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## Articles



# Music Exhibitions in Local Settings – Sites of Cultural Memory?

Andreas Meyer

Cultural history museums impart knowledge and also often act as venues for sensory experience. In both cases, they may support individual and collective remembrance. They can be assigned to what Sharon MacDonald has called the ‘memory complex’, an ‘assemblage of practices, affects and physical things, which includes such parts as memorial services, nostalgia and historical artefacts’, and are linked to notions of heritage and identity.<sup>1</sup> This article builds on these considerations and deals with historically oriented museum displays that focus on musical topics in local areas. In line with Timothy Rice, I use the term ‘local’ according to the context for various ‘social and cultural units’ such as villages, cities, counties, and countries or societies.<sup>2</sup> The investigations, therefore, refer to exhibitions whose themes include regional and/or national aspects. Based on concepts of memory and heritage studies, I discuss the extent to which music exhibitions can be understood as agencies of cultural memory. In so doing, I will refer to a research project entitled ‘Music on Display. Studies on the Presentation and Reception of Musical Topics in Museums,’ which was affiliated with the Folkwang University of the Arts in Essen and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation).<sup>3</sup>

## *Memory and Heritage Studies*

The term ‘cultural memory’ is associated with various meanings and ideas. In what follows, I refer to the concept as it was introduced by Aleida and Jan Assmann. According to Jan Assmann, cultural memory ‘is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural identity.’<sup>4</sup> Jan Assmann distinguishes between cultural memory and communicative memory. The latter denotes ‘collective knowledge’ that is based on everyday

1 Sharon MacDonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (Abington and New York: Routledge, 2013), 5–6; see also Laurajane Smith, *Emotional Heritage: Visitor Engagement at Museums and Heritage Sites* (Abington and New York: Routledge, 2021), 48.

2 Timothy Rice, ‘Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography’, *Ethnomusicology*, 47/2 (2003), 151–79, at 162.

3 Cf. <https://ausgestellte-musik.de/> (accessed 22 Oct. 2023).

4 Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 109–18, at 110.

communication and refers to a rather recent past.<sup>5</sup> The term largely corresponds to the concept of ‘collective memory’ as introduced by Maurice Halbwachs.<sup>6</sup> Everyday communication, Assmann notes, is disorganized and thematically instable, although there are occasions ‘that more or less predetermine such communications.’<sup>7</sup> Cultural memory, on the other hand, is characterized by ‘cultural formation,’<sup>8</sup> taking account of issues that happened far back. Cultural memory always relies on the know-how of experts, such as priests, teachers, artists, and scholars.<sup>9</sup> It is fostered by sites or agencies, which include archives, heritage festivals, monuments, memorials, commemorative rallies and, last but not least, museums. These agencies form an important part of the ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ or ‘embodiments of a memorial consciousness,’ as they were prominently described by Pierre Nora.<sup>10</sup> Aleida Assmann identifies ‘two modes of cultural memory,’ which she calls ‘cultural working memory’ (characterized by representation) and ‘cultural reference memory’ (characterized by storage).<sup>11</sup> Exhibitions can be assigned to working memory, museum repositories to reference memory. Jan Assmann makes a corresponding distinction between ‘modes of actuality’ and ‘modes of potentiality.’<sup>12</sup>

The idea of cultural memory is linked to considerations and concepts of heritage studies, which are focused primarily on preservation activities. ‘Heritage is created through a process of exhibitions,’ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes, ‘as knowledge, as performance, [and] as museum display.’<sup>13</sup> Laurajane Smith describes ‘heritage management and museum curation’ as ‘performances in which certain values and identities are continually rehearsed and thus preserved.’<sup>14</sup> These processes are, as Smith points out, mostly determined by ‘a hegemonic ‘authorized heritage discourse,’ which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies.’<sup>15</sup> The ‘authorized heritage discourse,’ she adds, ‘organizes social relations and identities around nation, culture and ethnicity’. Heritage is, thus, ‘something visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not

5 Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), 125–33, at 126. See also Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 117.

6 Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

7 Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, 127.

8 *Ibid.*, 129.

9 Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, 110–111 and 114.

10 Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, *Representations* 26’, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (1989), 7–24.

11 Aleida Assmann, ‘Canon and Archive’, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 97–107.

12 Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, 130.

13 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, *Ethnomusicology*, 39/3 (1995), 367–80, at 369.

14 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 68.

15 *Ibid.* 11.



invited to engage with more actively.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, Iain J. M. Robertson describes a concept of ‘heritage from below’, which is characterized by activities at the grassroots level that provide ‘both an opportunity for the expression of other heritages and identities, and a possibility for the assertion of a structure of feeling that runs counter to the hegemonic.’<sup>17</sup>

An important role in processes of collective remembering is played by emotions.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, heritage activities are often directed towards emotive impact. Emotion, notes Laurajane Smith, ‘invigorates the legitimacy of the meanings of the past for the present that individuals and groups construct.’<sup>19</sup> This applies especially when it comes to identity formation through memory. Accordingly, feelings, such as a sense of honour and pride, are often mobilized in order to construct group identity.<sup>20</sup> Feelings of nostalgia also play a role and can take different forms, with Svetlana Boym’s distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia being useful. Restorative nostalgia is characterized by a desire to return the past that ‘is not supposed to reveal any signs of decay’. Reflective nostalgia is more about ‘sensual delight in the texture of time’, with the past being considered irrevocable. While restorative nostalgia is taken very seriously, reflective nostalgia can be ironic and humorous.<sup>21</sup>

Although there is an unquestioned link between memory, heritage, and group cohesion, older studies that have examined sites of heritage primarily from the aspect of national identity – such as Pierre Nora’s work on ‘*lieux de mémoire*’ – are sometimes considered outdated. These studies have been criticized, for example, for presenting social groups as homogeneous communities.<sup>22</sup> Societies, the objection goes, are characterized by multifarious transcultural processes and produce hybrid identities that are connected with – as Michael Rothberg writes (following Paul Gilroy<sup>23</sup>) – ‘knotted intersections’ of history and memory that cut across categories of national and ethnic identity, institutions

16 Ibid. 31.

17 Iain J. M. Robertson, ‘Introduction: Heritage from Below’, *Heritage from Below*, ed. Iain J. M. Robertson (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012) 1–27, at 11.

18 Sharon MacDonald, *Memorylands*, 79.

19 Laurajane Smith, *Emotional Heritage*, 59.

20 Cf. Aleida Assmann, ‘Erinnerung, Identität, Emotionen: Die Nation neu denken’, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 20/3 (2020), 73–86, at 78.

21 Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 49–50. For reflective nostalgia and other types of nostalgia in pop music exhibitions see Christian Hviid Mortensen and Jacob Westergaard Madsen, ‘The Sound of Yesteryear on Display: A Rethinking of Nostalgia as a Strategy for Exhibiting Pop/Rock Heritage’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21/3 (2015), 250–63.

22 Astrid Erll, ‘Travelling Memory’, *Transcultural Memory*, ed. Rick Crownshaw (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 9–23, at 12. First published in *Parallax*, 17/4 (2011), 4–18.

23 Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

of knowledge production, nation states, and many embattled communities.<sup>24</sup> Astrid Erll adds that '[d]ifferent social classes, generations, ethnicities, religious communities, and subcultures all generate their own [...] frameworks of memory'.<sup>25</sup> Hence, if the intention is to convey identity, social difference would have to be duly included. Ethical elements come into play here, and, from an ethical view point, it is also important to ask whether not only achievements made by the group but also ruptures in the group's history, or heritage that is associated with negative events play a role in constructing cultural memory. Indeed, Heidemarie Uhl has pointed out that the creation of cultural memory should be considered a 'seismograph for the moral-ethical constitution of a society'.<sup>26</sup>

### *Questions and Methods*

Drawing on these concepts and considerations, I examine in the following sections how local historical references are conveyed in music exhibitions and the extent to which these references actually aim at group identity. I also ask: what importance is attached to the emotional in this context? And to what extent display elements alone or in constellation with others discernibly address sensuality and feelings? Furthermore, I explore to which extent social differences and historical ruptures of the group whose music is presented play a role in the exhibitions. For the presentation of older collections, I ask whether and to what extent the museum's own history is taken into account. Finally, I examine the composition of the audience and the ways in which the museum displays are actually received by the visitors in terms of shared memory.

As noted above, the findings presented here are largely based on a research project affiliated with the Folkwang University of the Arts in Essen (Germany). In the course of the project, seventeen museums with music exhibitions of various orientations were visited in several West and Central European countries between 2015 and 2019. The research consisted of interpretative exhibition analyses, interviews with curators, and observations of audience receptions and interviews with forty to sixty visitors per display. In this way, comprehensive documentation was created for each exhibition.<sup>27</sup> Various publications have been published regarding the project, to which I will refer several times in this article. First, four case studies are presented which I believe illustrate a number of important aspects. They include two exhibitions on popular music and two dealing with European art music:

24 Michael Rothberg, 'Introduction: Between Memory and Memory. From Lieux de mémoire to Noeuds de mémoire', *Yale French Studies* 188/119 (2010), 3–12, at 8.

25 Astrid Erll, 'Travelling Memory', 13.

26 Heidemarie Uhl, 'Warum Gesellschaften sich erinnern', *Forum politische Bildung, Informationen zur politischen Bildung*, 32 (2010), 5–14, at 10. German quotations and statements from interviews have been translated by the present author.

27 Empirical data were collected by María del Mar Alonso Amat, Elisabeth Magesacher, and Andreas Meyer .

1. 'Rock and Pop in the Pot – 60 Years of Music in the Ruhr District.' Temporary exhibition at the Ruhrmuseum, Essen (Germany).
2. RAGNAROCK Museum in Roskilde (Denmark). Permanent Exhibition.
3. Musical Instrument Museum of the University of Leipzig (Germany). Permanent Exhibition.
4. Mozarthouse Vienna in Vienna (Austria). Permanent Exhibition.

The case studies are followed by comparative analyses, which sporadically include other exhibitions that support or put into perspective the findings and considerations of the case studies.

### *Case Studies*

#### 1. 'Rock and Pop in the Pot – 60 Years of Music in the Ruhr District'

The temporary exhibition 'Rock and Pop in the Pot' at the Ruhr Museum was open from October 2016 to February 2017 and dealt with the region's pop music history from the post-war period to the present. Conveying 'collective memory' was designated as the primary concern in the audio guide to the exhibition. One member of the curatorial team, Holger Krüssmann, accordingly spoke of a 'memory exhibition'.<sup>28</sup> In his greeting notes for the exhibition, Thomas Kufen, Mayor of the city of Essen, listed a series of pop events that had taken place in the Ruhr area since the 1960s and had 'become deeply etched into the cultural memory of the district'.<sup>29</sup> The exhibition focused on the presentation of local cultural achievements. A gallery in the entrance area displayed photos and descriptions of nationally renowned pop musicians from the region. The path along this gallery led to a 'sound room' where an audio-visual presentation was also devoted to some of these pop stars. The exhibition was largely arranged chronologically, with selected topics representing certain periods, such as 'The Beat Goes On – Beat Bands in the German Industrial District' (for the early 1960s) or 'No Love Parade – Techno in the Ruhr District' (for the early 2000s). The topics were presented through the interplay of objects, documents, photos, audio and video recordings, and text panels. The audio guide described aspects of the various themes in more detail.

The exhibition aimed at feelings by focusing on achievements. The intention was obviously for local people to look at their home region with pride. Musical sound supported the affective involvement. The sound room in the entrance area with the audio-visual presentation of well-known singers aimed, as scenographer Hannes Bierkämper writes, at an 'emotional entry'. The aim was to make it possible to 'sensually experience

<sup>28</sup> Interview, 15 January 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Kufen, 'Grußwort', *Rock & Pop im Pott: 60 Jahre Musik im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Heinrich Theodor Grüttner (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2016), no page numbers.

the lively and diverse music scene of the Ruhr district.<sup>30</sup> Well-known songs from the region were also played from main loudspeakers in the stairwell and could be heard throughout the exhibition. Numerous objects were displayed in relation to their auratic effect, especially musical instruments and other objects of famous musicians. Moreover, exhibition elements that were designed to personally involve the visitors were apparently directed at emotions. Photos and descriptions of music clubs, for instance, were shown under the title ‘Venues and Concert Halls’ in one of the display areas. The photos themselves did not appear remarkable as exhibits; instead, the aim was for visitors to walk through the gallery in search of clubs which they might have danced in themselves. Nostalgic feelings were obviously to be evoked.

Cultural difference and historical ruptures played a role at certain points in the exhibition. One section entitled ‘Music of the Immigrant Society’ dealt primarily with the music of Turkish immigrants who had come to the Ruhr area beginning in the 1960s mainly to work in the coal mines and large industrial plants. Various panel texts referenced hostilities and pressures that the immigrants had faced. Some artefacts indicated xenophobia, including a poster for a play entitled ‘Kanaken’ (a pejorative term for ‘non-Germans’). Nevertheless, the poster also referred cultural reactions to xenophobia, and this reference continued with a constellation of artefacts that were dedicated to a multi-ethnic festival at Kemnade Castle (near the city of Bochum). A cabinet contained posters, an admission ticket, photos from the festival and an LP with recordings of the festival, among other things. The cabinet label said that, over the years, the festival had become a ‘stage for immigrant music’ under the motto ‘We are humans, are you human, too?’ A newspaper article from 1974, also displayed in the cabinet, bore the title ‘Bochumers Danced into the Night with Guest Workers’. Members of the Turkish community were not involved in the conception of the display, and it would be interesting to compare how they would have curated the theme of ‘Music of the Immigrant Society’ and whether they would have emphasized the movement against xenophobia. Another section was dedicated to ‘Living, Fighting, Showing Solidarity: Music and Politics’, the politicization of young people since the 1960s and the importance of music in this context. Political songs and related events were addressed, as were topics such as the Vietnam War, solidarity with the underprivileged and the (lack of) critical engagement with National Socialism in Germany. The pioneering role of the Ruhr district was emphasized on several occasions, for example with reference to the ‘International Essen Song Days’, which had already begun in the 1960s with many protagonists from the left-wing political music scene. The basic concept of presenting achievements of the region was thus also maintained in this part of the exhibition.

30 Hannes Bierkämper, ‘Learning from Pop oder der dekorierte Schuppen: Zum Gestaltungskonzept der Ausstellung Rock und Pop im Pott’, *Rock & Pop im Pop: 60 Jahre Musik im Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Heinrich Theodor Grütter (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2016), 19–24, at 23.

Apart from the school classes that visited the exhibition every day, mostly in the morning, the visitors were mainly local, middle-aged and older people from different social backgrounds. Several visitors, both in conversation and in the guest book, emphasized that the visit to the museum was often associated with personal memories, which in many ways corresponded with our observations. The room on ‘Venues and Concert Halls,’ which was mainly about recognition, was constantly visited. One morning we noticed two teachers lingering there for more than twenty minutes, obviously looking for familiar clubs, while their students walked through the exhibition rather listlessly. Some presentations were reinterpreted according to personal experiences. In the section ‘Music of the Immigrant Society,’ for example, an electric guitar with additional frets for the intervals of Turkish scales was on display. We observed one visitor who saw the instrument and said to his younger companion that he used to own exactly such an instrument, whereupon he spoke about his musical activities at that time. He was obviously not referring to the frets, but to the type and brand of instrument.

## 2. RAGNAROCK Museum

The RAGNAROCK Museum in Roskilde is dedicated to Danish pop music and Danish youth cultures in particular. In the entrance area, a text panel entitled ‘Intro’ reads: ‘A kaleidoscopic tale of Danish youth culture told through the sound, images and symbols of rock and pop music.’ According to the curator, Rasmus Rosenørn, the museum sees itself as a cultural-historical institution rather than a place of remembrance, although he notes that older people who find visiting the museum a ‘nostalgic experience’ are indeed welcome.<sup>31</sup> A chronological order has been deliberately avoided, as visitors would otherwise spend most of their time where the music of their youth is presented.<sup>32</sup> The exhibition uses a similar mix of heterogeneous artefacts to those in the pop exhibition in Essen, complemented by a range of interactive stations. Instead of a chronology of events, a number of different topics are presented, such as ‘Dance Fever’ (rock’n’roll dance, break dance, rave), ‘Fracture’ (music and socio-political issues), or ‘Fans: Boys and Girls’. Only one display entitled ‘Musical Currents’ follows a strict chronological order. Along a wall, video and audio recordings (via monitors and headphones) of Danish pop hits are played, accompanied by photos and ranking lists.

Similar to the exhibition in Essen, the RAGNAROCK Museum relies on an atmospheric introduction: loud rock music in the lift leading into the exhibition sets the mood. From the lift, one initially enters an impressive hall of mirrors in which the visitors and numerous light sources are reflected. The following section is dedicated to the significance of lighting in the context of pop music. Colourful light shows are presented and can be created by the visitors. A text panel, titled ‘Let There Be Light’, reads ‘Colours

<sup>31</sup> Interview, 23 March 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

ripple and flow: a journey of the senses'. Rosenørn notes that the aim is to get visitors into the mood for the exhibition by expressing themselves.<sup>33</sup>

Cultural achievements play a subordinate role in the exhibition, and are presented in a restrained manner. Exhibits on internationally successful Danish musicians are displayed in a corridor, including the cover of the single CD 'Saturday Night' by Whigfield. The object's caption reads: 'In an unprecedented breakthrough Whigfield's Saturday Night made history by becoming the first ever debut single to enter the UK singles at no. 1. This signalled the start of a period of Danish dominance within the genre of Eurodance.' Rosenørn points out that the intention was to avoid a 'Hall of Fame'. In many cases, objects owned by famous musicians are exhibited to tell stories. For instance, punk rock singer Camilla Høiby has a T-shirt on display with the words 'Some people think little girls should be seen and not heard' (a quote from a song by the British punk rock band X-Ray Specs), which she sewed on herself. The T-shirt can convey a certain aura for fans and, moreover, refers to the 'Do it Yourself' attitude of the punk scene. The lettering can also be interpreted as a political statement. Another example can be found in the section 'Fracture', a strand of hair from the musician Lars Stryg. The object label is titled 'Cut Your Hair and Get a Job' and describes the problems in everyday life that male youths in the 1960s faced when they let their hair grow. The section 'Fracture' also presents topics about social difference. A wall showcase displays photos, posters, and record covers documenting the gay and lesbian movement in Denmark. A text entitled 'Story of Sex' reads: 'What is male, what is female? Time-hardened expectations are challenged. On the musical stage, you can choose to play against stereotypical perceptions of gender, body, sexuality, and sex, or play along with them.' Video clips of musicians talking about the subject are presented on a screen.

The majority of the guests to whom we talked, families and individuals of different ages, came from various regions of Denmark and had different musical knowledge. Although the museum does not see itself primarily as a place of remembrance, personal memories play an important role for members of the older generations. 'It's funny when you have been part of it', remarked one of our interviewees. The only chronologically structured section, 'Musical Currents', with Danish hits from various periods, was often described as a highlight, with recognition being of central importance. 'People automatically find the period when they were young and they go and listen to the music of their own youth', noted Rosenørn based on his experience.<sup>34</sup> Many younger and middle-aged visitors said that they had learned a lot from the museum visit. The majority referred to music from periods with which they were unfamiliar. In addition, many visitors said that they felt entertained by the exhibition, often referring to the opportunity to become interactive. It was noticeable that the section on music and politics was little visited or quickly passed through during our stay, which may have something to do with the fact

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

that there were little interactive content. Similar to the rock and pop exhibition in Essen, the visit was mostly marked by communication and collective experience.

### 3. Musical Instrument Museum of the University of Leipzig (Germany).

The current permanent exhibition of the Museum of Musical Instruments at the University of Leipzig was opened in 2006 and is mainly dedicated to European art music from the Renaissance to the twentieth century. The Leipzig and Saxon contexts are included in a variety of ways, and the city of Leipzig is presented as an important centre for music. A large number of the artefacts exhibited were made by Leipzig instrument makers, and local issues are conveyed by means of panel texts (while there is little information on the instruments as such). The connection between local instrument makers and famous musicians is highlighted at various points, with Johann Sebastian Bach, who lived and worked in Leipzig for a long time, playing a special role. The curator and former museum director, Eszter Fontana, who conceived most of the exhibition, explained that the local reference had been primarily designed not as a way to reach a local audience but rather as a way to give the exhibition a unique profile.<sup>35</sup>

An important aspect of Eszter Fontana's concept is the sensual perception of the exhibits. 'History and beauty' are to be conveyed.<sup>36</sup> A flyer with 'treasures' is available for visitors who would rather look at the instruments from an aesthetic point of view. It is an invitation to visitors to get active and look for the instruments described in the exhibition. There is also a room in which the chronology of the exhibition is interrupted and instruments are displayed according to aesthetic aspects. The exhibition occasionally offers the opportunity to make personal references, for instance, in a section dedicated to the legendary 'Viola Pomposa'. A text panel informs us that, according to contemporary witnesses, the instrument was built by instrument maker Johann Christian Hoffmann to Johann Sebastian Bach's specifications. A large map of historical Leipzig is displayed on the floor showing the location of Johann Christian Hoffmann's workshop. Locals can identify the location and are thus able to link the presentation to their own social environment. Furthermore, there is an illustration of the imposing building of the Ludwig Hupfeld AG company in another section devoted to the industrial manufacture of mechanical musical instruments. A text panel points out that the company once was 'Europe's largest plant for self-playing pianos and orchestrions'. The building is standing to this day and locals are likely to recognize it.<sup>37</sup>

Social differences and historical ruptures are given hardly any recognizable consideration in the exhibition. At the end of the exhibition, a cinema-like room is set up

35 María del Mar Alonso Amat, Elisabeth Magesacher, and Andreas Meyer, *Musik ausstellen: Vermittlung und Rezeption musikalischer Themen im Museum* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 85–86.

36 Ibid.

37 The Viola Pomposa section and the display of mechanical instruments were only established in 2015 under the supervision of the new director, Josef Focht.

in which texts and images on the history of the collection can be seen on a screen in a continuous loop. Important collectors are introduced and visitors are given insights into the exhibitions of the 1920s and during the German Democratic Republic times. The reconstruction of parts of the museum after the reunification of Germany is also discussed. The period of the Third Reich is not included apart from a photo of the destroyed building from 1945.

Visitors to the museum come from many (mostly German) regions.<sup>38</sup> All generations are represented, with many visitors having a comparatively strong musical education and often being academically trained. The Leipzig context was scarcely mentioned when visitors were asked about their impressions. Only when we asked directly about local references were single local aspects described, such as Bach's work in Leipzig or the importance of the music automaton industry. General impressions mainly concerned individual instruments and instrument groups. The aesthetic approach played an important role. The beauty of the instruments and their craftsmanship were often emphasized. Criticism of the exhibition was only voiced when we asked about it directly. It mainly concerned the lack of information regarding technical details and playing techniques of the instruments. Although there are some media stations that are frequently visited, a lack of musical sound was sometimes criticized.<sup>39</sup> In many cases, the collective visit to the museum was accompanied by lively communication. The audio guide was hardly ever used.

#### 4. Mozarthaus Vienna

The 'Mozarthaus Vienna' in Vienna is housed on three floors of a building in which Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart lived with his family between 1784 and 1787. Each of the three floors is dedicated to a theme: 'Vienna in Mozart's Time', 'Mozart's Musical World', and 'The Mozart Flat'. The museum was designed by two different teams of curators. The sections 'Vienna in Mozart's Time' and 'Mozart's Musical World' are aimed at an international tourist audience that does not necessarily need to know much about Mozart, as curator Joachim Riedl noted.<sup>40</sup> The exhibition in the Mozart flat is less clearly aimed at a target audience. One of the curators, Werner Hanak-Lettner, said that they did not try to build a tourist attraction.<sup>41</sup> However, as it is privately run, high visitor numbers including tourists are generally essential for the museum. Most of the museum's narratives are connected to the city of Vienna, and the topic of 'Mozart's Musical World' focuses on works that Mozart composed in the city. According to the managing director, Gerhard Vitek, the emphasis on the local environment is, as in Leipzig, partly a result of

38 Ibid. 89.

39 Ibid. 90–91.

40 María del Mar Alonso Amat, Elisabeth Magesacher, and Andreas Meyer, 'Lesarten und Konzepte: Untersuchungen zur musealen Erzählung in Musikausstellungen', *Musikausstellungen: Intention, Realisierung, Interpretation. Ein interdisziplinäres Symposium*, ed. Andreas Meyer (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 33–54, at 43.

41 Ibid. 44.



the museum's effort to develop its own profile, with a focus on Mozart's years in Vienna so as not to compete with the Salzburg Mozart museums.<sup>42</sup> The museum does not have its own coherent collection. Apart from text panels, mainly facsimiles are exhibited, reproductions of pictures and documents, as well as objects of the time.

The sections 'Vienna in Mozart's Time' and 'Mozart's Musical World' are provided with text panels that convey only essential data, for instance, information about the origin and age of artefacts, titles of documents, names of people depicted. Extensive information is conveyed by the audio guide, whose texts tell a variety of stories, some of which are only indirectly related to the exhibits. The texts are often accompanied by background music to support the affective reception. This is particularly poignant when the circumstances of Mozart's death are described in connection with the composition of the Requiem. Other curatorial ideas aimed at emotions are found in the Mozart flat, where the flat itself is presented as an 'exhibit'. In the audio guide, reference is made to the 'authenticity' of the rooms, combined with the request that visitors use the individual objects on display to imagine how Mozart and his family lived in these rooms. This may increase the awareness that one is standing where Mozart lived and worked.<sup>43</sup> The surroundings of the house are also incorporated into this concept; a text panel refers to a window view that has changed little since Mozart's time. The visitors, so the message goes, look at the world as Mozart once saw it through this window.

The section devoted to 'Vienna in Mozart's time' is particularly concerned with the people with whom Mozart primarily interacted: members of the aristocracy and the upper middle classes. A few examples point to the diversity of the Viennese population. A multimedia station shows a well-known Viennese square (Graben) where men and women meet (projected by beamer). A women's corset hangs from a railing and, in the immediate vicinity, there is a peep-box with erotic pictures from the eighteenth century. According to curator Joachim Riedl, the installation is intended to refer to the prevalence of prostitution in Vienna at that time.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, portraits of noblemen and other Viennese personalities are exhibited in a small room, including a print of an engraving with the portrait of Angelo Soliman. The text of the audio guide describes his fate and especially the macabre circumstances surrounding his death. Soliman arrived to Austria as a West African slave, but managed to achieve considerable respectability. After his death, his body was displayed in the 'Imperial Natural History Cabinet'.

The vast majority of visitors are international tourists, as evidenced by the fact that the majority of the museum staff communicate predominantly in English. We spoke with individuals, couples, and groups from twenty-four different nations during our visits. Conclusions based on the display were drawn depending on the great variety of

42 María del Mar Alonso Amat et al., *Musik ausstellen*, 36.

43 Cf. Ulrike Spring, 'Exhibiting Mozart – Rethinking Biography', *Nordisk Museologi*, 2 (2010), 58–74, at 65.

44 María del Mar Alonso Amat et al., *Musik ausstellen*, 29–30.

knowledge and interests. They often concerned Mozart's unsteady life. The Viennese context barely played a role when listing particular impressions. Media stations set up at various points in the exhibition were mentioned as the main highlights. Some visitors were taken by the aura of the place, combined with the feeling of being where Mozart lived. Correspondingly, the music pedagogue Edith Wregg, who wrote an article about the exhibition, refers to the staff as saying that some visitors even began to cry, overwhelmed by walking through Mozart's flat.<sup>45</sup> However, expectations about auratic feelings are often disappointed as our interviews show. Above all, the lack of 'authentic' objects is lamented, and the exhibition was described as 'empty'.<sup>46</sup> Almost all the visitors used the audio guide which meant that communication took place only to a very limited extent.

### *Exhibitions in comparison*

#### 1. Topics and Intentions

Apart from the pop music exhibition in Essen, the conveying of a communal memory was never mentioned as a goal for curators in the museums we visited in the context of the 'Music on Display' project. There are, however, a few examples of local themes being used to promote local identity. A special exhibition at the Museum of Music History in Budapest was dedicated to the life and work of Zoltán Kodály under the title 'A Hungarian Master on the Road of Modernity and Tradition'. A number of topics were conveyed through the interplay of extensive text panels illustrated by vitrines displaying heterogeneous artefacts related to Kodály (including autographs, original letters and newspaper articles). The first lines of an introductory text on a banner read as follows: 'Commitment to modernity and respect for tradition is the intertwining clew running along the life and work of Zoltán Kodály. Both are directly related to his fight for the cultural emancipation of the Hungarian nation. This cultural emancipation – from the vantage point of Kodály – was the only [...] condition for the elevation of the nation, for its coming to age [...]'. This text also appears at the beginning of the introduction to the exhibition catalogue written by the curator Anna Dalos.<sup>47</sup> Thus, a central message of the exhibition is described in a linear and unambiguous way. It is about the impact of the musician on the development of the nation and corresponds with contemporary national discourses and politics in Hungary.<sup>48</sup>

45 Edith Wregg, 'Komponisten im Museum: Impulse aus der Musikvermittlung', *Musikvermittlung im Museum: Reflexionen, Konzepte und Impulse*, ed. Johannes Hoyer and Constanze Wimmer (Innsbruck: Helbling, 2016), 45–105, at 62.

46 Alonso Amat et al., *Musik ausstellen*, 42.

47 Anna Dalos: 'Introduction', *A Hungarian Master on the Road of Modernity and Tradition, Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967): An Exhibition Catalogue* (Budapest: Museum of Music History of the Institute for Musicology RCH HAS, 2018), 5–8, at 5.

48 Cf. Michael Toomey, 'History, Nationalism and Democracy: Myth and Narrative in Viktor Orbán's 'Illiberal Hungary'', *New Perspectives*, 26/1 (2018), 87–108.

A temporary exhibition at the Händel-Haus in Halle (Germany) in 2016 entitled ‘Handel with Heart – the Composer and the Children of the London Foundling Hospital’, was evidently aimed at the sense of togetherness of local population. It was dedicated to Handel’s social commitment in London. However, a reference was made in many places to Handel’s youth in Halle, the city of his birth. His engagement in England was linked to the early death of his father and a possible connection was constructed. A model of the building of the *Frankesche Stiftungen*, a social institution in Halle that was founded by the theologian Herrmann Francke at the end of the seventeenth century and still exists today, was presented in the centre of one of the exhibition rooms. An information board stated: ‘Francke’s charitable deeds for the orphans in Halle may have inspired Handel to later become so involved with the Foundling Hospital in London.’ Furthermore, a conducting score of the composition ‘Foundling Hospital Anthem’ which Handel composed especially for the orphanage in London was presented; Handel had used a chorale by Martin Luther for a first version of the composition. The score on display was a second version in which the chorale had been omitted. Nevertheless, the chorale could be heard via a media station, and a detailed description concluded with the sentence: ‘This is an impressive example of how closely Handel felt connected to his musical roots in the heart of Germany.’ The Handel House in Halle aims primarily to appeal to a local audience with its temporary exhibitions.<sup>49</sup> The constructed correlations were obviously intended to support the idea of Handel as a composer of the region, as ‘one of us’.

The idea of presenting local achievements can be found in various music exhibitions. However, there are also counter-examples. A comprehensive section at the Musikmuseum Basel, which presents mainly European musical instruments, is devoted to the topic of ‘Music in Basel’. The presentation is rather matter-of-fact, and Veronika Guthmann, who as the former director is responsible for the content of the permanent exhibition, explicitly pointed out in conversation that musical life in a Protestant city with a bourgeois culture was not comparable to that at some European princely courts.<sup>50</sup> The Musical Instrument Museum in Brussels offers another example. Instruments by Belgian makers are exhibited at places and blend in imperceptibly with the overall presentation without specifically emphasizing a local connection.

## 2. Evoking Emotions

Feelings are frequently stimulated in music exhibitions by presenting local achievements and giving the opportunity of recognition. The latter can aim at nostalgic feelings, such as in the pop exhibition in Essen, although the example of Roskilde shows that curators sometimes deliberately try not to convey such feelings primarily. Similar attitudes are described by Leonard and Knifton in their study of British pop music exhibitions.

49 María del Mar Alonso Amat et al., *Musik ausstellen*, 161.

50 Ibid. 162.

‘Some curators’, they write, ‘expressed a wariness of encouraging this emotive engagement, fearing that sentimentality might override critical engagement with the materials on display.’<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the importance of nostalgia in curatorial concepts is also evident from this study. Curators often follow a ‘nostalgic impulse in helping to identify the materials with which people find emotional, cultural and social connection.’<sup>52</sup> This corresponds to considerations by Thomas Mania, curator at the rock’n’pop museum in the small German town of Gronau, which is dedicated to the history of pop music with a focus on Germany. In an interview, he talked about ‘starting points’ offered to the audience in order to attract interest, events that may relate to the socialization of visitors.<sup>53</sup>

The case studies show that sound and light effects – sometimes in connection with interactive offers – can aim at sensual perception and, in many cases, objects or object constellations are exhibited under aesthetic aspects. The auratic effect of both artefacts and museum rooms and buildings is also important for emotive approaches. Further curatorial ideas for supporting emotional perception can be detected in some other museums. Music sound is sometimes not used solely to support the atmospheric, as in some of the case studies, but as a partial element of museum narratives. A particularly poignant example was found in the (now rebuilt) permanent exhibition at the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn. A glass cabinet was devoted to Beethoven’s ear disease, with various artefacts including letters and handwritten notes by Beethoven which provide information about the course of the disease, as well as original ear trumpets. Excerpts from recordings of the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies were played in the audio guide as they sounded in the original and as Beethoven would have heard them at the times of their premieres. Furthermore, in some displays, interactive installations were integrated into the museum narratives to provoke personal concern. An example of this was the ‘Handel with Heart’ exhibition which, as mentioned, focused on Handel’s commitment to the London Foundling Hospital. A banner referred to the insufficient capacity of the orphanage and explained the lottery system that was introduced as a result: ‘Here, the colour of a ball, which the mother took at random from a container, decided the further fate of the child.’ There was a wooden box in the reception area bearing the inscription: ‘Dear visitors, to empathize with the desperate situation of a mother who wants to give up her child at the Foundling Hospital, please draw a ball.’ A black ball signified that a child had been rejected.<sup>54</sup>

51 Marion Leonard and Robert Knifton, ‘Engaging Nostalgia: Popular Music and Memory in Museums’, *Sites of Popular Music Heritage: Memories, Histories, Places*, ed. Sara Cohen et al. (New York and Milton Park: Routledge, 2015), 160–73, at 169.

52 Ibid. 171.

53 Interview, 24 March 2016.

54 María del Mar Alonso Amat, *Georg Friedrich Händel im Museum. Orte der Erinnerung in Halle (Saale) und London* (Berlin and Münster: LIT Verlag, 2022), 145–46.

### 3. Social Differences and Ruptures

Social differences and historical ruptures almost always play a role in pop music exhibitions, according to our experiences, often, as seen in the examples in Essen and Roskilde, dealing with gender issues and/or the politicization of youth or discrimination against nonconformist young people. On the other hand, in their work on ‘Curating Pop’ which relates mainly to US and Australian museums, Sarah Baker et al. stress that the contribution of women to pop music is hardly acknowledged in exhibitions.<sup>55</sup> In Germany, popular music of the Third Reich era is critically addressed in various pop music displays. In 2014, the rock’n’pop museum in Gronau, for instance, presented a special exhibition entitled ‘100 Years of German Schlager’, with an extensive section on ‘The Schlager of the Nazi Era’. The display focused on the way in which Schlager music was used as a means of propaganda and musicians who were successful in the 1920s and forced into exile after the Nazis seized power. Until 2018, the museum’s permanent exhibition featured a section on ‘National Socialism’, which similarly dealt with music as propaganda. Going beyond the actual topic, it also dealt with the persecution of Jewish fellow citizens in general. For this purpose, a gallery of photographic portraits of persecuted and murdered Jewish artists, actors, musicians and scientists was displayed in a central location. References to social differences and historical ruptures are only sporadically found in exhibitions on European art music. Temporary exhibitions are sometimes devoted to these issues, as in the example of the exhibition ‘Handel with Heart’ in Halle.

The museum’s own history is hardly ever taken into account in music displays. One exception is the Munich City Museum, which houses a large collection of instruments. In their (meanwhile closed) music exhibition, reference was made at various points to the problematic nature of the collection and the fact that it was often no longer possible to identify the previous owners of the instruments. This applied predominantly to African, Asian and Oceanic instruments presented in the museum. From 2018 to 2019, the Munich City Museum showed a temporary exhibition on acquisitions made by the museum during the National Socialist era. An introductory text stated that the museum wanted to provide glimpses into their provenance research and in this way address its responsibility. The exhibition included musical instruments owned by the Jewish art dealer Ludwig Bernheimer which had been under unclear circumstances after the Bernheimer family had to leave Germany.<sup>56</sup> A temporary exhibition at the Beethoven-Haus Bonn in 2017 also dealt critically with its own history during the Nazi era, taking into account not only the exhibition area, but also concert events and research activities. Based on

55 Sarah Baker, Luran Istvandity, and Raphaël Nowak, *Curating Pop: Exhibiting Popular Music in the Museum* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 73.

56 Vanessa Maria Voigt and Henning Rader, ‘Die “Arisierung” der L. Bernheimer KG 1939. Erwerbungen der städtischen Musikinstrumentensammlung 1940’, *Ehem. jüdischer Besitz: Erwerbungen des Münchner Stadtmuseums im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Vanessa Maria Voigt and Henning Rader (Munich: Hirmer, 2018) 179–93, at 180.

a research project, the display illustrated, as museum director Malte Boecker writes, a number of ‘new and sometimes uncomfortable insights.’<sup>57</sup>

#### 4. Visitors

In terms of audience composition and modes of reception, there are clear differences between exhibitions on pop music and European art music. Visitors to pop exhibitions turn out to be rather heterogeneous in terms of social background and previous musical knowledge. This can be seen in the case studies in Essen and Roskilde and also applies to the rock’n’pop museum in Gronau. The majority of visitors to composer museums and exhibitions on European musical instruments are musically educated (though the Mozarthaus Vienna, with its predominantly tourist audience, proved to be an exception). The result is often a detailed examination of the presentations. The Handel House Museum in London is a typical case. During our visit printed music was read, in-depth discussions ensued, and people repeatedly asked whether they were allowed to play the instruments on display.<sup>58</sup> Aesthetic intentions are often understood by the general public visiting art music museums. Our research at the museum in Leipzig and at the Musikmuseum Basel shows this particularly clearly. Words such as ‘beautiful’, ‘a beautiful house’, ‘the atmosphere is beautiful’ or, referring to the instruments, ‘beautifully made’ came up repeatedly throughout our interviews with visitors.<sup>59</sup>

When asked about general impressions, hardly any reference was made to local issues in art music exhibitions, even where the support of group identity seemed to be curatorially intended (such as in the exhibition ‘Handel with Heart’ in Halle). In pop music exhibitions, the museum visit is often characterized by personal memories. As in the case of the Rock and Pop exhibition in Essen, this may be associated with local events and places. More importantly, however, the displays seem to trigger memories of specific times in people’s lives. Accordingly, modes of reception arise that go beyond curatorial intentions. This became apparent in the example of the Rock and Pop exhibition in Essen and was even more evident during our stay in the temporary exhibition ‘100 Years of German Schlager’ in Gronau. A compilation of artefacts in the section on Nazi-era pop music was dedicated to lyricist Bruno Balz and composer Michael Jary, who together composed some of the most famous Schlager during the ‘Third Reich’ period. Artefacts from the Nazi era and also from the post-war period were on display. The presentation was intended to convey the fact that the artists had been successful even after the Second World War. During our stay, we observed a small Dutch tour group, whose members obviously enjoyed the exhibition. This joy was especially great

57 Malte Boecker, ‘Grußwort’, *Das Bonner Beethoven-Haus in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Begleitpublikation zur Sonderausstellung im Beethoven-Haus Bonn 10. Mai – 7. Oktober 2017* by Maria Rößner-Richarz (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2017), 1.

58 María del Mar Alonso Amat et al., *Musik ausstellen*, 176.

59 Ibid. 90–91 and 180.

when someone in the group recognized a song or an interpreter, which led to a lively exchange and sometimes even to the songs being sung. Two of the visitors lingered a little longer in front of the display of Balz and Jary because they had discovered a portrait of Heidi Brühl and the vinyl record of her song ‘Wir wollen niemals auseinandergehen’ (‘We never want to part’), which had been composed by Balz and Jary in the 1960s. The two visitors were a bit older, and the hit song might have meant something to them in their youth and they began to sing the song loudly and with fervour. Seemingly, the fact that they were in the room dedicated to the subject of ‘Schlager of the Nazi Era’ did not matter to them in the slightest.

### *Summary notes and concluding thoughts*

Efforts to promote a sense of community can be discerned in some music exhibitions. However, although local themes are often linked to achievements of the local group, the latter is often not the primary target group and different intentions can be detected. Moreover, there are examples where the local is not presented as something outstanding. Emotive concepts also often arise independently of efforts to promote community and auratic aspects are generally found in music exhibitions. Regarding visitor reactions, significant differences emerge between presentations devoted to European art music (musical instrument or composer exhibitions) and displays of pop music themes. In art music exhibitions, local references and events from the history of a local group are of minor importance as features that make the museum visit a special experience. In pop exhibitions, the museum narratives presented often evoke nostalgic feelings. This is especially the case for members of the middle and older generations. The irretrievability of youth seems to play an important role here, although longing is often combined with the feeling of being entertained. A tendency towards ‘restorative nostalgia’ is not discernible. According to recent social psychological studies, nostalgia serves to promote optimism as a ‘pathway through which the past bolsters the present, which then brightens the future.’<sup>60</sup> This initially concerns the individual episodic memory. Nevertheless, the studies show that nostalgic feelings can promote ‘social connectedness’<sup>61</sup>, which in turn corresponds to our experience of pop music exhibitions as highly communicative places, where visitors, inspired by the museum narratives, describe and share experiences. Nostalgia and communication presumably strengthen the sense of community. Yet, this does not belong to the level of cultural memory but communicative memory. Local historical narratives obviously promote communicative memory in pop music exhibitions. As already mentioned, cultural memory in Jan Assmann’s sense encompasses a more distant past that is not linked to personal memories. Based on curatorial

60 Weing-Yee Cheung et al., ‘Back to the Future: Nostalgia Increases Optimism’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39/11 (2013), 1484–96, at 1492.

61 *Ibid.* 1490

intentions and the way visitors receive museum narratives, one could conclude from our research that music exhibitions are rather insignificant as agencies of cultural memory. This implies the notion that when museum narratives serve as ‘building blocks’ of cultural memory, they directly and consciously spark feelings of belonging among visitors. The interrelationships, though, are presumably more intricate. According to Assmann, cultural memory is based on the knowledge and activities of experts. The same applies to the museum presentations studied, all of which were designed by professional curators. Curating music exhibitions is apparently a matter for representatives of the ‘authorized heritage discourse’. For exhibitions on the history of local groups, the recognised experts select individual historical events, facts, and artefacts that they believe are relevant for the group (frequently drawing on the holdings of heritage sites, such as museum repositories and archives). Therefore, historically oriented music exhibitions can be understood as agencies of cultural memory, at least in the sense that they offer the possibility to become aware of aspects considered important for the history of one’s own group – regardless of curatorial intentions and the way in which the majority of visitors experience the exhibitions. Furthermore, one might ask whether the establishment of historically oriented local museums as such does not already support cultural remembering, quite independent of the topics presented. Museums can be understood as monuments. Accordingly, the buildings in which museum collections are housed and presented often have a special significance, be it in historical or architectural terms. Monuments, Marija Kulišić and Miroslav Tuđmann argue, ‘transmit messages through space’, but are also ‘themselves a message in the space’.<sup>62</sup>

The question of how to deal with the ethical component is relevant to all music exhibitions, regardless of their target audiences and intentions, and thus regardless of the extent to which they seek to promote a common identity. In this respect, there are again clear differences between exhibitions on pop music and European art music. While social difference is rarely taken into account in museums dealing with European art music, pop music displays often adopt approaches in which difference and diversity play a role. Negative events in the group’s history are also taken into account in pop music displays, whereas they are hardly considered in presentations dedicated to European art music. The museum’s own history is occasionally addressed in music exhibitions; however, the provenance of the objects on display is only very rarely discussed, which is surprising given that the provenance has recently been the subject of much public debate, accompanied by extensive internal and external museum studies.

62 Marija Kulišić and Miroslav Tuđmann, ‘Monument as a Form of Collective Memory and Public Knowledge’, *The Future of Information Sciences: INfuture 2009. – Digital Resources and Knowledge Sharing*, ed. Hrvoje Stančić et al. (Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2009), 125–33, at 130.



## Abstract

This paper deals with historically oriented museum displays in various West and Central European countries that focus on musical themes in local regions. Drawing on concepts and considerations of memory and heritage studies, I examine how local historical references are conveyed in these exhibitions and to what extent the latter can be seen as institutions promoting group identity. Jan Assmann's distinction between communicative and cultural memory, according to which communicative memory is based on everyday communication and refers to a rather recent past, while cultural memory focuses on events that happened further back in time, proves useful in this context. It turns out that there are many different ways of dealing with the past in the exhibitions and different forms of access, depending on the interests and prior knowledge of the visitors. Exhibitions on pop music themes support communicative memory in that the museum narratives encourage communication and thus promote cohesion. Regarding curatorial concepts and modes of reception, the formation of group identity seems to play a rather minor role in exhibitions on European art music. These exhibitions can still be regarded as sites of cultural memory, as they usually offer at least the opportunity to explore aspects of the (distant) history of one's own group.

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## Verrathene Liebe

### Über die vernichtende Wirkung des romantischen Humors in Robert Schumanns Op. 40.

Henrik Palsmar

Robert Schumanns *Fünf Lieder*, Op. 40, auf Texte von H.C. Andersen ist eine Herausforderung für ein dänisches Publikum.<sup>1</sup> Ist man auf der einen Seite geschmeichelt, dass der deutsche Liedmeister vier Gedichte des Nationalpoeten vertont hat, ist man auf der anderen darüber befremdet, dass er das Opus mit einer Komposition auf einem anonymen Text obskurer Herkunft abgerundet hat.<sup>2</sup> Es ist ein griechisches Volkslied, von dem Philologen Claude Charles Fauriel (1772-1844) eingesammelt und auf Französisch nachgedichtet und, wie die Andersen-Texte, von Adalbert von Chamisso (1781-1838) ins Deutsche übertragen.<sup>3</sup> Darüber hinaus ist das Lied ein kleines, leichtes Ding, das nach den drei mittleren, sowohl düsteren als auch tragischen Andersen-Liedern beleidigend seicht und munter erscheint. Was soll das heißen? Dass der literarisch überaus sensible Schumann die Lieder nur aus herausgebertechnischen Gründen zu einem Opus zusammengefügt hätte, ist nicht glaublich. Aber warum denn? Und man steht mit seinem naiven Befremden nicht allein.<sup>4</sup>

In der, übrigens ausgezeichneten, Anleitung zur Interpretation von Schumanns Liedern von dem Gesangspädagogen Richard Miller liest man:

Schumann may have intended that #5, *Verratene* (sic) *Liebe*, should follow the Andersen Lieder, but it seems an unfavorable move. There has been too much

- 1 Link zum Werk: <https://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/5f/IMSLP51732-PMLP12742-RS128.pdf>
- 2 Über Schumanns Bekanntschaft mit und Wertschätzung von Andersen siehe René Michaelsen, "Wer heisst euch mit Fingern zeigen auf mich?" Selbstreflexive Illusionsbrüche bei Hans Christian Andersen und Robert Schumann, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 35 (2007), 31-49, besonders 32-36.
- 3 Claude Charles Fauriel, *Chants populaires de la Grèce modern* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1824).
- 4 Die originale deutsche Titelseite (bei Kistner) ist eine nüchterne Aufzählung des Inhalts: "Märzveilchen, Muttertraum, der Soldat, der Spielmann/aus dem Dänischen/von H.C. ANDERSEN/und verrathene Liebe/aus dem Neugriechischen übersetzt/von/A. v. CHAMISSO/für eine Singstimme u. Pianoforte/componiert/UND/Herrn H.C. Andersen/in Copenhagen/zugeeignet/von/ROBERT SCHUMANN/Op. 40." Die dänische Originalausgabe hat nur: "Fünf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte componiert und Herrn H.C. Andersen in Copenhagen zugeeignet von Robert Schumann. Op. 40."

drama and pain to conclude the performance with this slight vignette. A listener can endure being whirled from sweet violets to death, but returning to this little valentine seems too much to ask. *Verratene Liebe* is a good song, of equal merit with *Märzveilchen*, with which it shares a genre designation, although the two Lieder are not musically related. *Verratene Liebe* must be sung as an engaging miniature. One would like to think that a skillful artist can portray any mood and sing music of any emotional requirement, but it may be unrealistic to expect a dramatic singer to do equal justice to the delicate sketches that frame the vigorous ballads in this opus. An alternative argument could be made that Schumann does not want to leave us in a world of despair. Fischer-Dieskau discusses that viewpoint: “*Verratene Liebe* ... is a surprisingly amiable conclusion, following such an emotionally stormy series of songs. With its playful, jolly finish, including the coquettish flourish in the piano, it was no doubt intended to restore emotional balance.”<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it does that, but it might be more at home in a group of Schumann miniatures.<sup>6</sup>

Fischer-Dieskaus Bestimmung der Funktion von *Verrathene Liebe* als Gefühlsausgleich könnte sich auf die oft zitierte Tagebuchaufzeichnung Schumanns aus dem Jahre 1828 berufen:

Schmerzen im Leben sind wie Dissonanzen in der Musik; sie haben großen Reiz; aber man verlangt doch nach der Auflösung.<sup>7</sup>

Das ist doch kaum so zu verstehen, dass Schumann gemeint hätte, ein Kunstwerk müsse immer Unlust in Lust auflösen. Teils konstatiert er, dass es Reiz in Schmerzen und Dissonanzen gibt, teils ist es vielmehr die Sehnsucht nach der Auflösung als die Auflösung selbst, die er betont. Das Bedürfnis nach Auflösung ist bei seinem ästhetischen Vorbild Jean Paul theoretisch entfaltet:

Nach jeder pathetischen Anspannung gelüstet der Mensch ordentlich nach humoristischer Abspannung; aber da keine Empfindung ihr Widerspiel, sondern nur ihre Abstufung begehren kann: so muß in dem Scherze, den das Pathos aufsucht, noch ein herabführender Ernst vorhanden sein. Und dieser wohnt im Humor. ... Daher findet der Sokrates in Platons Gastmahl in der Anlage zum Tragischen

5 Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Robert Schumann: Wort und Musik* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1981), 95.

6 Richard Miller, *Singing Schumann: An Interpretative Guide for Performers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 82.

7 Robert Schumann, Eintrag von 23. August 1828, in *Tagebücher*, Bd. 1, 1827–1838, hrsg. von Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), 118.

auch die komische. Nach der Tragödie gibt der Engländer daher noch den humoristischen Epilog und ein Lustspiel, wie die griechische Tetralogie sich *nach* dem dreimaligen Ernste mit dem satirischen Drama beschloß.<sup>8</sup>

Es ist allzu harmlos, die Funktion von *Verrathene Liebe* als Spannungslösung nach dem Leiden zu bestimmen. Aus Jean Pauls Sicht ist das letzte Lied vielmehr ein kleines Satyrspiel, das den Ernst der anderen Lieder unterstreicht und verstärkt. Hätte Schumann nur die vier Andersen-Texte vertont, wäre Op. 40 nur eine Sammlung von Liebesliedern mit einem gemeinsamen Textdichter geworden. Erst durch die humoristisch-ironische Hinzufügung von *Verrathene Liebe* entstand ein zusammenhängendes Kunstwerk, das mehr als die einzelnen Lieder aussagt.

### *Ein Zyklus?*

Auf dem offiziellen, von der Bundesregierung geförderten Schumann-Portal im Internet schreibt Irmgard Knechtges-Obrecht:

Schumann fügt seinem Op. 40 diese Vertonung [*Verrathene Liebe*] erst am Ende hinzu, wohl um eine musikalische Geschlossenheit zu erzielen. Der durch die Andersen-Lieder erzielte zyklische Charakter geht dadurch allerdings verloren.<sup>9</sup>

Kazuko Ozawa zeigt, dass Schumann den Liedern durch die Anordnung der Tonarten einen formalen Rahmen gab, wobei das erste und das letzte Lied in G-Dur und die drei mittleren in d-Moll stehen: G-d-d-d-G.<sup>10</sup> In Chamisso's *Gedichte* aus dem Jahre 1834 stehen die vier Andersen-Texte unter dem Titel *Aus dem Dänischen nach Andersen* in derselben Reihenfolge wie bei Schumann. Nach Ozawa skizzierte Schumann

... zunächst die vier Andersen/Chamisso-Lieder, danach wählte er "Verrathene Liebe" zur Vertonung aus. Die Hinzufügung dieses letzten Liedes verlieh diesem Opus eine musikalische Abgeschlossenheit, wenn auch keinen zyklischen Charakter.<sup>11</sup>

8 Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, § 33 *Die vernichtende oder unendliche Idee des Humors*, in Jean Paul, *Werke*, hrsg. von Norbert Miller, München 1975, Bd. 9, zitiert nach <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Jean+Paul/Schriften/Vorschule+der+Ästhetik/Erste+Abteilung/7.+Programm.+Über+die+humoristische+Poesie/§+33.+Die+vernichtende+oder+unendliche+Idee+des+Humors>. Accessed 19.4.2024.

9 [www.schumann-portal.de/op-40.html](http://www.schumann-portal.de/op-40.html). Accessed 3.4.2024.

10 Kazuko Ozawa, *Quellenstudien zu Robert Schumanns Liedern nach Adalbert von Chamisso* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1989), 57.

11 Kazuko Ozawa, 'Fünf Lieder op. 40', in Helmut Loos (Hrsg.), *Robert Schumann: Interpretation seiner Werke* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005), Bd. 1, 216.

Jon W. Finson, dem der meist einhergehende Artikel über die Sammlung zu verdanken ist, meint, dass sowohl die Gedichte als auch Schumanns Kompositionen ihren Gattungen nach zwischen lyrischen Liedern und Balladen liegen. Über die Tonartenordnung hinaus sieht er auch einen inhaltlichen Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen: Sie verhalten sich alle auf verschiedene Weisen zu

... the grim results of love ... The texts of Op. 40 unfold no central narrative thread, but neither do they present a simple miscellany. The grouping, then, displays an unconventional and somewhat obscure coherence.<sup>12</sup>

Da Op. 40 kurz und ohne Handlung ist und keinen musikalisch-motivischen Zusammenhang aufweist, nennt er es “something unique: a miniature semi-cycle of semi-ballads”.<sup>13</sup> Ozawa und Finson zufolge ist Op. 40, seine übrigen Qualitäten unbeachtet, demnach kein ‘richtiger’ Gesangszyklus. Zwar hat Schumann es auch nicht einen Zyklus (wie er es mit *Dichterliebe – Liedercyclus aus dem Buche der Lieder von H. Heine*, Op. 48 tat) oder einen *Liederkreis* (wie Op. 39 nach Eichendorff) oder eine *Liederreihe* (wie Op. 35 nach Kerner) genannt. In Schumanns Liederjahr 1840 war der Liederzyklus eine junge und noch undefinierte Gattung.<sup>14</sup> John Daverio betont, dass

Schumann recognized a distinction between a collection, its contents comprised of self-sufficient parts bound by little more than their shared genre, and a cycle, the parts of which are subordinate to the effect of the whole.<sup>15</sup>

Aber er hatte kein “recipe for the fabrication of a song cycle”.<sup>16</sup> Aus seinen Kommentaren zu Gesangssammlungen anderer Komponisten lässt sich dennoch eine lose Reihe von Kriterien darüber, was er als einen Gesangszyklus betrachtete, herausziehen. Daverio listet neun Schumann-Opera aus dem Lieder-Jahr, die diese Kriterien erfüllen, darunter Op. 40.

Schumann noted the various means through which the composition attained textual and musical coherence—narrative consistency, large-scale tonal logic, and

12 Jon William Finson, ‘Between *Lied* and *Ballade* – Schumann’s Op. 40 and the Tradition of Genre’, in Gerhard E. Appel et al. (Hrsg.), *Schumanniana nova: Festschrift Gerd Nauhaus zum 60. Geburtstag* (Sinzig: Studiopunkt Verlag, 2002), 250-65, hier 253.

13 Ebd. 259.

14 Susan Youens, ‘Song cycle’ (2001), in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 16.10.2015: “The term ‘song cycle’ did not enter lexicography until 1865, in Arrey von Dommer’s edition of Koch’s *Musikalisches Lexikon*, but works definable in retrospect as song cycles existed much earlier.”

15 John Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a “New Poetic Age”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 212.

16 Ebd.

motivic recall—without insisting dogmatically that the presence of all these features is a necessary condition for cyclic construction. By these criteria, nine sets of songs from the *Liederjahr* qualify as cycles. ... these sets cohere both textually and musically, although no two of them cohere in quite the same way, and herein lies the point.<sup>17</sup>

Schumann versuchte, jeder seiner Arbeiten eine einzigartige Kohärenz und Ausdruck zu geben. Einem seiner Werke absolut eine bestimmte Gattungsbezeichnung anheften zu wollen, ist deshalb pedantisch. Wichtiger für das Verständnis von Op. 40 ist es, zu entscheiden, ob und wie die fünf Gesänge eine Ganzheit ausmachen. In seinem Leitfaden zum Konzertlied-Repertoire fand Charles Osborne es unproblematisch, Op. 40 einen Zyklus zu nennen:

The theme of this miniature cycle, then, is betrayal of one kind or another. The subject is treated comically, and brilliantly, in the final song, “Verratene [sic] Liebe”.<sup>18</sup>

Addieren wir Finssons Bestimmung des Inhalts: “the grim results of love” mit Osbornes “betrayal of one kind or another”, erhalten wir eine genauere Angabe zum Thema der Lieder: Verrat, der an der Liebe und von der Liebe verübt wird – *Verrathene Liebe*. Dadurch wird klar, dass das letzte Lied ein Kommentar zu den vorherigen ist, und dass sein Titel der Titel der gesamten Sammlung sein könnte; es ist aber Teil seiner Wirkung, dass die Hörer das selbst entdecken müssen. Weit davon entfernt, die Verbindung zwischen den anderen zu zerstören, ist es das letzte Lied, das eine solche ernstlich etabliert.

Die Lieder in Op. 40 weisen wie gesagt über die tonale Disposition hinaus keinen direkten musikalischen Zusammenhang auf. Sie unterscheiden sich in Form und Umfang. Das kurze erste Lied hat Fragmentcharakter wie die Lieder der *Dichterliebe* – es öffnet mitten in der Musik und endet mit der Andeutung einer neuen Bewegung, die abrupt abgeschnitten wird.<sup>19</sup> Nr. 2 ist ein Genrebild, die Mutter bei der Wiege in der Dämmerung, ein kurzes Lied, traditionell in Vor- und Nachspiele gerahmt. Nr. 3 ist eine längere, abgerundete Ballade, die wie Schumanns *Die beiden Grenadiere*, Op. 49, Nr. 1, für sich stehen könnte. Nr. 4 ist eine dramatische Szene mit einem kurzen Vorspiel und einem reflektierenden Nachspiel, und Nr. 5 ist eine Miniatur, musikalisch und inhaltlich abgerundet, aber in ihrem Ausmaß eine Bagatelle, die als eigenständiges Kunstwerk wenig Sinn ergibt. Sein Titel benennt das gemeinsame Thema der Lieder und zugleich widerspricht sein Charakter den übrigen auf humoristische Weise. Dadurch

<sup>17</sup> Ebd. 213.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Osborne, *The Concert Song Companion* (London: Gollancz, 1974), 69.

<sup>19</sup> Zu *Dichterliebe* als eine Zusammenfügung von Fragmenten siehe Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 41ff.

zwingt es sie alle, unterirdisch oder traumhaft miteinander zu kommunizieren, so wie der Frühromantiker Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg, 1772-1801) es als ein Ideal der romantischen Poesie beschrieb:

Erzählungen, ohne Zusammenhang, jedoch mit Assoziation, wie Träume.<sup>20</sup>

### *Humor und Ironie*

Der romantische Humor ist ein ethisch-philosophischer Begriff, dem Jean Paul einen wichtigen Teil seiner *Vorschule der Ästhetik* (1804) widmete. Er unterschied zwischen dem Komischen, das nur Lachen erregen will, indem es endliche Phänomene aus einer einzelnen, willkürlichen, endlichen Position kommentiert, und dem Humoristischen, das alle endlichen Dinge, *die* Endlichkeit, mit der Idee, dem Unendlichem, konfrontiert:

Der Humor, als das umgekehrte Erhabene, vernichtet nicht das Einzelne sondern das Endliche durch den Kontrast mit der Idee.<sup>21</sup>

Durch diese Kontrastierung entsteht das romantische Komische oder der romantische Humor. Dieser will, im Gegensatz zu dem gemeinen "Späßmacher" oder "Spötter", keine "einzelne Narrheit" verlachen, sondern

erniedrigt das Große ... um ihm das Kleine, und erhöht das Kleine ... um ihm das Große an die Seite zu setzen und so beide zu vernichten, weil vor der Unendlichkeit alles gleich ist und nichts.<sup>22</sup>

Das Anschauen von etwas Erhabenem erhöht den Gegenstand und füllt laut Kant das Gemüt mit erhabenen Gefühlen wie Ehrfurcht; im Gegensatz dazu erniedrigt oder (mit dem von Jean Paul und Friedrich Schlegel oft benutzten emphatischen Wort) "vernichtet" der Humor alle endlichen Dinge und führt zu einer "radikalen Welt-Verachtung ... weil vor der Unendlichkeit alles gleich ist und nichts".<sup>23</sup> Der Humor hat aber stets einen Blick auf das Große und erregt ein mitleidendes Lachen. Dadurch unterscheidet sich der Humor von einer rein moralischen Kritik:

Wenn der Mensch, wie die alte Theologie tat, aus der überirdischen Welt auf die irdische herunterschaut: so zieht diese klein und eitel dahin; wenn er mit der

<sup>20</sup> Zitiert nach Manfred Frank, *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1989), 283.

<sup>21</sup> Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik* § 32.

<sup>22</sup> Ebd.

<sup>23</sup> Ebd.

kleinen, wie der Humor tut, die unendliche ausmisst und verknüpft: so entsteht jenes Lachen, worin noch ein Schmerz und eine Größe ist.<sup>24</sup>

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht resümierte den Begriff so:

Humor dieser Art ergreift das Endliche als Gebrechlichkeit, Narrheit, Leiden ... um in ihm, als dem Kontrast zum Unendlichen, das Unendliche zu erreichen, das nur so erreichbar ist, als >Unendlichkeit des Kontrasts<. Solcher Humor lacht, aber über die ganze Welt; er spottet, aber aus Liebe; er ironisiert, weinend ...<sup>25</sup>

Dieser Begriff des Humors fügt sich in den weiteren Begriff der romantischen Ironie, wie sie von Friedrich Schlegel und den Jena-Romantikern geprägt wurde.<sup>26</sup> Diese Art von Ironie lässt sich nicht fest definieren, weil eine ihrer Haupteigenschaften ist, dass sie jede Aussage, und so sich selbst, relativiert und mehrdeutig macht. Schlegel demonstrierte dies in seinem provokanten Essay *Über die Unverständlichkeit*. Hier erklärt er die angebliche Unverständlichkeit seiner *Athenäumsfragmente* durch ihre ironische Grundhaltung, und in einer ironischen “Übersicht vom ganzen System der Ironie” gelangt er schließlich zu dem Begriff der “Ironie der Ironie”, den er dann ironisch beschreibt als

Wenn man ohne Ironie von der Ironie redet ... wenn man mit Ironie von einer Ironie redet, ohne zu merken, daß man sich zu eben der Zeit in einer andren viel auffallenderen Ironie befindet; wenn man nicht wieder aus der Ironie herauskommen kann, wie es in diesem Versuch über die Unverständlichkeit zu sein scheint; wenn die Ironie Manier wird, und so den Dichter gleichsam wieder ironiert ... wenn die Ironie wild wird, und sich gar nicht mehr regieren läßt.<sup>27</sup>

Schlegel zitierte hier auch aus seinem *Lyceumsfragment* Nr. 48:

Ironie ist die Form des Paradoxen. Paradox ist alles was zugleich gut und groß ist.<sup>28</sup>

In der idealistischen Tradition von Platon würde man sagen, dass das Gute eine widerspruchslose, klare Wahrheit sei. Für Schlegel dagegen ist eine widerspruchslose Aussage

24 Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik* § 33.

25 Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Die Musik Gustav Mahlers* (München: Piper, 1986), 176.

26 Von dem vielfacettierten Phänomen können hier nur einige relevante Seiten erörtert werden. Unter den grundlegenden Darstellungen sind Ingrid Strohschneider-Kohrs, *Die romantische Ironie in Theorie und Gestaltung* (Berlin, Boston: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002), und Frank, *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik*.

27 Friedrich Schlegel, *Über die Unverständlichkeit*, Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe (KFSA), hrsg. Ernst Behler (Paderborn, München: F. Schöningh, 1967), Bd. II, 369.

28 Ebd. 368.



unvollständig und deshalb unwahr: “Jeder Satz, jedes Buch, so sich nicht selbst widerspricht, ist unvollständig.”<sup>29</sup> Wahrheit kann aus Schlegels Sicht nur durch Ironie ausgedrückt werden. Ein zentrales Paradox bei Schlegel spricht von der “Unmöglichkeit und Notwendigkeit einer vollständigen Mitteilung”.<sup>30</sup> Nur eine vollständige, das heißt, eine alles umfassende Aussage kann wahr sein, denn nur das Ganze ist wahr. Aber es ist unmöglich, alles zu sagen. Um wahrhaftig zu sein, muss man deshalb immer auf diesen Widerspruch zwischen dem endlich Gesagten und der unendlichen Fülle hindeuten, und das wird von der unendlichen Reflexion der Ironie geleistet.

