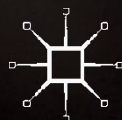


SERIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, MUSIC AND DIPLOMACY

Sounds and Voices on the International Stage

EDITED BY
FRÉDÉRIC RAMEL AND
CÉCILE PRÉVOST-THOMAS



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Frédéric Ramel • Cécile Prévost-Thomas
Editors

International Relations, Music and Diplomacy

Sounds and Voices on the International Stage

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Introduction: Understanding Musical Diplomacies—Movements on the “Scenes”

Cécile Prévost-Thomas and Frédéric Ramel

Music is not disconnected from diplomacy. Far from being an ornament during international ceremonies, it appears as a necessity. This idea was developed by Baldassare Castiglione in his major work, *The Courtier*, published in 1528, and one of the best-selling books of the Renaissance. Certainly, musicians are more involved in some diplomatic functions than others, such as representation rather than information.¹ Few of them combine a musical activity and international political responsibilities.² Nevertheless, music helps the diplomatic rites accompanying ceremonies and celebrations, by investing in spaces during major conferences’ informal negotiations or by inspiring an international order based on a harmonic model. In fact, similarities appear, “diplomacy as music is made of practice: this art is learned in its conditions and its expectations but it cannot be taught to be applied directly in an effective way. It assumes experience-based know-how and a disposition and temperament reinforced by habituation of education, all of which constitute (...) a way of being.”³

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This is what Jean-David Levitte (former representative of France to the United Nations, 2000–2002, and French Ambassador in the United States, 2002–2007) evokes while comparing the diplomat to an artist who must practice his scales by accessing all information resources placed at his disposal, such as the previous negotiations in the Security Council.

The exploration of the links between music and diplomacy has gained renewed interest in recent years, around what is called the acoustic turn in international relations. Initiated by an international conference co-organized by the CERI-Sciences Po and the CERLIS (CNRS, Universities of Paris Descartes and Sorbonne Nouvelle—Paris 3), the reflection presented in this book aims to contribute to this turning point by putting the emphasis and the focus on the notion of “scenes.”

THE ACOUSTIC TURN IN IR: ORIGINS AND TRAJECTORIES

The acoustic turn results from the merging of three different trends: international concerns in musicology, the aesthetic turn in international relations (IR) and the cultural turn in international history.

For several decades, using their own tools, musicologists have worked on the role of music in international relations. They have focused on musical change in the context of modernity and especially on how traditional music and folk music interact with music coming from other localities. Contextualist approaches in the field contribute to exploring transnational interactions. Armed conflicts during the 1990s, especially in Eastern Europe and Africa, have generated new research on the role of music in conflict transformation. This academic literature takes into account the power of music on mobilization or justification of war but also how this art may be used as a resource in peace-building processes.⁴ The seminal book edited by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and John M. O’Connell in 2010 shows how ethnomusicologists address these questions and the “paradoxical nature of music in conflict.”⁵ As Castelo-Branco underlines in the epilogue, this description may highlight major dilemmas because music by itself cannot generate peace: “as we identify ways through which ethnomusicologists can catalyze and mediate processes that can attenuate conflict and violence, we must also be aware that political action resulting in structural changes is a necessary condition for the effectiveness of conflict resolution and the establishment of peace.”⁶ Paradoxically, the input of musicology is greater for the field of international relations than that of historians or political scientists. Luckily, these two disciplines have initiated an acoustic turn that aims at filling the gap.

In international relations, the initiative did not come from the liberal theory, even though they consider “world politics like playing music, and states ... just like members of a band or orchestra.”⁷ These are the critical theories that support the development of links between aesthetic and international relations. An article by Roland Bleiker published in the journal *Millennium* in 2001 provides the pillars of this approach.⁸ Powered by a will to redirect the way to grasp the object, such turning point goes against the approach referred to as “mimetic” or scientist “realist.”⁹ Scientific realism turns its back to representations, which are considered nothing more than acts of power or the secondary factors in the understanding of politics. To this mimetic approach, Bleiker opposed an aesthetic posture which focuses on representations.¹⁰ He promoted three ideas: to adopt post-modern categories and tools; to highlight the cross-fertilization use of discordant faculties that are needed to understand politics as Kant pointed out (reason and imagination are part of political action); to explore new objects and new ways of dealing with the dilemmas in world politics.¹¹ More generally, “the aesthetic turn was and should continue to be about opening up thinking space.”¹² In this perspective, some research focuses on music by depicting international relations as “an audible world” that can be “studied and experienced as sound—music, noise, silence.”¹³ Another way is to scrutinize the sensual appreciation of the “(diplomatic) world in general.”¹⁴

Finally, interest for the arts in general and music in particular in the history of international relations has come from the cultural turn.¹⁵ The origin is the analysis of American diplomacy, which, during the 1970s, intended to integrate a cultural dimension in order to capture the United States’ foreign policy.¹⁶ But this turning point goes beyond the study of both American diplomacy and foreign politics, because the objects are studied as ways to understand the so-called “deep forces” (*forces profondes*) Pierre Renouvin and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle referred to in the perspective of the *Annales* school. Among the several founding texts of this approach, those by Jessica Gienow-Hecht are worth acknowledging, including her well-known monography dedicated to cultural American-German relations in the early twentieth century,¹⁷ at the crossroads of transnational history and cultural history. Worth acknowledging also are the two special issues of a francophone journal, *Relations Internationales*, dedicated to the links between music and international relations.¹⁸

