Popular Songs in the 19th Century

International Conference

30 November 2019
02 December 2019

LUCCA (Complesso Monumentale di San Michele)
In collaboration with

Palazzetto Bru Zane
Centre de musique romantique française, Venice
International Conference

Popular Songs
in the 19th Century

Organized by
Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca
Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française, Venice

Lucca, Complesso Monumentale di San Micheletto
30 November – 02 December 2019

Programme Committee

Roberto Illiano (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
Étienne Jardin (Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice)
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Keynote Speakers

• Derek B. Scott (University of Leeds)
• Michela Niccolai (IHRIM, Lyon2 / LaM, ULB)
SATURDAY 30 NOVEMBER

9.30-10.15 Welcome and Registration

10.15-10.30 Opening
• Fulvia Morabito (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
• Étienne Jardin (Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice)

10.30-11.30 Keynote Speaker 1
• Derek B. Scott (University of Leeds), *The New Popular Songs of the Nineteenth Century*

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Coffee Break

12.00-13.00 Keynote Speaker 2
• Michela Niccolai (IHRIM, Lyon2 / LaM, ULB), Montmartre en chansons. Salles, répertoires et interprètes entre café-concert et cabaret (1860-1914 environ)

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13.00 Lunch

15.00-16.30 Central Europe and Spain
(Chair: Derek B. Scott, University of Leeds)
• David Robb (Queen’s University, Belfast), *The Truly Popular Protest Songs of the German 1848 Revolution*
• Tobias Fasshauer (Universität der Künste, Berlin), «Wenn das Banjo zittert»: Americanism in Popular Songs of the Wilhelmine Era
• Viktor Velek (Czech Academy of Sciences, Masaryk Institute and Archives of the CAS, v. v. i.), *Master Jan Hus and Hussitism as the Subject of Czech Social Songs in the 19th Century*

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17.00-18.00
• Anja Bunzel (Musicology Department, Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague), *Popular Song in the (Semi-)Private Domain? Considering the Nineteenth-Century Salon within the Context of Popular Culture*
• María Encina Cortizo – Ramón Sobrino (Universidad de Oviedo), *The Repertoire of ‘Popular Song’ in the Spanish Nineteenth Century: A Round Trip beyond the Popular Music in Urban Spaces*
SUNDAY 1 DECEMBER

9.00-11.00 Circulation
(Chair: Michela Niccolai, IHRIM, Lyon2 / LaM, ULB)
• Eva-Maria de Oliveira Pinto (Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs), *Popular Songs in the Ecclesiastical Context: Discoveries in European and North American Organ Music of the 19th Century*
• Maria Birbili (Universität des Saarlandes), *French Revolutionary Songs and their Politicized Proliferation around Europe from the early 19th to the early 20th Century*
• Ewelina Czarnowska (Uniwersytet Warszawski), *Commercial Music in Warsaw Coffeehouses between Two Uprisings*
• Chloe Valenti (University of Cambridge), *Between Opera and Popular Song: British ‘Va, pensiero’ Reprints in the Mid Nineteenth Century*

Coffee Break

11.30-13.00 United States
(Chair: Massimiliano Sala, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
• Wojciech Bernatowicz (Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Sklodowskiej, Lublin), «He’s Gone to Be a Soldier in the Army of the Lord»: Politics in the Antebellum American Popular Song
• Paolo Somigli (Free University of Bolzano/Bozen) – Luigi Conidi (Bologna), in collaboration with ICAMus – The International Center for American Music: *Metamorphoses and Permanence: The Music of Stephen Collins Foster in the History of American Popular Song*
• Candace Bailey (North Carolina Central University), *Definition and Dissemination of Popular Song in the Southern United States*

Coffee Break

13.30 Lunch

15.00-17.00 Between Genres and Contexts (I)
(Chair: Derek B. Scott, University of Leeds)
• Henrik Rost (Hochschule für Musik und Tanz Köln), «La Biondina in Gondoletta»: The Transnational Success Story of a Popular Gondola Song
• Jan Dewilde (Royal Conservatoire Antwerp / Study Centre for Flemish Music), «I Know a Song»: The Popular Song in 19th-Century Flanders
• Catarina Braga (CESEM/FCSH – Universidade Nova de Lisboa), *The Portuguese Chansonnette at the End of the Nineteenth Century: The New Popular Song or a Mini-Comic Scene?*
• Pénélope Patrix (Université Paris Diderot), *Le fado et le tango au xixe siècle : poétiques ‘canailles’ et imaginaires des origines*

Coffee Break

17.30–19.00 Cultural and Social Issues
(Chair: Michela Niccolai, IHRIM, Lyon2 / LaM, ULB)
• Bernardo Illari (University of North Texas, Denton, TX), *Popular Music as Nation Building: Tertulia Songs in Buenos Aires, 1810-1840*
• Jörg Holzmann (Universität Leipzig), ‘Marlborough s’en va-t-en guerre’: *A Former Soldiers Song, Spreading over Europe and the Americas, Changes its Applications – From Toast and Children’s Song to a Fraternity Ceremony, from England to Mexico and Sweden*
• Mirella Di Vita (Conservatorio ‘Antonio Vivaldi’, Alessandria), *Pesnja e Romans: le forme della lirica vocale russa agli inizi del xix secolo*

MONDAY 2 DECEMBER

9.30–11.00 Between Genres and Contexts (ii)
(Chair: Roberto Illiano, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
• Emily Shyr (Duke University, Durham, NC), *The Prince of Song Revisits the Erl-King: The Role of Popular Song in Schubert’s Impromptu No. 1 in C Minor, D. 899*
• Mark McFarland (Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA), *Debussy the Patriot?*
• Beatriz Pomés Jiménez (Universidad de Navarra), *Pablo Sarasate’s Spanish Dances: A Contextual Study*

Coffee Break
II.30–13.00 Islands and Transatlantic Routes  
(Chair: Fulvia Morabito, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)  
• Áine Mulvey (Dublin City University), *Dialect Verse and Songwriting during the Irish Cultural Revival (1891-1922)*  
• Flávia Camargo Toni (Universidade de São Paulo), *The Twenty Modinhas for Voice and Piano by Sigismund Neukomm and Joaquim Manoel da Câmara Cruz: A ‘Transatlantic’ Partnership*  
• Henry Stoll (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA), *Postcolonial Contrafacta and the Songs of Haitian Independence*  

13.30 Lunch
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

• **DEREK B. SCOTT** (University of Leeds), *The New Popular Songs of the Nineteenth Century*

