics and Spirits*, *Sempre Amore*, *Monk's Point* (dedicated to Thelonius Monk) and *Brazil Amado*. In 2004 she participated in the Umbria Jazz Festival as a guest, on the invitation of Renato Sellani.

GIAMPAOLO CASATI

Born in Genoa in 1959, after obtaining a D. M. A. in Pianoforte at the Conservatorio 'N. Paganini' (1985) Giampaolo Casati has for several years pursued concert and teaching activity in addition to acting as an arranger for Big Band and Combo Jazz. Over the years he has performed in many festivals and concerts throughout Europe, the United States, China and Japan, playing with many important Italian musicians (Giorgio Gaslini, Gianni Basso, Enrico Rava, Tullio De Piscopo, Gianni Cazzola, Piero Odorici, Riccardo Zegna, and so forth) and American ones (Charlie Mariano, Lee Konitz, Clifford Jordan, Ben Riley, Joe Lovano, Paul Jeffrey, Steve Lacy, Jimmy Cobb, John Hicks, Carla Bley, Steve Swallow, and so forth). He has made over fifty recordings, of which three bear his name only and two in which he directs the Bansigu Big Band. In addition he has participated in many radio and television broadcasts, and in the recordings of soundtracks for films and for the theatre. Teacher of Jazz trumpet at the Conservatorio 'G. Verdi' (Turin) and at the Scuola Musicale 'G. Conte' (Genoa), he has collaborated with the musical school 'Louisiana Jazz Club' in Genoa and the international courses of Siena Jazz, in addition to giving lectures in many Italian cities, in Marsiglia (France) and at Duke University (NC, USA). He has been and remains Artistic Director of Festivals such as *Acqui in Jazz*, *Portofino ai confini del Jazz*, *Pegli Jazz*, and many others.

RENATO SELLANI

Arriving for the first time in Milan in 1959 at the invitation of his friend Franco Cerri (at the time Milan was the meeting point of all the most important American jazz musicians), Sellani encountered Billie Holiday for the first time. In this period Sellani played in the quintet that included Gianni Basso and Oscar Valdambri. 1960 marks the meeting with Chet Baker who chose him as the pianist for the recording of an album and a tour. He also played in Gorni Kramer's RAI orchestra. He has composed much theatre music, including for *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett for the Piccolo Teatro in Milan, and for *Puntilla and His Servant Matti* by Bertold Brecht for the Teatro Stabile of Turin. Renato Sellani has performed with the greatest jazz musicians of the world, such as Lee Konitz, Enrico Rava, Dizzy Gillespie, Irio De Paula, Herb Geller, Gerry Mulligan, Stephan Grappelli, Phil Woods, Tony Scott, Bill Coleman and has accompanied many important singers, including Mina, Nicola Arigliano, Jula De Palma, Lilian Terry, Renata Mauro, Helen Merrill, Ginger Rogers and Sarah Vaughan (to name but a few). In recent years he has often performed with his own trio, formed by Massimo Moriconi on bass and Massimo Manzi on drum. His output includes many records, both within ensembles and as a soloist. These display his qualities as a composer, characterized by suggestive and refined sonorities. In 2008 he was awarded the Honorary Award (Career Award) as part of the Italian Jazz Awards «Luca Flores».



SATURDAY 19 MAY

Room 1: 09.30-11.00 - **Historical, Aesthetical and Sociological Aspects I**

(Chair: **GEMMA PÉREZ ZALDUONDO**)

- FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ-VICEDO (Universidad de Granada): *Spanish Music in the 50s: Composition award ‘Samuel Ros’ as a Reflection of Both the Policies in Franco’s Regime and the Transition towards New Aesthetics in Composition*
- RUTH PIQUER SANCLEMENTE (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *Narratives of Musical Neoclassicism in Spain: Ideological and Aesthetic Post-War Propaganda (1915-1936)*
- CHRISTIANE HEINE (Universidad de Granada): *Greek Mythology in Spanish Exile Music: «Le sang d’Antigone» (1955), «mystère tragique» Composed by Salvador Bacarisse to a Libretto by José Bergamín*

Room 1: 11.00-13.00 - **Historical, Aesthetical and Sociological Aspects II**

(Chair: **MASSIMILIANO LOCANTO**)

- PANAYOTIS LEAGUE (Boston University, Hellenic College): *Rewriting Unwritten History: Nationalism, Folklore, and the Ban of the Cretan Violin*
- HANA ŠIŠKOVÁ (Masaryk University, Institute of Musicology, Brno): *Music as a Carrier of Ideas, Based on the Example of Postwar Polish Music*
- BELÉN VEGA PICHACO (Universidad de La Rioja): *Re- (nova) volu-tion: The Members of the Grupo de Renovación Musical Before the Cuban Revolution and Afterwards*
- BELÉN PÉREZ CASTILLO (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *‘Problematic Music’*



13.00 Lunch



Room ‘Cino da Pistoia’, 15.00-16.00 – **Keynote Speakers**

- MARÍA ISABEL CABRERA GARCÍA – GEMMA PÉREZ ZALDUONDO (Universidad de Granada): *Voices, Strategies and Propaganda Practices: Music and Artistic Culture in the Service of State during Francoism*



16.00 Coffee Break



Room 1: 16.30-18.30 - **Music, Propaganda and Politics I**

(Chair: **GEMMA PÉREZ ZALDUONDO**)

- JUAN JOSÉ PASTOR COMÍN (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha): *From «Don Quixote» to «Dulcinea»: Political Cauterization of Musical Adaptations of Cervantes’ Text during the Franco Dictatorship (1939-1975)*
- MARÍA CÁCERES-PIÑUEL (Universidad de Zaragoza): *José Subirá and the Socialist Proposals for Music Reform in Inter-War Spain*

- MICHELA NICCOLAI (Université de Montréal – OICRM): *Puccini 'compositore di stato'? Strumentalizzazione di un personaggio pubblico durante il fascismo*
- GERMÁN GAN-QUESADA (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona): «*To Win Freedom...*» *Musical Composition and Political Commitment in Spain during the Last Years of Francoism (1969-1975)*

Room 2: 16.30-18.30 - **Music, Propaganda and Identity**

(Chair: **FEDERICO CELESTINI**)

- PALOMA OTAOLA GONZALEZ (Université 'Jean Moulin' Lyon 3): *La canzone spagnola e l'identità nazionale nella Spagna franchista: Manolo Escobar*
- PEDRO ORDÓÑEZ ESLAVA (Universidad de Granada): «*Mundo y formas del cante flamenco*» *cinquant'anni dopo: identità del flamenco nell'ultimo franchismo*
- JUSTINE COMTOIS (Montréal, Canada): *The Quarrel Around the Romantic Musicians' Manifesto of 1932: For the Representation of the Italian Identity in Fascist Italy*
- HELENA MARINHO (Universidade de Aveiro, INET-MD): *Composing for Dance in Portugal during the 'Estado Novo' Dictatorship*

SUNDAY 20 MAY

Room 1: 09.30-11.00 – **Music, Propaganda and Media**

(Chair: **FULVIA MORABITO**)

- JULIO ARCE (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *Between Castanets and White Phones: Music and Propaganda in the Early Francoist Cinema*
- WILLIAM STUDDERT (University of Kent): «*I Double Dare You to Try and Invade*»: *The Nazis' Relationship with Jazz on Domestic Radio and in Propaganda Broadcasts to Britain during World War II*
- LAURIE RUTH SEMMES (Appalachian State University, NC): *Frank Capra's «Job in Germany»: Evoking Cautious Suspicion through German Musical Reassurance*

Room 2: 09.30-11.00 – **Propaganda, Mass and Popular Music I**

(Chair: **FEDERICO CELESTINI**)

- LINDSAY J. HANSEN (California State University, Northridge, CA): *Singing the Right Message: Song and Controversy in East Germany*
- VESNA MIKIĆ (University of Arts, Faculty of Music, Belgrade): *Mass Song as a Key Product of Yugoslav Music Propaganda*
- ADÈLE YU-DER SUN (ROC Naval Academy, Kaohsiung, Taiwan): *50 Years of Mandarin Patriotic Song in Taiwan*

Room 1: 11.30-12.30 - **Music, Propaganda and Diplomacy I**

(Chair: **MASSIMILIANO LOCANTO**)

- BEATRIZ MARTÍNEZ DEL FRESNO (Universidad de Oviedo): *Vincere l'avversione. Le missioni di 'Coros y Danzas' nel recupero diplomatico del franchismo (1948-1952)*
- ERIK LEVI (Royal Holloway, University of London): *Appeasing Hitler? Anglo-German Music Relations, 1933-1939*

Room 2: 11.30-13.00 - **Propaganda, Mass and Popular Music II**

(Chair: **FULVIA MORABITO**)

- CHARLA SCHUTTE (University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa) «*Lieder sind Brüder der Revolution*»: *An Ideology-Critical Approach to the Use of Song as a Vehicle for Propaganda*
- ANNEMIE STIMIE (UNISA - University of South Africa): «*Volksliedjies*» (*Afrikaans Folk Songs*) in *Nationalist Publications: Transforming Spaces Through Performative Texts*
- ANDRZEJ TUCHOWSKI (Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, Poland): *The Totalitarian Rhetoric of 'Struggle': March Rhythms at Service of Propaganda and Ideological Indoctrination in Poland under Stalinist Dictatorship (1949-1956)*



13.00 Lunch



Room 1: 15.00-16.00 - **Music, Propaganda and Politics II**

(Chair: **FULVIA MORABITO**)

- MARITA FORNARO BORDOLLI (University of the Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay): *Music and Propaganda: Contexts and Repertoires in the Second Half of the 20th Century in Uruguay*
- VALENTINA RADOMAN (Academy of Arts, Music Department, University of Novi Sad): *Music and Propaganda after the Second World War: Example of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*



16.00 Coffee Break



Room 1: 16.00-17.00 - **Music, Propaganda and Diplomacy II**

(Chair: **MASSIMILIANO SALA**)

- ELENA ABBADO (Università degli Studi di Firenze): *La presenza ungherese al Maggio Musicale Fiorentino del 1938: un caso di propaganda e diplomazia culturale*
- EVA MOREDA (The Open University): *Performing the Female Nation: Spanish Dance Companies in the United Kingdom during the First Years of the Cold War*

Room 1: 17.00-18.00 - **Propaganda and Musical Institutions II**

(Chair: **MICHELA NICCOLAI**)

- LOUISA MARTIN-CHEVALIER (Université de Paris 8, EDESTA): *Celebrating the October Revolution in Music: A Political Event?*
- MARIE-HÉLÈNE BENOIT-OTIS (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) – CÉCILE QUESNEY (Université Paris-Sorbonne – Université de Montréal): *Mozart as a Tool of Propaganda: The «Mozart-Woche des Deutschen Reiches» (Vienna 1941)*

ABSTRACTS

Keynote Speakers

- **María Isabel Cabrera – García Gemma Pérez Zalduondo** (Universidad de Granada)

Voices, Strategies and Propaganda Practices: Music and Artistic Culture in the Service of State during Francoism

The objective of this paper is to reflect on the different types of propaganda strategies that were implemented during the Franco Regime, through art and the representatives of art as well as the coincidences of the messages conveyed by all artistic disciplines. It is well established that, throughout the forty years of its existence, Franco's Regime continued to implement significant ideological change and political strategies, both economic and social. Consequently, the examples to be given are from different stages and therefore incorporate ideological content from each historical moment that the Regime wanted to disseminate, and also to display different propaganda tactics.