Einfacher wurde die romantische Ironie von Ludwig Tieck beschrieben:

Es ist unendlich schwer den Begriff der Ironie in einer bestimmten Formel auszusprechen ... Die Ironie, von der ich spreche, ist ja nicht Spott, Hohn, Persiflage, oder was man sonst der Art gewöhnlich darunter zu verstehen pflegt, es ist vielmehr der tiefste Ernst, der zugleich mit Scherz und wahrer Heiterkeit verbunden ist. ... Sie ist die Kraft, die dem Dichter die Herrschaft über den Stoff erhält; er soll sich nicht an denselben verlieren, sondern über ihm stehen, uns so bewahrt ihn die Ironie vor Einseitigkeit und leerem Idealisieren.<sup>31</sup>

Die romantische Ironie ist eine Geisteshaltung, die dem Künstler Distanz zu seinem Stoff gibt.<sup>32</sup> In seinen Schauspielen zerstört Tieck systematisch die Illusionen der Handlung, wie z.B. in der Komödie *Der gestiefelte Kater* (1797), in der die Darsteller ständig aus ihren Rollen fallen und mit dem Verfasser und dem Publikum, die auf der Bühne erscheinen, die Qualität des Stücks diskutieren. Die Illusionsbrüche, die wir auch in vielen von Andersens Texten (z. B. im vierten Lied von Op. 40) finden, sind ein zentrales Mittel der Poetologie der Frühromantiker.<sup>33</sup>

Manfred Frank fasst den Grundgedanken der romantischen Ironie wie folgt zusammen:

Die Idee des Absoluten, dem alle Einzelpositionen unangemessen bleiben, rückt diese in ein Ironisches Licht. Andererseits können wir unserer Endlichkeit nur an solchen Einzelpositionen orientieren, während das Absolute ungreifbar bleibt. Die Ironie spielt darum in beide Richtungen. Sie ist ein Verlachen des Endlichen,

29 Schlegel, KFSa XVIII, 83, nach Frank, *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik*, 352.

30 Schlegel, *Lyceumsfragment* 108, KFSa II, 160.

31 Rudolf Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Dichters nach dessen mündlichen und schriftlichen Mittheilungen. Zweiter Theil* (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1855), 238f. Zitiert nach Frank: *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik*, 371f.

32 René Michaelsen, *Der Komponierte Zweifel, Robert Schumann und die Selbstreflexion in der Musik* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015), 325.

33 Siehe hierzu Florian Kraemer, *Entzauberung der Musik: Beethoven, Schumann und die romantische Ironie* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2014), 26ff.

weil es durch anderes Endliches dementiert und durch den Gedanken des Absoluten (Unendlichen) insgesamt beschämt wird; aber auch (ein Verlachen) des Absoluten, weil es, wie Novalis sagt, das identische Reine (das Absolute) nicht gibt. ... alles Reine ist ... eine Täuschung der Einbildungskraft – eine *nothwendige* Fiction.<sup>34</sup>

Die Romantiker haben die Begriffe Humor und romantische Ironie nicht scharf auseinandergehalten. Bei E.T.A. Hoffmann treten sie oft mit derselben Bedeutung auf.<sup>35</sup> Jean Paul illustrierte Seiten des Humors mit Hinweisen zu Tiecks dramatischen Illusionsbrüchen, die dieser eher als Ironie auffasste. Und Novalis schrieb:

Humor ist eine willkürlich angenommene Manier. Das Willkürliche ist das Pikante daran: Humor ist Resultat einer freyen Vermischung des Bedingten und Unbedingten. Durch Humor wird das eigenthümlich Bedingte allgemein interessant, und erhält objektiven Werth. ... Was Fr. Schlegel als Ironie charakterisirt, ist meinem Bedünken nach nichts anders als die Folge, der Charakter der Besonnenheit, der wahrhaften Gegenwart des Geistes. Schlegels Ironie scheint mir ächter Humor zu seyn.<sup>36</sup>

Schumann hat wahrscheinlich die Aufnahme von *Verrathene Liebe* im Lichte des Jean Paul'schen Humors aufgefasst. Durch Ludwig Tieck, mit dem sowohl er selbst als auch Jean Paul und Andersen bekannt waren, ist er aber auch mit Ideen der romantischen Ironie in Kontakt gekommen. Beiden Konzepten gemeinsam ist der Fokus auf den Widerspruch zwischen Endlichkeit und Unendlichkeit, die Idee der Vernichtung aller endlichen Positionen und der Wechsel zwischen Ernst und Heiterkeit, und beide können zum Verständnis von Op. 40 beitragen.

34 Frank, *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik*, 301.

35 Siehe hierzu Kraemer, *Entzauberung der Musik*, 181ff.

36 Novalis, *Blüthenstaub* 29. Zitiert nach <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Novalis/Fragmentensammlung/Blüthenstaub>. Accessed 29.8.24.

*Märzveilchen/Martsviolerne**Märzveilchen*

Der Himmel wölbt sich rein und blau,  
 Der Reif stellt Blumen aus zur Schau.  
 Am Fenster prangt ein flimmernder Flor.  
 Ein Jüngling steht, ihn betrachtend, davor.

Und hinter den Blumen blühet noch gar  
 Ein blaues, ein lächelndes Augenpaar.

Märzveilchen, wie jener noch keine gesehn!  
 Der Reif wird angehaucht zergehn.  
 Eisblumen fangen zu schmelzen an,  
 Und Gott sei gnädig dem jungen Mann.

*Martsviolerne*

Sig Himlen hvælver saa reen og klar,  
 Iisblomster fryse paa Rudens Glar.

I Solens Flamme saa smukt de staae,  
 En Yngling kommer og seer derpaa.

Men som han paa de Blomster seer;  
 To Pigeøine derude leer;

Saa skønne Blomster han aldrig saae,  
 To Martsvioler saa smukke blaae.

Iisblomsten smelter ved Kindens Brand,  
 Vor Herre hjælpe den unge Mand!

Ein unschuldiger junger Mann (Jüngling/Yngling suggeriert sexuelle Unerfahrenheit) betrachtet die tote Natur (Himmel und Eisblumen) von seinem geschützten Platz hinter einer Fensterscheibe.<sup>37</sup> Draußen sieht er ein paar blaue, lachende Augen. Er sieht sie als Frühlingsblumen, also echte lebende Blumen im Gegensatz zu den Eisblumen. Und er denkt, dass sie schöner sind als alle Blumen, die er je gesehen hat. Die Hitze seiner Wangen (bei Andersen) oder seines Atems (bei Chamisso) schmilzt das Eis zwischen ihm und dem Mädchen, und die Wärme ist ein Bild erwachender Liebe und Sexualität. Der junge Mann erlebt, dass die Barriere zwischen ihm und der Welt, dem Leben und der Sexualität bricht, sein isoliertes Subjekt dringt hinaus zu der Liebe und der Außenwelt beim Anblick der Augen des Mädchens. Man könnte meinen, dass dies ein glückliches Ende wäre; eine Geschichte erfolgreicher Reifung oder zumindest einer Eröffnung von Möglichkeiten. Doch mit einem ironischen Kommentar dreht der Dichter das Perspektiv in der letzten Zeile um: Gott sei ihm gnädig! Die Liebe und das Sexuelle ist vielmehr eine Gefahr für den jungen Mann.

Als er *Martsvioler* schrieb, war der junge Andersen sowohl persönlich als auch literarisch sehr mit Verliebtheit beschäftigt. Es mag scheinen, als ob er das Erleben von Liebe als Voraussetzung für das Erwachsenwerden und Zu-sich-selbst-kommen als Mann und als Schriftsteller betrachtete. 1830 schrieb er, seine Leserinnen fast herausfordernd, in das Gedicht *Avis aux lectrices*:

37 Bei Chamisso ist nicht klar, ob der junge Mann drinnen oder draußen ist; der Jüngling ist nur *davor* und die Mädchenaugen *hinter* der Scheibe. Aber in Andersens Original sind die Augen des Mädchens *derude* (*draußen*), also muss der junge Mann drinnen in der Stube sein.

Jeg savner noget! — skal jeg Navnet sige?  
 Det er just ikke af en sjelden Slags;  
 Jeg savner — ja — en lille, bitte Pige —  
 Ak, Herre Gud! nu leer man ad mig strax!  
 Tør jeg da aldrig elske, aldrig sværme?  
 Hvad? Er jeg ikke gammel nok dertil?  
 Gud veed, jeg vil jo ei en Sjæl fornærme,  
 Nei holde af, det er jo det jeg vil!

Enhver Poet, selv ganske smaae Personer,  
 Har sig en Kjærest; — det maa være rart!  
 Man er ulykkelig, man sukker og man daaner,  
 O, jeg maa med! og jeg maa med lidt snart.  
 Men endnu har jeg ingen ret i Sigte,  
 At jeg kan blive for min Længsel qvit;  
 Gud veed, jeg sværmer nok for mine Digte,  
 Men Herre Gud, det er mig dog for lidt!

Ich vermisse etwas! – soll ich den Namen nennen?  
 Es ist zwar nicht von seltener Art;  
 Ich vermisse – ja – ein kleines Mädchen –  
 Ach, Herrgott! Gleich lacht man mich aus!  
 Darf ich denn niemals lieben, niemals schwärmen?  
 Was? Bin ich dazu nicht alt genug?  
 Weiß Gott, ich will ja niemand beleidigen,  
 Nein, liebhaben, das ist ja was ich will!

Jeder Poet, sogar ganz kleine Personen,  
 hat einen Liebling; – das muss nett sein!  
 Man ist unglücklich, seufzt und wird ohnmächtig,  
 Oh, ich muss dabei, und das recht bald.  
 Noch habe ich keinen recht in der Sicht,  
 Dass ich meine Sehnsucht loswerden kann;  
 Gott weiß, ich schwärme für meinen Gedichten,  
 doch Herrgott, es ist mir doch zu wenig!  
 Übersetzung: H.P.

Bald darauf verliebte er sich in Riborg Voigt, eine Kaufmannstochter aus Fåborg. Als sie seine Gefühle nicht erwiderte, sondern einen anderen heiratete, stilisierte Andersen seine Beziehung zu ihr in Briefen an Freunde und in seinem *Levnedsbog* (1832) als unglückliche Liebe von Wertherischen Dimensionen. Umgekehrt zeigen sowohl seine Briefe als auch seine literarischen Werke, dass Andersen eine starke Angst vor dem Sexuellen hatte.

Die sinnliche Seite der Liebe von Mann und Frau ... war ihm wesensfremd ... An keiner Stelle seiner Präsentation von seiner "Liebling" aus Fåborg – auch nicht in der Poesie und Prosa – erscheint Riborg als eine erwachsene Frau mit einem Körper, sondern nur als Geisteswesen oder Kind. Geschlechtsreife Frauen waren Andersen nicht nur fremd, sie waren auch erschreckend ...<sup>38</sup>

Schumanns Komposition zu den *Märzveilchen* fängt scheinbar harmlos an. Es ist nur eine kleine Romanzen-Melodie mit einer einfachen Oompah-Begleitung, Basstöne mit nachgeschlagenen Akkorden, im Klavier. Als Vorspiel benutzt Schumann die ersten vier Takte der Begleitung. Es ist aber raffiniert gestaltet. Eine Basisausgabe könnte so aussehen:

38 Jens Andersen, *Andersen, en biografi* (København: Gyldendal, 2003), Bd. 1, 220f. Aus dem Dänischen von H. P.

Notensbeispiel 1. Schumann, *Märzveilchen*, Op. 40, Nr. 1, T. 1-4, Musterbeispiel für den Klaviersatz.

Anstatt mit einem Basston auf der betonten Eins zu beginnen, hat Schumann aber die Bassstimme als eine Figur geformt, die jedes Mal einen chromatischen Halbtonschritt enthält.

Notensbeispiel 2. Schumann, *Märzveilchen*, Op. 40, Nr. 1, T. 1-8.

Das ist an sich keine originelle Figur, doch während des Satzes wird sie – mit einem Begriff des Beethoven-Forschers Harry Goldschmidt – ‘different’<sup>39</sup> gemacht, will sagen, dass sie durch die Art und Weise, wie sie verwendet und hervorgehoben wird, eine besondere Bedeutung gewinnt.

Die Musik beginnt in medias res: Das erste, das zu hören ist, ist der Nachschlag eines ausgelassenen Basstons; es ist kein Akkord, sondern nur ein einzelner Ton, und das macht es Hörern schwer, das Metrum aufzufassen, ehe die Singstimme einsetzt. Auch

<sup>39</sup> Siehe Georg Knepler, *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart / Annäherungen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993), 33f.

die Tonart ist von Anfang an unklar. Der Bass setzt zwar auf dem Grundton G ein, wird aber mit einem Septakkord harmonisiert, und setzt sich in einer chromatischen Linie G-G#-A-A#-H-C fort. Darunter liegt ein Orgelpunkt auf D, der erst am Ende der zweiten Verszeile aufgelöst wird; erst dann wissen wir, dass wir in G-Dur sind, wenn auch nur flüchtig, weil das G nur als unbetonter Achtelnachschlag kommt, und der nächste Basston wieder G# ist. Auch in der Melodie wird G bis T. 10 ausgespart. Diese Unsicherheit ist der Ausgangspunkt des Liedes und damit des gesamten Op. 40.

Andersens Originalgedicht besteht aus fünf zweizeiligen Strophen. Schumann formt es um in zwei vierzeilige Strophen (T. 5-12, 17-24) mit einer zweizeiligen Strophe (T. 13-16) dazwischen. Die erste und die dritte von Schumanns Strophen bleiben in der Tonika, während die Zwischenstrophe moduliert und auf dem Wort “Augenpaar”, das die Peripetie des Gedichts ausmacht, auf der Dominante kadenziert.

13

hin - ter den Blu - men blü - het noch gar ein blau - es, ein lä - cheln-des Au - gen-paar. März

ritard.

> ritard.

Notenbeispiel 3. Schumann, *Märzveilchen*, Op. 40, Nr. 1, T. 13-16.

Schumann komponiert “Augenpaar” als eine steigende chromatische Bewegung in der Melodie (T. 16), die sofort ein Echo in der Klavieroberstimme bekommt, – das erste Mal, dass eine melodische Figur im Klavier auftritt. Steigende Chromatik hat allgemein einen Charakter von Spannung, davon dass die Musik zu etwas Neuem durchdringt. Hier wird sie zu einem musikalischen Abbild der Augen, die sich durch das Eis bahnen, einem Durchbruch, bei dem die Welt und die Liebe zu dem jungen Mann in die Stube eindringen.

Die chromatische Figur des Basses zeigt sich nun als Vorausgreifen und Echo der Augenfigur, und mit der rhythmischen Ungewissheit gepaart, wird sie zu einem interpretativen Leitfaden für das ganze Lied: Es geht um einen Durchbruch aus Unsicherheit in die Sicherheit.

Der Sänger intoniert “Augenpaar” im Tempo; ein Ritardando ist erst bei den Silben “-genpaar” notiert, während das Klavier Ritardando durch den ganzen Takt hat. Es ist, als ob die chromatische Wendung unauffällig im Tempo gesungen und erst dann langsamer im Klavierecho reflektiert werden soll. Zunächst werden die Augen kühl und objektiv dargestellt, woraufhin der Komponist durch Verweilen und Wiederholung des Motivs uns einen Hinweis darauf gibt, dass sie wichtig sind.

Man bemerkt es kaum, und danach geht das Lied weiter, als wäre nichts passiert. Die dritte Strophe wird ohne Variation mit der gleichen Musik wie die erste unterlegt und endet unauffällig; der ironische Umschwung, der extradiegetische Kommentar des Erzählers, der den ganzen Sinn des Gedichts ausmacht, wird zunächst nicht betont. Die Melodie läuft ganz einfach zu Ende (T. 24), und die Begleitung setzt sein Muster fort ohne zu kadenzieren. Nur die kleine Appoggiatur auf “und” (T. 22) gibt der Zeile eine ironische Färbung.

21

blu - men fan - gen zu schmel - zen an, und Gott sei gnä - dig dem jun - gen - Mann,

Notensbeispiel 4. Schumann, *Märzveilchen*, Op. 40, Nr. 1, T. 21-24.

In T. 25-26 folgt ein kurzes Zwischenspiel. Der Klavierbass spielt eine augmentierte, diatonische Variante des Augenmotivs. Es ist eine Verlängerung von dem Bass in T. 18, wie dort harmonisch auf der Dominante, und auch dadurch mit den Augen hinter der Fensterscheibe verbunden. Die feste Basslinie zeigt, dass etwas in Kraft gesetzt wird, die Unsicherheit wird überwunden, es geschieht etwas Definitives. Was das ist, wird in der Oberstimme angedeutet, deren Nachschlagakkorde nun legato in eine gefühlvoll strebende Melodie und einen synkopierten Rhythmus zusammengebunden werden: Die Leidenschaft des Jünglings entwickelt sich.

25

*rit.* und Gott sei gnä - dig dem jun - gen Mann.

Notensbeispiel 5. Schumann, *Märzveilchen*, Op. 40, Nr. 1, T. 25-28.

Dann wiederholt der Erzähler mehr emphatisch den Kommentar “Gott sei gnädig dem jungen Mann”, als die Zeile mit der ersten wirklichen Kadenz des Liedes abgerundet

wird. Auf “gnädig” klingt das Augenmotiv in der Tenorstimme. Als ein Wagnersches Leitmotiv benennt es die Gefahr, gegen die der Erzähler Gottes Hilfe anruft. Im Bass ist gleichzeitig die umgekehrte Figur zu hören, eine fallende chromatische Bewegung. Eine solche wirkt im Gegensatz zu steigender Chromatik spannungslösend. Falls das aufgehende Augenmotiv als Durchbruch und Zu-sich-selbst-kommen zu interpretieren ist, kann die Umkehrung den Verlust des Selbst bedeuten, als das nahe gelegene Risiko, sich einem anderen in Liebe hinzugeben.<sup>40</sup>

Der Gesang endet unerwartet mit einer nackten, banalen Kadenz zu den Worten “jungen Mann” (T. 28) als besondere musikalische (hier mehr rhetorische als romantische) Ironie. Der überraschende und eher sibyllinische Kommentar des Erzählers könnte eine ausführlichere Auslegung als nur das diskrete Augenmotiv erfordern, wird aber bloß trocken als indiskutabler Befund vorgebracht.

The image shows a musical score for piano accompaniment, measures 29-32 of Schumann's 'Märzveilchen'. The score is written for two staves: treble and bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'mf' (mezzo-forte). The music features a melodic line in the treble clef and a chromatic descending line in the bass clef. The piece concludes with a 'ritard' (ritardando) marking.

Notenbeispiel 6. Schumann: *Märzveilchen*, Op. 40, Nr. 1, T. 29-32.

T. 29 folgt ein schnelleres Nachspiel, in dem die Klavieroberstimme in einen größeren melodischen, die aufblühende Liebe des jungen Mannes illustrierenden, Schwung eintaucht, der – nochmals als ironischer Kommentar – eine Variante der melodischen Figur von “Gott sei gnädig” ist. Noch zweimal ist das absteigende chromatische Motiv im Bass zu hören als Unterstreichung davon, dass die aufgeschlossene Leidenschaft auf Entspannung oder Verlust des Ichs beruht.

Im letzten Takt ist das Augenmotiv wieder in der Tenorstimme zu hören, worauf das Nachspiel abrupt mit einer einfachen, aber koketten Kadenz schließt. Die plötzliche Unterbrechung einer musikalischen Entwicklung, die endlich in Gang gekommen zu sein scheint, ist eine Verstärkung der ironischen Geste von T. 28. Im Rahmen der Geschichte ist es, als ob das Mädchen dem jungen Mann noch einmal einen koketten Blick zuwirft, um ihm dann kühl mit einem ‘sachte, übertreib es nicht!’ abzuwinken. Formal leitet das abrupte Ende weiter zu dem nächsten Lied.

40 Weitere Bedeutungen der Gefahr werden unten diskutiert.



## Muttertraum

Die Mutter betet herzlich und schaut  
Entzückt auf den schlummernden Kleinen.  
Er ruht in der Wiege so sanft und traut.  
Ein Engel muß er ihr scheinen.

I vuggen ligger det spæde noer,  
Det sover så trygt og stille,  
Moderen læser et fadervor,  
En engel hun ser i den lille.

Sie küßt ihn und herzt ihn, sie hält sich kaum.  
Vergessen der irdischen Schmerzen,  
Es schweift in die Zukunft ihr Hoffnungsraum.  
So träumen Mütter im Herzen.

Ømt hun kysser hans runde kind  
Og glemmer hver jordisk smerte,  
Drømmer så sødt i fremtid ind;  
Så drømmer hvert moderhjerter.

Der Rab indes mit der Sippschaft sein  
Kreischt draußen am Fenster die Weise:  
Dein Engel, dein Engel wird unser sein,  
Der Räuber dient uns zur Speise.

Men raven kommer med al sin slægt  
Og synger bag ruden sin vise:  
“Din engel bliver en tyveknegt,  
Og vi skal engelen spise!”

Eine Mutter sitzt bei der Wiege und träumt von der schönen Zukunft ihres schlafenden Kindes. Aber vor dem Fenster sitzt der Rabe und sagt ihm ein böses Schicksal voraus: Er wird als Dieb gehenkt und von den Raben gefressen werden.

Das Gedicht beginnt als Harmonie, wandelt sich aber in der dritten Strophe in eine Horrorvision um. Ein weniger inspirierter Komponist hätte die Darstellung der Mutter als Idylle und die Worte des Raben als etwas Unheimliches komponiert. Schumann tut das Gegenteil. Wie im ominösen Lied *Zwielicht* aus dem *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, erzeugt er in *Muttertraum* von Anfang an eine düstere Stimmung, indem er seine Harmonien in komplizierte Linien auflöst, die in J.S. Bachs zweistimmigen Inventionen ihr fernes Vorbild haben.

Langsam

Dämm - rung will die Flü - gel spre - ten, schau - rig rüh - ren

Notenbeispiel 7. Schumann, *Zwielicht*, aus *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, Nr. 10, T. 1-10.

**Langsam** ***p***

Die Mut - ter be - tet  
her - zig, und schaut ent - zückt auf den schlum - mern - den Klei - nen. Er ruht in der Wie - ge so

Notenbeispiel 8. Schumann, *Muttertraum*, Op. 40, Nr. 2, T. 1-9.

Bass und Oberstimme sind aus ihrer natürlichen Synchronisation herausgerückt. Die Unterstimme liegt entweder hinter oder vor den Harmonien in den Figurationen der Oberstimme. Und im Gegensatz zu Bach hat Schumanns Musik keine klare harmonische Richtung, die Musik dreht sich in verwandten Harmonien ohne Kadenzen. Der Bass ist eine abwärtssteigende Skala in d-Moll, die jedoch in ihrer rhythmischen Verrücktheit und ihrem ständigen Wackeln zwischen H und B die Tonart gleichzeitig andeutet und verwischt. Dasselbe gilt für den Wechsel zwischen E und Es in der Oberstimme. Der Bass bildet bittere Sekunddissonanzen zur Singstimme, die dem positiven semantischen Inhalt der Worte “Mutter”, “herzig”, “Kleinen” und “ruht” widersprechen.

In den folgenden Zeilen (T. 9-20), wo die Mutter das Kind als Engel sieht, wird die Stimmung aufgehellt. Die Dissonanzen zwischen Singstimme und Bass verschwinden und es wird von d-Moll zur Paralleltonart F-Dur moduliert, um zu zeigen, dass die Mutter sich in eine Parallelwelt träumt. Die Harmonik bewegt sich nun in zwei Quintschrittsequenzen, die harmonische Kreisbewegung, die zu Schumanns Zeiten einen eher sentimental Ausdruck bekommen hatte. Er hatte eine große Vorliebe für diese Figur, über die Kritiker oft die Nase gerümpft haben, doch hier ist sie auf jeden Fall gut gewählt als Darstellung der Mutter, die sich von der Realität wegträumt. Die Sentimentalität wird weiter ausgemalt in den süßlichen chromatischen Durchgangsnoten As und H in bzw. Singstimme und Klavierbass (T. 19) sowie in der Nonen-Appoggiatur auf “Herzen” (T. 20).

D-Moll kehrt zurück mit den Worten des Erzählers über die Raben vor dem Fenster, aber als sie ihre Weise singen, wechselt die Tonart in einer klaren Modulation zu Es-Dur. T. 16 erreicht die Singstimme ihre höchste Lage auf den Tönen eb<sub>1</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>, die das Wort "Schmerzen" untermalen. Der absteigende Halbtonschritt ist traditionell und in dem Lied explizit ein Ausdruck von Schmerz. Im Verhältnis zur Grundtonart d-Moll ist die um einen Halbton höher liegenden Es-Dur-Tonart Mittel zur Darstellung des Schmerzlichen und Grauerregenden sowohl darin, *dass* die Raben sprechen als auch in dem, was sie sagen.

27  
Wei - se: Dein En - gel, dein En - gel wird un - ser sein, der Räu - ber dient uns zur

*pp*

*acc.*

*acc.*

*acc.*

*acc.*

Notenbeispiel 9. Schumann, *Muttertraum*, Op. 40, Nr. 2, T. 27-30.

Aber an sich ist ihre Rede gar nicht unheimlich komponiert. Die Harmonien, die sich bis jetzt, selbst in den süßen Träumen der Mutter, in unklaren Akkordbrechungen auflösten, sammeln sich in einfachen Akkorden, die in einem regelmäßigen Sechzehntel-Muster über einem rhythmisch festen und traditionellen Bassgang angeschlagen werden. Es ist eine einfache Kadenz, die eindeutig, und zwar zweimal, Es-Dur feststellt, als ob der Umstand, dass der Junge gehenkt und von den Raben gefressen werden soll, ganz natürlich und unbestreitbar sei. Die Verfahrensweise, die Begleitung über einem ruhigen Bassgang zu wiederholten Akkorden zusammenzufügen, wenn eine Sentenz oder Moral festgestellt werden soll, verwendet Schumann auch im erwähnten *Zwielicht*:

32  
Was heut' ge - het mü - de un - ter, hebt sich mor - gen neu ge-bo - ren

*p*

*pp*

*acc.*

*acc.*

*acc.*

*acc.*

Notenbeispiel 10. Schumann, *Zwielicht*, Op. 39, Nr. 10, T. 32-36.

Eine weitere Parallele finden wir einige Jahre später in Richard Wagners *Die Walküre*. In dem 2. Akt streitet Wotan sich mit seiner Frau, der Göttin der Ehe, Fricka, über Ehebruch. Und genau dort, wo Fricka die Diskussion gewonnen hat, und das Ergebnis und die Moral ausspricht, nämlich dass Wotan als Garant des Gesetzes seinen unechten, blutschänderischen und ehebrechenden Sohn bestrafen und töten muss, in den er sonst alle seine Hoffnungen auf eine bessere Gesellschaft investiert hat, da setzt auch Wagner eine Begleitung von klaren, sich wiederholenden Akkorden.

**Fricka**

Notenbeispiel 11. Richard Wagner, *Die Walküre*, Akt 2, 1. Szene.

Für Wagner redet die spießbürgerliche Gesellschaftsmoral in diesem Ton. Und das ist auch in *Muttertraum* der Fall: Die Realität ist ungewiss und düster, die Träume der Mutterliebe sentimental, und das grässliche Schicksal des Individuums wird nüchtern als eine unabwendbare Tatsache ausgesprochen.

Das Lied endet mit einer Wiederholung des Vorspiels in d-Moll, aber mit einem offenen Ende: Im letzten Takt wird D auf der Eins angeschlagen, dann aber verschwindet es, und die Zwischenstimmen bleiben auf einem Quartsechstakkord hängen, der auf die nächste Katastrophe zeigt.

### *Der Soldat*

Es geht bei gedämpfter Trommel Klang;  
Wie weit noch die Stätte! der Weg wie lang!  
O wär er zur Ruh und alles vorbei!  
Ich glaub', es bricht mir das Herz entzwei!

Ich hab' in der Welt nur ihn geliebt,  
Nur ihn, dem jetzt man den Tod doch gibt!  
Bei klingendem Spiele wird paradiert;  
Dazu bin auch ich kommandiert.

Nun schaut er auf zum letzten Mal  
In Gottes Sonne freudigen Strahl;

Med dæmpede Hvirvler Trommerne gaa,  
Ak, skal vi dog aldrig til Stedet naa,  
At han kan faa Ro i sin Kiste?  
Jeg tror mit Hjerte vil briste!

Jeg havde i Verden en eneste Ven!  
Ham er det man bringer til Døden hen  
Med klingende Spil gennem Gaden,  
Og jeg er med i Paraden!

For sidste Gang skuer han nu Guds Sol,  
Nu sidder han alt paa Dødens Stol,

Nun binden sie ihm die Augen zu –  
Dir schenke Gott die ewige Ruh!

De binde ham fast til Pælen,  
Forbarm dig, Gud, over Sjælen!

Es haben die Neun wohl angelegt;  
Acht Kugeln haben vorbeigelegt.  
Sie zittern alle vor Jammer und Schmerz –  
Ich aber, ich traf ihn mitten in das Herz.

Paa en Gang sigte de alle ni.  
De otte skyde jo rent forbi,  
De rysted paa Haanden af Smerte,  
Kun jeg traf ham midt i hans Hjerte!

Diese Ballade über den Soldaten, der zum Hinrichtungskommando seines geliebten Freundes befehligt wird, ist hochdramatisch, aber musikalisch viel einfacher als *Muttertraum*. Die tragende musikalische Idee ist ein Marsch, der die im Text erwähnten gedämpften Trommelwirbel imitiert.

Nicht zu langsam

Notenbeispiel 12. Schumann, *Der Soldat*, Op. 40, Nr. 3, T. 1-4.

Der Sänger erreicht den Hochtönen der Melodie, E, zuerst auf dem Wort “ihn” in der Strophe “ich hab’ in der Welt nur ihn geliebt” (T. 14) und schließlich auf “ich” in “ich aber, ich traf ihn mitten in das Herz” (T. 46). So wird das Leiden des Hingerichteten parallelisiert mit dem des liebenden Freundes, der den Schiller’schen Konflikt zwischen Pflicht und Neigung als Tragödie erlebt, als er gezwungen ist, den einzigen Menschen zu erschießen, den er je geliebt hat. Hier sehen wir eine der Gefahren, sich der Liebe hinzugeben, vor der wir im ersten Lied gewarnt wurden. Bei “aber” wechselt die Musik von Lied zu melodramatischem Rezitativ, und ein kurzes Nachspiel in pathetischen Akkorden zeigt sowohl das Zusammensinken des Toten an der Stange als auch das seines Henkers in Verzweiflung.

46

Recit. rit.

ich, a - ber, ich traf, ich traf ihn mit-ten in das Herz!

Notenbeispiel 13. Schumann, *Der Soldat*, Op. 40, Nr. 3, T. 46-52.

*Der Spielmann*

Im Städtchen gibt es des Jubels viel,  
Da halten sie Hochzeit mit Tanz und mit Spiel.  
Dem Fröhlichen blinket der Wein so rot,  
Die Braut nur gleicht dem getünchten Tod.

Ja tot für den, den nicht sie vergißt,  
Der doch beim Fest nicht Bräutigam ist:  
Da steht er inmitten der Gäste im Krug,  
Und streichelt die Geige lustig genug.

Er streichelt die Geige, sein Haar ergraut,  
Es schwingen die Saiten gellend und laut,  
Er drückt sie ans Herz und achtet es nicht,  
Ob auch sie in tausend Stücke zerbricht.

Es ist gar grausig, wenn einer so stirbt,  
Wenn jung sein Herz um Freude noch wirbt.  
Ich mag und will nicht länger es sehn!  
Das möchte den Kopf mir schwindelnd verdrehn!

Wer heißt euch mit Fingern zeigen auf mich?  
O Gott – bewahr' uns gnädiglich,  
Daß Keinen der Wahnsinn übermannt.  
Bin selber ein armer Musikant.

I Landsbyen gaer det saa lystigt til,  
Der holdes et Bryllup med Dands og Spil;  
Der drikkes Skaaler i Viin og Mjød,  
Men Bruden ligner en pyntet Død.

Ja død hun er for sin Hjertenskjær,  
Thi han er ikke som Brudgom her,  
I Krogen han staaer med Sorgen sin,  
Og spiller saa lystig paa Violin.

Han spiller til Lokkerne blive ham graae,  
Han spiller saa Strængene briste maae,  
Til Violinen, med Sorg og Gru,  
Han trykker mod Hjertet reent itu.

Det er saa tungt, saa knusende tungt,  
At døe mens Hjertet endnu er ungt!  
Jeg mægter ei længer at see derpaa!  
Jeg føler det gjennem mit Hoved gaae.

See, Mændene holde ham fast i Favn –  
– Men hvorfor nævne I mig ved Navn? –  
Vor Herre bevare Enhvers Forstand!  
Jeg selv er en fattig Spillemand.

Auch in *Der Spielmann* geht es um die Liebe im Konflikt zwischen Pflicht und Neigung. Hier ist es der Musikant, der seine Arbeit machen und fröhlich zur Hochzeit seiner Geliebten mit einem anderen aufspielen muss. Am Ende des Liedes wird dem Erzähler mit Entsetzen bewusst, dass er sich in einer ähnlichen Situation befindet oder befinden könnte, und das lässt ihn um seinen Verstand fürchten.

Die Position des Erzählers wechselt in den fünf Liedern. In *Der Soldat* und in *Verrathene Liebe* erzählen die Protagonisten selbst. In *Muttertraum* ist der Erzähler extern und kühl objektiv. In *Märzveilchen* tritt die Erzählerstimme plötzlich mit einem sardonischen Kommentar in der letzten Zeile ein. In *Der Spielmann* erscheint der Erzähler überrumpelnd in der vierten Strophe mit einem subjektiven Kommentar darüber, wie ihn die Situation beeinflusst (“das möchte den Kopf mir schwindelnd verdreh’n!”). In der letzten Strophe werden auch seine Zuhörer einbezogen; sie zeigen auf ihn (bei Andersens nennen sie ihn beim Namen) und zwingen ihn daher, anzuerkennen, dass es in Wirklichkeit seine eigene Situation ist, die er beschreibt.

Andersen schreibt in der letzten Strophe, dass der Spieler festgehalten werden muss, vermutlich, weil er in seiner Verzweiflung Amok läuft. Chamisso und Schumann haben dieses Detail weggelassen. Stattdessen haben sie das Gebet, dass Gott uns vor dem

Wahnsinn schützen möge, erweitert und betont. Auf diese Weise wird die Aufmerksamkeit stärker auf die subjektive Umkehr bei dem Erzähler gelenkt.

Dass der Erzähler plötzlich mit so großem Pathos in das Gedicht eintritt, bedeutet, wie René Michaelsen betont, dass die diegetische Illusion gebrochen wird. Solche Brüche sind charakteristisch für Andersens Erzähltechnik. Insgesamt haben zum Beispiel seine Märchen ein "selbstreflexives Element", das sich zu dem Schreiben oder Erzählen von Geschichten verhält:

Andersens Geschichten sind in der Regel nicht nur poetisch gestaltete Handlungsberichte, sondern darüber hinaus auch Kommentare über ihre eigene Zuständigkeit als verfasste und von einer ordnenden Erzählerinstanz durchwaltete poetische Erzeugnisse und über die Rahmenbedingungen, unter denen ihre Entstehung möglich wird ...<sup>41</sup>

In *Der Spielmann* ist der Bruch radikaler, da der Erzähler sowohl die Handlung als auch seine eigene Reaktion kommentiert, und das Publikum seine (des Erzählers) Beziehung zur Geschichte interpretieren lässt. Dies ist eine doppelte subjektive Umkehr. Nicht nur wird die Erzählerstimme ein anwesendes Ich, das einsieht, dass es sich selbst beschreibt. Man kann auch annehmen, dass der Komponist Schumann diesen Umschwung persönlich akut gespürt hat. Auch für ihn war der Wahnsinn eine ständige Gefahr. Sein Vater litt an Depressionen, seine Schwester beging Selbstmord aus Ekel über eine unheilbare Hauterkrankung. Er selbst wurde seit der Pubertät von Halluzinationen, Phobien und Depressionen geplagt, und sein Leben endete bekanntlich nach einem Selbstmordversuch in einer Institution für psychisch Erkrankte.

Schumanns Komposition fügt dem Gedicht eine weitere Kommentarebene hinzu, und die Musik enthält eine Reihe von Selbstbezügen zu anderen seiner Werke. Wie in *Muttertraum* beginnt Andersens Text als idyllisches Genrebild, hier von einem fröhlichen Hochzeitsfest. In der vierten Zeile wird die Perspektive jäh in eine Katastrophe gewendet: "Die Braut nur gleicht dem getünchten Tod". Schumann hingegen komponiert die Katastrophe von Anfang an. Er geht direkt auf die Gefühle des Protagonisten ein, indem er die Musik als verdrehte Tanzmusik, einen hinkenden, verzerrten Ländler in Moll, formt. Dadurch macht er es unmöglich, Andersens Schockeffekt in die Musik zu übersetzen, was aber wiederum den Schock des späteren Illusionsbruchs umso größer werden lässt.

<sup>41</sup> Michaelsen, "Wer heisst euch mit Fingern zeigen auf mich?", 36.

Quasi Presto *mf*

Im Städt-chen giebt es des Ju-bels viel, da

Notenbeispiel 14. Schumann, *Der Spielmann*, Op. 40, Nr. 4, T. 1-10.

Die Melodie ist ein Zitat, das an vielen Stellen in Schumanns Werken auftaucht. Bereits 1860 machte Adolf Schubring auf eine Reihe von Sätzen aufmerksam, in denen Schumann sie mit allegorischer Bedeutung einsetzt.<sup>42</sup> Zum ersten Mal ist das Zitat im letzten Satz des Klavierwerks *Papillons*, Op. 2, zu hören.

Notenbeispiel 15. Schumann, *Papillons*, Op. 2, Nr. 12, T. 1-8.

Inspiriert wurde dieses Werk vom letzten Kapitel in Jean Pauls Roman *Flegeljahre*, und der letzte Satz zeigt das Ende einer Maskerade, wo die Masken fallen. Schumann zitiert hier eine beliebte ältere Tanzmelodie, *Großvatertanz* genannt, die oft als letzter Tanz auf einer Hochzeitsfeier gespielt wurde. Der traditionelle Text lautet: “Und als der Großvater die Großmutter nahm/Da war der Großvater ein Bräutigam.” Die Melodie ist ein Stück Umgangsmusik mit Bezug auf traditionelle, teilweise überholte Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten.

Und als der Gross-va-ter die Gross-mut-ter nahm, da war der Gross-va-ter ein Bräu-ti-gam,

Notenbeispiel 16. *Großvatertanz*. Erstmals aufgezeichnet in Gottfried Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister, oder gründliche Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tanz-Kunst* (Leipzig, 1717), 87f.<sup>43</sup>

42 [Adolf Schubring], ‘Schumaniana. Nr. 2. Schumann und der Großvater’, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 53 (1860), 29-30.

43 <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Großvatertanz>. Accessed 29.8.2024.



Schubring verfolgt ihr Auftreten bei Schumann und weist sie auf als flüchtiges Zitat in seinen *Intermezzi*, Op. 4, in *Dauidsbündlertänze*, Op. 6, in *Faschingsschwank aus Wien*, Op. 26, und in dem letzten Satz von *Carneval*, Op. 9, der den Titel *Marche des Dauids-bündler contre les Philistins* trägt. Die Melodie, die hier einer hektischen Entwicklung unterliegt, wird nun spöttisch als “Thème du XVIIème siecle” bezeichnet (T. 55) und ist eindeutig ein Symbol für die Philister, also die altmodischen, eingeschränkten, kunstfeindlichen Spießbürger, gegen die die Dauids-bündler in den Kampf ziehen.

Notenbeispiel 17. Schumann, *Marche des Dauids-bündler contre les Philistins*, letzter Teil von *Carneval*, Op. 9, T. 47-66.

Schubring schreibt:

Sowie bei ihm [Schumann] von der alten Zeit, von Brautfahrt und Hochzeit die Rede ist, spricht sogleich Großvater sein Wörtchen mit ... Weniger harmlos ist der Spaß in Op. 40 Nr. 4, fast möchte man es Galgenhumor nennen, dass der “arme Musikant” den Großvatertanz zur Hochzeit seiner eigenen Geliebten ausspielen muss, bis ihm Geige und Herz zerspringen.<sup>44</sup>

In *Der Spielmann* wird die ursprüngliche Dur-Melodie zu Moll verdunkelt und mit einer Art Doppelschlag ornamentiert, der das Wort “Jubel” in dem Satz “Im Städtchen gibt es des Jubels viel” illustriert. Es liegt bittere Ironie in dieser kleinen Figur, die in Dur das gewesen wäre, was der Kirchenvater Augustinus einen *Iubilus* nannte, eine Tonranke, die eine Silbe in Jubel in die Länge zieht, die aber hier in Moll direkt dem Wort widerspricht, die sie trägt. Es ist also nicht nur ein Stück Alltagsmusik, das mit der Bedeutung, die es von seiner ursprünglichen gesellschaftlichen Funktion hat, in die Kunst gebracht wurde. Darüber hinaus hat es durch seine wechselnden Erscheinungen in Schumanns Musik neue Bedeutungsschichten gewonnen, die alle in *Der Spielmann* mitklingen.

44 [Schubring], ‘Schumaniana. Nr. 2. Schumann und der Großvater’, 30.

In den anderen Werken, in denen Schumann den *Großvater Tanz* verwendet, erscheint er als klares Zitat, das in einen anderen musikalischen Kontext gestellt wird. In Op. 40 ist er dagegen die Grundlage für den gesamten Satz. Auf der Basis von den ersten zwei Linien der Vorlage hat Schumann eine neue Melodie mit vier Linien geschaffen. Er hat sie düsterer gemacht, indem er sie in Moll umgewandelt hat, und schwerer und kantiger, indem er jede Linie mit einem Vollschluss anstelle des Halbschlusses des Originals enden lässt. Ein schockierendes Element am Ende des Liedes ist, dass die erste Zeile der Strophe “O Gott bewahre uns gnädiglich” gleich der Originalmelodie in Dur gesetzt wird, während die nächste Zeile, “daß Keinen der Wahnsinn übermannt”, die in Schumanns anderen Strophen in der parallelen Durtonart harmonisiert wird, hier in Moll steht. Dieser Umtausch von Dur und Moll gibt der Vorstellung vom Wahnsinn einen viel schmerzhafteren Ausdruck, der dadurch verstärkt wird, dass der Klavierbass hier in die tiefste Lage sinkt, die in dem Lied erreicht wird; eine Lage, die mit einer Umschreibung von Thomas Mann “tiefer ist als alle Vernunft”<sup>45</sup>

118 *Langsamer*  
*pp*  
 Gott be - wahr' uns gnä - dig - lich, dass Kei - nen der  
*Langsamer*  
*p* *pp*  
 126 *ritardando* *Adagio*  
 Wahn - sinn ü - ber - mannt. Bin sel - ber ein ar - mer Mu - si - kant.  
*ritardando* *Adagio*  
*pp*

Notenbeispiel 18. Schumann, *Der Spielmann*, Op. 40, Nr. 4, T. 118-33.

Friedrich Schlegel beschrieb in seinem *116. Athenäumsfragment* sein künstlerisches Ideal als “progressive Universalpoesie”, die die künstlerischen Gattungen mit der Philosophie vereinen würde und

45 Thomas Mann in der Novelle *Tristan*: “Es erfolgte zu Brangänens Habet-Acht-Gesange jener Aufstieg der Violinen, welcher höher ist als alle Vernunft.”

die Poesie lebendig und gesellig, und das Leben und die Gesellschaft poetisch machen, den Witz poetisieren, und die Formen der Kunst mit gediegnem Bildungstoff jeder Art anfüllen und sättigen, und durch die Schwingungen des Humors beseelen.<sup>46</sup>

Aus dieser Sicht sollte die Kunst nicht allein für sich in ihrer eigenen Sparte verbleiben, sondern die Grenzen zwischen Kunst und Gesellschaft (wenn Schlegel nicht Gesellschaft in neuerem, soziologischem Sinne meinte, so doch das reale, gesellige Zusammenleben der Menschen) zum Nutzen beider aufbrechen. Schumann teilte dieses Ideal in mehrfacher Hinsicht. Er fühlte sich verpflichtet "(a)uf der Höhe der Zeit und der Erscheinungen zu stehen, fortzuhelfen, zu bekämpfen".<sup>47</sup> 1838 schrieb er an Clara:

Es affiziert mich Alles, was in der Welt vorgeht. Politik, Literatur, Menschen – über Alles denke ich in meiner Weise nach, was sich dann durch Musik Luft machen, einen Ausweg suchen. Deshalb sind viele meiner Kompositionen so schwer zu verstehen, weil sie an entfernte Interessen anknüpfen, weil mich alles Merkwürdige der Zeit ergreift und ich es dann musikalisch wieder aussprechen muss.<sup>48</sup>

Obwohl sie also seiner eigenen Meinung nach aus seinen Reflexionen über die Beziehung zwischen Kunst, Leben und Gesellschaft hervorging und diese ausdrücken sollte, wurde Schumanns frühe Klavierschöpfung weithin als verschlossene *l'art pour l'art*-Kunst erlebt. Er musste erfahren, dass seine eigensinnigen, originalen Klavierwerke es schwer hatten, Verbreitung zu finden. Nicht einmal ein sympathisch eingestellter Kollege wie Franz Liszt konnte das Publikum mit seiner Autorität für sie gewinnen, und selbst seine Verlobte Clara nahm nur wenige davon in ihrem Repertoire auf, und mit wenig Erfolg. Schumann hatte also fast kein Einkommen von seinen Klavierkompositionen. Nach seiner Heirat musste aber Geld für den Erhalt einer bürgerlichen Familie verdient werden, die schnell um acht Kinder erweitert wurde. Dies war einer der Gründe, warum Schumann von esoterischer Klaviermusik zu extrovertierteren und populäreren Genres wie Liedern und in den folgenden Jahren systematisch Symphonien, Konzerten, Kammermusik, Oratorien und Chorwerken wechselte, von denen größere Durchschlagskraft und finanzieller Gewinn zu erwarten war.

Aber er glaubte zu dieser Zeit auch, dass er dadurch den ideellen Anspruch der Kunst besser erfüllte. Seinen Wechsel vom solipsistischen romantischen Klavierschöpfer zum

46 Schlegel, KFS II, 182f.

47 Brief an seine Schwägerin Therese Schumann 1836, *Robert Schumanns Briefe*. Neue Folge, hrsg. von Friedrich Gustav Jansen, 2. Auflage (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), 72.

48 Robert Schumann, *Jugendbriefe. Nach den Originalen mitgeteilt von Clara Schumann*, 4. Auflage (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), 282.

idealistischen Realisten, der mit seiner Musik auf eine direktere Weise an dem gesellschaftlichen Diskurs teilnehmen möchte, hat Martin Geck eingehend beschrieben.<sup>49</sup> In unserem Zusammenhang ist es wesentlich, dass *Der Spielmann* zu einer Zeit geschrieben wurde, in der Schumann diese Wende einleitete, und dass das Lied die große Frage aufwirft, ob das Projekt gelingen kann. Der verrückte Brautwalzer, den der Musikant aus seiner Geige quetscht, ist nicht nur Illustration der Verzweiflung des Protagonisten darüber, bei der Hochzeit seiner Geliebten mit einem anderen spielen zu müssen. Mit seiner Bedeutung von überholter, eingeschränkter Philistermusik, die Schumann ihm hinzugefügt hat, spiegelt er auch die Verzweiflung des Künstlers wider, Musik an ein philiströses bürgerliches Musikleben liefern zu müssen, das sich keineswegs poetisieren ließ. Genau dieser Konflikt machte E.T.A. Hoffmans Figur des Kapellmeisters Kreisler, die Schumann zum Klavierwerk *Kreisleriana* inspirierte, verrückt, so dass er am Ende beschloss, sich mit einer vergrößerten Quinte das Leben zu nehmen. Schumann sah es als eine echte Gefahr, im Kampf zwischen dem Idealanspruch der Kunst und den Forderungen der Gesellschaft verrückt zu werden. In *Der Spielmann* komponierte er ein Bild der Neurose des romantischen Künstlers.

### *Verrathene Liebe*

Zuletzt folgt das kleine, heitere Lied, an dem Richard Miller und andere mehr Anstoß genommen haben. Ein liebendes Paar küsst sich heimlich, aber das Geheimnis wird entdeckt und zum allgemeinen Vergnügen in einem Lied offenbart.

Da nachts wir uns küßten, o Mädchen,  
Hat keiner uns zugeschaut.  
Die Sterne, die standen am Himmel,  
Wir haben den Sternen getraut.

Es ist ein Stern gefallen,  
Der hat dem Meer uns verklagt,  
Da hat das Meer es dem Ruder,  
Das Ruder dem Schiffer gesagt.

Da sang der selbige Schiffer  
Es seiner Liebsten vor.  
Nun singen's auf Straßen und Märkten  
Die Knaben und Mädchen im Chor.

Op. 40 wurde im Juli 1840 geschrieben, zu einer Zeit, die Schumann als die glücklichste seines Lebens bezeichnete. Er hatte nun die Möglichkeit erhalten, Clara zu heiraten, und

<sup>49</sup> Martin Geck, *Zwischen Romantik und Restauration. Musik im Realismus-Diskurs 1848-1871* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2001), 48-85.

er war überaus produktiv in der Komposition von Liedern, die meistens Liebe zum Gegenstand hatten. Kurz vor Op. 40 schrieb er den Zyklus *Frauenliebe und Leben* auf Texte von Chamisso. Darin wird aus sehr männlicher Sicht die ideale Liebe einer verheirateten Frau zu ihrem Ehemann dargestellt. Dann folgten drei *Balladen*, Op. 31, zu Chamisso-Texten, die sich bekümmert mit den Bedingungen der Liebe in der Ehe auseinandersetzen. *Die Löwenbraut* erzählt von einer jungen Löwenbändigerin, die gezwungen wird, einen fremden Mann zu heiraten, woraufhin das Haustier ihrer Kindheit, der Löwe, sie aus Eifersucht und vielleicht als Rettung vor einem schlimmeren Schicksal tötet; *Die Kartenlegerin* zeigt die unmöglichen Fantasien eines jungen Mädchens von Liebe und Geld und Begehren im Überfluss; und *Die Rote Hanne* beschreibt eine unglücklichen Frau, die nach der Inhaftierung ihres geliebten Mannes ihre eigene Familie versorgen muss. *Die Dichterliebe*, Op. 48, ist ein langer, bitterer Bericht über Liebesscheitern. Im *Liederkreis*, Op. 39, hingegen spielt Schumann im ersten Lied mit den Tönen E-H-E, die zusammen "Ehe" schreiben, und das letzte Lied endet mit dem Jubel einer erfüllten Liebe, "sie ist deine, sie ist dein."<sup>50</sup>

Zur Zeit der Romantik entwickelte sich das neue Ideal der Liebesehe, wo Partner sich aus gegenseitiger Neigung vereinten, im Gegensatz zu der älteren, von den Familien arrangierten Zweckehe. Dieser Wandel ist der Hintergrund von *Der Spielmann* und vielen anderen Schumannliedern. Friedrich Schlegel hatte in seinem Roman *Lucinde* (1799) eine ideale, passionierte Liebesehe zwischen zwei sowohl intellektuell als auch sexuell gleichberechtigten Partnern beschrieben. In der real existierenden bürgerlichen Ehe wurde dieses Ideal aus seiner Sicht nur sehr selten verwirklicht:

Fast alle Ehen sind nur Konkubinate, Ehen an der linken Hand, oder vielmehr provisorische Versuche, und entfernte Annäherungen zu einer wirklichen Ehe, deren eigentliches Wesen, nicht nach den Paradoxen dieses oder jenes Systems, sondern nach allen geistlichen und weltlichen Rechten darin besteht, daß mehre Personen nur eine werden sollen. Ein artiger Gedanke, dessen Realisierung jedoch viele und große Schwierigkeiten zu haben scheint.<sup>51</sup>

Schumann verkehrte mit dem jungdeutschen Schriftsteller Karl Gutzkow, dessen Liebesroman *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (1835) Frauenemanzipation und Ehefragen thematisiert, und der, wenn auch keineswegs so radikal in seiner Auffassung von Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter wie Schlegel, Skandal verursachte und seinem Verfasser drei Monate

<sup>50</sup> Ob dieses Lied eindeutig positiv oder ironisch gebrochen zu hören ist, kann diskutiert werden. Jon W. Finson wies darauf hin, dass Schumann in der ersten Version des Zyklus ein weniger düsteres Lied über ein Selbst geschrieben hatte, das in den Wald geht, um die Welt zu erleben; das warf einen Schimmer von Ironie über die verschiedenen Emotionen, die sich in den folgenden Liedern entfalteten. Siehe Jon W. Finson, *The Intentional Tourist: Romantic Irony in the Liederkreis of Robert Schumann*, in *Schumann and his World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 156ff.

<sup>51</sup> Schlegel, *Athenäumsfragment* 34, KFSA II, 170.

Zuchthaus für Unmoralität einbrachte.<sup>52</sup> Selbst war Schumann kein so radikaler Kritiker der Ehe, aber mit Op. 40 und seinen anderen Liebesliedern nahm er Teil an dem aktuellen künstlerischen Diskurs über die Existenzmöglichkeiten der Liebe in der Ehe und in der Gesellschaft.

Die Andersen-Gedichte teilen eine erzählerische Form. Sie sind mehr oder weniger dramatische Szenen, in denen man die Position und Bedeutung der Protagonisten unmittelbar zu verstehen glaubt, während jedoch die letzten Zeilen jedes Gedichts die Perspektive auf schockierende Weise verändern, wenn Idyllen verstörend/gruselig und Tragödien drastisch tiefer werden. Beim unreflektierten Anhören ist das letzte Lied anders und einfach. Es erzählt eine muntere Geschichte, die sich vielleicht unerwartet, aber logisch nachvollziehbar entwickelt. Gerade dadurch erhält es aber die perspektivwechselnde Funktion für die vorherigen vier: Es verwandelt auf humoristische Weise das Tragische in Heiterkeit oder ironisch in Banalität. Sowohl an sich als auch in seiner Funktion im Ganzen ist es ein Sinnbild von Jean Pauls Gedanken über den Humor als das umgekehrte Erhabene: Hier ist es das Erhabene selbst, der unendliche Himmelsraum mit den Sternen, das das Geheimnis der endlichen Menschen verrät und vernichtet.

### *Zwei Deutungsebene*

*Funktion an sich:* Eine einfache, positive Auslegung des Liedes wäre: Die Liebenden werden aus ihrer Isolation befreit, indem sowohl die Natur als auch die Menschen fröhlich ihre Vereinigung in einer Ehe mit Gesang und Hochzeitsglocken feiern. Hört man das Lied allein, ist diese positive Deutung plausibel. Hört man es im Kontext der Sammlung, verlangt es eine tiefere Interpretation.

Der Text spricht von Verrat und Verklagen. Unabhängig von der Herkunft des Textes liegt *Verrathene Liebe* ganz nahe an dem ironischen Ton in vielen von Andersens Märchen. Eine Parallele ist sehr deutlich: Die Geschichte von dem Kuss, die von Mund zu Mund geht, erinnert an Andersens Märchen *Es ist ganz gewiss* (*Det er ganske vist*). Der Unterschied ist, dass, während es sich in *Es ist ganz gewiss* um ein banales Alltagsereignis handelt (die Henne, die eine Feder verliert), das durch Klatsch über alle Maßen aufgebauscht wird, es in *Verrathene Liebe* die für die Protagonisten einzigartigste und intimste Situation ist, die in alle Welt ausposaunt wird. Die Liebenden glauben sich allein mit ihrer Liebe unter den Sternen. Sie sind im Bunde mit dem erhabenen Universum; das Kantische, von Beethoven geschätzte, Diktum von dem gestirnten Himmel über uns und dem moralischen Gesetz in uns, die uns mit Ehrfurcht erfüllen,

<sup>52</sup> Zu Schlegels und Gutzkows Frauenbildern siehe Michael Bittner, *Die Emanzipation des Fleisches und ihre Gegner. Literarischer Sensualismus zwischen Romantik und Vormärz* (Dresden: Thelem, 2016).

liegt im Hintergrund.<sup>53</sup> Aber die Natur erweist sich als heimtückisch. Ein gefallener Stern klatscht (verklagt sie) zum Meer, welches die Geschichte dem Ruder weitererzählt, das Ruder dem Schiffer, der zu seiner Freundin weiterklatscht, und schließlich ist die Geschichte in aller Munde. Und wie die Henne bei Andersen ihre Geschichte in der Zeitung drucken lässt, können wir uns vorstellen, dass die Geschichte des Kusses in einem Klatschmagazin endet. Es geht so gesehen um die Preisgabe und Trivialisierung der allerintimsten menschlichen Gefühle.

Dorothea Veit, Friedrich Schlegels Geliebte, mit der er lange in einem außerehelichen Verhältnis zusammenlebte, hat das persönlich erlebt. In seinem Roman *Lucinde* schilderte Schlegel, wenn auch in metaphysischen Wendungen, intime Details ihres Liebes- und Sexuallebens. Das führte zu einer öffentlichen Polemik, in welcher Dorothea Veit in mehr- und minderwertigen Klatschmagazinen als Prostituierte gebrandmarkt wurde. An Friedrich Schleiermacher klagte sie brieflich: “Oft wird es mir heiß, und wieder kalt ums Herz, daß das innerste so herausgewendet werden soll – was mir so heilig war, so heimlich; jetzt nun allen neugierigen, allen Hassern preisgegeben.”<sup>54</sup>

Tiefe Ironie ist in die Begleitung hineinkomponiert, die auch in diesem Lied viel raffinierter ist, als sie erscheint. Während sich die Geschichte ausbreitet, wächst sie allmählich von einem diskreten Nichts zu einem volltönigen Klaviersatz im Nachspiel.

Leicht *p*

Da Nachts wir uns küsst - en o Mäd - chen, hat kei - ner uns zu - ge - schaut. Die

*p*

Trio \*

Trio \*

Notenbeispiel 19. Schumann, *Verrathene Liebe*, Op. 40, Nr. 5, T. 1-5.

Es wäre möglich und ganz im Einklang mit der einfachen Volkstümlichkeit des Gedichts gewesen, den größten Teil des Akkompagnements in einfachen Akkorden zu halten, wie Schumann es in T. 3-5 tut. Die minimale Einleitung ist eine Kompression der ersten Zeile der Singstimme. Hier wird ein viertöniges Motiv introduziert, drei steigende Töne

53 “Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemüht mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung und Ehrfurcht ... der bestirnte Himmel über mir und das moralische Gesetz in mir.” Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft. Beschluss. Gesammelte Schriften* (Akademie-Ausgabe, Bd. V; Berlin, Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1908), 161.

54 KFSÄ XXIV, 266. Zitiert nach Bittner, *Die Emanzipation des Fleisches*, 110.

und ein Quintfall, das verwendet wird, um immer größere rhythmische Intensität und klangliche Fülle durch den Verlauf des Liedes zu schaffen. In T. 6 erscheint es in der rechten Hand und unmittelbar danach auf drei Töne verkürzt in der linken. In T. 10-11 dehnt sich der Quintfall zu einem Dreiklang aus, als Bild von dem fallenden Stern des Textes; das Motiv wird im Kanon zwischen den Händen gespielt, während die Singstimme "Fallen" ironisch mit einem Nonensprung nach oben illustriert. Der gleiche Kanon erscheint in T. 14-15, wird aber hier dadurch verstärkt, dass der zweite Einsatz jetzt in Oktaven gespielt wird. Das Motiv wird in Oktaven mit hinzugefügten Akkorden in T. 18 gespielt. In T. 20 darf die Dreiton-Variante eine diskrete Durchgangsfigur sein. In T. 22 ist das Motiv zuerst in Oktaven zu hören und dann rhythmisch erweitert und harmonisiert als Einleitung zur letzten Zeile des Sängers, wo es schließlich in T. 24 über drei Oktaven in Forte gespielt wird. Im Nachspiel liegt das Motiv, mit dem Quintfall umgekehrt, schwebend in den Sechszehnteln der rechten Hand.

25  
Kna - ben und Mäd - chen im Chor.

30

Notenbeispiel 20. Schumann, *Verrathene Liebe*, Op. 40, Nr. 5, T. 25-34.

Die absteigenden Skalenbewegungen im Bass (T. 26-29) klingen wie Hochzeitsglocken; sie wandern durch zwei Oktaven als ein Bild davon, dass es wirklich die ganze Gesellschaft ist, die sich an der Geschichte delectiert; der Tonika-Dominantwechsel in T. 30-31 hämmert die Pointe fest (bemerke den Marcato-Keil auf der letzten Achtel im Bass); und die letzte aufsteigende Skala in der rechten Hand wird zu Salonmusik verharmlost durch



eingeschobene Halbtonschritte. Dass die ersten von diesen die Töne A-A#-H (T. 32) sind, die in dem ersten Lied das Wort "Augenpaar" schmückten, verknüpft die beiden Lieder musikalisch und inhaltlich weit über die geteilte Tonart hinaus. Diese subtile Motivarbeit auf Beethoven-Niveau in einem Lied über das Banale unterstreicht die ironische Intention des Liedes.

*Funktion im Ganzen:* In den vier Andersen-Gedichten geht es um unglückliche Liebe. Das letzte Lied handelt von glücklicher, heißt aber *Verrathene* Liebe. Verraten hat mehrere Bedeutungsebenen. Eine ist, was in dem Lied unmittelbar passiert: etwas Geheimen wird unberechtigt mitgeteilt; die Liebe, die eigentlich geheim sein sollte, wird anderen offenbart. Eine zweite Bedeutung ist: jemandem die Treue brechen und, wie Judas an Jesus tat, ihn zur Zerstörung an seine Feinde ausliefern. Die erste Bedeutung führt zu der oben genannten positiven Auslegung des Liedes. Die zweite leitet zu der ironischen *Es-ist-ganz-gewiss*-Deutung: Die Liebe wird in allen fünf Liedern zerstört, doch im letzten zeigt sich der schlimmste Verrat: die verheerende Verharmlosung aller realen Gefühle durch die bürgerliche Gesellschaft.

Hier erweist sich unser anfängliches naives Wundern als richtiger als der höhere kritische Ansatz: Das kleine G-Dur-Ding *ist* tatsächlich ein unangemessener Widerspruch zu den großen Emotionen, die wir gerade durchgemacht haben. Aber das ist auch sein Sinn. Es ist keine *lieto fine*, angebracht um gefühlsausgleichend zu wirken (Fischer-Dieskau), oder den Hörer nicht mit einem Gefühl der Verzweiflung zu hinterlassen (Miller), sondern eine Vernichtung, die die Katastrophen verschärft. Und doch ist es natürlich immer noch ein kleines, fröhliches Lied, dessen einfache, positive Auslegung an sich richtig ist.<sup>55</sup> Nach den anderen Liedern gehört kann es aber jenes Lachen erregen "worin noch ein Schmerz und eine Größe ist".<sup>56</sup>

Ein weiterer Interpretationsansatz zu den Liedern wäre das Schicksal der Kunst und des Künstlers. *Der Spielmann* handelt ausdrücklich von Künstlerexistenz. Die Eisblumen, die im ersten Lied durch die Liebeserregung des jungen Mannes schmelzen, kann man als eine Allegorie der Kunst auffassen, die also nicht zusammen mit der Liebe existieren kann. Für Beethoven stand bekanntlich ein erfülltes Liebesleben seiner Kunst im Wege:

55 Die Gegenüberstellung eines kleinen, leichten G-Dur-Liebesliedes und eines tragischen Liedes in d-Moll ist kein Einzelfall in Schumanns Produktion. In dem a cappella Chorwerk *Romanzen und Balladen*, Op. 65, steht an vierter Stelle das Lied *Ungewitter*, auch zu einem Text von Chamisso. In einem gewaltsamen und düsteren Ton zeigt es einen alten König, der machtlos ist angesichts des sich entfaltenden Sturms der neuen gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung, in der es keinen Platz für Könige, Romantik oder Liebe gibt. Es steht wie *Der Spielmann* in d-Moll. Und gleich dahinter stellt Schumann eine G-Dur-Komposition zu dem populären, volkspoetischen *John Anderson* von Robert Burns. Es ist das Liebeslied einer alten Frau an ihren Begleiter durch ein langes Leben, das heißt, ein Lob der Liebe in einer gewöhnlichen bürgerlichen Ehe, das ironisch mit der Klage "Du hast mich einst geliebet, du liebst mich doch nicht mehr" in dem vorigen Lied kontrastiert wird.

56 Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik* § 33.

“Wenn ich hätte meine Lebenskraft mit dem Leben so hingeben wollen, was wäre für das Edle, Bessere geblieben?”<sup>57</sup> In der Ehe der Schumanns war das denn auch ein reales Problem, besonders für Clara, deren Vater unter anderem gegen ihre Heirat mit Schumann war, weil er fürchtete, dass die Ehe der Entwicklung ihrer Laufbahn als Künstlerin schaden könnte. Im letzten Lied wird die intime, private Liebe Gegenstand von dem Gesang des Schiffers und des Volkes. Hier wird die Liebe zur Kunst, die, wie die Liebe in die Ehe, in die Gesellschaft integriert wird, was als glückliche oder ironisch gebrochene Umkehrung des ersten Liedes gesehen werden kann. Vorsichtig könnte man erwägen, ob das Schicksal des Kindes im zweiten Lied, das zum Verbrecher wird, auch das Schicksal des Künstlers beschreibt, etwa im Verständnis Thomas Manns, der oft Parallelen zwischen Verbrechen und den normbrechenden Aspekten von Kunst zog, und der an vielen Stellen den Künstler einen “Bruder des Verbrechers und des Verrückten” nannte.<sup>58</sup> Theodor W. Adorno pointierte die gesellschaftswidrige Seite der Kunst und das dem Verbrechen nahen Außenseitertum des Künstlers in dem Diktum: “Jedes Kunstwerk ist eine abgedungene Untat”.<sup>59</sup> Die Idee, dass Künstler in Verbindung mit bösen Mächten stehen, war den Romantikern nicht fremd. Andersens erster, von E. T. A. Hoffmanns *Die Elexiere des Teufels* (1815/16) stark inspirierter, Roman *Fodreise fra Holmens Canal til Østpynten af Amager i årene 1828 og 1829* (1829) fängt damit an, dass Satan dem Erzähler den “sündigen Gedanken einbliesst Schriftsteller zu werden”. In den *Ideen* schrieb Schlegel: “ein Künstler werden heißt nichts anders als sich den unterirdischen Gottheiten weihen.”<sup>60</sup> Zögernd ließe sich dann das erzählende Ich, das im dritten Lied den tödlichen Schuss abgibt – (“ich aber, ich traf ihn mitten in das Herz”) – als den alles Geschehen lenkenden, und deshalb daran schuldigen Künstler interpretieren, wie etwa den Regisseur Lars von Trier, der in dem letzten Bild in der letzten Staffel seiner Fernsehserie *Hospital der Geister* (2022) als der Satan selbst erscheint, der alles Böse der Handlung verschuldet hat.