  It was in the nineteenth-century that distinctive commercial popular styles of song developed. This had two consequences. First, the old idea that a popular song was a song of the people began to be eroded, and a song was now increasingly likely to be called ‘popular’ if it sold in large quantities. Second, the music to popular songs started to take on features that were not characteristic of high-status music. That meant that composers who wished to be taken seriously as artists began to avoid those features and, by doing so, they widened the gap between popular song and art song. Audiences have frequently felt able to enjoy music of the Western high-art tradition despite lack of knowledge of the social context in which it was produced, and there was a widely-held belief in the last century that the ‘great works’ of music evolved autonomously as a kind of purely musical progress in style and technique. Popular music, however, is often strongly embedded in the social and cultural conditions of the period in which it was created. This is undoubtedly why popular music can so readily bring to mind the times and places which it was first heard. Yet, the time and place in which someone today hears nineteenth-century music is separated from the period of its production. Thus, the reaction to some nineteenth-century popular music may be one of incomprehension: for example, one might wonder if a sentimental ballad is meant to be taken seriously or ironically. To take another example, one might feel embarrassed and disapproving of a blackface minstrel song that appears mocking in tone and contains words we would now describe as racist. In this presentation, I examine a range of different popular styles in order to illustrate the argument that, when studying older popular music, we need to consider a range of interdisciplinary approaches: social and cultural history, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationalism, imperialism, generation (youth / age), production (industry, commerce, markets), and reception (consumers, audiences, dancers, and so forth).

**MICHELA NICCOLAI** (IHRIM Lyon 2 / LaM ULB), *Montmartre en chansons. Salles, répertoires et interprètes entre café-concert et cabaret (1860-1914 environ)*

L’image du Montmartre fin de siècle est indissociable de sa vie musicale. C’est ici que de nombreux genres spectaculaires (chanson réaliste, pantomime régionale, chansons sentimentales...) trouvent leur sublimation d’abord dans les cafés-concerts puis dans les célébres cabarets. Dans cet univers sonore, l’aspect visuel joue un rôle de premier plan et la capacité de l’interprète se mesure tant par ses qualités vocales quant par ses capacités actoriales ; chaque chanson représente un univers artistique à part entière. Dans notre présentation, après avoir illustré les principaux établissements de spectacle montmartrois et le répertoire ici représenté, nous nous attacherons à illustrer quelques exemples tirés de la production d’Yvette Guilbert, Aristide Bruant et Paul Delmet (entre autres).
A major section of the repertoire of German ‘democratic’ folk song revivalists of the mid-to late twentieth century was that dedicated to the songs of the period of the Vormärz and the 1848 Revolution. Particularly in the context of the international protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s these hit the nerve of the times in Germany. However, the particular selection of these songs was influenced by modern popular musical and political tastes and thus gave a somewhat skewed image of what had actually been the popular protest songs of 1848. There are three categories of songs that I would like to look at here, each which reveal a lot about the political mentality of the times and the types of song used as a vehicle to express it: student fraternity songs, militant songs, and songs dedicated to revolutionary icons. Until they were superseded by the workers movement from the 1870s onwards the nationalist bourgeois students were the revolutionaries of the time. Their popular songs included ‘Fürsten zum Land hinaus!’ (Princes get out!) which was widely sung and circulated as a flier at the Hambach Festival of 1832 and ‘In dem Kerker saßen’ (They sat in the dungeons) of 1837 written about the escape of the students imprisoned for their role in the storming of the Frankfurt guardhouse in 1833. The variety of different versions (as documented by the fieldwork of Wolfgang Steinitz (1954 and 1961) testifies to the extent of these songs’ dissemination. Other songs such as Freiligrath’s ‘Trotz alledem’, a translation of Robert Burns’ ‘A Man’s a Man for a’ that’, were also popular and set to drinking song melodies from the student milieu and published in their song books. However, it is the more militant, pathos-laden songs as well as the homages in song to revolutionary leaders which were particularly popular during the year of revolution 1848-49 itself. And these were songs which were for the most part ignored by the post-WWII folk revivalists (as evidenced by their lack of appearance on folk song records), I argue, because of their associations with militarism and political subservience which the young generation viewed as an unwanted legacy of the Third Reich. Particularly in the case of the popular songs dedicated to the revolutionary martyrs Friedrich Hecker and Robert Blum one finds the expression of a strong German nationalism alongside a revolutionary gestus, a particular combination distinctive of the 1848 period. These songs circulated widely on broadsides and were set to popular tunes of the time. Numerous handwritten documents testify further to the extent of the dissemination. In the case of Hecker, ‘Das ‘Guckkasten Lied vom großen Hecker’ (The barrel organ song of the great Hecker) was even written as a mocking satire of the leader of the failed Baden uprising of April 1848. But it, too, became part of the massive cult celebrating the insurgent hero. This paper will this examine the style of these songs, lyrically and musically and give evidence of their circulation and public presence during the 1848 period.
understood by German composers, were also employed in popular and especially cabaret songs. Although the repertoires of cakewalk songs on the one hand and of two- or one-step songs on the other converge to some extent with regard to musical vocabulary and textual content, a tendency to specialize on different topics is unmistakable: While the cakewalk, of African-American origin, was mostly used to depict a romanticized Old American South, to convey racial stereotypes, or to satirize German colonial rule in Africa, the vocal adaptations of the ‘Euro-American’ two- and one-steps would rather address aspects of Americanization, social modernization, technical innovation, and globalized cosmopolitan culture. In fact, German cakewalk and two- or one-step songs anticipate much of the musical Americanism that is considered typical of the Weimar Republic’s ‘New Objectivity’ (Neue Sachlichkeit).

As part of the research project «John Philip Sousa and Musical Americanism in Continental Europe, 1893-1917» at the Berlin University of the Arts a comprehensive collection of songs has been compiled; through analysis of exemplary pieces from this stock this paper will examine how the Wilhelmine fascination for things American expressed itself musically, and how this musical Americanism related to popular music culture in general.