In 1940, two very different Italian/Spanish projects highlight the collaboration of both Regimes and the similarities in the arts' creation and dissemination of totalitarian slogans and propagandistic topics. On the one hand, artistic discourse in multidisciplinary journals, established to generate war propaganda, celebrated and mythologized the civil war; they revealed cultural similarities between Spain and Italy, created and distributed totalitarian ideas within the context of an impassioned, glorified nationalism. On the other hand, the presentation will show how both countries collaborated closely on interdisciplinary projects open to the public, which helped spread ideas that rescued the final decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

These identified national traditions with a specific interpretation of history and identity. They also defined new myths as well as recovering earlier ones, all of which were to become symbols of the New State. Other strategies deployed during the 1940s were designed to highlight the prestige that the return of internationally renowned artists to Spain could establish for the Regime. In certain cases, the benefits were considered to be such that the Regime was willing to compromise, not only concerning ideas or the political commitments of the artists, but also with their own artistic languages, clearly in contradiction to the official discourse. Following the 1950s, the Regime would show signs of a certain openness and began to use avant-garde languages that were achieving success and intellectual recognition. The Regime exploited that prestige and thus showed a friendly face to the outside and a sense of normality to the inside.

Lastly, the paper reflects on how the objectives of propaganda are echoed in the institutional framework on which the artistic policy is dependent. In the case of music, it was not specifically musical institutions that had an important role, especially since 1956. The initiatives of the Ministry of Information and Tourism from 1962 to 1969 are an example.

During these years, the Ministry, put in place to change the image of Spain abroad and to boost the economy through the tourism industry, organized musical contests and promoted festivals, while state agencies with a musical emphasis received less exposure.

Participants

- **Elena Abbado** (Università degli Studi di Firenze)

La presenza ungherese al Maggio Musicale Fiorentino del 1938: un caso di propaganda e diplomazia culturale

Di Béla Bartók e del suo rapporto con l'Italia vi è ancora molto da indagare. Momento interessante tra quelli non ancora oggetto di studio fu la prima italiana dell'unica opera scritta dal compositore, *Il castello del principe Barababli*, che le cronache drammaturgiche ungheresi ricordano come memorabile. Nella primavera del 1938, in occasione del IV Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, un'inaspettata possibilità politica fu offerta all'Ungheria, che proprio tra le due guerre aveva trovato nel governo fascista un interlocutore privilegiato nel panorama europeo politico e culturale di quegli anni. Le fu dato di presentare le eccellenze della propria musica nazionale in un ciclo di concerti eseguiti dall'Orchestra Reale magiara. Questo il contesto in cui l'opera bartokiana, cui la censura ungherese concesse in patria solo due allestimenti nell'arco di trent'anni dalla prima stesura del 1911, fu finalmente eseguita all'estero. L'intervento si pone di delineare gli aspetti della presenza ungherese al Maggio Musicale Fiorentino approfondendone anche, ove possibile, i retroscena di propaganda culturale e politica.

- **Julio Arce** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Between Castanets and White Phones: Music and Propaganda in the Early Francoist Cinema

The debate about the Spanishness of the national film industry was consolidated after the Civil War and the commencement of the Franco dictatorship in the criticism and writings of the period. The nationalist and conservative ideology of the early Franco period considered foreign influences negative, yet the dictatorship also warned against the falseness of the *españolada*. The propensity for pureness and typicalness was looked upon as something from the Republican period and, even, as a foreign invention, as it was the result of the romantic taste for all things Spanish. However, although clichés were considered adverse for the ideologists of new Spanish cinema, films with folkloric plots seasoned with so-called *canciones españolas* (Spanish songs) were one of the most important genres of the popular films of the 40s and, especially, the 50s. Kathleen M. Vernon uses the term 'folkloric *españolada*' to refer to «a hybrid film genre of romantic comedy and/or melodrama incorporating regional, primarily Andalusian, song and dance». In turn, Lázaro-Reboll and Willis highlight the 'folkloric quality' of the films of the Franco period, a unique characteristic differentiating them from the rest of the European film industries. The first films produced during the Franco period and, especially, the so-called 'folkloric *españoladas*' have been considered products at the service of the ideological interests of the dictatorship. Recent studies of the popular films of this period, however, have emphasised fascism's inability to impose an official culture due to its failure to control the elaboration and reception of the significance of these films. Musical comedies favoured an independent and successful female star, who expressed herself through the *canción española* (Spanish song) and often confronted high (masculine and elite) culture. Thus, the *tonadilleras* (whose main referents were Concha Piquer, Estrellita Castro and Lola Flores) had little to do with the type of woman advocated during the Franco period. Woods argues that the oppositions set up between high and low culture, characteristic of European popular film, are capitalist discourses disguised as popular discourses to contribute to their legitimacy. The *canción española*, popularised in film and radio, wasn't the result of economic autarchy and a repressive, conservative mentality, but a capitalist

modernity requiring its consumers-citizens to identify with certain hybrid musical products that combined elements acknowledged as native and traditional with modern forms of transmission and commercialisation. Popular musical films of a folkloric nature coexisted with other musical genres such as the so-called 'white telephone' comedies, in line with the style of North-American high comedy. They presented aristocratic and upper-middle class characters in an urban and cosmopolitan setting, a long way from the social reality of post-war Spain. The songs of these films take us to the world of North-American jazz, dominated by big-band swing. In short this paper wants to analyse the dichotomy between these two genres under the Francoist State propaganda.

• **Maria Teresa Arfini** (Università della Valle d'Aosta)

L'arte degenerata' di Oskar Fischinger: una propaganda anti-nazista nel cinema astratto della Berlino anni Trenta

Il pittore e cineasta Oskar Wilhelm Fischinger (Gelnhausen, 1900 – Los Angeles, 1967) fu uno dei pionieri del cinema astratto. Da quando conobbe a Francoforte nel 1921 Walter Ruttmann, pittore e animatore d'avanguardia, cominciò a lavorare al cinema d'animazione sincronizzato con la musica. Fischinger aveva una buona formazione musicale e sperimentò la traduzione delle strutture musicali in quelle del cinema d'animazione astratto, parallelamente a quanto andavano facendo altri esponenti dell'avanguardia, in Germania e in Francia. I principi formali delle due arti sono identici: entrambe elaborano strutture nel loro decorso temporale. Dal suo arrivo a Berlino nel 1927, Fischinger cominciò a produrre una serie di cortometraggi astratti [*Studien*] che furono sincronizzati a brani di musica popolare e classica. La sua *Studie Nr. 5* [*Synästhetischer Film*] venne presentata con una relazione al secondo *Kongress für Farbe-Ton-Forschung* dell'ottobre 1930, ove riscosse notevole successo. Dopo il consolidamento del potere nazista nel 1933, le possibilità di realizzazione e distribuzione del cinema d'animazione astratto scomparvero rapidamente giacché vennero introdotte severe restrizioni contro quella che era stata etichettata come 'arte degenerata'. Nonostante ciò gli artisti e gli studiosi riuniti per il terzo *Farbe-Ton-Kongress* (Amburgo, 1933) decisero di continuare i propri esperimenti d'avanguardia, anche e soprattutto come anti-propaganda nei confronti dell'ideologia nazista. Fischinger, per eludere la censura nazista, cominciò a dedicarsi ai filmati pubblicitari: il più famoso di questi, *Muratti Greift Ein* del 1934, venne proiettato in tutta Europa. In questo modo poté anche dedicarsi di nascosto alle proprie ricerche, e riuscì, per esempio, a ultimare nel 1935 il cortometraggio astratto *Komposition in Blau*, sincronizzato sull'ouverture dell'opera *Die Lustige Weiber von Windsor* di Otto Nicolai, prima di emigrare negli USA, chiamato dalla Paramount Pictures nel 1936.

• **Marie-Hélène Benoit-Otis** (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) – **Cécile Quesney** (Université Paris-Sorbonne – Université de Montréal)

Mozart as a Tool of Propaganda: The *Mozart-Woche des Deutschen Reiches* (Vienna 1941)

From November 28 to December 5, 1941, German authorities presented a *Mozart-Woche des Deutschen Reiches* ("Mozart Week of the German Reich") in Vienna under the joint patronage of Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels and Reichsstatthalter in Vienna Baldur von Schirach. A major celebration of the 150th anniversary of Mozart's death, the *Mozart-Woche* was also an opportunity for Nazi Germany to reassert its cultural hegemony over the 'new Europe'. Recent articles and book chapters have begun to explore the program of the *Mozart-Woche* in the context of Nazi cultural propaganda (see for instance BECKER 1992, LOESER 2007, REITTERER 2008, LEVI 2010). This paper furthers previous research by studying the various types of propaganda at work during the festival. The *Mozart-Woche*, we argue, was not a perfectly unified effort of propaganda aimed at a single audience; rather, it was the point of intersection of two concurrent propaganda

discourses, each one of which was directed towards two very different groups, the local audience and the international guests. Drawing on a large range of published and unpublished sources, we will differentiate the various types of propaganda discourse involved in the *Mozart-Woche des Deutschen Reiches* of 1941, thus showing that beyond the image of a unified Nazi propaganda, one finds a more complex and subtle – though no less effective – propaganda discourse.

• **María Cáceres-Piñuel** (Universidad de Zaragoza)

José Subirá and the Socialist Proposals for Music Reform in Inter-War Spain

The intellectual biography of José Subirá (1882-1980) is closely linked to the initiation of the professional studies and research in music history in Spain. The public access to music was increased in the first decades of the twentieth century thanks to the new mass media. As a result, mediators between music events and the public were needed. After the loss of the colonies (1898) the idea of rebuilding the national identity through culture became a priority in Spain. Musicology helped build a musical canon – a selection of authors and historical works – which represented the lost national glory. Subirá challenged the prevailing notion that the history of Spanish music was the story of sacred music. He researched unknown Hispanic music sources of the Age of Enlightenment and he became the most important specialist in *tonadillas escénicas*, an intermezzo sung between the acts of a play or an opera or *auto sacramental* in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century theatre. As social activist, he was engaged with musical popular education during the 20s and 30s. He taught music at worker schools, he took part of the musical bookmobile initiatives and he programmed concerts with tickets at low cost for workers. Subirá transmitted the ideals of Fritz Jöde (1887-1979) and he reported the activities of the German Jugendmusikbewegung in Spain. He worked as a music critic and he participated in the avant-garde controversies. He was against the detachment between artistic expression and the public. He worked also as civil servant in the Labour Ministry and he was member of Socialist Party during the Second Spanish Republic. In 1931 this ministry founded a conference in order to avoid the unemployment and social vulnerability of musicians, the *Conferencia sobre la crisis de la música*. As a keynote speaker, Subirá promoted the general public music education, the citizen participation in musical events, the conversion of Kapellmeister in public servants and the major role of popular music in young associations. As the Jugendbewegung was partially absorbed by Nazism, so were Subirá's ideas on youth musical education, amateur participation in public events and revival of folklore studies, absorbed by fascism after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Nevertheless, the objectives and meaning of these musical representations were corrupted to adapt to the ideals of fascism.

