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INTERNATIONAL ONLINE CONFERENCE
Transnational Perspectives on Music, Sound and
(War) Propaganda (1914–1945)

21 – 22 October 2021

Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Convened by Dr. Diego Alonso (Postdoctoral Fellow, Humboldt University, Berlin), Steffen Just
(Research Assistant, Potsdam University) and Prof. Christian Koller (University of Zurich).



Republican Musicians in the Spanish Civil War, c. 1937 (Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca, Spain)

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Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and University of Zurich

Zoom Link: <https://hu-berlin.zoom.us/j/62683024773>

Convened by Diego Alonso (Humboldt University, Berlin), Christian Koller (Swiss Social Archives and University of Zurich) and Steffen Just (University of Potsdam)

Programme Committee

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Thursday, 21 October 2021

9.00 – 9:15 / Welcome Words

9:15 – 10:15 / KEYNOTE: **Jens Gerrit Papenburg** (University of Bonn) – Sound Systems and Propaganda. A Sound and Music History of the Summer Olympic Games 1936

10:30 – 12:45 / PANEL 1: Radio and Recordings as Propaganda and Diplomacy Tools

Chair: Christian Koller

- Acker, Yolanda F. (Australian National University, Canberra, AUS) – Robeson, Stradivarii and Loudspeakers: The Radio and Public Broadcasting in Madrid During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39)
- Palazzetti, Nicoló (La Sapienza University of Rome, ITA) & Thomas, Jonathan (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, FRA) – Propaganda, Diplomacy and Ideological Crisis: Sonic Cultures and Italian Fascism During the Early 1940s
- Tazaki, Naomi (Kyoto Women's University, JPN) – Cooperation for Propaganda: French Policies on Radio and Music in Different Institutions from the Popular Front to the Vichy Regime (1936-1944)
- Lisak-Gębala, Dobrawa (University of Wrocław, POL) – Polish Wartime Poems as a Part of Radiophonic Propaganda During World War II

12:45 – 14:00 / BREAK

14:00 – 15:45 / PANEL 2: Music and Sound Systems as Technologies of Power, Discipline and Terror

Chair: Steffen Just

- Zmiejewski, Weronika (Institute of Iranian Studies, Academy of Sciences, Vienna, AUT) – The Phonogrammarchiv's Nazi Period Recordings with Soviet Citizens from Central Asia and the Caucasus
- Calero-Carramolino, Elsa (University of Granada, ESP) – The Exercise of Power Through Sound Technology in Franco's Prisons
- Naliwajek, Katarzyna (University of Warsaw, POL) – Nazi Sound Propaganda in Occupied Poland
- Anderton, Abby (City University of New York, USA) – Collective Sonic Trauma: Composing the Air Raid Sirens of the Second World War

16:00 – 18:15 / PANEL 3: The Role of Radio in Intercontinental Propaganda

Chair: Esteban Buch

- Henning, Phillipp (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, GER) – Creation of Authenticity Through Voice and Sound. Strategies of Inculturation in Nazi Germany's Arab-Language Broadcast Propaganda in World War II
- Mitra, Nabanita (Women's Christian College, Kolkata, IND) – Exploring Sonic Dictatorship Through Wartime Indian Radio
- Shih, Matthew (University of Toronto, CAN) – Broadcasting German National Interest in Wartime Shanghai
- Stein, Danielle (University of California, Los Angeles, USA) – Affective Voices in the Wilderness of Mirrors: Utilizing Tableau to Examine Gender in the Office of Strategic Services Clandestine Recordings

Friday, 22 October 2021

9:00 – 11:15 / PANEL 4: Transnational Music Practices, Repertoires and Organizations

Chair: Luis Velasco-Pufleau

- Diamantouli, Eirini (University of Cambridge, UK) – 'We Fight and We Sing': Echoes of the Russian Revolution in Songs of the Greek Resistance
- Corbera Jaume, Amadeu (Universitat de les Illes Balears, ESP) – When the Scum Sings: the Catalan Choir from Le Vernet Prisoner's Camp (1941).
- Mullen, John (Université de Rouen, FRA) – Reinforcing War Priorities Through Popular Song in Britain and France 1914-1918: Why Were the British and French Repertoires so Radically Different?
- Graff, Peter (Denison University, Cleveland, USA) – Staging Patriotism and Propaganda: Cleveland's German-Language Theater and the Great War

11:30 – 13:45 / PANEL 5: Propaganda on the Road: Musicians' Tours and Travels

Chair: Elizaveta Willert

- Reichard, Tobias (Hochschule für Musik und Theater München, GER) – German-Italian Music Relations During World War II
- Fontelles-Ramonet, Albert (EESA/CPD Institut del Teatre, ESP) – The European Tours of Cobla Barcelona (1936-1937): Music Against Fascism During the Spanish Civil War.

- Pestel, Friedemann (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, GER) – Mobile Propaganda: The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra Touring National Socialist “New Europe”, 1940–1944
- Ceriani, Davide (Rowan University, New Jersey, USA) – Italian Instrumental Music as Fascist Propaganda in the United States During the Interwar Period

13.45 – 14.30 BREAK

14.30 – 16.15 / PANEL 6: Classical Music and the Musical Canon as Propaganda

Chair: Diego Alonso

- Christoforidis, Michael & Murray, Ken (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, AUS) – In the Wake of Granados: Framing “Spanish Music” as Propaganda in London and Madrid (1916-1919)
- Benoit-Otis, Marie-Hélène & Prud’homme, Gabrielle (Université de Montréal, CAN) – “Ein Zusammenklang von seltener Art”: Performing Mozart’s Requiem in Fascist Italy (1941)
- Messing, Scott (Alma College, Michigan, USA) – The Politics of a Schubert Year (1928): Vienna and Beyond

16:30 – 17:30 / KEYNOTE: Anne C. Shreffler (Harvard University, USA) – 'Forward, But Not Forgotten': The Rise and Fall of Musical Agit-Prop During the 1930s.

17:30 – 18:30 / FINAL DISCUSSION

ABSTRACTS & BIOS

Thursday, 21 October 2021

KEYNOTE: Jens Gerrit Papenburg (University of Bonn): **Sound Systems and Propaganda. A Sound and Music History of the Summer Olympic Games 1936**

The Summer Olympics in August 1936 in Berlin were certainly a propaganda event of the National Socialist State. This keynote explores the function and specificity of sound and music in this context out of a perspective of sound and music studies that is strongly informed by media archaeology. In previous studies on the cultural and social history of Olympia 1936, music and sound only play a more or less minor role (Alkemeyer 1996, Hilmes 2016). Music historiography, while stressing that music was an important part of the cultural program of the Games, has strongly focused on composers and musical works, drawing a clear distinction between music and sound history (Riethmüller 1981, Dümling 2012, Heinze 2005, Jena 2010). In contrast to these historiographies, I explore the Olympic Games in Berlin as a propaganda soundscape that was on a basic level (co-)constituted by multiple public address systems. These systems were installed by the company Telefunken at the so-called “Reichssportfeld” [Imperial Sports Field] – a gigantic area for about 400.000 people built by the National Socialists. Telefunken’s sound systems combined music and sound history by transmitting and amplifying speeches, announcements and music. My presentation explores sound propaganda strategies and practices of Olympia 1936 by picking up a couple of threads: (I) On the level of media materialities, I reconstruct different “public address strategies” (Ehlert 2005) that were implemented at the “Reichssportfeld”. (II) On the level of music, I explore Olympia 1936 as a soundscape by primarily focusing on the opening event of the Games that included amongst speeches and announcements, music by the composers Werner Egk and Carl Orff as well as an arrangement of Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy”. (III) I fathom the concept of sound that correlated with these sound systems – the conceptualization of sound as a “voluminous entity”. (IV) And finally, I work towards the question what kind of bodily co-present masses and publics were sonically addressed by these public address systems. I argue that the relationship between National Socialist “Volksgemeinschaft” and the international Olympic Community is crucial here.