• **Viktor Velek (Czech Academy of Sciences (Czech Academy of Sciences, Masaryk Institute and Archives of the CAS, v. v. i.), Master Jan Hus and Hussitism as the Subject of Czech social songs in the 19th Century**

The Lands of the Bohemian Crown had a linguistically mixed population. The process of the Czech National Revival continuously defined the development of Czech identity and, secondarily, the relationship to Czech Germans. Music was of great importance in this process of shaping Czech identity. It was a prompt mirror of the political and social events, having a significant impact on them. Social songs offered the potential for entertainment and demonstrating political, social and ethnic attitudes. Composers and authors of lyrics often sought inspiration in history, the Czech Middle Ages being a favourite subject. What comes to life in many songs is the story of the reformist theologian Master Jan Hus (burned at the stake for heresy in 1415). Hus became a symbol of the martyrdom of the nation, defiance, struggle and moral attitude for his disciples. In the 19th century, the themes of Jan Hus and Hussitism were attractive to a considerable part of Czech society. In the context of social songs, it forms an important ideological group, which seems to be known only intuitively and which has not yet been the subject of comprehensive musicological research. The paper aims to present the topic from several angles: an overview of subjects, stratification of the functional aspects of songs (seriousness, pathos, humour, satire, etc.), musical quotes of authentic mediaeval Hussite songs and musical counterfeits in the 19th century, the positions of this repertoire in the context of Czech social songs, sources, as well as contemporary and current reception.

• **Anja Bunzel (Musicology Department, Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague), Popular Song in the (Semi-)Private Domain? Considering the Nineteenth-Century Salon within the Context of Popular Culture**

Scholars scrutinising the nineteenth-century German Lied have grappled with difficulties in situating this genre as regards its aesthetic (and commercial) value, because it is positioned somewhere between popular culture and high art. While the works rooted in this genre vary in terms of their compositional aesthetics, and indeed, may bear similarities
with their pendants in other languages, they share their performance contexts: distributed as sheet music, many of these compositions were performed in (semi-)private settings beyond their own regional and/or national realms. These settings range from high-calibre musical salons (for instance those of Fanny Hensel, Berlin, and Václav Jan Tomášek, Prague) to less musically-oriented gatherings in the homes of writers, politicians, and/or people holding other forms of social responsibility. Thus far, salon scholarship has advocated surveys of important European cities and/or case studies of specific salons. There is a need for further studies of this kind in order to reevaluate the socio-cultural significance of salon culture. Furthermore, I suggest a pan-European perspective with a focus on the music, through which I hope to examine the salon’s impact on popular culture and cultural transfer. Introducing aspects of a new research project on musical repertoire in private social gatherings between 1815 and 1850, this paper offers first ideas as to how the salon, as a semi–private platform, took an active part in shaping nineteenth-century popular culture and in inspiring and disseminating popular song. I invite a vivid discussion thematising current scholarly chances and challenges in researching nineteenth-century salon culture as a pan-European platform for the promotion of popular song.

• MaríA Encina Cortizo – rAmón soBrino (Universidad de Oviedo), The Repertoire of ‘Popular Song’ in the Spanish Nineteenth Century: A Round Trip beyond the Popular Music in Urban Spaces

In this paper we consider the concept and process of creation and dissemination of the popular songs in Spain, thinking about the process of identification and resignification develop around these items. During the 19th century, we notice the appearance of urban musical repertoires fed with oral tradition music sources from the rural context. Thus, some rhythms and songs of rural Spain become sound references of the expanding urban centers. Many of these songs, with rhythms of seguidillas or habanera, are integrated into lyric theatrical formulas, thus becoming part of author’s works. These processes make possible the distribution and dissemination throughout the country and overseas provinces such as Cuba. In addition, some of these songs serve as a model for the creation of new author songs that imitate the originals, and recreate new models, forming new icons of Spanish sound identity. These new songs are born on rhythms of Spanish folklore, such as the jota, the fandango, the seguidillas or the habanera, and on other foreign rhythms, such as the polka, the mazurka, the waltz, the chotis, etc. This process extends beyond Spanish borders, becoming in an important way to configure and disseminate the image of Spanish music, in the case of the Cachucha, a popular song from the end of the 18th century; included in the opera Il dissoluto punito (1822) by Ramón Carnicer, and disseminated in European theaters by the Austrian dancer Fanny Eissler, to the Habanera de Carmen by Bizet, which has its origin in the song El Arreglito, by Sebastián Iradier (1809–1865).

Circulation
• Eva–Maria de oliveira Pinto (Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs), Popular Songs in the Ecclesiastical Context: Discoveries in European and North American Organ Music of the 19th Century

In the 19th century, the popular songs have entered into a close connection with the pipe organ. On the one hand, it was — not at least — the barrel organ as a mobile instrument that spread popular songs very quickly. On the other hand, popular songs were
also attractive for the immobile sister-instrument, the organ in a church. Especially in the 19th century organists have repeatedly been inspired by popular tunes for improvised pre-, inter- or postludes, but also notated compositions for organ were using popular song templates or topoi of popular music. Hereby the border between original compositions with popular tunes and arrangements of popular tunes is often fluid. This paper focuses on the socio-cultural and religious context of popular music in 19th-century churches. Exemplary works (original compositions and arrangements of popular songs for organ) are intended to illustrate how the popular song in the 19th century moves within the field of tension between ecclesiastical and secular music and which individual traits can be extracted from it for the popular song in general.

Maria Birbili (Universität des Saarlandes), French Revolutionary Songs and their Politicized Proliferation around Europe from the early 19th to the early 20th Century