• **Pinuccia Carrer** and the students **Cecilia Missaglia, Emiliano Rossi, Francesco Steca** (Conservatorio 'G. Verdi' di Milano)

Dux mea lux: propaganda e musica nel mondo scolastico milanese

Dopo la Prima guerra mondiale, quando «il *bourrage des crânes* fu praticato in larghissima misura» (*Enciclopedia Treccani*, Appendice II, 1949), la propaganda si accentua durante l'era fascista in un crescendo incalzante. Il lavoro della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo delle scuole elementari, iniziato nel 1923 da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice per chiudersi nel 1928 con Alessandro Melchiori (e tra i commissari per la musica citiamo nel 1925 Mario Labroca), i decreti regi e le circolari ministeriali offrono esempio di come la propaganda, sovente in abbinamento con la parola divulgazione, sia rivolta non solo a 'mandare in poltiglia' ma a conquistare i cervelli sin dalla primissima infanzia. Provvedimento chiave in ambito musicale è la circolare del '29 in cui si impone il *Canzoniere nazionale: canti corali, religiosi e patriottici* curato da Achille Schinelli, che

precede di un decennio i *Canti dell'Italia fascista* di Giuseppe Pettinato. Il crescendo della propaganda si legge in Lelio Fiori, *Rinascita italiana. Libro di cultura e propaganda fascista per le scuole e per il popolo* (VIII ed. 1934 de *Il grande nocchiero* del 1927), o nei proclami di Vincenzo Biloni del 1933, destinati all'avviamento professionale. Il regime avverte le straordinarie potenzialità delle nuove armi propagandistiche: la radio e, più in generale, i mezzi di comunicazione. Le musiche e i documenti trovati nella Biblioteca e nell'Archivio del Conservatorio di Milano, compresi i palinsesti dell'Ente Radio Rurale distribuiti alle scuole, riflettono l'unisono culturale, la fascistizzazione del gusto e dello stile, le pesanti conseguenze delle leggi razziali.

Paulo F. de Castro (CESEM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

**«Aber gewisse Dinge stehen gar nicht drin» (“But Certain Things Aren't at All There”):
On a German Conductor, a Portuguese Symphony, and the Elephant in the Room**

Discussions of music and propaganda almost inevitably run against the difficulty of pinpointing the precise ways in which music engages with meaning, and especially with meanings apparently most susceptible to verbal articulation, such as political or religious ideologies. However, discussions of musical meaning are often marred by a very narrow conception of meaning itself. It is my claim, therefore, that any fruitful discussion of the topic should proceed from a critique of the views of signification according to which signs ‘correlate’ with a world of fixed, pre-established categories, as opposed to dynamic, context-bound and pragmatically oriented processes of semiosis. In the second part of my paper, I focus on Joly Braga Santos's Fifth Symphony (1966), a work commissioned by the Portuguese State for the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the military coup that paved the way for Salazar's dictatorial regime. The work's ideological message proves to be quite ambiguous, and made more complex by virtue of the African elements conspicuously present in the score, to be understood against the then ongoing colonial war in the so-called ‘overseas provinces’ of Portugal. My approach will be hermeneutically oriented, with an emphasis on the hybrid nature of the work's musical language, marked by the coexistence of primitivist and modernist traits, which would seem to define an almost cinematic dramaturgy of anxiety, and thus, in a paradoxical twist, suggesting the possibility of a deconstruction of the propagandistic status of the work as originally planned.

• **Daide Ceriani** (Columbia University, New York)

“Il centro irradiatore di propaganda e di sviluppo del teatro lirico nazionale”: fascismo, antifascismo e il ruolo politico del Teatro Reale dell'Opera di Roma tra le due guerre

Nel corso dell'incontro avvenuto il 1° dicembre 1923 fra Puccini e Mussolini, il compositore osservò che l'Italia non possedeva un teatro d'opera di stato e suggerì al capo del governo di costruirne uno. Mussolini oppose un diniego motivato dalla mancanza di fondi ma, nei mesi successivi, l'idea lanciata da Puccini incontrò crescenti favori al punto che fu avviata una campagna per concretizzare il progetto. L'iniziativa raggiunse lo scopo quando il duce decise la ristrutturazione del Teatro Costanzi che, ribattezzato Teatro Reale dell'Opera di Roma, fu inaugurato col *Nerone* di Boito il 27 febbraio 1928. Questa relazione mira a dimostrare come Mussolini cambiò opinione riguardo alla proposta di Puccini sia per le pressioni ricevute sia perché intuì che Toscanini, nel corso degli anni Venti, stava trasformando la Scala in un punto di riferimento per gli antifascisti. Creando un teatro d'opera di stato che rappresentasse l'unità italiana, il dittatore sperava probabilmente di indebolire il ruolo politico della Scala e di Toscanini. Tuttavia, il Teatro Reale rimase principalmente un simbolo della città di Roma mentre la Scala mantenne la sua posizione d'istituzione operistica più importante della penisola. Tra i

motivi di questo risultato vi è la preferenza che il Teatro Reale rivolse ai compositori italiani mentre la Scala conservò un profilo di maggiore apertura internazionale. Grazie a ricerche su fonti d'archivio inedite, la relazione esamina il ruolo politico del Teatro Reale fra le due guerre e si propone di mettere in luce nuovi aspetti concernenti l'influenza del regime fascista nella vita musicale italiana degli anni Venti e Trenta. Si vuole inoltre dimostrare, contrariamente a quanto finora sostenuto dalla storiografia, come il regime fascista fosse cosciente almeno dalla metà degli anni Venti dell'importanza d'incantare una forte politica musicale. Tale consapevolezza derivava dal grande interesse che il genere operistico suscitava in vasti strati della popolazione e, di conseguenza, della sua insostituibile funzione nel sostenere un progetto organico di fascistizzazione dell'Italia.

• **Paul Christiansen** (University of Southern Maine, Portland, ME)

«Finish It, Whatever It Takes»: Musical Propaganda in Political Ads from the 2004 Bush U.S. Presidential Campaign

Using two starkly contrasting examples from the 2004 Bush-Cheney presidential campaign, this paper explores specifically how music can be used for propagandistic purposes in political advertisements. These ads constitute antipodes on the propaganda spectrum of an incumbent President: one, a quasi-religious ode to a messianic figure, and the other, a dark and ominous warning against voting for Democratic candidate John Kerry. Although divergent in approach, both ads share the same theme: With George W. Bush, we will be safe from terrorism. Using musical and rhetorical analysis, I argue that these two widely divergent approaches are both part of a unified campaign theme (the dominant one for Bush in 2004), and that even ad slogans such as «Finish it» and «Whatever it takes» are part of an intertextual web of meaning.

• **Justine Comtois** (Montréal, Canada)

The Quarrel Around the Romantic Musicians' Manifesto of 1932: For the Representation of Italian Identity in Fascist Italy

The question of national identity in the Italian music occupies a liking place in the speech of the *generazione dell'Ottanta* musicians (term of MILA, Massimo. *Breve storia della musica*, Turin, Einaudi, 1963, pp. 419-422). This question becomes more visceral under the fascist regime. Italian musicians of the time have a ceaseless will to define the characteristics of the national music. At this time numerous musical reforms are undertaken, reforms leading to numerous quarrels opposing different 'factions'. We find moreover two main clans within the Italian musicians: the 'pro-classics' (or neoclassics) and the 'pro-romantics'. The first ones, rejecting the romantic aesthetics and the verist opera, wish to make a clean sweep of this period, inviting young composers to study the works of Italian masters of the 17th and 18th centuries while integrating into their works the most modern European compositional techniques. The second clan, that of the 'pro-romantics', consider the Romantic period as an integral part of the Italian musical culture and the period that made Italian fame among the other nations. The quarrel in which we shall be interested is the one surrounding the publication of the *Manifesto dei musicisti italiani per la tradizione dell'arte romantica dell'Ottocento*, among which cosignatories we find the names of Respighi, Mulè, Pizzetti and Zandonai. The manifesto denounces the refusal of the romantic period by certain Italian composers, and, especially, openly denounces the internationalism of Casella and Malipiero. This last one will not answer to these charges, but Casella will be less discrete. We shall study the way Italian musical identity, defended by each opposite faction, is expressed and defended.

• **Lada Duraković** (Università 'Juraj Dobrila', Pola)

Musica e propaganda politica: l'influenza della stampa quotidiana sulla vita musicale di Pola e dell'Istria nel periodo tra le due guerre mondiali (1926-1943)

L'ingerenza della politica nella vita musicale di Pola nel periodo tra le due guerre mondiali, quando l'Istria faceva parte dell'Italia, era più che evidente. Non si tentava nemmeno di dissimulare l'influenza della politica sull'arte, anzi la si ostentava con orgoglio. Nonostante l'indigenza e le condizioni sfavorevoli, in quel tempo a Pola si tenevano regolarmente rappresentazioni musicali e scenico-musicali. I programmi erano realizzati in collaborazione con i musicisti, le case operistiche e le compagnie di operette dei maggiori centri d'Italia, specialmente con quelle provenienti dalla regione Giuliana. Particolare era il rapporto della propaganda rispetto all'arte musicale: il regime ambiva a concentrare tutte le energie spirituali della massa in un 'fascio', che incarnava in sé l'ostentazione della forza e della superiorità del popolo italiano. La funzione della critica era di valutare positivamente e di indirizzare le conquiste musicali del fascismo. La forma e i contenuti andavano di pari passo con le fasi evolutive del fascismo. Nel primo periodo, quello della formazione istituzionale del regime (1926-1929), gli articoli erano in primo luogo di carattere educativo, dedicati alla spiegazione del ruolo della cultura nella concezione fascista dello stato e finalizzati a istruire i lettori sulle biografie di compositori ed esecutori, e sulle caratteristiche tecnico-compositive del repertorio. Nel periodo dell'accettazione di massa del fascismo (1930-1940), la critica musicale cambia gradualmente nel suo carattere. Il contenuto degli articoli si basa generalmente su due premesse: la glorificazione del duce e la dimostrazione dello schieramento dei polesani con il regime fascista. Dopo l'entrata in guerra dell'Italia, per la prima volta la critica musicale di Pola diventa aggressiva e viene messa in atto una propaganda di diffamazione nei confronti della musica dei popoli nemici. La presente relazione affronta gli aspetti della critica musicale nelle tre fasi evolutive, basandosi su articoli giornalistici e documenti d'archivio.

• **Francisco Fernández-Vicedo** (Universidad de Granada)

Spanish Music in the 50s: Composition award 'Samuel Ros' as a Reflection of Both the Policies in Franco's Regime and the Transition towards New Aesthetics in Composition

The musicological investigation concerning the development and evolution of the Spanish musical reality under Franco's dictatorship, and specifically in the 1940s and 50s, has undergone a great impulse in the last lustrums. It has been possible to prove that it was the more open political approaches undergone by Franco's regime in the 50s which ultimately promoted the beginning of a stammering musical evolution. This evolution would end up in the apparition of the avant-gardes represented by the so-called Generación del 51, already in the last years of the decade and the first years of the 60s. The present paper aims to study such historical reality applied to a particular example as the 'Samuel Ros' Prize for Chamber music compositions. Annually organised between 1951 and 1962, among its winners we can find the best Spanish composers working by mid-twentieth century, from Conrado del Campo to Luis de Pablo, Carmelo Bernaola or González de Acilú among others. The evolution of the event is reconstructed chronologically, analysing the evident aesthetic change reflected on it from its beginning until the last time it was organised in 1962, as well as the possible implications and political approaches which could exert their influence on it.