Die verschiedenen Interpretationsebenen schließen sich nicht gegenseitig aus, ergänzen sich aber auch nicht zu einer harmonisch gerundeten Aussage, sondern bestehen – wie der Kontrast zwischen den heiteren und den ernsten Liedern – fort in einem “steten Wechsel von Selbstschöpfung und Selbstvernichtung”,<sup>61</sup> so wie Schlegel es von der romantischen Poesie forderte. Mit seiner Verbindung von Leidenschaft, Schmerz, Ironie und Humor ist Schumanns Op. 40 der Inbegriff eines romantischen Kunstwerks in der Tradition von Schlegel und Jean Paul. Aber dazu wurde es erst, als Schumann den Andersen’schen Ton von *Verrathene Liebe* fand und, indem er ihn hinzufügte, auf einmal eine Verbindung zwischen den anderen Gedichten herstellte und sie alle humoristisch vernichtete.

57 Beethoven laut Anton Schindler. Zitiert nach Martin Geck, *Von Beethoven bis Mahler: die Musik des deutschen Idealismus* (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1993), 7.

58 Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1990), 308.

59 Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima moralia*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. 4 (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1970), 125.

60 Schlegel, *Ideen* 131, KFSa II, 269.

61 Schlegel, *Athenäumsfragment* 51, KFSa II, 172.

## Abstract

Schumann's Op. 40 consists of four songs to texts by H. C. Andersen and an anonymous folk song text, all translated into German by Adalbert von Chamisso. Some commentators have felt that the inclusion of the final light and cheerful text disrupted the intended cyclical nature of the work. Based on readings of Jean Paul's ethical-philosophical concept of romantic humor and Friederich Schlegel's and Ludwig Tieck's concept of romantic irony, the article argues that, on the contrary, it is the last song that creates an artistic coherence between the individual songs of the collection. It does this by relativizing, negating or, in the words of Jean Paul and Schlegel, annihilating (*vernichten*) the content of the others in a romantically humorous way. It is a satirical play that emphasizes and reinforces the seriousness of the others. All five songs tell, in the words of scholar Jon W. Finson, of "grim results of love", and the title of the last song *Verrathene Liebe* (Love Betrayed) could be the title of the entire collection.

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Special section



# 70th Anniversary of the Danish Musicological Society

## *Introduction*

2024 marks the 70th anniversary of the Danish Musicological Society (*Dansk Selskab for Musikforskning*). Established in 1954, the society has been publishing the present journal since 1961, initially under the Danish title *Dansk aarbog for musikforskning* and from volume 31 (2003) as *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*.

To celebrate this milestone, the editors are pleased to present a special section featuring three extensive articles, each addressing different facets of Danish music research history.

In the first article, Morten Michelsen explores the development of popular music research in Denmark from the 1970s to today. Framing popular music research as an ‘epistemic culture’, Michelsen analyses the gradual institutionalisation of the field and examines paradigmatic shifts in the understanding of ‘what it means to know about’ popular music. Michelsen ultimately questions the distinction between musicology and popular music research, advocating for a turn to ‘music studies’.

The second article, by Lars Ole Bonde, Inge Nygaard Pedersen, and Hanne Mette Ridder, traces the institutionalisation of another area of Danish music research: music therapy. The authors chart the field’s development from its early pioneers in the mid-1950s to the present, highlighting how an interdisciplinary research culture emerged, bridging humanistic and medical methodologies. The article concludes with three case studies of music therapy research in psychiatry, dementia research, and public health.

In the third article, Thomas Holme revisits Knud Jeppesen’s role as editor of *Acta musicologica* during the politically charged 1930s and 1940s. Drawing on Jeppesen’s correspondence from the period, Holme examines his involvement in the 1936 congress of the *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, his decision to move *Acta musicologica* from the German publisher Breitkopf & Härtel to the Danish publisher Levin & Munksgaard, and the subsequent German boycott of the journal. The article offers a critical reassessment of Pamela Potter’s portrayal of Jeppesen as a ‘tragic figure’ in this context.

The editors would like to thank the peer reviewers for their careful readings and suggestions. We already look forward to the next anniversary!

*Thomas Husted Kirkegaard*

# Populærmusikforskning i Danmark: Musikstudier mellem musiksociologi, -analyse og -antropologi

Morten Michelsen

Som ph.d.-studerende var jeg i 1995 i et enkelt semester gæstestuderende på Institute of Popular Music i Liverpool. Instituttet var stadig i etableringsfasen med kun tre faste medarbejdere (David Horn, Sara Cohen og Philip Tagg), et par deltidsundervisere og 15-20 studerende. Dertil kom en kontinuerlig forelæsningsrække med foredragsholdere og tilhørere fra hele Storbritannien og nogle gange USA. Jeg kom fra det musikvidenskabelige miljø på KU, et miljø der var positivt indstillet over for mit forskningsområde, men hvor der ikke var mange at diskutere populærmusik med. Derfor var det overvældende at møde et miljø, hvor alle på forskellig vis var dybt engagerede i populærmusikforskning. Både gæster og ansatte var klar over, at de var i gang med at skabe noget nyt, og at Liverpool-instituttet var en første milepæl i institutionaliseringen af en britisk populærmusikforskning med forbindelser til resten af verden.<sup>1</sup>

Også det danske miljø har gennem årene passeret en række milepæle og er i dag et helt andet sted end for 20 og 40 år siden. Nu arbejder flere generationer af forskere med populærmusik på et væld af forskellige måder. Siden 1970'erne har nogle fokuseret på mere traditionelle, musikanalytiske og -historiske problemer, mens andre har udviklet teoretiske grundlag for forståelsen af sådanne musikker. Endnu andre har bidraget til analysen af den digitale revolution, som både musikfag og samfund stadig er midt i, mens en fjerde gruppe blot har brugt populærmusik som eksempler i fx sociologiske undersøgelser, hjerneforskning eller informationsteoretiske arbejder. Forskerne kommer fra mange fagområder og bidrager til en fælles fond af viden for at prøve at forstå, hvordan populærmusik fungerer og hvordan den bruges. Der er tale om en interdisciplinær, overvejende humanistisk videnskultur, som holdes sammen af en optagethed af musikkulturer baseret på massemediering. Det er samtidig en videnskultur, som ved sin videnskabelighed adskiller sig fra fx pop- og rockmusikalske videnskulturer, som de fremstår i specifikke musikerkulturer, i 'branchen' eller i diverse formidlende medier. Dens teorier, metoder og genstandsfelt har ændret sig kontinuerligt og væsentligt i løbet

1 Under besøget fik jeg tildelt Philip Tagg som vejleder. Det var uforglemmeligt, både på det faglige og det personlige plan. På det tidspunkt skrev han på en bog (*Ten Little Title Tunes*), som vi jævnligt diskuterede, og på tagg'sk vis krævede det digressioner ud i stort set alle hjørner af musikvidenskab og mange andre discipliner, gerne på flere sprog og altid i et politisk perspektiv. Det var en udfordring af de store, og utrolig lærerigt, selvom jeg indimellem var noget bagefter Philip. I forbindelse med færdiggørelsen af denne artikel fik jeg at vide, at han var afgået ved døden. Denne artikel er derfor tilegnet mindet om Philip Tagg (1943-2024).

af de sidste 50 år, og det følgende vil demonstrere de forandringer, der har været i forståelsen af, hvad populærmusikforskning har været og er i en dansk kontekst, og indkredse, hvorfor det har givet og om det stadig giver mening at tale om populærmusikforskning som et eget forskningsområde.

### *Populærmusikforskning som videnskultur*

Sociologen Karin Knorr Cetina bestemmer videnskulturbegrebet (*epistemic culture*) således: "... those amalgams of arrangements and mechanisms—bonded through affinity, necessity, and historical coincidence—which, in a given field, make up *how we know what we know*. Epistemic cultures are cultures that create and warrant knowledge ..."<sup>2</sup> Cetina anlægger med formuleringen om "blandingen af arrangementer og mekanismer" forbundet gennem "affinitet, nødvendighed og historisk tilfældighed" (mine oversættelser) et netværksperspektiv, der kan fange en videnskulturs mange praksisser og manifestationer i deres kompleksitet, når den skaber og legitimerer viden.

I forlængelse af hendes grundlæggende spørgsmål – hvordan vi ved, hvad vi ved – bliver det første spørgsmål her, hvordan en række populærmusikforskere har udviklet og forandret specielt akademiets og undervisningssystemets forståelse af, hvad det vil sige at vide om populærmusik gennem at forstå en række musikkulturer som stadig mere komplekse. Viden omfatter altså både viden om noget og måder at vide det på. En sådan viden indgår i videnskulturer, idet den dannes og cirkulerer i mere eller mindre institutionaliserede og organiserede netværk, hvor økonomiske aspekter (fx finansiering af aktiviteter og bygninger), sociale aspekter (fx indbyrdes an- og miserkendelsesstrukturer) og konkrete produkter (fx publicerede forskningsresultater og fysiske institutioner) er medbestemmende i netværkets forandringer. Netværket er også kendetegnet ved sine uklare grænser, her i forhold til andre faglige netværk og i forhold til populærmusikforskning i andre lande.

Der er tale om etableringen af bestemte måder at producere og organisere viden om populærmusik på inden for en akademisk horisont, dvs. en lang række musikalske, sociale og kulturelle praksisser lokaliseret og ordnet i klassifikations- og tolkningsprocesser til brug for undervisningssystem, forskningsverden og musiklivet i bred forstand. Historisk drejer det sig om en lang række glidninger: fra musik som æstetisk og skriftligt fikseret objekt mod musik som lydligt redskab i sociale sammenhænge og videre mod musik som proces og fællesskab; fra værket som et lukket hele mod værker som dele af netværk i intertekstuelle og intermediale sammenhænge; fra afsender mod modtager eller bruger; fra negative eller defensive definitioner af både populærmusik og -forskning mod positive definitioner af samme på egne præmisser; fra at være i kontrast til traditionel musikvidenskab til at være både et selvstændigt område og en del af musikvidenskab.

2 Karin Knorr Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge* (Cambridge, Mass. og London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1 (kursiv i originalen).



Samtidig er der mindre tale om, at paradigmerne afløser hinanden, men snarere, at antallet af positioner vokser – ligesom antallet af forskere har gjort det. En sådan udvikling medfører også det andet spørgsmål om, hvordan og med hvilke omkostninger forskningsområdet er blevet institutionaliseret og i sidste ende også, om det i dag stadig giver mening at tale om det som et forskningsområde adskilt fra musikvidenskab i øvrigt.

Rent metodisk konstruerer jeg i det følgende en videnskultur, idet jeg i udvælgelsen af oplysninger og sammenstillingen af dem i et historisk og institutionelt perspektiv forenkler de komplekse relationer mellem aktører og institutioner samt aktører indbyrdes. Jeg sammenstiller tekster (helt overvejende monografier og antologier) og personer, som næppe alle har ment at være en del af det samme forskningsområde, specielt ved at inkludere jazzforskningen, men også ved at inkludere forskere, der opfatter sig selv som hørende til andre discipliner og 'studies'.<sup>3</sup> De primære aktører i det følgende er en lang række tidligere og nuværende studerende, ph.d.-studerende, postdocs, adjunkter, lektorer og professorer. De er, som det vil fremgå, overvejende tilknyttet musikvidenskabelige afdelinger og bidrager med deres forskning og undervisning til at vedligeholde og udvikle disse institutioner.

Jeg har selv været en del af faget siden 1979, hvor jeg begyndte at studere musikvidenskab på KU. Efter endt uddannelse blev jeg ansat i København som populærmusikforsker og er i skrivende stund ansat på AU, denne gang i musikvidenskab i bred forstand. Jeg har været involveret i en række forskellige forskningsprojekter, nogle gange som bevillingshaver. Som det vil fremgå, tillægger jeg i kraft af deres brede karakter og mange deltagere disse projekter en stor betydning for den sammenhængskraft, som der måtte være i dansk populærmusikforskning. Selv har jeg bevæget mig inden for en bred vifte af emner af musikanalytisk, historisk og medieorienteret art, dog alle med en bagvedliggende interesse for kulturteoretiske og musiksociologiske spørgsmål. Det følgende er derfor en analyse af nogle historiske processer, som jeg selv som hvid, ciskønnet, heteroseksuel og nu ældre mand har været en del af på mange forskellige måder, og mine erindringer (eller mangel på samme) om diverse forhold har selvfølgelig betydet meget for min forståelse af, hvordan området har udviklet sig. Lige så vigtige kilder er de efterhånden utrolig mange publicerede forskningsarbejder fra de mange involverede og de samtaler, jeg har haft med en række nuværende og tidligere kolleger.<sup>4</sup>

Der er tale om et videnssociologisk og -historisk bidrag, og analysen falder i to dele. Først udvikler jeg et institutionaliseringsperspektiv med fokus på udgivelser, ansættelser, bevillinger samt inden- og udenlandske, faglige forbindelser. Her er der samtidig tale

3 Når jazzforskningen inkluderes her, skyldes det primært alliancen mellem forskellige genrer i begrebet om rytmisk musik, en alliance, der både slog igennem musikalsk og i megen undervisningspraksis. Det skyldes også, at det er svært ikke at opfatte jazzen som en populærmusik set i et længere historisk perspektiv (jf. Simon Frith, 'Is Jazz Popular Music?', *Jazz Research Journal*, 1/1 (2007), 7-23).

4 En speciel tak skal lyde til Charlotte Rørdam Larsen, Lars Ole Bonde, Annemette Kirkegaard, Martin Knakkegaard, Tore Mortensen, Mads Krogh og Steen Kaargaard Nielsen. Desuden også en stor tak til den anonyme reviewer for en grundig, solidarisk og kritisk læsning.

om en dokumentation af væsentlige aktiviteter og publikationer inden for området i de forgange 50+ år. Dernæst følger jeg række videnskabelige måder at vide på – fra marxistiske over semiotiske til poststrukturalistiske – som populærmusikforskningen siden 1970'erne har været en del af, i bestræbelsen på at begribe stadig mere komplekse musikkulturer. Mere konkret drejer det sig om en bevægelse fra diskussioner af musikkens samfundsmæssige rolle (musiksociologi og pædagogik) over diskussioner om musik og betydning (analyse af betydningsproduktion i bred forstand med udgangspunkt i et musikalsk og/eller visuelt 'objekt') til interessen for musiks betydning for brugere/lyttere (i en mere antropologisk forstand og oftest i et socialkonstruktivistisk perspektiv). Disse tre paradigmer er sammen med graderne af intensitet i de kollegiale samarbejder strukturerende for en mere eller mindre kronologisk disposition, hvor 1990 og 2010 står som upræcise årstalsmarkører for, hvor de enkelte paradigmer kom til. Men før den egentlige analyse kommer nogle historiske bemærkninger, dels om dannelsen af den engelsksprogede videnskultur rettet mod populærmusikforskning, dels om nogle af de lokale videnskulturer (musikvidenskab, det intellektuelle miljø og uddannelsessystemet), som bidrog til udviklingen af en dansk populærmusikforskning.

### *Populærmusikforskning historisk*

Internationalt blev nye fag og forskningsområder en del af det store opbrud i 1960'ernes og 1970'ernes universitetsverden. De største områder blandt de nye blev organiseret som egentlige institutter (fx filmvidenskab), mens flere andre blev etableret som centre (fx kvinde- og kønsstudier). Siden er der kommet en lang række mere eller mindre specifikke '*studies*' til, dvs. forskningsområder som en række forskere – typisk på tværs af institutter og landegrænser – har fundet interessante, men som kun har en svag institutionel forankring. *Popular music studies* eller populærmusikforskning har hørt til den sidste gruppe siden 1970'erne.

Musikvidenskab, medievidenskab, sociologi, historie, kulturstudier af forskellig slags og meget andet har bidraget til populærmusikforskningen, og den er derfor også en del af disse fags historie samtidig med, at den har en egen historie. Den danske version af videnskulturen er samtidig en del af en international videnskultur, som den har hentet megen inspiration fra – først fra Tyskland, siden fra Sverige, England og USA –, og samtidig bidraget til. Internationalt har udviklingen tematisk været nogenlunde ensartet, om end tidsmæssigt forskudt, i lande som fx Japan, Sydkorea, Brasilien, Argentina, Ungarn, Frankrig og Italien. I Danmark er populærmusikforskningen institutionelt i det væsentlige en del af musikvidenskaben, fordi de fleste populærmusikforskere har været eller er ansat på musikvidenskabelige afdelinger. Denne tilknytning gør, at de to videnskulturer har en omfattende, fælles historie. Jeg vil her 'isolere' populærmusikforskningen og analysere den som en selvstændig videnskultur, der ikke desto mindre hele tiden i vekslende grad er forbundet med musikvidenskab og en lang række andre fagtraditioner.

På dansk blev selve termerne populærmusik og populærmusikforskning først udbredte i 1990'erne. De afløste talen om forskning i 'rytmisk musik', der for en tid stod som den konkrete, begrebslige modsætning til traditionel musikforskning.<sup>5</sup>

Forskning i populærmusik begyndte tidligere i Tyskland, England og USA end i Danmark. Der var ansatser allerede i mellemkrigstiden, og i løbet af 1960'erne begyndte akademiske arbejder om tidens pop og rock (og ungdomskultur) at udkomme. Den historie er fortalt mange andre steder,<sup>6</sup> så her vil jeg blot nævne nogle få hovedpunkter. Det første nummer af det amerikanske tidsskrift *Popular Music & Society* udkom allerede i 1971. Ti år senere begyndte det engelske tidsskrift *Popular Music* at udkomme. Uafhængigt af dette blev den faglige forening International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) samme år grundlagt af en række forskere, hvoraf flere har fået status som populærmusikforskningens 'founding fathers'.<sup>7</sup> IASPM har siden oprettet flere regionale afdelinger (bl.a. IASPM Norden) og har afholdt internationale konferencer hvert andet år siden da. Et standardleksikon er også vigtigt i en institutionaliseringsproces, og *Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, der har været under udgivelse siden 2003 og 20 år senere var nået til bind 12, er et sådant.<sup>8</sup>

Den første forskningsinstitution, Forschungszentrum Populäre Musik, udviklede sig fra 1981 på Humboldt-Universitetet i Østberlin, og i 1988 kom Institute of Popular Music i Liverpool til. Enkeltstående kurser i populærmusik som en del af andre uddannelser kendes tilbage fra 1960'erne, og i 1990'erne begyndte hele uddannelser med

5 Morten Michelsen, "Rytmisk musik" mellem høj og lav, *Musik & forskning*, 26 (2001), 61-81.

6 Andre har udført lignende studier i forbindelse med nationale populærmusikforskningssmiljøer. Her blot nogle eksempler: om Sverige, se Philip Tagg, 'The Göteborg Connection: Lessons in the History and Politics of Popular Music Education and Research', *Popular Music*, 17/2 (1998), 219-42; om Storbritannien, se Martin Cloonan, 'What is Popular Music Studies? Some Observations', *British Journal of Music Education*, 22/1 (2005), 77-93; om Østtyskland og Vesttyskland, se hhv. Peter Wicke, 'Looking East: Popular Music Studies between Theory and Practice', og Helmut Rösing, 'Popular Music Studies in Germany from the Origins to the 1990s', begge i Michael Ahlers og Christoph Jacke (red.), *Perspectives on German Popular Music* (London og New York: Routledge, 2017), 16-32 og 33-51; om Italien, se Franco Fabbri og Goffredo Plastini 'Introduction. An Egg of Columbus: How can Italian Popular Music Studies Stand on their Own?', i Fabbri og Plastini (red.), *Made in Italy: Studies in Popular Music* (New York og Abingdon (Oxon): Routledge, 2014), 1-12. Simon Frith har gjort det samme i et mere internationalt perspektiv: 'Is Jazz Popular Music?'; 'Remembrance of Things Past: Marxism and the Study of Popular Music', *Twentieth-Century Music*, 16/1 (2019), 141-155). Initiativtageren til IASPM, Philip Tagg, har opsummeret det samlede forskningsområdes tilstand ved flere lejligheder, senest i 'Caught on the Back Foot: Epistemic Inertia and Visible Music', *IASPM@Journal*, 2/1-2 (2011), 3-18.

7 Bl.a. Philip Tagg, Richard Middleton, Simon Frith, David Horn, Charles Hamm og Franco Fabbri. Der var netop tale om *fathers*.

8 Initiativtagerne til encyklopædien var Philip Tagg, David Horn og John Shepherd. De to sidste blev gennemgående redaktører (John Shepherd et al. (red.), *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*. London og New York: Continuum, 2003-). Der er ikke nogen formelle forbindelser mellem forening, tidsskrift og encyklopædi, men dog et vist personsammenfald med David Horn som aktiv i alle tre tilfælde.

fokus på populærmusik at dukke op. Siden da er området vokset eksponentielt. Stadig flere kurser, stadig flere undervisere, stadig flere forskere i stadig flere lande og stadig flere tidsskrifter på forskellige sprog kommer til, både de bredere som fx *Popular Music History* (2004-), de smallere som fx *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music Culture* (2009-) og de helt smalle som fx *Journal of Beatles Studies* (2022-). Det er sket samtidig med, at nye faglige foreninger som The International Society for Metal Music Studies (2012-), The Association for the Study of the Art of Record Production (2005-) og lidt mere uformelle studiegrupper som U2 Studies (2009-) er blevet dannet.

### *Forhistorier: Forskellige videnskulturer*

Elementer fra en lang række videnskulturer og institutionelle initiativer i forbindelse med populærmusikken løb sammen i det, der hen mod midten af 1970'erne begyndte at tegne sig som et selvstændigt forskningsområde. Flere af videnskulturerne har rødder tilbage i mellemkrigstiden og er gennem årene blevet artikuleret af musikkritikere, frie intellektuelle, mediemedarbejdere, pædagoger og forskere. Nogle kom til at spille en direkte rolle, mens andre tjente som baggrund. Denne udvikling skete i en række lande, så det følgende er på flere måder stikord til en international historie, men eksemplerne er alle fra Danmark.

### Den musikvidenskabelige tradition

En af de væsentligste baggrunde var den traditionelle musikvidenskab. Den tjente for det meste som et billede på alt det, man ikke skulle gøre, og enkelte gange til inspiration. Ikke-fagfolk har ofte karakteriseret faget som en svært tilgængelig videnskultur pga. de musikudøvendendes ikke-diskursive indsigter, nodeskrift og den musikteoretiske terminologi. For fagfolk har det grundlæggende snarere været fagets traditionelle fokus på autonome kunstværker, på 'musikken i sig selv', en interesse drevet af historiske, filologiske, hermeneutiske og/eller formalistiske erkendelsesinteresser. Denne interesse, der er baseret på både konservatorie- og humanvidenskabelige traditioner, medførte en musikvidenskabelig forståelse af musik, der i realiteten kun omfattede den skiftbaserede, vesterlandske kunstmusiktradition og ekskluderede de fleste andre musiktraditioner fra at være genstand for forskningen. At vide om musik i denne tradition omfattede at kunne reproducere et nodebillede på et tasteinstrument; at kunne analysere musikalske kunstværker ud fra musikalske parametre som form, tonalitet, melodik, harmonik og rytmik; at sætte værkerne ind i en (stil)historisk sammenhæng; at have en fornemmelse for værkernes æstetiske kvaliteter. Ældre dansk musikforskning passer på mange måder ind i dette billede, bl.a. fordi de fleste forskere var dobbeltuddannede som organister fra konservatoriet og musikforskere fra universitetet.<sup>9</sup> Denne traditionelle musikvidenskabs

<sup>9</sup> Fx havde næsten alle fagets professorer (og de fleste lektorer) frem til 1990'erne frekventeret Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium. Aarhusianske Knud Jeppesen, Finn Matthiassen og Søren

opfattelse af, hvad indsigt i og viden om klassisk musik var, gennemtrængte frem til 1970'erne alle andre institutioner, både i undervisningssektoren, i medierne og i den kulturelle sektor i øvrigt.<sup>10</sup>

Det snævre fokus på kirkens musik fra middelalderen og fremefter samt på den verdslige kunstmusik ca. 1600 til 1900, som var fremherskende de første mange år, blev i løbet af 1960'erne brudt på flere måder. Den samtidige, radikale kompositionsmusik blev et legitimt studieobjekt, og kritikken af fagets positivistiske idealer blev udviklet gennem læsningen af bl.a. den tyske filosof Theodor W. Adorno. AU fastansatte en folklorist med speciale i folkelige sangtraditioner (Karl Clausen, 1963) og KU ansatte to musiketnologer, en som kandidatstipendiat (Birthe Trærup i 1968, senere lektor) og en som ekstern lektor (Poul Roving Olsen i 1969).

Det var denne let udfordrede danske musikvidenskab, som i løbet af 1970'erne blev kriseram på grund af de voldsomme efterdønninger af ungdomsoprøret og af det marxistiske paradigme, der resulterede i fremkomsten af en ideologisk kritisk musiksociologi rettet mod både kunstmusik og pop, af krav om uddannelsens relevans for gymnasieskolen og af krav om praktisk og teoretisk/historisk inddragelse af populærmusik eller 'rytmisk musik' i uddannelsen. Det medførte voldsomme modsætninger blandt musikforskerne, og det skulle i de følgende årtier ændre faget grundlæggende – ikke kun i Danmark, men også i Norden og den engelsksprogede del af verden. Men flere videnskulturer spillede ind.

### Intellektuelle og massemedier

Oparbejdelsen og vedligeholdelsen af en reflektiv diskurs om jazz i bøger og tidsskrifter havde fundet sted siden 1930'erne. Jazzdiskursen er nok en af de mest polemiske musikdiskurser, både i indbyrdes verbale opgør og i udfald mod andre genrer. Blandt de toneangivende over lang tid var to akademikere, der både virkede som dagbladskritikere og bogforfattere: Sven Møller Kristensen (1909-91, hovedfag i dansk, bifag i musik og senere professor i dansk) og Erik Wiedemann (1930-2000, konferens i litteraturvidenskab

Sørensen havde alle en organisteksamen. Det samme gjaldt københavnske Erik Abrahamsen, Jens Peter Larsen og Henrik Glahn. Jeppesen og Jan Maegaard havde studeret komposition sammesteds, mens Nils Schiørring var privatuddannet som cellist. Til gengæld har ingen professorer ansat siden 1990'erne konservatoriebaggrund. Det illustrerer en generel glidning både i musikvidenskab og populærmusikforskningen fra, hvor det at vide videnskabeligt om musik i høj grad omfattede den kropslige erfaring med at udøve den (eller i det mindste komponere den), til at aktiv musikudøvelse kun sjældent er en del af forskerens habitus (tak til den anonyme reviewer for denne pointe).

<sup>10</sup> Denne tradition er bl.a. refereret og beskrevet i Søren Sørensen, 'Das musikwissenschaftliche Studium in Dänemark seit 1870', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 14 (1972), 109-25; Nils Schiørring, 'Musik', i Povl Johs. Jensen (red.), *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979, bind XI: Det filosofiske Fakultet, 4. Del* (København: Gad, 1979), 345-404; Niels Krabbe, 'Danish Musicology of the 1980s and Early 1990s', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 42/1 (1995), 4-25. For Schiørrings vedkommende er der tale om en omfattende, men ret ureflekteret historieskrivning efter et intenst kildearbejde, og de to andre tekster har nærmest karakter af rapporter.

og senere lektor i musikvidenskab). De bidrog til at udvide og nuancere jazzdiskursen i både historisk, analytisk og æstetisk retning i ambitionerne om at legitimere jazzen i forhold til den traditionelle kunstmusik, mens andre bedrev intense diskografiske studier.<sup>11</sup> Wiedemanns doktordisputats om jazz, *Jazz i Danmark: I tyverne, trediverne og fyrrerne: En musikulturel undersøgelse*, ligger klart i forlængelse af disse måder at tænke over og tale om jazz og står som et symbol på, at den videnskabelige legitimering af jazzen i Danmark er lykkedes.<sup>12</sup>

Den rockkritik, der udviklede sig fra 1967 og frem, havde også etableringen af en specifik, legitimerende diskurs på dagsordenen. Ingen af skribenterne, der talte journalister som Helle Hellmann (*Politiken*), Carsten Grolin (*Ekstra Bladet*) og Hans-Jørgen Nielsen (*Information*), kom fra en universitær baggrund. I stedet tog de ved lære af jazzdiskursen, af den internationale udvikling på rockområdet og ved at sætte deres egen sensibilitet i spil i forhold til beatmusikken. Omkring 1970 begyndte man at ane konturerne af en specifik rockdiskurs (det autentiske, det politiske, det følelsesfulde, det sensuelle, fællesskabet).<sup>13</sup> Flere af disse topoi dukkede senere op i den gryende populærmusikforskning. Ingen skribenter fra denne kreds blev tilknyttet et universitet. De tog til gengæld initiativ til det, der skulle vise sig at blive en markant leksikografisk tradition begyndende med *Musikkens hvem-hvad-hvor: Rock, beat* fra 1974.<sup>14</sup>

Pop og rock blev således relativt hurtigt æstetisk og historisk legitimeret i dansk kulturliv,<sup>15</sup> og den slagkraftige reformulering af 1930'ernes ide om en 'rytmisk' musik i slutningen af 1960'erne, som både beat-, folk- og jazzmiljøerne kunne bakke op om, gjorde, at en bredere kulturpolitisk legitimitet kom inden for rækkevidde. En diskurs om den 'rytmiske' musiks store kvaliteter lød overbevisende for mange og kom til at stå i en markant modsætning til det klassiske musikliv.

Forfattere og andre intellektuelle havde en lang tradition for veloplagt polemik mod massekultur og dens produkter, og i efterkrigstiden stod popmusik ofte for skud. Arkitekten og revyforfatteren Poul Henningsen havde ført an, og forfatteren Klaus Rifbjerg overtog faklen i krigen mod alt, hvad der var banalt og sentimentalt. Deres kritik af kulturindustrien blev i det væsentlige overtaget af den første bølge af populærmusikforskere, dog i en eksplicit socialistisk kontekst og koblet med pædagogikkens tese om

11 Fx diskografen Jørgen Grunnet Jepsen, *Jazz Records 1942-1962*, bd. 1-11 (Holte: Karl Emil Knudsen, 1963-70).

12 Erik Wiedemann, *Jazz i Danmark: I tyverne, trediverne og fyrrerne: En musikulturel undersøgelse* (København: Gyldendal, 1982).

13 For en fremstilling af dansk rockkritik som kulturelt felt, se Ulf Lindberg et al., *Amusers, Bruisers & Cool-Headed Cruisers: The Fields of Anglo-Saxon and Nordic Rock Criticism* (Aarhus: eget forlag, 2000), 310-45.

14 Peder Bundgaard (red.), *Musikkens hvem-hvad-hvor: Rock, beat* (København: Politikens forlag, 1974).

15 Gestur Guðmundsson, 'Rock og pop som kulturelt felt i Danmark 1955-1975', i Morten Michelsen et al. (red.), *Rock i Danmark. Studier i populærmusik fra 1950'erne til årtusindskiftet* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2013), 429-76.

at bruge børns og unges egen musik som udgangspunkt for kreativ udfoldelse. Efter midten af 1960'erne hoppede flere unge forfattere med på beatvognen, og i 1970 udgav den da 52-årige forfatter Thorkild Bjørnvig *Oprør mod neonguden*, der var en nuanceret analyse af beatkulturen.<sup>16</sup>

I januar 1963 havde Danmarks Radios P3 premiere. I den anledning leverede det etablerede musikliv en bredside i et temanummer af det toneangivende *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, hvor musikforskeren og -kritikeren Poul Nielsen førte Theodor Adorno som vidne, og komponisten Per Nørgård skrev om satsfejl i en række popnumre.<sup>17</sup> Nørgård reviderede sit syn på genren og ikke mindst The Beatles tre år senere, og i 1968 plæderede Poul Nielsen for Hans-Jørgen Niensens nys lancerede ide om værdirelativisme på bekostning af et enstrengt hierarki.<sup>18</sup> Efter oprettelsen af P3 i 1963 blev Danmarks Radio relativt gode til at følge med i de musikalske forandringer. Det første magasinprogram helliget beatmusik blev sendt fra efteråret 1967, og flere kom til fra 1968 til 1972.<sup>19</sup> Skoleradioafdelingen slog endda til i 1973 og lavede en udsendelsesrække på ti udsendelser á en halv time med titlen *Status over beatmusikken* tilrettelagt af Erik Wiedemann.<sup>20</sup>

### Uddannelsessystemet

I international forskning var sociologer blandt de første til at undersøge populærmusik i en videnskabelig kontekst, oftest relateret til frygten for massemediernes fordummende effekt eller afvigende ungdomsgrupperinger. Blandt de mest kendte forskere kan nævnes tyske Theodor Adorno og amerikanske David Riesmann. Omkring 1960 kastede to sociologer ansat ved Kriminalistisk Institut ved KU sig over afvigende tendenser hos 1950'ér-ungdommen. De beskæftigede sig i hver sin artikel med de såkaldte rock'n'roll-optøjer i København i august 1957.<sup>21</sup> Begge forfattere var rimelig afbalancerede og ser både unge, politi og presse som medvirkende til optøjernes forløb. Nævnes skal også folkemindeforskeren Iørn Piø, der i årene før og efter 1960 gjorde nogle studier i refrænsang. De blev ikke publiceret i videnskabelige sammenhænge, men som notitser og

16 Thorkild Bjørnvig, *Oprør mod neonguden* (København: Gyldendal, 1970).

17 Poul Nielsen, 'Musik som ideologisk trøstefunktion – Poppen set gennem Adornos briller' og Per Nørgård, 'Dokumentation: Fidus eller diletantisme', begge i *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 38/2 (1963), 38-42 og 43-46.

18 Poul Nielsen, 'Forplumring og klarhed om poppen', *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 43/2 (1968), 39-40.

19 Morten Michelsen, 'Beatmusikkens indtog', i Morten Michelsen et al. (red.), *Stil nu ind ... Danmarks Radio og musikken* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2018), 86-90.

20 Erik Wiedemann og Leif Ole Sørensen, *Skoleradio. Status over beatmusikken* [10 radioudsendelser á en halv time]. Danmarks Radio, P1. Danmarks Radio udgav desuden et ledsagehæfte: Erik Wiedemann, *Status over beatmusikken i 60'erne* (København: Danmarks Radio, 1973).

21 John Andersen, 'Rock and Roll-begivenhederne i København 5.-10. august 1957', *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Kriminalvidenskab*, 52 (1964), 175-226 og Britt-Mari Persson Blegvad, 'Newspapers and Rock and Roll Riots in Copenhagen', *Acta Sociologica*, 7/3 (1964), 151-78.

kronikker i aviser.<sup>22</sup> Piø argumenterede for refrænernes brugsværdi og dermed for et andet vurderingssystem end det litterære, et synspunkt der ikke vandt megen fremme.

Den generelle politisering af uddannelsessystemet, som havde rod i det nye venstre og var en del af det mangespektrede ungdomsoprør (inkl. studenteroprøret), medførte på universiteterne en markant vending mod forskellige former for marxisme, ofte båret af de studerende og yngre undervisere. Kulturhistorikeren Morten Thing bemærker, at der i “kølvandet på Marx-læsningen [skete] en omfattende sociologisering af universiteternes discipliner. Vi ville se alt i relation til samfundet og se samfundet som den grundlæggende matrix for alle andre sfærer.”<sup>23</sup> Denne politiske diskurs trængte langsomt igennem i musikkuddannelserne, og fra begyndelsen af 1970'erne blev den grundlaget for en spirende populærmusikforskning.

Pædagoger i folkeskole og gymnasium var dem, der tidligst blandt voksne med læn-gerevarende musikkuddannelser uafvendeligt blev konfronteret med beatmusikken. Det blev åbenlyst, at den betød meget for børn og unge og samtidig, at andre musikgenrer kom til at stå som den bestemte negation af selvsamme. Kun meget langsomt blev musikken accepteret i undervisningen. Erik Moseholm, der var jazzmedarbejder i Danmarks Radio (og læreruddannet), plantede et tidligt frø i en kronik i forbindelse med Beatles-besøget i 1964 og anførte, at man jo kunne tage udgangspunkt i de unges egen smag for siden at kunne diskutere musikken nuanceret med dem og eventuelt vejlede dem hen mod en bedre smag.<sup>24</sup> Diskussionerne er sandsynligvis bølget frem og tilbage på landets lærerværelser, men først ti år senere finder man skriftlige belæg for debatten blandt folkeskolelærere. Og det, selvom problemet anerkendtes i den kulturpolitisk skel-sættende betænkning 517 fra 1969, hvor selve ideen om, hvad kultur er, stod til debat.<sup>25</sup> I 1974 blev debatten til gengæld ganske omfattende og blev ført i både *Dansk Sang*, *Unge Pædagoger* og *MM*.<sup>26</sup> Sammen med den specifikke diskussion om beatmusikkens

22 Henrik Smith-Sivertsen, ‘Om gartnere, måger og dejlige Angelique: Refræner, pop og populærmusikforskning – en kritisk undersøgelse af *Ekstrabladets* spørgeskemaundersøgelse om populærmusik, august 1961’, *Fund og Forskning*, 50 (2011), 483-547, se specielt 492-97.

23 Morten Thing, ‘Begyndte det alt sammen i 1968?’, i Morten Bendix Andersen og Niklas Olsen (red.), *1968 – Dengang og nu* (København: Museum Tusulanum, 2004), 309-20, 315.

24 Erik Moseholm, ‘Ka’ De li’ Beatles’ [kronik], *Politiken*, 4. juni 1964, 18-19.

25 Ministeriet for kulturelle anliggender, *En kulturpolitisk redegørelse. Betænkning nr. 517* (København: Ministeriet for kulturelle anliggender, 1969), 90.

26 Danmarks Sanglærerforenings (dvs. folkeskolemusiklærernes forenings) medlemsblad *Dansk Sang* bragte ikke nogen indlæg om populærmusik (beatmusik) i undervisningen før Erik Moseholms indlæg ‘Lyt til eleven – og begynd der’ (*Dansk Sang*, 25/4 (1973), 389-92). Det satte så en ganske skarp debat i gang i det følgende år med bidrag fra flere: Elise Kjær, ‘Tanker jeg har gjort mig’, *Dansk Sang*, 26/1 (1974), 14-18; Mogens Wenzel Andreasen, ‘Für Elise’, *Dansk Sang*, 26/2 (1974), 22-24; Mogens Wenzel Andreasen, ‘Svar til Glud og Graff’, *Dansk Sang*, 26/4 (1974), 58-61; Per Graff, ‘Kære Mogens Wenzel Andreasen’, *Dansk Sang*, 26/3 (1974), 39-40; René Glud Jensen, ‘Angående musik i skolen’, *Dansk Sang*, 26/3 (1974), 42. Alle disse indlæg blev publiceret stort set samtidig i *Unge Pædagoger*, ligesom Moseholms og Kjærs indlæg blev genoptrykt i *MM*. Det medførte nye indlæg der fra både



placering i undervisningen løb mere generelle diskussioner om musikfaget som sådan. Dels pga. af nye læseplaner, hvor fagets timer i folkeskole og gymnasium var reduceret, dels pga. et opgør med den traditionelle værk gennemgang, hvor en musiksociologisk tænkning båret af unge universitetskandidater stod frem som et alternativ. Alt i alt opfattede musikfaget fra folkeskole til universitet sig selv som værende i dyb krise,<sup>27</sup> og det var i denne krise, at konturerne af en populærmusikforskning begyndte at tegne sig.

Andre samfundsinstitutioner var tidligere ude end undervisningssystemet. Flere kommuners socialarbejdere (og politikere) støttede oprettelsen af popklubber, fx i Gladsaxe fra 1964 og Brøndbyerne fra 1966, og de blev siden vigtige spillesteder.<sup>28</sup> Flere kommunale folkebiblioteker satsede i 1960'erne på musikbiblioteker med Lyngby nord for København i spidsen fra 1963.<sup>29</sup> Her begyndte man fra 1968 at indkøbe beatplader til aflytning og snart efter også til udlån. Biblioteket arrangerede også pladekoncerter og en studiekreds om beatmusik.<sup>30</sup> Også Brøndbyernes biblioteker afholdt pladekoncerter, indrettede specielle ungdomsmiljøer eller 'huler', hvor de unge kunne hænge ud, og arrangerede endda live koncerter fremført af mindre kendte grupper som supplement til de større koncerter i popklubben.<sup>31</sup>

Disse noget forskellige strømninger i dansk kulturliv kom til at gøde jorden for at populærmusikkens kunne gøres til genstand for forskning. Den forskning udviklede sig fra 1970'erne og fremefter, og det bliver i det følgende undersøgt ad to spor, først et institutionaliseringsspor og siden et 'at vide om'-spor.

Kjær ('Historien om Frederik, der elskede musik ...' *MM*, 3 (1974), 11), Wenzel Andreasen ('Musikalsk hovmod II', *MM*, 3 (1974), 10) og bladets redaktør Jens Jørn Gjedsted ('Musikalsk hovmod ...', *MM*, 2 (1974), 3). Det skal bemærkes, at Moseholms indledende artikel også blev trykt i *Information* i august 1973. Det kan antages, at de mange genoptryk af Moseholms artikel har været planlagt fra starten, fordi han og andre havde brug for debatten for at kunne påvirke udkastet til den første musiklov, der endeligt blev vedtaget i 1976. Moseholm sad i det lovforberedende udvalg og var i øvrigt kendt som en garvet strategiker og musikpolitiker.

27 Ud over fagtidskrifterne kan man finde indlæg om krisen fx i *Information* (Poul Nielsen, 'Musikken er i verden. Om musikundervisningens problem', *Information* 17. november 1972; Johannes Nymark 'Musikundervisning – ikke et rekreativt appendiks', *Information* 3 januar 1973; Bent Kallenbach, 'At blive voksen i en verden fuld af musik', *Information* 29. december 1972). Se også Niels Krabbe, 'Tale ved instituttets 100-års jubilæumsfest i Universitetets festsal lørdag d. 26. april 1996 kl. 16', *Musik & forskning*, 22 (1997), 7-20.

28 Janus Clausen, "vi ses i Teen Club'en": *Gladsaxe Teen Club mellem velfærdsstat og ungdomsoprør, 1965-1969* (KU: upubl. speciale, 2012).

29 Bent Christiansen, "Biblioteket som musikkens skatkammer". Aspekter på et bibliotekarisk uddannelsesforløb', *Bibliotekshistorie*, 7/1 (2005), 170-98, 176.

30 Marianne Stig Andersen, 'Udlån og aflytning af beatplader', *Bogens verden*, 51/4 (1969), 315.

31 Anne Lise Christensen, 'Musikken og de unge i Brøndby-Bibliotekerne', *Bogens Verden*, 51/5 (1969), 403-4.

### *Institutionalisering*

Videnskulturer udfolder sig i netværk, hvis knudepunkter bl.a. udgøres af mere eller mindre faste institutioner. Konventionelt udtrykkes institutioner i bygninger (fx Københavns Universitets hovedsæde på Frue Plads), men det er næppe relevant her. Den konkrete videnskultur har ikke mange materielle aspekter ud over de mange publikationer. Økonomisk begrænser jeg mig til at konstatere, at der gennem årene er givet en lang række bevillinger. Først og fremmest omtaler jeg mere eller mindre faste, faglige relationer mellem forskere. Det kan være længerevarende relationer blandt kolleger og studerende på universitetsinstitutter eller blandt kolleger i forskningsprojekter, eller kortvarige som de midlertidige fællesskaber i seminarer og på konferencer. Det kan forstås mere teoretisk ud fra følgende definition af begrebet institution: "... we understand the term to refer to more-or-less taken-for-granted repetitive social behaviour that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order".<sup>32</sup> Den selv-reproducerende, sociale orden eller de sociale relationer er i sagens natur skrøbelig og under stadig forandring. Videnskulturerne forandrer sig selv gennem selv-reproduktionen, og derfor finder jeg det mere relevant at tale om institutionalisering som proces end om blotte og bare institutioner. Det betyder ikke, at populærmusikforskningens institutionalisering er en klar, kausal proces. Store dele af udviklingen er sket noget tilfældigt, fx om en forskningsfond beslutter sig til at støtte det ene eller andet projekt, eller når der pludselig er penge til at fastansætte nye kolleger. Det processuelle element er her en langsom vækst i antallet af aktører i den specifikke videnskultur og en konsolidering af bestemte måder at vide på.

Den første bølge (1970'erne og 1980'erne): De unge musikkandidater

De musikalske og diskursive nydannelser i musiklivet blev selvfølgelig registreret på universiteternes musikinstitutter, men som institutioner reagerede man kun langsomt på dem med en udvikling af nye forskningsområder og studieordningsændringer. Situationen blev åbenbar for alle, da Gymnasieskolernes Musiklærerforening i 1974 sendte et brev til universitetsinstitutterne, hvori man i meget klart sprog konstaterede en krise, fordi både ældre og nyuddannede gymnasielærere manglede specielt praktisk, men også musikteoretisk og historisk viden om 'rytmisk musik'. Det var bydende nødvendigt at gøre noget ved det, og foreningen nærmest krævede den ny musik integreret i undervisningen. Brevet sluttede: "Sagen er alvorlig – og det haster".<sup>33</sup> Både fordi foreningens

32 Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Kerstin Sahlin og Roy Suddaby, 'Introduction', i Royston Greenwood et al. (red.), *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (London: Sage, 2008), 2-51.

33 Jørgen Munk, [brev til de to musikinstitutter om integrering af rytmisk musik i undervisningen]. *Meddelelser* [Gymnasieskolernes Musiklærerforenings medlemsblad], 3 (1974), 20-22.

medlemmer alle var uddannede på de to musikinstitutter, og fordi gymnasiet i lang tid havde stået som den mest legitime kandidataftager (udover forskningsverdenen selv), gjorde brevet indtryk og fik en vis effekt på studieordninger og ansættelser.

Gymnasiebrevet nævnte ikke den mangel på undervisningsmaterialer, som var blevet åbenbar på foreningens efteruddannelseskurser. Men det var en kendt sag, og hensigten med mange af 1970'ernes udgivelser var at fylde dette hul. De fleste udgivelser på Publimus, et forlag oprettet på Aarhus-instituttet i 1974,<sup>34</sup> og antologien *Musik og samfund* fra 1977,<sup>35</sup> der havde rod i københavnerinstituttet, var tænkt som pædagogiske materialer. Samtidig repræsenterede udgivelserne de videnskabsteoretiske og musiksociologiske nybrud, der skete i en række specialer, i rapporter fra studenterstyrede hovedfagsseminarer og i arbejdsrapporter, der cirkulerede i miljøet.<sup>36</sup> De fleste temaer i dette nybrud er repræsenteret i de 21 indlæg i *Festskrift til Arne Kjær*, en række seriøse artikler skrevet af studerende og undervisere fra både Aarhus og København blandet med et par humoristiske indslag – alt sammen i anledning af musikstuderende Arne Kjærs 10 års indskrivning ved instituttet i Aarhus.<sup>37</sup> Med de relativt mange publikationer fik den studenterbårne forskning – udført af både kvinder og mænd – for en tid en plads i det offentlige rum, og mange af udgivelserne kom til at begynde en første bølge af populærmusikforskning i Danmark. Emnerne var mangeartede: 1800-tallets trivialmusik, ragtime, funktionel musik, musikindustri, musik i samfundet, musikpædagogisk debat i mellemkrigstiden, reggae, rytmisk musik i Grønland, dansk beat og danske beattekster.<sup>38</sup>

34 Lars Ole Bonde, 'Publimus – Historien om Musikinstituttets græsrodsforlag 1974-87', *Musikvidenskabs historier*, cc.au.dk/musikvidenskabs-historier/studenterbårne-aktiviteter/publimus, besøgt 21. november 2023.

35 Finn Gravesen (red.), *Musik og samfund* (København: Gyldendal, 1977). Gravesen og andre leverede desuden gennem Danmarks Radios undervisningsafdeling en længere række udsendelser om musiksociologiske problemstillinger, pop og rytmisk musik for gymnasiet igennem 1970'erne.

36 Fx Wolfgang Hamm et al., *Popmusik – profit for kapitalen* (Aarhus: Studenterfronten, AU, 1973), der er en oversættelse fra tysk i den Aarhus-baserede serie Fagkritiske Tekster; Hanne Holt et al., *Vi Unge – en analyse* (København: Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, 1974) og Anon, *Til kritikken af D.J. Grouts A History of Western Music* (København: Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, uden år), der begge er projektrapporter udarbejdet i forbindelse med seminarer.

37 *Festskrift til Arne Kjær i anledning af 10 års musikstudier 1963-1973* (Aarhus: Peters forlag, 1973). Peters forlag blev siden til Publimus.

38 Erik Møldrup, *Ragtime* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1974), Ole Straarup, *Funktionel musik* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1975), Popgruppen, *Rapport om popmusik i Danmark* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1975), Kirsten de Cros Dich og Anne Ejsing, *Musikken i samfundet: Sang om merværdi, sommer og sol* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1975), Peder Kaj Pedersen, *Træk af den musikpædagogiske debat i mellemkrigstiden* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1976), Erik Quist Jensen, Jørn Wendelbo og Allan Mygind Vokstrup, *Dunhammer og segl: En analyse af danske beattekster og dansk beatmiljø i perioden 1967-74* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1977), Lars Ole Bonde og Sabine Schutte, *Fra et hjem med klaver. Tema: til en samfundsmæssig forståelse af trivialmusikken i 1800-tallet* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1979), Inge Grethe Dørup Jensen, *Ungdom og discokultur* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1980), Bente Langagergaard og Thue de Cros Dich, *Reggae på Jamaica* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1981), Birgit Lyng, *Rytmisk musik i Grønland* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1981), Beate S. Piil, *Beat*

Selvom Publimus langt fra kun publicerede populærmusikforskning, var forlaget et første skridt i en institutionalisering af forskningsområdet. Samme forlag leverede også det næste vigtige institutionaliseringsbidrag, tidsskriftet *Modspil* (1978-90) et samarbejde mellem ældre studerende og unge kandidater fra både Aarhus og København. *Modspil*, der havde undertitlen *Tidsskrift for musikpolitik, kritiske musikstudier, kritisk musikpædagogik*, var ikke et videnskabeligt tidsskrift, men et tidsskrift for intellektuel debat af tidens musikspørgsmål. I temanumre tog de forskellige forfattere, igen nylige kandidater eller ældre studerende fra Aarhus eller København, en meget bred vifte af emner op, som den mere traditionelle musikforskning ikke berørte. Kvinder og musik, venstrefløjens musik og folkemusik var meget populære emner, men også emner som musik og seksualitet, musik på gaden og i gårdene, musik på Færøerne samt forskellige analyseproblematikker blev taget op. Det gjaldt mindre diskussioner af videnskabsteoretiske problemstillinger og mere om at introducere og indsamle basal viden og interviews om ikke-kanoniske musikpraksisser.

Forskningsstipendier, -netværk og -projekter var endnu et skridt i en forskningsmæssig legitimering og institutionalisering. Per Drud Nielsen, der var kandidat fra AU, modtog et toårigt stipendium fra samme universitet og udgav i 1981 sin licentiatafhandling, der var et studie i hverdagsmusikkens sociologi.<sup>39</sup> Erik Wiedemann fik en bevilling fra Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd til et projekt om dansk jazzhistorie, der resulterede i doktordisputatsen. Hanne Tofte Jespersen, der var kandidat fra KU, oppebar fra 1985-88 et kandidatstipendium sammesteds fra, som var tæt forbundet med det treårige forskningsprojekt Musikfaget i gymnasiet, igen finansieret af Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd. Jespersen og Lars Ole Bonde, der var kandidat fra AU, ledede projektet. Ud over diverse artikler var resultatet en antologi om gymnasieundervisningen.<sup>40</sup>

Et tredje skridt var besættelsen af faste stillinger med forskningsforpligtelse. Selvom der var flere markante stemmer i den første bølge, og mange af dem for en tid fristede en tilværelse som undervisningsassistenter, blev kun få ansat som forskere. København fastansatte Erik Wiedemann i 1978 og blev samtidig vært for Arkiv for Dansk Jazzhistorie. På musikuddannelsen på Aalborg Universitetscenter, der åbnede i 1976, ansatte man flere i løbet af de første år. Den første var Peder Kaj Pedersen fra København, der havde anlagt et historisk perspektiv på den musikpædagogiske debat i 1930'erne. Han blev fulgt af flere Aarhus-kandidater: Per Drud Nielsen og Lars Ole Bonde i 1981 og Tore Mortensen i 1984. Sidstnævnte havde publiceret et speciale om den elektriske Miles Davis og fik ved fastansættelsen en speciel forpligtelse til at undervise i populærmusik.<sup>41</sup> København

*på dansk* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1981). Selvom denne liste er imponerede, skal det nævnes, at de kun udgør en lille del af de specialer der blev skrevet på AU i de år.

39 Per Drud Nielsen, *Hverdagsmusikkens Sociologi: Teori, empiri, analyse*, bd. I+II (Aarhus: Publimus, 1981).

40 Hanne Tofte Jespersen (red.), *Man skal høre meget. Musikaliteten i fokus. En bog om lærere og undervisning* (København: Chr. Ejlers forlag, 1988).

41 Tore Mortensen, *Miles Davis – den ny jazz* (Aarhus: eget forlag, 1976). Bogen kom i to oplag.

fastansatte ikke nogen som helst fra 1980 til 1993 på grund af ansættelsesstop. Med Alf Björnberg, der havde skrevet sin ph.d.-afhandling om svensk melodigrandprix på Göteborgs universitet, ansatte Aalborg i 1987 den første musikforsker med eksplicit fokus på populærmusik og samtidig den første, der publicerede internationalt. Björnberg skrev også den første og hidtil eneste introduktion til den internationale populærmusikforskning, *Analyse af populærmusik: teorier og metoder*, på dansk.<sup>42</sup> Den indvarslede en markant vending fra en overvejende tysk mod en anglo-amerikansk inspiration og mod et forskningsområde, der eksplicit forstod sig selv som *Popular Music Studies*. Desværre fik den ikke nogen videre udbredelse, hverken som referenceværk eller som undervisningsbog. Björnberg vendte tilbage til Göteborg i 1994, hvor han virkede frem til 2019.

Det tidligste populærmusikforskningsnetværk, som jeg har registreret, er de nordiske jazzarkiver. Netværket har primært været aktivt på konferencer hvert tredje til sjette år siden 1980. Der er udgivet rapporter fra de fleste, men aktiviteterne er stoppet i 2015 efter den 11. konference. Et andet tidligt netværk udfoldede sig i regi af Nordisk Sommeruniversitet i begyndelsen af 1980'erne. Det var en internordisk musikkreds, og arbejdet kulminerede i et temanummer af *Nordisk Forum* med titlen "*Two for the show*": *Musikalternativ mellan motkultur och industri*.<sup>43</sup> De 21 bidrag kom bredt omkring og berørte både musikanalyse, ungdomskulturer og alternative musikkulturer. Sommeruniversitetets musikkreds fortsatte gennem 1980'erne, men har kun sat sig få skriftlige spor. Internationalt var der et begyndende engagement i IASPM. Ole Straarup, også en kandidat fra Aarhus, deltog i den første internationale konference i 1981 og Lars Ole Bonde i den anden i 1983.<sup>44</sup> Siden midten af 1990'erne har der været dansk deltagelse i de fleste biennale IASPM-konferencer.

Enkelte stemmer med anden faglig baggrund bidrog til videnskulturen. Litteratursociologen Peer E. Sørensen var i 1969 tidligt ude med en artikel om beatmusik og psykoanalyse, og kultursociologen Elo Nielsen fortsatte senere i det spor med en introduktion til narcissisme og beatmusik i forlængelse af den tyske socialisationsforskning.<sup>45</sup> Medieforskeren Henrik Brøndsted var ligeledes tidligt ude med en rapport om jazz og beat i tv, mens sociologen Gestur Guðmundssons *Let's Rock This Town* fra 1984, der

42 Alf Björnberg, *Analyse af populærmusik: teorier og metoder* (Aalborg: Institut for musik og musikterapi, 1991).

43 Curt Johnson et al. (red.), "*Two for the Show*": *Musikalternativ mellan motkultur och industri* (=Nordisk Forum 39/40) (København: Nordisk Forum, 1983).

44 Ole Straarup, 'Popular Music Research: Needs and Uses in Education', i David Horn og Philip Tagg (red.), *Popular Music Perspectives: Papers from the First International Conference on Popular Music Research, Amsterdam, June 1981* (Göteborg og Exeter: IASPM, 1982), 246-48; Lars Ole Bonde, 'Hvis rock & roll kommunikerer, hvorfor larmer den så sådan? En slags rapport om IASPM-konferencen i Reggio Emilia (Italien) september 1983 - og om populærmusikforskningens situation i dag', *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 58/2 (1983), 57-62.

45 Peer E. Sørensen, 'Electric Music for Your Mind and Body', *Kritik*, 11 (1969), 5-24; Elo Nielsen, 'Narcissisme og beatmusik', *Kultur og klasse*, 30 (1977), 85-105.

primært var et bidrag til marxistisk teori, introducerede til Birminghamskolen.<sup>46</sup> På trods af denne introduktion har cultural studies-traditionen fra Birmingham langt fra fået den helt centrale status, som den har haft i de angelsaksiske forskningsmiljøer.

Forlag, tidsskrift, forskningsbevillinger, fastansættelser og internationale forskningsnetværk var sammen med de længerevarende kollegiale forbindelser pga. tidsskriftredigering, projektstyring og deltagelse i institutternes lærerkollegier de første vigtige skridt i en institutionaliseringsproces.

Den anden bølge (1990'erne og 2000'erne): Stipendiater og forskningsbevillinger  
Mod slutningen af 1980'erne ebbede den første bølge langsomt ud. Udgivelserne blev markant færre. Publimus gik ind i 1987, og *Modspil*, der i 1986 havde ændret undertitlen til *De store ørers musiktidsskrift*, blev udgivet på skiftende forlag og lukkede i 1990 efter i alt 44 numre.<sup>47</sup> Institutterne i Aarhus og København havde accepteret nødvendigheden af en populærmusikforskning, og det resulterede i den næste bølge, der så småt tog fart i 1990'erne med stadig flere fastansættelser, forskningsbevillinger og tættere forbindelser til nordiske og anglo-amerikanske populærmusikforskere. De tættere forbindelser gav også en god fornemmelse for en ny musikvidenskabelig bølge, der under navnet *new musicology* slog igennem i USA og England. Der var primært tale om en fornyelse inden for den historiske musikvidenskab, der i et hermeneutisk perspektiv tog kontekstualiseringspåbuddet til sig og samtidig hentede inspiration fra musiketnologien og den gryende populærmusikforskning. En af de væsentligste *new musicology*-personer i denne artikels sammenhæng var Susan McClary, der i et feministisk perspektiv bevægede sig relativt ubesværet mellem Madonna, Monteverdi, Beethoven og Laurie Anderson.

Populærmusikforskningen blev i 1990'erne en legitim del af dansk musikforskning og humaniora generelt og opbyggede de samme strukturer og kriterier for legitimitet. Men flere elementer, som ofte er en del af legitimerings- og institutionaliseringsprocesser – leksika, grundbøger, faglige foreninger, nationale konferencer – kom dog ikke til, dertil var miljøet for småt. Til gengæld fortsatte bevillingerne til forskningsprojekter og stipendiater, der kom en række fastansættelser mod slutningen 2000'erne og ikke mindst mangedobledes forskningspublikationerne, både i dansk- og engelsksprogede tidsskrifter.

Charlotte Rørdam Larsen blev i 1990 ansat som den første adjunkt på AU inden for populærmusikforskningen. Ansættelsesområdet var ungdomsmusik. I de følgende år blev der ansat flere stipendiater med populærmusikalske emner: Lisbeth Ihlemann (AU, 1991), Morten Michelsen (KU, 1993) og Annemette Kirkegaard (KU, 1994). Væk var de

46 Henrik Brøndsted, *Jazz og beat i tv: En analyse af et udvalg af Per Møller Hansens og Edmond Jensen udsendelser fra perioden 1968-72* (KU, Institut for Filmvidenskab, 1973); Gestur Guðmundsson, *Let's Rock This Town: Subkulturel produktion af subjektivitet* (København: KU, Sociologisk Institut, 1984).

47 Fra midten af 1980'erne begyndte forlaget Systime (oprettet i Herning i 1980) så småt at overtage Publimus' rolle som leverandør af undervisningsmaterialer til gymnasiets musikundervisning. Men det blev aldrig udfoldet for alvor.

markante politiske perspektiver, og de pædagogiske intentioner drejede sig ikke længere om at fremstille undervisningsmaterialer, men om at udvikle analytiske fremgangsmåder på et tidssvarende metodisk-teoretisk grundlag. For Lisbeth Ihlemanns vedkommende med musikvideoen i centrum og for Morten Michelsens, den optagne lyd på fonogrammet. Annemette Kirkegaards afhandling om populærmusikkultur på Zanzibar og i Tanzania satte dagsordenen for en længere række musikanthropologiske studier af populærmusik og viste de mange muligheder, som forbindelserne mellem populærmusikforskning og antropologi medførte – specielt en åbning af området mod en global populærmusik og anvendelsen af antropologisk metode og teori på lokale, europæiske musikkulturer. Alle tre blev i anden halvdel af 1990'erne ansat som adjunkter og siden lektorer i København. Også uden for musikvidenskab var der interesse for populærmusik, og Michael Eigtved (Litteraturvidenskab, KU) skrev afhandling om musical-traditionen.

Populærmusikforskningen blev desuden beriget med flere forskere, der ikke havde skrevet ph.d. (eller speciale) inden for det populærmusikalske område, men som siden deres fastansættelser har bidraget væsentligt til området. Steen Kaargaard Nielsen, der har været ansat på AU siden 1998, har bidraget med artikler og bøger om fonografi, film-musik, musikvideo og censur, Martin Knakkegaard, der var ansat på AAU 1992-2020, har bidraget med flere musikanalytiske artikler, mens Erik Steinskog, der er uddannet i Norge og har været lektor på KU siden 2008, blandt andet har skrevet omfattende om køn og race i forbindelse med afrikansk-amerikansk musik og ikke mindst afrofuturisme.

Efter årtusindskiftet blev der forsvaret en længere række ph.d.-afhandlinger (se fig. 1). Både emner og dagsordener var ret forskelligartede, men de musikanalytiske og de bredt kulturteoretisk og -historisk orienterede var væsentlige indfaldsvinkler, ligesom en del beskæftigede sig specifikt med dansk musikkultur (Marstal, Krogh, Smith-Sivertsen, Lindelof). I samme årti øgedes universiteternes økonomiske råderum, således at næsten alle dem, der forsvarede deres afhandlinger i 2000'erne, efterhånden blev ansat i forskerstillinger.<sup>48</sup> Kun en, Mads Krogh, blev ansat på et musikinstitut/afdeling, hvilket tyder på, at der ikke kun var tale om import af ideer i populærmusikforskningens videnskultur, men om en stadig udveksling.

Internationaliseringen blev understøttet af gæsteprofessorer (Simon Frith (1996) og Georgina Born (1997-98) i Aarhus), af afholdelse af internationale konferencer, af en lang række seminarer og ikke mindst af ph.d.-studerendes ophold ved udenlandske forskningsinstitutioner. Kandidaterne gæstede musikafdelinger i Liverpool, Newcastle, Stirling (Skotland), New York, Wien, Göteborg og Chicago. Samtidig indgik udenlandske bedømmere i de tre personer store bedømmelseskomiteer. Efterhånden opstod en

48 Fabian Holt (RUC, 2006), Anja Mølle Lindelof (RUC, 2009), Henrik Smith-Sivertsen (KB, 2011), Iben Have (AU, 2005), Henrik Marstal (Rytmsk Musikkonservatorium, 2008), Mads Krogh (AU, 2007), Nikolai Graakjær (AAU, 2008), David-Emil Wickström (Popakademie Baden-Württemberg, 2010). Bortset fra Wickström blev alle først ansat i adjunkt- eller adjunktlignende åremålstillinger og efter et antal år fastansat som lektorer.

række personlige forbindelser opnået gennem invitationer af udenlandske forskere til at deltage i lokale konferencer og seminarer, gennem egen deltagelse i udenlandske konferencer, gennem ophold på udenlandske forskningsinstitutioner og gennem egentlige forskningsamarbejder på tværs af landegrænser.

I løbet af 2000'erne blev det mere almindeligt med postdoc-forløb efter endt ph.d.-uddannelse. Fabian Holt fra KU skrev i den forbindelse en bog om genreteori, der udkom på Chicago University Press,<sup>49</sup> Anne Dvinge fra litteraturvidenskab (KU) fortsatte sine jazzstudier og udgav en række artikler. I Aarhus modtog Mads Krogh og litteraten Birgitte Stougaard Pedersen hver sit hiphop-relaterede postdoc-stipendium og publicerede en række artikler. Også andre stemmer bidrog. Som en del af sit adjunktforløb publicerede sociologen Lars Kjerulf Petersen en monografi om dansk teknokultur, og uden institutionstilknytning udgav musiketnologen Eva Fock et studie om musikkultur og -forbrug hos unge danskere af anden etnisk herkomst.<sup>50</sup> Ole Izard Høyer og Anders H.U. Nielsens fik publiceret deres speciale *Da den moderne jazz kom til Danmark*.<sup>51</sup>

Det nordiske engagement, som var blevet etableret via Nordisk Sommeruniversitet, fortsatte i det NorFA-finansierede forskernetværk *Nordisk Rockforskning* (1992-95) og blev ledet af Rørdam Larsen og Ihlemann. De rakte også ud til ikke-nordiske forskere, blandt andet Sara Cohen, Bruce Johnson, Sarah Thornton, Susan McClary og Robert Walser. Året efter gav NorFA en bevilling til et nordisk musikforskeruddannelsesnetværk *Skagerak* (1996-99), et samarbejde mellem Oslo, Göteborg, Turku, Ålborg og Aarhus ledet af den Aarhus-ansatte Ansa Lønstrup. Selvom det i princippet var henvendt til alle musikforskere, var temaerne overvejende populærmusikalske. Også her var der flere ikke-nordiske gæster, bl.a. gengangerne McClary og Walser.<sup>52</sup> En udløber af det første netværk blev endnu et NorFA-støttet projekt, denne gang et egentligt forskningsprojekt om nordisk og anglo-amerikansk rockkritik som kulturelt felt.<sup>53</sup> Et uformelt nordisk netværk om hiphopkultur initieret af bl.a. Mads Krogh og Birgitte Stougaard Pedersen resulterede i en antologi.<sup>54</sup> Netværket har siden afholdt enkeltstående seminarer og konferencer og er nu en del af European Hip-hop Studies-netværket. Desuden kom flere sound studies-orienterede projekter til, der blandt andet undersøgte populærmusikalske problematikker.

49 Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago og London: Chicago University Press, 2007).

50 Lars Kjerulf Petersen, *Technokultur: Musikken, fællesskabet, samfundet* (København: Multivers, 2001) og Eva Fock, *Mon farven har en anden lyd?* (København: Museum Tusulanum, 2000).

51 Ole Izard Høyer og Anders H.U. Nielsen, *Da den moderne jazz kom til Danmark: En musikkulturel undersøgelse af det danske moderne jazzmiljø 1946-1961* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2007).

52 Ansa Lønstrup, 'Kulturteorier og kulturanalyse i musikvidenskab', *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning*, 26 (1998), 76-77.