Musicological research on the history of the 19th century song on a transnational, pan-European scale has been scarce. So far mainly the political importance of revolutionary chansons during the French Revolution and the political significance of Verdi’s choruses during the Risorgimento have been considered. Evaluation and assessment of the 19th-century opera repertoire, both during stage performances as well as in private salons concerts and publically performed on the street during political unrest would bring out significant results on the question of reception and reinterpretation, since the repertoire both reflects the society of its origins but also often changes its significance, in a nuanced reoccurrence. My paper will examine the reception of chansons from the period around the French Revolution, and their politicized reutilization from the early 19th century until the early 20th century. This refers to revolutionary chansons such as Ça ira, La Marseillaise, and La Carmagnole, but also in the politicized reutilization of melodies from these revolutionary chansons used in operas with a political intent. Such was the case of Rossini, who used a slightly modified quote of the Marseillaise refrain in two instances: in the chorus ‘Quanto vaglian’ gl’Italiani/al cimento si vedrà’ in the aria finale Isabella’s in L’Italiana in Algeri (Venice, 1813), in a conclusion of the opera that uses the plot-device of escaping Turkish slavery as a commentary on Italy under Austrian occupation. In the second instance, Rossini used another slightly modified quote of the Marseillaise refrain in the revolutionary oath chorus in the Finale ii of Guillaume Tell (Paris, 1829), as the Swiss under Austrian occupation proclaim a revolution, reuniting four cantons in a federalist state. Let us not forget that Guillaume Tell was composed in collaboration with federalist librettist Étienne Jouy in the eve of the 1830 revolution that established constitutional monarchy in France. Auber too used another slightly modified quote of the Marseillaise refrain in the refrain of the revolutionary duet between Masaniello and Pietro (‘Mieux vaut mourir que rester misérable…/Amour sacré de la patrie’) in Act ii of his opera La Muette de Portici (Paris, 1828). Significantly enough, a performance of La Muette de Portici on 25 August 1830 in Brussels under the reign of William I was politically instrumentalized so as to start the Belgian Revolution which subsequently allowed the secession of Belgium from Netherlands and its proclamation as an independent state. Significantly enough, it was during the revolutionary duet ‘Amour sacré de la patrie’ on the stage of the Théâtre de la Monnaie that the riots sparked, with the audience ‘interactively’ imitating the revolutionaries on the stage, and with the performance (showing a revolution on stage) being interrupted
and turning into a real revolution on the streets of Brussels. An interesting detail is the reutilization of the refrain of the *Muette de Portici* duet in London, Spitalfields during workers’ marches as late as in the early 20th century, in the 1880s and 1890s, a phenomenon which raises the question of the importance of songs as political education and affirmation.

**Ewelina Czarnowska** (*Uniwersytet Warszawski*), **Commercial Music in Warsaw Coffeehouses between Two Uprisings**

My intention is to portray the general state of commercial music (having regard to songs) in Warsaw coffeehouses and also similar venues withing about 30 years between two national uprisings (in 1830 and 1863). I’m going to focus on musical influences on the repertoire that had had its origins in classical music, especially in Italian opera. Bel canto style, that had been immenesely popular in Polish capital at that time became an important inspiration then: many excerpts from the operas, chiefly written by Bellini and Donizetti, were adapted for rather light music adjusted to less demanding receivers. Aside from popular songs (because for example some of Donizetti’s passages were used as a musical background of patriotic songs as well), numerous melodies were intended to dance, having also a pinch of Polish folk and national dances. The present state of research is not sizeable in fact. The most substantial source providing many significant pieces of information is the press that had been appearing at that time in Warsaw. Numerous advertisements and reviews contain not only titles and nature of the pieces but some names of the performers too what allows us to restore this musical reality. In my paper I would like to concentrate mainly on Bellini’s reception, because music of this composer had appear in Warsaw relatively late, actually coinciding with the eclipse of bel canto on Warsaw stage. However, his operas and talent had been heartily appreciated by the audience not only in opera house but also in another places. Certalny, I’m going to mention another composers as well. Aside from picturing the musical influences, as a short conclusion, I would like to deliberate on the reasons of those musical adaptations.

**Chloe Valenti** (*University of Cambridge*), **Between Opera and Popular Song: British ‘Va, pensiero’ Reprints in the Mid Nineteenth Century**

When Verdi’s operas first appeared in London in the mid-1840s, his ‘noisy’ orchestration prompted condemnation from the British press, but his choruses attracted greater support. Several critics commented on the ‘simple, broad, and massive harmony’ characteristic of Verdi’s style, though not all were complimentary. James William Davison wrote that ‘the choruses are nothing but the commonest tunes, arranged almost invariably in unison — perhaps because the composer knows not how to write in parts’. Despite the misgivings of the critics, ‘Va pensiero’ from *Nabucco* became particularly popular, and was frequently encored during performances. Its mass appeal is further demonstrated by the dozens of reprints of the chorus produced by London publishers from the mid-1840s onwards. The reprints were likely to have been marketed to the rising number of choral societies around the country, spreading popular awareness of Verdi’s style of chorus-writing further. However, not all of the reprints present ‘Va pensiero’ in its original form. Some of the reprints, particularly those from the 1840s and 50s, were often heavily edited, and these rearrangements made a considerable change to both the character of the chorus and its performance. The most common alteration was the omission of the central ‘Arpa d’or’ section, with its declamatory style and dramatic shifts in dynamics. The removal of this ‘noisy’ section bypassed some of the more controversial aspects of Verdi’s style seen in the
original chorus, and placed greater focus on the famous lilting, hymn-like opening melody. Furthermore, emphasising the unison sections of the original removed entirely any need for multiple voices. Thus an operatic chorus was transformed into a popular song, a romanza or ballad for solo voice. Often paired with a romantic or nostalgic text appealing to Victorian sentiments, the transformation of ‘Va pensiero’ into the song genre further reinvented it for popular performance.

United States

- Wojciech Bernatowicz (Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin), «He’s Gone to Be a Soldier in the Army of the Lord»: Politics in the Antebellum American Popular Song

In this paper I discuss the emergence of popular music in Northern America and its correlation to the political agenda in the 18th and 19th century. I examine four types of sources which were intrinsic to the rural and urban popular music and which conveyed the ideological framework for the American society: blackface minstrelsy, war songs, spirituals, and parlor melodies. All of them had their influence on the superficial features of the popular song such as type of melody, harmonic structures, rhythmical patterns etc., but moreover they had an impact on American society. The core of my statement is the analysis of the music created during the important events in the American history from the second half of the 18th to end of the first half of the 19th century. Thus the songs composed as a form of the political utterance will be connected to the American Revolutionary War, the British — American War of 1812, the Southampton Insurrection of 1831, and the Mexican — American War of 1848. This part delivers the historical framework for my attempt to recreate the mindset of the American artists, both amateurs and professionals, whose music was intertwined with politics. The focus of this paper is to also present the role of the lyrics utilized in American popular music during the first half of the 19th century, and how they were transformed through appropriation of melodies. It is important to present the fluctuation of the compositions not only between North and South, but also between different ethnicities and religion minorities. The claim is that the popular music worked not only as a pure form of art, but as a way to distribute political agenda.