• **Marita Fornaro Bordolli** (University of the Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay)

Musica and Propaganda: Contexts and Repertoires in the Second Half of the 20th Century in Uruguay

This paper summarises some results of a research performed in the past five years in regards to the relationship between music and politics existent in Uruguay during the second half of the 20th century. By way of consideration of the central topic proposed for this Conference, we

shall focus on mechanisms through which music itself transmits propaganda. We have previously studied the bonds of music and propaganda in a variety of contexts, going from the music of Spaniards who migrated to Uruguay during their Civil War, to the transitions of Uruguayan protest songs occurred immediately after the dictatorship period in the country (1973-1985). In this opportunity, we will be considering the institutional and non-institutional environments of the music used as propaganda throughout the referred regime. In what regards the institutional context of the military government we will analyse: 1) the resemantization in the use of the National Anthem – turned into a supporting element in all official acts of the dictatorship – as part of an overall exacerbated presence of the national symbols; 2) the use of certain military marches as musical background during press releases made in relation to ‘Institutional Acts’ by the military in power, which became the sonorous symbols of that government; 3) the value conferred to some traditionally-rooted expressions of popular music (particularly those of rural characteristics), as a music representative of the Uruguayan nation. Such appraisal results in two correlated facts: the censorship exerted upon specific collective expressions of Afro-Uruguayan music, and the ban posed on national rock music, a genre vanished from the public sphere throughout the whole period of dictatorship. Despite its origins and development in non-institutional contexts, most of the music produced as a form of resistance to the military government proved highly consistent. Music was, in fact, one of the agglutinating aspects leading to an identity of resistance. Censorship resulted the most frequent link between the government and composers of both popular and academic music pieces. Such censorship, applied particularly to texts, composers and performers, led to the special significance of music itself as a means of conveying messages less explicit to those in power. These messages were meant for different levels of audiences, ranging from the whole community of resistance to specific elite groups. Among other elements, we will analyse: references to banned composers, for which function timbric quotes were mostly used. Such is the case of quotes from Alfredo Zitarrosa’s guitar quartet, himself being one of the main figures of Uruguayan popular music, exiled in 1976. Connections with other resistance movements opposed to different dictatorships, such as the use of songs from Spain’s Civil War resorted to by Hispanic-Uruguayan *murga* groups – local remakes of Spanish *murgas* and *chirigotas* (humorous and satirical Carnival music groups). It was also the case of the ‘historicist singing’ developed in the period analysed; these historicist songs, whereby literary and musical messages relative to historical leaders were resemantized, constituted protest songs.

• **Germán Gan-Quesada** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

To win Freedom... Musical Composition and Political Commitment in Spain during the Last Years of Francoism (1969-1975)

In the last years of Francoism, and until the death of the dictator himself, Spain lived both a greater presence of different actors opponent to the Regime – unions, political parties and some sectors of the Catholic Church – and the hardening of the legal instruments of repression of these initiatives, as a new and restrictive Public Order Law passed in 1970. Two years later, the ‘Encuentros de Pamplona’ assembled in this town many Avant-Garde proposals that came up against an important political resistance, just as when the catalogue of some composers up to then centre of the public musical scene, such as C. Halffter (*Planto por las víctimas de la violencia [Planctus to the victims of Violence]*, 1971; *Pinturas negras [Black Paintings]*, 1972) or L. de Pablo (*Yo lo vi [I witnessed it]*, 1970; *Éléphants ivres*, 1972/73), began to shift, in the titles of their works and in the reference to ‘awkward’ cultural and symbolic referents, further away from their earlier and more official positions. The aim of this paper is discussing the milestones of this process, examining the efficacy, if any, of their political content and analysing how cultural institutions and criticism reacted before compositions

that seemed to greet, more openly than acceptable, the impendig end of the dictatorship and the beginning, plagued by hindrances, of a new period of freedom. As the popular singer Joan Manuel Serrat stated in 1972, «Para la libertad / sangro, lucho, pervivo...» [«To win Freedom, / I'm bleeding, fighting, surviving...»].

• **Daniela Gangale** (Università degli Studi di Firenze)

Propaganda di sinistra: l'esperienza di *Cantacronache* (1958-1959)

L'intervento si propone di rievocare la vicenda della rivista *Cantacronache*, edita a Torino tra il 1958 e il 1959 e animata dai migliori intellettuali della scena culturale torinese dell'epoca. La rivista, collegata all'incisione di una serie di dischi, creò e promosse la canzone d'autore con testi impegnati, scritti da autori del calibro di Italo Calvino e Franco Fortini. Il lavoro del gruppo di *Cantacronache* costituisce l'antecedente più prossimo dell'opera di musicisti come Fabrizio De André e Francesco Guccini e ha rappresentato un vero e proprio punto di svolta nella storia della canzone italiana, creando il nuovo genere della 'canzone politica'. Nella relazione verrà posta in evidenza la figura centrale del gruppo, Michele L. Straniero, contestualizzata nel periodo storico e verrà valorizzata, attraverso la visione di immagini, la raffinata ed estrosa veste grafica della rivista, a cui lavorarono L. Cabutti e G. Colombo. È previsto, nei limiti del tempo assegnato, l'ascolto di almeno un brano musicale.

• **Lindsay J. Hansen** (California State University, Northridge, CA)

Singing the Right Message: Song and Controversy in East Germany

The East German government tightly controlled official music production, especially popular musicians and bands. In the spirit of Nazi Germany's Reichskulturkammer and its music division, the Reichsmusikkammer, East Germany formed its own Ministry of Culture to ensure the 'right' musical message. To compete with the so-called anti-socialist messages of western groups like the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, the Ministry created an editorial board (Lektorat) to review, modify, and censor lyrics. Recording artists were certified by the government and had to produce a Lektorat-approved radio program before an LP was possible. The Lektorat favored a small number of lyricists, the most famous being Kurt Demmler. Demmler wrote the lyrics to over 10,000 songs during East Germany's existence. Demmler wrote the lyrics for exiled musicians Wolfgang Biermann and Klaus Renft, before settling into a comfortable groove with the government. When he partnered with Stern Combo Meissen in 1977, he wrote the lyrics for a concept album on porcelain, the pride of Meissen, East Germany. When the band and producer opted to use different lyrics, Demmler sued them for plagiarism and his share of the royalties for *Weisses Gold* (white gold, or porcelain). The *Lektorat* had approved Demmler's lyrics for a radio performance and album pressing of *Weisses Gold*. This meant that Stern Combo Meissen could freely and legally change the words for any future performances or productions, allowing them to comment on socialism and the government. This paper will give a brief overview of the lawsuit, evaluate the court documents and subsequent verdict, and examine both sets of lyrics for political messages and how they connected to the East German government and society. It will also comment on the style of music and how Stern Combo Meissen and Kurt Demmler fit into the larger musical landscape of East Germany.

• **Christiane Heine** (Universidad de Granada)

**Greek Mythology in Spanish Exile Music: *Le sang d'Antigone* (1955), «mystère tragique»
Composed by Salvador Bacarisse to a Libretto by José Bergamín**

The Greek myth of Antigone plays an important role in the European contemporary theatre, as shown by numerous philologic investigations based on the phenomenon of the revival of Sophocles' tragedy in the 20th century. In Spain the myth of Antigone found entrance into the genre of the drama during the Franco-regime above all as a metaphor for the Civil War and its

consequences. In Western music the myth of Antigone can be proved since the early 18th century in about thirty operas and oratorios, except Spain where the interest on the Greek heroine remained confined, it seems, foremost to stage plays. All the more remarkable is therefore the fact – be left out by literature studies – that the concerning contribution of Bergamín to Spanish exile theater during the Franquism was originally conceived under the French title *Le sang d'Antigone* as a libretto for the oratorio-like «mystère tragique» in three acts to which Salvador Bacarisse composed the still unpublished music. Created in 1955 on suggestion of Roberto Rossellini, by including spoken voices the composition fulfilled an important condition of the Italian film and theater director on his search for a counterpart of Arthur Honegger's scenic oratorio *Jeanne d'arc au bûcher* whose staging celebrated worldwide triumphs in the fifties. The aim of this paper is to point out the musical contribution to Spanish resistance in France made by a largely forgotten composer, and to prove, on the basis of unpublished manuscripts emerging from Bacarisse's legacy, that the musician's part in the creation of *Le sang d'Antigone* was much more important than supposed by critics and publishers of the libretto as an independent stage-play. The paper attempts, on the one hand, to stimulate a critical revision of the text version, first published in 1983, since the dramatic course differs partially from the original approach as a result of the renunciation of (initially specified) text overlappings in favour of simply concatenations of monologues. On the other hand, the analyse of the orchestra score, which is focused on the word-music relationship and the text treatment of sung and spoken passages as well as on the function of choirs and instrumental parts within the whole structure, aims to reveal the musical means employed by Bacarisse for the purpose of emphasizing the dramatic effect. It will be shown that the resulting unity between text, music and action contributes to the singular character of the «mystère tragique» *Le sang d'Antigone*.

• Panayotis League (Boston University, Hellenic College)

Rewriting Unwritten History: Nationalism, Folklore, and the Ban of the Cretan Violin

Simon Karas is revered throughout the Greek-speaking world as a pioneering folklorist and musicologist who devoted his life to the collection, preservation, and dissemination of Greek liturgical and folk music. He is also, in a small corner of Western Crete, reviled for attempting to suppress a centuries-old local musical tradition that was at odds with his view of cultural purity. Using his authority as head of traditional music programming at the state radio (and later television) service, in 1955 Karas engineered a mass media ban of Cretan music performed on the violin, in order to promote the *lyra*, an upright bowed fiddle that he viewed as the carrier of Byzantine – and ancient Greek – tradition. Despite the concerted efforts of the violinists of Hania, whose livelihoods and cultural institutions were threatened by this move, and despite their leader, Kostas Papadakis, dedicating the remainder of his life to a struggle against the ban, it was never repealed. As a result, the *lyra* was elevated to a role not only as the dominant instrument of the island, as the ban coincided with the spread of television and radio throughout the country and the birth of a commercially viable Greek record industry, but became a symbol of Cretan identity both on and off the island to an extent that would have been unimaginable before. Pre-existing regional tensions between the musicians of violin-oriented Hania and *lyra*-oriented Rethymno were greatly exacerbated as the latter assumed near-complete dominance over the island's musical economy and their version of Cretan musical culture became the official one, projected by the media to the rest of Greece. This paper explores the dynamic interplay between myth and reality in the musical culture of Western Crete, how this malleable oral culture was exploited by both Karas and Papadakis to promote their competing mythologies, and the extent to which the ban has both changed the musical landscape of Crete in the latter half

of the twentieth century as well as paved the way for a rewriting of Cretan cultural, musical, and political history by means of ideologically produced folklore transmitted through mass media.

• **Erik Levi** (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Appeasing Hitler? Anglo-German Music Relations, 1933-1939

Despite an underlying uneasiness towards German music and musicians as a long-term consequence of hostilities during the First World War, relations between England and Germany had largely healed during the 1920s when musical exchange resumed thanks in part to the efforts of the BBC. After Hitler seized power in 1933, however, this healing process came under severe threat as a result of the Nazi suppression of musicians deemed unacceptable to the regime on either racial or political grounds. Nevertheless although certain sections of the British music establishment were vociferous in condemning Hitler's policies, others remained at best neutral seeing no need to rock the boat. Indeed, if anything, Anglo-German music relations were intensified from 1933 until the year before the war with amongst others annual visits to England of the Berlin Philharmonic and a visiting season at Covent Garden given by the Dresden Opera on the one side, and a specially arranged English Music Festival in Wiesbaden, a German tour by the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the award of the highly prestigious Shakespeare Prize of Hamburg to the distinguished British composer, Ralph Vaughan Williams on the other.