Jens Gerrit Papenburg is Professor for Musicology/Sound Studies at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn since 2019. Previously he served as a visiting professor in Düsseldorf, Lüneburg and Berlin (HU) as well as research associate at the Chair of Theory and History of Popular Music at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Habilitation 2016 (HU Berlin), PhD 2011 (HU Berlin), Magister 2004 (musicology, communication studies, business administration). Member of the editorial board of "Sound Studies. An Interdisciplinary Journal" (Routledge). Co-editor of the volume "Sound as Popular Culture. A Research Companion" (MIT Press). Currently working on the monograph "Listening Devices. A Sound and Music History of Records, Juke Boxes, and Sound Systems" (to be published with Bloomsbury Academic). Head of the research

project "Syncopation and Volume. Sounding out Sonic Modernity, 1890-1945" (funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), project start: April 2022).

PANEL 1: Radio and Recordings as Propaganda and Diplomacy Tools

Acker, Yolanda F. (Australian National University, Canberra, AUS) / **Robeson, Stradivarii and Loudspeakers: The Radio and Public Broadcasting in Madrid During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39)**

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) is widely said to be the first war in history to use the radio as a political and military weapon, as well as to recognise its importance as an instrument of propaganda. Its immediacy gave it a significant advantage over the press, which was plagued by a grave paper shortage and distribution problems. Among its many uses, the radio seized upon music's ability to collectively bolster the fight against the fascist enemy from both near and far. It also helped to reinforce the democratising ideals of the Republic, opening up access to music and culture for the wider population, while providing a welcome distraction from the hardships of war.

This paper will examine the role of the radio in Madrid during the Civil War, focusing on Unión Radio and its association with the Communist organisation *Altavoz del Frente*. *Altavoz* used many different forms of culture to further the Republic's propagandistic objectives, but music and the radio were among the most important. It even boasted its own choir and soloists, who performed live in concert and on the radio. During the war, the studios of Unión Radio played host to numerous chamber-music recitals, often featuring the station's own resident sextet, members of whom once gave a memorable performance on the 'Royal Quartet' of Stradivarius instruments. There were also broadcasts by outstanding musical personalities sympathetic to the Republican cause, who hailed from Spain and abroad, none the least the American bass-baritone and actor, Paul Robeson (1898-1976).

Yolanda Acker completed her PhD at the Australian National University (ANU) in 2020 with a thesis titled "Making Music in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)". For many years she lived in Madrid, Spain, where she worked at the Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales). Most of her publications focus on twentieth-century Spanish music and dance. She is also an experienced Spanish-English translator and has just been appointed a Visiting Fellow at the Research School of Humanities and the Arts, ANU.

Palazzetti, Nicoló (La Sapienza University of Rome, ITA) & Thomas, Jonathan (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, FRA) / **Propaganda, Diplomacy and Ideological Crisis: Sonic Cultures and Italian Fascism During the Early 1940s**

Italian participation in the WWII was not a simple subordination to Hitler's imperialism. For the fascists, the war was a means to strengthen the autonomy and prestige of the regime following the military successes in Ethiopia (1935-6) and Albania (1939). Early setbacks in Greece and North Africa, however, dashed fascist hopes for a successful 'parallel war' fought

independently from the Nazis. As the military endeavours failed, culture took an increased centrality as a means of affirming Italian prestige within the Axis' new order. After the famous economic and technological 'battles' of the 1920s and 1930s – for 'grain', for 'the lira', for 'the land', for 'births' – the fascist regime undertook a final battle in the field of culture. According to the Minister Giuseppe Bottai, in wartime Europe, Italy was the only and best guardian of civilisation and culture.

Since the end of the 1930s, the cultural resistance of Italian fascism was increasingly practiced both inside the nation, with songs recorded on discs, and across its borders, by means of radio broadcasts designed for allied countries such as Hungary and Romania. Through sonic recordings and broadcast, the thwarted Italian Empire continued to exist at least on a symbolic level and to revendicate its Lebensraum in the Mediterranean while maintaining a dialectic of resistance and alliance with Nazi Germany.

The complex nexus between propaganda, cultural diplomacy and cultural resistance, increasingly foregrounded in recent historiography, have been scarcely investigated by musicologists and sound scholars alike. By focusing on a set of musical and archival sources, this paper aims to understand the role of sounds in shaping this process of national crisis, imperialist ambitions and ideological bankruptcy, thus shedding new light on a relatively unknown chapter of Italian fascist culture.

Nicolo Palazzetti is a musicologist and cultural historian. Since 2021, he works as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Music and Theatre at Sapienza University of Rome, researching on opera fandom in the digital age. Prior to joining Sapienza, he worked as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Université de Strasbourg (2019-21) and as a Teaching Fellow in Music at the University of Birmingham, UK (2017-2018). He completed his PhD thesis on Bartók's reception in Italy in 2017 at the EHESS, Paris. He is the author of the monograph *Béla Bartók in Italy: The Politics of Myth-Making* (The Boydell Press, 2021).

Jonathan Thomas (PhD, EHESS, France, 2021) works on the sonic dimension of political practices. He wrote three peer-reviewed articles on political records and activist uses of song in interwar France for the journals *Volume !*, *Transposition* and *Analitica*. He also published a book on the Serp, a record label owned by the french far right leader Jean-Marie Le Pen (*La propagande par le disque. Jean-Marie Le Pen, éditeur phonographique, Éditions de l'EHESS, 2020*).

Tazaki, Naomi (Kyoto Women's University, JPN) / **Cooperation for Propaganda: French Policies on Radio and Music in Different Institutions from the Popular Front to the Vichy Regime (1936-1944)**

In 1936, the French Popular Front began actively intervening in national radio broadcasts to spread political propaganda and to educate the French people about serious music. However, the Bureau of Fine Arts (Beaux-Arts) was officially responsible for national music policies. The study investigates the correlation between the music policies of the Beaux-Arts and radio policies implemented by the government, based on documents in the French National Archives.

We also investigate the transition in institutions and in the role of music and radio, as well as the influence of the war in this regard from 1936 to 1944.