- Paolo Somigli (Free University of Bolzano/Bozen) – Luigi Conidi (Bologna), in collaboration with ICAMus – The International Center for American Music: Metamorphoses and Permanence: The Music of Stephen Collins Foster in the History of American Popular Song

This contribution will tackle the relevance of Stephen Collins Foster — to date, absent from Italian musicological literature — from a historical and musicological standpoint, considering both his original popularity and the reasons of his lasting relevance. After a preliminary overview of Foster’s life and work in his time and context, we will proceed to introduce and analyze emblematic instances of this complex phenomenon of transformation and permanence. Foster and his work play a pivotal role in the emergence and definition of popular song in the middle of the 1800s, as much as in the genesis of a distinctly ‘American’ kind of song. Hinging on a number of popular music genres in vogue at the time in different contexts and venues, such as minstrel shows and parlor songs, Foster’s output and life are characterized by a constant tension between commercial purposes and aesthetic ambitions, between the
sublimated forms of European art music and a quest for originality and characterization of an expressly ‘American’ nature, connected to a deep sense of cultural and geographic belonging. Although arising in specific contexts and shaped by certain incidental requirements — from the audience’s expectations to the articulation of a political standpoint, such as with his Civil War songs — Foster’s music became a founding part of American and, to a certain extent, global musical culture. Indeed, many of his songs have crossed decades and borders, continuously reappearing in adaptations and rearrangements that determined a constant rewriting, but also guaranteed their permanence in time. The alterations have involved, certainly, the songs’ musical guise and modes of performance, but the lyrics too: these have been revised particularly in the United States, within a constant renegotiation of politics and identity, one that cannot avoid painful confrontation with themes such as slavery and racial violence.

**Candace Bailey** (North Carolina Central University), *Definition and Dissemination of Popular Song in the Southern United States*

Modern authors depict nineteenth-century popular song in the United States as simple piano-vocal songs performed in the parlor and epitomize the repertory with selections by Stephen Foster. The fact that he was a native-born underwrites this reputation, as does his pre-eminence in early twentieth-century collections of Americana. However, my analysis of well over a thousand bound volumes of sheet music that belonged to young women in what became the Confederate States of America proves that Foster’s music was far from the most frequently heard there — the very region depicted in many of the composer’s songs. Indeed, Foster does not figure prominently in southern volumes, and his standing reached its current level of eminence only after the Civil War. In this paper, I first reveal the types of works that nineteenth-century Americans defined, through publications and performances, as popular songs. My data includes contents of binder’s volumes, available publications, advertisements, and diaries and letters. These establish that ballads, arias, and lieder all fell under the term ‘popular song’. The next stage of this presentation considers musical aspects within these songs that contributed to their inclusion in numerous collections of ‘Songs’. By offering versions that simplified difficult arias (transposing them and/or translating them into English), enterprising music sellers appealed to a wider audience. Alternatively, those women who wished to distinguish themselves socially by showing off their cultural experiences sang Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, and Verdi arias in the original keys and languages. Ironically, these women promoted Foster and his ‘plantation songs’ as representative of American popular song. My paper here will reposition Foster’s works as typical but not archetypal of popular song in the southern US and will illuminate the variety of genres that nineteenth-century Americans understood as ‘popular song’.

**Between Genres and Contexts (i)**

*Henrike Rost* (Hochschule für Musik und Tanz Köln), *“La Biondina in Gondoletta”: The Transnational Success Story of a Popular Gondola Song*

*La biondina in gondoletta* is probably the most famous gondola song and known almost in all of Europe. The music had been attributed for a long time to the German-born composer Johann Simon Mayr, whose authorship, however, could be ruled out. The composer of the music remains up till now anonymous. The lyrics in Venetian dialect were written by Antonio Lamberti and date back to the 1770ies. During the Napoleonic rule in
Venice (1805–1815), *La biondina in gondoletta* was prohibited because of its salacious text. Nonetheless, the song with its catchy melody made a truly European career in the course of the nineteenth century. Especially abroad, *La biondina in gondoletta* functioned as a symbol of Venetian vitality and Italian light-heartedness — combining a nostalgic view on the glorious past of the Republic with stereotyped imaginations of an Italian national character. Many European composers of the nineteenth century worked with the melody of *La biondina in gondoletta*, cited it or improvised on the theme. Among others, Ludwig van Beethoven und Franz Liszt used the gondola song, referring to it as the epitome of Venetian popular music. My paper aims to trace the manifold versions and settings of the piece, which can be considered a transnational hit song. I will follow the astonishing success story of *La biondina in gondoletta* far into the twentieth century, when it was used within the Festival Internazionale della Canzone, held for the first time in Venice in June 1955. Six European nations — Italy, Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Monte Carlo and France — or rather their radio stations competed in this first edition of the popular song festival, which was broadcasted in all participating countries. With a festive ceremony the song contest came to an end: Musicians of six nations played together *La biondina in gondoletta*: «[…] ed ecco che archi ed ottoni di sei bandiere, diretti dal maestro Cergoli, intonano sotto il bel cielo della laguna, quella vecchia eppur sempre cara ‘barcarola’ che è *La biondina in gondoleta*: un motivo che ha vinto il tempo e la ‘concorrenza’ perché riassume ed esprime il genuino carattere e la poesia dell’anima veneziana» (Gazzettino no. 175, 31 July 1955). In the following years, the custom of ending the contest by intoning the famous gondola song was maintained. This clearly demonstrates how *La biondina in gondoletta*, in the course of the nineteenth century, had been deeply rooted in the collective memory as a clichéd symbol of venezianità.

**Jan Dewilde** (Royal Conservatoire Antwerp / Centre for the Study of Flemish Music), *«I Know a Song»: The Popular Song in 19th-Century Flanders*

Like many other regions, Flanders too has known a wave of popular songs, which at the time were usually referred to as *liederen in volkstraat* (‘songs in the spirit of the people’) to distinguish them from art songs. The vogue of popular songs in Flanders was boosted even further by the linguistic and cultural battle against the Francophone dominance in Belgium at the time. This also meant there was a very close collaboration between composers and poets who sang the praises of the rich Flemish past. Many writers assumed that their texts could only be fully appreciated if they were spoken out loud, sang and heard. Their words had to reverberate in order to conquer people’s hearts, to convey ideas and to move the masses. A representative sample of popular songs will be discussed both musically and textually, and analyzed based on their didactic and moralizing as well as (sub)nation forming functions. In the second half of the nineteenth century these songs were promoted and brought to the public’s attention through cultural political organisations, such as the liberal Willemsfonds and the Catholic Davidsfonds, and later through socialist movements as well. These movements had their own song-publishing houses and they organised *liedervonden voor the volk* (‘song nights for the people’). They sometimes catered explicitly to women and workers, however, the audience consisted mostly of members of the bourgeoisie who also bought sheet music. In combination with other forms of promotion — some popular songs were performed by street artists and some were regularly played on the carillon — this led to bestsellers: of a song such as ‘Ik ken een lied’ (‘I know a song’) by Willem De Mol, a composer who died young,
(which was set to lyrics by Gentil Antheunis) tens of thousands of copies were sold. This lecture will also focus on how the popular song was used by both the Flemish Movement as well as the ideological and political pillars to communicate their ideas and philosophies.