• **Sanja Majer-Bobetko** (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb)

Music Historiography and Propaganda in the First Half of the 20th Century: The Croatian Example

From the second half of the 19th century, when Croatian music historiography as scholar discipline started to develop, to the World War II fundamental aesthetic, idational, that is ideological belief that music historiography, just as music itself, should promote the national identity, was presented in historiographical works. That is why the focus of the periodization of Croatian music history, introduced for the first time in 1885 by the founder of music historiography in Croatia Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834-1911), was the period of Croatian national revival (1835-1848). The idea was taken over by the authors of the musical-historiographical syntheses written and published in the first half of the 20th century: Stjepan Hadrović (1863-1934), Božidar Širola (1889-1956), Branimir Ivakić (1906-1943), Josip Andreis (1909-1982), and Hubert Pettan (1912-1989). As a social, political and cultural movement, which aimed at constituting a nation in the contemporary sense of the word, the period of National Revival was seen as a turning point in the history of Croatian music, as a stronghold where the history of Croatian music in the sense of authentic national music, i.e. of art music based on folk music, actually started. Music historiography strongly promoted that idea as the only way to «define the proper role of Croatian music» (ANDREIS, 1942) that is the «presence of that music in the world» (ŠIROLA, 1922), but not its supremacy as some European music historiographers of that period would sometimes present their national music histories. In addition, «the process of creation of art music in Croatia is based primarily on the recognition that folk music is the only source of art music and that art music, imbued with the spirit of folk music, is an excellent instrument in the struggle for political independence» (ANDREIS, 1942). It should be mentioned that unlike historiography in Croatian music criticism some also thought that the period of hegemony of Slavic music was coming. Speaking about musical-historiographical journalism a mention should also be made of the promotion of Marxist interpretation advocated by essays of Pavao Markovac (1903-1941), but without a significant impact to musical historiography at the time. In the post-war period Croatian music historiography lost any propagandistic function, political and/or ideological.

• **Helena Marinho** (Universidade de Aveiro, INET-MD)

Composing for Dance in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* Dictatorship

This research focuses on the characterization of the context and procedures of musical creation for dance during the 1930s and 1940s in Portugal, departing from extensive archive work that encompassed the study of production agents, creative agents (composers and choreographers), and the historical and socio-cultural contexts. Dance performances in Portugal during this period were mainly connected to the Verde Gaio dance group, a state-endorsed company. This research has identified two specific traits of ideological contents, both based on a nationalistic outlook: the construction of an imaginary rural world, marked by bliss and innocence, and the glorification of an imperial and colonial past. The use of procedures involving the stylization of popular culture and the promotion of symbolic power (in Bourdieu's perspective) were connected to the promotion of nationalistic values that matched the aesthetical guidelines of the Portuguese dictatorship's Propaganda Secretariat. Thus, the interaction between the aesthetic frameworks of art and popular music became the marker of a cultural 'portugality' influenced by the period's propaganda.

• **Louisa Martin-Chevalier** (Université Paris 8, EDESTA)

Celebrating the October Revolution in Music: A Political Event?

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution raised the hope that a new art-form was bound to find a place in the future proletarian Soviet society. Russian artists decided to support the October Revolution in the name of utopia, as they aimed to serve the revolution and believed in the advent of a revolutionary proletarian art. The celebrations of the October Revolution anniversaries are an opportunity to glorify and extol the virtues of the new Soviet Russia. These Commemorations were driven by the revolutionary spirit and dedicated to *October* 1917. Various works of art – such Shostakovich, Mossolov and Glière – were presented side by side in an extremely rich atmosphere of excitement, enhanced by Prokofiev's return to the homeland, that year. This anniversary is also associated with the centenary of Beethoven's death, the composer is becoming a revolutionary hero. According to historians, the great Soviet celebrations at the end of the 1920s took the form of a 'political carnival' (*politikarnaval*), a reference also found in the literature of those times. In line with the singular eclecticism of the 1920s, the music on offer during the 1927 commemorations is characterized by remarkable artistic diversity and make for a very exciting, and little studied so far, object of study.

• **Beatriz Martínez del Fresno** (Universidad de Oviedo)

Vincere l'avversione. Le missioni di 'Coros y Danzas' nel ricupero diplomatico del franchismo (1948-1952)

Il lavoro della Sección Femenina de Falange ebbe luogo principalmente all'interno delle frontiere nazionali, ma il suo ruolo fu importante anche nella politica estera. Una Spagna condannata dall'ONU a causa dei fitti intrecci che, nonostante la neutralità, aveva mantenuto con la Germania nazista e l'Italia fascista decise di avviare un'operazione di riscatto sul piano diplomatico con una spedizione di centocinquanta musicisti e ballerini da diverse regioni che si imbarcarono per l'Argentina nella primavera del 1948, con la finalità di vincere con i loro canti e le loro danze la forte avversione verso il franchismo. La scelta di Buenos Aires come destinazione non fu casuale, visto che Argentina e Portogallo erano stati «los dos grandes amigos de las horas difíciles». Evita Perón era stata ricevuta con entusiasmo nel viaggio in Spagna del 1947 e con la spedizione della compagnia Coros y Danzas si trattava di dimostrare che, al di sopra della politica, esistono mezzi emotivi che possono avvicinare i popoli. Successivamente le esibizioni furono

portate a Buenos Aires, Rosario e Mendoza, e dopo Rio de Janeiro riproposte a Lisbona. Con tale spedizione, abbondantemente commentata dalla stampa spagnola, la Sección Femenina aprì una breccia in America Latina. L'anno dopo si replicò l'esperienza inviando 125 ragazze di Coros y Danzas in Perù, Cile, Ecuador, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Repubblica Dominicana, Haiti e Portorico. Verificando il successo di tale campagna di *hispanidad*, la Sección Femenina diventò un potente strumento di lancio verso l'estero, da impiegare a fondo e da inviare, come una specie di ambasciatrice, laddove i politici franchisti non erano ben accetti, in quei paesi che ripudiavano il regime di Franco o che avevano dato asilo a numerosi repubblicani esiliati. Il lancio all'estero di Coros y Danzas assunse un ruolo fondamentale nella diplomazia culturale, specialmente tra il 1948 e 1952, proprio negli anni in cui il regime volle rompere l'isolamento internazionale, con una doppia offensiva: il fronte latino-americano e quello europeo-statunitense, che si aprì ai Festival di Biarritz, Lausanne, Rabat e Venezia nel 1949. Furono viaggi di carattere patriottico e falangista, con un costo elevatissimo. Questo *paper* vuole analizzare gli obiettivi concreti, l'organizzazione della spedizione, la campagna propagandistica e i risultati di alcuni di questi viaggi che pretendevano rappresentare il Nuovo Stato franchista al di là delle frontiere spagnole.

• **Vesna Mikić** (University of Arts, Faculty of Music, Belgrade)

Mass Song as a Key Product of Yugoslav Music Propaganda

It could be said that Serbian musicology from its prime was involved in issues of music as a vehicle of propaganda, at least from the times Vojislav Vučković (1910-1942) defended his *Music as a vehicle of Propaganda* doctoral thesis at Prague Conservatory in 1934. The brief overview of some of the Vučković's key assumptions will be made here if only to compare inter- and postwar notions of the role music should play in promotion and propaganda of crucial socio-political messages. While for the solutions Vučković had offered/imagined could be said that were close to the Brecht-Weil's music theater and imprinted with firm belief in the potentials of modern media, the postwar realizations that were supposed to be the music carriers of his – as well as numerous others who were killed in war – ideals, could be argued, were just the opposite. Under the influence of USSR cultural policy and politics, in general, the key music propaganda products of newly formed, second Yugoslavia (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1945-1991) were mass songs. Their role, discussed at length in writings on music propaganda after the war, was to 'cover' all crucial aspects of social and political, i.e. cultural life in Yugoslavia, resulting in genre's variety. Hence, while propagating the values and ideas of communist society and culture, they were their constituents as well. Two of these, *Uz maršala Tita* ('With marshal Tito') and *Svečana pesma* ('Solemn song'), belonging to subgenres of songs 'about Tito' (that could be called 'personality propaganda') and 'about Yugoslavia' ('patriotic songs' - state propaganda) are chosen here due to their longevity, and success that call for closer investigation of the mechanisms by which 'mere' propaganda could become a vehicle for continuous and diversified cultural production.

• **Eva Moreda** (The Open University)

Performing the Female Nation: Spanish Dance Companies in the United Kingdom during the First Years of the Cold War

After 1945 and the end of the Second World War, the Franco regime tried to detach itself from its associations with the Axis countries, seeking integration within the Western Bloc as the Cold War escalated. The dictatorship tried to revamp its international image through a number of channels, and dance represented a substantial part of its cultural programme abroad. This included

the traditional dance company Coros y Danzas (state-sponsored and formed by non-professional female dancers), and Spanish classical dance and flamenco companies (run privately but supported by the regime). As both types of companies were mostly formed by female dancers, in practice it was the female dancing body which was used to present two very different discourses of the nation abroad: Catholic and morally respectable in the Coros y Danzas; exotic and Orientalistic in flamenco. This paper, focusing on the performances of Spanish dancers in the United Kingdom from 1948 to 1969, will examine how the regime made use of these two contrasting representations of the nation, centred around the female dancing body, in order to assert itself as a reliable ally for the Western bloc and a 'friendly' mass tourism destination.

• **Michela Niccolai** (Université de Montréal – OICRM)

Puccini 'compositore di stato'? Strumentalizzazione di un personaggio pubblico durante il fascismo

La musica di Puccini è stata a lungo utilizzata dal Partito Nazionale Fascista per supportare l'idea della superiorità del melodramma italiano. Al di là delle sontuose cerimonie che hanno accompagnato i funerali del compositore (1924), la prima di *Turandot* alla Scala nel 1926 segna il punto di partenza di una chiara visione politico-artistica del nuovo regime: Puccini ancor più che Mascagni rappresenta l'opera italiana di fronte al mondo. La politica culturale del PNF mira alla costruzione di un circuito di diffusione di spettacoli operistici rivolti alle classi meno abbienti, al di là delle sale liriche 'ufficiali', dei luoghi economicamente e geograficamente più accessibili. Si tratta di educare il pubblico attraverso spettacoli lirici popolari che, rapidamente, percorrono la penisola da Nord a Sud, isole comprese. Le rappresentazioni liriche e quelle del teatro di prosa che vedono la luce in questo periodo (1930-1940) hanno un chiaro scopo demagogico: convincere il popolo italiano della sua superiorità culturale. La realizzazione di questo nuovo apparato spettacolare, che deve essere facilmente trasportabile e flessibile, è affidata all'architetto Antonio Valente. Quest'ultimo realizza dei camion che contengono palcoscenico, scenografie e persino una platea smontabile; il nome del teatro semovente deriva direttamente dall'antichità romana: Carro di Tespi (1929). L'avvenimento più importante per il Carro di Tespi lirico è l'inaugurazione del futuro Festival Pucciniano di Torre del Lago (24 agosto 1930) e, per l'occasione, l'Organizzazione Nazionale Dopolavoro si occupa di ogni minimo dettaglio, allestendo «una festa unicamente popolare». Il successo di questa manifestazione spinge anche a esportare questi spettacoli lirici nelle nuove colonie europee, fonte di civilizzazione per i popoli sottomessi e trionfo dell'orgoglio dei cittadini italiani, il cui esempio più evidente è fornito dalla rappresentazione di *Turandot* in Dalmazia (1941). Il cinema riveste una posizione fondamentale in questa operazione culturale: la propaganda fascista raggiunge, nello stesso tempo, sia i nuovi cittadini da 'colonizzare' che quelli italiani, soddisfacendo il loro bisogno di *grandeur*. L'analisi e la proiezione di estratti visivi e sonori – i Film Luce – permetteranno di ricostruire il clima sociale dell'epoca e di comprendere in maniera più approfondita l'impatto dell'opera nell'ambito più vasto dell'egemonia culturale del Partito Nazionale Fascista.