53 Projektets resultater er dokumenteret i Ulf Lindberg, Gestur Guðmundsson, Morten Michelsen og Hans Weisethaunet, *Rock Criticism from the Beginning: Amusers, Bruisers & Cool-Headed Cruisers* (New York, Peter Lang, 2005).

54 Mads Krogh og Birgitte Stougaard Pedersen (red.), *Hiphop i Skandinavien* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2008).



- Per Drud Nielsen, *Hverdagsmusikkens Sociologi: Teori, empiri, analyse* (Aarhus: Publimus, 1981)
- Gestur Guðmundsson, *Let's Rock This Town: Subkulturel produktion af subjektivitet* (København: KU, Sociologisk Institut, 1984)
- Lisbeth Ihlemann, *Rockbilleder: En undersøgelse af musikkens funktion og betydning i musikvideoen* (AU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 1994)
- Annemette Kirkegaard, *Taarab na Muziki wa densi: The Popular Musical Culture in Zanzibar and Tanzania seen in relation to globalization and cultural change* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 1996)
- Morten Michelsen, *Sprog og lyd i analysen af rockmusik* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 1997)
- Michael Eigtved, *Det populære musikteater: Fra rockritual til popmelodrama, 1968-93* (KU, Institut for Litteraturvidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 1998)
- Fabian Holt, *Cool-traditionen: Udviklingen og undersøgelsen af en teori om en deltradition i amerikansk jazz med fokus på 1920'erne og 1930'erne* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2001)
- Jesper Juellund Jensen, *Musikalske normer i populærmusik* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2001)
- Iben Have, *Det musikalske underspil: En undersøgelse af underlægningsmusikkens betydning, belyst gennem den journalistiske tv-dokumentar* (AU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2004)
- Henrik Marstal, *Sange fra glemmebogen – eller huskekager fra fortiden? Forvaltninger af traditionelle sangrepertoarer i dansk rock fra omkring årtusindeskiftet* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2005)
- Mads Krogh, "Fair nok, vi kalder det hiphop og retfærdiggør det med en anmeldelse": *Om hiphoppens diskursive konstituering som genrebegreb i dansk populærmusikkritik* (AU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2006)
- Henrik Smith-Sivertsen, *Kyilling og soft ice og pølser: Populærmusikalske versioneringspraksiser i forbindelse med danske versioner af udenlandske sange i perioden 1945-2007* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2007)
- Anja Mølle Lindelof, *Rockens rulletekster: En undersøgelse af dansk tvs formidling af rock 1951-1988* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2007)
- Anne Dvinge, *Between History and Hearsay: Imagining Jazz at the Turn of the 21st Century* (KU, Institut for Engelsk, Germansk og Romansk: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2007)
- Nicolai Jørgensgaard Graakjær, *Musik i tv-reklamer – En tekstanalytisk undersøgelse* (Aalborg Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2008)
- David-Emil Wickström, *Окна открыт! – Open the Windows! Scenes, Transcultural Flows, and Identity Politics in Popular Musik from Post-Soviet St. Petersburg* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2009)

Figur 1. Licentiat- og ph.d.-afhandlinger om populærmusik 1981-2009. De to første hører til den første bølge, resten til den anden. Af de i alt 16 afhandlinger er knap en tredjedel skrevet af kvinder, to er på engelsk og 12 er forsvaret på et musikvidenskabeligt institut. Eigtveds, Haves og Graakjærs afhandlinger er siden udkommet som bøger.

Samtidig med disse nordiske perspektiver begyndte de danske forskningsråd at bevilge penge til egentlige forskningsprojekter ud over ph.d.-stipendier. Igen var Rørdam Larsen tidligt ude med et tre-årigt projekt, *Musik og Medier* (1998-2001), der også indbefattede Martin Knakkegaard (AAU) og et ikke fuldendt ph.d.-projekt. Et mere omfattende, kollektivt projekt var *Dansk rockkultur fra 50'erne til 80'erne* (2003-08), hvor seks seniorforskere og to ph.d.-stipendiater samt flere tilknyttede deltog. Det udsprang af Det Danske Rockakademis arbejde omkring årtusindeskiftet med at etablere et rock-museum, et arbejde der blev fuldbyrdet med åbningen af Ragnarock i 2016. I forskningsprojektet sameksisterede flere tråde, dels en specifikt sociologisk, hvor Bourdieus feltteori kom til at stå centralt som kulturanalytisk redskab, dels et musikanthropologisk, hvor den nye amerikanske antropologi stod centralt, mens det mere musikanalytiske blev nedtonet. Ud over musikvidenskabeligt uddannede deltog en sociolog, en litterat, en teolog og en medieforsker. Projektets forskningsresultater fremgår af en række artikler, der blev publiceret på nettet, men ikke længere er tilgængelige, og af antologien *Rock i Danmark*.<sup>55</sup> Ud over en lang række seminarer og præsentationer ved udenlandske konferencer afholdt projektet i 2005 en international konference med fire udenlandske hovedtalere, knap 60 præsentationer og 50 andre deltagere, alt sammen under titlen *The Local, the Regional, and the Global in the Emergence of Popular Music Cultures*. Projektets seminarer og publikationer skabte for en tid sammenhængskraft i en videnskultur, der nu omfattede flere generationer og en række institutioner samt trak på en bred vifte af fagligheder.

Den tredje bølge (2010'erne og 2020'erne): Vækst

Skellet omkring 2010 er ikke lige så markant som det tidligere, men giver dog god mening. For det første blev den nævnte udviskning af faglige grænser stadig mere markant, både inden for musikvidenskaben og i forhold til diverse andre fag. Den udvikling gjaldt også de fleste andre fag på humaniora, der organisatorisk blev lagt sammen i storinstitutter og politisk opfordret til samarbejder på tværs, både inden for og uden for hovedområdet. Grænseopblødningen fremgår også af, at over halvdelen af periodens ph.d.-afhandlinger blev skrevet ved andre institutter end musikvidenskab. For det andet var der i 2010 og 2011 ingen ph.d.-afhandlinger at forsvare. Til gengæld var der i tiden 2012-22 lige så mange forsvar, som der havde været 1994-2009, men desværre faldt antallet af kvindelige forsvarere fra en tredjedel til en ottendedel af det samlede antal. For det tredje slog de tre musikafdelinger deres institutpublikationer sammen til én med internettidsskriftet *Danish Musicology Online* i 2010. Det skulle blive en kanal for mange artikler om populærmusik i bredeste forstand (og meget andet). Det måtte dog lukke i 2022 pga. manglende bevillinger.

55 Morten Michelsen, Charlotte Rørdam Larsen, Annemette Kirkegaard, Lisbeth Ihlemann, Gestur Guðmundsson og Henrik Bødker (red.) *Rock i Danmark: Studier i populærmusik fra 1950'erne til årtusindskiftet* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2013).

I denne vækstens tid blev der bevilget flere penge til netværk og større forskningsprojekter. De nordiske forbindelser blev vedligeholdt, fx i det NordForsk-finansierede netværk *Researching Music Censorship* (2010-14) ledet af Annemette Kirkegaard. Det havde 48 medlemmer og resulterede i et temanummer af *Popular Music & Society*, et temanummer af *Danish Musicology Online* og en antologi.<sup>56</sup> Fabian Holt ledte sammen med den finske populærmusikforsker Antti-Ville Kärjä projektet *Nordic Popular Music: Music, Identity, and Social Change in the Early 21st Century* (2012-13). Det var støttet af Nordisk Kulturfond og resulterede i en håndbog om populærmusik i Norden.<sup>57</sup> AU fortsatte traditionen med gæstprofessorer og havde besøg af David Hesmondhalgh i 2022 og Andy Bennett i 2024.

I et større, kollektivt projekt, *A Century of Radio and Music in Denmark: Music Genres, Radio Genres, and Mediatisation* (2013-18), blev der udviklet et mediespecifikt perspektiv på populærmusikken som radiomusik i Danmark. Det historiske perspektiv blev udvidet til at omfatte mellemkrigstiden med vægt på lytteteknologier (radio og grammofon) og repertoarer, og mere nutidigt musikradioens produktionspraksisser (morgenradio, sportsradio, hitlisteprogrammer, og P3) og forholdet mellem musikgenrer, radioformater og musikstyring. Det var også et arbejde, hvor de traditionelle genreskel betød mindre, fordi radiomediet og ikke musikgenrer dannede rammen. Projektet er dokumenteret i tre antologier.<sup>58</sup> Dette projekt udsprang af et omfattende forskningsinfrastrukturprojekt kaldet LARM, der gik ud på at etablere en database, der gjorde DRs programmer tilgængelige og søgbare for forskere.

Blandt de seneste forskningsprojekter taler to direkte ind i nogle af tidens centrale problematikker. Det drejer sig om *Gendering Music Matter* (2022-24) om ligestilling i den danske musikbranche ledet af den københavnsk baserede musikanthropolog Kristine Ringsager; og om *A Singing Society? Communal Singing in Denmark and the Limits of Social Inclusion* (2023-26) ledet af musikforskeren Lea Wierød Borčak og domicileret på Grundtvigcentret på AU. Et tredje, historisk orienteret er *Musico-Emotional Styles in Aarhus During the Long 1970s* (2024-26), der ledes af historikeren Bertel Nygaard (AU). Alle tre projekter har en eller flere postdocs tilknyttet.

56 Helmi Järviluoma og Jan Sverre Knudsen (red.), *Music Censorship* (=Danish Musicology Online, særnummer (2015)), Annemette Kirkegaard og Jonas Otterbeck (red.), *Music Censorship* (=Popular Music & Society, 40/3 (2017)) og Helmi Järviluoma, Annemette Kirkegaard, Jan Sverre Knudsen og Jonas Otterbeck (red.), *Researching Music Censorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

57 Fabian Holt og Antti-Ville Kärjä (red.), *The Oxford Handbook of Popular Music in the Nordic Countries* (London og New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

58 Morten Michelsen, Iben Have, Henrik Smith-Sivertsen, Anja Lindelof, Charlotte Rørdam Larsen (red.), *Stil nu ind ... Danmarks Radio og musikken* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2018), Morten Michelsen, Mads Krogh, Steen Kaargaard Nielsen og Iben Have (red.), *Tunes for all? Music on Danish Radio* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2018), Morten Michelsen, Mads Krogh, Steen Kaargaard Nielsen og Iben Have (red.), *Music Radio: Building Communities, Mediating Genres* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).

Et universitetsbaseret jazzcenter, Center for Dansk Jazzhistorie ved AAU, blev en realitet i 2006. Det bygger på bl.a. på jazzarkivaren Arnvid Meyers og Erik Wiedemanns samlinger og er siden vokset betragteligt samtidig med, at det er blevet et uafhængigt center.<sup>59</sup> Centret var vært for det to-årige projekt *Netværk for Dansk Jazzhistorie* finansieret af Det Frie Forskningsråd, der resulterede i en bog om DR og jazzen.<sup>60</sup> Den seneste centerdannelse er Dansk Center for Populærmusikkultur ved AU (DanPop), der blev oprettet i 2021. Det ledes af Nygaard og Michelsen og afholder regelmæssigt seminarer.

Blandt årtiets afhandlinger (se fig. 2) var Kristine Ringsagers, Johannes Skjelboes, Katrine Walleviks, Andreas Ottos og til dels Ole Høyers musikantropologiske projekter i den forstand, at de trækker på (musik)antropologisk orienteret teori, og empirien opstår i feltarbejder i en given populærmusikkultur. De er eksempler på, at grænsen mellem forskellige fagområder efterhånden er uklar. To andre temaer fra 1990'ernes afhandlinger blev taget op igen i 2010'erne. Analysen af lyd på fonogrammer blev videreudviklet af Mads Walther-Hansen og Anders Reuter med inspiration fra bl.a. kognitionsforskning og *new media studies*, og musikvideoområdet blev undersøgt på forskellig vis af Mathias Korsgaard og Anders Aktor Liljedahl. Rasmus Rex Pedersen og Troels Gregersen Østergård har undersøgt forskellige sider af musikindustrien – et gammelt tema, men her med fokus på henholdsvis musikeres arbejdsbetingelser og musikjournalisters produkter i en digitaliseret industri. Problemstillinger knyttet til det digitale indgår i flere af afhandlingerne (som nævnt Pedersen og Østergård, men også Andersen og Reuter), mens Andersen er den eneste, der for alvor har anvendt digitalt baserede metoder i beskæftigelsen med MIR (*music information retrieval*). Ud over ph.d.-afhandlingerne blev der indleveret en doktorafhandling, som i 2020 blev forsvaret for dr.phil.-graden. Den var skrevet af Fabian Holt og handlede om livemusikkulturens udvikling i et internationalt perspektiv.<sup>61</sup>

Emnerne i årtiets overvejende engelsksprogede monografier omfatter bl.a. afro-futurisme, dansk folk, livemusik, streaming, musik i reklamer og analyse af lydoptagelser.<sup>62</sup> Dertil kommer to monografier om danske forhold skrevet af historikere:

59 <https://jazzcentret.dk/cdjs-historie> (besøgt 6. november 2023).

60 Tore Mortensen, *Fortællinger om jazzen: Dans vej gennem statsradiofonien, Danmarks Radio og DR* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2010). Centret udgav samtidig Knud Knudsen, Ole Izard Høyer og Tore Mortensen, *Fra Odd Fellow til East Park: Jazz i Aalborg 1920-1970* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2010). Et par år senere udkom Knud Knudsen og Tore Mortensen, *Jazz i Aalborg efter East Park: Musikere og miljøer* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2016).

61 Fabian Holt, *Everyone Loves Live Music: A Theory of Performance Institutions* (Chicago og London: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

62 Erik Steinskog, *Afrofuturism and Black Sound Studies: Culture, Technology, and Things to Come* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Henrik Marstal, *Larmen på Strøget: 1960'ernes danske folk-scene* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2023); Holt, *Everyone*; Mads Krogh, *Musical Genre: Assemblage, Abstraction and Digital Terms* (New York og London: Bloomsbury, 2025); Nicolai J. Graakjær, *Analyzing Music in Advertising: Television Commercials and Consumer Choice* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Mads Walther-Hansen, *Making Sense of Recordings: How Cognitive Processing of Recorded Sound Works* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

- Mads Walther-Hansen, *The Perception of Sounds in Phonographic Space* (KU, Musikvidenskabeligt Institut: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2012)
- Mathias Korsgaard, *Music Video Today: Audiovisual Remediation in Post-Millennial Music Video* (AU, Afdeling for Medievidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2013)
- Rasmus Rosenørn, *Swing, unge og pop* (AU, Afdeling for Historie: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2013)
- Ole Ivard Høyer, *Living a Jazz Life: Constructions of Identity and Genre in Face-to-Face Interviews with Danish Jazz Musicians of the 1950s* (Aalborg Universitet, Musikvidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2013)
- Zlatko Jovanovic, "All Yugoslavia is Dancing Rock and Roll": *Yugoslavness and the Sense of Community in the 1980s Yu-Rock* (København Universitet, Afdeling for Historie: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2014)
- Andreas R. Otte, *Popular Music from Greenland: Globalization, Nationalism and Performance of Place* (KU, Institut for Tværkulturelle og Regionale Studier: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2014)
- Rasmus Rex Pedersen, *Ad Hoc Entrepreneurs: Middle-Layer Musicians and the Contemporary Media Landscape* (Roskilde Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation, Virksomhed og Informationsteknologi: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2015)
- Kristine Ringsager, *Rap, rettigheder, respekt: En musikalsk antropologi om medborgerskab, kosmopolitisme og brune rappere i Danmark* (KU, Afdeling for Musikvidenskab: upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2015)
- Johannes Frandsen Skjelbo, *Musik blandt unge med muslimsk baggrund* (KU, Afdeling for Musikvidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2015)
- Jens Skou Olsen, *At spille på øret: Erfarelse og auralitet i jazzperformance* (Roskilde Universitetscenter, Institut for Kommunikation, Virksomhed og Informationsteknologier: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2016)
- Jesper Steen Andersen, *How to Think Music with Data: Translating from Audio Content Analysis to Music Analysis* (KU, Det Informationsvidenskabelige Akademi: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2017)
- Katrine Wallevik, *Flow or stop? Culture Matters in P3's Music Radio Production* (KU, Afdeling for Musikvidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2019)
- Troels Gregersen Østergaard, *Popular Music Journalism in the Digital Age. A Cross-National Content Analysis of Popular Music Journalism in Danish and German News Media* (AU, Danmarks Medie- og Journalisthøjskole: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2021)
- Anders Reuter, *Pop Processing: The Digitalization of Musical Time and Space* (København Universitet, Afdeling for Musikvidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2021)
- Anders Aktor Liljedahl, *On Black Poetics and the Renunciation of Categorical Distinction in Multimodal Music Video Analysis* (KU, Afdeling for Musikvidenskab: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2022)

Figur 2. Ph.d.-afhandlinger om populærmusik 2012-22. Af de i alt 15 afhandlinger er kun 13% skrevet af kvinder, 11 af dem er på engelsk og syv af dem er forsvaret på et musikvidenskabeligt institut. Korsgaards afhandling er siden udkommet som bog.

Bertel Nygaard (AU) om den danske Elvis Presley-reception og Rasmus Rosenørn, der er museumsinspektør på Ragnarock, om den danske Beatles-reception.<sup>63</sup> Fra kulturhistorisk og antropologisk hold har Dale Carter, Derek Pardue og Andreas Steen (alle udlændinge ansat på AU) udgivet monografier om henholdsvis Beach Boys, rap fra Cap Verde og kinesisk jazz, rock og pop.<sup>64</sup> Musikantropologen Tore Lind (KU) har bidraget med en række artikler om heavy metal, og kulturhistorikeren Detlef Siegfried (KU) har udgivet en længere række artikler om popmusik i tysk kultur. Blandt andre temaer i tiden er Eurovision Song Contest (men ikke det danske melodigrandprix) og fællessang, som både musikforskere og historikere har budt ind på i en længere række artikler. Også problematikker i den frembrusende, digitale musikkultur har stor opmærksomhed fra en række forskere, dog uden at digitalt baserede metoder rigtig har vundet indpas. Elise Ligaard, der er kandidat fra København, publicerede sit sammen med journalisten Nynne Hein Møller omarbejdede speciale om fankultur, *Generation Spice Girls*.<sup>65</sup>

Ved fastansættelser inden for området har institutterne skærpet den internationale profil. I de seneste 10 år er flere engelsksprogede og en enkelt tysksproget forsker blevet ansat ved de musikvidenskabelige uddannelser, men med profiler, der ikke er entydigt populærmusikalske. Mark Grimshaw-Aagaard blev ansat på AAU i 2012 med et fokus på lyddesign og musik i computerspil (ludomusikologi) samt på sound studies generelt. Tyske Holger Schulze blev ansat på KU i 2014 som sound studies-forsker med en vinkel på populærmusik og -kultur. Musikantropologen Klisala Harrison blev ansat på AU i 2021, bl.a. med en interesse for udsattes musik og for Nordkalottens populærmusik, og Jessica Holmes blev ansat på KU samme år og forsker bl.a. i populærmusikkens repræsentationer i et handicap- og kønsperspektiv. Desuden blev Kristine Ringsager, der bl.a. arbejder med lokal hiphop i et musikantropologisk perspektiv, ansat på KU i 2021. Det samme blev Mikkel Vad, der var kandidat fra København, men skrev sin ph.d.-afhandling i USA, i 2023.<sup>66</sup> Det gælder for dem alle, at de undersøger omgang med populærmusik på den ene eller anden måde, men gør det inden for teoretiske forståelsesrammer, som går på tværs af fag.

Generelt var 2010'erne en væksttid for den danske populærmusikforskning, både med hensyn til antal fastsatte, antal forskningsprojekter og antal publikationer. Jeg vil mene,

63 Bertel Nygaard, *Elvis i Danmark: 65 års populærkultur* (København: Gad, 2020); Rasmus Rosenørn, *Beatlemania* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2018).

64 Dale Carter, *Reading Smile: History, Myth and American Identity in Brian Wilson and Van Dyke Parks' Long-Lost Album* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); Derek Pardue, *Cape Verde, Let's Go: Creole Rappers and Citizenship in Portugal* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Andreas Steen, *Der Lange Marsch des Rock 'n' Roll: Pop- und Rockmusik in der Volksrepublik China* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1996).

65 Elise Ligaard og Nynne Hein Møller, *Generation Spice Girls* (København: Gyldendal, 2021).

66 Mikkel Vad, *April in Paris, Autumn in New York: European Jazz in the US, 1940s–1970s* (University of Minnesota, College of Liberal Arts: Upubl. ph.d.-afhandling, 2022).

at der også var tale om en 'kvalitativ vækst'. Afhandlinger og forskningsartikler viste et stadig bedre håndværk med hensyn til teoretisk forankring og bearbejdning af empiriske materialer. Måske fordi institutionaliseringen i 2010'erne var blevet relativt stabil med hensyn til forskningspraksisser, internationale netværk og vejlederforhold.

### *At vide om populærmusik*

I det foregående er en række institutionsdannende forhold ridset op ved hjælp af personer, aktiviteter og publikationer i bogform (se fig. 3). Disse nogle gange tilfældige og nogle gange nødvendige "blandinger af arrangementer og mekanismer", som Cetina talte om, er så at sige grundlaget for hvordan vi ved, hvad vi ved, i den skildrede videnskultur. I det følgende drejer det sig så om den viden, som kulturen har trukket på og selv har udviklet gennem årene, dvs. hvad det vil sige at vide om populærmusik i en videnskabelig sammenhæng.

### Kritisk bevidstgørelse (1970'erne og 1980'erne)

Som nævnt var politiseringen af universiteterne omkring 1970 en del af baggrunden for etableringen af en populærmusikforskning, og forskellige former for marxisme kom til at danne grundlag for mere specifikke former for vidensproduktion i de enkelte fag. Det gjaldt også musikvidenskab. Etableringen af en ideologisk kritisk musikvidenskab på et marxistisk, teoretisk grundlag med musiksociologien som forståelsesmæssig ramme for relationerne mellem musik og samfund blev en ny måde at vide om musik på, og den havde til hensigt at skabe en kritisk bevidsthed om tingenes tilstand.<sup>67</sup> Ud over Marx selv kom to ret forskellige, marxistiske teoretikere til at levere hovedinspirationen for formuleringen af en materialistisk musiksociologi: Frankfurterskolens Theodor Adorno, hvis musiksociologi og massekulturkritik blev vigtig, og den strukturalistiske Louis Althusseres ideologi- og magtanalyse. De faglige udfordringer bestod dels i en sociologisering af musikhistoriedisciplinen, dels i at udvikle 'rytmisk musik' som et undervisningsområde, dels i generelle undersøgelser af forbindelserne mellem musik og samfund. Den viden, der blev produceret, var både en kritik af musikindustrien og de genrer, som syntes mest kommercielle (specielt Dansktoppen), af den etablerede musikvidenskab, af Danmarks Radio og af det kapitalistiske samfund som sådan. Til gengæld skulle den ny viden bibringe den politiske (populær)musik en kritisk og historisk baseret legitimitet. Meget af dette fremgår af *Rapport om popmusik i Danmark* (Popgruppen 1975), hvor blotlæggelsen af produktions- og distributionsforhold var central. Rapporten blev tilsyneladende en stor succes, da den kom i fire oplag, og flere senere forfattere gengiver dele af den eller forholder sig kritisk til den.<sup>68</sup>

67 Jespersen (red.), *Man skal høre meget*, 72-73.

68 Anna-Lise Malmros, *Musik: En introduktionsbog* (København: Hans Reitzel, 1977), 14-17; Drud Nielsen, *Hverdagsmusikkens sociologi*, 63-75.

De unges (beat)musik står ikke i centrum i Publimus-forlagets 1970'erudgivelser. Den egnede sig ikke lige så godt til kritik som dansktopgenren, der er det væsentligste eksempel i både aarhusianske Kirsten de Cros Dich og Anne Ejsings udgivne speciale, i Popgruppens rapport og i den københavnske musiksociolog Finn Gravesens antologi *Musik og Samfund*.<sup>69</sup> For dem var Dansktoppen, der var et af Danmarks Radios mest populære programmer, fordummende, fordi den gennem de sentimentale og banale sange samt værtens small talk gav lytterne en falsk tilfredshed med deres livsomstændigheder. Kritikken lå entydigt i forlængelse af 1960'ernes polemikker mod poppen og fik i den grad udskammet dens publikum, men for de unge forfattere var det vigtigt at etablere en sådan viden på et videnskabeligt grundlag frem for på de kulturradikales æstetiske. Bortset fra *Dunhammer og Segl* fra 1977 udkom der først efter 1980 specialeafhandlinger med fokus på beatkulturen og musikken.<sup>70</sup> De bidrog alle til en argumentation, der reproducerede det traditionelle skel mellem fin- og massekultur, som beatmusikere, kritikere og fans kendte så godt, fordi de kæmpede for at legitimere beaten i forhold til den finkulturelle, klassiske musik. De havde overtaget skellet for at kunne højne den 'seriøse' beatmusik i forhold til den 'kommercielle' popmusik, der jo så blev en ny lavkultur i forhold til beaten. Det blev en viden, der ville afsløre, hvordan dele af befolkningen lå under for ideologisk blændværk, og ville identificere en egentlig progressiv musik (venstrefløjens musiktradition og dele af beatmusikken). Bøgerne blev således ideologiproducerende på samme måde som den musikvidenskabelige tradition, de vendte sig imod, men med et andet repertoire og et andet politisk mål. At vide om populærmusik skete på den måde stadig i et kulturelt hierarkis tjeneste.

Det er markant, at de nævnte bøger helt overvejende refererer til tyske forsknings-traditioner og næsten ikke til engelske. Det var ligeledes (vest)tyisk ungdomsforskning, der inspirerede en musikforskning, som spurgte til, hvordan man kunne undervise i populærmusik. Dieter Baackes *Beat – die sprachlose Opposition* fra 1968 fik en afgørende betydning på længere sigt, og 15 år senere var det Ziehe og Stubenrauchs *Ny ungdom og usædvanlige læreprocesser*, som introducerede en psykoanalytisk inspireret ungdomsforskning.<sup>71</sup> De pegede mod nye måder at forstå interaktionen mellem ungdom og beatmusik på og hjalp dermed med til at flytte fokus fra beaten som undersøgelsesobjekter i sig selv hen mod forholdet mellem faktiske, unge lyttere og musik.

69 Popgruppen, *Rapport om popmusik*; Dich og Ejsing, *Musikken i samfundet*; og Gravesen, *Musik og samfund*.

70 Jensen et al., *Dunhammer og segl*; Piil, *Beat på dansk*; Langagergaard og Dich, *Reggae på Jamaica*; Lyng, *Rytmsk musik i Grønland*. Der var også et bidrag fra Nordisk på Odense Universitet: Johs. Nørregaard Frandsen, Jørgen Hoyer og Lars Winberg, *Ungdomskulturelle medie- og perceptionsformer – analyseret i forhold til udvalgte, danske rockgruppers produktioner i 1970'erne* (Odense: Nordisk Institut, Odense Universitet, 1981).

71 Dieter Baacke, *Beat – die sprachlose Opposition* (München: Juventa, 1968); Thomas Ziehe og Herbert Stubenrauch, *Ny ungdom og usædvanlige læreprocesser* (København: Politisk Revys forlag, 1983).



Med til det marxistiske perspektiv hørte, at forskningsresultaterne skulle bruges – man producerede viden for nogen. Disse nogen blev gymnasiet, som var et godt sted at bevidstgøre ungdommen gennem at lære dem om den musikkultur, de var en del af. Stort set alle de nævnte bøger var tænkt som undervisningsmateriale og dermed som et bidrag til at løse musikfagets krise, men egentligt musikpædagogiske forskningsindsatser var der ikke mange af. Peder Kaj Pedersens bog om 1930'ernes musikpædagogiske debat var en undtagelse, mens uddannelsesforsker Karen Borgnakke og gymnasie Musiklærer Søren Schmidts antologi *Pop og idoldyrkelse. Krise i musikfaget: En debatbog* for alvor satte både musikpædagogiske problemer og løsningsforslag på dagsordenen (igen med Dansktoppen som et centralt eksempel), specielt i folkeskole- og gymnasiekredse. Den fakkelt blev bragt videre ind i 1980'erne og kulminerede med Jespersen og andres store gymnasieundersøgelse.<sup>72</sup>

Musikanalysen blev også problematiseret, men forblev et problem.<sup>73</sup> Et første skridt var udviklingen af disciplinen auditiv analyse, der kunne omfatte transkribering, udarbejdelse af lyttepartiturer eller formulering af umiddelbare lytteoplevelser. Det gjorde fonogrammer til legitime analyseobjekter, men det hørte blev stadig registreret i den traditionelle musiklæres forestillingsverden.<sup>74</sup> At det var den 'klassiske' måde at vide på, blev erkendt som problem i samtiden,<sup>75</sup> men kun Hanne Tofte Jespersen opstillede mere gennemreflekterede alternativer.<sup>76</sup> Selv med den store interesse for sammenhængen mellem musik og samfund kunne man ikke komme længere end til at betragte det musikalske materiale og det sociale som to separate strukturer, der kun kunne forbindes ved at påpege strukturelle ligheder mellem de to (et grelt eksempel er den tilsyneladende lighed i de hierarkiske strukturer i det kapitalistiske samfund og det dur/mol-tonale system).

Opsamlende kan man sige, at 1970'ernes og 1980'ernes gryende populærmusikforskning udviklede sig i opposition til den traditionelle musikvidenskab og med støtte fra to eksisterende fagområder, musiksociologien og musikpædagogikken (og indirekte sociologien og pædagogikken). Samtidig udviklede den sig inden for et marxistisk, fagkritisk paradigme, hvis mål var en kritisk bevidstgørelse og efterhånden også en frisættelse af specielt gymnasieelever og andre unge, men også en omkalfatring af musikvidenskabens som sådan. Populærmusikken, hvad enten det var under navnet Dansktop eller 'rytmisk

72 Pedersen, *Træk af den musikpædagogiske debat*; Karen Borgnakke og Søren Schmidt, *Pop og idoldyrkelse. Krise i musikfaget: en debatbog* (København: Unge Pædagoger, 1976); Jespersen (red.), *Man skal høre meget*.

73 Charlotte Rørdam Larsen, 'Forskning i populærmusikalske genrer', i Finn Egeland Hansen (red.), *Dansk musikforskning frem mod år 2000: Rapport fra seminar den 11. maj 1994* (København: Statens humanistiske forskningsråd, 1996), 25-35.

74 Fx Jens Brincker, *Musiklære og musikalsk analyse*, bind 1-5 (København: Engstrøm og Sødring, 1974).

75 Jens Brincker, 'Den musikpædagogiske udfordring', i *Festskrift Gunnar Heerup* (København: Edition Egtved, 1973), 27-36.

76 Hanne Tofte Jespersen, 'Oplevelse og analyse: En historie om et umage par i 70'ernes og 80'ernes musikfag', *Musik & forskning*, 13 (1987-88), 71-98.

musik, tjente primært som eksempler eller redskaber i denne oplysningsproces. Det betød, at en række centrale problemer i undersøgelsen af populærmusik ikke for alvor blev taget op, herunder det musikalske materiales status som objekt/værk og bundetheden til fonogrammet snarere end nodeudgivelsen. At vide om musik blev i høj grad et spørgsmål om tage kritisk stilling – og oftest i forbindelse med de ideologisk forblændede. Det medførte, at bestemte aspekter af musikkens kontekst fik en højere status end hidtil og blev undersøgt ganske grundigt. Modstillingen mellem tekst og kontekst forblev dog lige så absolut som tidligere, og det musikanalytiske arbejde blev ikke udviklet.

Legitimitet (1990'erne og 2000'erne)

Som nævnt introducerede Björnberg med *Analyse af populærmusik: Teorier og metoder* for alvor den anglo-amerikanske populærmusikforskning i Danmark. Det betød, at termer som 'rytmisk musik' og rockmusik efterhånden blev erstattet af populærmusik som den overordnede betegnelse for området. Den tætte forbindelse til en tysk musiksociologi blev mindre, mens en bredere og mindre dogmatisk – men stadig marxistisk funderet – kulturstudietradition rykkede i centrum. Den lå til dels i forlængelse af Raymond Williams og Birminghamskolens arbejder, men trak efterhånden også kraftigt på danske og engelske læsninger af franske litterater, filosoffer og sociologer og skabte en tradition for musikkulturstudier, der var teoretisk og metodisk bevidst og eksperimenterende. Ud over Björnberg blev den tradition formidlet til de danske musikvidenskabelige kredse af den engelske populærmusikforsker Richard Middleton i den dagsordenssættende *Studying Popular Music* og i antologien *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word*, der med sine mange forskelligartede bidrag gjorde det klart, hvor mangesidig videnskulturen var blevet.<sup>77</sup> *On Record* var bl.a. redigeret af sociologen Simon Frith, der også med egne monografier tidligt blev en stor inspirationskilde.<sup>78</sup> Endelig skal nævnes Iain Chambers, der med Walter Benjamin som udgangspunkt i *Urban Rhythms* formulerede en fremstilling af rockens historie.<sup>79</sup>

Blandt de mest afgørende forandringer i måden at vide om musik på var bevægelsen væk fra et fokus på den traditionelle musikvidenskabs 'værk' eller 'musikken i sig selv' hen mod en mere åben situation, hvor 'værket' stadig kunne være en del af undersøgelsen, men hvor andre problemstillinger stod i centrum. Det kunne være spørgsmål om mediering og medialitet (lydstudier, computer, tv, video), om betydningsproduktion

77 Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes og Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990). Simon Frith og Andrew Goodwin (red.), *On Record: Rock, Pop and the Written Word* (London: Routledge, 1990).

78 Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (London: Constable, 1983); Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996). En tidligere udgave af *Sound Effects*, kaldet *The Sociology of Rock* (London: Constable, 1978), blev endda oversat af Anna-Lise Malmros under titlen *Rocksociologi* (København: Notabene, 1980).

79 Iain Chambers, *Urban Rhythms. Pop Music and Popular Culture* (London: McMillan, 1985).

(forhold mellem sprog og musikalsk lyd), om musikalske fællesskaber (institutioner, musiklivets ofte hierarkiske organisering, smagsfællesskaber) eller om lytterens/brugers oplevelser (receptionsstudier, identitetsarbejde). Samtidig prøvede man at komme videre fra specielt 1970'ernes afhængighed af traditionel analyse for i stedet at udvikle en mere kontekstorienteret tilgang, og andre fagområder end sociologien blev relevante for forståelsen af populærmusik, fx dele af medieforskningen, kulturforskningen og væsentligst musikanthropologien. Det sidste var selvfølgelig en veletableret fagtradition, men her blev det antropologiske perspektiv med ikke mindst feltarbejdet i centrum anvendt 'hjemme': på en musik forbundet med storbyernes massekultur. Den kritiske forståelse var stadig relevant, men ikke længere i snæver marxistisk forstand. I stedet trådte en bredere magtkritik, der også tog spørgsmål om globalisering og postkolonialisme op. Det var på mange måder den samme bevægelse fra en strukturel og semi-deterministisk mod en poststrukturel og konstruktivistisk betragtningsmåde, fra et lokalt mod et globalt perspektiv og fra sociologi mod kulturteori (eller 'theory' som det hed), som store dele af humaniora i øvrigt også foretog.

Inden for sådanne forståelsesrammer beskæftigede forskerne sig med forskellige musikkulturer nogenlunde ligeligt fordelt mellem danske og anglo-amerikanske, hvis de da ikke var afrikanske. Forskellige afarter af pop, hiphop, jazz og rock fyldte meget mere end i forrige periode, men også anden mainstreammusik, fx film-, tv- og reklamemusik optog sindene. Samtidig arbejdede flere for en slags rehabilitering af det i 1970'erne voldsomt udskældte slagerrepertoire.<sup>80</sup> Også det musikhistoriske med fokus på danske forhold kom til at fylde en del, som det fremgår af *Rock i Danmark*, hvor de fleste artikler har hovedvægten på forandringerne fra ca. 1965 til 1975.<sup>81</sup> Også de mere eller mindre tilknyttede ph.d.-projekter havde en markant historisk profil.<sup>82</sup> Denne historiske interesse er dog ikke resulteret i et samlet værk om dansk rocks, pops eller populærmusiks historie som en sammenhængende tradition, da der næppe er nogen aktive danske populærmusikforskere, der finder denne form for syntetiserende historiebevidsthed og de tilhørende kanoniseringsgreb relevante. I stedet er trådt en interesse for enkelte genrers, steders eller ligefrem albums eller enkelte sanges historie.

Den tætte forbindelse, der var blevet oparbejdet mellem gymnasium og universitet, blev løsere. Forskningen i populærmusik legitimerede sig mindre ud fra dens relevans for gymnasiet og mere som materialer for universitetsstuderende og som indspil i et internationalt forskningsfællesskab. Det var specielt i disse to årtier, at populærmusikforskningen blev forstået som en *populærmusikforskning*. Det skete, idet de involverede

80 Lars Ole Bonde, 'Himlen er en valseblå mark. Et møde med Jodle-Birge', *Modspil*, 41 (1988), 24-29; Alf Björnberg og Ola Stockfelt, 'Kristen Klatvask fra Vejle: Danish pub music, mythscapes and "local camp"', *Popular Music*, 15/2 (1996), 131-147; Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling og soft ice*, 2007.

81 Michelsen et al. (red.), *Rock i Danmark*.

82 Marstal, *Sange fra glemmebogen*; Krogh, *Fair nok*; Smith-Sivertsen, *Kylling og softice*; Lindelof, *Rockens rulletekster*.

forskere opfattede sig (og af mange blev set) som i opposition til en traditionel musikvidenskab og til kunstmusiktraditionen som sådan. I det hele taget var 1990'ernes tekster ofte baseret på en sådan dikotomisk tænkning, fx pop versus rock, høj versus lav eller hvid versus sort, men det tog af i løbet 2000'erne. I arbejdet på at legitimere videnskulturen (samt populærmusikkens mangeartede lyttere) blev der knyttet tætte forbindelser til anglo-amerikansk forskning og forskere. Nogle af de involverede definerede sig selv eksplicit som populærmusikforskere, mens andre forstod sig selv som tilhørende flere forskningstraditioner på samme tid, fx antropologer eller medieforskere, der for en tid studerede populærmusik. Hvornår man var 'inde' og hvornår 'ude' betød faktisk mindre – alle var velkomne – og en konsekvens var, at videnskulturens grænser blev stadig mere uklare – og at det ikke blev oplevet som et problem.

Samtiden i centrum (2010'erne og 2020'erne)

I denne tredje bølge kan man stadig finde et politisk engagement som grundlag for at artikulere forskellige former for viden om populærmusik hos flere. Ikke et eksplicit marxistisk, men stadig som kritikker af grundlæggende ulige magtforhold, ofte med en i bred forstand identitetspolitisk dagsorden, hvor marginaliserede gruppers musikpraksisser undersøges. Sådanne undersøgelser bidrager både til en mere nuanceret forståelse af musikpraksisser uden for mainstream og til en formindskelse af marginaliseringen og delvis afmystificering af det andet. Raceaspektet er vigtigt for flere (Ringsager, Steinskog, Skjelboe), ligesom det postkoloniale (Otte) og det kønsbaserede perspektiv (Ringsager, Wallevik, Steinskog) spiller ind. Annemette Kirkegaards censurprojekt (se s. 23) må også forstås i denne sammenhæng. Teoretisk-metodisk hænger det sammen med musikantropologiens stadig mere centrale rolle, men også med den fortsatte inspiration, som poststrukturalistiske kulturstudietraditioner leverer. Der er ganske meget fokus på danske forhold, og genremæssigt er hiphop og dansk populærmusik fra 1960'erne og 1970'erne efterhånden de oftest undersøgte.

En sammenligning af to antologier, der i det mindste i titlerne antyder en vis vilje til sammenfatning og overblik, kan vise en del af forandringerne i det at vide om populærmusik fra 2000'erne til 2010'erne. *Rock i Danmark* var som nævnt i høj grad et historisk projekt med artiklerne i kronologisk orden (stort set). Samtidig var de forskellige genrer inklusive hiphop stadig subsumeret rockbegrebet.<sup>83</sup> Blot et par år senere udkom *Populærmusikkultur i Danmark siden 2000*.<sup>84</sup> Den var redigeret af repræsentanter for en yngre generation af danske populærmusikforskere, og allerede i titlen tager de endeligt afsked med rockbegrebet som samlende begreb for genstandsfeltet samtidig med, at antologien forstår sig selv som samtidsforskning frem for som historisk. Det

83 Michelsen et al. (red.), *Rock i Danmark*. Artiklerne var færdigskrevne 2006-08, men bogen blev af forskellige grunde først udgivet i 2013.

84 Mads Krogh og Henrik Marstal (red.), *Populærmusikkultur i Danmark siden 2000* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2016).

antropologiske spor løber videre her, ligesom interessen for hiphoppen gør det. Ellers er emnekredsen af en helt anden karakter end i den tidligere antologi og indbefatter institutionsanalyser, musik og mode, queering- og genreteori. Det begrebslige skift og den historiske dimensions ændrede status er markante tegn på et skred i måderne at vide på.

Historisk musikvidenskab er langsomt blevet betegnelsen for den del af musikvidenskaben, der beskæftiger sig med ældre kunstmusik og de kulturer, der er relateret hertil. Og det lader til, at historiske perspektiver for en stor del er reserveret studiet af sådanne musikkulturer, da kun få publikationer med relation til populærmusikforskning har et udpræget historisk eller historiografisk perspektiv. Der findes arbejder, som undersøger forhold i en tættere eller fjernere fortid eller som analyserer forandringer over tid, ligesom de fleste forfattere selvfølgelig er klare over historiske forhold i relation til deres emner. Men samtidsperspektivet er klart dominerende, og da antallet af forskere, der har specialiseret sig i historisk musikvidenskab efterhånden er ret lille, må man sige, at den musikvidenskabelige forskning i bred forstand i Danmark grundlæggende har ændret karakter fra at have en historisk tænkning som sit centrum til at have en socialt orienteret, kritisk tænkning om samtiden som sit grundlag. *Danish Musicology Onlines* temanumre kan eksemplificere dette: musikanalyse og identitetspolitik (2022), fællesskaber (2021), institutioner (2018), ord og musik (2016), lyd- og musikproduktion (2015), musik- og hjerneforskning (2015), musikkensur (2015), musik som praksis (2014) og lyd, medier og stemmer (2012).

### *Sammenfatning og nutidige problematikker i midten af 2020'erne*

Den tidlige institutionalisering i Aarhus med forlag og tidsskrift var ikke direkte møntet på populærmusikforskningen, men integrerede den som en del af et musiksociologisk paradigme. Et næste skridt var bevilling af midler til forskeruddannelse, de deraf følgende afhandlinger og ansættelser i mere eller mindre faste forskerstillinger frem mod slutningen af 1990'erne. I dag beskæftiger forskerne på både AU og AAU sig overvejende med populærmusik,<sup>85</sup> og på KU er et flertal af de fastansatte forskere overvejende optaget af populærmusikalske emner i bred forstand. Rent numerisk kunne man hævde, at populærmusikforskere er den største gruppe (i modsætning til 'klassisk'), men det er nu om dage sandsynligvis mere hensigtsmæssigt at arbejde med andre opdelinger, der ikke er baseret på en genretaksonomi. Den 'rytmiske musik' er så at sige forsvundet som genstandsfelt og legitimeringsobjekt, omend begrebet stadig benyttes i praktisk musikundervisning. I stedet er musikbrugeres/lytteres omgang med en meget varieret musik i centrum. Undersøgelser af sådanne 'omgange' med musik kan tage udgangspunkt i ideer om musik som socialt middel, musik som identitetsudviklende,

85 Aalborg-instituttet erklærede endda, at 'rytmisk musik' var en af tre specialiseringer (de to andre var musikterapi og musikteknologi); se Finn Egeland Hansen, 'Musikforskningen ved Aalborg Universitet', *Dansk årbog for musikforskning*, 22 (1995), 119-21.

musik som æstetisk oplevelse, musik som perception eller musik som dele af kulturelle assemblager, og blandt kilderne er ofte de folk, der bruger musikken eller deltager i kulturen på anden vis.

Udover ovenstående træk ved populærmusikforskningen holder nogle få institutionelle forhold den danske videnskultur løseligt sammen – først og fremmest forskernes ansættelsesforhold ved en række universiteter med musikuddannelser (København, Aarhus, Aalborg) eller lignende (Performance Design-uddannelsen på RUC) samt på Det Kongelige bibliotek og Rytmask Musikkonservatorium (se fig. 3). Det giver ikke i sig selv et stærkt netværk på tværs af (eller inden for) institutionerne, men sammen med forskningsprojekter bidrager andre netværk, fx censorinstitutionen, til jævnlig kontakt på tværs. Der er ikke en faglig forening for danske populærmusikforskere. De fleste er medlemmer af den nordiske afdeling og dermed af den internationale populærmusikforskerforening (IASPM). Cetina anførte, at “affinitet, nødvendighed og historisk tilfældighed” binder videnskulturen sammen. Jeg vil mene, at ‘det nødvendige’ i denne forbindelse er det krav, der opstod og stadig eksisterer om undervisning i populærmusik på universiteterne og de deraf afledte, fastansatte forskere. Det er en slags uddannelsespolitisk nødvendighed. Til gengæld er det mere tilfældigt, præcis hvad der er blevet forsket i. Det har i høj grad været styret af ph.d.- og postdoc-ansøgere egne projekter og kun i meget ringe grad af en mere overordnet planlægning. Affiniteter er opstået i de kollegiale relationer, hvor projekter m.v. har muliggjort nuancerede udvekslinger mellem kolleger, både inden- og udenlandske.

Flere engelsksprogede forskere konstaterer, at populærmusikstudier stadig betragtes som mindreværdige i forhold til musiketnologi og historisk musikvidenskab.<sup>86</sup> Det er ikke tilfældet i Danmark og vel ikke i hele Norden, og det har det ikke været længe. Desuden er populærmusikforskningens interdisciplinaritet blevet draget i tvivl i de senere år, bl.a. af de i note 86 nævnte forskere, og nordamerikanske Steve Waksman mener

86 Cloonan, ‘What is Popular Music studies?’; Tagg, ‘Caught on the Back Foot’; Rupert Till, ‘Editorial Introduction: Twenty First Century Popular Music Studies’, *IASPM Journal*, 3/2 (2011), 1-14; Kimberly Kattari, ‘Introduction: Reflections on the Past, Present and Future of Popular Music Scholarship’, *Journal of World Popular Music*, 6/2 (2019), 208-15; Brian F. Wright, Amy Coddington og Andrew Mall, ‘Looking Towards the Future: Popular Music Studies and Music Scholarship’, *Twentieth-Century Music*, 18/1 (2021), 3-11.

Figur 3: På nedenstående side ses en skematisk fremstilling af nogle vigtige elementer i videnskulturen dansk populærmusikforskning. Den inderste cirkel illustrerer de eksternt finansierede forskningsprojekter og -netværks centrale status, og jeg opfatter dem som ‘drivere’ i kulturen. Den ydre cirkel omfatter de forskellige forskningsinstitutioner, der huser fastansatte forskere med mere eller mindre fuldtidsengagement i populærmusikforskningen. Både nuværende og tidligere ansatte er nævnt i den rækkefølge, de er ansat. Uden for cirklerne antydes enkelte centrale relationer til udlandet, som har haft indflydelse på både projekter og institutter, samt de bevillingsgivende myndigheder.



**Udvalgte udenlandske forskere der har  
betydet meget for en eller flere danske forskere**

Georgina Born, Steven Feld, Philip Tagg,  
Martin Stokes, Susan McClary, Robert Walser,  
Philip Auslander, Tia DeNora, Christopher Small,  
Johan Fornäs, Alf Björnberg, Ulf Lindberg,  
Even Ruud, Odd Are Berkaak

**International Association for the Study of  
Popular Music (IASPM) og IASPM Norden**

**Nordisk sommeruniversitet**

**Nordiske Jazzarkiver**

**Bevillingsgivere**

Det Frie Forskningsråd (forskningsnetværk og -projekter)  
Nordforsk (Tværnationale ditto)  
Universiteterne (frie ph.d.-stipendier)

ligefrem, at langt de fleste populærmusikforskere udøver deres forskning ved traditionelle universitetsinstitutter og at samarbejder på tværs er usædvanlige.<sup>87</sup> Hvis man siger, at interdisciplinaritet indebærer, at en given forsker trækker på flere forskningstraditioner, så har det været og er et fremtrædende træk ved dansk populærmusikforskning (og den meste kulturforskning i øvrigt). Man kan også med god ret hævde, at de mange forfattersamarbejder blandt forskerne samt de forskellige antologier udgør arbejder på tværs, fordi de sammenstillede forfattere trækker på forskellige videnskulturer. Dette er kernen i argumentet for populærmusikforskningens generelle interdisciplinaritet. Men hvis interdisciplinaritet indebærer, at forskere fra forskellige videnskulturer arbejder tæt sammen (og det er det, Waksman tænker på), fx ved at skrive sammen, så er det kun sket meget få gange, fx i forbindelse med *Rock Criticism From the Beginning*, der med forskere fra fire nordiske lande trækker på sociologi, musiketnologi, litteraturteori og musikhistoriografi i den kollektivt skrevne tekst.<sup>88</sup> Så hvis man skal følge Waksman, er det interdisciplinære heller ikke fremtrædende i Danmark, selv om der er mange gode ansatser hos eneforfattere og i antologier. Man kunne ønske, at de blev udviklet i de kommende år.

Populærmusikforskningen i Danmark er en videnskultur, der langsomt er vokset frem pga. kravet fra unge på alle trin i uddannelsessystemet om en beskæftigelse med en ikke-kunstmusik og ønskerne i øvrigt om at ændre en traditionel musikvidenskab. Det blev efterhånden til en videnskultur, der i en årrække har defineret sig i opposition til den traditionelle musikvidenskabs måder at vide på. Denne specifikke opposition er i de seneste 10-15 år aftaget, fordi den historiske musikvidenskab via *new musicology* har indoptaget perspektiver fra populærmusikforskningen, og omvendt, fordi populærmusikforskningen institutionelt har fundet sig til rette på uddannelsesstederne, hvor det tidligere så fremherskende kulturelle og økonomiske hierarki i høj grad er blevet udlignet.

Måderne at vide om populærmusik på er ikke særegne for denne videnskultur, men trækker på teoretiske positioner fra en lang række humanistiske og samfundsvidenskabelige traditioner, som så er brugt som forståelsesrammer for og videreudviklet i forbindelse med populærmusikalske musikkulturer. På mange måder er populærmusikforskningen resultatet af inddragelsen af populærmusik i humanistisk og samfundsvidenskabelig forskning, og kombinationen af genstandsfelt (populærmusikalske musikkulturer), institutionelle strukturer (fx forskningsprojekter, forskernes plads i universitetssystemet, internationale netværk) og en række videnskulturer (de mange discipliner, der trækkes på) gør populærmusikforskningen til en til tider unik videnskultur. Til gengæld er det svært at se, hvad det gør den danske forskning unik. Den kan ikke defineres nationalt, men er integreret i en anglo-amerikansk videnskultur, fordi de vidensproducerende mekanismer er blevet ens. Kun det, at populærmusikkulturer i Danmark udgør genstandsfeltet, giver en vis unicitet.

87 Steve Waksman, 'Popular Music Studies and Interdisciplinarity', *Journal of World Popular Music*, 6/2 (2019), 232-36.

88 Lindberg et al., *Rock Criticism from the Beginning*.



Ovenfor er nævnt de temaer, som forskere har beskæftiget sig med. Men det er også interessant at skitsere temaer, som ikke er taget op i det gennemgåede materiale eller i det hele taget.<sup>89</sup> Først i de seneste år er feministisk teori og empirisk fokus på køn begyndt at fylde lidt, og mere generelt er de tidlige års relationer til en sociologisk baseret ungdomsforskning gledet over i en interesse for bredere identitetsproblematikker. I den sammenhæng skal også nævnes den udpræget skæve kønsbalance i dansk populærmusikforskning. Blandt ph.d.-kandidater fra 1981-2009 (fig. 1) var der 30 % kvinder og blandt kandidaterne fra 2010 til 2022 (fig. 2) blot 13 %. Det bør laves om, og det kan kun ske ved at undervisere og forskere systematisk opfordrer kvinder til at søge ph.d.-stipendier og ved bedømmelser i forbindelse med stipendier og stillinger har problematikken i baghovedet, fordi der ikke er nogen strukturelt givne mekanismer, som kan ændre sådanne skævfordelinger.

Mens lyttere, brugere, forbrugere osv. har været i centrum i de fleste publikationer ud fra en tankegang om, at det er her betydningsproduktionen sker, har musikere, komponister og deres forhold gennem årene været sjældne gæster. Vægten har ligget på det skabte frem for de skabende. Det kan skyldes et ønske om at undgå de betydningsdannelser og værdisætninger som medier og andre institutioner har skabt, fx som en pool af kanoniske musikere og værker. Det kan også skyldes den traditionelle musikvidenskabs fokus på samme. Også dette har ændret sig i de seneste år med fx Høyers, Olsens, Pedersens og Ringsagers afhandlinger, hvor de skabende står mere centralt.

Modsat de diskussioner og publikationer, som tilsammen udgør dansk musikkulturs journalistisk baserede offentlighed, bidrager populærmusikforskningen generelt til at fremvise, at dansk musikkultur er meget forskelligartet eller ligefrem består af mange forskellige kulturer. Det er ikke musikbranchens gamle og nye kanoner, der forskes i. Til gengæld får kulturer og forhold hinsides kanonernes opmærksomhedsmæssige centrum langt den meste opmærksomhed hos forskerne (selvom der er blinde vinkler). Musikkens æstetiske kvaliteter har betydet mindre, mens musikkens mangfoldige funktioner – ikke mindst som identitets- og fællesskabsdannende – i højere grad har været og er i centrum.

Historisk har der været en udvikling fra de tidlige års fokus på gymnasiet som modtager af forskningsresultater til en mere selvberørende produktion henvendt til internationale fagfæller og universitetsstuderende. Det vidner om, at videnskulturen har opnået legitimitet, den kan fungere i sig selv. Den legitimitet, selvberøendehed og plads til refleksion er uomgængelig. Men forskningen har på flere måder lukket sig om sig selv, bortset fra en del myndighedsbetjening og antropologiske arbejder. En del af publikationerne vil kunne læses af almindeligt interesserede læsere, og alle har selvfølgelig

89 Som nævnt har jeg haft fokus på monografier og antologier og kun i sjældne tilfælde nævnt enkeltstående artikler. Populærmusikforskere i Danmark har gennem årene skrevet hundredvis af artikler (efterhånden overvejende på engelsk), så det vil være uoverskueligt at inddrage dem i denne sammenhæng. Dertil kommer, at der på nuværende tidspunkt sandsynligvis er skrevet op mod tusind specialer og mange tusinde opgaver om populærmusik på landets videregående uddannelser.

i ny og næ skrevet en formidrende artikel eller et leksikonopslag, optrådt som musik-anmeldere, holdt foredrag eller optrådt som ekspert i medierne, været på ekskursion med studerende, men bortset fra Henrik Marstal fra Rytmask Musikonservatorium har ingen mere omfattende relationer til en bred offentlighed. I de fleste humanistiske fag er spørgsmålet om balance mellem det indadrettede og det udadrettede til stadig debat, men i det mindste med musikforskningen kunne man savne et bredere engagement i tidens debatter og en mere systematisk formidling af den megen forskning, der som vist foregår. De uddannelser, vi nu udbyder, hvor det omverdensrelaterede og musik-antropologiens teoretisk-metodiske greb i høj grad er 'indbygget' i forskellige former for opgaveløsninger, er et forsøg på løse denne problemstilling.

Genremæssigt har den hitlisteorienterede popmusik haft trange kår siden de industri-kritiske arbejder i 1970'erne. En sangerinde som Medina er et ubeskrevet blad, og Nik & Jay står det ikke meget bedre til med. Undergrundsmiljøer, der traditionelt opfattes som progressive, er stort set ikke blevet undersøgt, fx de forskellige former for techno og den nyere EDM (eller ældre diskotekskulturer).<sup>90</sup> Bortset fra Kirkegaards indsats har verdensmusikken heller ikke fyldt meget, ligesom ikke-unge indvandreres musikkulturer er helt overset.

Jeg spurgte i indledningen, om udviklingen af en populærmusikforskning har betydet noget for den måde, 'vi' 'ved noget' om musik? Hvis 'vi' er musikkulturerne i Danmark, har den hidtidige populærmusikforskning næppe forandret meget, dertil er brede, folkelige traditioner og kommercielle interesser for stærke. Men hvis 'vi' er under-visningssystemet, har den peget på ikke-kanoniske tilgange til musikkulturen hinsides de værdisætninger, der knytter sig til forestillinger 'rytmisk musik', ideer om autenticitet og måske også rock(isme). Den har også bidraget til ideen om beskæftigelsen med musik som noget samtidigt, fx på grund af musiks rolle som en del af et identitetsarbejde, som en del af en sundhedsforskning, hvor fx musiks lindrende karakter er vigtigt, og som en atmosfæreskaber. Endelig har kontekstualiseringspåbuddet fremmet blikket for musik i diverse intermediale relationer, specielt i computerspil, videoer og film, men også i større events som fx festivaler. Denne udvikling sker til dels på bekostning af de historiske dimensioner. Frem for musik som historisk fænomen er der i dag overvejende tale om musik som et kulturelt fænomen.

Denne artikel har ikke handlet om, at populærmusikstudier i Danmark er blevet en stærk og selvstændig videnskultur med egne institutioner og forskningstraditioner. I stedet har den skildret, hvordan en efterhånden lang række genrer og musikkulturer langsomt er blevet accepteret som legitime forskningsområder. Det er sket i forlængelse

<sup>90</sup> Det skal dog nævnes, at der her i sommeren 2024 pågår tre ph.d.-projekter, der på meget forskellig vis gør noget ved dette. Dels Rosa Stilgren, der på RUC skriver om menneske-maskine-relationer i elektronisk musikproduktion, dels Niclas Nørby Jochumsen Hundahl, der på AU skriver om håbsgestus i nutidig dansk popmusik, dels Anders Bach Pedersen, der på KU skriver om musikgenrer på TikTok og hvordan platformen regulerer kulturel produktion og æstetik i undergrundsmusik.

af en række tendenser inden for humaniora, og lige som andre former for populærkultur nu studeres på lige fod med mere kunstorienterede kulturer, er populærmusikken oftest en integreret del af både forskningen og uddannelsen i musikvidenskab – i det mindste i Norden. Det har manifesteret sig i fastansættelser og forskningsbevillinger og siden i publikationer – oftest inden for etablerede rammer.

Samtidig er det stadig, som demonstreret, svært at definere, både hvad populærmusik og hvad populærmusikforskning er. Det er lettere at bestemme, hvad det ikke er. Allerede i 1994 så Charlotte Rørdam Larsen for sig, at områderne musikvidenskab, populærmusikforskning og musiketnologi ville glide sammen i et.<sup>91</sup> Både definitionsbesværlighederne og den værdimæssige ligestilling på de fleste områder gør, at det er mere hensigtsmæssigt at begynde at tale om et 'music studies', om musikstudier. Det er et begreb, der kan afgrænses på et meget mere generelt niveau end fx populærmusik eller verdensmusik og peger i retning af, at de til tider nødvendige opdelinger af videnskulturen sker ud fra måden, man arbejder med musik på, og ikke hvilken musik man arbejder med. Det sker også ud fra den overvejelse, at den konkrete distribution af magt, som lå i forlængelse af det genremæssige hierarki, der tidligere har bestemt musikvidenskabens struktur, ikke længere er relevant. Endelig kan 'musikstudier' bedre rumme den dobbelthed af enkelt- og interdisciplinaritet, som er karakteristisk for langt de fleste videnskabelige arbejder med musik. Det sidste kan man fx se i *Danish Musicology Online* (2010-22), der for en tid fungerede som hjemsted for alskens musikstudier.

91 Rørdam Larsen, 'Forskning i populærmusikalske genrer', 34-35.

## Abstract

In this article I document and analyse the field of popular music research in Denmark as an epistemic culture (Knorr Cetina) from its early stages in the 1970s to the present day. I begin with a discussion of how 1960s' Danish intellectual culture in some ways paved the way for an academic interest in popular music and point towards the first international research initiatives. Then, I analyse the gradual institutionalisation of the field by focussing on publications, hirings, grants, and local and international relations. Finally, I look at changes in what it meant to know about popular music based on Marxist and, later, semiotic and poststructuralist paradigms that popular music research has drawn upon in its efforts to understand still more complex musical cultures. The narrative is structured in three periods: the 1970s and 1980s, the 1990s and 2000s, and the 2010s to 2024. They correspond roughly to the three paradigms mentioned.

Basically, the Danish developments have been and are part of an international popular music research field dominated by the UK and the US. Locally employed researchers have contributed to international debates, but dealing with music cultures and practices in local and national contexts is mainly what makes Danish research exceptional. Especially since the mid-1990s the Danish field has prospered by receiving grants for networks and research projects, by filling tenured positions, by developing formal and informal, national and international networks, and by promoting PhD students. At the same time, popular music research has become a fully legitimate object of study – to the extent that a majority of musicologists in Denmark work mainly with popular music. Thus, the field has been a success both qualitatively and quantitatively. At the end, I argue that the distinction between musicology and popular music studies no longer seems relevant, and I recommend that we in the future practice music studies.

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# Development of a Music Therapy Research Culture in Denmark

Lars Ole Bonde, Inge Nygaard Pedersen, and Hanne Mette Ridder

When the *Danish Musicological Society* was founded in 1954, seventy years ago, one related field began its long journey towards establishing a new profession: the field of music therapy. Music therapy may be understood as the psychodynamic development of relationships through music in order to meet a client's therapeutic needs.<sup>1</sup> The development of clinical methods was followed by the demand for accredited training, and with it the development of theory and research. Within the growing tradition of music therapy research, the field has drawn on, and integrated research from musicology and transdisciplinary areas such as music psychology, education, sociology, anthropology and philosophy, as well as a wide range of theories from psychotherapy and clinical fields. The authors of the present article (one professor and two emeritus professors of music therapy) describe the history of the field, starting with the pioneers in the mid-1950s, and explain the background for the development of a research culture in music therapy. Specifically, the international PhD research programme in music therapy at Aalborg University gave the field a solid boost, but the close connection to the clinical reality also paved the way for welcoming, embracing and developing practice-based research. The result is a research culture that in many ways transcends the well-known tension between research in medical and humanistic methodologies and calls for interdisciplinarity. To illustrate this, the article concludes with three examples of music therapy research in the fields of psychiatry, dementia, and public health.

## *The era of the pioneers (before 1982)*

The history of music therapy as a profession in Denmark dates back to the mid-1950s, when a group of individuals developed the use of music in special education for children and adults with what was at that time termed 'physical and mental handicaps'.<sup>2</sup> The

1 Lars Ole Bonde, 'Definitions of Music Therapy', *A Comprehensive Guide to Music Therapy*, ed. Stine Lindahl Jacobsen, Inge Nygaard Pedersen, and Lars Ole Bonde, 2nd ed. (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2019), 29–35.

2 Lars Ole Bonde, 'Musikterapiens historie i Danmark', *Musikterapi: Teori, uddannelse, praksis, forskning. En håndbog om musikterapi i Danmark*, ed. Lars Ole Bonde (Aarhus: Forlaget Klim, 2014), 31–41.

experiences and visions of these pioneers formed the basis for the first association in the field: the *Danish Federation for Music Therapy* (DFMT), which was established in 1969 and published the first Danish music therapy journal from 1972. The approaches to the use of music reflected different areas of experience and disability, but the key element, according to the long-time chairperson of the association, Nina Holten, was the understanding of music as a gateway to contact and communication, and of musical experiences as a powerful teaching tool.<sup>3</sup> In addition, music was recognised as a resource for improving quality of life of children and adults with special needs. The pioneers, almost all of whom had their origins in the growing field of special education, initially chose to call their common area of interest Educational Music Therapy. According to Holten, they wanted to promote this field through information activities, course activities, and collaboration with colleagues from the other Nordic countries, also with the future aim of establishing a higher education training to provide the profession with knowledge and status.

Music therapy in Denmark thus began with an educational aim, in line with the development of music therapy in Norway, and in both countries music was primarily used to support and enhance learning and development. There was a growing interest in investigating and describing these applications.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Denmark was influenced by the development of music therapy in other countries, mainly the USA. The pioneers Paul Nordoff (pianist) and Clive Robbins (special educator) gave several courses in their newly developed model with the main focus on music's ability to 'lift' every being, regardless of disability, out of everyday inhibitions and functional problems.<sup>5</sup> Their special playsongs (which were later translated into Danish by Claus Bang) made a strong impression.

Psychologist Abraham Maslow's concept of Peak Experiences was introduced to the music therapy literature by Nina Holten. In the German-speaking countries, and to some extent in the UK, music therapy was developed on a more psychoanalytic and psychodynamic basis, focusing on the music-therapeutic relationship (client-music-therapist). In the 1970s, this led – together with the generally growing interest in psychotherapy in all its guises – to a blurring of the boundaries between therapy and pedagogy/education in music therapy, also in Denmark. After a few years, DFMT chose to redefine the association's field of interest with the common term Music Therapy which was described as the use of music in therapeutic/pedagogical work, where music is the means and never the goal.<sup>6</sup>

3 Nina Holten, 'Fra oplysningsvirksomhed til profession. Dansk Forbund for Musikterapi fra 1969-1989', *Musik & Terapi*, 16/2 (1989), 3-11.

4 Bonde, 'Musikterapiens historie i Danmark'.

5 Paul Nordoff and Clive Robbins, 'Musikterapi med handicappede børn', *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 45/4 (1969), 93-95; Birgit Kaltoft and Erik Kaltoft, 'Musik og handicappede', *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 45/4 (1969), 106-7.

6 Holten, 'Fra oplysningsvirksomhed til profession.'

The association's course activities gradually expanded to include experiential teaching, and the function of music was now described as developmental and therapeutic, in addition to its traditional educational function. In the late 1970s, the expansion of brain research revealed links between music and language, motor skills, cognition, and learning. According to Holten, this led to an influx of occupational therapists, physiotherapists, speech therapists, and other professions, who influenced the field of music therapy with neurologically oriented and sensorimotor knowledge.