- **Catarina Braga (CESEM/FCSH – Universidade Nova de Lisboa), The Portuguese Chansonnette at the End of the Nineteenth Century: The New Popular Song or a Mini-Comic Scene?**

At the end of the nineteenth century, folk songs from several parts of the country were recovered in songbooks. For example, the songbook edited by César das Neves and Gualdino de Campos, the first great collection of Portuguese (folk) songs (3 volumes) published in Porto between 1893 and 1898, served as a source for the erudite composition: César das Neves was the author of some musical transcriptions and harmonizations for piano. Gualdino de Campos was responsible for the poetic part. For César das Neves popular music was the manifestation of the soul of the people as it refers in the preamble to the second volume. Neves bases his work as being influenced by the republican ideals of Teófilo Braga. Later, in 1906, the recordings of Portuguese repertoire in Pathé Catalogue demonstrates that most of the songs recorded by famous Portuguese singers were parts of famous operettas (Portuguese and some French translations), revues, fados, folk songs and popular songs as the chansonnettes. In this paper, after having collected more than 300 chansonnettes from this period (some with scores, others, just the texts published in the press and publications dedicated to theatre), I want to discuss the dissemination of these songs in the public and private domain and to explore some of the characteristics of this repertoire such as structure, scenic intention, text and the influence of operetta, revue and other comic repertoires. Even if today these songs aren’t performed, this repertoire represents a socio-cultural period influenced by French repertoire with Portuguese characteristics.

- **Pénélope Patrix (Université Paris Diderot), Le fado et le tango au xixe siècle : poétiques ‘canailles’ et imaginaires des origines**

Cette proposition porte sur les répertoires de tango et de fado au 19e siècle, au moment de l’émergence sociale de ces deux chansons populaires urbaines dans les villes de Lisbonne et de Buenos Aires. On s’intéressera en particulier aux poétiques chantées à cette époque, à partir d’un corpus de partitions et de textes issus de sources diverses (chansonniers, almanachs, recueils, feuilles volantes, presse écrite). L’analyse portera en particulier sur un type de chansons particulièrement prénant dans ces premiers répertoires, les chansons « canailles », dont les paroles mettent en scène le monde marginal et criminel des deux capitales. Nous montrerons comment, à partir de cette esthétique « canaille » à la fois transmédiale — présente au théâtre, dans la chanson, dans la poésie — et transnationale — présente dans le tango, le fado, mais aussi d’autres chansons urbaines de la même époque —, un récit des origines de la chanson urbaine a été élabordé au 19e siècle et postérieurement, enracinant systématiquement cette dernière dans les « bas-fonds » des capitales modernes. La présentation se fondera sur un petit corpus de textes de tango et de fado de 1840 à 1900. Elle abordera par la même occasion le problème du caractère fragmentaire et partiel des sources pour le chercheur travaillant sur la chanson pré-enregistrement sonore, et les conséquences épistémologiques que cela peut entraîner.
Cultural and Social Issues

- **Bernardo Illari** (University of North Texas, Denton, TX), *Popular Music as Nation Building: Tertulia Songs in Buenos Aires, 1810-1840*

Early-nineteenth-century salon songs from Buenos Aires that may be considered ‘popular’ flourished in-between ‘high’ hegemonic pieces and subaltern, ethnic music. This liminal position converted them into important vessels for cultural communication and exchange at the time of the construction of a new national state. These songs belong to the contemporary ‘culture of tertulias’, namely nonmonetary, gender- and class-defined social gatherings that served as loci for conversation, dancing, and entertainment along the lines of European-style ‘civilization’. At a time when local society was deeply engaged in creating the independent nation that would eventually become Argentina, tertulia sociability and its music effectively advanced national issues. Two case studies demonstrate how tertulia songs operated as nation-building tools. First, the rural *cielito*, both a song and a dance which circulated through printed broadsides, was accepted in tertulias ca. 1820-1840 as a channel for celebrating military triumphs, yet its salon life did not bring together a positive reevaluation of the countryside, but was rather a result of short-lived patriotic fervor during the war of independence. Secondly, the Afro-descendant composer, Roque Rivero’s songs seem intended for tertulia courtship and night serenading. At first glance, they seem to provide a mere soundtrack for societal life cast in an operatic idiom without anything local. However, they also disclose the Eurocentric, cosmopolitan and ‘civilized’ side of tertulias which ushered in the idea of a cosmopolitan nation with few concessions to the countryside, a self-image that came to predominate later in the century.

- **Jörg Holzmann** (Universität Leipzig), *‘Marlborough s’en va-t-en guerre’: A Former Soldiers Song, Spreading over Europe and the Americas, Changes its Applications – From Toast and Children’s Song to a Fraternity Ceremony, from England to Mexico and Sweden*

Based on the song ‘Marlborough s’en va-t-en guerre’ the paper wants to show, how songs in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century spread geographically, changed their applications and become famous in other cultural contexts. The original song refers to the historical event of the Battle of Malplaquet, which John Churchill, 1\textsuperscript{st} Duke of Marlborough, survived despite rumors of the contrary. The song, however, tells in 15 verses how the message of the general’s death is transmitted to his wife. As time went on, the song became a hit in France from 1780 onwards, and was ubiquitously sung by the common people on French streets as well as by the courtiers in Versailles and later supposedly even by Napoleon. An example for the reception in instrumental music is given by guitarist and composer Fernando Sor (1778-1839) from the year 1827, who had to leave Spain in the course of the French retreat for having accepted an administrative post in the Napoleonian occupying government. Initially written as an anti-English hymn, the song was also extremely popular in England at the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. Traceable back to the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the practice of adapting the congratulations ‘For he’s a jolly good fellow’ to the same melody is popular to the presence. With slight modifications the congratulatory song is also common in the USA. Other versions exist in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. Simplified to ‘Mambrú se fue alla guerra’ the song was and is sung by children to the Rayuela game. Until today, the song functions primarily as a nursery
rhyme in Spain and Latin America and is an integral part of childrens’ choreographies for school parties. A further example is a choreography by a Swedish student association, which in a salacious manner performs the funeral ceremony of Marlborough.