• **Pedro Ordóñez Eslava** (Universidad de Granada)

Mundo y formas del cante flamenco cinquant'anni dopo: identità del flamenco nell'ultimo franchismo

At the end of the fifties, in 1958, Hispavox launches in Spain *Antología del Cante Flamenco*; two years later is born the Cátedra de Flamencología in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz) and in 1961 the National Festival of Cante Jondo in Las Minas (Murcia) begins; Anselmo González Climent

writes his *Flamencología* in 1964. Already in the seventies, the series *Rito y geografía del cante* was broadcasted between 1971 and 1973 in the national second TV channel when there were only two in Spain. In this sense, we have to consider the publication of the book *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco* as a major point in this period, known as ‘flamenco renaissance’. Written by the poet Ricardo Molina and the famous ‘cantaor’ Antonio Cruz García, ‘Antonio Mairena’, this text, called ‘the flamenco bible’ by the historiography, was published in 1963 and it came to cover a documental vacuum in the definition and categorization of the different ‘palos’ – styles – and flamenco genres. In this sense, we can find in the book a deep study of all these styles and a detailed historic reference. But in doing so, it affirmed also the leading significance of the contribution to flamenco from the gypsy community, in order to create a difference, an identity exclusively ascribed to Andalusian gypsy, with their own art and cultural tradition. Hence, and beyond his academic weight – put in doubt soon after the publication –, this book became a symbol of several ethical, æsthetic and ideological values linked to concepts like purity, tradition, root, identity and race; all of them to be attached to gypsy people in Andalusia, in the cultural circumstances of the last Francoism, when Flamenco was also used as a major feature to define the foreign image of Spanish culture. I’ll seek to analyze in this paper the æsthetic debate which emerged around the book *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco* – related closely to concepts like identity – and to put it in contrast with the cultural frame in which it was published, at the end of the Francoism; hence, I’ll seek to assess the text and study the cultural discussion born around it within a broad perspective, fifty years after.

• **Paloma Otaola Gonzales** (Université ‘Jean Moulin’ Lyon 3)

La canzone spagnola e l’identità nazionale nella Spagna franchista: Manolo Escobar

È frequente il fatto di menzionare la benevolenza, finanche l’appoggio del regime franchista verso la *copla* e la canzone chiamata ‘spagnola’ con lo scopo di rinforzare il sentimento nazionale spagnolo. La popolarità crescente negli anni ’60 e ’70 di Manolo Escobar, riconosciuto come uno dei rappresentanti emblematici della canzone spagnola, in un’epoca nella quale le giovani generazioni si rivolgono a la musica ye-ye e alla pop, costituisce un caso interessante di riflessione. Il suo repertorio evolve dalla canzone andalusa verso la canzone spagnola, il cui punto di riferimento è la Spagna e il popolo spagnolo nella sua totalità. In poco tempo la sua voce e la sua figura sono diventate popolari ovunque in Spagna. Qual è stata la chiave del suo successo? Come è arrivato a essere un simbolo del sentimento nazionale spagnolo? Come viene percepisce oggi questa identificazione delle canzoni di Escobar con il nazionalismo dell’epoca franchista? Lo scopo di queste pagine è di esplorare le circostanze che hanno contribuito alla popolarità di Escobar, così come l’impatto nel sentimento d’identità nazionale tramite le sue canzoni, che rimangono nella memoria collettiva spagnola attraversando le diverse generazioni.

• **Juan José Pastor Comín** (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha)

From *Don Quixote* to *Dulcinea*: Political Cauterization of Musical Adaptations of Cervantes’ Text during the Franco Dictatorship (1939-1975)

The year 2005 marked an extraordinary advance for the Spanish musicology in the knowledge of the musical reception of Cervantes’ works due to conferences and publications that analyzed in a more or less systematically way the various compositions that articulated musically Cervantes texts. Thanks to this initial step today we know an extensive musical legacy carried out in the twentieth century and we can ask about the political context in which it was conceived and its gregarious or marginal significance during the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975). In this paper

we'll examine these compositions from a policy point of view – aspect, little-emphasized –, in the light of the Franco dictatorship's interpretations of *Don Quixote*. The official cultural policy cauterized the readings proposed by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz or Américo Castro, both exiled, and established the symbol of the fascist fate and the Redeemer proposed by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera in close connection to images of the Cid, Christ, or even the of D'Annunzio's sacred poetical world admired in Italy. The centenary of the birth of Cervantes (1947) marked a change to a feminization of a sweetened ideal as a regeneration of the Motherland inscribed in the ideology of the National Movement, and José Ibáñez Martín, Minister of Education (1939-1951) responsible for the repression against the Republican teachers, would be one of the founders of this thought represented in his book *Símbolo Hispánico del Quijote*. In this regard, it must be underlined the role played by the musicologist Victor Espinós, who wrote *El Quijote, breviario de amor: precedido de un mensaje de Dulcinea del Toboso a las mujeres del mundo* (1947). This phenomenon had its translation in the musical works composed then, on the music reviews, radio broadcasting, and soundtracks for the cinema, turning several compositions in political propaganda tools. On the other hand, we'll examine the compositions based on Cervantes texts written by composers living in exile and we'll discover their semantics dimension, many characterized as hopeless critical views of Spain as a land of sadness and madness. In the light of this historical factors, we will try to analyze in this paper various works of composers such as Aldave, Algueró, Arteaga, Asins Arbó, Bacarisse, Báguena Soler, Ballad Ibanez Bernaola, Comellas, Egido, Espinós, Ferrer i Fito, Franco Bordons, Gerhard, Gombau, Halffter (Rodolfo and Ernesto), Iglesias Alvarez, Lazareno, Martinez Chumillas, Medina Segui, Moreno Buendía, Palau Boix, Parada, Quintero Muñoz, Rodrigo Ruiz de Luna, Sainz de la Maza, Salvador Velez Segarra or Velez Camarero.

- **Belén Pérez Castillo** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
'Problematic Music'

This paper will provide some ideas regarding the reception of the 'avant-garde' contemporary music of the 60s by the Spanish audiences, and more specifically the reception of the orchestral music played in Madrid. To explain it more accurately, I will postulate some hypothesis about the semantic load of this music, since certain audiences perceived it as indicative of particular political tendencies. We start from a paradoxical perspective, which states that this music was presumably supported by the Franco's regime (different scholars have studied this circumstances, specially in regard to artistic creation during the 'Cold War' period). The fact is that some Spanish audiences contemplated contemporary music as an ideological reaction against Franco's regime on a certain time. Therefore, this proposal aims to define some of the more important spaces for contemporary music in Spain at the end of the 60s, especially from 1966 onwards, and to point out the profiles of their audiences. In that moment, when the Madrilenian Teatro Real was opened as place for concerts, the connection between avant-garde music and a certain left-wing ideology, or, at least, a democratic ideology, became more obvious. A plethora of semantic different levels might be distinguished within the reception of the musical contemporary creation, thus pointing out the contradictions and the inherent ambiguity in the relation between music and the political ideas during the Franco's regime. On one hand the critics supported avant-garde music from the 50s. On the other hand, an audience's sector, mostly conservative, rejected the new styles and compositional techniques: atonality, serialism and 'música abierta'. Finally, a sector of the audiences, mostly young people, was particularly interested in new music and they probably interpreted these artistic manifestations as a way towards democracy and the consolidation of the social and individual rights. Consequently, some amateur audiences linked nationalistic creation to Franco's regime and considered it aesthetically obsolete, whereas contemporary music had for them the purpose of

inquiring and questioning in every sense, both aesthetically and politically. As a case example of these trends, we will focus on the *première* of Cristóbal Halffter's cantata *Yes, speak out* in 1969 at the Teatro Real in Madrid. Its reception reveals the paradoxes of the above-explained relations between music and politics.

• **Ruth Piquer Sanclemente** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Narratives of Musical Neoclassicism in Spain: Ideological and Aesthetic Post-War Propaganda (1915-1936)

In July of 1915 the journal *España*, founded by José Ortega y Gasset, published a manifesto expressing support to the French Cause at War. Among the signees intellectuals was the composer Manuel de Falla. Historians have included most of those intellectuals in a renovation process called *Novcentismo*. They positioned themselves against German culture, having an aristocratic sense of the intellectual, and proclaiming a new sense of universalism, that was linked to progressive and left wing positions, demanded for the renovation processes. Within this ideological context, concepts on new art and music were filling the new journals, essays and publications within the necessity to redefine Spain and to construct tendencies and paradigms of ideological and aesthetical modernism. Among those paradigms arose the notion of a *new classicism*, understood as a way of integration with European modernism, but at the same time as a reinforce of Spanish identity, thus paralleling many ideals of French post-war ideals and acting as a aesthetical propaganda of progress and renovation. In this paper I will analyse the processes and narratives that expounded the concept of Neoclassicism, with special attention to its construction as ideological and aesthetical *propaganda* of modernity and Spanishness, as Spanish post-war intellectuals, artists and musicians defined it.

• **Valentina Radoman** (Academy of Arts, Music Department, University of Novi Sad)

Music and Propaganda after the Second World War: Example of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

After the Second World War the Yugoslav state underwent a powerful transformation. From the capitalist state of a monarchist organization it became, during the war years, a socialist republic. This sudden transformation of the state organization was accompanied by changes in all spheres of the society. The Yugoslav art production was changed by decrees dictated by the Communist Party. In this article I would like to point out the fact that political propaganda strongly influenced the course of all the arts, including music, in the Eastern Bloc countries during the Cold War. In this regard, Yugoslavia is a particularly interesting case. Because of the resistance to the Soviet Union in 1948 and having found it in a position between the Western and Eastern Bloc, in a very short period of a few years Yugoslavia had to change the directives by which the leadership of the Communist Party suggested artists what was desirable and what was unacceptable and punishable in art production. Although these changes mostly marked the field of film and literature, they are still clearly visible in the field of musical art. A large number of compositions that were written in the initial period of consolidation of the socialist regime and that were by their subject matter and their tools adapted to the needs and tastes of the proletariat (they were vocal-instrumental compositions with lyrics about the national liberation struggle or building a socialist society, they had simple melodic lines, simple rhythmic flow and harmonic language, often with applied quotes of folk melodies), after 1948 were replaced by compositions in which the closeness of the creative works of the Yugoslav composers and the avant-garde achievements of Western European and American artists had to be demonstrated. Perhaps the key event in which this great change became

prominent, and to which I would pay particular attention in this text, was the appearance of the Yugoslav musicians at the World Exhibition in Brussels held in 1958. The American press wrote about this event not as drastically as about the appearance of Soviet artists (in the texts under the title 'Soviet Attacks on U.S. Culture', 'Communist Propaganda and the Brussel's Fair', etc.) but still with a large dose of political charges.