The results are as follows: cooperation between the national radio and the Beaux-Arts, which was merely a suggestion during the Popular Front, came to fruition with the reorganization of the Beaux-Arts (1938) and the establishment of Radio nationale (RN; 1939) to broadcast unified programs of national propaganda. With this new direction, radio music programs illustrated the prestige of French music and engaged in political propaganda directed at foreign countries. The German occupation ended this cooperation (July 1940). However, Alfred Cortot, pianist and president of the Comité d'organisation professionnelle de la musique, struggled to resume the cooperation from an international perspective in the fall of 1942; nonetheless, he failed owing to the complete occupation of France by Germany in November 1942.

Naomi Tazaki is an associate professor in the Faculty of Human Development and Education, Kyoto Women's University, Japan. She has studied the social histories and cultural policies of modern French music, extending her research into studying cultural exchanges and the memory of war. Tazaki's recent studies include the following article : "Un concours de composition outil de propagande politique : le cas du Concours musical de la ville de Paris sous la Troisième République," *Revue de musicologie*, 101(1), 93-124, (2015). Her latest book entitled *Musical life under the Occupation: a supplemented French music history* is currently waiting for publication.

Lisak-Gębala, Dobrawa (University of Wrocław, POL) / **Polish Wartime Poems as a Part of Radiophonic Propaganda during World War II**

The emigrant Polish radio stations, broadcasting also in foreign languages, played an eminent role in psychological warfare during WWII. Their management was facing numerous obstacles like jamming and competition of the Nazi and Soviet diversionary programs. Despite the severest punishment, many people in occupied Poland were listening to emigrant Polish broadcasting from France and England. During Warsaw Uprising emigrants started to tune their receivers to the frequency of „the Lightning” Warsaw-based station which multilingual broadcast was dedicated to compatriots in Poland and in exile, and to the Allies. Thanks to BBC retransmissions it could be heard over the Ocean.

In this area poems written deliberately to be launched on the radio form outstanding examples of aestheticized propaganda and 'belliphonic sounds' (J.M. Daughtry). Famous 'Alarm' by Antoni Słonimski (a refugee in France who escaped from Warsaw in September 1939) was read on the Christmas Day the same year. The text presenting the wartime soundscape and quoting the air-raid radio warnings was meant to engender both the sinister resonance and the 'affirmative resonance' reinforcing the will to fight and the national 'imagined community' (C. Birdsall, M. Hillmes). It was soon translated into many languages and popularized in Europe and in the USA.

The poem 'We demand ammunition' by Zbigniew Jasiński – written during the Warsaw Uprising and transmitted by "The Lightning" on 24 August 1944 – and its translations became equally

popular throughout the Polish diaspora (e.g. in India). Jasiński's text contains radio phrases and calls for help addressed to the Allies.

Dobrawa Lisak-Gębala – Ph.D., born in 1984; assistant professor at the Institute of Polish Philology, University of Wrocław (Poland). She graduated from cultural studies and Polish language and literature studies. She published two monographs: 'Ultraliterature' (2014) and 'Visual Springboards. Contemporary Polish Essays on Paintings and Photographs' (2016). Her field of interest covers the history of the Polish literature of the 20th and 21st centuries, the intermediality, sound studies and memory studies. Her project 'Poetical thanatosonics – on the grounds of Polish poetry (1939–1945)' is financed by the National Science Centre. She cooperates with The Soundscape Research Studio at the University of Wrocław.

PANEL 2: Music and Sound Systems as Technologies of Power, Discipline and Terror

Zmiejewski, Weronika (Institute of Iranian Studies, Academy of Sciences, Vienna, AUT) / **The Phonogrammarchiv's Nazi Period Recordings with Soviet Citizens from Central Asia and the Caucasus**

During World War II forty Soviet citizens from the Caucasus and Central Asia, dressed in uniforms mostly of the SS and Wehrmacht had their voices recorded at the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. The historical context of World War II under which these individuals have been recorded and their collaboration with the Nazi-regime have made this collection very sensitive.

But what can these recordings consisting of songs, fairy tales and free speech in 19 different languages tell? Stored and almost untouched in Vienna's Phonogrammarchiv these sound recordings have been perceived as a part of a linguistic laboratory of the Wartime. But thinking about them in the context of the Nazi-regime and its so-called "folkloristic" interests, such as the Caucasus and Turkestan research that had been conducted at the Austrian Academy of Science at the end of the Second World War, imparts this collection of recordings a political relevance.

However, listening to these recordings discloses much more than the alleged "scientific" engagement of linguistic and archival recording of the Nazi period; it shows how the recorded individuals from Central Asia and the Caucasus respond to the sound recorder and the WWII propaganda.

Weronika Zmiejewski is a Postdoc fellow at the Institute of Iranian Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. She develops ways of researching and repatriating the Central Asia and Caucasus recordings in the Phonogrammarchiv's Second World War collection (1943-44) in Vienna. Her project The Caucasus and Central Asia in the Phonogrammarchiv's WWII Recordings is part of the larger research initiative Austrian Research on Central Asia and the Caucasus in the Nazi Period (AUROCC) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Calero-Carramolino, Elsa (University of Granada, ESP) / **The Exercise of Power Through Sound Technology in Franco's Prisons**

In Franco's Spain, the role performed by of sound technology as an exercise of power was exploited to redefine the perceptual sense of «mind» and «soul» of the prisoners. In other works by the author, the functions of music in the penitentiary system have been exposed in relation to the structures of power which ruled throughout the different stages of Francoism (Calero-Carramolino 2018, 2019 and 2021).

On this occasion I propose to deepen in the sound ecosystem of Spanish prisons between 1938 and 1948 in relation to the evolution of sound technology implemented in prisons: from the first loudspeakers to the installation of cinema rooms. To this purpose, I will focus on the musical and spoken word repertoire set with transnational prospects in prisons during those years. Special attention will be paid to the evolution of such repertoire as long as it can be considered that it was not only a matter of pragmatism but also a part of the dictatorship's strategy on foreign issues.

This paper proposes a dialogue between the Foucauldian theory of the prison panopticon in the exercise of power understood as a violent state that breaks the identity of the detainees and the recent studies that delve into the role of sound as a way to reduce the subject into a vessel (re)filled with propagandistic sounds. Finally, the transformation of prisoners into ideological recipients who were (re)educated through sound complete the psychiatric analysis imposed on them as «malades punissables» (Vallejo-Nájera 1938).

Elsa Calero-Carramolino is graduated in Musicology (2014) at the University Autónoma de Madrid (2014) and holds a MRes Musical Heritage from the International University of Andalucía (2015), where she both obtained the distinction of "First of the Promotion". She is currently a PhD Candidate at the Music Department of the University of Granada –under the mentorship of Professor Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo– where she was awarded a fellowship as Research on the Teaching Staff. Her research interests are music, punishment, repression, detention and reeducation during the 20th Century in Spain.