At the end of the 1970s, there was a growing interest in the establishment of an actual training course in music therapy, but there were clear differences in the attitudes of the pioneers as to whether this should be established at a music conservatory, at a university, or as an independent institute or academy. The education was finally placed at Aalborg University where the Dean of the Faculty of the Humanities, Hans Siggaard Jensen, was a driving force in implementing this new education. Together with Professor Even Ruud from the University of Oslo, he organised an international symposium at Aalborg University in 1979. Here, a wide range of theories relevant to music therapy were presented, such as developmental psychology (Jørgen Pauli Jensen) and music psychology (Alf Gabrielsson). Overall, this symposium presented a vast array of theoretical and practical perspectives on music therapy; however, there seemed to be a lack of interaction and mutual understanding between the presenters of theoretical and practical topics.<sup>7</sup>

Before describing the research initiated and developed at the new training programme at Aalborg University since 1982, some of the most prominent pioneers and their work must be mentioned briefly.

The pianist **Carl Maria Savery** (1897–1969) worked with children with cerebral palsy at the Orthopaedic Hospital in Copenhagen from 1956 to 1969. In the essay *Music and Man* of 1951, he developed a theory of the natural expressiveness of the human being. Savery's work was highly individualised: he deliberately composed simple music for individual patients and carved bamboo flutes with holes to fit the child's fingers and recorded the music so that it could also be used by others, such as the physiotherapist.<sup>8</sup>

Professor **Gunnar Heerup** (1903–1989), working at the Danish College of Education (Danmarks Lærerhøjskole), collaborated with the physician **Ole Bentzen** (1934–2005), Aarhus Municipal Hospital, to motivate various professional groups to experiment with a wider use of music in teaching, training and development work. Together, they also did a great deal of work on the dissemination of knowledge about music therapy, both nationally and internationally.

7 Even Ruud, 'Nordisk forskerkurs i musikkterapeutiske forskningsproblemer. 23. juli–3. august 1979', *Musikkterapi*, 3–4 (1979), 44–46.

8 Karina Erland Jensen, Heidi Lerche and Elisabeth Kloster, 'Musik og menneske: Carl Maria Savery', *Tidsskriftet Dansk Musikterapi*, 7/2 (2010), 3–8.

**Claus Bang** (1938–2022) was a special education teacher who specialised in educational and therapeutic work with deaf, deaf-mute and deaf-blind children and young people. The Aalborg School was his permanent base for forty years, and he spread the knowledge of the methods within this field, and trained others on an international level. Bang was also the first Danish music therapist to document his work by video and to embark on a research project. His documentation project, *A World of Sound and Music*, is available on DVD.<sup>9</sup>

**Synnøve Friis** (1925–2021) was an academically trained music educator with supplementary courses in music therapy in Switzerland, England and Germany. She developed music therapy methods with older adults in nursing homes, with a particular focus on people with dementia and aphasia. For many years she trained care workers and physiotherapy and occupational therapy students in the use of music interventions, and her book *Music in Elderly Care* is a standard text.<sup>10</sup>

**Grethe Lund** (1930–2013) was an academically trained music educator who completed a one-year course at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London. Lund specialised in psychiatry and gave many lectures; she also carried out a number of clinical projects in psychiatry.<sup>11</sup> Lund was particularly interested in the musical elements of the joint, free improvisations of music therapist and patient, and she recorded her clinical experiences in anecdotal form.<sup>12</sup>

**Søren Mühlhausen** (1938–2012) was a music teacher, jazz musician and audiologist who worked with physically and mentally disabled children and adults.<sup>13</sup> He prepared and published songs with rich jazz accompaniments, always describing and initiating approaches to address social issues of the participants.

Savery, Bang, and Mühlhausen collaborated with special education teachers Frode Bavnild (1916–1971) and Carlo Svendsen (1920–2004) and founded the *Nordic Association for Pedagogical Music Therapy* in 1968.<sup>14</sup> Through this association, it was possible to

9 Claus Bang, 'A World of Sound and Music: Music Therapy and Musical Speech Therapy with Hearing-Impaired and Multiple-Handicapped Children', *Nordic Journal of Music Therapy*, 7/2 (1998), 154–63; Claus Bang, 'Claus Bang', *The Lives of Music Therapists*, ed. Joseph Moreno (Gilsium: Barcelona Publishers, 2017), 33–83.

10 Synnøve Friis, *Musik i ældreplejen* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1987).

11 Grethe Lund, *Skizofreni og musik: En analyse af non-verbal kommunikation* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 1988).

12 Grethe Lund, *Samtale uden ord. Introduktion til musikterapi* (Copenhagen: Politisk revy, 1996).

13 Søren Mühlhausen, 'Musikterapi i en specialpædagogisk referensramme', *BUKS*, 7 (1987), 57–96.

14 Carlo Svendsen, 'Glimt af musikterapiens udvikling i Danmark', *Festskrift til Gunnar Heerup*, ed. John Høybye, Frede V. Nielsen, and Aksel Schiøtz (Egtved: Musikhøjskolens Forlag, 1973), 81–96.



obtain sufficient interest and financial support for the *1st Nordic Conference on Educational Music Therapy* in 1969. After this, DFMT was established as a Danish section in 1969, with 65 members at the time.<sup>15</sup> The DFMT reached around 200 members before it closed down in 2007 and merged with what is now called the Danish Music Therapist Association (DMTF).<sup>16</sup>

Heerup, Holten, and Bentzen were the initiators when Denmark hosted the *3rd International Symposium in Music, Medicine, Education and Therapy* in 1983. In 1972, the first book on music therapy in Denmark was published by the psychologist Erling Dyreborg (and translated into Swedish in 1975).<sup>17</sup> It reviewed much of the scientific literature on applied music at the time and included contributions on the clinical work of the pioneers Bang, Bavnild, and Svendsen.

### *Developing a research culture in music therapy within a university training programme*

As mentioned above, the group of pioneers decided in the late seventies to establish a training programme in music therapy in Denmark, but they were in doubt about which institutional framework would be optimal. One of the pioneers, Claus Bang, was a friend of the first principal of Aalborg University Centre, Svend Caspersen. Bang explained that the programme was established at the University Centre because, as a centre, it had more possibilities for experimental and blended learning than a traditional university at that time. The programme was housed in the Faculty of Humanities. Unfortunately, this academic platform meant that none of the pioneers could be appointed to permanent positions at the music therapy programme as they did not have academic degrees.

Inge Nygaard Pedersen was headhunted for the first position at Aalborg University Centre and started in August 1981. Pedersen had an academic degree in musicology and two years of full-time training in music therapy in Herdecke, Germany.<sup>18</sup> The Herdecke Mentor Course was formed by a group of European experts with Prof. Johannes Eschen from Germany as the driving force. This course was a one-off mentor course in 1978–1980. Students on the course were trained as music therapists and at the same time were required to meet once a week for three hours with their teachers to evaluate all training disciplines in order to define basic common elements for future European music therapy training programmes. Thirteen students attended the course and nine of them went on to either be head of a music therapy programme or be employed in a programme in different European countries.

15 Erling Dyreborg, *Musikterapi* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1972).

16 Nina Holten, 'Fra etablering af en uddannelse til udvikling af en profession', *Musikterapiuddannelsen 25 år. Festskrift*, eds. Hanne Mette Ridder et al. (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2007), 22–23.

17 Dyreborg, *Musikterapi*.

18 Inge Nygaard Pedersen, 'Inge Nygaard Pedersen', *The Lives of Music Therapists*, ed. Joseph Moreno (Gilsun: Barcelona Publishers, 2017), 1259–1333.

When Pedersen visited Aalborg University Centre in 1981 to negotiate the employment situation, she was asked to establish a four-year full-time music therapy programme, starting in September 1982. She was also expected to conduct research studies in the field of music therapy as part of the job. Since she had just qualified as a music therapist, she proposed and was allowed to use her research time, in the early years, to gain clinical experiences with three different populations. Within these three different institutions, she developed clinical methods and evaluated with staff how music therapy could best be applied. This clinically exploring work provided inspiration for her teaching with the students. It also developed her understanding of the differences between music education and music therapy, as she had applied music pedagogically before becoming a music therapist and a music therapy trainer.<sup>19</sup>

Concerning the structure of the Aalborg music therapy programme, Pedersen was very insistent that the same structure and balance of curriculum content be maintained as recommended for future programmes at the Herdecke Mentor Course. This structure consisted of three parallel study tracks of equal weight:

- 1) An *academic* track with the learning objectives for students to acquire knowledge, skills, and competencies relevant to music therapy research and theory. The approach was based on the philosophy of Problem-Based Learning, where students are supported to engage reflectively in lectures and to work in groups where they focus on defined real-world problems.
- 2) A *music* track where the students received piano and singing lessons on a regular basis, including workshops on guitar and drum techniques and their clinical potential. The training focused on improvisation techniques from a musical style perspective, a personal expression perspective, and a clinical therapist's technical perspective. The latter introduced techniques such as meeting, following, contradicting, holding, pushing, mirroring, and accompanying clients.
- 3) A *therapeutic* track in which the students learned about the potential of music therapy by being in the client position, individually and in groups, conducted by a professional music therapist. Furthermore, they learned by taking turns being the client and therapist for each other, again both individually and in groups and under direct supervision of a professional music therapist. In addition, the students had three different internship periods by first observing music therapy for one month (first year), then conducting weekly music therapy sessions with one client over ten weeks (third year), and finally by conducting music therapy sessions for four months and engaging with the interdisciplinary team (fourth year). The last two internship periods were undertaken under close supervision from the university.

19 Inge Nygaard Pedersen, 'Tre overordnede indlæringsmodeller mellem pædagogik og terapi anvendt på målgruppen psykisk udviklingshæmmede', *Musikkterapi. Informationsblad fra Norsk Forening for Musikkterapi*, 13 (1988), 1–24.

Initially, the university resisted this therapeutic track. They claimed that these therapeutic disciplines could not be included in a state university. When Pedersen made it clear that if this structure could not be implemented, they would have to find another programme leader, they reluctantly agreed to try this structure for seven years. After that, Pedersen had to agree to a full evaluation by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture. This happened in 1989, and the evaluation was positive. The programme was allowed to keep the structure, and it is still fundamental to the curriculum. Two circumstances were important for the positive outcome of the evaluation. The first was that no teacher was both examiner and a therapist for the same student. Secondly, that there were positive results from a questionnaire sent out to institutions offering music therapy, either to music therapy students or to employees of Aalborg University.

This integrated programme thus became the framework for further development of music therapy as a profession and for the gradual development of a music therapy research culture in Denmark. Throughout the years, the theoretical framework has been based on psychodynamic and humanistic understandings, with an openness to integrating emerging theories such as relation-based, attachment, trauma-related and neuro-affective theories. This approach to music therapy has recently been comprehensively described and explained in the book *Resonant Learning in Music Therapy – a Training Model to Tune the Therapist*, which explains the journey of the music therapy student through a transformative learning process:

Metaphorically the student will gradually develop like a tree: Creating foundation in being connected to and aware of one's roots as well as sensing and being aware of the interconnectedness to others through the rooting. Next to this, finding inner balance and strength in a trunk with a solid bark, which refers to the capacity of being well-defined, though still permeable. Gradually the student will unfold and expand the treetop, with many branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits – representing the experience and expertise that the training has built up in a mixture with life experience. When graduating the harvest is to be shared with the world and in the years to come nourish the ground and growth of future music therapy in a cyclic movement.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Development of a research tradition (1982–1993)*

Inge Nygaard Pedersen was the only permanent staff member from 1981 to 1985, supported by a group of part-time lecturers. Among them was Carl Bergstrøm-Nielsen, a musicologist and composer who specialised in improvised music in theory and practice. For many years, Bergstrøm taught his methods 'intuitive music' and 'graphic notation' to

<sup>20</sup> Inge Nygaard Pedersen, Charlotte Lindvang and Bolette Beck, *Resonant Learning in Music Therapy: A Training Model to Tune the Therapist* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2023), 112–13.

music therapy students at the Aalborg programme.<sup>21</sup> Pedersen had a lot of administrative duties and very little – almost no – research time. During the first three years of her employment, she continued her clinical practice work at the three different institutions and internal clinical documentation reports for teaching purposes.

Because of the conflicts over the structure of the programme, which continued during the trial period, and because music therapy was a completely unknown academic discipline in Denmark, Pedersen chose to use her limited research time to publish articles – some of them together with Benedikte Barth Scheiby, who had also completed the Herdecke Mentor Course – on the structure and content of the programme with a focus on scientific, theoretical, and clinical justifications.<sup>22</sup>

In 1985, Scheiby was appointed as assistant professor. The two colleagues were very active in offering lectures in music therapy for other professions and felt obliged to devote their time to the dissemination of music therapy. Scheiby moved to the USA in 1990, and in 1992, a new colleague was appointed. Tony Wigram, commuting from London every other week, already had extensive clinical and research experience as a music therapist, particularly with children. He was also an active musician and music improviser. He was a great inspirational support to the programme and gradually improved the theoretical and musical subjects, carefully maintaining the balance of the three tracks of study.

In a review of his fifteen years in Aalborg, Wigram wrote in the Festschrift for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Aalborg Music Therapy Programme:

The education in music therapy in Denmark was, in 1992, relatively unknown in both Europe and the World. Yet many elements of this education, which my colleagues here took for granted as quite natural and completely essential, were for me extraordinary and unexpected. Since then, [...] I have basked in the reflected glory and fame of such a comprehensive and extensive training [...] I found music

21 Carl Bergstrøm-Nielsen, 'Graphic Notation as a Tool in Describing and Analyzing Music Therapy Improvisations', *Music Therapy*, 12/1 (1993), 40–58.

22 Inge Nygaard Pedersen, 'Musikterapiuddannelsen på AUC', Special Issue: *Musik og Terapi* (1985), 1–40; Inge Nygaard Pedersen, *Musikterapi – et fag under udvikling. Et nyt skud på stammen inden for universitetspædagogikken. Arbejdsrapport lagt til grund for lektorbedømmelse*. Unpublished report (Aalborg: Department for Music and Music Therapy, 1986); Inge Nygaard Pedersen, 'Kandidatuddannelsen i musikterapi ved Aalborg Universitetscenter. Et historisk og nutidigt perspektiv', *Dansk Akademisk Tidsskrift for Musikterapi*, 1/1 (1990), 1–25; Inge Nygaard Pedersen and Benedikte Barth Scheiby, *Musikterapeut – Musik – Klient* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 1981); Inge Nygaard Pedersen and Benedikte Barth Scheiby, 'Intermusiktherapie innerhalb der Musiktherapieausbildung. Selbsterfahrung as Interaktionsmethode', *Musiktherapeutische Umschau*, 9 (1988), 140–63; Benedikte Barth Scheiby, 'Musikterapi: Psykoterapi som kunstnerisk erkendelsesmetode og akademisk disciplin', *Matrix, Journal for Psychotherapy*, 5/3 (1988), 37–84; Benedikte Barth Scheiby and Inge Nygaard Pedersen, 'Psychodynamische Bewegung innerhalb eines Musiktherapeutischen Konzepts', *Dipl. Aufbaustudium Musiktherapie*, ed. J. Decker-Voight (Lilienthal and Bremen: Eres Edition, 1989).

training that equipped the students with more appropriate skills. There was a significantly more comprehensive component on theory, scientific thinking, therapy concepts and psychology than I was aware of elsewhere in Europe. The ‘jewel in the crown’, and the most important element in the training was how much self-experience was included throughout. ... [This] formed a comprehensive and continuous part of the program and really helps the students begin their professional work with a strong grounding.<sup>23</sup>

In 1993, a new element was added to the research culture: a music therapy treatment and research clinic. The clinic was established as an integrated institution in a collaboration between Aalborg University Centre and Aalborg Psychiatric Hospital. In 1995, Pedersen was able to be replaced as head of the university programme and became head of the clinic. From then on, clinical music therapy research in mental health became an important area of research.

In summary: in the first ten years of the music therapy programme, the more common university traditions of research-based education were broken. There was simply no one available with a track record of publications and research in music therapy in Denmark when the education started. Instead, an educational research environment was established. In an article written by the head of the external examination panel, Associate Professor Søren Willert, the programme was characterised as ‘the best university program in the world’ and suitable as a ‘pedagogical lesson.’<sup>24</sup> Willert elaborated, explaining how the training provided students with the best possible conditions for developing a constructive integration of personal and professional competencies in order to gradually become a professional music therapist.

Other programmes in Europe had similar learning philosophies, although with slightly different theoretical roots; one example was the training in Enschede, the Netherlands, where Professor Henk Smeijsters was the programme leader. He was an inspiring guest teacher in Aalborg in the early nineties and later wrote about music improvisation as an analogy of the self, exploring how persons can use music to ‘sound’ themselves and how the self interacts with the environment. This highlights the differences between representing human experience through language versus music. Smeijsters’ suggestions of evidence-based practice as an alternative to evidence-based research resonated with the Aalborg programme. From these starting points, music therapy research has grown into what any university tradition might positively expect.

23 Tony Wigram, “An Englishman in Denmark”. What have I learned from Dansk Musikterapi?, *Musikterapiuddannelsen 25 år*, 47–50.

24 Søren Willert, “Verdens bedste universitetsstudium” – musikterapistudiet som universitetspædagogisk lærestykke, *Musikterapiuddannelsen 25 år*, 51–58.

*The Graduate School of Music Therapy Research (1993–2011)*

Until 1993, the training of music therapists as researchers at Aalborg University was an individual undertaking and only one candidate (Barba Zimmermann Friis) graduated (1994). In 1993, music therapy was recognised as one of two PhD programmes in the (then) Department of Music and Music Therapy. In the same year, Pedersen received a three-year grant from the Nordic Research Education Academy (NorFa) to establish a Nordic Network of Music Therapy Research with colleagues from the Nordic training programmes (Even Ruud, Gro Trondalen, Brynjulf Stige, Ingrid Hammarlund, and Kimmo Lehtonen). A group of PhD students also participated, including Niels Hannibal, Ulla Holck, Torben Moe, Wolfgang Mahns, and Gudrun Aldridge. PhD students from other countries were invited to participate in one or more seminars. Inge Nygaard Pedersen was the formal leader of the PhD programme/NorFa Network for the first three years, assisted by Lars Ole Bonde and Tony Wigram. The creative and intensive work of this network took place in seminars in beautiful old castles, and the results are documented in an extensive report by Pedersen and Mahns.<sup>25</sup> Guest lecturers during the NorFa years included leading international researchers such as David Aldridge, Ken Bruscia, and Daniel Stern, and the academic standards were very high from the outset. This development of a new model of research education was accompanied by other important initiatives and events:

- *The Nordic Journal of Music Therapy* was established in 1992 as a Norwegian enterprise with Brynjulf Stige as editor-in-chief and co-editors from the other Nordic countries. The international online journal *Voices* was launched in 2001, also initiated by Brynjulf Stige.
- The *Music Therapy Clinic* at Aalborg Psychiatric Hospital was established in 1993 with music therapy clinician researchers from the university. The clinic's research has been documented in yearbooks (1998, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2011) and later in an online journal.
- The *Third European Music Therapy Conference* was held in Aalborg 1995 with hundreds of guests from abroad.
- The first authorised music therapy textbook in Danish was written by Tony Wigram, Inge Nygaard Pedersen and Lars Ole Bonde in 2001, followed by an international edition in 2002: *A Comprehensive Guide to Music Therapy* (later translated into Italian, Spanish, and Korean).

In 1995, Aalborg University Centre became a traditional university, AAU, and a third colleague, Lars Ole Bonde, was employed on a permanent basis. In 1996, the music therapy programme was expanded from a four-year course to an integrated five-year

<sup>25</sup> Inge Nygaard Pedersen and Wolfgang Mahns, *Nordic network in music therapy research 1993–1996* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 1996).



Photo: Professor Kirsten Drotner (Chair of the Danish Research Council for the Humanities) presenting the Council's award for 'the most dynamic research milieu 2007' to Professor Tony Wigram and Associate Professor Lars Ole Bonde. (Private photo)

master's programme. This also led to the establishment of the International Research School under the leadership of Bonde, who was replaced by Wigram in 1997. From then on, the Graduate School of Music Therapy Research at Aalborg University developed into something very special. Wigram obtained large grants to develop the programme, first in 1997 (funding for scholarships), later in 2004 (funding for supervisor courses), and finally in 2010 (funding for mobility fellowships, see below). Regular PhD courses, supervisor training, and postdoctoral support were part of the recipe. The list of visiting professors and examiners in the first ten years is a 'Who's Who' of leaders in the field, and quality control was ensured through the inclusion of leading experts in the evaluation committees and the involvement of an international advisory board.<sup>26</sup>

Tony Wigram built the research programme from his many skills as clinician, researcher, organiser, and lobbyist, and it attracted doctoral students from all over the world.<sup>27</sup> In 2007, the Danish Research Council of the Humanities awarded the programme a prize, describing it as 'the most dynamic research milieu 2007', for 'having developed music therapy in Denmark to a broadly scoped, research-based profession with a strong international reputation, and for having made a contribution to enhancing

<sup>26</sup> Tony Wigram, 'Doctoral Research School in Music Therapy', *Musikterapiuddannelsen 25 år*, 73–78.

<sup>27</sup> Tony Wigram, 'Tony Wigram', *The Lives of Music Therapists*, ed. Joseph Moreno (Gilsun: Barcelona Publishers, 2017), 1620–1714.

the perspectives of humanistic research by building a bridge between the humanities and health care science.’<sup>28</sup>

As part of the strategies formulated in the Bologna Process, the Faculty of Humanities at Aalborg University established a research school in 2008: the Doctoral School of the Humanities. From then on, the doctoral programme in music therapy was no longer a separate school, but a subprogramme, parallel with four other subprogrammes in the faculty’s Doctoral School. In 2010, the Danish Research Council for Culture and Communication awarded the programme a substantial mobility grant of 11 million Danish kroner (1.5 million euros). This made it possible to accept not only international scholarship students, but also doctoral students on a full salary. In 2010, twelve new doctoral students were enrolled – the highest number of enrolments in one year – and the programme then had twenty-seven doctoral students (many of them part-time), making it the largest programme of its kind in the world. Fortunately, Tony Wigram was able to see this impressive development before his premature death in the summer of 2011.

Bonde has studied the career paths of the first sixteen PhD candidates.<sup>29</sup> They defended their theses between 1998 and 2007, with a 100 per cent completion rate. Of these sixteen, ten subsequently obtained full-time or part-time appointments in research-based music therapy programmes in six countries (Australia, Denmark, Germany, Israel, Norway, and South Korea). Four candidates were already employed as researchers but were later awarded professorships. One candidate returned to his clinical position, but with time for research included, and one candidate made a career in another field. The dissertations in these early years were all monographs, but they provided the basis for book chapters, peer-reviewed articles, and conference proceedings.

Bonde’s conclusions about studies and students during this ten-year period were as follows:

- A PhD project in music therapy at AAU has an ‘afterlife’ of two to five years.
- Research is disseminated through articles and book chapters, and in some cases as monographs, mainly in recognised journals and publishing houses.
- Oral presentations are mainly given at national and international conferences.
- The ‘average’ candidate has published the dissertation as a freely accessible pdf file and has written four peer-reviewed and two other articles or chapters. The study has been presented at six to seven conferences and in some other media.
- Most candidates obtain (or retain) academic positions.

28 The Danish Research Council’s official reasons for giving the prize. ‘Dynamisk forskningsmiljø 2007. FKK’s pris for dynamisk forskningsmiljø går til Musikterapi på Aalborg Universitet’, *Humaniora*, 2, (2007), 49.

29 Lars Ole Bonde, ‘Postgraduate Training in Music Therapy Research in Aalborg University: An International Enterprise: A Tribute to Tony Wigram’, *Voices. A World Forum of Music Therapy*, 11/3 (2011), <https://voices.no/index.php/voices/article/view/1985/1727>, accessed 24 March 2024; Lars Ole Bonde, ‘Forskingskolen i musikterapi – en international succes’, *Musikterapiuddannelsen 25 år*, 79–80.



Another important development during this period – symbolised by the prize mentioned above – occurred in the relationship between the music therapy milieu and the academic psychology community. Some psychologists, mostly with clinical and psychotherapeutic backgrounds and experience, had already accepted music therapy as a promising academic adjunct field from the beginning (the most important and influential, Søren Willert, is mentioned above). However, there were many influential psychologists who were sceptical about this new venture. A significant change came in 2006, when Bonde was invited to edit a special issue of one of the leading academic psychology journals, *Psyke & Logos*. A strong opponent of music therapy on the editorial board had left, and now the door was open. The result was the largest-ever issue of the journal, *Music and Psychology*, more than 600 pages with contributions from Danish, Norwegian, and British researchers in music (psycho)therapy, music psychology, music education, psychology, and anthropology.<sup>30</sup>

Bonde introduced *receptive music therapy* into the curriculum of the AAU training, and he also initiated research, especially in the clinical application of the receptive model *Guided Imagery and Music (GIM)*.<sup>31</sup> In the following decade, AAU became the centre for research into the clinical effects of GIM and the related method *Music and Imagery (MI)*<sup>32</sup> (see also Appendix 1).

### *The PhD Programme in Music Therapy Research (2011–2024)*

After the premature death of Tony Wigram in 2011, Hanne Mette Ridder took over the management of the Graduate School in close cooperation with the AAU team of music therapy researchers, all of whom are doctoral supervisors and teachers on the PhD courses. In 2012, under the leadership of Ulla Holck, the team developed the Centre for

<sup>30</sup> Lars Ole Bonde, ed., *Psyke & Logos. Musik og psykologi* (Copenhagen: Dansk psykologisk forlag, 2007), <https://tidsskrift.dk/psyke/issue/view/1541>, accessed 7 July 2024.

<sup>31</sup> Lars Ole Bonde, ‘The Bonny Method of Guided Imagery and Music (BMGIM) with Cancer Survivors. A Psychosocial Study with Focus on the Influence of BMGIM on Mood and Quality of Life’, PhD thesis (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2005); Lars Ole Bonde, ‘Lars Ole Bonde’, *The Lives of Music Therapists*, vol. 2, ed. John Mahoney (Gilsum: Barcelona Publishers, 2017), 169–183.

<sup>32</sup> Torben Moe, ‘Restituerende faktorer i gruppemusikterapi med psykiatriske patienter ud fra en modifikation af GIM’, PhD thesis (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2000); Ruth Hertrampf, ‘“Keyboard of Life”. Music Therapy in Psycho-Oncology – Guided Imagery and Music (GIM) in Curative and Early Palliative Treatment for Women with Breast Cancer or Gynecological Cancer’, PhD thesis (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2017); Gabriella Rudstam, Ulf Elofsson, Hans Peter Söndergaard, Lars Ole Bonde, and Bolette Daniels Beck, ‘Trauma-Focused Group Music and Imagery with Women Suffering from PTSD/Complex PTSD: A Randomized Controlled Study’, *European Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 6/3 (2022), 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejtd.2022.100277>; Lisa Summer, ‘Client Perspectives on the Music Experience in Music-Centered Guided Imagery and Music’, PhD thesis (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2009); Margareta Wärja, ‘Arts-Based Psychotherapy for Women Recovering from Gynecological Cancer’, PhD thesis (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2018).

Documentation and Research in Music Therapy (CEDOMUS) with an online platform for the dissemination of music therapy research.<sup>33</sup>

With the merging of the Social Sciences and Humanities to one faculty in 2022, the music therapy PhD programme was integrated with the PhD programme in the Department of Communication and Psychology under the direction of Christian Jantzen. Hanne Mette Ridder continued as the director of the newly named “PhD specialisation in music therapy research”. During the period 2011–2024, forty-two PhD students successfully defended their dissertations at a public viva, so that a total of sixty-four dissertations are now available online at [www.mt-phd.aau.dk](http://www.mt-phd.aau.dk), excluding a few that have been published by other sources, usually as books. An overview of all doctoral dissertations 1998–2024, sorted by country, can be found in Appendix 1.

In Europe, the so-called Bologna Process – that was signed in 1999 – led to an agreement to add the PhD as a third cycle of degrees after the BA and MA degrees. PhD research was encouraged and supported, and there were good opportunities to apply for fellowships, for example through the National Research Council or when offered by universities. However, from 2011, PhD fellowships were no longer offered by the Faculty of Humanities at AAU, and it became increasingly difficult to find funding opportunities for PhD students, unless university professors were awarded external funding. It was still possible for international PhD students to apply for scholarships from the Department of Communication and Psychology. All PhD students with fully funded fellowships completed their theses in 2012 (except for one part-time student), and the seven with mobility stipends completed their dissertations between 2014–2016. Thus, the PhD group gradually became smaller. Since 2016, the programme managed to obtain external funding for five fellowships, while the rest were enrolled with a scholarship, or, in one case, as a self-financed PhD student. In 2024, the group consisted of seven PhD students from Austria, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, USA, and Denmark.

In terms of topics explored by the PhD researchers, most focused on improvisational music therapy as a clinical approach, but with many variations, for example with a specific focus on singing or songwriting. Another focus was the method Guided Imagery and Music, researched in a total of thirteen dissertations, or focusing on the development of assessment tools (five dissertations). The majority of PhD students were clinicians who had already gained expertise in a certain clinical area, reflecting a wide variety of clinical populations. The most commonly studied populations were dementia (six dissertations), adult psychiatry (five), oncology (five), autism (four), traumatic brain injury, and the remainder focused on, for example, depression, trauma, stress, premature infants, hospitalised children, and children or adults with special needs. Several studies also focused on the integration of parents or carer.

The methodologies of the studies showed a wide variety of designs, from phenomenology, heuristic research, arts-based research to mixed methods, case studies, and

33 Ulla Holck, ‘CEDOMUS – halvandet år efter’, *Dansk Musikterapi*, 11/1 (2014), 32.

RCTs. This wide variety of topics and methods reflects a pragmatic approach to practice-based research where research questions are developed from clinical reality and lived experience. This is also in line with the principles of problem-based learning – the pedagogical model of Aalborg University – when it comes to research training models.

The overall aim of the Aalborg doctoral training is to provide an academic learning culture of social interaction and an intercultural facilitation of research through problem-based learning. The PhD students are trained to demonstrate advanced scholarship and academic enquiry learned through peer reflections and collaborative peer learning. The details of how problem-based learning is integrated into the doctoral training are described on the programme website [www.mt-phd.aau.dk](http://www.mt-phd.aau.dk) and as a model of problem-based learning.<sup>34</sup> Doctoral training continues through regular supervision and six-monthly PhD courses where the doctoral peer group and professors meet for a full week to present ongoing research, discuss, work on feedback, reflect, and learn. Wherever possible, PhD vivas are scheduled during these weeks so that PhD students at earlier stages of their research can experience how a research process can develop – and how the viva can lead to an in-depth and reflective engagement with the examination board.

### *Three Examples of Music Therapy Research*

In the following, three selected areas of music therapy research are presented. As noted above, music therapy research covers various clinical areas and is presented here through the lenses of psychiatry, dementia, and public health, respectively – the areas in which each of the present authors has their expertise.

#### Music Therapy Research in Psychiatry

In Denmark, music therapy pioneer Grethe Lund was the first trained music therapist to work in psychiatry. Psychiatry was also one of Pedersen's three experimental clinical target groups in the eighties. Lund worked almost non-verbally and used music improvisation with clients in pairs or as solos. She conducted a study in which she asked a blinded research assistant to listen to improvisations played by her or by people with schizophrenia. She found that the research assistant could not distinguish between improvisations performed by people with or without a psychiatric diagnosis. Based on this, she was the first to suggest that music can be a means of communication that can be expressed beyond symptoms.<sup>35</sup>

34 Hanne Mette Ridder, 'Doctoral Education: A Model of Problem-Based Learning', *International Perspectives in Music Therapy Education and Training*, ed. Karen Goodman (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 2015).

35 Grete Lund, *Skizofreni og musik: en analyse af non-verbal kommunikation* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforslag, 1988).

When the research clinic was established at Aalborg Psychiatric Hospital in 1993, the opportunity arose to develop clinical methods, to develop theory about music therapy in psychiatry, and to carry out research on music therapy in psychiatry as an integrated part of a hospital team. Pedersen worked at the clinic from the very beginning and was director from 1995 to 2021. In 2021, Associate Professor Niels Hannibal took over as director. Until 1998, the clinic operated on a trial basis, and documentary reports were required to support its continuation. Between the years 1995–1998, two research assistants employed by the university were allowed to spend fifty percent of their time at the clinic, and a report on case studies and evaluation of clients was edited.<sup>36</sup> Instead of producing another report on theory and research, it was decided to produce a yearbook on *Music Therapy in Psychiatry*, the first edition of which was issued in 1998. In total, five paperback yearbooks (between 150–200 pages) and seven online journal volumes were published between 1998 and 2016. They are all available online.<sup>37</sup>

Ongoing themes of the articles in the books were: a) how to develop the music therapist-client relationship as an essential part of therapeutic development; b) different clinical music therapy methods based on different theories applied to patients with different diagnoses; c) case studies; d) the role of musical improvisation with different patients diagnosed with different symptoms; e) the therapist's countertransference as a tool of understanding; f) how transference issues can be identified in musical improvisations; g) phase-specific thinking in the treatment process; h) the dropout rate of patients in music therapy compared to other treatments; i) questionnaire studies of the patients' experiences and benefits from the treatment; and j) records of where and how music therapy is used in psychiatry in Denmark. Gradually, articles on research protocols and research results were included in the chapters.

When the yearbook went online in 2011, it also became a Scandinavian journal for music therapy in psychiatry, with colleagues from Norway and Sweden on the editorial board. This offered new perspectives for practice and research, as the theoretical basis for music therapy training and practice in Denmark and Norway are slightly different. In Denmark, the psychodynamic and humanistic theoretical foundations are essential. In Norway, resource-oriented, feminist, and positive psychology are more common. The psychodynamic approach was also reflected in the Danish interdisciplinary course for clinical supervisors initiated by Inge Nygaard Pedersen. The course was approved by the associations of music therapy, psychology, and psychiatry; the results of the work were documented in a book on arts-based methods in supervision.<sup>38</sup>

36 Inge Nygaard Pedersen, *Slutrapport 1. del. Dokumentation og evaluering* (Aalborg: Musikterapi-klinikken, Aalborg Psykiatriske Sygehus, 1998).

37 MIPO online: <https://danskmusikterapi.dk/information-om-musikterapi/mipo/>

38 Inge Nygaard Pedersen (ed.), *Kunstneriske medier i supervision af psykoterapi. Indsigt og vitalitet* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2013).

From 2016, all employees at the music therapy program experienced more pressure from the university to publish in ‘high impact’ journals, and as the yearbook *Music Therapy in Psychiatry* had a low impact, all colleagues at the research clinic decided to end it and to focus on larger research projects. However, the yearbook has had a vital impact on the development and dissemination of the importance of music therapy in psychiatry in Denmark.

One of the larger research projects on music therapy in psychiatry in Denmark, which started in 2016, was a project examining music therapy and its influence on negative symptoms in people diagnosed with schizophrenia, funded by the Tryg Foundation. The dean of the medical faculty strongly recommended that Aalborg University hired an external research consultant in order to support a better integration process of music therapy as a part of the recommended standard treatment in psychiatry. Securing this recommendation from the Danish National Board of Health was challenging because music therapy was and is a humanistic discipline although the structure of the programme integrates psychotherapeutic training. Consequently, it was not possible to recommend music therapy as a humanistic discipline in a hospital health professional area. In previous meetings with the Danish Health Board, the staff of the music therapy research clinic had already presented a 2012 International Cochrane review showing positive results for music therapy in treating individuals diagnosed with schizophrenia.<sup>39</sup> However, the Danish National Health Board claimed that these results should be reproduced with Danish patients before a recommendation could be negotiated. With very few music therapists working in psychiatry, this sounded like a dead end. Such problems were not present either in UK or in Norway, and an updated Cochrane review of 2017 even confirmed the positive results.<sup>40</sup> In spite of not being recommended as a standard treatment in psychiatry, there are several music therapists working in psychiatry in Denmark today.

The research consultant hired by Aalborg university suggested that the research group focussed on just one symptom, preferably a symptom for which other treatment possibilities were very limited. Pedersen and colleagues thus planned a national double blind randomised controlled trial (RCT) with 90–120 participants. The research design and protocol were developed in a collaboration between music therapists and psychiatrists. Pedersen was the principal investigator for the study which ran from 2016 to 2021.

The two conditions were both twenty-five weekly sessions of manualised music therapy. For the experimental group, the music therapy was delivered by trained music therapists experienced in working with the target group. Here many different music

39 Karin Mössler et al., ‘Music therapy for people with schizophrenia and schizophrenia-like disorders’, *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*, 12 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.1002/14651858.CD004025.pub3>

40 Karin Mössler et al., ‘Music therapy for people with schizophrenia and schizophrenia-like disorders’, *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*, 29/5 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1002/14651858.CD004025.pub3>

therapy techniques could be applied dependent on the needs of the client in the right timing. For the control group, the twenty-five sessions consisted of manualised listening to specific playlists. The playlists were developed by music therapists and administered by a carer familiar with the target group. Here, only one music therapy technique (music listening) was used. The carers, who did not know the participants beforehand, were trained by music therapists in how to apply the music playlists and how to use the manual developed for the control condition.

The referral procedures were carried out by an external professional. As this research study was working with a target group with severe problems of isolation and withdrawal – a group of people who were very often not easy to reach agreements with – we included a research coordinator who informed the assessors about each screening and who was in contact with all the therapists and carers on an almost daily basis to keep the processes going.

In the end, fifty-seven participants were recruited from the Danish regions of Northern Jutland and the Capital. Twenty-nine participants completed all the sessions. Many questionnaires were used for this project, both quantitative questionnaires on symptoms, quality of life questionnaires and a questionnaire on therapeutic alliance. The results of primary outcomes surprisingly showed that the negative symptoms were significantly reduced in both conditions. Further analysis on secondary outcomes revealed less drop-outs and higher levels of alliance in the experimental group.<sup>41</sup>

Other areas of music therapy in psychiatry have been researched using an RCT design, such as music therapy with traumatised refugees. Here, the results showed that music therapy was not inferior to psychological treatment.<sup>42</sup> Another RCT study in psychiatry in Denmark concerned the effect of music therapy on depression and insomnia. The study showed that listening to specific music thirty minutes before bedtime can reduce insomnia.<sup>43</sup> Finally, music therapy with people diagnosed with personality

41 Inge Nygaard Pedersen et al., 'Music Therapy as Treatment of Negative Symptoms for Adult Patients Diagnosed with Schizophrenia: Study Protocol for a Randomized, Controlled and Blinded Study', *Medicines*, 6/2 (2019), 46. <https://doi.org/10.3390/medicines6020046>; Inge Nygaard Pedersen et al., 'Music Therapy vs. Music Listening for Negative Symptoms in Schizophrenia: Randomized, Controlled, Assessor- and Patient-Blinded Trial', *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 12 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2021.738810>; Inge Nygaard Pedersen et al., 'Music as a Psychosocial Intervention with People Suffering from Schizophrenia: Challenges in Practice and Research', *Schizophrenia – Recent Advances and Patient-Centered Treatment Perspectives*, ed. Jane Yip (London: InTechOpen, 2022), <http://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.108827>; Niels Hannibal et al., 'Process-Outcome Relations in Music Therapy Versus Music Listening for People with Schizophrenia Viewed through a Mediation Model: The Role of the Therapeutic Alliance', *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 14 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2023.1120003>.

42 Bolette Daniels Beck et al., 'Music Therapy was Noninferior to Verbal Standard Treatment of Traumatized Refugees in Mental Health Care: Results from a Randomized Clinical Trial', *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 12/1 (2021), 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20008198.2021.1930960>.

43 Helle Nystrup Lund, Agnieszka Heymann-Szlachcinska, and Inge Nygaard Pedersen, 'From Pilot Project to RCT – Music Intervention to Improve Sleep Quality in Depressed Patients: A Mixed

disorders has also been described and researched. Here, the theory of mentalisation has been an important platform for the research.<sup>44</sup>

### Research in Music Therapy and Dementia

In 1995, Hanne Mette Ridder was employed as a music therapist on a so-called geronto-psychiatric ward with twenty-four residents. A group of them seemed to be putting extra pressure on the staff and were described to exhibit ‘agitated behaviour’. These residents had all been diagnosed with various forms of dementia and had been transferred from local nursing homes to this specialised psychiatric unit. Ridder found that regular and structured individual music therapy sessions focused on singing helped these residents to relax and interact, and for some, to verbalise and sing. In 2000, she was offered a PhD fellowship, and in her doctoral research she explored singing in individual music therapy with people with advanced dementia showing symptoms of agitation.<sup>45</sup> Since then, she has conducted or been involved in research mainly in the area of dementia care. Examples include an exploratory RCT on music therapy for agitation; development of the Music in Dementia Assessment Scales, MiDAS; and in recent years, research on the use of *Guided Imagery and Music* and choir singing with persons suffering from mild or moderate dementia.<sup>46</sup>

In 2016 and 2024, the Velux Foundation funded larger studies on how music therapists can train carers in nursing homes to use music. Ridder was the principal investigator for the research group, which integrated twelve overlapping sub-projects and developed a training manual for qualified music therapists to use when teaching carers

Methods Study’, *European Psychiatry*, 41/S1 (2017), 240, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eurpsy.2017.02.009>; Helle Nystrup Lund et al., ‘Music to Improve Sleep Quality in Adults with Depression-Related Insomnia (MUSTAFI): Randomized Controlled Trial’, *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 77/2 (2023), 188–197, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08039488.2022.2080254>.

- 44 Niels Jørgensen Hannibal and Melody Schwantes, ‘What does Music Therapy have to Offer Mentalization Based Treatment (MBT)? A Mentalization-Based View on Music Therapy Clinical Practice in Psychiatry’, *Voices: World Forum for Music Therapy*, 17/2 (2017), 13, <https://doi.org/10.15845/voices.v17i2.897>; Niels Jørgensen Hannibal et al., ‘A Pilot Study Investigating Research Design Feasibility Using Pre-Post Measures to Test the Effect of Music Therapy in Psychiatry with People Diagnosed with Personality Disorders’, *Voices: A World Forum of Music Therapy*, 19/1 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.15845/voices.v19i1.2731>.
- 45 Hanne Mette Ridder, ‘Singing Dialogue. Music Therapy with Persons in Advanced Stages of Dementia. A Case Study Research Design’, PhD thesis (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2003).
- 46 Hanne Mette Ridder et al., ‘Individual Music Therapy for Agitation in Dementia: An Exploratory Randomized Controlled Trial’, *Aging & Mental Health*, 17/6 (2013), 667–678, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2013.790926>; Ori McDermott, Martin Orrell, and Hanne Mette Ridder, ‘The Development of Music in Dementia Assessment Scales (MiDAS)’, *Nordic Journal of Music Therapy*, 24/3 (2015), 232–251, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08098131.2014.907333>; Hanne Mette Ridder, Jens Anderson-Ingstrup, and Lukas Ridder, ‘The Effect of Choir-singing on Self-reported Embodied Cognition in Persons with Dementia. A Pilot Study’, *Dementia: the International Journal of Social Research and Practice*, forthcoming.

how to implement so-called Person-Attuned Musical Interactions (PAMI) in dementia care. The manual included comprehensive resources, a clear structure for training, defined learning objectives, and integration of theory.<sup>47</sup> In addition to the empirical studies, Ridder also explored the theoretical landscape of dementia, writing books and book chapters on concepts such as attunement, embodiment, and resonance from the perspective of person-centred care.<sup>48</sup>

Not only in Denmark, but also internationally, research on the use of music in dementia care has expanded. This is documented in several comprehensive systematic reviews and meta-analyses that point to positive effects of music-based interventions or music therapy on agitation, depression, anxiety, aggression, apathy, cognitive functioning, and quality of life in with dementia.<sup>49</sup> The Danish clinical guideline for the prevention and treatment of behavioural and psychological symptoms in persons with dementia from 2019 suggests – as the only non-pharmacological treatment – trying music therapy to treat these symptoms.<sup>50</sup> Due to heterogeneity of research on music and dementia, new research is needed to establish the evidence for specific mechanisms that are effective in the use of music and music therapy, including for whom and how often they are beneficial. Unfortunately, research too often reduces music to an objectified, simple product rather than embracing a multifaceted understanding of music in relation to biopsychosocial aspects of communication, socialisation, reminiscence, embodiment, and spirituality.

#### Research in Music and Public Health

In 2008, Lars Ole Bonde was appointed professor II in Oslo as a member of the new group behind *Senter for musikk og helse* (later renamed the *Center for Research in Music and Health*) at the Norwegian Academy of Music. In the first decade of the new millennium, there was a growing international interest in how music experiences could be designed to help people in various ways, including outside clinical contexts, hospitals and institutions, and beyond the client-therapist dyad. The Norwegian centre was a result of this interest.

47 Hanne Mette Ridder et al., 'Person-Attuned Musical Interactions (PAMI) in Dementia Care. Complex Intervention Research for Constructing a Training Manual', *Frontiers in Medicine*, 10 (2023), 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fmed.2023.1160588>.

48 For example: Hanne Mette Ridder, 'Musikterapi – en sansefilosofisk forståelse af stemthed og resonans', *Kunst, krop og terapi*, eds. Helle Winther, Jim Toft, and Simon Køppe (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2023), 83–110; Hanne Mette Ridder and Julie Kolbe Krøier, *Stemning. Musikalsk interaktion i demensomsorgen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2022); Brynjulf Stige and Hanne Mette Ridder (eds.), *Musikterapi og eldrehelse* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2016).

49 For a collection of such reviews and meta-analyses, see [www.demens.musikterapi.aau.dk](http://www.demens.musikterapi.aau.dk), accessed 24 March 2024.

50 SST, Sundhedsstyrelsen [The Danish Health Authority], *The Danish Clinical Guidelines for the Prevention and Treatment of Behavioural and Psychological Symptoms in Persons with Dementia* (2019), [https://www.sst.dk/da/udgivelser/2019/~/\\_media/oD31887F5AA94A40B31C8EA9E622B7EF.ashx](https://www.sst.dk/da/udgivelser/2019/~/_media/oD31887F5AA94A40B31C8EA9E622B7EF.ashx), accessed 24 March 2024.



In 2011, Copenhagen hosted the 4th European Public Health Conference. A year before, the conference chair asked Bonde to organise a pre-conference on ‘Music and Public Health’ – which he did, inviting leading researchers from the USA and the Nordic countries to present initiatives and projects within this larger horizon of ‘applied music’. This soon led to a closer collaboration between Bonde, AAU-Music Therapy, and the National Institute of Public Health, resulting in the inclusion of music questions in the *Public Health Survey* of 2013.

16,000 adult Danes responded, and the subsequent correlational study made it possible to identify a number of patterns in the interaction between music and health. Analyses with different focus were published in the following years, and the main conclusions were:

- Inequalities in health and health behaviours were observed between professional musicians, amateur musicians, and non-musicians.
- The results show that professional musicians had high levels of perceived stress.
- Active amateur musicians were less likely to engage in health risk behaviours than active professional musicians.
- A clear association was found between singing and playing in childhood and being an active professional or amateur musician in adulthood.
- This was a cross-sectional study, and causal relationships could not be established with certainty; therefore, more research is needed to understand the differences and underlying mechanisms.<sup>51</sup>

Contacts between researchers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden led to the formation of a *Nordic Network of Research in Music and Public Health*, with an inaugural meeting in Copenhagen in 2015. Since then, the network has met every two years, and the collaboration has resulted in the first international publication ever on *Music and Public Health – A Nordic Perspective*, as well as joint studies on musicians’ health and broader studies on the influence of cultural participation on health.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Ola Ekholm, Knud Juel, and Lars Ole Bonde, ‘Music and Public Health – An Empirical Study of the Use of Music in the Daily Life of Adult Danes and the Health Implications of Musical Participation’, *Arts & Health*, 8/2 (2015), 154–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17533015.2015.1048696>; Ola Ekholm and Lars Ole Bonde, ‘Music and Health in Everyday Life in Denmark. Associations between the Use of Music and Health-Related Outcomes in adult Danes’, *Music and Public Health – A Nordic Perspective*, eds. Lars Ole Bonde and Töres Theorell (New York: Springer, 2018); Ola Ekholm, Knud Juel, and Lars Ole Bonde, ‘Associations between Daily Musicking and Health: Results from a Nationwide Survey in Denmark’, *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 44/7 (2016), 726–32, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494816664252>.

<sup>52</sup> Lars Ole Bonde and Töres Theorell (eds.), *Music and Public Health*; Suvi Saarikallio et al., ‘Music as a Resource for Psychological Health for Music Professionals: A Nordic Survey’, *Nordic Journal of Arts, Culture and Health*, 2/1, (2020), 38–50; Ziggi Ivan Santini et al., ‘Engagement with Arts and Culture

The results of all these studies support the involvement of the cultural and creative sectors in health strategies. Mental health promotion initiatives as well as arts and culture sectors can encourage the general public to engage in arts and culture activities with frequencies once a quarter. Participation in music activities and experiences are not necessarily more effective than those in other cultural fields or sectors, but music activities are often easier to plan, carry out, and implement, and they are more cost-effective. Additionally, music interventions are non-competitive, community-oriented, and (almost) without side-effects.

Norwegian music therapy researcher Brynjulf Stige coined the term ‘health musicking’ inspired by Christopher Small’s concept of musicking.<sup>53</sup> Small argued that music is not a thing, but rather an activity: ‘any activity involving or related to music performance, such as performing, listening, rehearsing, or composing.’<sup>54</sup> Musicking was introduced as a verb covering all musical activities, from composing to performing, from listening to music on a smart phone to singing in the shower. Stige defined health musicking as ‘the appraisal and appropriation of the health affordances of the arena, agenda, agent, activities, and artefacts of a music practice.’<sup>55</sup>

This expanded understanding of health and wellness also introduced *well-being* and *quality of life* as valid goals for health musicking. Musicking can enhance quality of life by increasing vitality, including bodily sensations, emotional awareness, and energy levels.<sup>56</sup> Quality of life also includes a sense of agency and musical involvement, and mastery can become a tool for empowerment. Furthermore, quality of life is highly dependent on relationships and involvement with other people. Promoting musicking as a social resource or social capital in building networks between people can therefore be of great importance. Last but not least, quality of life is nurtured by an experience of meaning and coherence in life, as emphasised by Antonovsky.<sup>57</sup> A recent report entitled *Music and Health* presents a descriptive model of the field and reviews the current state

Activities in the Danish General Population: Associations with Onset or Persistent Depression and Mental Wellbeing’, *British Journal of Health Psychology*, 28/3 (2022), 844–59, <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjhp.12657>; Bente Irene Løkken, ‘Cultural Activity and Public Health’, PhD thesis (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2023).

53 Brynjulf Stige, *Culture-Centered Music Therapy* (Gilsum: Barcelona Publishers, 2002); Brynjulf Stige, ‘Health Musicking: A Perspective on Music and Health as Action and Performance’, *Music, Health, and Wellbeing*, eds. Raymond MacDonald, Günther Kreutz, and Laura Mitchell (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 184–95, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199586974.003.0014>.

54 Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

55 Stige, *Culture-Centered Music Therapy*, 211; Stige, ‘Health Musicking’, 186.

56 Lars Ole Bonde, *Musik og menneske. Introduktion til Musikpsykologi* (Copenhagen: Samfundslitteratur, 2011); Even Ruud, *Music Therapy: A Perspective from the Humanities* (Gilsum: Barcelona Publishers, 2010).

57 Aaron Antonovsky, *Unraveling the Mystery of Health: How People Manage Stress and Stay Well* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher, 1987).

of evidence, especially in the Nordic countries, across the interrelated fields of music therapy, music medicine, music milieu, and community music.<sup>58</sup>

### *Conclusion*

According to The Royal Society in the UK, a research culture encompasses the behaviours, values, expectations, attitudes, and norms of research communities. It influences the career paths of researchers and affects how research is conducted and communicated.<sup>59</sup> Building a research culture is thus a substantial endeavour. The research culture of music therapy has evolved since the 1950s from local and individual uses of music in educational settings to a profession with a wide range of documented interventions and approaches applied to a variety of clinical populations. We have illustrated this by describing the development of academic training and doctoral research, as well as some results of music therapy research in the fields of psychiatry, dementia care, and public health. In Denmark, music therapy research has developed in an ideographic and bottom-up manner from clinical reality. Thus, the starting point for the research has been to present the understanding of clinical processes, bringing insights from the clinician's perspective. Building on this, a research culture has evolved from qualitative and interpretive research designs to quantitative, objectivist designs, recognising the need to cover and integrate various methodologies. This reflects the interdisciplinarity of the music therapy research culture and the relevance of the use of music in meeting the biological, psychological, and social needs of people who may also be patients, clients, students, or participants.

A comprehensive music therapy education was needed to cover the increasing body of theory and research, and it was a perfect fit for the new field to grow in the solid and rich soil of the humanities and in a problem-based academic learning environment at Aalborg University. On this basis, the field is becoming increasingly aligned with social science and health research, creating opportunities for further progress and expansion. The wide variety of research topics and methodologies that have emerged from the international music therapy research milieu in Denmark reflects the integration of clinical reality in the complex process of creating valid and reliable knowledge. The research culture has in many ways transcended the tension between traditions and methodologies and paved the way for interdisciplinarity.

58 Lars Ole Bonde, Even Ruud, and Karette Stensæth, *Music and Health. A Comprehensive Model* (Ebook, 2023), <https://prod-aaudxp-cms-001-app.azurewebsites.net/media/fwmnuadw/music-and-health-2023-final.pdf>, accessed 24 March 2024.

59 The Royal Society, 'Research culture', <https://royalsociety.org/news-resources/projects/research-culture/>, accessed 16 March 2024.

## Appendix

Appendix 1: Overview of doctoral theses from the Research Program in Music Therapy (Aalborg University) during the period 1998–2024, sorted by countries

### AUSTRALIA (1)

Baker, Felicity, 'The Effects of Song Singing on Improvements in Affective Intonation of People with Traumatic Brain Injury' (2004).

### AUSTRIA (2)

Geretsegger Monika, 'Promoting Social Communication through Music Therapy in Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder. Multidimensional Investigation: Systematic Review, RCT Study Protocol, Treatment Guide, Feasibility Study' (2015).

Gold, Christian, 'An Analysis of Long-Term Music Therapy Intervention with Mentally Ill Children and Adolescents in Austria' (2003).

### CHINA (1)

Chen, Xi Jing, 'Music Therapy for Improving Mental Health Problems of Offenders in Correctional Settings' (2014).

### COLUMBIA (1)

Eslava, Juanita, 'The Attention Profile in Music Therapy Assessment for Children. Development and Pilot Study of Validity and Reliability' (2017).

### DENMARK (23)

Anderson-Ingstrup, Jens, 'A Flexible Fit. Developing a Suitable Manual Framework for Person Attuned Musical Interaction in Dementia Care through a Realist Approach' (2020).

Beck, Bolette Daniels, 'Guided Imagery and Music (GIM) with Adults on Sick Leave Suffering from Work-Related Stress – a Mixed Methods Experimental Study' (2012).

Bonde, Lars Ole, 'The Bonny Method of Guided Imagery and Music with Cancer Survivors. A Psychological Study with Focus on the Influence of GIM on Mood and Quality of Life' (2005).

Bøtker, Julie Ørnholt, 'The Kaleidoscope of Authenticity: Experiences, Descriptions, and Applications of Authenticity in Music Education, Music Therapy, and Music Performance' (2023).

Christensen, Erik, 'Music Listening, Music Therapy, Phenomenology and Neuroscience' (2012).

Frederiksen, Britta Vinkler, 'The Development of Therapeutic Alliance in Music Therapy with Forensic Psychiatric Patients with Schizophrenia – an Exploratory Case Study Research Design' (2019).

- Hannibal, Niels J., 'Preverbal Transference in Music Therapy – a Qualitative Investigation of Transference Process in the Musical Interaction' (2001).
- Hald, Søren, 'Music Therapy, Acquired Brain Injury and Interpersonal Communication Competencies' (2012).
- Hart, Susan, 'Psychometric Properties of the Emotional Development Scale. Investigating Reliability and Validity Including Correlations with The Marschak Interaction Method and The Neuroaffective Mentalizing Interview' (2018).
- Holck, Ulla, '“Communicational” Interplay in Music Therapy. Qualitative Video Analyses of Musical and Gestural Interactions with Children with Severe Functional Limitations, Including Children with Autism' (2002).
- Jacobsen, Stine Lindahl, 'Music Therapy Assessment and Development of Parental Competences in Families where Children Have Experienced Emotional Neglect – an Investigation of the Reliability and Validity of the Tool, Assessment of Parenting Competencies (APC)' (2012).
- Krøier, Julie Kolbe, 'Exploring Person-Attuned Musical Interactions in Dementia Care. Flexible Research Design' (2022).
- Lindvang, Charlotte, 'A Field of Resonant Learning. Self-Experiential Training and the Development of Music Therapeutic Competencies. A Mixed Methods Investigation of Music Therapy Students' Experiences and Professional's Evaluation of their Own Competencies' (2010).
- Moe, Torben, 'Restituerende faktorer i gruppeterapi med psykiatriske patienter – baseret på en modifikation af Guided Imagery and Music (GIM)' (2001).
- Nygaard Pedersen, Inge, 'Countertransference in Music Therapy. A Phenomenological Study on Countertransference Used as a Clinical Concept by Music Therapists Working with Musical Improvisation in Adult Psychiatry' (2007).
- Ottesen, Aase Marie, 'Anvendelse af musikterapi og dementia care mapping i en læringsmodel til udvikling af musiske og interpersonelle kompetencer hos omsorgsgivere til personer med demens – et casestudie med en etnografisk tilgang' (2014).
- Ridder, Hanne Mette, 'Singing Dialogue. Music Therapy with Persons in Advanced Stages of Dementia. A Case Study Research Design' (2003).
- Sanfi, Ilan, 'The Effects of Music Therapy as Procedural Support on Distress, Anxiety, and Pain in Young Children Under Peripheral Intravenous Access' (2012).
- Schou, Karin, 'A Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT) of the Effect of Guided Relaxation with Music (GAM) on Anxiety, Pain, Mood, Satisfaction with Hospital Stay, and on Length of Hospitalisation in Cardiac Valve Surgery Patients' (2008).
- Skov, Vibeke, 'Art Therapy. Prevention Against the Development of Depression' (2013).
- Stenderup, Tove, 'Musikalsk samvær i den socialpædagogiske indsats med mennesker med erhvervet hjerneskade: Et kvalitativt forskningsprojekt i et aktionsforskningsperspektiv' (2020).

Storm, Sanne, 'Research into the Development of Voice Assessment in Music Therapy' (2013).

Sørensen, Mariann Bjerregaard, 'Sundhedskommunikation i psykologisk og filosofisk belysning.-- Hvem, hvorfor og hvordan?' (2016).

#### **GERMANY (4)**

Aldridge, Gudrun, 'Development of a Melody in Improvisation-Based Music Therapy' (1998).

Hertrampf, Ruth, '“Keyboard of Life.” Music Therapy in Psycho-Oncology – Guided Imagery and Music (GIM) in Curative and Early Palliative Treatment for Women with Breast Cancer or Gynecological Cancer' (2017).

Maack, Carola, 'Outcomes and Processes of the Bonny Method of Guided Imagery and Music and Its Adaptations and Psychodynamic Imaginative Trauma Therapy for Women with Complex PTSD' (2012).

Mahns, Wolfgang, 'Symbol Creation in the Analytic Music Therapy for Children. A Qualitative Study on the Meaning of Musical Improvisation in Music Therapy with School Children' (1998).

#### **GREECE (1)**

Papanikolaou, Evangelia, 'Receptive Music Therapy in Oncology: Guided Imagery and Music During the Course of Active Treatment for Breast and Gynecologic Cancer. A Two-Part Preliminary Investigation' (2020).

#### **ICELAND (1)**

Jónsdóttir, Valgerdur, 'Music-Caring Within the Framework of Early Intervention. The Lived Experience of a Group of Mothers of Young Children with Special Needs, Participating in a Music Therapy Group' (2011).

#### **ISRAEL (4)**

Elefant, Cochavit, 'Enhancing Communication in Girls with Rett Syndrome Through Songs in Music Therapy' (2002).

Gottfried, Tali, 'Creating Bridges: Music-Oriented Counseling for Parents of Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder' (2016).

Kerem, Dikla, 'The Effect of Music Therapy on Spontaneous Communicative Interactions of Young Children with Cochlear Implants' (2009).

Yakobson, Dana, 'A Family Tune: Music Therapy with Preterm Infants and Their Parents: A Mixed Methods Study' (2021).

**KOREA (1)**

Kim, Jinah, 'Joint Attention and Attunement in Improvisational Music Therapy With Autistic Child' (2006).

**NETHERLANDS (2)**

Coomans, Anke, 'Moments of Resonance in Musical Improvisation with Persons with Severe Dementia. An Interpretative Phenomenological Study' (2016).

De Backer, Jos, 'Music and Psychosis – the Transition From Sensorial Play to Musical Form by Psychotic Patients in a Music Therapeutic Process' (2005).

**NORWAY (4)**

Aasgaard, Trygve, 'Song Creations by Children with Cancer – Process and Meaning' (2002).

Garred, Rudy, 'An Inquiry into the Role of Music and of Words in Creative Music Therapy' (2004).

Johns, Unni Tanum, 'Musical Dynamics in Time-Limited Intersubjective Child Psychotherapy – an Exploration Based on Microanalysis of Therapeutic Interplay' (2018).

Rolvsvjord, Randi, '“Blackbirds Singing”: An Explorational Study' (2007).

**SPAIN (1)**

Torres, Esperanza, 'Effectiveness of GRPMI with Fibromyalgia Patients' (2015).

**SWEDEN (5)**

Bergström, Märith, 'Music and Vibroacoustic Stimulation in People with Rett Syndrome –A Neurophysiological Study' (2011).

Blom, Katarina Mårtenson, 'Experiences of Transcendence and the Process of Surrender in Guided Imagery and Music (GIM): Development of New Understanding Through Theories of Intersubjectivity and Change in Psychotherapy' (2014).

Gerge, Anna, 'Psychotherapeutic Development. Assessment of Pictures Through Development of the SATPA – a Safety Assessment Tool of Pictorial Artefacts' (2018).

Rudstam, Gabriella, 'Trauma-Focused Group Music and Imagery with Women Suffering from PTSD or CPTSD: A Randomized Controlled Study' (2023).

Wärja, Margareta, 'Arts-Based Psychotherapy for Women Recovering from Gynecological Cancer: A Randomized Trial Evaluating the Effects on Psychological Outcomes' (2018).

**UNITED KINGDOM (5)**

Hooper, Jeff, 'The Development of Criteria for Defining Sedative Music, and Its Impact on Adults with Mild, Moderate and Severe Intellectual Disability and Challenging Behaviour' (2010).

Leith, Helen, 'Music Therapy and the Resettlement of Women Prisoners: A Mixed Methods Exploratory Study' (2014).

McDermott, Orii, 'The Development and Evaluation of Music in Dementia Assessment Scales (MIDAS)' (2014).

Odell-Miller, Helen, 'The Practice of Music Therapy for Adults with Mental Health Problems: The Relationship Between Diagnosis and Clinical Method' (2007).

O'Kelly, Julian, 'The Development of Evidence-Based Music Therapy with Disorders of Consciousness' (2014).

### **USA (5)**

Devlin, Kerry, 'Perspectives on Perspective – a Critical Appraisal of Perspective-Taking in Music Therapy Education and Clinical Practice' (2024).

Goodman, Karen, 'The Music Therapy Supervisor: Developmental Perspectives' (2023).

Honig, Timothy, 'Guided Imagery and Music for Persons with Depression. A Three-Part Investigation' (2022).

Schwantes, Melody, 'Music Therapy's Effects on Mexican Migrant Farmworkers' Levels of Depression, Anxiety and Social Isolation: A Mixed Methods Randomized Control Trial Utilizing Participatory Action Research' (2011).

Story, Kristin Maya, 'Guided Imagery and Music with Military Women and Trauma: A Continuum Approach to Music and Healing' (2018).

Summer, Lisa, 'Client Perspectives on the Music in Guided Imagery and Music (GIM)' (2009).



## Abstract

Within the growing tradition of music therapy research, the field has drawn on research from musicology and transdisciplinary areas. The authors of the article describe the history of the field, starting with the pioneers in the mid-1950s, and explain the background for the development of a research culture in music therapy. Specifically, the international PhD research programme in music therapy at Aalborg University gave the field a solid boost, but the close connection to the clinical reality also paved the way for welcoming, embracing and developing practice-based research. The result of this development is a research culture that in many ways transcends the well-known tension between research in medical and humanistic methodologies and calls for interdisciplinarity. To illustrate this, the article concludes with three examples of music therapy in the fields of psychiatry, dementia, and public health.

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## Redigenda curavit KNUD JEPPESEN (Dania) – the Tragic Figure in the 1936 Scenario of *Acta musicologica*?

Thomas Holme

When – in the context of the history of Danish musicology – one is given the opportunity of combining the thematics of ‘Internationalisation and specialisation of music research and its consequences’, ‘The history of music societies’ and ‘Musicological journals’ with ‘Prominent persons in the history of Danish music research’,<sup>1</sup> one person in particular comes to mind, namely Knud Jeppesen (1892–1974). And if the context is further enlarged to span the history – and historiography – of international musicology, Jeppesen also stands out as one of those prominent persons, at least when it comes to the twentieth century.

If, on the other hand, one is given the opportunity to single out a specific event in the first half of the twentieth century as a focal point at which the internationalisation of music research, music societies, musicological journals, and prominent persons were all, literally speaking, at stake, then the choice might very well fall on the third Congress of the *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* (the IGMw)<sup>2</sup> held in Barcelona in April 1936, an event that became one of the last international gatherings of music researchers on European soil before the outbreak of World War II.

At that point in time, the political developments in Germany and the resulting problems on an international level had long penetrated the organization of musicology in Europe, including within the IGMw itself. Several prominent German musicologists, including Alfred Einstein and Curt Sachs, had left Germany out of fear of the Nazi regime, and long before the Congress in Barcelona, the battle lines between representatives of Germany on the one side and their opponents – the ‘allies’ – on the other were strongly drawn. Looking at this event, one gets the impression of pronounced hostility between the parties and an atmosphere marked by rumors and accusations, and one does not have to dig very deep into the pertinent sources to find evidence of outright sabotage and coups in connection with the negotiations at the Congress, with terms like ‘Cold War atmosphere’, ‘conspiracies’, and ‘battlefield’ recurring in the research literature.

1 Cf. ‘Call for papers: Danish Society of Music Research 70th anniversary’ (2023).

2 In the original statutes, the Society was referred to only in German as the *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, and French as the *Société internationale de musicologie*. The officially adopted acronyms for it were I.G.M.W. and S.I.M.; *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, 1/2 (1929), 22. The official English title, the International Musicological Society and thus the abbreviation IMS, was first adopted at the first Congress after World War II in Basel in 1949. In the following, the acronym IGMw is used for the Society.