• **Mirella Di Vita** (Conservatorio ‘Antonio Vivaldi’, Alessandria), **Pesnja e Romans: le forme della lirica vocale russa agli inizi del xix secolo**

La ricerca di un autentico ‘spirito slavo’ nella musica russa nasce come reazione alla imponente e ingombrante presenza dei modelli occidentali che dominano il panorama artistico-cultural del ’700. L’orgoglio nazionale, alimentato dalle vittorie sulle armate napoleoniche e dalle vette letterarie del genio di Puskin, stimola i compositori a recuperare e rielaborare il patrimonio musicale della tradizione orale per trasformarlo in un genere nuovo, originale, ma soprattutto russo. Il lungo e contrastato processo di emancipazione dalla musica europea, in particolare dal melodramma italiano e dalle ariette francesi di tematica pastorale eseguite nei salotti aristocratici, inizia con la trascrizione e l’elaborazione delle melodie appartenenti ai canti della tradizione rurale e religiosa del XVII secolo, per poi proseguire con la produzione di semplici canzoni realizzate su testi e musiche di autori russi, le rossijskie pesni, e infine articolarsi in due filoni distinti, ma profondamente collegati: la canzone (pesnja) e la romanza (romans). Queste due forme principali della lirica vocale diventano successivamente oggetto di una vasta produzione e vengono declinate in numerose varianti, le più significative delle quali sono la canzone contadina, la canzone cittadina, la canzone conviviale, la canzone dei soldati, la romanzen-elegia, la romanzen-ballata e la romanzen di costume, caratterizzate sia da elementi peculiari, sia da caratteristiche formali e stilistiche comuni, tanto da rendere spesso difficile la precisa classificazione di un brano sotto l’uno o l’altro genere. La storia della canzone e della romanzen inoltre non può essere analizzata escludendo il suo stretto rapporto con la storia della poesia russa, un rapporto che si esplica nella realizzazione di una linea melodica sobria, tesa a evidenziare la plasticità e il ritmo del verso poetico, quanto nel sodalizio artistico fra alcuni musicisti e poeti del tempo (come nel caso del compositore Aleksandr Aljab’ev e il poeta Anton Del’vig). Grazie alla prolificità compositiva e all’eclettismo di compositori diventati poi noti a livello internazionale (Glinka) e di autori la cui fama è rimasta circoscritta principalmente al territorio russo (Aljab’ev, Varlamov, Gurilev), le composizioni dei primi anni del xix secolo segnano una tappa fondamentale nello sviluppo della lirica vocale nazionale, esercitando una forte influenza su tutta la produzione cameristica per canto e pianoforte sino agli inizi del ’900.

**Between Genres and Contexts (II)**

• **Emily Shyr** (Duke University, Durham, NC), **The Prince of Song Revisits the Erl-King: The Role of Popular Song in Schubert’s Impromptu No. 1 in C Minor, D. 899**

“My dear fellow, this is no good, leave it alone; you stick to your songs!” These are the discouraging words esteemed violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh purportedly uttered to Schubert upon the former’s performance of the composer’s String Quartet in D minor, D. 810 (1824). Indeed, some scholars have gone as far as to characterize Schubert’s penchant for mixing the Lieder and chamber genres, seen as lower and higher esteemed forms of music, as ‘miscegenation’. Far from being discouraged, Schubert continued to explore of the potential of song in the instrumental sphere. In 1827–1828, these efforts intensified and manifested in the output of the Impromptus, D. 899, among others. If one speaks of a late style in
Schubert’s music, it is decidedly marked by popular song. Instead of segregating Schubert’s last compositions into the dignified milieu of instrumental works and cozier room of songs, I understand Schubert’s late style through the lens of popular song. Through an analysis of allusion, harmony, and form in his Impromptu No. 1, D. 899, I demonstrate that Schubert’s Opus 1, *Erlkönig*, plays a central role in the piano work. I argue that Schubert’s incorporation of Lieder into his ‘mature’ instrumental works held a three-fold purpose: first, they were part of his confrontation with his anxiety of influence over his younger self, who was already established as a composer of popular song. Secondly, the *liedhaft* elements in his non-vocal works were part of an effort to establish himself as a ‘serious’, instrumental composer who was a worthy heir to Beethoven. Thirdly, by making popular song integral to his chamber works, Schubert elevated the ‘lesser’ genre of the Lied to the heights of instrumental music. That Schubert not only moved between but married the two genres should be understood as the prince of song’s crowning triumph.

**Mark McFarland (Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA), Debussy the Patriot?**

Claude Debussy wrote his children’s ballet *La boîte à joujoux* in 1913. It is a story about a children’s toy box whose characters have lives of their own, and the drama of the ballet involves a love triangle between a doll, a toy soldier, and a polchinelle. Into his score, Debussy added quotations from a variety of sources, including Mendelssohn’s *Wedding March* and Gounod’s *Faust*. This list includes audience-friendly works, and on this note, Debussy also included popular French children’s melodies such as ‘Fait dodo’. To an international audience, these French song quotes are an interesting footnote to the ballet. I had the occasion to hear the ballet in a recital hall full of French children, and the effect of these French songs was immediate. Indeed, the French children immediately began singing along with the tunes because they knew them so well. This deliberate incorporation of French popular song performed the musical equivalent of breaking the fourth wall in film: breaking down the barrier between audience and performer. Arthur Wenk introduced the concept of the musical mask into Debussy scholarship. He believes that Debussy wore multiple musical masks that fell into common categories, including Spanish and Ancient. Works in the former category would include *Iberia* while the latter category would contain the *Epigraphes antiques*. Wenk’s masks do not apply to every one of Debussy’s works — some works are beyond categorization — but this concept does unite obviously related works. If Debussy’s ballet was placed into a mask, it would be one not included in Wenk’s original list, a new category defined by its simplicity, one intended for children. This mask would also include the composer’s *Children’s Corner*, a set of piano pieces. While the ballet fits mostly within the Children’s mask, the quotations add a new element into the mix. Indeed, the new element added here is popular, for all the quotations from this ballet, whether popular or classical, are immediately recognizable. Yet the mixture of elements or masks continues when children and popular combine in these quotations, the result is national or even patriotic. Indeed, only a group of French school children would have the desired reaction of immediately singing along; as an American, I was caught off-guard by this. The various borrowed tunes quoted in the ballet are mostly French: Gounod’s *Faust* is quintessentially so, as is ‘Fait dodo’. Only Mendelssohn’s *Wedding March* is German, but it is again so popular as to belong to every nation. This paper explores two new masks first proposed here in Debussy’s scholarship: Children and Popular. Both of these masks are explored in Debussy’s ballet, and
also in other works that contain quotations of popular songs. For example, the quotation of the Belgian national anthem in the *Berceuse héroïque* combines the masks of Maudlin and Popular to produce a hybrid that represents the proud and defiant Belgium midway through World War I.