Naliwajek, Katarzyna (University of Warsaw, POL) / **Nazi Sound Propaganda in Occupied Poland**

Sound propaganda methods used in Nazi Germany were imported to occupied Poland's territories, further developed and directed toward different ethnic groups in a precise way. Military and judicial domination was combined with extermination of local population, whereas sound and music were treated as useful tools to manipulate and persuade different groups according to the "divide et impera" principle and according to the current interests of the Reich. Thus, in the first stage of occupation the supremacy of German music of the highest level was reflected in its use 'for Germans only', just as parks and music halls, whereas Jewish music was intended for Jews and prohibited for others, and low level non-Polish music was permitted for Poles. The radio sets were confiscated from all non-Germans (except those protected e.g. by Swiss citizenship) under penalty of death. When in 1941, the anti-Bolshevist

propaganda was implemented for Poles, the anti-Semitic propaganda being only more virulent, and the nationalistic tendencies existing and intensifying in the pre-war era were exploited in a Machiavellian way – thus it was gradually allowed and even mandatory to play Polish music. On the other hand, sound propaganda and manipulation were used in 1943 during Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and warfare sound during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. The paper will explore and explain these often seemingly paradoxical sound propaganda policies.

Naliwajek's research for more than a decade has focused on the interrelationship between music and politics. Recipient of Hosenfeld/Szpilman Gedenkprize (University of Lüneburg) for her multi-media exhibition Music in Occupied Poland 1939-1945 and of the Literary Prize of City of Warsaw as well as the Historical Prize “Klio” for the book she co-authored (Warsaw 1939–1945. Stories of Musicians). Translator and editor, she is on board of the Witold Lutosławski Society and member the repertoire committee of the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music.

Anderton, Abby (City University of New York, USA) / **Collective Sonic Trauma: Composing the Air Raid Sirens of the Second World War**

The siren was the most ubiquitous sound of civilian terror during the Second World War, as individuals “listened into the void” for clues as to the whereabouts of the bombers. The experiences of air raids were a common aural thread in wartime accounts despite differences in geography and political parties. While the auditors of the Second World War have been overwhelmingly understood to be adult males—as heard in postwar commemorative ceremonies and speeches—it was women and children who heard these domestic sirens most frequently.

This paper concerns their sonic experiences, largely absent in scholarly conversations of militarized sound, by arguing that the siren represents the unprocessed trauma of populations long considered most vulnerable. Taking my cues from Jim Syke’s notion of “the bleak house,” or the domestic, everyday experiences of warfare for women and children, I consider how air raid sirens restructured urban life in transnational examples from Japan, Germany, and the United Kingdom. A second dimension of the paper will consider how the siren became a soundmark in the postwar compositions of female composers and individuals who experienced the raids as children. British electronic music pioneer Delia Derbyshire, German pedagogical composer Gunild Keetman, and Hiroshima survivor Masaru Kawasaki all wrote works that featured these sine waves of warning, as the siren’s wail lived on in the sonic cultural memory of those who survived the war in the skies.

Abby Anderton is an Associate Professor of Music at Baruch College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Her research interests include post-catastrophic music making, performance and Holocaust testimony, and female composers. She is currently working on a monograph about music and Holocaust survival entitled Audible Testimonies, and her 2019 book, Rubble Music: Occupying the Ruins of Postwar Berlin (Indiana UP), examines how musicians transformed the city’s ruins into sites of sonic encounter. Anderton’s work has appeared the Journal of Musicological Research, German Studies Review, and Music & Politics,

and she has received funding from the Fulbright Commission, the DAAD, the American Musicological Society, and the Holocaust Educational Foundation.

PANEL 3: The Role of Radio in Intercontinental Propaganda

Henning, Phillipp (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, GER) / **Creation of Authenticity Through Voice and Sound. Strategies of Inculturation in Nazi Germany's Arab-Language Broadcast Propaganda in World War II**

Sound broadcasting represented a propagandistic revolution in World War II. For the first time, it was possible to distribute content free of carriers such as leaflets and free of spatial boundaries. This made it possible to use propaganda on a large scale far beyond national and even continental borders. In the case of Nazi Germany, the Arab-Islamic world was a focus of foreign propaganda for various reasons. Nevertheless, it was a highly complicated undertaking as simply translating the propaganda into Arabic and send it into the MENA region was not enough. The most important criterion for the program design was authenticity. To achieve this, the genuine sound – through music, Koran recitations and programs on current topics in the region – was crucial.

The aim was to achieve cultural alignment through emotions, whereby the sound, the voices and the music served as a cover for the ideology and political purposes of Nazi Germany. Familiar tones and religious language were used to build trust. Addressing Muslim identity was the main target. The German authorities precisely knew about the significance of voice. Therefore, great emphasis was placed on the use of authentic and well-known Arabic speakers. Transmission technology also played a decisive role.

The worse the military situation, the lower the amount of speech became in the programs. The proportion of (entertainment) music increased. German authorities did everything to get the most authentic recordings possible. The inculturation should camouflage the content and make it more accepted via sound impressions that were perceived as familiar.

Philipp Henning, M.A., PhD student at the Department of History at HU-Berlin. From 2011 to 2018 Philipp Henning studied history, political science, and oriental studies at the universities of Marburg, Florence, Freiburg, Exeter, and Humboldt-University of Berlin where he received his M.A. with a thesis about Nazi-Germany's broadcast propaganda in Arabic. In 2019 he worked at the International School for Holocaust Studies in Yad Vashem. Since November 2020 he is a PhD student at Humboldt University with a project about the entanglements of orientalism, colonial thinking, and antisemitism in fascist Italian and Nazi German propaganda.

Mitra, Nabanita (Women's Christian College, Kolkata, IND) / **Exploring Sonic Dictatorship through Wartime Indian Radio**

That broadcasting could girdle the earth with strong yet invisible bonds, came to be seen from the way the BBC's Empire Service (1932) sought to integrate global listeners within the broader soundscape of the British Empire. Although Fielden had 'dreaded the harnessing of

broadcasting to the obscene chariot of war,' yet the radio's immense potential of generating 'chaos in the air' was put to severe test, with the onset of World War II. In fact, the Indian radioscope, became increasingly entwined with India's nationalist struggle and the subsequent 'ether wars' alike. Wartime exigencies brought with it imperialist surveillance, stringent censorship and counterpropaganda. The Indian radio was thus reduced to being an effective hegemonic tool for disseminating Allied propaganda that was alike used against the Secret Congress Radio at home and the totalitarian Nazi and Bolshevik broadcasts from without.

War propaganda also saw the BBC despatch a wide array of non-news programmes that included plays, musicals, talks, features, commentaries and educational broadcasts, for its global audiences, that were meant to keep its listening laity gainfully occupied, besides weaning them away from hostile jingoistic talks by enemy countries. Moreover, while music by composers from hostile nations were outright censored, the BBC supremo, Reith sought to ensure that his listeners, both at home and even beyond, got to listen to musical broadcasts featuring hope and resilience, which could boost their morale, even during wartime.

Nabanita Mitra is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History, Women's Christian College, Kolkata, where she has been teaching since 2001. Her doctoral dissertation, completed in 2018, had been on the socio-political aspects of Indian broadcasting, with special emphasis on the Calcutta Radio Station. Her interests lie in cultural studies and on gender history.