As the only Dane, Knud Jeppesen attended the Congress not only in his capacity as a member of the board of the IGMw, but as the editor of the Society's journal, *Acta musicologica*,<sup>3</sup> as well. In this dual role, he was classed with the 'anti-Germans', 'free-masons', 'Judenfreunde', 'emigrants', 'Nazi-haters', and more by the German representatives, and – although with an element of irony – with 'Hitler, Goering und Goebbels' by his own allies in the Society. Only posterity, however, has gone so far as to declare Jeppesen to be the 'tragic figure in this scenario' in his capacity as the editor of *Acta*, when right after the Congress the journal was hit by a 'German boycott', resulting in a 'sudden withdrawal of articles by Germans'.<sup>4</sup>

During the past decades much light has been shed on the history of musicology and musicological institutions before, in between, and since the two world wars, and also on the IGMw,<sup>5</sup> on the Congress in Barcelona, and on Knud Jeppesen as well. Consequently, this presentation will *not* aim at a comprehensive exposition of any of these topics.

However, the Society's journal, *Acta Musicologica*, along with Jeppesen's editorship during its formative, consolidating, and – should it prove – most problematic years has been described only sparingly.<sup>6</sup> The present account will therefore supplement what has

- 3 On <https://acta.musicology.org/acta/>, the journal of the International Musicological Society nowadays calls itself *Acta Musicologica*, not *Acta musicologica*. In the present context, though, lower case 'm' will be used. *Acta musicologica* was Knud Jeppesen's original title for the journal, and on Grove Music Online and MGG-Online the acronyms for the journal – whether 'AcM' or 'AMI' – both refer to *Acta musicologica*. Cf. footnote 30 for further comments on 'acta'.
- 4 Pamela M. Potter, 'The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 11 (1991) (special issue on 'Musicology in the Third Reich'), 151–76, at 164–65.
- 5 Cf. Rudolf Häusler, '50 Jahre Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft', *Acta musicologica*, 49/1 (1977), 1–27, and Dorothea Baumann and Dinko Fabris (eds.), *The History of the IMS (1927–2017)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017). Regarding the forerunners of the IGMw, see, for instance, Stefan Keym, 'Austausch und "Truppenschau". Die Internationale Musikgesellschaft (1899–1914) als Forum der frühen Musikwissenschaft', in Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann and Stefan Keym (eds.), *Wege zur Musikwissenschaft. Gründungsphasen im internationalen Vergleich/Paths to Musicology. Founding Phases in International Comparison* (Spektrum Fachgeschichte Musikwissenschaft, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018), 189–222 (including this publication's valuable 'Synopsis der Gründungsphasen'/'Synoptical Overview of the Founding Phases', *ibid.* 223–28). As to the IGMw in an overall context, see, for instance, Christiane Sibille, 'The Politics of Music in International Organizations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *New Global Studies*, 10/3 (2016), 253–81. For a short commentary on Nordic musicology in relation to the IGMw, cf. Thomas Holme, 'Glimt af nordisk musikvidenskab i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede. Knud Jeppesens brevvekslinger som kilder og kontekst' (Glimpses of Nordic musicology in the first part of the twentieth century – Knud Jeppesen's correspondences as sources and context), *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning / Swedish journal of music research*, 101 (2019), 49–73, at 51–53.
- 6 Frederico Celestini and Philip V. Bohlman, 'Acta Musicologica: A Brief History', in Baumann and Fabris, *The History of the IMS (1927–2017)*, 144–48; and Thomas Holme Hansen, 'Knud Jeppesen (1949–52)', *ibid.* 50–57, at 53–57. The exposition at hand represents a significant elaboration of – but also exhibits certain overlaps with and repetitions of – some of the information given in these two presentations.

already been presented by focusing on some of the aspects where Jeppesen's efforts had a decisive influence, namely on the one hand on the title, design, and content of *Acta*, and on the other hand on the journal's change of publisher and the consequences thereof after the Congress in Barcelona. Hence, the overall purpose will be to assess whether a crisis did actually occur for the journal and to examine more closely whether there is indeed evidence to designate the journal's *redigenda curavit*, Knud Jeppesen, as the 'tragic figure' in this 1936 scenario.

One field of twentieth century musicology that has experienced immense growth in recent decades is research on Germany during – and especially after<sup>7</sup> – the Nazi period. One characteristic of many of the numerous contributions regarding this troublesome issue is their use of the personal correspondence exchanged between the participants of the events. In many cases, it is only through this unofficial medium – the written letter, typically with only one sender and only one recipient – that one is provided with *the* revealing and decisive facts concerning a specific topic, a sequence of events, personal attitudes, and so forth.

In a similar fashion, this presentation will also incorporate and draw on correspondence to a great extent, especially on the correspondence of Knud Jeppesen: not only the letters he exchanged with his colleagues,<sup>8</sup> but also with his wife, Alice Jeppesen. Whenever Jeppesen travelled – which was often, throughout his life and

7 See, among a plethora of valuable contributions, Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (eds.), *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik. Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2015), and Wolfgang Auhagen, Thomas Schipperges, Dörte Schmidt, and Bernd Sponheuer (eds.), *Musikwissenschaft – Nachkriegskultur – Vergangenheitspolitik. Interdisziplinäre wissenschaftliche Tagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Freitag 20. und Samstag 21. Januar 2012* (Mannheimer Manieren – musik + musikforschung. Schriften der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Mannheim, 4; Hildesheim, etc.: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017). The latter work counts among its contributions Pamela Potter's very personal account of her research activities in Germany, cf. Pamela M. Potter, "'Würde schon bearbeitet'. Ein Erfahrungsbericht über meine Archivrecherchen kurz vor der Wende', *ibid.* 339–50.

8 The preserved correspondence of Knud Jeppesen amounts in total to several thousand items, cf. Thomas Holme, 'What is a correspondence, actually? – the different pages of Knud Jeppesen', in Jeanna V. Kniازهva (ed.), *New Documents on the History of Art History. Vol. 3: Epistolary Documents: Current Research and Perspectives* (St. Petersburg: Russian Institute for the History of the Arts, Petropolis, 2021), 21–61, at 39ff. To date, accounts have been given for his letter exchanges with the Danish composers Carl Nielsen and Thomas Laub, and with Jeppesen's colleagues in the Nordic countries, cf. Thomas Holme Hansen, 'Carl Nielsen and Knud Jeppesen: Connections and Collaborations, Influences and Significances', *Carl Nielsen Studies*, 5 (2012), 107–47; *ibid.* 'Thomas Laubs breve til Knud Jeppesen, 1914–1927: en hel fortælling afspejlet i en halv brevveksling?' (Thomas Laub's letters to Knud Jeppesen, 1914–1927 – a complete story mirrored in half a letter exchange?), *Dansk kirkesangs årsskrift* (2007–2013), 19–110; and Thomas Holme, 'Glimt af nordisk musikvidenskab i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede'. Among Jeppesen's correspondences with fellow musicologists, the most comprehensive was that with Guido Adler, cf. Thomas Holme, "Lieber, verehrter Herr Hofrat ..." – *Knud Jeppesen's Correspondence with Guido Adler, 1920–1940* (in preparation).

typically for long periods at a time – the couple wrote to each other on a daily basis, and it is in these letters that Jeppesen sometimes writes about things he does not even mention in his professional correspondence: adding an extra, honest layer to ‘the facts’, so to speak. Hence, with the inherent risk of bias and lopsidedness, the story that follows will be told to a certain extent from Jeppesen’s perspective and in his own words.<sup>9</sup> In honor of the occasion – the seventieth anniversary of another renowned musicological society – the presentation will also show some bias towards other Danish figures, where appropriate.

### *Jeppesen and ‘Acta musicologica’*

The most significant attempt to reestablish international contacts and collaboration after the end of World War I was the Société “Union musicologique”, formed in 1921 at the initiative of the Dutch musicologist Daniel François Scheurleer.<sup>10</sup> Although it never gained the necessary broad support and was essentially overtaken by the re-founded IGMw,<sup>11</sup> the association’s journal, *Bulletin de la Société “Union Musicologique”*, must be considered the most direct precursor to *Acta Musicologica*.

Jeppesen’s involvement in the association was presumably very limited, and he does not appear in the *Bulletin*, which was published between 1921 and 1925 with a total of five volumes.<sup>12</sup> Instead, Angul Hammerich – perhaps as a counterpart to his membership in the association’s board – was a member of the editorial board of eight throughout the period,<sup>13</sup> and in this context, he published his study on the historical organ in

- 9 For the sake of convenience, the following abbreviations will be used when referring to the libraries and collections holding the well over sixty letters from which are quoted in the following. ‘(DK-Kk)’: The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen (DK-Kk), Acc. 1979/47; ‘(D-Mbs)’: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (D-Mbs), Ana 343; ‘(DTÖ)’: Archiv der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, DTÖ-Briefarchiv: Briefe 884; ‘(E-Bbc)’: Papers of Higiní Anglès, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Sección de Música, Barcelona (E-Bbc); ‘(EJD)’: Papers of Edward J. Dent, King’s College Archive Centre, Cambridge; ‘(GAC)’: Guido Adler Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, US.ATS, Ms 769. All the letters from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen are kept in: The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen (DK-Kk), The Music Collection, 2204.2000. Hence, no reference will be attached to these letters. All transcriptions and translations are by the author unless otherwise noted. In some few cases, a question mark in brackets, ‘[?]’, indicates that the handwriting is illegible.
- 10 Cf. the Society’s ‘Actes’ and ‘Statuts’, *Bulletin de la Société “Union Musicologique”*, 1 (1921), ix–xix, and François Scheurleer, ‘Introduction’, *ibid.* vii–viii. Cf. Martin Kirnbauer, ‘A “Prelude” to the IMS’, in Baumann and Fabris, *The History of the IMS (1927–2017)*, 11–19, at 15ff.
- 11 The Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft was founded in September 1927.
- 12 Although the intention was a semiannual publication, only the 1922 volume is divided into two issues.
- 13 The composition of the editorial board was constant, and consisted of the promotor Scheurleer, L.P.J. Michielsen, Felipe Pedrell (from *Bulletin de la Société “Union Musicologique”*, 2/2 (1922) replaced by Adolfo Salazar), Karl Nef, Ole Mørk Sandvik, Tobias Norlind, and Johan Wagenaar.

Frederiksborg Castle church.<sup>14</sup> The inaugural volume from 1921 began with a series of ‘comptes rendus relatifs à la musicologie pour la période août 1914–31 décembre 1920’ from 14 European countries, that is, a kind of musicological situation reports, which, along with actual scholarly articles, became a recurring feature of the publication. Regarding Denmark, a total of four reports on Danish music affairs were included, written by Hammerich, Gunnar Hauch, and Fritz Crome.<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting that in the last report, covering 1924, Crome states that ‘auf dem musicologischen Gebiete ist Professor Dr. phil. Angul Hammerich noch unser rüstiger und tatenkräftiger Nestor, um den sich die Schar der jüngeren Musikwissenschaftler versammeln’, while the much-discussed competition for a position as lecturer at the University of Copenhagen in February, and especially its outcome – that among the ‘crowd of younger music researchers’, it was Erik Abrahamsen and *not* Knud Jeppesen who won<sup>16</sup> – is mentioned only in passing.<sup>17</sup>

The *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* (the *Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musicologie*) was published with its first issue on 1 October, 1928, and the first two volumes of the bulletin, each consisting of four installments, covered the periods from October 1928 to the end of 1929 and the calendar year 1930, respectively. The Society’s first president, Peter Wagner, is listed as the publisher, and no further editorial or advisory personnel are mentioned. A further account of the *Mitteilungen* during Wagner’s two-year editorship lies outside the scope of the present exposition. The following will thus primarily focus on how Jeppesen became editor and how the journal got its permanent name.

The design of the journal was the subject of much debate, including at the IGMw’s second board meeting in Paris in October 1929. Here ‘eine rege Diskussion’ unfolded, especially regarding a greater international significance for the journal. This led to the establishment of a committee consisting of Wagner, Johannes Wolf, and Wilhelm Merian, which, prior to the Society’s first Congress in Liège in 1930,<sup>18</sup> was tasked with

14 Angul Hammerich, ‘Eine historische Orgel auf Frederiksborg Schloss bei Kopenhagen. Mit 11 Abbildungen’, *Bulletin de la Société “Union Musicologique”*, 2/1 (1922), 65–78.

15 Angul Hammerich, ‘Danemark’, *Bulletin de la Société “Union Musicologique”*, 1 (1921), 68–72; Gunnar Hauch, ‘Danemark’, *ibid.* 2/1 (1922), 22–28; *ibid.* 3 (1923), 77–84; Fritz Crome, ‘Danemark’, *ibid.* 5 (1925), 72–82. The reports broadly cover the music scene in Copenhagen – the music associations, Tivoli, concerts, local composers, visits by foreign artists, etc. – and touch upon actual musicological matters only in passing. For example, the lectures given by Erik Abrahamsen, Knud Jeppesen, and Torben Krogh at the University of Copenhagen in the early 1920s are not mentioned.

16 Cf. Thomas Holme Hansen, ‘Konkurrencen om musik-docenturet i 1924: en doku-soap med særligt henblik på Knud Jeppesen’ (The competition for the readership in music in 1924 – a docu-soap featuring Knud Jeppesen), *Cæcilia*, V (1998–2001), 53–110.

17 Crome, ‘Danemark’, 72, 74.

18 The Congress was held on 1–6 September 1930. Regarding the Congress report (including citations of the contributions), cf. James R. Cowdery, Zdravko Blažević, and Barry S. Brook (eds.), *Speaking of Music: Music Conferences, 1835–1966* (RILM Retrospective Series, 4; New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2004), no. 178.

drafting a proposal regarding the journal's future.<sup>19</sup> In the final issue of *Mitteilungen* that Wagner edited, detailed reports from the general assembly were provided.<sup>20</sup> As always, financing played a significant role in the publication of the journal, and it was therefore a great help that Breitkopf & Härtel printed the entire first volume of the *Mitteilungen* free of charge before a formal contract with this publisher had entered into effect. However, the desired expansion of the *Mitteilungen* could not be realized without an increase in the membership fee from five to ten Swiss francs, which was therefore adopted.<sup>21</sup> And without further details, the report concludes with a laconic announcement that:

Der Präsident tritt die Redaktion ab 1. Januar 1931 an das Vorstandsmitglied Herrn Dr. K. Jeppesen ab, der unter Mitwirkung eines Stabs von festen Mitarbeitern den Ausbau alsbald an die Hand nehmen wird.<sup>22</sup>

A little supplementary insight into the course of events, however, can be obtained from Jeppesen's correspondence with Alice. From one of his library tours, he arrived – almost reluctantly – in Liège:

... so the journey continues to Liège which I'm not really looking forward to. How much more appealing it is to be able to work with 'inner' things than such a congress where everything is focused on the external. Well, I have to take what comes and I'll manage it.<sup>23</sup>

... and much indicates that tensions also arose between the parties involved on this occasion:

19 Wilhelm Merian, 'Bericht über die Sitzung des Direktoriums in Paris', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, 2/1 (1930), 7–8. Jeppesen canceled his attendance at the meeting in Paris but submitted a proposal for the possible establishment of a central location, for example in Basel, where it would be possible to use manuscripts from foreign libraries; a proposal that garnered great interest but remained at the idea stage; *ibid.* 8. The following year in Liège, Jeppesen wrote to Alice that he also on that occasion 'advocated for his idea of a kind of musicological transmission library' ('Jeg slog et Slag for min Idé om en slags musikvidensk. Transmissionsbibliothek'); letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 1 September 1930.

20 W.M. [Wilhelm Merian], 'I. Kongreß der IGMW in Lüttich', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, 2/4 (1930), 97–109.

21 *Ibid.* 104, 106, 108, 109.

22 *Ibid.* 108.

23 '... saa gaar Turen videre til Liège hvortil jeg egenlig [sic] ikke glæder mig. Hvor meget mere tiltalende er det ikke at kunne arbejde med "indre" Ting, end en saadan Kongres hvor alt er indstillet paa det Ydre. Naa jeg maa jo tage, hvad der kommer og skal ogsaa nok gøre det'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 29 August 1930.

Tomorrow is the General Assembly of the International Society for Musicology. I am quite excited about how it will unfold. Despite his many excellent human qualities, Adler has, through clumsiness, introduced some blasting agents into the negotiations, and it is a question of how significant explosions it will cause. We shall see ...<sup>24</sup>

The specific foreseeable problems to which Jeppesen refers are unclear, but it is certain that he, along with Rudolf v. Ficker, Albert Smijers, and Higinì Anglès, was elected to a committee tasked with discussing the expansion and editorial aspects of the journal, and that subsequently he was appointed as the editor during the general assembly:

... I [was] elected as Chief Editor for the expanded journal, which is to be issued from January 1st. It is a great and responsible task entrusted to me here, but I don't think I could refuse it. Many will help me with it, not least you.<sup>25</sup>

That Jeppesen did not undertake the task with great enthusiasm is also evident from a lengthy letter he wrote to Guido Adler later that same year, in which we read:

Leider sind die Schwierigkeiten, womit ich im voraus rechnete (weshalb ich nur sehr ungern die - wie ich glaube - sehr undankbare Aufgabe der Schriftleitung übernommen habe) nicht ausgeblieben.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned 'assistance from a team of permanent members of staff', the journal underwent significant formal changes, including a completely new layout and a notable increase in its scope. The title was changed to *Acta musicologica*, although the old designation (*Mitteilungen ... / Bulletin ...*) was retained as a subtitle. And precisely the change in the title represented one of the difficulties that Jeppesen had anticipated in advance. At least two proposals were under discussion.

At the Congress in Liège, André Pirro and Edward Dent had proposed the French title 'Revue internationale de Musicologie', and it was probably also on that occasion that Jeppesen put forward his suggestion for a Latin title. A couple of months later,

24 'I Morgen er Generalforsamling i det int. Selskab for Musikvidenskab. Jeg er ret spændt paa, hvorledes den vil forløbe. Adler har, trods sine mange udmærkede menneskelige Egenskaber, ved ubehændighed bragt en Del Sprængstof ind i Forhandlingerne og det er et Spørgsmaal hvor store Eksplosioner det vil foraarsage. Vi faar at se ...'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 3 September 1930. Jeppesen refers to Guido Adler.

25 '... jeg [blev] valgt til Hovedredaktør for det udvidede Tidsskrift, som skal udsendes fra 1<sup>ste</sup> Januar. Det er en stor og ansvarsfuld Opgave, som her er betroet mig; men jeg synes ikke jeg kunde afslaa den. Mange vil hjælpe mig dermed og ikke mindst Du'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 4 September 1930.

26 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 18 November 1930 (GAC).



however, Dent had endorsed Jeppesen's proposal – 'Als Titel für unsere Zeitschrift finde ich "Acta Musicologica" sehr gut; Latein ist immer international!'<sup>27</sup> – while Peter Wagner continued to advocate for the French title. Jeppesen's friend Guido Adler also turned out to be against the Latin title, and therefore, in the letter to Adler cited above, it was essential for Jeppesen to explain why he attached so much importance to choosing that designation.

Firstly, the Latin title is concise, and cannot be confused with 'anderen Titeln der Musikzeitschriften'. Secondly, the Latin title also allows for 'die Rubrikenüberschriften und dgl. lateinisch zu setzen, was praktisch ist und Raum erspart'.<sup>28</sup> Here, Jeppesen alludes to a reduction of the bilingual apparatus in the journal.<sup>29</sup> And thirdly, Jeppesen states that with a Latin title, the journal enters 'die Reihe modernen intern. Wissensch. Acta-Publ.', which from an external perspective would provide recognition. Jeppesen informs that 'Von Dänemark wird augenblicklich eine ganze Serie inter. Acta-Publ. subventioniert',<sup>30</sup> and hints to Adler rather verbosely that although he will not dare to

27 Letter from Edward Dent to Knud Jeppesen, 4 November 1930 (The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen (DK-Kk), Acc. 1974/105). Cf. Celestini and Bohlman, 'Acta Musicologica: A Brief History', 145: 'The use of Latin for the title of the journal, ... served as a reference to the transnational dimensions of science, and it continues to characterize the format of the journal to this day'.

28 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 18 November 1930 (GAC).

29 The content of the first two volumes is largely influenced by the ongoing post-World War I effects, not only in terms of the desire to initiate international cooperation and exchange of information but also in terms of distributing sun and wind equally in almost every respect, so that no individuals or nations could feel disadvantaged or sidelined. For this reason, all organizational communications in *Mitteilungen* were published in both German and French; cf. the minutes of the first meeting in Frankfurt a. M.: 'Das Bulletin muß auch sprachlich neutral bleiben, die wichtigen offiziellen Mitteilungen sollen alle vorläufig mindestens zweisprachig (deutsch und französisch) erfolgen'; [no author], 'Bericht über die Sitzung des Direktoriums in Frankfurt a. M.', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, 1/2 (1929), 19–22, at 21.

30 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 18 November 1930 (GAC). By 'Acta-publications', Jeppesen almost certainly refers to the growing range of *Acta* journals that the publisher Levin & Munksgaard had begun publishing in 1922, initially only as medical specialty journals but eventually covering many other scientific fields. According to Wilhelm Munthe, Ejnar Munksgaard preferred journal titles in Latin, partly to avoid language preferences and partly because they were neutral and international, considerations that are fully in line with – and some years ahead of – Jeppesen's. Additionally, it was 'characteristic that he did not choose the traditional designations "Annales" or "Archivum". It sounded too retrospective and conservative. There was a completely different élan in "acta", actions in today's research work. And although acta had been used occasionally before, Munksgaard made this title word almost an international recognition signal for *his* journals' ('betegnende at han ikke valgte de tradisjonelle betegnelser "Annales" eller "Archivum". Det lød for retrospektivt og konservatorisk. Da var det en ganske annen élan i "acta", handlinger i dagens forskningsarbeid. Og selv om acta hadde vært brukt leilighetsvis før, så gjorde Munksgaard dette titelord nesten til et internasjonalt kjenningsignal for sine tidsskrifter'), Wilhelm Munthe, *Et verdensforlag bygges opp. Ejnar Munksgaard og hans livsverk* (Oslo: Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1948), 29 (underlining by the present autor). Upon Ejnar Munksgaard's death in 1948, the publishing house thus released 17 *Acta*, *ibid.* 53–54. Cf. Aleks. Frøland,

speak about ‘die Möglichkeit einer solchen Subvention’, he assumes that the path to it will be considerably facilitated with ‘ein titel, wie der von mir vorgeschlagene’. Jeppesen emphasizes that it will be important that ‘gerade Sie ... mit Ihren ganzen grossen Einfluss’<sup>31</sup> supports him in this matter; just a few days later, Adler writes that he ‘gegen den latein-Titel nichts einzuwenden habe’.<sup>32</sup>

It took a little longer to convince Peter Wagner, but in another letter to Adler, Jeppesen thanks Adler for his interest in his ‘Redaktionstätigkeit’ and adds ‘dass ist eine schwere Geburt gewesen. Ich habe den Wagner das kind mit der Zange nehmen müssen’.<sup>33</sup> When Wagner receives ‘die Schrift-Probe der neuen Acta music.’ from Breitkopf & Härtel at the beginning of February 1931, he wishes Jeppesen an ‘aufrichtiges Glückauf’,<sup>34</sup> and after receiving the first issue in early April, the outgoing editor – less than three months before his death – writes to the new one: ‘Ich beneide Sie um Ihre Tatkraft, & begrüsse es, dass Sie die Leitung der Acta übernehmen, ich hätte das nicht mehr machen können’.<sup>35</sup>

With the publication of Jeppesen’s first issue of *Acta Musicologica* (vol. III, fasc. I, covering the months January to March 1931) – ‘Redigenda curavit KNUD JEPPESEN (Dania)’, as stated in the colophon – the greatest problems must have been overcome. In any case, Jeppesen writes, in much more positive terms to Adler, that ‘Ich habe viel Mühe mit unseren “Acta” ... . Glücklicherweise aber dass die Aufgabe mich interessiert und, dass ich daran glaube, dass sie schliesslich gelingen wird’.<sup>36</sup>

### *Jeppesen’s Acta musicologica*

*Acta musicologica* became one of the leading musicological journals of the twentieth century, and the twenty-three volumes of the journal edited by Jeppesen (vols. 3–25, 1931–1953) stand out in several significant ways from the preceding two (1928–30) and from the many subsequent ones (1954ff.). However, *in lieu* of the main focus of this presentation – the alleged crisis for *Acta* in the wake of the Barcelona Congress – the following will not delve into detail regarding the more ‘quantitative aspects’ (figures and counts regarding volumes/installments, pages, articles, authors, etc.) of Jeppesen’s volumes but will concentrate on his main objectives for the journal, as well as mentioning a couple of his Danish assistants.

*Dansk boghandels historie 1482 til 1945. Med et kapitel om bogen i oldtid og middelalder* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1974), 347. I am grateful to Anne Ørbæk Jensen for directing my attention to these sources.

31 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 18 November 1930 (GAC), underlining is original.

32 Letter from Guido Adler to Knud Jeppesen, 21 November 1930 (DK-Kk).

33 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 29 January 1931 (GAC). At about the same time, Higinì Anglès expresses that ‘Der Name “Acta Musicologica” klingt sehr schön’; Letter from Higinì Anglès to Knud Jeppesen, 13 February 1931 (DK-Kk).

34 Letter from Peter Wagner to Knud Jeppesen, 5 February 1931 (DK-Kk).

35 Letter from Peter Wagner to Knud Jeppesen, 30 April 1931 (DK-Kk).

36 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 29 May 31 (GAC).

In the first issue from 1931, Jeppesen announced what can be considered his manifesto for *Acta*, which partly explains the content of the forthcoming many volumes and partly reveals a very ambitious goal:

Unser Ziel ist vor allem ..., durch diese Zeitschrift allmählich der internationalen Musikwissenschaft ein Forum zu schaffen, einen Versammlungsort, wo die internationalen wissenschaftlichen Problemen zur Diskussion gestellt werden können, und wo die Werte, die jetzt oft nur einzelnen Nationen zugänglich sind, uns allen zugute kommen könnten. ... Ich glaube fest daran, daß die Zukunft uns immer entschiedener zeigen wird, daß eine Zeitschrift, die die oben angegebenen Aufgaben durchzuführen vermag, eine unumgängliche Notwendigkeit ist. Der Weg, den wir jetzt betreten, *muß* eingeschlagen werden.<sup>37</sup>

As Jeppesen refers to the general meeting's decision to expand the existing journal, a number of conditions are listed that should guide the further publishing process. First and foremost, the journal should, in relation to national journals, have its own distinctive character and select its own tasks, which means that only contributions that will have broader scholarly significance and do not belong to a narrow national or local sphere of interest should be published. Furthermore, one of the main tasks should be to provide a comprehensive international bibliography, which in cases of contributions of a certain significance should not only be registrative but also provide a brief objective summary.<sup>38</sup>

In relation to the two volumes of the *Mitteilungen*, *Acta* continued the organizational announcements of the Society, still given partly in both German and French, but now under the heading 'Communicationes societatis'; the remainder of the content was composed of innovations. In addition to actual articles, smaller contributions were collected under the heading 'Miscellanea'; the international bibliography was referred to as 'Index novorum librorum', and reviews as 'Iudicia de novis libris'. Finally, under the heading 'Notitiae', various notices could be read, including obituaries, while the section 'Quaestiones' presented various inquiries, for example regarding manuscripts.

Precisely the desire for a continuous bibliographical update had been mentioned many times since the re-establishment of the Society, and the bibliography became one of the most important innovations and cornerstones in the new *Acta*.<sup>39</sup> Although Jeppesen's

37 Knud Jeppesen, 'Zur Einführung', *Acta musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 1–2 [B1931-a]. In the following, index numbers in brackets refer to the systematisation established in Thomas Holme Hansen, *Knud Jeppesen Katalog: skriftlige arbejder, kompositioner og editioner: diskografi og bibliografi* (Knud Jeppesen Catalogue. Writings, Compositions and Editions – Discography and Bibliography), *Fund og Forskning Online* (2011) <[http://www.kb.dk/export/sites/kb\\_dk/da/nb/publikationer/fundog-forskning-online/pdf/kjkatalog.pdf](http://www.kb.dk/export/sites/kb_dk/da/nb/publikationer/fundog-forskning-online/pdf/kjkatalog.pdf)>.

38 Jeppesen, 'Zur Einführung'.

39 Holme Hansen, 'Knud Jeppesen (1949–52)', 55. The bibliography constituted a relatively large part of the journal's content. In a single year, specifically the war year 1941, the share of the bibliography

intention that all received works should be mentioned or reviewed quickly proved impossible to fulfill, it is indicative that in his manifesto, he hastily adds that the reason the first issue does not include the mentioned summaries is solely due to startup issues.<sup>40</sup>

There is no indication that the classification by which the publications were arranged was not the work of Jeppesen himself. After a sort of trial run of the classification in vol. 3, it was adjusted into place in vol. 4 and thereafter kept unchanged until the last published 'Index novorum librorum' in vol. 24 (1952).<sup>41</sup> The classification was as follows: I. Bibliographia, II. Lexica, Miscellanea, Annales etc., III. Acustica, Psychologia, Aesthetica et Philosophia musicae, IV. Historia musicae generalis, V. Historia styli atque generum musicae, VI. Historia musicae usque ad annum 1600, VII. Historia musicae ab anno 1600, VIII. Biographiae, Monographiae etc., IX. Scientia musicae comparativa, X. Musicae sacra, cantus popularis et scholaris, XI. Paedagogia musicae, XII. Theoria musicae, XIII. De instrumentis musicis, XIV. Varia, XV. Scientiae auxiliares, XVI. Novae editiones musicae classicae.

Who compiled the bibliographies for the premiere volume's four issues is not stated, but the following Danish assistants continued the task in which Jeppesen first 'compilavit': Jens Peter Larsen (vols. 4, 5), Karl Bak (vols. 6, 7, 8, 9/1–2), Herbert Rosenberg (vols. 9/3–4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16–17), Søren Sørensen (vols. 18–19, 20, 21, 22/3–4), and Erling Winkel (vols. 23, 24).<sup>42</sup>

Under the circumstances of the time, it was a colossal task to gather the information for the bibliography. After Guido Adler received word from Jens Peter Larsen in 1933 that he must throw in the towel regarding the compilation of the bibliography, Adler strongly urged Jeppesen not to take on the task himself:

in the total volume of *Acta* descends to nearly 10%, but on average over all the years, it amounts to well over a quarter, and in a few volumes, it even reaches up to 40%.

40 Jeppesen, 'Zur Einführung', 1–2. Compared to the bibliography, the review section in *Acta* was relatively limited. The total number of reviews in Jeppesen's volumes amounts to around 135–140, averaging 8–9 per year. The review section was completely absent in volumes 13 to 16–17 (1941–45).

41 Erling Winkel, 'Index novorum librorum', *Acta musicologica*, 24/3–4 (1952), 202–19. In vols. 22/3–4, 23, and 24, the category 'XV. Scientiae auxiliares' is omitted. The 'Novae editiones musicae classicae' rubric is therefore numbered as 'XV' in these volumes.

42 The single exception regarding the compilers' Danish nationality was Albert Mell who compiled the bibliography in vol. 22/1–2. In the journal itself, it is actually not stated who compiled the bibliography in vols. 5/4 and 6/1. The indication that the compilers were Jens Peter Larsen and Karl Bak, respectively, is based on the information presented in *Acta's* forty-year index: C. Adkins and A. Dickinson, *Acta Musicologica. An index: Fall 1928–Spring 1967* (Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1970), 70. The index covering volumes 1–25 (1928–1953), which appropriately concludes the last issue edited by Jeppesen, does not provide information on who compiled the many bibliographies; [no author], *Acta Musicologica. Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft. Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musicologie. Tabula generalis Vol. I–XXV (1928–1953)*, *Acta musicologica*, 25/4 (1953), 180–89.

Heute bekomme ich von Larsen ein Schreiben, in welchem er mir mitteilt, dass er die Abfassung des bibliographischen Berichtes wegen seiner Ueberanstrengung zurücklegen musste. Eine arge Verlegenheit für Sie; Gott schütze Ihre Kräfte und übernehmen Sie sich nicht!<sup>43</sup>

During the war, conditions naturally became even more difficult; but even though Herbert Rosenberg had to report in 1941, 1942, and 1943 that a significant portion of the ‘bibliographic literature’ was inaccessible due to wartime conditions – especially American, English, and Italian publications, as well as German and Italian music editions<sup>44</sup> – the bibliography was maintained throughout the course of the war. German-born but living in Copenhagen from 1935, Rosenberg himself had fled the Nazis, which is why he worked in Stockholm from 1943. In a letter to Jeppesen from July 1945, he comments on his 40-page ‘Index novorum librorum’, published in *Acta*’s 1944–45 volume – and on some of his personal dilemmas:

The bibliography became quite an extensive work: 738 slips. But it also represents well over four years of English and American literature that had to be gathered. ... Of course, I long intensely for my wife and my children, whom I haven’t seen since October ’43, and some of whom I haven’t seen at all yet (my youngest daughter was born a month after I fled).<sup>45</sup>

Where the *Mitteilungen* had exclusively featured organizational announcements, as well as ‘einer Artikelserie über den Stand der musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in den einzelnen Ländern’<sup>46</sup> – a sort of counterpart to the musicological situation reports in the *Bulletin de la Société “Union Musicologique”* – the publication of actual scholarly articles, ‘Dissertationes’, was initiated in *Acta*’s first issue as well, including an article by Jeppesen himself.<sup>47</sup>

43 Letter from Guido Adler to Knud Jeppesen, 28 August 1933 (GAC).

44 Herbert Rosenberg, ‘Index novorum librorum’, *Acta musicologica*, 13/1–4 (1941), 91; *ibid.* 14/1–4 (1942), 94; *ibid.* 15/1–4 (1943), 63.

45 ‘Bibliografien [blev] et ganske digert arbejde: 738 sedler. Men det er ogsaa godt og vel fire aars engelsk og amerikansk litteratur, som skulle indhentes. ... jeg længes naturligvis voldsomt efter min kone og mine børn, som jeg dels ikke har set siden okt. 43, og dels slet ikke har set endnu (min yngste datter blev jo født en maaned [sic] efter min flygt [sic]); letter from Herbert Rosenberg to Knud Jeppesen, 2 July 1945 (DK-Kk). Excerpts from the letter are also quoted in Holme, ‘Glimt af nordisk musikvidenskab i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede’, 69. Cf. Herbert Rosenberg, ‘Index novorum librorum’, *Acta musicologica*, 16–17 (1944–45), 55–95.

46 [no author], ‘Bericht über die Sitzung des Direktoriums in Frankfurt a. M.’, 21.

47 Knud Jeppesen, ‘Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano’, *Acta musicologica*, 3/1 (1931), 14–28 [B1931-c]. In the index covering volumes 1–25, both the initial national reports and the many subsequent articles are listed under the designation ‘Dissertationes’; [no author], ‘Acta Musicologica. Tabula generalis Vol. I–XXV (1928–1953)’, 180–83.

During Jeppesen's editorship, no fewer than 130–135 articles (plus approximately twenty-five shorter texts) were published, and perhaps the most characteristic aspect in this regard is that, by all accounts, there were no strict guidelines regarding the themes, types, or lengths of the articles. In many cases, a single contribution – likely due to space constraints – was spread across two issues, and some authors were given space over a longer series of issues.<sup>48</sup> In one particular case, Jeppesen even provided column space for an actual dispute – about ‘Haydn und das “kleine Quartbuch”’ – which unfolded between Adolf Sandberger and Jens Peter Larsen over several rounds in vols. 7–9 (1935–37), until Jeppesen finally closed the discussion.<sup>49</sup>

### *The IGMw Congress in Barcelona, 1936*

The IGMw's 3rd Congress took place in Barcelona from April 18th to 25th, 1936. Higiní Anglès was the organizer, and it was held – as was also the case in Liège 1930 and at the second Congress in Cambridge, 1933<sup>50</sup> – in connection with a grand music festival, namely the 14th Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). However, this marks the end of some of the similarities with the preceding gatherings.

By 1936, the IMS was threatened with being torn apart in the conflict between German interests and international idealism, which came to a head at the third international congress in Barcelona.<sup>51</sup>

For Knud Jeppesen, the Congress in Barcelona was part of a longer – about six weeks long – journey,<sup>52</sup> which also included many visits to libraries in Spain and Portugal. Most of Jeppesen's letters to Alice from the trip concern the journey itself, the libraries, the cities, the landscape, and the people he meets. It is striking that he only briefly mentions the Congress, but from a letter written on his way home, it appears that he

48 This applies to, for example, Charles van den Borren's 'Inventaire des manuscrits de musique polyphonique qui se trouvent en Belgique' (published in six parts in vols. 5–6), Otto Gombosi's 'Studien zur Tonartenlehre des frühen Mittelalters' (five parts in vols. 10–12), and Jacques Handschin's 'Aus der alten Musiktheorie' (five parts in vols. 14–16/17).

49 Cf. *Acta musicologica*, 7/3 (1935), 111–23; 8/1–2 (1936), 18–29; 8/3–4 (1936), 139–54, and 9/1–2 (1937), 31–41.

50 The Congress in Cambridge was held on 29 July–3 August 1933. Cf. Knud Jeppesen, 'Der Kongreß', *Acta musicologica*, 5/4 (1933), 145–46 [B1933-b]. No Congress report was published, but the contributions are listed in Marie Briquet, *La musique dans les congrès internationaux (1835-1939)* (Paris: Heugel, 1961), no. 79.

51 Annegret Fauser, 'Edward J. Dent (1932–49)', in Baumann and Fabris, *The History of the IMS (1927–2017)*, 48. Fauser uses the acronym 'IMS' (International Musicological Society) for IGMw.

52 Jeppesen returned to Copenhagen on May 26, 1936.

deliberately avoided writing extensively about the events owing to the many problems arising, presumably in order to spare Alice too much bad news:

I haven't been able to bring myself to provide further details about the Congress in Barcelona. I became sick and tired of all the international intrigue flourishing there.<sup>53</sup>

Obviously, Jeppesen had considerably more on his mind, and considerably more opinions upon those matters, than he had energy to write home about. But what is nevertheless apparent from the letters written during and immediately after the Congress is, firstly, that there had been a significant degree of conflict, and secondly, just who, in Jeppesen's eyes, had been the cause of (almost) all the problems:

However, the preceding days have been difficult. The Germans gradually got on my nerves.<sup>54</sup>

The Congress has had a very nervous and restless course, which quite reflects the current international situation. ... The Germans were – as expected – clearly the element causing unrest – but more on that when I get home again.<sup>55</sup>

The Germans ... played a rather unattractive role here ... – The Germans, who were 'diplomatic': thought they could conceal everything, but said quite a bit more than they themselves were aware of; envoys from a sad world – may it not become the future!!!<sup>56</sup>

As mentioned, this presentation will not provide a thorough exposition of the Congress's detailed proceedings, its musicological content, or the negotiations in the IGMw. But before attention is turned to what was absolutely most important for Jeppesen, namely the situation surrounding *Acta musicologica*, a few comments on the documentation of and the subsequent research regarding the Congress – as well as on the election of the president of the IGMw at the Congress – will be noted.

53 '... jeg [har] ikke har kunnet overvinde mig selv til at meddele nærmere Detailler vedr. Kongressen i Barcelona. Jeg blev led ved al det internationale Intrigevæsen, der blomstrede der'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 24 May 1936.

54 'De foregaaende Dage har imidlertid været slemme. Tyskerne gik mig efterhaanden på Nerverne'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 22 April 1936.

55 'Kongressen har haft et meget nervøst og uroligt Forløb, som ganske afspejler den nuværende internationale politiske Situation. ... Tyskerne var – som venteligt – afgjort Uro-elementet – men derom nærmere naar jeg kommer hjem igen'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 26 April 1936.

56 'Tyskerne ... spillede en lidet tiltalende Rolle her ... – Tyskerne, som var "diplomatiske": troede at skjule alt, men sagde adskilligt mere, end de selv vidste af; Sendebud fra en sørgelig Verden – maatte den ikke blive Fremtidens!!!'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 28 April 1936.

The proceedings and papers from the Congress were not published. After its conclusion, Higini Anglès began to collect the contributions (some 70–75 papers), and a contract existed to publish a book of 480 pages with the printing press that had printed the Congress programme.<sup>57</sup> In a letter to Jeppesen, Anglès writes, ‘Bei mir hatte ich fast das gesamte Materiel für den Kongress-Bericht schon in Ordnung’,<sup>58</sup> but the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in mid-July 1936 halted publication. In the same letter, Anglès (from Munich) recounts how he had to flee from Barcelona on a French warship, unable to visit his apartment or even ‘... meine Mappe mit mir zu nehmen’. Regarding the Congress report, he writes: ‘jetzt ... weiss ich es nicht’.<sup>59</sup>

In *Acta*, Jeppesen – as might have been expected – published a report from the Congress, which – also to be expected – was overall very positively formulated. Aside from a few hints, the report is completely devoid of information about the IGMw’s general assembly and the festering atmosphere at the Congress.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, he refers to the ‘alles umfassender Kongressbericht’, which was actually being prepared at the time.<sup>61</sup> ‘Officially’, Jeppesen thus found no reason to disclose internal conflicts and problems, a stance that is also evident when he – albeit in a different context – writes to Edward Dent later in the same year: ‘Ich finde, mann sollte in einer offiziellen Bekanntgabe, alles unterlassen, was an innere Unruhe in der Leitung unsere Gesellschaft deuten konnte, und ... einfach nur das positive mitteilen.’<sup>62</sup>

So there is much that contemporaries ‘did not know’ – to paraphrase Anglès’ rather resigned remark in the letter to Jeppesen – or were not informed about,<sup>63</sup> and which

57 César Calmell i Piguillem, ‘El III Congreso Internacional de Musicología en Barcelona 1936, a partir de la documentación guardada en el fondo Higini Anglès de la Biblioteca Catalunya (The ‘3rd International Conference of Musicology’ (Barcelona, 1936), from the documentation preserved in the ‘Fons Higini Anglès’ of the Biblioteca de Catalunya)’, *Anuario Musical*, 70 (2015), 161–78, at 176–77. It is this programme – and therefore not an actual Congress report – that is listed as number 224 in Cowdery et al., *Speaking of Music*.

58 Letter from Higini Anglès to Knud Jeppesen, 9 September 1936 (DK-Kk).

59 Ibid. César Calmell i Piguillem tellingly summarizes his account of the Congress report with ‘... el proyecto quedó para siempre truncado’, that is, the project remained forever abandoned; Piguillem, ‘El III Congreso Internacional de Musicología en Barcelona 1936’, 177.

60 Knud Jeppesen, ‘Der 3. Kongress der internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Barcelona 18-25. April 1936’, *Acta musicologica*, 8/1–2 (1936), 2–6 [B1936-e].

61 Ibid. 5.

62 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 30 December 1936 (EJD).

63 An example is a quite comprehensive report by Max Unger – already published in July 1936 – which only mentions the academic content, concerts, and excursions at the Congress. The report is heavily focused on the German (as well as Swiss and Austrian) contributions; several other prominent participants, including Jeppesen (or indeed Denmark among the participating countries), are not mentioned; Max Unger, ‘Musikwissenschaftliche Tagung in Barcelona’, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103 (1936), 824–30. According to Piguillem, it was the editor of *Revista Musical Catalana*, Joan Salvat, who wrote the only contemporary truly exhaustive and detailed summary of the Congress sessions; Piguillem, ‘El III Congreso Internacional de Musicología en Barcelona 1936’, 174.



posterity has therefore had to uncover. And it is striking how poorly and ‘selectively’ the Congress was documented and commented on in the following decades. In Rudolf Häusler’s anniversary article about the IGMw from 1977, for example, the event is passed over, except for a very few programmatic details, in remarkable silence.<sup>64</sup>

The programme of the Congress, its course, and the content of the individual sessions, however, have been addressed in several works – in some cases even with brief comments on individual papers.<sup>65</sup> The Congress was also a topic at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society in 2012.<sup>66</sup>

However, it is only with the renewed interest in and reassessment of Nazi-era German musicology since the 1990s that works have emerged which, by incorporating both ‘Vorbereitungsunterlagen, verschiedene entlegene kongressberichte sowie die persönliche Korrespondenz der beteiligten Personen’ have contributed to ‘eine Rekonstruktion der Umstände’,<sup>67</sup> that is, to detailed accounts not only of how actions were taken ‘on stage’, but, most importantly, of who was pulling strings behind the scene.

One of the most important starting points – and a sort of departure for this presentation as well – was an article published in 1991 by Pamela Potter. Under the heading ‘The culmination of isolationism’, she gives a brief account of the Congress.<sup>68</sup> Potter’s overall

64 Häusler, ‘50 Jahre Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft’.

65 Bernat Cabero, ‘El III Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología. Barcelona 18-25 de abril de 1936’, in [no ed.], *La Musicología Española en el Contexto Internacional. Los Congresos Internacionales de Musicología* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1992), 23–57, including details regarding, for example, the chairmen of the various sessions.

66 Cf. ‘Nationalism and international ideals in music and musicology: Barcelona, April 1936’ (Study Session at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Rome, 1–7 July 2012); L. Bognetti and D. Macchione (eds.), *Musics Cultures Identities. 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society. Programme and Abstracts* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2012), 175–77. In Baumann and Fabris, *The History of the IMS (1927–2017)*, the Congress is touched upon in several of the individual contributions, for instance, at 22–23, 29–30, 48 and 145–46.

67 Marcel Martínez, “‘Eine deutsche Frage’: Higiní Anglès als Mittler im Umfeld des III. Kongresses der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft in Barcelona 1936’, in Gabriele Buschmeier and Klaus Pietschmann (eds.), *Beitragsarchiv des Internationalen Kongresses der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Mainz 2016: “Wege der Musikwissenschaft”* (Mainz: Schott, 2018), 1–5, at 1.

68 Pamela M. Potter, ‘The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938’, 162–65. Potter also touches upon the Congress in her well-known monograph *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 82–86, and its translation into German *Die ‘deutsche’ der Künste. Musikwissenschaft und Gesellschaft von der Weimarer Republik bis zum Ende des Dritten Reichs* (translated by W. Ette) (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2000), 115–19. It is noteworthy, and indeed well-deserved, that Anselm Gerhard – having established that ‘Nachdem es dem Fach [der universitären Musikwissenschaft im sogenannten ‘Dritten Reich’] gelungen war, bis weit in die 1980er Jahre hinein lästige Fragen nach der Vergangenheit schulbildender Hauptvertreter abzuwehren, sind wir inzwischen ... gut orientiert’ – singles out Potter’s dissertation from 1991 (which became her monograph) as one of three publications that, in this context, primarily deserve to be mentioned; Anselm Gerhard, ‘Musikwissenschaft’; in Frank-Rutger Hausmann

context is ‘The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938’, and the most significant contributions to uncovering the events before, during, and after the Congress have emerged in presentations that also have other overarching focuses. These presentations include Bernhard Bleibinger’s works on Marius Schneider,<sup>69</sup> Thomas Schipperges’ research into Heinrich Besseler,<sup>70</sup> and one of the newest and most thorough accounts, namely César Calmell i Piguillem’s studies of the archives of Higiní Anglès.<sup>71</sup> However, a comprehensive account of the event in all its many aspects – which it certainly deserves – has not yet been published.

One aspect of the Congress on which recent research has shed light is the election of the president of the Society, which naturally was one of the most important organizational issues. What is now known regarding the proceedings of the board meetings and the general assembly suggests something close to total chaos. There were doubts about the procedures and the voting results, and in several cases, important decisions simply seemed to be muddled.

The result was the re-election of Edward Dent as president,<sup>72</sup> and although Theodor Kroyer, the German candidate for the directorate, was elected vice president, this was an undeniable defeat for the German delegation. Dent was the figure who personified the anti-German sentiment, and the Cold War atmosphere between the German delegation on the one side and Edward Dent and the so-called ‘Emigranten’ on the other is clearly evident in the ‘Bericht über den Kongress’ which Heinrich Besseler subsequently authored:

Er [Dent] ist – zusammen mit einigen von ihm stark beeinflussten Kollegen, wie J. B. Trend – Cambridge, Kn. Jeppesen – Kopenhagen, Carleton Sprague Smith

and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Die Rolle der Geisteswissenschaften im Dritten Reich 1933–1945* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien, 53; München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002), 165–92, at 165–66.

69 Bernhard Bleibinger, ‘Mythos Marius Schneider. Agent im Dienste der Musikwissenschaft, Handlanger der Nationalsozialisten oder verfolgter Emigrant?’, in Isolde v. Foerster, Christoph Hust and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (eds.), *Musikforschung, Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus. Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)* (Mainz: Are Edition, 2001), 329–58, at 336–41; *ibid*, *Marius Schneider und der Symbolismo. Ensayo musicológico y etnológico sobre en buscador de símbolos* (Alterias, Münchener ethnologische Impressionen, Vol. 2; München: VASA-Verlag, 2005), 98–110.

70 Thomas Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler. Musikwissenschaft und Wissenschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1924 bis 1949* (Quellen und Studien zur Musik in Baden-Württemberg, Bd. 7; Munich and Berlin: Strube Verlag München, 2005), at 149–54, 398–401, et *passim*.

71 Piguillem, ‘El III Congreso Internacional de Musicología en Barcelona 1936’. For yet a contribution with Anglès as the focal point, cf. Martínez, “‘Eine deutsche Frage’”.

72 When the president of the IGMw, Peter Wagner, unexpectedly died in October 1931, Dent was chosen as his successor, officially as of 1 January 1932; Fauser, ‘Edward J. Dent (1932–49)’, 46–47. At the time of the Barcelona Congress, Dent was also president of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM).

– New York – der Hauptgegner des neuen Deutschland in der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft.<sup>73</sup>

Regarding the question of the presidency, Jeppesen seems to have been only marginally concerned, but as a member of the IGMw's board – to which he too was re-elected – he was naturally deeply involved in the negotiations, and he undoubtedly welcomed Dent's re-election.

Judging from the correspondence between Higinì Anglès and Jacques Handschin, it seems possible that Jeppesen had at an earlier stage supported a proposal for a different president than Dent, although it is not clear who might have been under consideration in that case:

Ich bin auch froh, dass Sie entschlossen sind, dass ein anderer Präsident sein muss. Wir haben mit Jeppesen schon ausgedacht, wer es sein muss.<sup>74</sup>

But if Jeppesen had expressed support for a candidate other than Dent at one point, he evidently changed his mind. On the occasion of Dent's 60th birthday soon afterwards, Jeppesen wrote an unequivocal tribute to him in *Acta*, in which he describes Dent as nothing less than 'the salt of great seas, reanimating and refreshing'.<sup>75</sup> This prompted Handschin to write to Anglès once again, and whereas Jeppesen had previously been counted among Handschin's 'allies', the image of Jeppesen has now completely changed:

In der ersten Nummer der neuen Acta hat Jeppesen gezeigt, was er ist: ein "Dent-ist" ... . Einerseits war es ja gut, dass alle diese Konflikte wegen Protokoll usw. nicht vor der Oeffentlichkeit ausgetragen wurden; aber etwas kritischer hätte der Dentist schon sein dürfen.<sup>76</sup>

On the one hand, Jeppesen's panegyric is too much for Handschin; on the other hand, he acknowledges the common sense in not trumpeting forth the Society's internal conflicts and clumsiness in public.

73 Heinrich Bessler, 'Bericht über den Kongress der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft in Barcelona, 18.-25. April 1936', quoted from Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Bessler*, 400. Cf. Bleibinger, 'Mythos Marius Schneider', 339.

74 Letter from Jacques Handschin to Higinì Anglès, 31 January 1936 (E-Bbc), quoted from Bleibinger, *Marius Schneider und der Symbolismo*, 375 (no. 17). Cf. in addition a letter from which it appears that Handschin has spoken with 'Jeppesen ... über eine andre Lösung'; letter from Jacques Handschin to Higinì Anglès, 27 February 1936 (E-Bbc), quoted from *ibid.* 378 (no. 27).

75 Knud Jeppesen, 'Edward J. Dent, on the Sixteenth of July 1936', *Acta musicologica*, 8/1–2 (1936), 1 [B1936-d].

76 Letter from Jacques Handschin to Higinì Anglès, 13 October 1936 (E-Bbc), quoted from Bleibinger, *Marius Schneider und der Symbolismo*, 385 (no. 45).

Returning to Jeppesen's correspondence with his wife, it seems by and large as if he breathes a sigh of relief when the Congress – 'with all its international mendacity and diplomacy'<sup>77</sup> – is over, and he can once again devote himself to work in various libraries. Before departing from Barcelona, he writes the following:

Today I've had a day as I love them: worked without fuss and nonsense at the library and accomplished a lot – it suits me better than all sorts of conferences – finally alone.<sup>78</sup>

But before Jeppesen could get that far – amidst all the fuss and nonsense – the situation regarding *Acta musicologica* had to be addressed.

### *Acta's shift of publishing company*

Along with the election of president and board members, the future of *Acta musicologica* was among the most important points of discussion at the Congress in Barcelona. For Jeppesen, the most crucial decision to be taken was to switch the publisher of *Acta* from the reputable Leipzig publishing house Breitkopf & Härtel to the much less known Levin & Munksgaard in Copenhagen, where *Acta* stayed for the remainder of Jeppesen's editorship, that is, until 1953.<sup>79</sup>

Already in the early 1930s, the journal's publishing affiliation had given rise to discussions and considerations regarding a potential switch. Like the first two volumes of the *Mitteilungen*, which had been edited by Peter Wagner, *Acta's* volumes 3–7 (1931–1935) had been published by Breitkopf & Härtel, an arrangement that had, however, caused some dissatisfaction within the IGMw, particularly due to the perceived high cost. *Acta* was primarily intended to be produced for the membership subscriptions of the IGMw, and there is a clear indication that the contract with Breitkopf & Härtel consumed most, if not all, of the funds available.<sup>80</sup> Since 1932, the IGMw had therefore been exploring the possibility of switching to another, more affordable publisher. In that context, offers had been solicited from Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark, including from the publisher Levin & Munksgaard.

77 'med alt den internationale Forløjethed og Diplomatie'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 1 May 1936.

78 'Jeg har i Dag haft en Dag, som jeg elsker dem: arbejdet uden Vrøvl og Sludder paa Biblioteket og faaet dygtigt fra Haanden – det passer mig bedre end alle mulige Konferencer – endlich allein'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 28 April 1936.

79 With the last installment (fasc. IV) of vol. 10 (1938), Levin & Munksgaard changed its name to Ejnar Munksgaard, cf. Munthe, *Et verdensforlag bygges opp*, 13.

80 At one point, Jeppesen wrote to Guido Adler, that 'Wir zahlen augenblicklich jährlich bei Breitkopf & Härtel 4000 Schw. Fr. für die "Acta". In Kopenhagen sollen wir ca. 3000 Fr. zahlen. Wir haben ca. 300 Abonnenten a 10 Fr.'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 27 December 1935 (GAC).

To delve into the details of the chain of events involving all the parties and many aspects concerned is beyond the scope of this presentation. However, just a couple of Jeppesen's and Adler's exchanges of letters indicate how prospects could change rapidly. *Acta* had also been discussed at the Society's Congress in Cambridge in 1933. Guido Adler had been unable to attend, and in response to an inquiry to Jeppesen about how the Congress had unfolded, Jeppesen paints – in a letter from early September 1933 – an almost rosy picture of the negotiations in the IGMw:

Es ist alles, besonders musikalisch und gesellschaftlich sehr schön dort gewesen. In den Verhandlungen des Vorstandes ist nichts Aufsehererregend gewesen. Man hat mich schön für meine Arbeit mit den "Acta" gedankt, und die Zukunft der Zeitschrift scheint vorläufig gesichert. Die Verhandlungen sind alle glatt und freundschaftlich verlaufen und von Intrigen hat man jedenfalls nichts gespürt.<sup>81</sup>

*Acta's* future therefore seemed assured, at least for the time being. But already a few months later, in January 1934, Adler speaks in one of his letters to Jeppesen almost grandiloquently about 'einem neuen Abschnitt in der musikwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenorganisation', after he has been informed by Egon Wellesz about 'die Möglichkeit eines dänischen Verlages'.<sup>82</sup>

During 1935, with the prospect advancing of the upcoming Congress and thus the general assembly in Barcelona, the explorations and considerations were still in full swing. For example, Jeppesen wrote to Anglès at the beginning of December 1935 informing him that the January issue of *Acta* would probably be delayed due to the negotiations.<sup>83</sup> By the end of February 1936, the situation had not been clarified,<sup>84</sup> and the upshot was that Jeppesen, for the first time since taking over the editorship in 1931, had to abandon the quarterly publication of the installments and instead resort to combining two issues (vol. 8/1–2).<sup>85</sup>

Several aspects concerning the production and publication of *Acta* played into these negotiations. In a lengthy letter to Otto Ursprung written later in 1936, Jeppesen outlined the five most important economic-practical aspects:

1. Due to currency restrictions in Germany, it is practically impossible to have an international journal located in this country, as payments only reach the employees with great difficulty and significant delays.

81 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 4 September 1933 (GAC).

82 Letter from Guido Adler to Knud Jeppesen, 17 January 1934 (DTÖ).

83 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higinì Anglès, 6 December 1935 (E-Bbc).

84 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higinì Anglès, 24 February 1936 (E-Bbc).

85 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higinì Anglès, 4 April 1936 (E-Bbc), where Jeppesen expresses his deep regret over not being able to publish an article submitted by Anglès before the Congress takes place (cf. footnote 116).

2. In addition to *Acta*, Breitkopf & Härtel also publish the *Archiv für Musikforschung*, which has constantly led to mutual delays.
3. Munksgaard is significantly cheaper than Breitkopf & Härtel, even though the latter has lowered its offer by twenty-five percent.
4. It is a significant practical relief that the printing press is located in Jeppesen's immediate vicinity, which saves a lot of correspondence.
5. The only support *Acta* receives comes from Danish sources, specifically from the Rask-Ørsted Foundation.<sup>86</sup>

In addition, as indicated in several other letters, there was great concern about the continued 'freedom of action' of the journal, should it become subjected to political conditions in the event of German rather than Danish support. For example, Jeppesen asked the IGMw's secretary, Wilhelm Merian, whether a possible German subsidy 'nicht von Bedingungen politischer Art abhängig gemacht werden, die wir, gerade als internationale Korporation, nicht annehmen können?'<sup>87</sup>

Throughout the entire process, Jeppesen emphasized time and again that the change of publisher had to occur solely for economic reasons, and he also stressed the importance of openly evaluating the various offers, including of course the one from Breitkopf & Härtel. In another letter regarding the matter – this time to the IGMw's treasurer, Theophil Speiser-Riggenbach – Jeppesen concluded as follows on the situation as he saw it in mid-February 1936:

Obwohl ich sehr zufrieden mit der immer sehr angenehmen Zusammenarbeit mit Br. & H. bin, und besonders die Präzision und Gründlichkeit Ihrer Druckerarbeit ausserordentlich schätze, sehe ich nicht ein, wie es ökonomisch möglich für uns sein wird, die "Acta" bei Br. & H. zu belassen. Soweit ich sehe, stehen im Augenblick nur zwei Möglichkeiten uns offen: entweder die "Acta" eingehen zu lassen, oder sie bei Levin & Munksgaard unterzubringen.<sup>88</sup>

Furthermore, it appeared that potential German support for the journal would be contingent on *Acta* essentially remaining under German control – about which, as mentioned, Jeppesen had strong reservations.

86 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Otto Ursprung, 3 September 1936 (D-Mbs). The Rask-Ørsted Foundation had been established in the early 1920s with the purpose of supporting Danish participation in international research collaborations, and from this fund, IGMw received an annual subsidy of 1000 CHF for *Acta*, cf. letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 27 December 1935 (GAC).

87 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Wilhelm Merian, 14 November 1935 (E-Bbc). From the content of the letter it is obvious that Jeppesen's dating '14 October 1935' is a mistake.

88 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Theophil Speiser-Riggenbach, 12 February 1936 (E-Bbc), with copies to Anglès, Dent, Merian, Pirro and Wolf.

After reading this letter – which Jeppesen sent in copy to the IGMw’s president, vice presidents, and secretary – Dent sent a letter to Anglès in which, referring to Jeppesen’s arguments, he clarified the concerns about the implications of staying with Breitkopf & Härtel: unacceptable conditions from the German government, rejection of Jewish contributions to *Acta*, and generally uncertain economic conditions:

You will also notice what Jeppesen says about the German grant. ... If we were to accept the German grant, it is more than likely that the German government would impose intolerable conditions on us; B & H might refuse to print communications from Jewish authors etc. Moreover, we have only certainty that the German subsidy would be paid for a period of a few years. In Denmark, we will be free.<sup>89</sup>

Breitkopf & Härtel had previously declined a request from the IGMw to reduce the cost of *Acta*’s production. As the situation developed, however, in March 1936 they suddenly lowered their offer by twenty-five percent. Upon receiving this offer, Jeppesen wrote in another context to Guido Adler, expressing that things are happening behind the scenes and that remaining with Breitkopf & Härtel is now probably unavoidable, making it even more important to be financially independent:

Mit den “Acta” steht es so, dass der dänische Verleger 8 Rm. pro Heft verlangte, Breitkopf & Härtel dagegen 10 Rm. Plötzlich hatten Br. & H. ihren Preis um 25% gesenkt (also 7,50 Rm. pr. Expl.) und jetzt werden wir wohl nicht umhin können bei ihnen zu bleiben, ... . Mir ist dies nicht ganz heimlich; denn ich spüre dahinten reichdeutsche Intrigen. Wir müssen aber jetzt sehen, dass wir ökonomisch so stark werden, dass wir von einer nazistischen Subvention unabhängig werden, denn sonst wäre alles aus.<sup>90</sup>

It appears that Jeppesen, until shortly before the Congress, actually took for granted that a change of publisher could not be pushed through at the Congress, as indirectly indicated by the message he sent home to Alice after the general assembly: ‘It seems as if ‘Acta’ after all will come to Copenhagen. Hopefully, something good will come of it.’<sup>91</sup>

89 ‘Vous remarquerez aussi ce que Jeppesen dit à propos de la subvention allemande. ... Si nous acceptions la subvention allemande, il est plus que probable que le Gouvernement allemand nous imposerait des conditions intolérables; B & H pourrait refuser d’imprimer des communications des auteurs juifs etc. Puis, nous n’avons point de certitude que la subvention allemande serait payée pour une période de quelques ans. En Danemark nous serons libre’; letter from Edward Dent to Higinì Anglès, 18 February 1936 (E-Bbc), quoted from Bleibinger, *Marius Schneider und der Symbolismo*, 374 (no. 14).

90 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 12 March 1936 (DTÖ).

91 ‘Det synes som om “Acta” alligevel skal komme til Kbhvn. Forhaabentlig kommer der noget godt ud deraf’; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 22 April 1936 (underlining by the present author).

And something good did come of it. All in all, the Congress in Barcelona meant a victory for the anti-German forces on all fronts, *Acta* rejected offers of German subsidies,<sup>92</sup> and the contract with Levin & Munksgaard was signed around 1 July, 1936. ‘Der neuen Acta’ – as Handschin called it – became a reality.

As had been the case following the conference in Cambridge in 1933, Guido Adler now once again received a report from Jeppesen, which – despite Jeppesen’s initial statement that ‘Es war ganz schön zu Barcelona’ (!) – this time must paint a much darker picture:

Aber es lässt sich nicht verhe[?]len, dass die ganze jetzige internationale politische Unruhe leider auch innerhalb unsere Faches in verstimmender Weise sich fühlbar machte. Es würde beschlossen, dass die “Acta” jetzt in Kopenhagen erscheinen sollen. Die reichsdeutschen waren darüber sehr ungehalten, aber ich glaube, dass es doch das beste so sein wird.<sup>93</sup>

Adler also received a report of the Congress from Edward Dent, who, however, does not hide his enthusiasm or the significance he, along with Egon Wellesz, attributes to Jeppesen, even when it comes to the government of the Society:

... wir haben die “Acta” aus Deutschland weggebracht, und Jeppesen wird in kurzer Zeit eine neue Nummer in Kopenhagen herausbringen. ... es ist mir jetzt ganz klar, das wir drei Wellesz, Jeppesen und ich, die ganze Gesellschaft regieren müssen – etwa wie Hitler, Goering und Goebbels!<sup>94</sup>

Overall, the chaotic negotiations and tendentious voting subsequently provoked severe criticism from various quarters. In a letter to Edward Dent, Jeppesen openly and honestly acknowledges his share of responsibility for ‘den etwas unregelrechten Verlauf der Generalversammlung’; at the same time, however, he maintains a strictly professional standpoint and is willing to stake his position as *Acta* editor on this:

Ich persönlich werde keine Anti-Politik, auch keine Anti-deutsche, treiben. ... Ich stehe oder gehe als Leiter unserer Zeitschrift mit dieser rein sachlichen Haltung. Ich

92 Annegret Fauser emphasizes – with reference to a letter that Egon Wellesz wrote to Guido Adler in August 1936 – IGMw’s precarious financial situation at that time: ‘To guarantee the journal’s continued publication, Dent contributed the then considerable sum of £150 from his own pocket to cover the Society’s deficit after the rejection of German subventions’; Annegret Fauser, ‘The Scholar behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876–1957) and the Politics of Music History’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 139/2 (2014), 235–60, at 242.

93 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 11 June 1936 (DTÖ).

94 Letter from Edward Dent to Guido Adler, 15 July 1936, quoting from Fauser, ‘Edward J. Dent (1932–49)’, 48.



werde es mir dann gefallen lassen, dass die “Volksangehörigen” mich als deutschfeindlich stempeln, und dass die gegner des dritten Reiches mich vielleicht für Crypto-Nazi halten – ich kann nicht dafür.<sup>95</sup>

### *German boycott*

That a change of publisher would inevitably be perceived as nothing less than embarrassing is evident from a circular letter issued by Heinrich Bessler even before the Congress: ‘Ein peinlicher Eindruck in Deutschland sei jedoch unvermeidlich, wenn als erstes sichtbares Ergebnis des Kongresses der Verlagswechsel mitgeteilt würde.’<sup>96</sup> The decision to leave Breitkopf & Härtel – the first observable result of the Congress – therefore represented yet another glaring and entirely unacceptable defeat for the German delegation.

Nor did the reaction from the German side fail to materialize. A couple of weeks after the new contract with Levin & Munksgaard entered into force, Heinrich Bessler issued a confidential circular letter, reproduced here *in extenso*:

streng vertraulich!

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Dem Vernehmen nach hat der Präsident der IGMW den Vertrag mit Breitkopf & Härtel über den Verlag der “Acta musicologica” gekündigt. Die Acta sollen künftig in Kopenhagen bei Levin & Munksgaard erscheinen.