**Beatriz Pomés Jiménez** (Universidad de Navarra), **Pablo Sarasate’s Spanish Dances: A Contextual Study**

Pablo Sarasate (1844–1908) was a Spanish violinist and composer who contributed greatly to the evolution of the violin’s performance practice. Furthermore, he is one of the most performed Spanish composers, and through his compositions he became a leader in the promotion of the exotic Hispanism that captivated the French capital, creating numerous works inspired by popular and folk songs and dances of Spain and Europe. The use of the local folklore as a musical source responds to the search for the exotic and the individuality of every nation. Like numerous other composers, Sarasate took advantage of the European interest in Spanish exoticism to assimilate original folkloric melodies and include them in his repertoire. As a direct consequence, the majority of Sarasate’s compositional activity was inspired by Spain’s popular dances and folk music traditions. Specifically, this output comprises twenty-nine compositions; with his first composition being *Serenata andaluza* Op. 10 (completed in 1867, when Sarasate was 23 years old) and finishing his life’s work with *La canción del marinero* (completed in 1907, just one year before his death). In between these compositions, the majority depict the folklore of the northern Spanish region of Navarra, where he was from, the Basque Country, Andalusia or Galicia. These works constitute a wide reflection of the different songs and dances that were part of the Spanish musical identity of the time. The result is a rich and varied set of charming Spanish Dances that constitute a simple and accurate translation of Spanish popular songs and dances. This paper will examine the different sources that inspired the composition of his *Spanish Dances*, establishing parallels between Sarasate’s compositions and the folk and popular pieces that he drew upon.

**Islands and Transatlantic Routes**

**Áine Mulvey** (Dublin City University), **Dialect Verse and Songwriting during the Irish Cultural Revival (1891–1922)**

This paper will discuss the popularity of dialect poetry as a source of song lyrics during the period of the Irish Cultural Revival (1891–1922). The context for the research begins with the decline of the Irish (Gaelic) language during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when in the matter of a few generations, millions of Irish abandoned their native Gaelic and adopted English as the vernacular. Moulding English to older Gaelic idioms gave rise to ‘Hiberno–English’, a distinctly Irish way of speaking English which would later be celebrated for its lyric beauty in literature by Douglas Hyde, Augusta Gregory, and John M. Synge. Less celebrated poets such as Winifred Letts, John Stevenson, and Moira O’Neill published very successful poetry collections using dialect verse to add local colour and character. Composers including Charles Villiers Stanford, Alicia Adelaide Needham, and Hamilton Harty set many of these poems to music for performance in the drawing room and on the concert platform. Now often viewed as patronising, dated, or in some cases offensive, these songs enjoyed considerable popularity among contemporary audiences both in Ireland and further afield in England and the United States. This paper will examine the complicated reception history such songs have held in the repertoire, as well as considering the more sincere attempts to
represent the Irish people at a time when the definition of their cultural identity was one of the major questions of the day.

• **Flávia Camargo Toni** (Universidade de São Paulo), *The Twenty Modinhas for Voice and Piano by Sigismund Neukomm and Joaquim Manoel da Câmara Cruz: a ‘Transatlantic’ Partnership*

  In the 19th century the city of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) underwent a large scale ‘cultural revolution’, when the Portuguese court moved to its South American colony in 1808, escaping from Napoleão Bonaparte. Among the Portuguese who had already been living in Rio de Janeiro, the ‘locals’ — settlers who were born in Brazil —, and the slaves who were still arriving in the country from various parts of Africa, there came a court that demanded the production of music pieces for every time of day. Speaking of ‘cultural revolution’ is not out of place, considering, for instance, the settlers were not even allowed to edit their own pieces. This did not stop the Brazilian musicality from drawing the attention of the visitors such as Louis de Freycinet, who distinguished virtues inherent to both people, Portuguese and Brazilian. This discussion may have inspired the Austrian composer Sigismund Neukomm, Joseph Haydn’s pupil, who lived in Rio de Janeiro from 1816-1821 and went back to Paris. Still in Brazil, however, he used a song by Joaquim Manuel da Camara Cruz, ‘La Melancolie’, as the theme of a Fantaisie for pianoforte and flute. Considering the studies which make up for important musicological literature, I intend to discuss the characteristics of this song which has circulated in so far away places — the songs of Joaquim Manuel were arranged and published in England — and to what measure it reflects musical practices of the court that settled in Brazil. Which is to say, the ‘popular’ music from Rio de Janeiro is the same as the ‘popular’ music from Portugal? And how are they similar to the ‘popular’ music from France, for example?

• **Henry Stoll** (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA), *Postcolonial Contrafacta and the Songs of Haitian Independence*

  Following the 1806 assassination of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Haiti was a nation divided: to the south, Alexandre Pétion, a Paris-educated homme de couleur, led a republic; and, to the north, Henry Christophe, born into slavery, ruled as a monarch. As King of the Royaume d’Hayti, Christophe established an elaborate court, constructing the Citadelle Laferrière and Sans Souci Palace, forming ties with the British, founding an academy of music and of art, and appointing princes, dukes, knights, and counts. Among these new aristocrats was Juste Chanlatte, the honorable Comte des Rosiers, an early Haitian man of letters who authored several theatrical works for the royal printing presses. In this paper, I will introduce the earliest of Chanlatte’s operas, *L’Éntrée du Roi, en sa capitale* (1818), a one-act opéra vaudeville interspersed with contrafacta on melodies from the French Revolution, the Clé du caveau, and the 18th-century operatic canon. In so doing, I show how the French popular song, often thought root-bound in Europe, rebloomed as contrafacta in the Kingdom of Haiti. Rendered in the accessible permanence of print, these contrafacta were then disseminated to a wider, transatlantic readership that extended from Simon Bolivar’s Venezuela to Tsar Alexander I’s Russia. Examining two scenes from this opera, I ask, in what ways did the contrafacta prove useful to the Kingdom of Haiti? And how was this form of parody used to subvert French operatic and imperial trends? By reconstructing these contrafacta, I show how early Haitians made claims to political legitimacy through associations with European imperial spectacle, Enlightenment thought, and the French hereditary monarchy.