Shih, Matthew (University of Toronto, CAN) / **Broadcasting German National Interest in Wartime Shanghai**

In 1933, Joseph Goebbels christened the radio as the "eighth great power," recognizing its enormous potential to influence the masses. Indeed, media historians and musicologists have demonstrated how radio developed into a critical propaganda tool for the Third Reich, inspiring national loyalty in domestic audiences (Bergmeier and Lotz 1997; Birdsall 2012) and spreading Nazi ideology to international listeners (Doherty 2000; Herf 2009). This paper geographically extends this line of inquiry to the often-neglected Pacific, focusing on the activities of the German XGRS radio station (1940-1945) in Shanghai, an economically important port city disputed by Allied and Axis foreign concessions.

Drawing on radio program booklets, public policy documents, and local and foreign Shanghai newspapers, I examine how XGRS attempted to convince German expatriates of National Socialism's virtues and manage Germany's international reputation amidst escalating wartime tensions. The daily program appealed to a broad audience with multilingual news segments and a mixture of classical and popular music. Housed in Shanghai's International Settlement, XGRS competed directly with the Allied powers' own Shanghai-based radio stations, including XCDN (United Kingdom), XMHA (United States), and XRVN (Soviet Union). This physical proximity resulted in frequent accusations of radio jamming as the Allies and the Axis jostled for technological supremacy. Using XGRS as a case study, I argue that these radio networks not only served as a medium for wartime propaganda but further acted as sonic markers of

territory, transforming the Shanghai airwaves into a contested site of imperialism and extraterritoriality.

Matthew Shih is a PhD student in Musicology at the University of Toronto. His research is broadly concerned with twentieth-century modernisms, and his interests include transnational migration, East-West cultural exchange, and the history of science and technology. His work has been supported by the Fulbright Program, the Jackman Humanities Institute, and the Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies.

Stein, Danielle (University of California, Los Angeles, USA) / **Affective Voices in the Wilderness of Mirrors: Utilizing Tableau to Examine Gender in the Office of Strategic Services Clandestine Recordings**

On December 12th of 1941, as the United States prepared for entry into the Second World War, Kurt Weill, the Jewish-German émigré composer, wrote to the playwright and future director of the Office of War Information, Robert Sherwood, about the possibility of employing the talents of German and Austrian émigré artists in a series of “cultural attacks”—administered through the radio—against Germany. United States psychological operations would indeed take this form of transnational aggression against the Germans in the years following Weill’s impassioned plea as the Office of Strategic Services employed numerous German and Austrian artists for clandestine recordings. One of the shrouded operations, The Musac Project, initiated in 1944 by the Office of Strategic Services, had the sole purpose of crafting and broadcasting manipulated popular standards and new compositions with weaponized intent via the allied clandestine station, *_Soldatensender Calais_*, to German soldiers and citizens. Utilizing Weill’s compositions and arrangements—and the familiar voices of Lotte Lenya, Marlene Dietrich, and other exiled artists—the OSS’s Musac Project delivered strategic messages and arrangements to targeted listeners with the intent to demoralize and sow discord.

A black operations project of this scale has left a considerable amount of material splintered across multiple national archives and presents a series of challenges for analysis. This paper utilizes the data analysis program, Tableau, and the synthesis of over 1000 declassified documents into a dataset for the Musac Project to elucidate how the OSS and émigré-artists utilized gendered performance and nostalgia as psychological weapon during World War II. Weill’s envisioning and advocacy of a psychological warfare—which mobilized the talents of German-Jewish émigrés in a “cultural attack” against the German people—provided the OSS, and ultimately the CIA, with a template for future propaganda (Musac Project debriefing reports were incorporated into CIA planning). An analysis of recently declassified documents from the National Archive, CIA, and National Army Heritage Archive reveals trends in how the OSS paired and utilized gender, voice types, musical selections, and propaganda content during the Second World War, while inviting a reconsideration of Weill’s role in the Allied war effort.

Danielle Stein is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Musicology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research considers musical propaganda and the systemization of music as weapon in the United States government over the 20th and 21st centuries. Her work

has received support from the Milken Fund for American Jewish Music, the American Musicological Society, and the University of California Del Amo Fellowship. Also a soprano and an avid community arts producer, Danielle maintains a private voice studio in Hollywood, serves on the board of the Émigré Composers Orchestra, and is the Assistant Artistic Director and Vice President of the Celestial Opera Company.

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PANEL 4: Transnational Music Practices, Repertoires and Organizations

Diamantouli, Eirini (University of Cambridge, UK) / **'We Fight and We Sing': Echoes of the Russian Revolution in Songs of the Greek Resistance**

This paper centres on the partisan songs composed during the Greek resistance movement against Nazi occupation. These partisan songs, known as *andartika*, often borrowed from Russian and Soviet musical models. Furthermore, there are several examples of Greek partisan songs in which there are direct textual references to the Russia and the Soviet Union, both depicted as a source of hope and inspiration for the Greek resistance movement. Firstly, this testifies to the explicit political resonance of the Russian Revolution and its legacy in Greece for the communist elements within the Greek National Liberation Front (EAM). Beyond this however, I recognise that references in *andartika* to Russian intervention and the Soviet war effort for example, are identified with popular, patriotic aspirations pertaining to freedom, self-rule and the eradication of poverty. In this way, these songs became broadly galvanising in Greece during the period of Nazi Occupation, beyond to those who sought to exalt communism and pledge their allegiance to Stalin and the Soviet Union. I thus consider the *andartiko* tradition as a hybrid sonic phenomenon, with the use of Russian and Soviet (along with Irish and French) musical models and textual references speaking not only to the ambitions of Greek communists but also, more implicitly, to the intersection and solidarity between anti-fascist movements across the 'global left' in the 1940s. It is in this context that I situate the work of the Greek communist composer Alekos Xenos, his correspondence with Dimitri Shostakovich and Shostakovich's little-known arrangement of Xenos' first *andartiko* song.

Eirini Diamantouli is a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Music at the University of Cambridge, and a graduate of the University of Oxford and King's College London. Her musicological research reflects her interest in the post-Revolutionary musical landscape in Russia and the resonance of Russian Revolutionary theory and practice abroad. Eirini's present research centres on the influence of the October Revolution on Greek musical culture in the first half of the twentieth century.

Corbera Jaume, Amadeu (Universitat de les Illes Balears, ESP) / **When the Scum Sings: the Catalan Choir from Le Vernet Prisoner's Camp (1941).**

In 1941, the Hungarian British writer Arthur Koestler published his memoirs *The Scum of the Earth*, where he described his experiences while he was held at Le Vernet's concentration camp,

in the French Midi, at the beginning of World War II. Le Vernet was a special concentration camp for «extremely dangerous prisoners», set by the Third Republic French Government and, after the Fall of France, controlled by the Vichy regime. From 1939, many Spanish former republican soldiers, mainly anarchists and Catalan separatists, were incarcerated in there, but among them there were also intellectuals, such as Spanish writer Max Aub. The inmates used to spend time doing activities such as performing plays or music, as well as organizing male choirs. Different studies have reported several examples of singing and music activity on concentration and extermination camps during WWII. In this presentation, we pay attention to the Le Vernet «Catalan Choir», composed of the Catalan prisoners in the facilities between 1940 and 1942, which counted with the collaboration of Catalan exiled composer Baltasar Samper.