Wir haben in Barcelona vor diesem Schritt gewarnt und eine Zusammenarbeit in neuer Form mündlich und schriftlich angeboten. Der Verlag Breitkopf & Härtel teilt mit, er habe anlässlich der fälligen Vertragserneuerung seinerseits alle Wünsche der IGMW erfüllt. Unter diesen Umstände bedeutet der Verlagswechsel eine unfreundliche Handlung gegen uns. Es erscheint geboten, vorläufig jede deutsche Mitarbeit an den Acta einzustellen und zu verhindern. Nach den gemachten Erfahrungen ist besonders gegenüber dem Präsident der IGMW größte Zurückhaltung zu empfehlen. Unsere endgültige Stellungnahme zur IGMW solle bei nächster Gelegenheit in einer gemeinsamen Aussprache erörtert und festgelegt werden.

Mit deutschem Gruß

Heil Hitler!

(gez.) Bessler<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 11 June 1936 (EJD).

<sup>96</sup> Letter from Heinrich Bessler to [no recipient], 15 May 1936 (E-Bbc), quoted from Bleibinger, *Marius Schneider und der Symbolismo*, 385 (no. 44).

<sup>97</sup> Letter from Heinrich Bessler to [no recipient], 17 July 1936 (D-Mbs), underlining is original.

Bessler did actually have the authority to issue a formal prohibition on German cooperation with *Acta*, and a genuine boycott thus became a reality. Considering that the Germans in general were very dissatisfied with Edward Dent, it is not surprising that the president of the Society is personally singled out in the letter. However, it is noticeable that even though it would have been logical (also) to mention the editor of *Acta* in the same context as the journal itself, Bessler refrains from singling out Jeppesen personally. It is unclear to how many individuals this letter was circulated;<sup>98</sup> but everything indicates that Bessler – and with him the other German colleagues – at no time informed Jeppesen of this decision.

It must therefore have come as an incomprehensible – and, surely, shocking – surprise to Jeppesen when his good friend and colleague, Otto Ursprung, wrote to him at the end of July to withdraw an article he had submitted to *Acta*:

Nun aber ergab sich ein Aenderung, deretwegen ich Sie bitten muss, mir meinen für die *Acta* zugeordneten Aufsatz “Die Ligaturen usw.” zurückzugeben. Ich darf aber doch sicher sein, dass Sie mich recht verstehen und unsere Freundschaft deswegen keine Trübung erfährt.<sup>99</sup>

Jeppesen returned the article, even though, as he notes, it was already in the process of being printed. Evidently unaware of Bessler’s decree, he asks Ursprung to tell him honestly the reason for his action.<sup>100</sup> In his detailed response, Ursprung does not hide the fact that the change of publisher can only be perceived as an anti-German act, and that in the current situation he therefore cannot appear in the pages of *Acta* with a major article. Ursprung will therefore await further negotiations between the IGMw and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*. Although Ursprung apparently also expresses his own personal dissatisfaction – and not just that imposed by Bessler – with the change of publisher, he also absolves Jeppesen of blame and points to Dent as the sole responsible party for the change of publisher – ‘... ein Werk des Präsidenten D e n t’ – for which Jeppesen must unfortunately now bear the brunt:

Während Dent eben dadurch in dem Hintergrund verschwindet, sind Sie, lieber Freund, derjenige, der für den andern “den kopf hinhalten” soll. Und das tut mir für Sie leid.<sup>101</sup>

98 According to Potter, the letter was sent to ‘German musicologists’; Potter, ‘The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938’, 164. Schipperges quotes from a copy of the letter sent to Otto Ursprung; Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Bessler*, 129.

99 Letter from Otto Ursprung to Knud Jeppesen, 25 July 1936 (DK-Kk).

100 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Otto Ursprung, 7 August 1936 (D-Mbs).

101 Letter from Otto Ursprung to Knud Jeppesen, 16 August 1936 (D-Mbs).

Jeppesen replies at the beginning of September 1936 with the letter already cited containing the five arguments for the change of publisher. In addition to pointing out that Levin & Munksgaard – contrary to some assertions – was not a Jewish publisher, Jeppesen emphasizes that he will always listen to and adhere to well-founded criticism – which, however, has *not* been presented – and that he does not understand Ursprung’s point of view. If anyone is attacking the person rather than the issue, it is certainly not him:

Also ich weiss sehr wohl, was ich tue. Will jemand mir den Kopf abhauen, sei es ihn gegönnt, ich habe ihn aber nicht von selbst verloren.<sup>102</sup>

It appears that Jeppesen still is not aware of Bessler’s circular – ‘Ich weiß – bis jetzt – nur aus Ihren Brief, dass man in Deutschland Bedenklichkeiten hegt gegen Mitwirkung in den “Acta”’ – and if it appears that a boycott from his German colleagues is looming, it is something he greatly regrets. However, Jeppesen hints at the end that he is well aware of the true context of the situation – namely, that Ursprung was more or less forced to act as he did – and furthermore, he does not want to dwell on such ‘trifles’:

Wie es aber auch sei, bitte ich Sie davon überzeugt zu sein, ... dass solche Kleinigkeiten, zu dem Sie sicher von Verhältn., die ich nicht zu beurteilen vermag, gezwungen worden sind, mir belanglos scheinen.<sup>103</sup>

Ursprung promptly reported Jeppesen’s extensive letter to Bessler, who, unsurprisingly, upheld the announced guidelines and immediately offered Ursprung alternative publication for his article in the *Archiv für Musikforschung* instead.<sup>104</sup>

Whatever the other intermediary steps in this chain of events, it is noteworthy that as early as January 1937, Ursprung was to write to Jeppesen, stating that:

Die prinzipielle Frage der Mitarbeit an den Acta wie bisher ist nun, dank der Vermittlung unseres Freundes Anglès, zu gegenseitiger Befriedigung gelöst. Nachdem hier der alte status quo wiederhergestellt ist, ...<sup>105</sup>

102 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Otto Ursprung, 3 September 1936 (D-Mbs).

103 Ibid.

104 Letter from Heinrich Bessler to Otto Ursprung, 15 September 1936 (D-Mbs), cf. Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Bessler*, 130. As official organ of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, which had been published since 1918, was renamed *Archiv für Musikforschung* in 1936 and issued with the support of the Nazi-controlled *Staatliches Institut für Deutsche Musikforschung*; *ibid.* 127; cf. Fabian R. Lovisa, *Musikkritik im Nationalsozialismus. Die Rolle deutschsprachiger Musikzeitschriften 1920-1945* (Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Band 22; Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1993), 90–92, 110–13, 117–18.

105 Letter from Otto Ursprung to Knud Jeppesen, 19 January 1937 (D-Mbs).

Ursprung immediately offers his assistance regarding potential reviews and asks if he may resubmit the article he withdrew, which, according to his own account, due to other work commitments he ‘has not at all worried about in the meantime.’<sup>106</sup> In other words, it appears that Anglès has acted in a mediating role, and it is probably this to which Jeppesen refers in a roughly contemporaneous letter to Anglès, in which he thanks him for ‘Ihre Bestrebungen, zwischen unsere deutschen Kollegen und die “Acta” ein gutes Verhältnis anzubahnen, wozu Sie ganz besonderes befähigt sind.’<sup>107</sup>

‘... reichdeutsche Beiträge in Fülle’

It is Pamela Potter who, in her aforementioned seminal article on ‘The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938’, has designated Jeppesen as ‘the tragic figure in this scenario’. The reasons given are not only that ‘the German musicologists voluntarily cut themselves off from an international periodical’ in what was essentially a ‘German boycott’, but also that ‘a sudden withdrawal of articles by Germans’ should have resulted.<sup>108</sup>

It is highly likely that a boycott from the German side did indeed take place, but it would be purely speculative to assess the extent and duration to which (some of) the German musicologists *might* have refrained from submitting contributions to *Acta*. A comprehensive and comparative study of all surviving correspondences might provide more nuanced answers, but there are strong indications that in the event the boycott did not develop into a significant problem for Jeppesen. Beyond the one article by Ursprung that Jeppesen actually returned, Potter cites no further specific examples of withdrawn articles,<sup>109</sup> and whether Jeppesen ever experienced a genuine shortage of material for the journal is doubtful.

Already in his five-point letter to Ursprung from September 1936, Jeppesen stated that he has ‘reichdeutsche Beiträge in Fülle vorrätig’ and that he continues to receive them, even from ‘sehr offiziellen Vertreter der deutsch. Musikwissenschaft.’<sup>110</sup> In response to Ursprung’s renewed goodwill towards *Acta* in early 1937, Jeppesen replies that

106 Ibid.

107 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higin Anglès, 2 January 1937 (E-Bbc).

108 Potter, ‘The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938’, 164–65.

109 According to Thomas Schipperges, however, Heinrich Bessler mentions in mid-September 1936 that Jeppesen still has some contributions ready for printing that can *no* longer be withdrawn, specifically by Joachim Moser, Hans Engel, and ‘zwei weiteren Kollegen’; Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Bessler*, 129. Based on what was actually published in *Acta*, for Engel, this can only concern the article ‘Marenzios Madrigale und ihre dichterischen Grundlagen’, the first part of which appeared in the second installment of the 1936 volume (vol. 8/iii–iv; the second part was published the following year), and for Moser, it must be two book reviews (one in each of vol. 8’s two installments) and the article ‘Daniel Speer’ in vol. 9 (1937). The ‘two other colleagues’ could refer to several German authors in *Acta*’s vol. 8ff, among them Otto Ursprung.

110 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Otto Ursprung, 3 September 1936 (D-Mbs). Regrettably, Jeppesen does not name the ‘very official representatives of German musicology’.

he must have patience ‘da wir z. Z. an einer Überfülle von noch ungedr. Mss. leiden’,<sup>111</sup> that is, ‘at the moment we have an abundance of unpublished manuscripts’. Ursprung’s article, along with three reviews, was therefore not printed in *Acta* until 1939.<sup>112</sup>

On the other hand, it may seem striking that it was precisely at the end of 1936 that Jeppesen asked Edward Dent whether it might be possible to publish the best contributions from the Cambridge IGMw Congress of 1933.<sup>113</sup> Jeppesen frequently made inquiries of this kind – from his correspondence, it appears that he routinely asked his colleagues about potential contributions to *Acta* – but asking Dent for Congress papers from three years ago could indicate a shortage of material for *Acta*.

Jeppesen’s reasoning, however, is that ‘es fehlt mir an englischen und französisch. Beitr.’<sup>114</sup> a point reiterated in slightly altered form in a later letter: ‘es [ist] schwierig für mich Beiträge in nicht-deutscher Sprache zu erhalten.’<sup>115</sup> In light of the relationship between the two scholars, it is hard to imagine that Jeppesen would fail to alert Dent to any potential shortage of contributions to *Acta*. Such a shortage, however, cannot be ruled out (and Jeppesen undoubtedly took great pride in keeping *Acta* running without resorting to forms of artificial resuscitation), but it is considerably more likely that he did indeed have ‘reichdeutsche Beiträge in Fülle’ and that his inquiry to Dent was just one of several attempts to establish a more equitable balance between the languages of publication in *Acta*.

The fact that the only article written by Anglès for *Acta* was published in French rather than German occurred at Jeppesen’s direct request,<sup>116</sup> and it is also evident on several other occasions that Jeppesen is of the opinion that the German language – although it is the one he is best at and clearly prefers – occupies too dominant a position in relation to the international efforts he has always aimed for with *Acta*:

Die “Acta” wirklich international zu gestalten und eine mehr gerechte Verteilung der 3 Hauptsprache anzubahnen, ist immer mein Ziel gewesen. <sup>117</sup>

111 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Otto Ursprung, 2 February 1937 (D-Mbs).

112 Otto Ursprung, ‘Die Ligaturen, ihr System und ihre methodische und didaktische Darstellung. zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Musikunterrichts’, *Acta musicologica*, 11/1–2 (1939), 1–16.

113 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 30 December 1936 (EJD).

114 Ibid.

115 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 5 April 1937 (EJD). That Jeppesen, during World War II, asks Anglès if he could write an article for *Acta*, perhaps is more understandable; Letter from Knud Jeppesen til Higini Anglès, 24 July 1942 (E-Bbc).

116 Cf. letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higini Anglès, 18 March 1932 (E-Bbc), where Jeppesen expresses his preference for the article to be written in French rather than in German: ‘Würde Sie es französisch verfassen? Wenn es Ihnen nämlich gleichgiltig ist, ob Sie deutsch oder franz. schreiben, möchte ich das letztere vorziehen, weil ich die Sprachen ein bisschen mengen [?] möchte und so wie so reichlich deutsche Beiträge bringe’. The article was not published until four years later: Higini Anglès, ‘Un manuscrit inconnu avec polyphonie du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle conservé à la cathédrale de Ségovie (Espagne)’, *Acta musicologica*, 8/1–2 (1936), 6–17.

117 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 11 June 1936 (EJD).

Furthermore, an overabundance of one language could risk hindering the recruitment of new members to the IGMw.

In an unreserved letter to Dent, written while the *Acta* discussions were heated after the Barcelona Congress, Jeppesen *also* notes that while the English are always full of poor excuses and the French are generally greedy and unreliable, the ‘problem’ with the Germans – especially the German ‘emigrants’, i.e., colleagues who have fled Nazi Germany and therefore cannot publish in German journals – is that they are eager to write for *Acta*:

Die grosse Schwierigkeit bei der Sache ist aber, dass während die Deutschen und besonders die Emigranten (die keine andere Möglichkeit haben) äusserst gern für uns schreiben, sind englische und französische Beiträge recht schwierig zu haben. Die Engländer antworten immer sehr freundlich, bedauern aber meistens, dass sie ... nicht Definitives versprechen dürfen, die Franzosen fragen zunächst nach unsere Honorarsätze ..., und schweigen dann gewöhnlich nachher.<sup>118</sup>

### *Tragic or victorious?*

In conclusion, it must be assessed as highly doubtful whether the decision taken at the Barcelona Congress to change publishing company actually resulted in a real crisis for *Acta*, and – most importantly – whether Jeppesen ‘in this scenario’ can be said to have occupied a position as ‘the tragic figure’.

At no point does there seem to have been any professional criticism of Jeppesen’s role as editor of *Acta*, nor were there any requests for him to resign from this position. The majority of statements made about him – and, it should be added, by him – indicate that through his professional and widely recognized editorship of the first volumes of *Acta*, Jeppesen had the upper hand and could still count on significant (that is, sufficient) support from colleagues in Europe (that is, from outside Nazi Germany) and in the United States. Judging from both official and published sources as well as his private correspondence, Jeppesen remained unwavering in his commitment to the impartiality of the journal and was, if necessary, willing to sacrifice his position as editor for the cause. A couple of years after the events in Barcelona – and in a context related to funding for the journal – Jeppesen once again emphasizes in a letter to Edward Dent

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. Regarding ‘the great emigration of scholars into the USA because of National-Socialism’, it is estimated that ‘among those scholars from Germany, Austria and neighboring countries who fled the Hitler regime were more than one hundred musicologists’, of course depending on ‘how the term “musicologist” is defined’; Glenn Stanley and Philine Lautenschläger, ‘American Musicology. The Strength of Tradition and the Energy of Innovation’, in Wald-Fuhrmann and Keym (eds.), *Wege zur Musikwissenschaft*, 126. Their work includes a table of 25 ‘Immigrant Musicologists at Colleges and Universities in the USA’ (ibid. 127), among whom are Alfred Einstein and Curt Sachs, who were mentioned at the beginning of this presentation.

that he is prepared to resign from the editorship if the independence of the journal is challenged:

Wenn wir deshalb nicht, ausser der staatlichen Subvention Dänemarks noch weitere offizielle Subventionen erreichen können, bin ich dafür die Herausgabe aufhören zu lassen. Jedenfalls bin ich bereit zu jeder Zeit die Schriftleitung niederzulegen, wie ich Ihnen schon früher gesagt habe.<sup>119</sup>

However, the change of publisher had some personal consequences for Jeppesen nonetheless. Already in 1927, Jeppesen's first publication at Breitkopf & Härtel, namely his edition of *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier*, had been published;<sup>120</sup> and in the year preceding the Congress in Barcelona, they had released both his textbook, *Kontrapunkt*, in German translation, and his extensive Petrucci edition.<sup>121</sup> As Jeppesen pointed out to, among others, Guido Adler, a not insignificant aspect of the *Acta* affair was that the rupture with Breitkopf & Härtel necessarily had the effect of ruining the good relationship he had previously enjoyed with the publisher:

Selbst werde ich dabei das gute Verhältnis zu Br. & H. verderben; aber ich muss die Interessen unserer Gesellschaft in erster Reihe treten lassen.<sup>122</sup>

Jeppesen was also honest with Ursprung about the dilemma he faced, and about the personal consequences the split with Breitkopf & Härtel would necessarily have:

..., wenn ich nur auf meine persönlich. Interessen geschauet hätte, wäre ich vielleicht nicht mitgegangen. Es ist mir immer klar gewesen, was es für mich bedeutet mit einer Firma wie Br. & H. die Verbindung abbrechen zu müssen. Ich stehe aber

<sup>119</sup> Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 18 September 1938 (EJD).

<sup>120</sup> Knud Jeppesen (ed.), *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier. Das Manuskript Thott 2918 der königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard / Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927) [E1927].

<sup>121</sup> Both publications had been long in the making. Already in November 1930, Jeppesen wrote to Adler that 'Breitkopf hat jetzt das Buch ["Kontrapunkt"] für Deutschland erworben' (letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 26 November 1930 (GAC)), and after visiting and negotiating with the publisher in Leipzig, he informed Adler about a month later that 'Mein "Kontrapunkt" und die grosse Laudenausgabe werden voraussichtlich zum Herbst bei Breitkopfes erscheinen' (letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 29 January 1931 (GAC)). However, several years would still elapse before the publication of both the textbook, Knud Jeppesen, *Kontrapunkt. Lehrbuch der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1935) [B1935-a], and 'the big laude edition', Knud Jeppesen (ed.), *Die Mehrstimmige Italienische Laude um 1500. Das 2. Laudenbuch des Ottaviano dei Petrucci (1507) in Verbindung mit einer Auswahl mehrstimmiger Lauden aus dem 1. Laudenbuch Petrucci's (1508) und aus verschiedenen gleichzeitigen Manuskripten* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard / Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1935) [E1935-b], became a reality.

<sup>122</sup> Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Guido Adler, 11 June 1936 (DTÖ).

hier mit der Verantwortung gegenüber unserer internationale Sache, die für mich eine ernste Realität ist, und da dürfen meine persönliche Vorteile gewiss nicht in erster Reihe kommen.<sup>123</sup>

Whether the loss of ‘my personal advantages’ – that is, the opportunity to publish with Breitkopf & Härtel – caused Jeppesen any problems is difficult to assess, partly because the years and indeed the decade that followed were anything but business as usual. But neither was it a tragedy. In 1956, Breitkopf & Härtel published the second edition of Jeppesen’s counterpoint book (and several subsequent editions),<sup>124</sup> and otherwise, his publications after 1936 were released by other publishers.

The ‘tragic figure’ may indeed have ended up as the victorious figure in the overall scenario of *Acta musicologica*. Although the scope of the journal shrank and the frequency of publication became less stable in the period after 1936, *Acta* not only survived but was published in the years up to, during, and after World War II, and this was not just as a medium for *Mitteilungen* of scholarly information, but because:

... the principal task of *Acta* during the 1930s and 1940s was to retain the values and the practices of international cooperation during a period of fascism, radical nationalism, and global conflict.<sup>125</sup>

And international cooperation, as per Jeppesen’s manifesto of 1931, continued throughout all these years to be a characteristic of Jeppesen’s editorship. The previously mentioned ‘team of permanent members of the staff’ – that is, the editorial board – had from the beginning consciously comprised the widest possible geographical composition. If *Acta Musicologica*’s ‘collaboratores principales’ in vols. 3–25 (1931–53) are listed – alphabetically, indicating the year in which the individual last participated – no less than seventeen nations (excluding Denmark) are represented: Boris Assafieff (Russia, vols. 16–17), Higiní Anglès (Spain, vol. 27), Gaetano Cesari (Italy, vol. 7), Adolf Chybinski (Poland, vol. 4), Edward J. Dent (England, vol. 25), Carl Engel (USA, vol. 15), Rudolf v. Ficker (Austria, vol. 5/3), Otto Gombosi (Hungary, vol. 25), Toivo Haapanen (Finland, vol. 22/1–2), Wilhelm Merian (Schweiz, vol. 25/1–3), Carl-Allan Moberg (Sweden, vol. 27), Zdeněk Nejedlý (Czechoslovakia, vols. 16–17), André Pirro (France, vol. 14),

123 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Otto Ursprung, 3 September 1936 (D-Mbs). In a contemporaneous response to an inquiry from Zoltán Kodály about a possible Hungarian translation of Jeppesen’s textbook, Jeppesen wrote that Breitkopf & Härtel ‘z. Z. [zur Zeit] mir böse sind, weil die “Acta Musicologica” nicht mehr bei ihnen, sondern in Kopenhagen erscheinen sollen’; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Zoltán Kodály, 11 August 1936 (Kodály-Archives, Budapest (*H-Bkema*), Jeppesen-epist. 7). However, the Hungarian translation was not published until 1975: Knud Jeppesen, *Ellenpont. A klasszikus vokális polifónia tankönyve* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1975, 2nd ed. 1988) [B1975a].

124 Cf. Holme Hansen, *Knud Jeppesen Katalog*, 30.

125 Celestini and Bohlman, ‘Acta Musicologica: A Brief History’, 146.



Ole Mørk Sandvik (Norway, vols. 16–17), Albert Smijers (Holland, vol. 25), Charles van den Borren (Belgium, vol. 25), Egon Wellesz (Austria/England, (from vol. 5/4) vol. 27), and Johannes Wolf (Germany, vols. 16–17).<sup>126</sup>

... a day as I love them: worked ... and accomplished a lot

There are several principal characters in this story, and based on Jeppesen's correspondences, several other interesting and relevant stories could be told about his relationships with the various parties involved, about the IGMw and about postwar musicology in general.

Regarding Edward Dent, it appears that they – letter-wise – ceased to have contact shortly after the end of World War II. In one of the last (preserved) letters from September 1945, at a time when the 'German problem' was even more intractable and difficult to handle in an international spirit, Jeppesen's attitude towards *Acta* – that no one, as long as their engagement was academically valuable and politically neutral, should be excluded from the journal's pages – is again clearly expressed. After receiving a letter from Dent – 'indeed, the first breath from the great free world I had after this dark time' – Jeppesen writes that during this long period he has heard almost nothing from German colleagues, and that it is now completely impossible to write to Germany. Despite the circumstances, Jeppesen expresses hope, both for the continued existence of *Acta* and for maintaining the journal's impartial line:

The relation to this country [Germany] will, at all, form a difficult problem for our "Acta" (if it, as I hope, will be possible to continue with the publication); but I hope you think as I do, videl. that we can't exclude neither [sic] the Germans nor [sic] any other people from our review.<sup>127</sup>

Jeppesen's correspondence with Heinrich Bessler spans three decades from the mid-1920s to the beginning of the 1950s, at least. In 1931, for instance, Jeppesen invited

<sup>126</sup> While sixteen members are listed from the first installment of the third volume, Assafieff (this spelling of his name was used consistently in *Acta*) enters with the publication of the second installment. The only new name added to the original seventeen during the twenty-three years was when Egon Wellesz replaced Ficker in 1933. Some of the contributors (Chybinski and Ficker) were active for only a few volumes, a handful (Cesari, Engel, Haapanen, Merian, and Pirro) remained in their positions until their passing, a small handful (Assafieff, Nejedlý, Sandvik, and Wolf) stopped at the end of World War II, while the rest remained in the group until Jeppesen stepped down (Dent, Gombosi, Smijers, and van den Borren), with three of them even continuing for a few more volumes (Anglès, Moberg, and Wellesz). This resulted in a steady decrease in the group, first slightly from seventeen to thirteen (vols. 16–17), then dropping to nine (vols. 18–19), ending with seven in Jeppesen's final volume.

<sup>127</sup> Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Edward Dent, 26 September 1945 (EJD). The letter is a rare example of Jeppesen writing in English; 'videl.' is Jeppesen's abbreviation for 'videlicet', that is 'viz.'.

Bessler to contribute to *Acta*. There is a world of difference between the unattractive way Bessler undoubtedly acted in connection with the Barcelona Congress – among other things characterized as ‘Besonders unappetitlich ist ... Besslers Rolle als konspirativer Informant über die Aktivitäten anderer Kollegen bei internationalen Kongressen’<sup>128</sup> – and his subsequent exchange of letters with Jeppesen. It is thus noteworthy that immediately after Jeppesen’s return from Barcelona, Bessler responds – quite ‘neutrally’ – to a query from Jeppesen regarding some old handwritten manuscripts.<sup>129</sup> During the war, too – between June 1941 and April 1942 – they also exchange several letters, exclusively about manuscripts; there are no signs of ‘Heil Hitler’ or of politics.<sup>130</sup> Their contact after the war, the first since 1942, is initiated by Bessler in April 1946: ‘... seit langem sind wir von aller Welt abgeschnitten. Da nun endlich der Auslandsverkehr wieder eröffnet ist, möchte ich Ihnen sogleich einen Gruß senden’<sup>131</sup> – and in the subsequent years, the letters also predominantly revolve around manuscripts and the journal.

The main figure behind the Congress in Barcelona, Higiní Anglès, played a central role in the tense relationship between the German delegation and the anti-German Congress participants. But he also held a special position in relation to Jeppesen. Initially, much indicates that Anglès was more sympathetic towards the Germans and thus less critical of the representatives of the Nazi regime within musicology, than the majority of Congress participants. Bernhard Bleibinger assesses that Anglès’ efforts were probably primarily diplomatically oriented,<sup>132</sup> while Pamela Potter judges him harshly, namely – frankly – as the unconditional ally of the German delegation.<sup>133</sup> Perhaps Marcel Martínez comes closest to the truth: ‘Anglès blieb Anwalt der Vertrauens vieler Kollegen und pflegte seine Beziehungen zwischen den konkurrierenden Strömungen.’<sup>134</sup>

Regardless of what Jeppesen may have been aware of, the correspondence between him and Anglès contains virtually no traces of these intrigues; his attitude towards Anglès was apparently always one of unconditional respect and positivity. Anglès, who was roughly the same age as Jeppesen, was apparently one of the colleagues with whom Jeppesen maintained particularly good contact, and their extensive correspondence spans some forty years, from 1925 into the 1960s. From the letters, it appears, among

128 Gerhard, ‘Musikwissenschaft’, 168. Gerhard, on the other hand, does not hesitate to proclaim Bessler as ‘sicher eine der größten Begabungen der deutschen Musikwissenschaft überhaupt’; *ibid.* 179.

129 Letter from Heinrich Bessler to Knud Jeppesen, 23 May 1936 (DK-Kk).

130 In the first letter since 1936 Bessler writes that ‘wir haben lange nichts mehr voneinander gehört, und ich hoffe, daß es Ihnen auch unter den gegenwärtigen Umständen wohl geht’; letter from Heinrich Bessler to Knud Jeppesen, 15 June 1941 (DK-Kk).

131 Letter from Heinrich Bessler to Knud Jeppesen, 6 April 1946 (DK-Kk).

132 Bleibinger, ‘Mythos Marius Schneider’, 339–40; Bleibinger, *Marius Schneider und der Symbolismo*, 103, 104, 110.

133 Potter, ‘The Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1918–1938’, 156, 163.

134 Martínez, ‘“Eine deutsche Frage”’, 4.

other things, that Anglès was extremely helpful to Jeppesen on several occasions regarding advice, guidance, and recommendation letters to many Spanish libraries, some of them difficult to access: for example, during Jeppesen's travels after the Congress in Barcelona.

It is also noteworthy that immediately after the Congress – where in the letters home to Alice he expressed his unreserved opinions, especially about the German delegation – Jeppesen felt compelled to write: 'Anglès is magnificent, I think he is the colleague I like best ... He is the exact opposite of the Germans'.<sup>135</sup> During the period leading up to the first IGMw Congress after the war, Jeppesen made it clear to Anglès that he believed him to be the most suitable candidate to become the new president of the IGMw:

Wie ich Ihnen schon gesagt habe, glaube ich, dass Sie die am besten geeignete Persönlichkeit sind, wenn es gilt einen neuen Präsidenten der Gesellschaft zu gewinnen, und dass es sehr glücklich sein würde, wenn Sie die Leitung übernehmen würden.<sup>136</sup>

Jeppesen's admiration and respect for Anglès, however, are most evident from the fact that in early 1946 he nominated him for membership in the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. Supported and co-signed by the well-known linguist Carsten Høeg, Jeppesen formulated a six-page long and extremely laudatory recommendation, from which the following passage is taken:

Professor Higini Anglès ... is not only the most significant musicologist within his nation, but is indeed one of the few living, perhaps the only one, who measures up to the great personalities of the previous generation within musicology. ... His scholarly output, although exclusively focused on Spanish music, is of an almost monumental magnitude. ... The quality of Professor Anglès' works corresponds entirely to their almost unimaginable number and scope.<sup>137</sup>

135 'Anglès er storartet, jeg tror, han er den af mine Kolleger, jeg synes bedst om .... Han er lige Mod-sætningen til Tyskerne'; letter from Knud Jeppesen to Alice Jeppesen, 28 April 1936.

136 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higini Anglès, 12 May 1947 (E-Bbc).

137 'Professor Higini Anglès ... er ikke blot den betydeligste Musikvidenskabsmand indenfor sin Nation, men er i det hele taget en af de faa nulevende, ja maaske den eneste, der staar Maal med forrige Generations store Personligheder indenfor Musikvidenskab. ... Hans videnskabelige Produktion er, endskønt den udelukkende udfolder sig indefor spansk Musik, af et næsten kæmpemæssigt Omfang. ... Kvaliteten af Prof. Anglès' Værker svarer ganske til deres næsten usandsynlige Tal og Omfang'; Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, K.D.V.S. Prot. Nr. 1243-1946. Jeppesen's recommendation is dated 4 February 1946.

In 1943, Jeppesen himself had been the first musicologist admitted to the Society; he now took the opportunity to have Anglès elected as the first foreign musicologist, on April 12, 1946.<sup>138</sup>

As with Dent, Bessler, and Anglès, Jeppesen continued to play a leading role in the IGMw in the years following the Congress in Barcelona. The Society's next Congress, with Jeppesen as the main organizer, was scheduled to be held in Copenhagen in September 1939 but was not realized because of the outbreak of war.<sup>139</sup> More than ten years would elapse before, following a meeting in Basel in May 1948, the Society could once again reconvene. At the fourth IGMw Congress in 1949,<sup>140</sup> Jeppesen was elected President for the period 1949–1952. He formally resigned from the Directorium in 1964 (after thirty-seven years of service), but retained an advisory function in the Society until his death in 1974. Jeppesen thus left his mark not only through his groundbreaking dissertation,<sup>141</sup> his counterpoint textbook,<sup>142</sup> and his other scholarly works, but also as a personality highly engaged in the activities of the IGMw, and not least in the editorship of *Acta Musicologica*. Overall, this last may have constituted the single largest and most enduring task in his life.

Although Jeppesen by all appearances was not particularly interested in adorning himself with medals and decorations, it is worth noting in parenthesis that, unlike several other major figures such as Merian, Dent, and Anglès, Jeppesen himself was *not* appointed an honorary member of the IGMw. However, there has never been any doubt about the significance of Jeppesen's endeavours, and he is repeatedly highlighted as one of the individuals who, with unwavering dedication, made a difference in the history of the IGMw and its journal, *Acta musicologica*. This was emphasized once again in 1987 when the editor of the journal at the time, Lorenzo Bianconi, announced (yet) another new strategy and thus changes in *Acta*, including a rule limiting the editor's term to a maximum of five years:

138 Letter from Knud Jeppesen to Higinì Anglès, 15 July 1946 (E-Bbc), in which Jeppesen adds that he is pleased with 'diese Akt der Gerechtigkeit'.

139 Cf. Thomas Holme, 'Glimt af nordisk musikvidenskab i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede', 62–63.

140 The Congress was held in Basel on 29 June to 3 July 1949. Cf. Manfred Bukofzer, 'The Fourth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Basel, June 29–July 3, 1949', *Acta musicologica*, 21 (1949), 1–7. Regarding the Congress report (including citations of the contributions), cf. Cowdery et al., *Speaking of Music*, no. 289.

141 Knud Jeppesen, *Palestrinastil med særligt Henblik paa Dissonansbehandlingen* (Copenhagen, 1923) [B1923], translated into *Der Palestrinastil und die Dissonanz* (Leipzig, 1925) [B1925-a], and *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance* (Copenhagen, 1927, rev. 1946) [B1927-a].

142 Knud Jeppesen, *Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni)* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, s.a. [1930]) [B1930-a], translated into *Kontrapunkt. Lehrbuch der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (cf. footnote 121), *Counterpoint. The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1939) [B1939-a], and subsequently into Japanese, Romanian, Finnish, Hungarian, Slovenian, Chinese, and Greek, cf. Holme Hansen, *Knud Jeppesen Katalog*, 28.

Until now, the continuing health and prosperity of *Acta Musicologica* has derived, above all, from the enthusiasm and dedication of a relatively limited number of outstanding scholars who, like Knud Jeppesen (1931–54) and Hellmut Federhofer (1961–86), have offered literally decades of professional skill and devotion to the scientific and editorial success of the journal.<sup>143</sup>

That is, as Jeppesen expressed it fifty years earlier in Barcelona: ... worked ... and accomplished a lot.

<sup>143</sup> Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Editoriale – Editorial', *Acta musicologica*, 59/1 (1987), 4.

## Abstract

The article explores the pivotal role played by Danish musicologist Knud Jeppesen (1892–1974) as editor of the renowned international journal *Acta musicologica* during the 1930s and 1940s. It emphasizes Jeppesen's involvement in the 1936 Congress of the *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* in Barcelona, which took place during a period of escalating political tensions in Europe, marked by pronounced hostility between German musicologists aligned with the Nazi regime and their international counterparts. At the congress, a decision was made to transfer the journal's publisher from the prestigious Leipzig firm Breitkopf & Härtel to the smaller Danish publisher Levin & Munksgaard in Copenhagen – a move that represented a significant victory for those resisting German dominance in musicological circles. Pamela Potter argues that the subsequent German boycott of *Acta musicologica* posed considerable challenges for the journal, leading her to characterize Jeppesen as the 'tragic figure' in this context. Drawing on Jeppesen's personal correspondence with musicologists from both hostile camps, the article examines the sequence of events and the consequences of the German boycott, concluding that – although the boycott likely influenced submissions – the full extent and duration of its impact remain uncertain. Despite personal difficulties, including strained relationships with Breitkopf & Härtel, Jeppesen's editorship ensured that the journal not only survived – even amidst the disruptions of World War II – but also continued to serve as an important platform for global musicological research.

### *The author:*

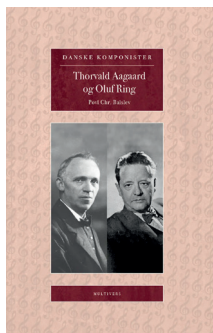
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## Reviews







Povl Chr. Balslev

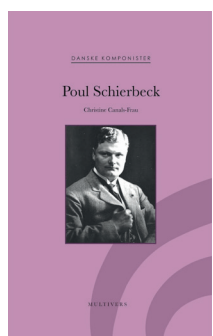
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Forlaget Multivers og redaktør Jens Cornelius er kommet op på 22 udgivelser i serien Danske komponister. I god tid inden 100 års-jubilæet for højskolemelodibogen udkom som bd. 11 i 2021 Povl Chr. Balslevs bog om Thorvald Aagaard (1877-1937) og Oluf Ring (1884-1946), og dette år kom som bd. 20 en bog om Poul Schierbeck (1888-1849) af Christine Canals-Frau. Altså to biografier om komponister der var elever af Carl Nielsen og Thomas Laub og som har haft afgørende betydning for dansk sangtradition. Begge udgivelser holder seriens format: en ca. 150 sider bredt formidlet og biografisk funderet introduktion til mindre kendte danske komponister som i flere tilfælde er skrevet af mindre kendte danske musikforskere. På alle måder et sympatisk inkluderende tiltag i forhold til såvel emner og skribenter som målgruppe, men også en fagligt noget usikker satsning, al den stund læseren ikke, som man fx kan i Aarhus Universitetsforlags serier af små og letskrevne bøger af veletablerede eksperter, *Tænkepauser* og *100 danmarkshistorier*, kan vurdere arbejdet bag den brede formidling.

Balslev og Canals-Frau forekommer dog med deres særlige forhold til de tre komponister at være oplagte forfattervalg: Balslev som organist, komponist og foredragsholder fra Svendborg og dermed en slags arvtager til Aagaard og Ring, og Canals-Frau som redaktør for udgivelsen af hidtil uudgivne Schierbeck-værker på Edition-S. Det er der

kommet to meget forskellige bøger ud af. Hvor Balslevs bog er bygget op om de to komponisters liv med udblik til værket – med kapitler som “Højskoleophold i Askov” hhv. “Seminarieelev i Jelling” og “De sidste år” – forholder det sig omvendt med Canals-Fraus bog – med kapitler som “Tidlige kompositioner” og “Sangcyklus, symfoni og første kantater”. Fælles er deres bidrag til at løfte disse komponister ud af især Carl Niensens skygge. Begge bøger er skrevet med let hånd; de har kun 96 hhv. 118 fodnoter og ingen nodeeksempler, men er nydeligt illustrerede med bl.a. Rings og Schierbecks egen streg. De er begge forsynede med værkoversiger, Canals-Fraus bog desuden med diskografi og oversigt over arkivmateriale.

### *Thorvald Aagaard og Oluf Ring*

Det kan ikke nok understreges hvor tiltrængt bogen om Aagaard og Ring er. Niensens og Laubs rolle som højskolesangens chefideologer er ubestridelig, men de to elevs og medarbejders rolle er hidtil ikke tilstrækkeligt belyst. Aagaard og Ring efterlod sig ikke samme monumentale arv som deres lærere, men de skrev dog, ifølge Balslevs oversigt, hhv. 196 og 235 sange. Ikke mindst redigerede de sammen med Nielsen og Laub den første *Folkehøjskolens Melodibog* (1922), som ved siden af salmebogen er det nærmeste vi i Danmark kommer et trykt musikalsk massemedie. På tærsklen til det moderne satte Aagaard og Ring dermed et markant aftryk på dansk musikliv, dér hvor det når ud til flest mennesker. Ydermere var de gennem deres praktiske virke direkte involverede i den fornyelsesproces af fællessangen som udgaven blev startskuddet til. De nøjedes altså ikke med at komponere og udgive melodier efter en vis æstetik, men gjorde også en stor indsats for udbredelsen og indsyngningen af disse melodier samt for videreudviklingen af sangfornyelsesprojektet.

Aagaard og Ring får ca. en halv bog hver og følges begge så godt som fra vugge til grav. Musikerbanen var ikke givet for nogen af dem. Aagaard kom først sent i gang, og det kun fordi hans helbred ikke tillod landmandslivet, medens Rings lange karriereovervejelser og tekniske udfordringer på celloen følges nøje. Begge blev som elever af Nielsen og Laub stærkt engagerede i kultivering af almindelige menneskers sang, og begge realiserede dette kald gennem en kombineret musikalsk og pædagogisk karriere i tilknytning til en grundtvigsk tradition, Aagaard som organist og højskolelærer i Ryslinge, Ring som kordirigent og seminarielærer i Skårup.

Især den praktiske indsats og virket som vigtige aktører i fynsk og dansk musikliv, Aagaard med amatørorkestret Fynske Musikanter og Ring med radioprogrammet “Syng med os”, skildres levende af forfatteren. Balslev lægger vægt på “det folkelige” i de to komponisters gerning, og det forekommer derfor naturligt med en tilsvarende “folkelig” fremstilling med hældning mod det anekdotiske, hvor foredragsstilen flere steder skinner igennem. Man møder de to komponisters venner og koner, man præsenteres for Rings kvikheder, og man er på fornavn med både Aagaard og Ring. Det hele krydres

med små indskudte personlige kommentarer fra forfatteren. Det er bestemt tænkeligt at denne form har et publikum blandt sanginteresserede uden større musikfaglig viden, og det er positivt at historien fortælles bredt med denne målgruppe for øje. Gennem en overskuelig kronologisk og let fordøjelig fremstilling får man indblik i hvordan to unge fynboer drog ud i verden, hvordan de dér mødte tidens største musikpersonligheder, og hvordan de siden vendte tilbage til Fyn, hvor de omsatte deres viden og ideer i musikalsk og pædagogisk praksis til glæde for den jævne befolkning. Der er ikke langt til H.C. Andersen.

Set fra et fagligt synspunkt skuffes man imidlertid. Bogen stiller ikke nye spørgsmål og bidrager ikke reelt med ny viden. Dette er måske slet ikke Multivers' hensigt, men når nu de to komponister får opmærksomhed i en separat udgivelse i en komponistserie, er det da ærgerligt at der ikke lægges større vægt på det æstetiske aftryk de satte i den reformation af dansk sangkultur som fandt sted i begyndelsen af det 20. århundrede. Bortset fra Aagaards artikel fra *Højskolebladet* fra 1908 og hans foredrag "Folkelig sang" fra 1932 er de breve der citeres fra overvejende af privat karakter, og de belyser kun overfladisk æstetiske spørgsmål. Om Rings melodi til Blichers "Sig nærmer tiden" hedder det at "det er som om komponistens valg af både tonespring og rytme understøtter selve tonen i digtet" (s. 124), hvilket jo ikke gør læseren væsentligt klogere på kompositionen. I stedet for at søge et dybere indblik i de to komponisters arbejde og dermed muligvis nuancere opfattelsen af Aagaards og Rings betydning for dansk sanghistorie, videreføres et billede af to disciple.

Ligeledes forsømmes muligheden for at udfordre den gængse fortælling om "sangens forfald" (den mundtligt traderede vise- og menighedssang) og "fornyelsen" af "den folkelige sang" (udrensningen af den mundtlige kulturs musikalske stiltræk til fordel for en kultiveret syngemåde) (s. 36). Fornyrernes egen diskurs overtages fuldstændig ukritisk. Der ikke så meget som løftes et øjenbryn over formuleringer som "[den] rensende og fornyende kraft [der skal ledes ind over menighedssangen,] hvor så meget fremmed har trængt sig ind" (s. 27) eller konceptet "ren melodi" (s. 37) fra Aagaards egen pen i 1932 (!). Heller ikke Hugo Seligmanns karakteristik af Aagaards stil fra 1934 (!): "Hans snes folkelige sange til Grundtvig er ren så karsk en genfødelse af folketonen, som tænkes kan. Her møder man det primitive. [...] Aagaards melodier er faste, rolige, mandige melodier" (s. 42-43) giver anledning til eftertanke. Tværtimod kommenteres Seligmann-uddraget i sin helhed med et "[f]lottere anmeldelse kan man vel dårligt ønske sig" (s. 43). Igen kan det formodes at forlaget og redaktøren ikke betragter det som seriens formål at problematisere musikhistorieskrivningen, hvortil man kan hævde at den let- og velfortalte komponistbiografi ikke udelukker et kritisk blik. Resultatet af den ukritiske formidling bliver at de to komponisters indsats snarere reduceres end fremhæves. Aagaard og Ring fortjener at blive taget alvorligt som komponister.

Denne indvending hænger tæt sammen med anmeldelsens sidste og mest alvorlige anke, nemlig de elementære metodiske mangler. Såvel fremstillingen selv som

kilderegistret tyder på at forfatteren, der ganske vist i forordet takker efterkommere til Aagaard og Ring for adgang til diverse kildemateriale, ikke har arbejdet grundigt med primærkilder, men i stedet støtter sig til tidligere forskning. Dette er i og for sig ikke noget problem, men det er et problem at det ikke sker med fornøden transparens. Brugen af referencer og fodnoter er ikke konsekvent, og i kapitlet "Hjem til Fyn" i Aagaard-delen (s. 32-39) er forfatteren så inspireret af Karl Clausens *Dansk Folkesang gennem 150 år* (1958-udgaven s. 232-237) at han helt glemmer at være på fornavn med Aagaard. Han glemmer desværre også at henvise til Clausen, og når man efterfølgende støder på "Aagaard" i stedet for "Thorvald", kan man ikke lade være med at spekulere på hvilken kilde der mon ligger bag. Kirsten Sass Bak citeres på s. 20, men det anføres ikke at bogen der citeres fra, *Musik og danskhed*, er en antologi der er redigeret af Jens Henrik Koudal, og den er ikke at finde i litteraturlisten. Man må desuden undre sig over at Kirsten Sass Baks vigtige arbejde om dansk sanghistorie ikke er inddraget i øvrigt.

Det er glædeligt at vi med Povl Chr. Balslevs bog om Aagaard og Ring overhovedet har fået en monografi om de to komponister, hvilket i sig selv markerer den væsentlige rolle disse spillede i en af nyere dansk musikhistories vigtigste begivenheder, og det er inspirerende at se hvordan deres kompositoriske indsats for højskolesangen var tæt sammenflettet med deres pædagogiske og øvrige formidlende arbejde. Til studiebrug er bogen desværre ikke egnet.

### *Poul Schierbeck*

Schierbeck kan ikke som Aagaard og Ring betragtes som en skjult musikalsk aktør. Hans to kendteste bidrag til den folkelige vokale kulturarv, melodierne til "I Danmark er jeg født" og "Det er i dag et vejr", hører – selv hvis man skulle tro at de er skrevet af Isam B og Kim Larsen – til de mest sungne fra sangskatten. Schierbeck er kun få år yngre end de to fornyer-komponister, men tilhører dog en anden generation og en anden kategori af danske komponister. Han var noget ældre end, men virkede samtidig med komponister som Finn Høffding og Jørgen Bentzon, og han var lærer for bl.a. Leif Kayser og Svend S. Schulz. Canals-Frau anvender ikke selv udtrykket, men det kan ikke være helt forkert at betegne Schierbeck som en overgangsfigur der på én gang var tro mod sine lærere, og nyskabende. Han blev dermed en vejviser, måske til og med en slags "befrier", der kom med nye impulser fra især fransk musik. Denne biografi, der grundigt introducerer en række kendte og ikke mindst ukendte værker, er derfor også særdeles velkommen.

Man kan ikke skrive en biografi om Poul Schierbeck uden at beskrive hans forhold til Nielsen og Laub, men det lykkes faktisk forfatteren at tegne et portræt af en kunstner i sin egen ret. Arven fra især Carl Nielsen går som en rød tråd gennem biografien, bl.a. fordi Nielsen var det oplagte sammenligningsgrundlag for samtidens kolleger og anmeldere. Canals-Frau selv viser afhængigheden af læremesteren i de tidlige værker, men kan allerede på s. 33 konstatere at Schierbeck med *Den kinesiske fløjte* "var sluppet

ud af Carl Niensens indflydelse.” Bogen skal roses for at være en komponist-biografi og ikke en elev-biografi.

Forfatteren redegør i forordet for den yderst begrænsede tidligere forskning, men inddrager også på stringent vis anden litteratur om samtidens musikliv og øvrige komponister, hvilket bidrager til et fyldigt portræt af komponisten. Visse æstetiske diskussioner i tiden, fx om forståelsen af “det moderne”, kan ikke foldes fuldt ud i det begrænsede format, så man kan håbe at Canals-Frau i mere dybdegående studier vil videreudvikle spørgsmålet om Schierbecks rolle i disse.

Der er en interessant spænding i det forhold at Schierbeck både i sin samtid og af Canals-Frau særligt roses for sine enestående evner som idérig og klangmalende orkestrator, medens det først og fremmest er hans sange og øvrige vokalmusik der er blevet stående. Denne spænding kan givetvis tilskrives Schierbecks selverklærede præference for det dramatiske. Selv store dele af vokalmusikken er dog gået i glemmebogen. Hvor “Den kinesiske fløjte” hører til den danske kanon af sopran-litteratur, og operaen *Fête galante* spilles af Den Jyske Opera i foråret 2025, skal man lede længe efter indspilninger, for ikke at tale om opførelser af Schierbecks mange kantater og øvrige vokalværker.

Canals-Fraus bog er kronologisk biografisk opbygget med indlagte ekskursor til samtidens musikliv. I forordet erklæres at biografien “lægger vægt på at give Schierbecks musikalske oeuvre en udførlig behandling” (s. 7), hvilket til fulde indfries. Forfatterens analyser og værkparafraaser hører til bogens store styrker. De er forbilledlige eksempler på hvor præcist man kan beskrive avanceret kunstmusik uden brug af et specialiseret fagsprog. Over otte sider genfortælles *Fête galante* som musikdramatisk forløb så levende, at man får lyst til at høre operaen. Det samme kan siges om de fleste af de værker der analyseres i biografien: *Chant de Viking* (Grundtvigs *Bjarkemål* i fransk gendigtning), *Radio-rapsodi*, *Fyrtøjet* og *Hverdagskantate* (med tekst af Alex Garff), for nu at nævne nogle. Slutningen af analysen af *Fyrtøjet* kan tjene som eksempel:

Pludselig er der kun det kraftige slagtøj: Før soldaten skal få strikken om halsen tænder han fyrtøjet tre gange, og ... puf! Så står alle de tre hunde der, og de sørger for at komme af med kongeparret, dommeren og rådet. Trompeterne spiller en fanfare: Soldaten får sin frihed, prinsessen og kongeriget, og det fejres med en festlig “hofdans”-melodi. Værket sluttet på humoristisk vis med en lille nedadgående meget dyb linje i tuba, så en kort, kraftig dur-akkord i hele orkestret med et glissando nedad i solobasunen og et højt kokos-slag [på et slagtojsinstrument opfundet af Schierbeck] på den sidste tone. (s. 104).

Elegant indflettet i den grundige gennemgang af Schierbecks værker står korte og præcise passager om Schierbecks franske forbindelser, hans position i dansk musikliv, hans virke som lærer, bl.a. i instrumentation på konservatoriet, og hans mangeårige organistvirke i Skovshoved Kirke. Samarbejdet med hustruen, sopranen Sylvia Schierbeck (f. Larsen),

beskrives ikke i et selvstændigt kapitel, men inddrages løbende. Schierbecks filmmusik til bl.a. to af dansk films hovedværker, Carl Th. Dreyers *Vredens dag* og *Ordet*, får sit eget lille kapitel som bidrager til portrættet af en komponist der stod stærkt i en tradition, men som ikke gik af vejen for moderne kunstneriske muligheder og dermed bar dansk kunstmusiks fakkel videre.

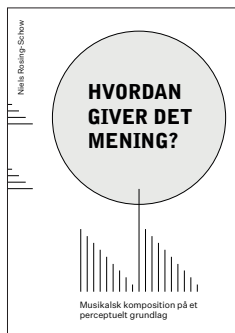
### *Komponistbiografiernes videre liv*

Multivers' komponistserie er et beundringsværdigt projekt som forhåbentlig vil blive ved med at introducere sit publikum til danske komponister i dansk musikliv, og som forhåbentlig vil blive ved med at udvikle seriens faglighed. Serien må forventes at nå bredt ud til den musikinteresserede befolkning samt give nye impulser til musikforskere, udøvere – amatører som professionelle – og producenter. Balslevs bog om Aagaard og Ring viser at der er behov for mere forskning. Overtog de to elever blindt Nielsen og Laubs program, eller udviklede de deres egen stil? I hvilket omfang var denne stil påvirket af tidens ideologier, også dem uden for Danmark, og hvilke konsekvenser havde stilen for dansk sangkultur, i bred forstand? Andre spørgsmål kan også stilles. Canals-Fraus bog bør lokke publikum til opførelsen af Schierbecks opera og give producenter og arrangører lyst til at genopdage Schierbecks musik i koncertsalene. Og så kan man jo håbe at Canals-Frau selv får mulighed for at arbejde videre med Schierbecks musik, ikke kun som forlægger, men også som formidler af den forskning der ligger bag udgivelserne.

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Niels Rosing-Schow

*Hvordan giver det mening? Musikalsk komposition på et perceptuelt grundlag*

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Komponisten, tidligere professor og rektor ved Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium, Niels Rosing-Schow har med sin nye bog *Hvordan giver det mening? Musikalsk komposition på et perceptuelt grundlag*, leveret noget så sjældent som en komponistpoetik: en kritisk reflekterende udfoldelse af sine tanker om ny musik, om hvordan han komponerer den og om, hvordan den kan give mening. Bogen udgør en kritisk reflekterende del af et praktisk/teoretisk projekt, hvor den praktiske del bestod i komposition, fremførelse og indspilning af værket *Unspoken – unheard*.

Rosing-Schow fortæller, at det “igennem årene har været mig stadig mere magtpåliggende at nå en forståelse af, hvordan grundlaget for meningsdannelse kan bringes i spil i forbindelse med komponistens skabende arbejde på en ikke blot intuitiv, men også mere bevidst måde” (s. 26). Og det er da heller ikke første gang, Rosing-Schow berører emnet. Rosing-Schows beskæftigelse med dette felt kan dokumenteres helt tilbage til årgang 2005-2006 af det nu hedengangne tidsskrift *DMT*, hvori han under titlen “En ny Ny musik?” plæderede for at det, at inddrage indsigter, “som de cognitive videnskaber har bragt for dagen i de senere år” måtte være en “betingelse for at skabe en musiktænkning og et musikteoretisk fundament” for komposition af relevant musik, forstået som *meningsfuld* musik.<sup>1</sup> Det er med andre ord omkring tyve års arbejde, der i denne bog er samlet i koncentreret form. Og resultatet er indsigtfuldt, inspirerende og informativt.

Bogen er disponeret således, at den forløber i fire spor: en kort opridset musikhistorie, musik- og kognitionsteoretiske indfaldsvinkler, refleksioner over egen praksis, samt analyse af egne værker. Disse fire dele er som i en musikalsk ritornelform vævet ind i hinanden, med analysenedslagene som en art ritorneller, der gennemkrydser bogen i stadig mere udvidet form, indtil sidste ritornel som i en slags musikalsk syntese samler analyse, teori og refleksion til en helhed.

Hovedspørgsmålet er, som titlen siger det, hvorledes musik giver mening; ikke formuleret som spørgsmålet om *hvilken* mening, men om *hvordan* mening overhovedet kan

<sup>1</sup> Niels Rosing-Schow, ‘En ny Ny musik?’, *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 80/4 (2005-2006), 132-143, s. 142.

lade sig uddrage af musik. Dette undersøges igennem en stribe forskellige videnskabelige kilder og teoretiske tilgange rækkende fra teorien om kropsfunderet erkendelse (*embodied cognition*) over spektralteori og semiotik. Alt sammen samles til et bud på, hvorledes man komponerer en musik, der imødekommer de præsenterede forklaringer på betydningsdannelse.

Som grundlæggende præmis ligger, at mening skal være en akustisk opfattet mening. Man skal kunne *høre* det meningsgivende. At dette i dag ikke er indlysende, er det historiesporets primære opgave at belyse. Rosing-Schow argumenterer igennem bl.a. Lerdahl og Jackendoffs berømte *generative theory of tonal music* for, at der er en kvalitativ forskel på at forstå tonal og ikke-tonal musik. Relationen mellem de tilgrundliggende strukturer og det klingende resultat er i den ikke-tonale musik langt fra altid åbenlys – jf. eksempelvis forskellen i den serielle musiks strukturelt åbenlyse logik og ofte klangligt svært differentierbare resultat. Musikkens strukturelle sammenhæng lader sig ikke fange i en auditiv tolkning, en *perceptiv semiose*.

Det er samme type kritik, der i tresserne fik komponister som Henning Christiansen, Pelle Gudmundsen-Holmgreen, Per Nørgård, Ib Nørholm med flere til at vende sig *bort* fra serialismen, eller til – som Nørgård – at *omskabe* den til hørbare strukturer. I den forstand er Rosing-Schows poetik et hidtil sidste led i traditionen fra dansk ny enkelhed. Hvad ingen af netop nævnte komponister imidlertid teoretiserede over, tager Rosing-Schow op: Hvordan *er* det da, at musik giver mening?

Bogens historiespor har til formål at forklare, hvorfor dette pludselig – efter århundreders spontan musiknydelse – er blevet et presserende spørgsmål. I svaret på dette tager Rosing-Schow udgangspunkt i *økologisk perception*, i den godt tyve år gamle nye erkendelse, at alt hvad vi ved, ved vi igennem kroppen. Hvad hjernen gør, er blot at facilitere denne erkendelse. Rosing-Schow holder fast i de engelske termer og præsenterer tanken som *embodied cognition*.

Alle lyde efterlader et spor i kroppen, som spontant aktiverer den særlige kropsligt funderede *betydning*, der knytter sig til dem. Den 'mening', vi får ud af det, høresansen fortæller os, er fra et sådant synspunkt betinget af tre afgørende processer: erindring, opmærksomhed og mønstergenkendelse. Af disse gælder for punkt to og tre følgende: *Hvad* vi hører, afhænger dels af hvilken grad af opmærksomhed, vi lytter med, dels af *hvilke kognitive mønstre*, vi kan applicere på vores lytning. Lyd giver kun mening, hvis vi kan relatere den til noget, hvis vi har et kognitivt skema, der kan appliceres på oplevelsen. Visse lyde er alment kendte og relaterer umiddelbart til sådanne skemaer: lyden af metal mod metal, lyden af vand, der løber, lyden af vindens susen. For kendte lyde gælder det, at man udover lyden også opfanger den handling eller bevægelse, der frembringer lyden. Med dette som en central betingelse for menneskelig lydopfattelse vil sammenkoblingen af lyd og bevægelse – lyder de refererede argumenter – også gøre sig gældende ved musiklytning. Dels i forbindelse med instrumenters lydfrembringelse – violinens buestrøg, slagøjets anslag, trompetens blæs – dels ved musikalske bevægelser, som bl.a.



faldende/stigende bevægelser; tiltagende/aftagende lydstyrke (=nærme sig/fjerne sig). Lyd signalerer hermed en *gestus*. En bevægelse, som billede af lyden. Med teoretikeren Rolf Inge Godøy som reference konkluderer Rosing-Schow, at også den lyd, hvis oprindelse, vi ikke nødvendigvis kender, opleves som en *gestus* – en repræsentation af noget i sidste ende bevæget.

Hvad er så 'lyd' i musik? Det er det udsnit af et hvilket som helst forløb, der kan isoleres meningsdannende. I traditionel – måske tonal – musik kunne man tale om et motiv eller tema. I en moderne musik, som måske ikke engang spilles af instrumenter, kan det med et begreb fra *musique concrètes* hovedfigur, Pierre Schaeffer, udtrykkes som et lydobjekt, et 'objekt sonore'. Fastholder vi sammenkoblingen af musik og bevægelse, altså *gestus*, må lydobjektet også kunne *bevæges*. Man må – med Philippe Leroux – tale om 'action sonore', lydbevægelse. Sådanne bevægelser kan antage mange former, og til beskrivelse heraf inddrages Denis Smalleys bud på *spektromorfologiske* analysemodeller, udviklet til akusmatisk musik men i høj grad også anvendelige på megen ny akustisk musik.

Alle disse elementer sammentænker Rosing-Schow i en model, der indbefatter lytter såvel som materiale: Fra lytterside er der forskellige kognitive skemaer og forskellige grader af lytning, der kan aktiveres. På materialesiden er der et spænd fra hverdagens lyde over akusmatisk frembragte lyde til musik frembragt på akustiske instrumenter. En pointe i denne model er, at de kognitive skemaer, lytteren applicerer, afgør lydoplevelsen. Man kan lytte ud fra de skemaer, den kropsfunderede erkendelse har indlejret ('embodied cognition' – lytten i rene 'gestus'), eller ud fra de skemaer, en dannet musiklytter anvender (philharmonisk lytning – de musikalske bevægelser sidestilles, måske ubevidst, med 'gestus'), eller man kan høre lydene som rene afbildninger af hverdagen (bilmotor, regnskyl, telefonkimen) i en auditiv genkendelse. Rosing-Schow beskriver, hvordan applikationen af sidstnævnte lyttemodus på en Brahms-sonate vil "aktivere oplevelsen af cellistens sidebevægelse med buearmen og pianistens slag på tangenterne som ikke-musikalske aktioner, hvor fornemmelsen af friktion og berøringer sætter sig i kroppen" (s. 78). Han fortsætter: "Det hører dog med til billedet, at *embodied cognition* som lyttemodus samtidig er ubevidst i funktion og giver supplerende dybde til den *philharmoniske lytning*, for buens sidebevægelse spejler frasering og dynamik (musikalsk/kropslig spænding), klaverets bløde akkordiske efterslag [...] spejler en kropslig pulsfølelse osv." (ibid.).

De sidste teoretiske begreber, der inkluderes, stammer fra semiotikken. Rosing-Schow opridser Charles S. Peirces tegnteori samt Jean Molinos tredeling af musikken (som overtages og forfines af Jean-Jacques Nattiez). Tredelingen består af 1) poïesis: skabelsen, komponistens perspektiv, 2) neutral: værket selv og 3) æsthesis (Rosing-Schow vælger at kalde det 'æstetik'): værkets indvirkning på lytteren.

Som man kan se, kommer vi vidt omkring. Og netop denne indføring i en række nyere teorier er én af bogens helt store forcer. Den giver en (pånær den konsekvent engelske terminologi) dansksproget indføring i en bred vifte af nyere musiktilgange, der alle er værd at udforske yderligere.

Indskudt i dette finder vi Rosing-Schows analyser af egne værker. De gives med en sjælden set åben fremlæggelse af skitser lige fra de igangsættende tanker, over problemer, der opstod undervejs frem til slutresultatet. Og de viser Rosing-Schows egen tiltagende opmærksomhed på den perceptiv semioses grundvilkår. Hans undersøgelser får ham til at mene, at en nutidig musikskaben på den ene side ikke kan “støtte sig til komponistens intuition. I lyset af nye erkendelser om perception af musik og kroppens rolle for kognition stilles nye krav” (s. 87); samtidig med, at intuition er “en uundværlig kilde for kompositionsarbejdet. En guideline for kunstneriske beslutninger” (ibid.).

Rosing-Schows løsning på dette er at udarbejde kataloger af perceptivt forståelige grundmodeller, gestus, som de hedder, og i selve kompositionsprocessen udarbejde forløbet i konstant lyttende dialog med materialet. Hermed er komponisten selv lytter til sit værk. Han pendler i sit arbejde mellem rollen som skaber og som lytter, mellem *poiesis* og *aesthesis*. Med denne pendlen in mente stiller Rosing-Schow spørgsmålstegn ved Nattiez-modellens fremhævelse af ‘neutral’ som et lag adskilt fra *poiesis* og *aesthesis*. Neutral, erkender Rosing-Schow, er snarere et *overgangsrum* – eller som han selv lidt mere engelsk-fancy skriver, *transitional space* – mellem *poiesis* og *aesthesis*. Værket ligger tæt knyttet til begge sider. Og det lader sig kun realisere via mellemkvinder (m/k), hvis realisation i sig selv er et arbejde og en tolkning. Kompositionsarbejdet bliver i sin skabelse af stof til perceptiv semiose i sig selv en *prospektiv* semiose. Det bliver en “pointe, at komponisten som lytter gennem sin indre lytning integrerer den receptive semiose i sin arbejdsproces for hermed at kunne kvalificere den prospektive semiose, som her ses som den dobbelte rolle: skaber/modtager” (s. 112). Som han skriver: “Jeg er i dialog med ‘the implied listener’. Men vel at mærke en nærværende ‘implicit’ lytter, der er velinformeret om lytningens anatomi” (s. 113).

Med sidste linje er jeg nået til min eneste anke imod fremstillingen. Den strategi, som Rosing-Schow vælger, fremstilles som den eneste gangbare. Det er kun den *perceptivt velinformede* komponist, der kan komponere forståelig musik, kun hans/hendes intuition kan tillades anvendt. Og andetsteds viser det sig, at den musik, der skal skrives, kun – hvis den skal kvalificere som ny – kan være en musik, der “inddrager egen tradition og historie, den samfundsmæssige kontekst, kunstens (musikkens) produktionsformer, hierarkier, magtstrukturer osv. som temaer – og som kompositorisk materiale” (s. 161). For i “forhold til interessen for materialets flux på mikro- eller makro-planet og dets energitilstande i lydhavets kontinuum er fortidens nodebaserede motivarbejde og/eller tænkning ud fra rytmiske celler uinteressant – som at udarbejde noget ud fra en inkonsistent måleenhed” (s. 100). – Tag den Per, Poul, Hans og Bent!

I 2006 havde jeg en tilsvarende reservation overfor Rosing-Schows ærinde. Jeg skrev en kritisk respons til hans indlæg, hvori jeg argumenterede imod tanken om kun én korrekt tilgang til komposition og musikalsk kvalitet.<sup>2</sup> Rosing-Schow skrev et svar, der bl.a. gjorde opmærksom på, at det fremlagte argument var tænkt som et *eksempel* på en

<sup>2</sup> Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen, ‘Strategi og komposition’, *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 80/6 (2005-2006), 239-244.

ny tilgang.<sup>3</sup> Skønt den her foreliggende bredt udarbejdede version af argumentationen fra 2006 konsoliderer det absolutistiske i formuleringerne, fortæller hele anlægget samtidigt, at dette ikke skal læses som et belærende manifest, men som en fremlæggelse af Rosing-Schows personlige holdning, hans personlige overbevisning.

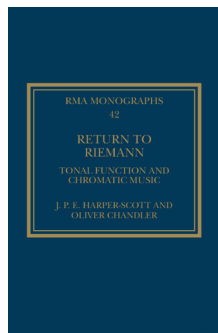
Og som sådan er bogen en stærkt anbefalelsesværdig gave til os alle.

*Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen*

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3 Niels Rosing-Schow, 'ny eller Ny – igen (Igen?)', *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 81/1 (2006-2007), 38.



J.P.E. Harper-Scott and Oliver Chandler

*Return to Riemann: Tonal Function and Chromatic Music*

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A succinct book spanning just 90 pages, *Return to Riemann: Tonal Function and Chromatic Music* by J.P.E. Harper-Scott and Oliver Chandler leaves more food for thought than most of the, usually much longer, music-analytical books I have read. The book is an engaging tour-de-force of the most complex constellations of chromatic music written in a concise, at times rather compact, style. The book's main attraction is a genuinely new and very promising model for the harmonic analysis of late-tonal music.

The authors provide a new answer to a long-standing question of music analysis: How does one analyze late-tonal music – music that often generates a ‘strong double sense that it is tonal, and that it is complex or even weird in its treatment of tonality’ (p. 33)? Since around the turn of the millennium, the diverse approaches collected under the umbrella term *neo-Riemannian theory* (henceforth NRT) seem to have provided the most satisfying answers. It is these answers, however, that the authors grapple with. The ‘return’ to Riemann announced in the title signifies a renewed engagement with aspects of Hugo Riemann’s function theory that NRT approaches threw out with the bathwater in their focus on a transformational, chord-to-chord, and relativistic tonal space.