• **Rosa Paula Rocha Pinto** (CESEM, FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Propaganda e istituzioni musicali: il caso della compagnia di balletti portoghesi 'Verde Gaio' (1940-1950)

La compagnia di balletti portoghesi Verde Gaio (BPVG), che nel contesto dello Stato Nuovo (Estado Novo) salazarista António Ferro aveva inserito nel programma della Segreteria della Propaganda Nazionale (Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, SPN) e della sua cosiddetta 'politica dello spirito', fece il suo debutto al Teatro da Trindade di Lisbona nel Novembre del 1940. Le commemorazioni per l'anniversario della fondazione del Portogallo e della restaurazione dell'indipendenza, così come l'Esposizione del Mondo Portoghese, offrirono in quell'anno il pretesto ad António Ferro, all'epoca direttore del SPN, per creare una compagnia di balletti che costituiva la prima istituzione di carattere professionale rappresentativa della danza teatrale 'portoghese'. Iniziando un percorso che sarebbe terminato solo a seguito della Rivoluzione del 25 Aprile 1974, la compagnia sarebbe stata caratterizzata, nei suoi primi dieci anni di esistenza, dalla commissione e produzione di dieci balletti originali e, per oltre 30 anni, sarebbe stata al centro delle attenzioni di stampa e radio dando centinaia di spettacoli in Portogallo e rappresentando il paese in innumerevoli eventi internazionali. In questa comunicazione si tenterà di individuare la relazione fra le strategie musicali utilizzate e i concetti di 'identità nazionale' e 'modernismo/modernità', analizzando alcuni aspetti relativi alla rappresentazione musicale e coreografica di una 'portoghesità' concepita nel contesto delle ideologie alla base dello Estado Novo. Incentivando un immaginario ricreato attraverso un concetto folcloristico della musica tradizionale (presente nella musica e nelle coreografie così come in argomenti, scenari, costumi), essa si traduce, da un lato, nella celebrazione del regionalismo nazionale, luogo di esaltazione di un quotidiano rurale e, dall'altro, nella mistificazione di un destino nazionale di carattere storico e sebastianista. A partire dalle diverse fonti che sono giunte sino a noi, si darà particolare attenzione al balletto *Nazaré*, del 1948 (con musiche di Frederico de Freitas, soggetto e coreografia di Francis Graça, scenari e costumi di José Barbosa), che è stato l'ultimo realizzato nel periodo della direzione di António Ferro e che rappresenta la fine di una fase emblematica del progetto politico dello Estado Novo.

• **Charla Schutte** (University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa)

«Lieder sind Brüder der Revolution»: An Ideology-Critical Approach to the Use of Song as a Vehicle for Propaganda

Indoctrination through music is a well-known phenomenon which has been used for centuries as a strategy to influence society and instil certain beliefs and attitudes in people. Extensive research over the last few decades confirms music as a propagandist method to promote ideology. One prime example is the state-controlled generation and dissemination of propaganda in Nazi Germany. After National Socialism, people were once again exposed to propaganda in the German Democratic Republic. Several mass organisations were formed and society was introduced to songs of an ideological nature, encouraging belief in the communist system. In South Africa an Afrikaner ideology of racial segregation slowly emerged during the first decades of the 20th century, reaching a climax with a political take-over of the National Party in 1948.

The songbook of the FAK (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations), published in 1937, quickly gained popularity and promoted patriotism and nationalism among white Afrikaners. The aim of this paper is to ascertain the degree of importance and influence of the songs sung in both countries by applying the theoretical framework for ideology analysis as presented by John B. Thompson (1990) and the topographical analysis of ideological culture as proposed by Johann Visagie (1996).

- **Laurie Ruth Semmes** (Appalachian State University, NC)

Frank Capra's *Job in Germany*: Evoking Cautious Suspicion through German Musical Reassurance

Frank Capra, the Italian-American film director well known for films whose focus is on the reaffirmation of the American spirit, such as *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) and *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), was commissioned by the U.S. government to direct a series of propaganda films aimed at educating its military forces during World War II. Capra also directed *Your Job in Germany*, a thirteen-minute film shown to the troops in preparation for their occupation of postwar Germany. The music of this film is strikingly German in nature, which raises the following questions. First, why would a composer use German music familiar to Americans, such as folk dances, brass fanfares, and Beethoven's 'Ode to Joy', to instill suspicion toward German citizens? Second, who composed and/or arranged the music for *Your Job in Germany*? Confirming this information is a surprisingly difficult task, which raises the third and last question: why? Perhaps the shortness of the film and predominance of arranged music rendered that information unimportant in the perception of the U.S. Office of War Information authorities. The opposite scenario may prove to be more likely, which is that the music was effective enough to be considered inflammatory, requiring suppression of the composer's name. In either case, the score to *Your Job in Germany* effectively perverts the American message of freedom and democracy for all people – by manipulating its own.

- **Hana Šišková** (Masaryk University, Institute of Musicology, Brno)

Music as a Carrier of Ideas, Based on the Example of Postwar Polish Music

In this paper I intend to examine resemblances between the interaction of music with nationalism, and the interaction of music with propaganda, and to trace the bases that enable both nationalism and propaganda to use music as a carrier of ideas. The aim of the paper is to raise the question whether music itself does or does not contain features of propaganda and nationalism, or whether its exploitability for both propagandistic and nationalistic purposes lies in its immense ability to affect human emotions, and whether and to what extent its nationalistic and propagandistic connotations are determined by the context in which the music is set. Musical examples of Polish postwar music will be used for illustrative purposes.

- **Annemie Stimie** (UNISA - University of South Africa)

***Volksliedjies* (Afrikaans Folk Songs) in Nationalist Publications: Transforming Spaces through Performative Texts**

Consider the following myth: Afrikaans songs trekked over the landscape of South Africa long before they settled in the mouth of a self-proclaimed Afrikaner people. From one silent dorpie (town) to the next, musical pioneers like Emiel Hullebroeck and Marthinus Lourens de Villiers carried their songs to white Afrikaans audiences. Although these songs impressed their

audiences during the 1920s and early 1930s, there remained only faint echoes of these town hall performances. It was only later – 1938 in fact, the year of the *Eeufees* (Centenary Celebrations) – that people came to tread where music had gone before. As a collective, the *Volk* (Afrikaner people), dressed in nineteenth century *Voortrekker* garb, traversed from South to North, re-sounding town-hall echoes in the open air as they drove their processions of ox-wagons from one town to the next, singing songs that immersed them in landscape: ‘Al lê die berge nog so blou’, ‘Bobbejaan klim die berg’ and ‘My Sarie Marais’. The journey culminated in a ritual performed just outside Pretoria: *Die Volk* and Music ascended *Monumentkoppie* together. What returned was a singing nation. This myth grew out of articles on music that appeared in South African dailies and cultural journals of the 1930s. These include most notably *Die Burger*, *Die Huisgenoot* and *Die Brandwag*. I propose to map the journey of Afrikaans music over the landscape of 1930s South Africa by tracing its tracks in this discourse of *volksliedjies* (folk songs). By focussing on the re-enactment of *Die Groot Trek* (The Great Trek) mentioned above, I will argue that *volksang* (folk singing) became, in Lefebvre’s terms, a ‘spatial practice’ that had been propagated by these texts. Furthermore, I will illustrate how folk singing transformed rural towns and *Monumentkoppie* into ‘theatricalized’ or ‘ritualized’ spaces (LEFEBVRE 1991, p. 391). And finally, since ‘[t]he actions of social practice are expressible but not explicable through discourse’ and because ‘they are, precisely, *acted* – and not *read*’, I will aim at construing a ‘horizon of meaning’, in other words, ‘a specific or indefinite multiplicity of meanings’ embedded in *volksang* of the 1930s (LEFEBVRE 1991, p. 222).

• **William Studdert** (University of Kent)

“I Double Dare You to Try and Invade”: The Nazis’ Relationship with Jazz on Domestic Radio and in Propaganda Broadcasts to Britain during World War II

This paper will initially examine the Nazis’ relationship with jazz music from the perspective of broadcasts intended for domestic audiences. Particular reference will be made to the search for a ‘New German Entertainment Music’ which was intended to provide an adequate substitute for British and American jazz on the radio, and thus prevent German military and civilian audiences from tuning into foreign broadcasts and coming into contact with enemy propaganda. This will include an exploration of hitherto forgotten radio projects such as *Frohe Stunde am Nachmittag* (Happy Hour in the Afternoon) and the controversial *Deutsches Tanz- und Unterhaltungsorchester* (German Dance- and Entertainment Orchestra). Did the Nazis’ musicological, racial and cultural prejudices hamper their ability to come to terms with and co-opt the audience for jazz music on home soil? The Propaganda Ministry’s use of jazz music in broadcasts to Britain will also be discussed, for example Goebbels’ creation ‘Charlie & His Orchestra’, which recorded American jazz, swing and popular tunes for export to enemy and neutral countries. By introducing elements of parody and subversive lyrics into their songs, they attempted to repay the British for their own use of jazz as weapon in the war of the ether. These broadcasts will be studied from both a German and a British perspective, using BBC monitors’ reports regarding the content of German English-language propaganda, as well as internal Ministry of Propaganda debates about the use of jazz and dance music. Finally, the paper will discuss the sociological and political implications of a passion for jazz in Nazi Germany. Drawing on critical wartime analyses and reports drawn up by the BBC exploring the receptiveness of the German audience for British jazz music broadcasts during World War II, as well as material from German national and private archives, the paper will endeavour to ascertain the degree to which jazz in Germany truly possessed the subversive quality that has been given it in retrospect in the public imagination. Was a passion for ‘enemy’ culture merely a symptom of the burgeoning globalisation of culture (and subculture) enabled by recent technological advances, or did it constitute a deliberate provocation to the insular and nationalist status quo?

• **Javier Suárez-Pajares** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

La cupola musicale della Spagna franchista nei festival di Bad Elster: 1941-1942

Recenti pubblicazioni hanno fatto riferimento, analizzando differenti contesti, ai festival di musica ispano-tedeschi che ebbero luogo a Bad Elster durante l'estate del 1941 e del 1942 (MOREDA 2008, pp. 2-5; IGLESIAS 2010, p. 124; PÉREZ ZALDUONDO 2010, pp. 437-441). Questi festival di fatto, parallelamente alla settimana che si organizzò in Spagna, furono rilevanti esempi tanto dell'uso propagandistico della musica nei due regimi come delle affinità politiche tra la Spagna franchista e la Germania del Terzo Reich; al contempo, le persone e le musiche coinvolte in questi interscambi costituiscono un'eccellente dimostrazione dell'influenza del potere sul corso che la musica spagnola prenderà nei primi anni Quaranta. Questo studio si propone di analizzare questi scambi e porre il dettaglio sui contenuti utilizzando fonti emergografiche e documenti inediti conservati nell'Archivio del Ministero degli Affari Esteri e dell'Archivio Generale dell'Amministrazione.