Amadeu Corbera Jaume (Bunyola, Balearic Islands, Spain, 1985). Ethnomusicologist. Ethnomusicology and Organology Lecturer and Head of the department of Musicology and Music Education at the Conservatori Superior de Música de les Illes Balears, in Mallorca. He is also currently working on his PhD at Universitat de les Illes Balears, focusing on the Catalan musician and ethnomusicologist Baltasar Samper, who had to undergo exile in France and Mexico after the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Corbera Jaume works mainly on Catalan Countries' oral and traditional music, historical ethnomusicology, twentieth century Catalan Countries' music history, and Catalan pop music. He also focuses on applied ethnomusicology from a critical perspective, looking at the relationship between music and tourism under an ecomusicological perspective.

Mullen, John (Université de Rouen, FRA) / **Reinforcing War Priorities Through Popular Song in Britain and France 1914-1918: Why Were the British and French Repertoires so Radically Different?**

Propaganda is one thing people prefer to forget once the war is over, whereas wartime popular songs, if a country feels it was victorious, become vectors for nostalgia and remembrance. This leads us first to question the archive and to note that the songs always quoted, always remembered, may well not have been typical, as most songs have been forgotten.

In both Britain and France, previously oppositional organizations supported the war drive and many cultural activities became involved in propaganda, with little direct implication of governments. Popular song was no exception. Ministers do not write pop songs, but did not need to, as musical stars, songwriters and cultural gatekeepers succeeded (in many, often quite subtle ways) in reinforcing war priorities among the population, while exploring in a reassuring manner human tragedies or social changes.

How then can we explain the radical difference between wartime song repertoires in France and Britain? Often gritty or xenophobic, and dealing directly with a wide variety of intimate experiences in France, the repertoire built on long-established traditions of song genres. Yet the British repertoire was humorous, almost never anti-German, and staunchly respectable. My paper will suggest an explanation based on differences in urbanization and commercialization, in stage practice and in the legal framework of songwriting, and will emphasize the strong continuity between pre-war and wartime song industries.

John Mullen is Professor in British Studies at the University of Rouen-Normandie. He has produced two books in English: *The Show Must Go On: Popular Song in Britain during the First World War* (Routledge, 2015) and *Popular Song in the First World War: an International Perspective* (Routledge 2018). He has published widely, always from the perspective that popular song does not illustrate History with a capital H, something which happens elsewhere, in muddy trenches or oak-panelled offices. It is, rather, a series of mass activities, physical, intellectual and emotional, which are fully a part of history.

Graff, Peter (Denison University, Cleveland, USA) / **Staging Patriotism and Propaganda: Cleveland's German-Language Theater and the Great War**

Throughout the First World War, German Americans were increasingly suspected of harboring foreign allegiances. As the war escalated, cities and states proposed bans on German cultural products, including music and theater. Programming for the German-American stage, therefore, became a political act that offers a unique lens through which to view the community's response to the conflict. Cleveland's only German language theater, the Deutsches Theater, staged works that spoke to the community's divided loyalty to both the United States and the Fatherland. Although the only scholarly study on German theater in Cleveland suggests that productions vanished at the first signs of war, my findings demonstrate that the Deutsches Theater became more active during the war and increasingly programmed revisionist retellings of wartime events that verged on blatant propaganda.

In this paper, I analyze the Deutsches Theater's programming from 1914 to 1918 and examine the musical themes and dramatic narratives of four contemporary war-themed works. Drawing on production materials and firsthand accounts from English and German newspapers, I chart the evolving public image that Cleveland's German community projected in light of evolving global events. Productions and exhibition methods indicate a conflicted identity, caught between American patriotism and German cultural pride. The exhibition of *Lieb' Vaterland*, for example, displayed this duality as it encouraged audiences to sing along to both German and American anthems. Scrutiny of this four-year period reveals how Cleveland's German community used the theater to position itself and articulate a public identity during a time of heightened scrutiny and antagonism.

Peter Graff is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Denison University and holds a Ph.D. in musicology from Case Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio). His work primarily addresses music and popular entertainment in early twentieth-century America. Peter's book project, from which this paper derives, explores diasporic musical theater traditions in Cleveland and throughout the United States.

PANEL 5: Propaganda on the Road: Musicians' Tours and Travels

Reichard, Tobias (Hochschule für Musik und Theater München, GER) / **German-Italian Music Relations During World War II**

Germany and Italy have always stylized themselves as nations with exceptional musical traditions. This tendency intensified under Fascist and National Socialist rule, since both regimes derived their claim to political power to a considerable extent from a self-image of cultural superiority. As a result, music played a pivotal role in the staging of major political events such as the official state visits of political functionaries and especially of the two dictators themselves, whose physical presence had embodied the allegedly 'unshakeable friendship' between Germany and Italy before 1939. On the other hand, music had always been the subject of rivalry between both nations that, on a more general scale, reflected mutual stereotypes, prejudices and resentments – and that led to constant conflicts between the two regimes in times of war. Yet, despite growing tensions, music relations reached their all-time high between 1940 and 1943.

Based on primary sources from German and Italian archives, the proposed paper will trace the importance of these relations between Germany and Italy during the Second World War. By focusing on the political instrumentalization for propagandistic purposes as well as their potentials (and limitations) for wartime mobilization, the presentation will show how prestigious guest performances of famous artists, orchestras, and entire opera companies compensated for the lack of public appearances of both dictators, after they gradually retreated from the public during wartime.

Tobias Reichard studied historical musicology, Italian literature and law at the University of Hamburg. He wrote his doctoral thesis on the German-Italian musical relations under Hitler and Mussolini (*Musik für die 'Achse'. Deutsch-italienische Musikbeziehungen unter Hitler und Mussolini bis 1943*, Münster 2020). He was a research associate at the University of Hamburg and the Research Institute for Music Theater Thurnau/Bayreuth. Since March 2020, he directs the Ben-Haim Research Center at the University of Music and Theater Munich. His research focuses on music in dictatorships, Jewish music, and the topography of music.

Fontelles-Ramonet, Albert (EESA/CPD Institut del Teatre, ESP) / **The European Tours of Cobla Barcelona (1936-1937): Music Against Fascism During the Spanish Civil War**

During the Spanish Civil War, Cobla Barcelona was requested by the Propaganda Commission of the Government of Catalonia. Between 1936 and 1937, the group made a couple of tours, one of them with the dancer Joan Magrinyà, the singer Emili Vendrell and the pianist Isidre Marvà. The cobla gave more than three hundred concerts in France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia, performing in emblematic auditoriums such as Salle Gaveau, Salle Pleyel or the Grand Palais des Champs-Élysées. The ensemble also participated in the Gala de la Danse Internacional with Teresina Boronat, as well as in the opening of the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris Internationale Exhibition of 1937, where the sound of the cobla was mixed with the public presentation of Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*.