For Danish and many other European readers, however, this is only partly a ‘return’: After all, Riemann’s function theory has been extremely influential *outside* Anglo-American academia for much of the twentieth century. As such, some of Harper-Scott’s and Chandler’s ideas echo earlier ‘post-Riemannian’ theories. The notion that there is a direct and unmediated relationship between a primary function and its transformations – including multi-step transformations of both major and minor versions of the primary function – resonates with Wilhelm Maler’s *Beitrag zur Harmonielehre*.<sup>1</sup> Harper-Scott’s and Chandler’s approach bears an especially striking resemblance to Jan Maegaard’s distinctive style of function analysis – what I have previously termed *processual function*

<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm Maler, *Beitrag zur Harmonielehre* (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, 1931).

analysis.<sup>2</sup> For Harper-Scott and Chandler, as for Maegaard, the central premise is that chords may retain their reference to a governing function (T, S or D), even after several transformations resulting in contorted function symbols such as Tpvpv. For the sake of transparency, I should underline that this is an idea I have also traced in my own research. I might be more inclined than other readers to accept this premise, then – and in my view, *Return to Riemann* convincingly demonstrates its potential to enrich our understanding of late-tonal music.

However, the similarities between twentieth-century post-Riemannian theories and Harper-Scott's and Chandler's new book end here: The authors do return to Riemann's original dualist functional nomenclature, but from here, they develop a truly innovative approach. Their concept of 'lunar tonality' and their model of 'octatonic sub-moons' amount to some of the most intriguing expansions of function theory and NRT I have seen (I said as much already in 2019, when Harper-Scott presented his ideas at *Soton-MAC*; my report from that conference can be read in volume 43 of this journal). The fact that they manage to combine these new analytical tools with Schenkerian ideas in the book's last chapter is even more impressive.

The book consists of an introduction and five chapters. The introduction presents the premise of the book: The authors object to the tendency of NRT to analyze passages in a chord-to-chord perspective with no reference to tonality. Importantly, their reason for objecting to this is not just theoretical or analytical, but cultural. Harper-Scott and Chandler argue that tonality is an *ideology*: 'Were a single passage of a piece to undermine the logic of tonality, then tonality, which is an ideology of *totality*, in which the central idea explains everything, could not be operational in that piece at all; it would be reduced to a surface-level "topic"' (p. 2). Even if some 'tonal' music cannot be reduced to a Schenkerian *Ursatz* or another straightforward emblem of tonality, tonality remained 'the horizon of musical meaning' (p. 2) in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Western music. Hugo Riemann's function theory, they argue, provides a suitable analytical framework to capture how harmony from this period twists, turns, struggles with, but is ultimately still confined to tonality.

Chapter 1 reviews the aspects of Riemann's theory that the authors find to be overlooked. The three functional modifications, *Variante*, *Parallele*, and *Leittonwechsel*, are introduced. Rather than using the NRT symbols P, R, and L (for parallel, relative, and leading-tone change), they return to Riemann's symbols for these modifications: v, p, and

2 Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen, 'Transformational Attitudes in Scandinavian Function Theories', *Theory and Practice*, 43 (2018), 77–110; for examples of Maegaard's approach to function analysis, see: Teresa Waskowska Larsen and Jan Maegaard, *Indføring i romantisk harmonik* (Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1981); Jan Maegaard, *Indføring i romantisk harmonik, 2: Analyser* (Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1986); Jan Maegaard, 'Harmonisk analyse af det 19. århundredes musik: En teoretisk overvejelse', *Musik & Forskning*, 15 (1989–90), 79–110; Jan Maegaard, 'Zur harmonischen Analyse der Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Musikkulturgeschichte: Festschrift für Constantin Floros zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Petersen (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1990), 61–86.

< or > (depending on the direction of the semitonal movement in the *Leittonwechsel* transformation). The chapter also proposes two new ‘constraints’ that enrich Riemann’s function theory, both drawing on Kenneth Smith’s 2020 book *Desire in Chromatic Harmony*.<sup>3</sup> In constraint no. 1, minor-third related chords *prolong* the same function because they do not contain each other’s leading tones and because they belong to the same octatonic scale. As the authors write: ‘There are three octatonic scales and there are three tonal functions; they map onto one another isomorphically’ (p. 14). In constraint no. 2, they propose that hexatonic progressions, i.e. major-third related chords, *rotate* function because they belong to different octatonic scales. They also add an aspect of hierarchy into the model, distinguishing between harmonic chords and contrapuntal chords, underlining that ‘there are some voice-leading contexts in which hexatonic-style progressions might function prolongationally too’ (p. 17).

In chapter 2, the authors turn to the primary analytical example of the book, Wally Traute’s *Plaint* from Richard Wagner’s *Götterdämmerung*, Act I, Scene 3. It is in this chapter that they introduce their model of ‘lunar tonality’. This model imposes harmonic function on Richard Cohn’s well-known model of four hexatonic cycles.<sup>4</sup> The northern hexatonic cycle is re-interpreted as a *tonic* ‘moon’; the eastern moon is *dominant*, the western is *subdominant*, and the southern moon has a mixed Sp/DD function. On each moon, the simplest form of a function is turning inwards toward the center, and functions become more and more transformed as one moves around a moon to its ‘dark side’. The tonic moon, for example, can be illustrated in the context of a C tonality. At the center are °C (°T) and C<sup>+</sup> (T<sup>+</sup>), with ° indicating a minor chord and + indicating a major chord, following the authors’ Riemann-inspired notation. Moving anticlockwise from T<sup>+</sup>, the tonic moon traces a cycle through the chords C<sup>+</sup>, °E, E<sup>+</sup>, °A<sup>b</sup>, A<sup>b+</sup>, °C, and back to C<sup>+</sup>, with each transformation involving a single semitonal shift (e.g. moving from C<sup>+</sup> to °E involves changing *c* to *b* while the other chord tones, *e* and *g*, remain unchanged). The authors assign functional labels to these chords, reflecting their relationship to the overall tonic function. In the same order as the chords listed above, these labels are T<sup>+</sup>,  $\mathbb{T}$ ,  $\mathbb{T}_v$ ,  $\mathbb{T}_v$ ,  $\mathbb{T}$ , °T, and back to T<sup>+</sup>. All of these stations around the moon potentially hold other functions as well, i.e. °Dp, Sp and more.<sup>5</sup>

In chapter 3, two nineteenth-century examples further showcase the applicability of the lunar system. The transition of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in C minor, Op. 10, No. 1, first movement, and bb. 264–90 of Brahms’s Concerto for Violin and Cello, Op. 102, first

3 Kenneth Smith, *Desire in Chromatic Harmony: A Psychodynamic Exploration of Fin de Siècle Tonality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

4 Richard Cohn, ‘Maximally Smooth Cycles, Hexatonic Systems, and the Analysis of Late-Romantic Triadic Progressions’, *Music Analysis*, 15/1 (1996), 9–40; Richard Cohn, *Audacious Euphony: Chromatic Harmony and the Triad’s Second Nature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

5  $\mathbb{T}_v$  and  $\mathbb{T}_v$  also receive the alternative labels 3<sup>+</sup> and III<sup>+</sup>, respectively. Riemann proposed these mediant functions in later editions of his *Handbuch der Harmonielehre*; see David Kopp, *Chromatic Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 99–102.

movement – a *locus classicus* of NRT – are both analyzed. The latter shows how even passages that are textbook-typical of NRT’s chord-to-chord approach can be fruitfully analyzed with an eye to the tonality that anchors such passages. With a few reservations to which I will return, I find these analyses to be very convincing.

In chapter 4, the authors turn to seventh chords. Harper-Scott and Chandler draw on Jack Douthett’s 4-Cube Trio (as presented in Cohn’s *Audacious Euphony*), and develop from this a system of ‘octatonic submoons.’ There are three octatonic submoons, each related to one main function and pointing towards another; for instance, the  $T^{\text{diss}}$  submoon (a tonic submoon where added dissonances make the tonic function unstable) contains the dominant-seventh form of the tonic, making it point towards the subdominant area. It also contains dominant-seventh chords and half-diminished chords rooted a minor third away from each other; i.e.  $C^7$ ,  $A^7$ ,  $F\#^7$  and  $E_b^7$  are grouped together; as are  $C^{o7}$ ,  $A^{o7}$ ,  $F\#^{o7}$ , and  $E_b^{o7}$ , based on the 4-Cube Trio.<sup>6</sup> The submoons are connected by mixed-function diminished seventh chords. The analytical usefulness of this system is eloquently demonstrated with an analysis of another *locus classicus* of tonal theory, Chopin’s Prelude in E minor, Op. 28, No. 4, as well as another excerpt of Waltraute’s *Plaint*.

Chapter 5 aims to remedy the tendency for NRT and function analysis alike to engender an overly ‘atomic’ view of harmony. In an amalgamation of their model with Schenkerian theory and employing a new set of graphic symbols, the authors examine prolongation through means of *function* rather than through *Stufen*. Larger excerpts from *Götterdämmerung*’s Prologue and, yet again, Waltraute’s *Plaint* serve as the main analytical examples.

As this overview demonstrates, the book is very ambitious, seeking to bring together function analysis, NRT, and aspects of Schenkerian analytical practice in a large, coherent system. The result is impressively convincing and compelling. Even if it requires a leap of faith to accept composite function symbols such as  $Tpvpv$ , I find that their analyses generally succeed in communicating those intuitions, often inexplicable but definite, of T-ness, S-ness, and D-ness that is characteristic of late-tonal music. Their two new models help understand how such intuitions might arise. Imbuing Cohn’s hexatonic cycles and Douthett’s 4-Cube Trio with functional meaning makes, for me at least, immediate sense and provides an ingenious way to conceptualise function in chromatic music.

Even though I am generally quite convinced by the theory they propose, I do have a few reservations, most of them at the level of analytical details, some of them more general. These are all issues which I hope future research would pick up on and elaborate further. First, the authors seem, for my taste at least, a bit too prone to interpret chords as modifications of already established chords instead of acknowledging the local,

6 Readers not familiar with the 4-Cube Trio and other so-called parsimonious graphs might want to consult Jack Douthett and Peter Steinbach, ‘Parsimonious Graphs: A Study in Parsimony, Contextual Transformations, and Modes of Limited Transposition’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 42/2, special issue on neo-Riemannian theory (1998), 241–263; or Cohn, *Audacious Euphony*.

perhaps secondary, subdominant or dominant function they may have (what Riemann calls intermediate cadences in *Harmony Simplified*).<sup>7</sup> In their analysis of the transition in Beethoven's Piano Sonata in C minor, Op. 10, No. 1, they analyze C major (in fact, C<sup>7</sup>) in an E-flat major context as  $\mathfrak{S}_v$ ; i.e. as a double transformation of the subdominant A $\flat$ . They argue that this chord is on the 'dark side' of the subdominant moon – but to me, it would be sufficient to acknowledge that it has a secondary dominant function (pointing towards F minor, Sp), and that it is hierarchically subordinate to the already established subdominant field. In an annotated music example (p. 42), they do label it as (D<sup>7</sup>)S. Their model of octatonic submoons (introduced later in the book), would in fact support the reading that it functions as T<sup>diss</sup>, pointing towards the subdominant field, but it would not support the reading that this seventh chord is already subdominant, i.e.  $\mathfrak{S}_v$ . Expanding on voice-leading and other hierarchies would strengthen the model further.

Another and more serious problem is that the authors only vaguely explain what they mean by function. This is no small issue, seeing as Riemann's term has been interpreted in so many different ways; and when they casually use the term 'pre-dominant' (pp. 43–44), which is decidedly *not* a Riemannian term, but rather an Anglo-American Schenker-influenced term, the question of how they conceive of function becomes even more pressing.<sup>8</sup> This, combined with their willingness to interpret any chord as a representative of a function *just like that*, has the consequence that some readings are very hard to follow. What does it mean that there is a progression from T to ( $\overset{\circ}{D}p_v$ ) of  $\overset{\circ}{F}^7$  (p. 76)? In this connection (from the *Götterdämmerung* prologue, bb. 156–160 and from the tonal viewpoint of B major), the former symbol is given to a D $\flat^+$  chord, the latter to a G<sup>+</sup> chord (again, and somewhat at odds with their Chapter 4-efforts to not reduce seventh chords to triads, this is actually a G<sup>7</sup>). D $\flat^+$ , then, is interpreted as the *Leittonwechsel* of the *Parallelvariante* of the minor dominant of G<sup>+</sup>, itself the *Leittonwechsel* of the minor version of the tonic. Or, to follow the transformational process from the goal chord G<sup>+</sup> (here shown as a local T, but really being B minor's *Leittonwechsel*):

Function	T	D	$\overset{\circ}{D}$	$\overset{\circ}{D}p$	$\overset{\circ}{D}p_v$	$\overset{\circ}{D}p_v$
Chord	G <sup>+</sup>	D <sup>+</sup>	$\overset{\circ}{D}$	F <sup>+</sup>	$\overset{\circ}{F}$	D $\flat^+$

In what way does this D $\flat^+$  chord represent dominant function? Is there a connection to Riemann's Hegelian idea of thetic moments left in this symbol? Or is it dominant in some other sense? Sure, it is possible to posit the transformational connection described above, but when there *is* no such transformational process to be heard in the music, can

7 Hugo Riemann, *Harmony Simplified*, translated by Henry Bewerunge (London: Augener, 1895), 127ff.

8 The origin of the term 'predominant' is examined in: Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen, *Analytical Practices in Western Music Theory: A Comparison and Mediation of Schenkerian and Post-Riemannian Traditions*, Ph.D. dissertation (Aarhus University, 2020), 99–104; Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen, *Dansk musikteori og dens ophav* (Copenhagen: Multivers, 2024), vol. I, 353.



$D_b^+$  be dominant just like that? I do not object to the complexity of the symbol itself – late-tonal music is complex, and it is to be expected that analysis of this music will also be complex. However, the authors’ readings are most compelling when they trace a process that gradually transforms a function step by step – crucially, and in contrast to NRT, without losing tonal and functional orientation, even in chords far removed from the starting point. The mechanism of functional prolongation that they argue for is convincing in such cases; but then again, not all late-tonal music behaves in this way.

Finally, the brevity of the book is a strength – it is a refreshingly clear and to-the-point examination of highly intricate music – but there is perhaps a bit too much which is left underdeveloped. In the amalgamation of their model with Schenkerian graphing, what are the full consequences of proposing prolongation through function instead of *Stufen*? It would seem to me that the model of tonality that results from this is so radically different from Schenker’s that it would necessarily subvert fundamental ideas about the horizontalization of *Klänge*. That is probably the authors’ very point, but if this is the case, on what basis does one then propose large-scale connections and hierarchies between the prolonged and the prolonging? Perhaps it is only good that the authors leave this open for further discussions and research (and perhaps I am only projecting concerns I have had in my own attempts to do something similar). In any case, the conciseness with which Harper-Scott and Chandler propose such major changes to well-known analytical models adds to the not just thought-provoking, but also somewhat provocative, aspects of their book.

An important point of the book is its assertion that tonality functions as an ideology, which shapes their interpretation of *Götterdämmerung*. Tonality is likened to ‘the great socioeconomic, legal, religious, and scientific systems that have endured into the twenty-first century’ (p. 26). In a particularly striking passage, they write: ‘One can almost hear Tonality saying: “For where two or three triads are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them” [Matthew 18:29]’ (p. 12). Their conception of the ‘metalogical’ (p. 7) relationship between tonal and social hierarchies draws partly on Riemann’s own writings – and Alexander Rehding’s reading of them<sup>9</sup> – but predominantly on Adorno. In this light, they argue that ‘Wagner’s tonality is both coercive – one cannot escape its clutches – and emancipatory, insofar as its very elasticity and capaciousness expose the lack of a *ground* for tonality: that is, tonality does not exist as a natural principle, but as a historically contingent ideology to which harmonic monads are subject’ (p. 29). I find their cultural-historical framing of tonality and their concomitant readings of Wagner to be astute and perceptive. By emphasizing the ideological rather than purely technical dimensions of tonality, they align with a broader current in music theory and analysis, exemplified by Jason Yust’s recent article ‘Tonality and Racism’ and the many

9 The authors refer specifically to Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 63.

responses it elicited in *Journal of Music Theory*.<sup>10</sup> However, the conclusions Harper-Scott and Chandler draw from this cultural-historical framing are likely to divide readers. While Yust argues that the concept of tonality inhibits our understanding of 'late chromatic and early atonal music', Harper-Scott and Chandler ground their entire theory on the premise that tonality conditions such music. There seems to be a return not just to Riemann's theory but also to his problematic universalism. The authors position themselves against theorists who regard functional interpretations of late-tonal music as 'merely one mode of post-modern "knowing", rather than (as for us) a necessary horizon of historical meaning' (p. 39). Yet, the authors acknowledge that tonality is ultimately a 'fiction of our own creation' (p. 2). For my part, I appreciate their effort to explore 'the ways in which musical experience is already mediated by a historically conditioned (intra)subjectivity' (p. 3), but if this entails a turn away from analytical pluralism and anti-universalist approaches, then I am less enthusiastic. Whether through NRT's relativistic tonal space, the de-normalizing critiques of disablist music theory, the anti-racist decentering of tonality by Yust, or other critical approaches, there remain good reasons to challenge the fiction of tonality and tonal coherence.

The book is narrow literature in more than one sense: At 90 pages and with a pocket-like format, it could easily be mistaken for a slim collection of poetry. But any book can be 90 pages if you just make the font small enough. Routledge could have spent a dime or two more on making this volume a bit more readable. The cramped font and minimal line spacing strain the eyes, but the real issue lies with the analytical examples, which, in places, are indecipherable. I cannot read the function symbol in the last bar of the Fanny Hensel example on p. 20; not even with a magnifying glass (I checked). The font is so minuscule that it apparently exceeds the capabilities of the printer, leaving the symbol an illegible smudge rather than a readable mark.

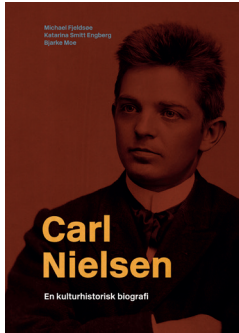
Even with this small fly in the ointment, *Return to Riemann* is a seriously stimulating read that I think and hope has great potential to inspire analysts for years to come.

*Thomas Husted Kirkegaard*

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<sup>10</sup> Jason Yust, 'Tonality and Racism', *Journal of Music Theory*, 68/1 (2024), 59–88. Responses from Philip Ewell, Thomas Christensen, Steven Rings, Nicole Biamonte, Dmitri Tymoczko, Psyche Loui, Megan Long, Susan McClary, and Liam Hynes-Tawa feature in the same issue. Other important contributions to this tendency are Philip Ewell, 'Music Theory and the White Racial Frame', *Music Theory Online*, 26/2 (2020); Philip Ewell, 'Music Theory's White Racial Frame', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 43/2 (2021), 324–29; Thomas Christensen, *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).



Michael Fjeldsøe, Katarina Smitt Engberg and Bjarke Moe

*Carl Nielsen: En kulturhistorisk biografi*

Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2024

792 pp., illus.

ISBN 978-87-7597-284-5

DKK 399.95

Given that the final sentence of the impressive new Carl Nielsen biography follows nearly 700 pages of thorough research conducted by three musicologists over several years, it may seem surprisingly unremarkable: ‘Carl Nielsen is a European composer.’

Well, Denmark has always been part of Europe, has it not? However, Nielsen has often been perceived as exclusively Danish. In response to this oversimplification, musicologists Michael Fjeldsøe, Katarina Smitt Engberg, and Bjarke Moe take every opportunity to highlight the fact that Nielsen lived and worked within a European musical common culture where repertoire and musical practices crossed borders. Musicians also travelled, but Nielsen did not need to go to Germany or France (though he certainly did) to be part of Europe, because, as the authors put it, he was already there. Musically, Denmark was an integral part of Europe.

*Carl Nielsen: En kulturhistorisk biografi* is an extensive volume, and the authors aim to do far more than presenting Nielsen as a European figure. In fact, their goal is to examine all the activities he engaged in, and, for the most part, they succeed in fulfilling this ambition. The result is a remarkably comprehensive overview, complemented by numerous in-depth explorations.

Early on, the reader is introduced to chapters exploring Nielsen’s earliest musical education, his work as a military and (likely) theatre musician in Odense, and Funen as a musical environment with strong connections to Northern Germany. The chapters covering Nielsen’s time as a student at the Copenhagen music conservatoire not only provide a detailed account of his formal training but also offer insights into his expanding networks and his freelance activities across the diverse musical venues of a capital undergoing significant social and physical transformation.

Further themes are (among others) Nielsen’s role as a violinist in Det kongelige Kapel, his involvement in the radical ‘århundredeskifteskultur’ (turn-of-the-century culture) with Georg Brandes as a central figure of strong, international influence, Nielsen’s stays in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Paris, Rome, and Gothenburg, and his encounters with

Theodor Kirchner, Joseph Joachim, Johannes Brahms, Wilhelm Stenhammar, and, notably, the celebrated sculptor Anne Marie Brodersen, who became both his wife and his artistic equal. Nielsen's work as a conductor and his role as a teacher and mentor to younger composers are also explored.

In examining Nielsen's compositions, the authors highlight his curiosity, versatility, and relentless artistic renewal – qualities that have often been overlooked, as they do not align with the standard nationalist image of him as the great man of the Danish tone in music, as an anti-Romantic, and as a simple man from the countryside. While the authors acknowledge that these characteristics were indeed part of Nielsen's identity, they aim to address and rectify the unfortunate marginalisation of other characteristics and of works, such as the Sixth Symphony, that fall outside the traditional narrative.

Nielsen took all his compositional projects seriously, and so do the authors when they discuss his small folk-style songs, his music written for events such as the inauguration of the Studentersamfundet building and a commemoration of the Titanic disaster (a rather grotesque piece of programme music, it seems), his music for young piano students, his music for spoken theatre, his hymns, his organ music, his symphonies, his operas, and much more. Throughout the book, the music is interpreted as Nielsen's creative response to tasks he was given or chose for himself – tasks that were, in turn, linked to the practical or ideological concerns of the time.

The authors wisely refrain from offering thorough analyses of every work. Such an endeavour would have required even more pages and made the book inaccessible to large parts of the intended readership. Instead, they exemplify their analytical approach to a work and propose one or more interpretations of the work's meaning, set against the backdrop of cultural-historical contexts.

Nielsen's artistry is characterised by stylistic diversity and constant renewal, but the authors demonstrate that there are also principles that recur throughout his compositional output. One of these principles is the idea of writing music that expresses 'the great cycle of life and death' and to do so in accordance with the 'vitalist' reverence for the fundamental forces of earthly life.

For example, the authors convincingly argue that when Nielsen, writing in 1920 about his Fourth Symphony (*The Inextinguishable*), speaks of 'stærke og fine Kræfter' (strong and fine forces) embedded in the 'Stoff' (substance) from which nature is made, his phrasing mirrors the way he describes how music develops organically from the forces inherent in a musical theme or motif. Indeed, in Nielsen's view, music does not merely *represent* life; it *is* life when it allows the forces within its 'Stoff' to develop according to the laws of nature.

The notion of 'vitalism' certainly helps to shed light on several of Nielsen's works, but it remains unclear whether Nielsen himself was acquainted with the concept. This ambiguity does not, of course, disqualify the authors from interpreting Nielsen's works in 'vitalist' terms. However, it does highlight the need for a more thorough investigation

into Nielsen's discourse – whether verbal or musical – on 'Stoff', 'Kraft', and 'Liv', as well as how this discourse relates to the philosophy and science of his time.

Friedrich Nietzsche is mentioned in passing, but I also wonder if Nielsen, like so many of his contemporaries, may have read *Die Welträtsel* (1899) or some of the other fairly accessible works by the German biologist, Darwinist, and natural philosopher Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919). Haeckel, who chose the term 'monism' for his worldview, argued that at the heart of everything lies an inextinguishable 'substance' made up of matter (filling space) and force (originating from the sun). Indeed, Nielsen's reference to 'stærke og fine Kræfter' embedded in the 'Stoff', as well as his notion of musical development governed by natural laws embedded in the musical substance itself, seem, at least at first glance, to be clearly monist and so to be linked to the metaphysical biologism of the turn of the nineteenth century.

In light of vitalist (or perhaps monist) works such as the powerful Third and Fourth Symphonies, it is somewhat startling to learn that Nielsen and his friend Thomas Laub (also a composer) sought to emulate J.A.P. Schulz's eighteenth-century ideal of the 'Schein des Bekannten' when working on the folk song collection *En snes danske Viser* (1915–17). In an interview ahead of a performance, Nielsen even spoke of a 'præg af noget hjemligt, noget borgerlig-hygge' (a sense of something homely, something bourgeois-cosy)! Here, a very different Nielsen emerges – though Haeckel, of course, would insist that 'substance' is the foundation not only of love and hate but also of the most bourgeois *hygge*. Nielsen's remarks about these and other songs he wrote for schools, churches and homes further suggest (even though the authors do not emphasise this) that he was participating in a project of social and aesthetic disciplining through 'improvement' and standardisation of the tastes and diverse singing traditions of the population.

One of the most intriguing and potentially far-reaching topics addressed in the book is the question of modernism. Following Daniel M. Grimley (author of *Carl Nielsen and the Idea of Modernism*, 2010), the authors present musical modernism in the early twentieth century as being stylistically open. While after the First World War, 'modernism' became closely associated with the musical innovations of Arnold Schönberg and Igor Stravinsky, before the War, the impulse to create music suited to the new century could take many different forms.

Nielsen certainly shared this impulse. Having previously admired Wagner, he now came to despise both Wagner and Wagnerism, instead turning to Mozart and the classicism he identified in Palestrina's counterpoint. The authors emphasise that Nielsen sought inspiration in this older music not to imitate it, but because he found in it a vital source of renewal. However, in practice, the book sometimes makes it difficult to discern the crucial differences between the music Nielsen regarded as exemplary and the music he himself composed.

In a particularly intriguing correspondence with Nielsen (generously quoted in the book), Thomas Laub discusses a certain type of transitional music that initially appears

new but, upon closer examination, reveals itself to be merely an extension of the past. Nielsen replies that the new must grow out of the old, like a shoot breaking through the soil. The metaphor is striking, but what does it mean in practice? To what extent, if at all, does Nielsen go beyond simply dressing old forms in new clothing when composing symphonic works influenced by Beethoven, solo songs inspired by Schubert, or vocal polyphony shaped by Palestrina?

In other respects, the authors have no difficulty presenting Nielsen as a true visionary. This is particularly evident in their discussion of his fascination with everyday sounds. In Nielsen's view, the essence of music lies in 'Lyd, Liv og Bevægelse der hugger Stilheder istykker' (sound, life, and movement that shatter silences), and the task of this shattering is to awaken 'andre Menneskers Opmærksomhed, Forundring og Begejstring' (the attention, astonishment, and enthusiasm of other people).

On the very day his Sixth Symphony premiered – December 11, 1925 – Nielsen declared in *Politiken* that 'Music is sound' and recounted how he and his son-in-law, the violinist Emil Telmányi, had entertained themselves by creating popping sounds with packaging resembling today's bubble wrap. (What a haunting image!) And it is precisely in the Sixth Symphony (*Sinfonia semplice*) that the sounds of the percussion and several other instruments begin to take on lives of their own, in a manner strikingly similar to what occurs near the conclusion of Dmitri Shostakovich's Fifteenth Symphony, composed half a century later. Here, Nielsen was far ahead of his time and, indeed, far removed from conventional notions of down-to-earth Danishness.

So, how did Nielsen come to replace Niels W. Gade as Denmark's one and only 'nationalkomponist' (national composer)? The authors are able to trace and document a straightforward process of canonisation: spectacular performances sparked interest, well-known musicians took up his works, major publishers printed and distributed them in Denmark and abroad, and musicologists and other professional music writers authored articles and books about his music.

For Nielsen, this canonisation was a double-edged sword, the authors argue. For while it secured him a dominant position at home and marginalised his competitors, it also resulted in the sidelining of parts of his own compositional output that did not align with the increasingly rigid notion of his character and music. The image of Nielsen as emphatically Danish further posed a barrier to the highest level of canonisation: his potential elevation to the Pantheon of the greatest masters of Western music.

So perhaps it is now time for the next step? Complementing the bilingual, open-access *Carl Nielsen Works*, the rich, online *Catalogue of Carl Nielsen's Works*, the *Carl Nielsen Brevudgaven* (a twelve-volume, open-access edition of Nielsen's letters and diaries), and the journal *Carl Nielsen Studies*, Fjeldsøe's, Smitt Engberg's, and Moe's 1.8-kilogram magnum opus (soon to appear in English as *Carl Nielsen: A Cultural Biography*) may certainly help propel Nielsen into the realm of international genius. If so, the authors may not only have enhanced his global reputation but also have solidified his status as

a national idol in the twenty-first century. The spirit of Rued Langgaard will surely look down from his cloud with more rage than ever.

In any case, the Danish and English editions of this comprehensive, perspective-rich, and thoroughly researched biography will undoubtedly become essential references for scholars wishing to contribute to research on Nielsen or Danish musical life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book also represents a significant contribution to European music and cultural history. That the book, despite its 43 chapters, cannot account for all contexts or answer all the questions it raises is entirely natural. What matters is that the gaps and loose threads appear against a backdrop of such intriguing and well-structured knowledge that the reader is left eager to explore them. The conditions for research on Carl Nielsen have never been better than they are right now.

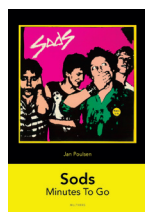
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Henrik Marstal  
*Kim Larsen: Værsgo*  
 Danske albums, 1; København: Multivers, 2023  
 144 pp., illus.  
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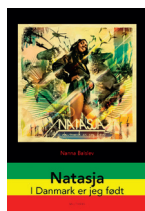
Jan Poulsen  
*Sods: Minutes To Go*  
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Michael Gonzalez  
*Anne Linnet: Marquis de Sade*  
 Danske albums, 3; København: Multivers, 2023  
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 ISBN 978-87-7917-637-9  
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Niels Fez Pedersen  
*Malk De Koijn: Sneglzilla*  
 Danske albums, 4; København: Multivers, 2023  
 144 pp., illus.  
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 DKK 199,95



Nanna Balslev  
*Natasja: I Danmark er jeg født*  
 Danske albums, 5; København: Multivers, 2023  
 144 pp., illus.  
 ISBN 978-87-7917-638-6  
 DKK 199,95

Albumformatet er på mange måder et af de mest oplagte objekter at skrive populærmusikkens historie(r) med udgangspunkt i. Det forankrer nemlig fortællingen i et reelt objekt, og herfra er det muligt at forfølge forskellige linjer ind og ud af dette objekt. Det giver mulighed for at fortælle historier om albummets tilblivelse og undersøge de



kunstneriske, økonomiske og tekniske processer, der går forud – og samtidig vise, at disse umiddelbart forskelligartede processer ofte er meget tættere forbundet, end man skulle tro. Det giver mulighed for at vise, hvilke liv albummet fik via salgstal, brug, genudgivelser og senere placering på diverse hitlister. Man kan reflektere over albummets kanonstatus og over, hvordan musikken igennem tiden er blevet hørt anderledes – både fordi afstanden til udgivelsestidspunktet får os til at lytte på nye måder, og fordi de teknologier, vi tilgår albummet gennem, rent praktisk forandrer lyden.

Og måske vigtigst af alt knytter der sig et væld af sjove historier og anekdoter til album og deres opståen. Netop disse anekdoter giver også menneskelighed og materialitet til fortællingen. De viser albummet som indlejret i kontinuerlige processer, hvor tråde kan trækkes tilbage til den musik, der kom før, til de stadigt omskiftelige materielle praksisser, som musikken indspilles under – hvad end det sker i et state-of-the-art lydstudie eller via en mikrofon på køkkenbordet – samt til det fornyede liv, albummet kan få i bogform.

Derfor er det også spændende at kaste sig ind i serien *Danske albums*, redigeret af Henrik Marstal og Jan Poulsen og udgivet på forlaget Multivers i samarbejde med spillestedet VEGA i København. Inspirationen til serien kommer fra Bloomsburys 33 ½-serie, en reference til det antal omdrejninger, en vinylplade drejer på et minut. Denne serie lader de enkelte bind være lige så forskellige, som de album, de behandler – og dette greb har *Danske albums* valgt at tage til sig. Forfatterne til seriens første fem bind har fået meget frit spil i forhold til, hvordan de ville skrive om de enkelte album. Det er der kommet fem meget forskellige bøger ud af.

I pressematerialet om serien fremgår det, at disse album på forskellige måder er uomgængelige i den danske musikhistorie. Det primære udvælgelseskriterium har været, at albummet som minimum skulle være 10 år gammelt.

De enkelte bøger er som sagt meget farvede af de enkelte forfatteres tilgange, og jeg vil i denne anmeldelse først kommentere de enkelte bøger kort og derefter prøve at kortlægge nogle af de greb og tendenser, der går på tværs af bøgerne. Bøgerne veksler mellem rammefortællinger, tematiske undersøgelser og nærmest kronologiske fortællinger. I nogle træder forfatteren tydeligt frem, mens de i andre holder sig mere i baggrunden. Om man foretrækker det ene eller andet er formentlig en smagssag. Jeg vil forsøge at holde min personlige smag udenfor i denne henseende og derfor primært notere sproget og forfatterpositioner, hvor det giver mening, samt fokusere mine kommentarer på, hvad bøgerne hver især gør godt og mindre godt.

*Kim Larsen: Værsgo* (1973) af Henrik Marstal

Marstal åbner bogen, og herved også serien, med en opfordring om at “glemme alt om at der fandtes en verden efter 1973” (s. 8), i et forsøg på at tilgå albummet så ‘rent’ og mindst forudindtaget som muligt – en opfordring Marstal selv fremhæver som umulig. Det er ikke desto mindre det mindset, han prøvede at sætte sig i, da han skrev bogen.

Bogen tegner herefter et billede af Danmark i 1973, både den storpolitiske virkelighed med indtrædelse i EF og de lokale fællesskaber på Christianshavn, hvor albummet blev til. Dette er ikke blot baggrund, men noget, Marstal betoner som helt essentiel for albummet, dets kompositioner og for samtidens positive modtagelse af det.

Dette underbygger Marstal via en række kapitler, der er struktureret omkring forskellige tematikker. Her udfoldes blandt andet de små konflikter i Gasolin, der førte til behovet for en soloplade. Marstal væver en fortælling sammen af forskellige gamle og nye interviews og får fortalt en nuanceret historie, hvor man ellers nemt kunne komme til at gøre enten Larsen eller Gasolin til skurken. Han gennemgår i kapitel 4 nogle udvalgte numre og diskuterer deres ophav eller undersøger dem kompositorisk. Det skaber en lidt fragmenteret oplevelse af kapitlet, men det er spændende at høre, hvordan Larsen på forskellig vis genbrugte gammelt Gasolin-materiale, inddrog bluesfraseringer eller selv spillede Wurlitzer-klaveret på åbnings sangen.

I kapitel 6, der er et af bogens bedste, undersøges albummet som en samfundskommentar, og mange af forbindelserne rundt i den danske kulturhistorie foldes ud. F.eks. laver Marstal en meget overbevisende læsning af "Blaffersangen", hvor han ser den som en åndelig efterfølger til en af sangene fra Kjeld Abels teaterstykke *Melodien der blev væk* fra 1935. Men hvor der i Abels teaterstykke var plads til at samle blaffere op, er blaffereren i Larsens version ikke lige så heldig. Dette tolker Marstal som en kritik af en mere selvisk og kynisk samtid (s. 106-110), og der er som sagt flere lignende gode læsninger.

Selvom nogle kapitler er stærkere end andre, er det en meget helstøbt bog om en af Larsens mest unikke udgivelser, og dens forankring i sin samtid bliver belyst på interessante måder. Marstal er lige dele berettende, kommenterende og vurderende, hvilket giver forskelligartede perspektiver på albummet. Jeg er ikke sikker på, at Marstal får argumenteret overbevisende for, *hvorfor* dette album kun kunne være succesfuldt i 1973, men det er måske heller ikke så vigtigt. Fortællingen står stærkt uanset.

*Sods: Minutes to Go* (1979) af Jan Poulsen

Poulsens bog åbner med fortællingen om punkens indtog i Danmark. Efter en kort skitsering af de første danske artikler om punken ovenpå Sex Pistols' første koncerter i 1977 uddybes punkens britiske kulturhistorie, hvor både bands og æstetik bliver behandlet. Det overblik giver en baggrundsviden, som resten af fortællingen står på skuldrene af.

En gennemgående tendens ved Poulsens tekst er hans tilbøjelighed til sidespor, hvilket formentlig stammer fra et ønske om grundighed: Fortællingen kan lige så godt få det hele med. Nogle steder springer teksten derfor kortvarigt over på et andet emne, og selvom det ofte er relevant, skal man som læser lige huske, hvilket emne man kom fra. Derudover er Poulsens sprog præget af små kommentarer, og hans egne meninger om tingene skinner tydeligt igennem – i bedste punk-stil siger han tingene, som de er, og giver ikke meget for fordømmene. Dette giver sproget en umiddelbarhed, der styrker fortællingen.

Bogens bedste kapitler er dem, der handler om Sods' tid i studiet, fortællingen om, hvorfor albummet deler navn med en digtsamling af William S. Burroughs, samt Poulsens gennemgang af albummets numre. I sidstnævnte kapitel præsenterer Poulsen flere skarpe fortolkninger af numrene via læsninger af samspillet mellem lyrik, musik og produktion. Han peger også på et par konkrete eksempler, hvor Burroughs' cut-up-teknik formentlig har inspireret numrenes tekster.

En enkelt ting, der skiller sig ud, er Poulsens lidt hårdt optegnede linje, af den modstand, Sods mødte. Et sted lyder det, at Sods "havde kæmpet mod fordomme i spandevise og generelt været oppe imod store dele af det etablerede musikmiljø" (s. 68). Samtidig har vi et par kapitler forinden hørt historien om, hvordan Sods, der på dette tidspunkt stadig var forholdsvis uprøvede musikere, alligevel lykkedes med at få en pladekontrakt med Medley Records, tilknytte en producer og bruge deres første dag i studiet i selskab med Gasolins tidligere manager (s. 35-40). Selvom modstanden mod punk blandt samtidens anmeldere foldes humoristisk ud i et senere kapitel, har fortællingen ikke givet indtryk af, at modstanden, Sods mødte, var ekstraordinær. Jeg fremhæver dette, fordi det skiller sig ud, idet Poulsen mange andre steder nuancerer nogle gængse opfattelser af punk.

Bogen lykkes generelt rigtig godt med at tegne et portræt af den danske punkscene i årene 1977-79, og den fremfører også overbevisende argumentet at Sods' album allerede dengang var en repræsentant for postpunkten – noget, der fik mig til at lytte anderledes til albummet.

#### *Anne Linnet: Marquis de Sade (1983) af Michael Gonzalez*

Gonzalez' bog fangede mig fra starten. Han optegner på få sider 80'ernes politiske og musikalske strømninger og viser, hvordan de på forskellige måder blev modtaget og fik deres egne unikke udtryk i Danmark. Bogen arbejder sig systematisk frem, og efter optegnelsen af samtiden skitserer den Anne Linnets tidligere projekter og de tidligere eksperimenter med at udvikle den 'sound', *Marquis de Sade* opererer indenfor. Han berører både sangskrivningen og indspilningsprocessen, receptionen og numrenes efterliv. Og det virker ekstremt effektivt.

Specielt er Gonzalez god til at balancere mellem Linnet som innovatør og pioner. Han væver en fortælling sammen, hvor Linnet indgår som partner i en musikalsk dialog med internationale forbilleder såvel som danske kolleger. Samtidig fremhæver han de konkrete steder, hvor Linnet gør nogle reelle nybrud, både på et personligt og musikalsk plan. Og denne vekslen klæder fortællingen.

I kapitlet, hvor numrene bliver nærstuderet, formår Gonzalez at levere en stærk analyse af især "Glor på vinduer". Gonzalez viser, hvordan tekstens samspil med de musikalske virkemidler åbner for flertydige fortolkninger. I andre sanganalyser lader han paradoksalt nok Linnet få det sidste ord omkring, hvordan de skal fortolkes, og dette er nok det eneste kritikpunkt, jeg har mod bogen, der ellers går kritisk til sine kilder.

Gonzalez' bog er en forbilledlig fortælling, der er lige dele kritisk og personlig. Og så skriver den *Marquis de Sade* frem som et indlæg i dansk kvindehistorie og kvindekamp, hvor Linnets skiftende æstetiske udtryk blev set som frigørende eller regressivt, alt efter hvilken situation, musikken blev hørt i. At kvinder har et snævrere handlerum og modtager mere kritik, tydeliggøres via de protester, der var ved Linnets koncerter i perioden. Og selvom meget har ændret sig den dag i dag, forekommer nogle af processerne genkendelige.

*Malk De Koijn: Sneglzilla* (2002) af Niels Fez Pedersen

Pedersens bog skiller sig lidt ud fra serien på to punkter. For det første er det en ramme-fortælling, der begynder med en reportage fra Amager Bio i 2022 i anledning af albummets 20 års fødselsdag og slutter ved en koncert i Tivoli, også i 2022. For det andet tager den langt flere forskellige tematikker op end de andre bøger i serien – hvor disse spænder over fem til seks kapitler spænder Pedersens over fjorten. Så godt som alle aspekter af albummet undersøges. Begge disse greb bidrager kun positivt til fortællingen.

Bogen er drevet af lige dele kærlighed og ironisk distance til hop-hopkulturen, noget som Pedersen og Malk de Koijn deler. Sjove anekdoter fylder meget i serien som helhed, men i denne bog fungerer de næsten som et metodisk fortællegreb, hvor Pedersen bruger anekdoterne som afsæt til at forklare musikalske, tekniske, tekstmæssige og andre finurligheder. Pedersen er lige så skarp, som han er sjov, og flere gange grinte jeg højt.

Et af de få elementer, der ikke går igen i denne bog, er deciderede læsninger eller analyser af numrene på pladen. I stedet bliver flere af numrene brugt som afsæt til at søge ud i musikkulturen og diskutere trioens meget forskellige musikalske udgangspunkter og inspirationer. Hver eneste gang fik det mig til at høre nogle nye nuancer i numrene, også hjulpet på vej af, at de tre musikere i flere kapitler selv reflekterer over deres egne skiftende forhold til musikken og sproget på albummet.

Kun ét enkelt kapitel fungerer mindre godt. Pedersen er med Tue Track i studiet og får lov at høre 'outtakes' fra pladen, dvs. alle de numre, der af forskellige grunde ikke kom med på pladen og endnu ikke er udgivet. Uagtet at Pedersen er god til at beskrive musik, så er det praktisk talt umuligt at forholde sig til musik, man ikke kan høre, og det er lidt aparte at forestille sig hvordan "stryger-samplinger og et *boom-bap-beat*" (s. 113) egentlig lyder.

Noget andet, der er befriende fraværende i bogen, er referencer til Malk de Koijns tredje album fra 2011 – og deres første fra 1999 refereres kun, når kontinuitet eller forandring skal fremhæves. Dette bevirker, at denne bog først og fremmest handler om *Sneglzilla* og ikke om Malk de Koijn. På dette punkt er Pedersens bog den, der er bedst til at fokusere fortællingen om *albummet*.

*Natasja: I Danmark er jeg født (2007) af Nanna Balslev*

Balslev har påtaget sig et svært projekt i sit bidrag til serien, for Natasjas død farvede uden tvivl receptionen af det posthumt udgivne album *I Danmark er jeg født*, men også hele fortællingen om Natasja, som Balslev selv påpeger (s. 98). Natasja døde alt for ung, det er der ingen tvivl om. Men det faktum sætter sig desværre igennem på en måde, så denne bog, der mange steder fortæller virkelig godt om både Natasja og om tilblivelsen af *I Danmark er jeg født*, også får karakter af hyldest. Dette skyldes til dels også, at de to primære interviews, der er lavet til bogen, er med Karen Mukupa og Pharfar, Natasjas nære venner og samarbejdspartnere, som begge har været med til at præge fortællingen om Natasja. Enkelte steder bliver fortællingen derfor lidt karikeret og forudsigelig, når det bliver historien om Natasja, pioneren der brød ny grund i det danske musiklandskab, var venner med alle, men samtidig måtte kæmpe for at blive taget alvorligt i branchen.

Et eksempel er, at Balslev rigtig gerne vil markere *I Danmark er jeg født* som det første hovedværk i dansk *dancehall* (s. 11). Dette medfører, at hun tidligt i bogen omtaler Bikstok Røgsystems album *Over Stok og Sten* fra 2005 som et *reggaealbum* (s. 31). Det til trods for at Gaffa allerede i 2006 omtalte Bikstok som en dancehallgruppe, noget både Blæs Bukki og Balslevs egne kilder i bogen bakker op om (s. 65).<sup>1</sup>

Jeg bemærkede dette, fordi det skilte sig ud fra, hvordan bogen mange andre steder fremhæver alle de processer og samarbejder, Natasja indgik i og var farvet af. Selvom hun ikke gik på kompromis med sine visioner, opstod albummet også via et tæt samarbejde med hendes producer Pharfar og flere andre. Balslev skriver med en levende og frisk tone, der passer rigtig godt til musikken, og hun giver os en fin introduktion til dancehalls udspring af reggaekulturen og musikkulturen generelt i Danmark i midten af 00'erne.

De steder, hvor bogen analyserer sangenes samspil med samtiden, viser Balslev, hvordan Natasja indskriver sig i flere danske traditioner for sangskrivning og på innovative måder bruger det danske sprog. Gennem en dybdegående læsning af "Gi' mig Danmark tilbage" argumenterer Balslev overbevisende for, at Natasja skriver sig ind i en lang tradition af danske protestsange, der både kommenterer konkrete politiske situationer og fungerer som en bredere kritik af samtidens negative tendenser – og her spiller musikken også en særlig rolle for argumentet om, at Danmark har gavn af at være et multikulturelt samfund.

Balslev fremhæver også, hvordan Natasja foregreb aktuelle diskussioner om samtykke, seksualitet og lyst, og hvordan hun gav mange unge kvinder et sprog og en rollemodel at spejle sig i – en rollemodel, der ikke var perfekt, og som aktivt gjorde opmærksom

1 Se Jakob Chapelle Juul, 'Blæs Bukki forlader Bikstok', *GAFFA*, 23. august 2006, <https://gaffa.dk/nyheder/2006/august/blaes-bukki-forlader-bikstok/>, besøgt 18. december 2024; Kristoffer Veirum, 'Bikstok Røgsystem genopstår for én koncert i år', *GAFFA*, 18. juni 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140626054346/http://gaffa.dk/nyhed/85253>, besøgt 18. december 2024.

på det i sine tekster, eksempelvis i “Fi’ er min”. Generelt er Balslevs evner til at udlægge albummets tekster stærke, især fordi læsningerne formår at tage os tilbage til 2007.

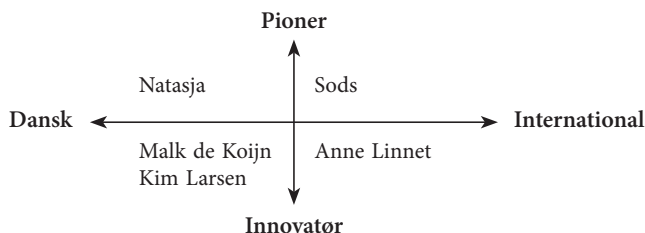
Bogen bruger albummet til at belyse forskellige sider af Natasjas liv, karriere og evner som sangskriver, og selvom der til tider træder en kendt fortælling frem, tegner den et rigtig fint portræt af det meget komplekse liv Natasja levede, og hvordan *I Danmark er jeg født* står som et stærkt monument over hendes evner.

### Generelle betragtninger

Afslutningsvist vil jeg fremlægge en række generelle betragtninger og kommentarer om, hvad serien som helhed kan sige om det at skrive den danske populærmusikhistorie. Der er nemlig bestemte greb, der går igen.

Hvert album læses ind i en globaliseret virkelighed, hvor internationale ideer, genrer og teknologier på forskellig vis bliver bearbejdet og tilpasset en dansk kontekst. Her tegner der sig to overordnede fortællingstyper og to overordnede læsninger af albummets ‘danskhed’.

Den første er *pionerfortællingen*, hvor albummet repræsenterer reelle nybrud, idet internationale genrer gør deres indtog i en dansk sammenhæng. Den anden er *innovatørfortællingen*, hvor det ikke nødvendigvis er genren eller det musikalske udtryk, der er nyt og unikt, men snarere den stilistiske behandling af udtrykket, som gør albummet interessant. Disse to fortællingstyper suppleres af overvejelser om, hvorvidt albummet *musikalsk* går i dialog med det omgivende danske samfund, eller om det blot er et værk skabt af danske musikere. Hvis man tegner disse to akser op, tegner sig følgende billede.



Som serie formår *Danske albums* herved at behandle nogle album, der er forskellige, ikke kun stilistisk, men også i overordnede kunstneriske ambitioner. Det fortjener stor ros, især fordi serien viser mange forskellige typer af kunstnere og meget forskellige tilblivelsesprocesser.

At alle kunstnerne på hver sin måde er stærkt kanoniserede, er bagsiden af medaljen. For selvom det nuancerer den historie, vi allerede kender, udvider det ikke paletten for, hvem der kan betragtes som ‘vigtige’ i den danske populærmusikhistorie – og det er sjovt at bemærke, at Gasolin nævnes i alle bøger. Udvidelsen af den danske populærmusikalske kanon er imidlertid noget, serien har mulighed for at arbejde på i de kommende år.

Bøgerne fungerer også som stærke vidnesbyrd om, at populærmusikhistorien er uløseligt forbundet med teknologiens udvikling. Udover de mange instrumenter, der

spiller mere eller mindre centrale roller i fortællingerne, bliver det fysiske arbejde i lydstudierne gang på gang fremhævet. Lydstudierne og den tid, kunstnerne tilbringer i dem, fylder meget i fortællingerne, og deres store variation bliver i sig selv en historie om overgangen fra det analoge til det digitale lydstudie. De mange mennesker, der er involverede i skabelsen af et album – managere, producere og teknikere – får også deres velfortjente plads og anerkendelse. At deres betydning bliver cementeret i den danske populærmusikhistorie, er afgørende. At alle album er indspillet i København, er formentlig helt tilfældigt, men det giver lyst til at læse om danske album forankret udenfor hovedstaden i kommende bind.

Det er derudover påfaldende at de eneste bøger, hvori kvinderne træder frem som reelle aktører i musikbranchen, er de to om Anne Linnet og Natasja. I disse møder vi, kortvarigt, kvindelige korsangere og managere. Marstal har en kort overvejelse om dette i slutningen af sin bog – det faktum at Larsen ofte skrev sange *om* kvinder, men sjældent *til* kvinder. Marstal opvejer dette ved at betragte *Værsgo* som et album, der kunne opfattes som ‘feminint’ på grund af dets mindre og primært akustiske kompositioner (s. 126-27). Sammenkædningen af det forsigtige og det feminine bliver heldigvis udfordret i de to bøger om kvindelige kunstnere.

Overordnet set er det i fortolkningerne og analyserne af lyden og numrene, bøgerne står stærkest. Her viser forfatterne tydeligt deres dybe kendskab til musikken og deres personlige forhold til den. Den pluralitet af tilgange – fra hermeneutiske læsninger af tekstlige referencer og deres samspil med samtiden til beskrivelser af musikkens unikke *sound* – som kendetegner serien, understreger, hvorfor populærmusik kan og bør tages alvorligt. At analyserne ikke er eksplicit akademiske, gør dem tilgængelige for et bredere publikum og giver en forsmag på de mange mulige tilgange, man kan vælge, hvis man ønsker at skrive om eller analysere populærmusik. Jeg ser frem til at se, om de kommende bøger i serien fortsætter denne linje. Jo mere vi kan nuancere debatten om populærmusik, desto bedre.

Alt i alt er *Danske albums* kommet godt fra start som en vellykket serie, der formår at gøre de meget forskellige skribenters tilgange til en styrke. Jeg håber, som nævnt, at serien fremadrettet også tør beskæftige sig med både mindre kanoniserede musikere og grupper, men også med de kunstnere, der trods succes måske ikke altid bliver taget lige seriøst (Medina, Nik og Jay, Tøsedrengene, Moonjam, Barcode Brothers, Lars Lilholt m.fl.). Jeg kan dog også godt forstå seriens behov for at finde sin form og læserskare og at få etableret sig.

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## Bibliography





# Bibliography of Danish Musicology 2020

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

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5

Reports

Editorial



## *Symposium*

### Danish Musicological Society's 70th anniversary symposium

To celebrate the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Danish Musicological Society, a symposium was held on 27 September 2024 at the University of Copenhagen to discuss the status of contemporary Danish musicology with an aim to reflect on its research approaches and reception. The symposium, titled 'Music Research in (Danish) Society', was organised by Mikkel Vad (KU) and Thomas Husted Kirkegaard (AU). The symposium was divided into three separate topics representing key musicological fields and, most importantly, their impact on today's society. Each panel consisted of three invited speakers, whose individual presentations were followed by open discussions between the panel and the audience.

The first panel concerned the meeting between musicological research and the media. Mikkel Vad served as the first moderator and the panel consisted of three musicological scholars: Lea Wierød Borčak (AU; Sangens Hus), Anders Reuter (Lund) and Rasmus Riegels (Lund; KU), who shared their experiences communicating their findings and analyses to the media. They reported that media platforms, as a rule, are highly interested in topical news on music, but also eager exploiters of goodwill among academic researchers, expecting academics to hand out ready conclusions as acts of altruism.

The unavailability of musical simplification to fit a journalistic narrative was also hotly debated. The strongest symptom of which being the fact that music theory is seemingly completely absent in mainstream media analyses – even to the point that a language for popular music theory is practically yet to be developed. The panel strongly encouraged musicological researchers to pick up the baton and exploit the fact that they have the expertise needed to communicate music to an enthusiastic audience. Thereby, musicologists have the potential to elevate the level of the discussions and understanding of music among the general public.

The second debate was moderated by Holger Schulze (KU) and was conducted in English under the headline 'Danish musicology in international perspective'. Three non-Danish music scholars took part in the panel: Klisala Harrison (AU), Maria Rijo Lopes da Cunha (AU) and Jessica Holmes (KU). While the definition of 'Danish' musicology in this context was somewhat unclear, the debate offered some insightful examples as to how different cultural points of view represented by international scholars can have a positive influence on and broaden the scope of Danish musicologists too.

The panel presented their cross-cultural approaches to musicology through field studies conducted in Greenland, Finland and the Middle East, demonstrating how a more diverse and inclusive focus on music, among other things, could be used to treat trauma and strengthen the social position of minority groups such as asylum seekers and people with disabilities. Some lacunae in Danish anthropological research approaches were pointed out as well as speculations as to reasons why. For outsiders in the field, however, fewer generalisations and a couple of specific examples would have been helpful as to what specific challenges differences in value systems, power imbalance and colonialist traditions could cause, including how to overcome them and implement strategies like epistemic disobedience in practice.

Thomas Husted Kirkegaard moderated the final debate whose topic was music biographies, hereby returning to the theme of the first debate: communication of musicological research, this time with the book as the medium. The panel consisted of Michael Fjeldsøe (KU) and Thomas Michelsen (*Politiken*), who are authors of biographies on composers Carl Nielsen and Vagn Holmboe, respectively, as well as Jonas Damgaard-Mørch (Multivers) as stand-in for Jens Cornelius (DR; the editor behind Multivers' book series on Danish composers, *Danske komponister*), who had fallen ill.

Having been unpopular and seemingly dying out until less than a decade ago, the composer biography has experienced a true revival in Denmark in recent years. The genre's great public appeal was emphasised and ethical standpoints were debated, both to which extent biographical knowledge is relevant to the understanding of a piece of music, and how to avoid reinforcing the conservative and romanticised canon of music history. The panel argued that an already popular main character can work as an offset to entice readers and simultaneously be utilised as a prism through which additional and more nuanced narratives can be investigated. On the other hand, greater representation of e.g. female composers could be ensured through short, reader-friendly introductions to composers whose stories have never previously been told, thus contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of our musical legacy.

The celebration of the anniversary of the Danish Musicological Society seemed a most welcome excuse for experts across different musicological fields to gather and share their research approaches, results and aims. The attendees seemed to greatly enjoy the company of fellow music scholars, experts and aficionados, and the symposium concluded with a lively reception and a dinner.

It is evident that there is a great need for musicological research in Danish society: popular music is widely debated in the media; biographies on classical composers are on high demand; and historically neglected musical activities relating to, for example, ethnic minorities and people with disabilities could benefit from new and diverse approaches to musicking and historical as well as contemporary representation. Various communication strategies and goals are at play concurrently, and a closer understanding of the work of colleagues operating in different musicological areas is surely beneficial

to successfully communicating complex matters in a convincing and engaging fashion without compromising academic integrity. It would thus be most fruitful for Danish musicology with more symposiums like this one in the near future to elaborate this debate further.

*Nanna Staugaard Villagomez*



## Editorial

This issue of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* (2022–24) features two articles in Section 1. Andreas Meyer's article examines exhibitions in West and Central European music museums, exploring how displays of popular music heritage and European art music generate distinct forms of communicative and cultural memory. Henrik Palsmar writes about Robert Schumann's Op. 40. Palsmar argues that, contrary to the common critique of the cycle's final, light-hearted song, it is this concluding piece that unifies the collection by annihilating the content of the others in a case of romantic irony.

Section 2 is a special feature marking the 70th anniversary of the Danish Musicological Society, the publisher of this journal. It includes three substantial articles: Thomas Holme reexamines Knud Jeppesen's tenure as editor of *Acta Musicologica*; Lars Ole Bonde, Inge Nygaard Hansen, and Hanne Mette Ridder trace the development of Danish music therapy research; and Morten Michelsen offers an account of the history of popular music studies in Denmark. The introduction to the special section provides further context for the articles.

Section 3 includes five reviews covering a total of ten books. Helen Rossil reviews *Thorvald Aagaard og Oluf Ring* by Povl Chr. Balslev and *Poul Schierbeck* by Christine Canals-Frau, both contributions to Multivers's ongoing book series *Danske komponister*. Svend Hvidtfelt Nielsen reviews *Hvordan giver det mening?* by Niels Rosing-Schow. Thomas Husted Kirkegaard reviews *Return to Riemann* by J.P.E. Harper-Scott and Oliver Chandler. Tobias Lund reviews *Carl Nielsen: En kulturhistorisk biografi* by Michael Fjeldsøe, Katarina Smitt Engberg and Bjarke Moe. And finally, Niclas Nørby Jochumsen Hundahl reviews the first five books in the new book series *Danske albums*, published by Multivers: *Kim Larsen: Værsgo* by Henrik Marstal; *Sods: Minutes To Go* by Jan Poulsen; *Anne Linnet: Marquis de Sade* by Michael Gonzalez; *Malk de Kojjn: Sneglzilla* by Niels Fez Pedersen; and *Natasja: I Danmark er jeg født* by Nanna Balslev.

Section 4 provides a bibliography of publications related to Danish musicology in 2020. Finally, Section 5 features a report by Nanna Staugaard Villagomez on the 2024 anniversary symposium commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Danish Musicological Society.

This issue marks a transition in the editorial team of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*. It is the final issue with Peter Hauge as editor, and we extend our sincere gratitude for his meticulous and consistently high-quality work over many years at the journal. Taking up the role of editors are Mikkel Vad, Asmus Mehul Mejdal Larsen, and Thomas Husted Kirkegaard, while Michael Fjeldsøe is still a member of the editorial team.

*Thomas Husted Kirkegaard, Peter Hauge, Mikkel Vad,  
Asmus Mehul Mejdal Larsen and Michael Fjeldsøe*

## Publications received

### Books

- Balslev, Nanna, *Natasja: I Danmark er jeg født* (Danske albums, 5; København: Multivers, 2023), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-638-6.
- Canals-Frau, Christine, *Poul Schierbeck. 1888-1949* (Danske komponister, 20; København: Multivers, 2024), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-636-2, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Cornelius, Jens, *Emil Reesen. 1887-1964* (Danske komponister, 16; København: Multivers, 2023), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-625-6, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Fjeldsøe, Michael, Katarina Smitt Engberg and Bjarke Moe, *Carl Nielsen. En kulturhistorisk biografi* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2024), 791 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-87-7597-284-5.
- Frederiksen, Jørgen Ellegård, *Leif Kayser. 1919-2001* (Danske komponister, 14; København: Multivers, 2022), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-594-5, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Gonzalez, Michael, *Anne Linnet: Marquis de Sade* (Danske albums, 3; København: Multivers, 2023), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-637-9.
- Hansen, Jørgen, *Johan Adam Krygell* (Danske komponister, 19; København: Multivers, 2023), 142 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-640-9, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Harper-Scott, J.P.E. and Oliver Chandler, *Return to Riemann: Tonal Function and Chromatic Music* (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 42; London: Routledge, 2024), 98 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-1-032-02505-6, ISSN 2578-2924.
- Hesselager, Jens, *C.E.F. Weyse. Musiker under enevælden* (København: Multivers, 2024), 219 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-87-7917-654-6.
- Holm, Anne E., *Axel Borup-Jørgensen. 1924-2012* (Danske komponister, 23; København: Multivers, 2024), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-690-4, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Hvidt, Eva, *Ebbe Hamerik. 1898-1951* (Danske komponister, 22; København: Multivers, 2024), 143 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-065-0, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Jensen, Jørgen I., *Ansigtet. Musik og kristendom*, ed. Flemming O. Nielsen (København: Grønningen 1, 2024), 537 pp., illus., music exx. ISBN 978-87-7339-392-5.
- Jensen, Lisbeth Ahlgren, *Johannes Frederik Frøhlich* (Danske komponister, 21; København: Multivers, 2024), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-597-6, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Jensen, Lisbeth Ahlgren, *Musikhistorikeren Hortense Panum. En dansk pioner* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2022), 423 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-408-3382-9.
- Kirkegaard, Thomas Husted, *Tekla Griebel Wandall. 1866-1940* (Danske komponister, 12; København: Multivers, 2022), 138 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-454-2, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Krarpup, Bertel, *Finn Høffding. 1899-1997* (Danske komponister, 15; København: Multivers, 2022), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-595-2, ISSN 2596-6561.

- Leleur, Steen, *Wagners verden. En introduktion* (København: Multivers, 2022), 166 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-592-1.
- Lund, Tobias, *Speltoken. Hugo Alfvén och rosens klang* (Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens skriftserie, 153; Möklinta: Gidlunds förlag, 2022), 519 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-91-7844-466-3.
- Marstal, Henrik, *Kim Larsen: Værsgo* (Danske albums, 1; København: Multivers, 2023), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-471-9.
- Marstal, Henrik, *Rock* (Tænkepauser, 120; Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag), 60 pp., ISBN 978-87-7597-395-8.
- Michelsen, Thomas, *Det dybe og det rene. En biografi om komponisten Vagn Holmboe* (København: Multivers, 2022), 509 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-488-7.
- Michelsen, Thomas and Claus Røllum-Larsen (eds.), *Man skal høre meget – en antologi om musikkritik* (København: Multivers, 2024), 224 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-643-0.
- Munch-Hansen, Christian, *Lyden af Solen. Essays om musik og tro* (København: Multivers, 2024), 158 pp., ISBN 978-87-7917-667-6.
- Nielsen, Bendt Viinholt, *Rued Langgaard* (Danske komponister, 18; København: Multivers, 2023), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-649-2, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Nielsen, Svend Hvidtfelt, *Dansk musikteori og dens ophav – en fortælling (om dur-molharmonikkens teorier i Europa og USA fra ca. 1700 til 2000 og de versioner, de fik i Danmark anno 1800-2020, herunder ikke mindst de mange varianter indenfor dansk funktionsteori og disses samspil med svensk og norsk teori)* (København: Multivers, 2024), 2 vols, 713 + 929 pp., music exx., ISBN 978-87-7917-641-6.
- Olesen, Jonas, *Pionerer & outsiders. Dansk elektronisk musik 1928-1980* (København: Multivers, 2022), 472 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-340-8.
- Pedersen, Niels Fez, *Malk de Kojn: Sneglzilla* (Danske albums, 4; Multivers, 2023), 144 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-632-4.
- Poulsen, Jan, *Sods: Minutes To Go* (Danske albums, 2; København: Multivers, 2023), 160 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-633-1.
- Rasmussen, Karl Aage, *Diderik Buxtehude* (Danske komponister, 17; København: Multivers, 2023), 143 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-639-3, ISSN 2596-6561.
- Rasmussen, Karl Aage, *Djævelens gaffel. Erindringer, illusioner og hukommelsestab* (København: Multivers, 2024), 303 pp., ISBN 978-87-7917-607-2.
- Rasmussen, Karl Aage, *Et trangbrystet geni. Antonio Lucio Vivaldi* (København: Multivers, 2023), 269 pp., ISBN 978-87-7917-603-4.
- Rosing-Schow, Niels, *Hvordan giver det mening? Musikalsk komposition på et perceptuelt grundlag* (København: Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium / Books on Demand, 2023), 181 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-87-87131-16-2.
- Pedersen, Peder Kaj, *Bernhard Christensen. 1996-2004* (Danske komponister, 13; København: Multivers, 2022), 132 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-551-8, ISSN 2596-6561.

Tang, Jesper, *Jordborger. En bog om Knud Viktor* (København: Multivers, 2024), 208 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-611-9.

Tange, Esben, *Øjeblikkets evighed. Stemning og montager i Rued Langgaards musik og tidens kunst* (København: Multivers, 2024), 190 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7917-273-9.

### Music editions

Gade, Niels W., *Psyche Op. 60. A Dramatic Poem Set to Music for Soli, Chorus and Orchestra / Psyche Op. 60. Konzertstück für Soli, Chor und Orchester*, ed. Karsten Eskildsen (Niels W. Gade Works / Werke IV/7; Copenhagen: Foundation for the Publication of the Works of Niels W. Gade / Stiftung zur Herausgabe der Werke Niels W. Gades, 2022), xxxviii + 220 pp, illus., ISBN 978-87-90230-35-7, ISMN 979-0-706832-00-5.

Gade, Niels W., *Songs and Ballads, Volume 1 / Lieder und Gesänge, Band 1*, ed. Bjarke Moe (Niels W. Gade Works / Werke V/1; Copenhagen: Foundation for the Publication of the Works of Niels W. Gade / Stiftung zur Herausgabe der Werke Niels W. Gades, 2024), xxxvi + 220 pp, illus., ISBN 978-87-90230-36-4, ISMN 979-0-706832-01-2.

Gade, Niels W., *Songs and Ballads, Volume 2 / Lieder und Gesänge, Band 2*, ed. Bjarke Moe (Niels W. Gade Works / Werke V/2; Copenhagen: Foundation for the Publication of the Works of Niels W. Gade / Stiftung zur Herausgabe der Werke Niels W. Gades, 2024), xxxix + 236 pp, illus., ISBN 978-87-90230-37-1, ISMN 979-0-706832-02-9.

# Danish Musicological Society

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