• **Andrzej Tuchowski** (Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, Poland)

The Totalitarian Rhetoric of 'Struggle': March Rhythms in the Service of Propaganda and Ideological Indoctrination in Poland under Stalinist Dictatorship (1949-1956)

It is clear that the rhetoric of 'struggle' is the most conspicuous amongst the common factors linking twentieth-century totalitarian systems, regardless of their ideological background. It seems logical, therefore, that the march – dignified by the tradition established by Beethoven, of music as a symbol of struggle and heroism – has been eagerly appropriated by propaganda in many totalitarian countries. In the case of post-war Poland the most dramatic ideological struggle took place during the first decade of the consolidation of communist dictatorship in this nation: a struggle for the souls of the Polish proletariat between the 'New Faith' (that is, communism) and the 'Old One' (Catholicism). It was music that was expected to provide a valuable weapon in this struggle. The strategy of this struggle has been outlined in a book which belongs amongst the most precious documents of those times: *Art in Struggle for Socialism* by Włodzimierz Sokorski (1950), then a senior party functionary and minister of culture. Of all the musical genres identified by Sokorski as significant for the purposes of propaganda and indoctrination (that is, Socialist realist cantata, folk opera, folk oratorio, workers' club oratorio, mass songs) only the first and the last have been realised. Both genres were dominated by march rhythms, including the most successful mass songs and the most outstanding works amongst Socialist-realist cantatas. The association of the march with totalitarianism was also reflected in the art music of those times. The anti-totalitarian message of Zbigniew Turski's *Olympic Symphony* (1948) is based mainly on the post-Mahlerian symbolic confrontation of two themes in march rhythms: a military/parade march and its *alter ego*, the funeral march. Significantly, the *Olympic Symphony*, banned in 1949, was the first 'musical victim' of the ideological purges in Poland that took place under Stalinist dictatorship.

• **Harry Vandervlist** (University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada)

"Shostakovich, Jump through the Window!": European Composers and the Opening of the Cold War Propaganda Battle in *Life Magazine*

In the immediate postwar years, European music and European composers were at the center of a propaganda battle, conducted in part by private media in the U.S. Henry Luce Booth's *Life* magazine led this campaign, which repudiated previous American attitudes which had welcomed, and even celebrated, emigre composers such as Schoenberg. Before the war, the presence of such artists in the U.S. had been held up as evidence that the future of the arts was shifting from Europe to the U.S. This was seen as more proof that Booth was correct to make his famous claim that the

twentieth century was becoming ‘the American century’. From the very first days of the Cold War, however, *Life* magazine began to single out European composers (and other artists) as ‘communist dupes’. This paper will take Dmitri Shostakovich as an example of the ways Henry Luce Booth’s magazines (*Life* and *Time*) shifted their representation of European musical figures from 1942 (when Shostakovich appears on *Time*’s cover as a hero of Leningrad) to 1949 (when the Russian composer is exhibited as a pitiful victim of Stalin’s manipulations). In particular, the paper will focus on the magazine’s representation of the 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York, «one of the first great propaganda battles in the cultural Cold war» (Ross, Alex. *The Rest is Noise*, p. 374). Organized with Cominform backing and opposed by the CIA-linked group Americans for Intellectual Freedom, the Congress placed Shostakovich in an intolerable position. Shostakovich was linked to a «rogue’s gallery» of mug shot-style photographs of «dupes and fellow travellers» including Aaron Copland and authors such as Arthur Miller, Dorothy Parker and Thomas Mann: even Albert Einstein is pictured (*Life*, 4 April 1949, p. 41). A photograph shows a picketer outside Shostakovich’s hotel holding a sign urging him to ‘jump through the window’ and defect (as Russian schoolteacher Oksana Kasenkina had done in 1948). The simplified terms of the propaganda battle could hardly do justice, of course, to the complex personal and ideological conflicts experienced by the composer. In his memoir *Timebends* Arthur Miller recalls observing Shostakovich while his speech was delivered by an interpreter at the 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference: «God knows what he was thinking in that room, what splits ran across his spirit» (p. 239). The propaganda battle which recruited these artists based itself on national and personal affiliations, and not on any intrinsic artistic qualities of their music. Yet the propaganda use of artists by government and the press did have consequences for musical creation. Aaron Copland’s speech at the 1949 Congress eloquently stated his own view: «I’ve been thinking that the cold war is almost worse for art than the real thing – for it permeates the atmosphere with fear and anxiety. [...] throw [the artist] into a mood of suspicion, ill-will and dread that typifies the Cold War and he’ll create nothing» (quoted in Ross, p. 376).

- **Belén Vega Pichaco** (Universidad de La Rioja)

Re- (nova) volu- tion: The Members of the Grupo de Renovación Musical Before the Cuban Revolution and Afterwards

The Spanish composer José Ardévol compiled in *Música y Revolución* (1966) some texts of interest because they portrayed both his aesthetical and ideological positions before and after the Cuban Revolution. Since Ardévol was the leader of the Cuban ‘Grupo de Renovación Musical’ (GRM) in the 1940s, after the Revolution (1959) he became known as ‘the Czar of Cuban Music’ to US critics. *Música y Revolución*, almost neglected up to now, should be considered therefore an important source on the History of Cuban Music. In this paper I analyse the assimilation of the Revolutionary Ideology in the discourse of Ardévol and the members of the GRM. Whereas to some of these members, such as the composer Julián Orbón, Castro’s victory meant exile and oblivion, other composers held significant political offices. In particular, this was the case of Argeliers León, Serafín Pro or Harold Gramatges, author of *Presencia de la Revolución en la Música Cubana* (1983), another book relevant to the present discussion.

- **Luis Velasco Pufleau** (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, CRAL/EHESS, Paris)

Music in War: Propaganda and Ideology

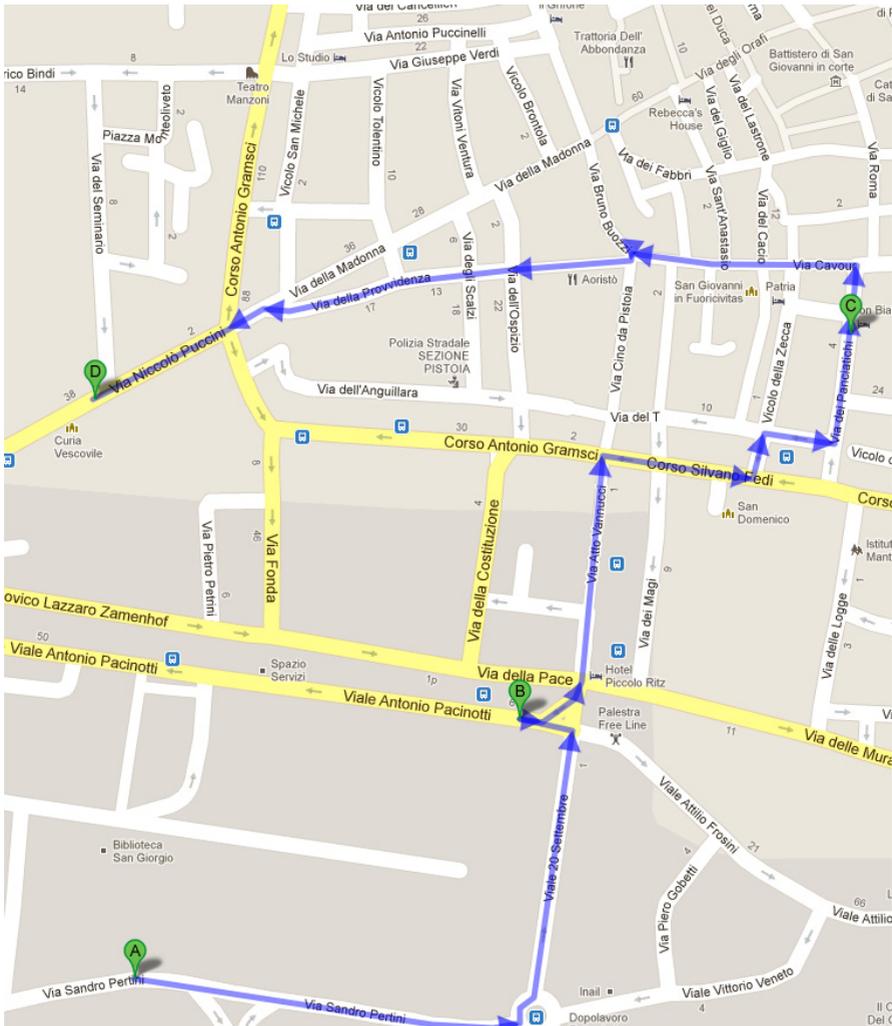
Music is one of the mechanisms for legitimating political and ideological wars during the twentieth century, from the First World War to the end of the Cold War. Through its polysemy, its symbolic and its ability to unite emotions in political rituals, music is involved in these

systems of propaganda. However, the symbolic dimension of works and musical practices – nationalist, Nazi, fascist, anti-communist, etc. – is not inherent to the material. It is «built by a continuous work of regulation and enrichment of sense, led to a group by the authorities perceived as legitimate» (BRAUD, Philippe. *Sociologie politique*, Paris, LGDJ, 2008, p. 53). If the work of regulation is driven by a complex ideology, it can be defined as propaganda: «All methods used by an organized group in order to make, a mass of individuals psychologically unified through psychological manipulation and framed in an organization, participate actively or passively to its action» (ELLUL, Jacques. *Propagandes*, Paris, Economica, 1990, p. 75). In this paper, I will first discuss the history of the word propaganda and how it slides from religious to political sphere during the two world wars. Then I will highlight the close relationship between propaganda (ELLUL) and ideology (RICŒUR). Finally, I will illustrate this statement by two examples (case studies): 1) the use of the music of Mexican composer Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940) in Republican anti-fascist propaganda's acts (1937) during the Spanish Civil War; 2) the censorship of 'degenerate' composers by the Ministry of Propaganda of the Nazi regime during the *Reichsmusiktag* (1938). This paper analyses the process of engagement and collaboration of composers in the ideological and military wars during the twentieth century.

• **Adèle Yu-der Sun** (ROC Naval Academy, Kaohsiung, Taiwan)
50 Years of Mandarin Patriotic Song in Taiwan

Mandarin patriotic song in Taiwan, a historic climax of high-handed policy of the KMT government since its withdrawal from mainland China in 1949, testifies to the most resistant span of the world for thirty eight years in ROC, the first republic of the Asia. Mandarin patriotic song, by-product music under martial law, functions as propaganda campaign against the Chinese Communists, and simultaneously stifles Taiwanese traditional musical genres established since four centuries ago and their continuing creation. The period of mandarin patriotic song, a window period vis-à-vis other orthodox artistic genres of music, blocks and even expels their dissemination. Taiwan, an immigrant society under successive regimes from Portugal, Netherlands, Spain, Koxinga (Cheng-Kung Cheng, 1624-1662) in Ming dynasty, Manchuria of Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Japanese occupation (1895-1945) to KMT government (1945-2000), has undergone frequent impact which culminates in its rich and colorful musical tradition. To prevent the political storm stirred by musical reunion or activities, the Martial Law since 1949 makes Taiwanese musical heritage in sudden regression, including aboriginal music, Han people's music (nan-guan and bei-guan music, Hakka ba-yin music, Taoist and Buddhist music, Taiwanese theatre, etc.). High-spirited, indomitable and gallant, the mandarin patriotic song seeps into people's minds, originally derived from Russian communist brain-washing. On the other hand, it causes Taiwanese cultural indigestion and social turbulence on ethnic integration despite its taking stock of ROC circumstances, a dilemma marked first by Nationalist Government's withdrawal from mainland China in 1949, and then from UN in 1971. KMT government enforces the mandarin-speaking-for-all policy throughout the island, in keeping with strict ultimate domestic principle of 'keeping the secret so as to ward off Communist espionage' as a result of fierce confrontation of both sides of the Taiwan Strait. We will explore all this in this study, focusing on such kind of songs as well as the measures KMT took in promoting it.





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- C: Leon Bianco Hotel (via dei Panciaticchi, 2)
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