The main goal of this paper is to characterize the use of a musical ensemble as a political persuasion instrument and as a sound propaganda tool at the supranational level. The Propaganda Commission used the Cobla Barcelona to raise funds, to go against fascism, generate international support and thus raise awareness of a certain political vision favourable to the Spanish Second Republic. The analysis of the activities allows us to relate the use, the

functions and the symbolism that the repertoire acquired during the tours. At the same time, some transnational performance practices, such as concerts on European radio stations, gramophone recordings and the viewing of Republican-themed films during the intermissions of some recitals, corroborate the fundamental role that sound technology gained in the interwar period.

Albert Fontelles-Ramonet. PhD (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2020) in Musicology with a dissertation on Cobla Barcelona (1922-1938) and the relations of Igor Stravinsky and Manuel de Falla with Catalunya and the ensemble. He earned a BA in Performance with Honours (Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya, 2015) and MA in Music Education (Universidad Internacional de Valencia, 2016). Most of her research and publications centre on early twentieth-century Spanish and Catalan music. As a teacher, he has taught at Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya, Jesuit Foundation and Conservatori dels Pirineus. As a performer, he has collaborated with the Orquestra Simfònica de Barcelona i Nacional de Catalunya, Cobla Marinada or Cobla de Cambra de Catalunya. He has received the Honorary Award of the Conservatori de Barcelona (2011), the fellowship of the Ministry of Science and Art of Baden-Württemberg (2012) and the Solsonès Award (2018).

Pestel, Friedemann (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, GER) / **Mobile Propaganda: The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra Touring National Socialist “New Europe”, 1940–1944**

The Second World War marked a peak of musical mobility for German orchestras. Sponsored by the Ministry of Propaganda, the Berlin Philharmonic toured annexed, occupied, allied, and neutral European territories alike. As the “Third Reich’s” flagship musical institution, the orchestra, in the early 1940s, reached an international presence unmatched in the orchestra’s long history.

Combining case studies of France, the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the Balkans, Scandinavia and Switzerland, and the Iberian dictatorships, this paper develops two arguments: First, it demonstrates the importance of studying Nazi propaganda and wartime musical mobility in a transnational perspective. Whereas most scholarship on cultural annexation or occupation policies has so far privileged individual territories, this paper uses the prism of musical mobility to reconsider musical propaganda within the Nazi framework of a “New Europe”, which cultural hierarchies but also connections and corporations marked strongly.

Second, within a transnational perspective on “New Europe”, this paper shifts the traditional sender-oriented focus on cultural propaganda to practices of coercion, cooperation, and contestation on the spot. It reevaluates the ideological imperatives stemming from propaganda against the interplay of the multiple musical actors involved. This broader panorama includes the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra with its musicians and conductors (in particular Furtwängler, Krauss, Böhm, and Knappertsbusch), German cultural authorities as well as audiences, journalists, and politicians in the respective target countries.

Looking at propaganda “at work” in different places and from different perspectives, I argue that musical practices across geographical, political, and ideological borders under wartime conditions took their meanings through processes of appropriation among collaborationists,

frequent concertgoers, or resistance activists. As similar performative patterns and established repertoires impacted different audiences and public spheres in different ways, they account for both the potentials and limits of political coercion through music under exceptional circumstances in international musical life.

Friedemann Pestel is lecturer in Modern European History at Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg. He was a visiting fellow at the German Historical Institutes in Paris and London and the Universities of Vienna and Bordeaux. In 2020/21 he holds a fellowship at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies. His research interests and publications cover the French and Haitian Revolutions, political migration in the Age of Revolutions, conceptual history, the history of classical musical life, and memory studies. He is currently working on a global history of orchestral touring in the 20th century.

Ceriani, Davide (Rowan University, New Jersey, USA) / **Italian Instrumental Music as Fascist Propaganda in the United States During the Interwar Period**

Up until WWI, Italian music in America primarily meant bel canto and verismo opera, and the works of Giuseppe Verdi. However, beginning in the early 1920s, orchestras in the United States performed an increasing number of instrumental works by living Italian composers. This trend, bolstered by the extensive American tours of conductor Bernardino Molinari (1880-1952) and of composers Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936) and Alfredo Casella (1883-1947), led to a drastic change in the perception of Italian music in the United States.

Respighi toured the United States four times between 1925 and 1932; Casella performed and conducted in America three times between 1921 and 1925, worked as a guest conductor of the Boston Pops between 1927 and 1929, and performed in the United States again in 1934 and 1936; Molinari conducted in America during the seasons 1927-28, 1930-31, and 1933-34. Thus, their presence in the United States mostly coincided with the formative years of the Fascist regime in Italy.

I argue that the regime appropriated these musicians' activities to strengthen its reputation in the United States. Introducing new instrumental works was an excellent opportunity to show American audiences that—at least in the field of music—the Fascist ideal of a “new” Italy was not an empty political slogan. The successes of Respighi, Casella, and Molinari were also utilized on the domestic front; the Italian press magnified their triumphs in America, and the embassy and consulates published dossiers on the positive reception of the concerts as well as the musicians' public statements in favor of Fascism.

Davide Ceriani is an Associate Professor of Musicology at Rowan University. Prior to working at Rowan University, Dr. Ceriani spent two years (2011-2013) as a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Music at Columbia University. He received his Ph.D. in Musicology from Harvard University in 2011, earned his Laurea (cum laude) at the University of Florence in 2003, and obtained a saxophone degree at the Conservatory of Bologna in 1999. Dr. Ceriani's two main areas of research are music in Italy during the interwar period and the reception of Italian opera in the United States from 1880 until 1940.

PANEL 6: Classical Music and the Musical Canon as Propaganda

Christoforidis, Michael & Murray, Ken (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, AUS) / **In the Wake of Granados: Framing “Spanish Music” as Propaganda in London and Madrid (1916-1919)**

The death of Granados in 1916, following a German submarine attack on the passenger ferry *Sussex* in the English channel, became an international cause célèbre during World War I. It also had important ramifications on the politicized framing of “Spanish music” both in Spain and abroad in the years that followed. This paper adopts a transnational approach to explore some of the ways in which Spanish music could be viewed as a form of propaganda in both London and Madrid in the aftermath of the death of the Catalan composer, focusing on the agency of Manuel de Falla and his milieu.

The first part of the paper examines the promotion Spanish music in London as means of pro-Allied Powers propaganda, and the importance of Francophile critics in this endeavor. We then turn the impact of the death of Granados on the highly charged debates surrounding Spanish music, concentrating on Francophile reactions of Falla and his circle. It will be argued that these events brought about an artistic and political reorientation in Falla that was fomented by his musical alliance with the Ballets Russes. The final part of this paper focuses on the Ballets Russes’ triumphant premiere in London of Falla’s *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1919), situating it both in terms of pro-Allied Spanishness and as an embodiment of the post-war internationalist Armistice style.

Michael Christoforidis lectures in musicology at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne. He has published extensively on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spanish music and dance, and its impact on Western culture. Other research interests include the impact of the visual arts upon musical modernism, issues of national identity and exoticism in music, and the history of the acoustic guitar. His recent books are: *Manuel de Falla and Visions of Spanish Music* (Routledge, 2017) and *Carmen and the Staging of Spain* (with Elizabeth Kertesz, Oxford University Press, 2018).

Ken Murray is head of guitar studies at the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne. As a musicologist his interests include Spanish music of the late 19th and 20th centuries, and the guitar in the twentieth century, and he completed his PhD on “Spanish Music and its Representations in London (1979-1930)” (2013). He has championed and recorded Spanish music from the early twentieth century, worked extensively with contemporary composers and has been active as a performer of Brazilian and South American musical styles.

Benoit-Otis, Marie-Hélène & Prud’homme, Gabrielle (Université de Montréal, CAN) / **“Ein Zusammenklang von seltener Art”: Performing Mozart’s Requiem in Fascist Italy (1941)**

Although the use of music propaganda in both Nazi Germany and fascist Italy has been explored by numerous scholars (Nicolodi 1984, Sachs 1987, Levi 1994, Dennis 2012, Petit 2018, GinotSlacik/Niccolai 2019), little is known about the propagandistic strategies adopted in the

context of musical interactions within the Axis. This paper explores the intersection between Italian and German cultural politics from a transnational and microhistorical lense via a monumental performance of Mozart's Requiem that took place in Rome on December 3, 1941, for the 150th anniversary of the composer's death.

Although this event was unanimously presented as a demonstration of German-Italian solidarity, an investigation of the reviews published in the German and Italian press reveals that it was conceived in distinctly different terms on either side of the Alps. Whereas Nazi-controlled newspapers framed the Roman Requiem as a culmination of the German Mozart-Jahr and as a demonstration of Italy's willingness to celebrate Mozart as a "German genius", reviews published in the peninsula used the performance to highlight the quality of fascist Italy's music scene and display the richness of Italo-German cultural ties, implicitly promoting an egalitarian understanding of the Axis.

This case study thus questions the effectiveness of music propaganda at a supranational level and bears witness to the complexity of reconciling the cultural and political agendas of authoritarian regimes based on conflicting nationalisms (Hoffend 1998, Ben-Ghiat 2002, Reichard 2020). Through the performance of Mozart's Requiem in Rome, Nazi Germany and fascist Italy attempted a "Zusammenklang" whose harmony was only superficial.

Marie-Hélène Benoit-Otis is Associate Professor of Musicology at the Université de Montréal, where she holds the Canada Research Chair in Music and Politics. Her current research projects explore musical life during and after World War II, with a special focus on the use of music in cultural propaganda. Her recent publications include a co-edited collection of essays on music in concentration camps (*Chanter, rire et résister à Ravensbrück : Autour de Germaine Tillion et du Verfügar aux Enfers*, 2018), and a co-authored monograph on Mozart in Nazi propaganda (*Mozart 1941 : La Semaine Mozart du Reich allemand et ses invités français*, 2019).

Gabrielle Prud'homme is a Ph.D. candidate in musicology at the Université de Montréal (with a codirection at the Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien), as well as a student member of the Canada Research Chair in Music and Politics held by Marie-Hélène Benoit-Otis. Supported (among others) by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), her dissertation explores the reception of Germanspeaking composers in the light of musical commemorations in post-war Austria and Germany. Previous work on Verdi in fascist Italy gave rise to several publications and talks at international conferences.

Messing, Scott (Alma College, Michigan, USA) / **The Politics of a Schubert Year (1928): Vienna and Beyond**

Of the nearly continuous, unprecedented events in Vienna commemorating the centennial of Schubert's death, the tenth Deutsches Sängerbundesfest in July 1928 attracted international attention and commentary. Three concerts took place in a specially designed hall that accommodated 30–40,000 members of men's singing societies from Europe, America, and colonial Africa. Even as Schubert occupied a central position, the final concert was billed as an "Anschluss rally." Austrian and German officials voiced their craving for a union denied them

by the victorious allies' enforced treaties following World War One. That yearning was manifest through written and visual media as well as the newer technology of radio. This first pancontinental broadcast reached 45 stations in central and western Europe. Although the scholarly literature has often recounted this call for Anschluss, there has been no equivalent investigation of the immediate and often vociferous responses from the erstwhile allied nations. My paper analyzes both the demonstrations and the reactions to them, whose ferocity increased the closer a country came to Germanic borders, and which in turn received equally spirited ripostes from Austro-German defenders. Even so, the overheated rhetoric never questioned Schubert's stature. Whether the adversaries were locally internecine or broadly super-national, stakeholders eagerly criticized what they contended were their opponents' misuse of his value on political, economic, or cultural grounds. No faction doubted his worth even as all parties ascribed malign motives to their antagonists' exploitation of a composer whose celebration touched off this cause célèbre.

Scott Messing is Charles A. Dana Professor of Music Emeritus at Alma College. His books include *Self-Quotation in Schubert* (2020), *Marching to the Canon: The Life of Schubert's "Marche militaire"* (2014), *Schubert in the European Imagination* (two volumes, 2006–2007), and *Neoclassicism in Music* (1988, 1996), all published by the University of Rochester Press. His articles have appeared in *Journal of Musicology*, *Beethoven Journal*, *Proteus*, and *Journal of the American Liszt Society*; and the essay anthologies *Wien 1897: Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres* (1999) and *Music and Modern Art* (2002). He has read some thirty papers at international, national, and regional conferences.

KEYNOTE: Anne C. Shreffler (Harvard University): 'Forward, But Not Forgotten': The Rise and Fall of Musical Agit-Prop During the 1930s

This paper will examine how leftist musicians, dancers, poets, and filmmakers responded to the growing threat of Fascism during the 1930s in Europe. (Most of these efforts were shut down after the outbreak of war in 1939.) Anti-fascist artistic production was featured in large-scale festivals, inspired by those in the Soviet Union and supported by local Popular Fronts. Another good outlet was to write for ballet, theater, and film, which were seen as highly effective means of propaganda. Hanns Eisler, who developed the most coherent and systematic theory of how to make politically effective music in the 1930s, was at the center of a large international network that spanned the Soviet Union, Europe, and the United States. His work looms large in this paper. I also draw on examples by Miriam Gideon, Ruth Crawford Seeger, Wallingford Riegger, Alan Bush, and others, as I seek to demonstrate how men and women in the leftist movement created new forms of concert music that was intended to fight fascism or to advocate for social justice. I will highlight the crucial role of exile newspapers in linking leftist communities. I will also consider the question of what makes musical propaganda effective (or not).

Anne C. Shreffler's research interests include the musical avant-garde after 1945 in Europe and America, with special emphasis on the political and ideological associations of new music. She has taught at Harvard since the fall of 2003. Shreffler serves on advisory and editorial boards of a number of musicological journals and institutions in the U.S., Germany, and Switzerland,

including the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel. She is currently working on a book project, entitled "Musical Utopias: Progressive Music and Progressive Politics in the Twentieth Century" (under contract with University of California Press).