The convergence of these three movements has resulted in the constitution of several clusters of research. The largest is undoubtedly dedicated to music during the bipolar period. It is not limited to the study of the

Jazz ambassadors; this program was designed by the State Department in the mid-1950s to promote another image of the United States against the Soviet Union. The Cold War generated clashes when it came to defining music, as Danielle Fosler-Lussier illustrated in her analysis of how composer Bela Bartók's work was welcomed in the United States and in Eastern Europe.¹⁹ Audio devices (mainly radios) also became "sound boxes" during the cultural Cold War not without offering resources for dissidents from Eastern Europe. Radios embody the "sonic windows"²⁰ that overcome resistance movements.

Both perspectives are worthy of interest: the first matches the long term by identifying continuities and changes in diplomatic practices. It is the purpose of the collective work co-edited by Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto and Damien Mahiet, *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*,²¹ defined as a bridge between musicologists, historians and political scientists. The second approach aims at understanding the role of the state in the formulation and the implementation of musical diplomacy during the twentieth century. A good example of this trend is Jessica Gienow-Hecht's edited volume, *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*.²² A continuation of these collective research undertakings, this present work proposes to grasp music in diplomatic interactions by refocusing on the notion of scenes.

THE CONCEPT OF "SCENES": FROM SOCIOLOGY TO IR

To define music is a tricky enterprise, especially because of the influences exerted by Western designs from the ancient Greece. They insist on a series of sounds organized according to Adorno: "temporal succession of articulated sounds that are more than just sound."²³ However, other musical traditions do not necessarily subscribe to this definition.²⁴ In the following pages, we offer a focus rather than a reconciliation. It is less to offer a technical design of music as a poetic approach that transcends cultural identities. In an attempt to paraphrase French poet Louis Aragon, one could say that music is essentially movement and its marvel comes from its perpetual movement, just like water.²⁵

This idea of movement is all the more interesting than it was already articulated with political theory by Deleuze, following the ideas of the French philosopher, François Châtelet. According to Châtelet, "music does not present or represent anything."²⁶ Gilles Deleuze develops this conception and for him, "music is especially problematic in its resistance

to representation—it is in this sense a violation of common sense and good sense. For this reason, music can provide a useful vehicle for criticizing the *doxa* of representation and thus for thinking in unorthodox ways that problematize notions of subject and object, unity and multiplicity, finite and infinite, knowing and feeling.”²⁷ Furthermore, music corresponds to a series of movements:

a musical piece (...) acts as a material field constituted by sound qualities that are sometimes light, sometimes heavy, sometimes fluid, sometimes thick, and which overlap, go together, and amalgamate in movements. Calculating the movements—all of which are singular—produced by the interwoven trajectories of the sound elements, creates a voluminous space which comes forth, advances, gets folded back on itself, diluted, blown up, annihilated, and fans out. It is *qua* surface fanning out and incorporating different levels and degrees that musical composition is active.²⁸

Deleuze acknowledges that “Music makes, and makes us make, movement.”²⁹ This perspective is associated with the ideas of fluidity and deterritorialization that drive Deleuze’s political theory: “The only way to ‘line up’ the two problems of painting and music is to take a criterion extrinsic to the fiction of the fine arts, to compare the forces of deterritorialization in each case. Music seems to have a much stronger deterritorializing force.”³⁰ Lastly, music is an act of sensitive reason. “The function [of music] is not to represent, but to update power, that is to say establish human relationships in this sound matter.”³¹ This updating is echoed in the act of performance, that “means to actually, really form (*per-* here is an intensifier).”³² In other words, “Music (...) guides politics, as it prompts movement and relation.”³³ This perspective meets the needs of scholars in international relations who study the links and the “putting into motion” (*mise en mouvement*) of various actors: states, NGOs, firms, peoples. Diplomacy is characterized by a pluralization³⁴ and a polylaternalism,³⁵ that expresses an enlargement of diplomats who are not restricted to civil servants. They are peoples “with global interests.”³⁶ These changes concern the actorness in diplomacy but also the purposes that are not limited to state-centric interests.³⁷

The perspective adopted in this volume is to study music as these series of movements in international relations defined as scenes. Such pathway has already been opened by Jessica Gienow-Hecht when she dealt with concert performances. A stage is a physical space “characterized by intensified attention and ostentation” where the three actions are: “First of all, the moment of *listening*: a stage needs an audience to listen; otherwise there is no stage. Second, there is the moment of *performance*.

Audiences pay attention because something happens in a designated space. Third, and most importantly, there is the moment of *control*.³⁸ Our own perspective echoes her research by enlarging the notion. Our conception of scenes explores the scenes beyond concert performances of symphonic orchestras.

In sociology, the concept of scene is understood in two different ways. Inspired by the theatrical performance, Goffman mobilized the concept of scene in order to associate social life with a dramaturgy. The staging and self-presentation are major elements in the interactions between individuals. This way of understanding the concept of scene inspired some internationalists, marginally. They focused on the role and the script, on the control of the scene and information or on the place of the symbolic rites in social interactions applied to international life.³⁹ We can also spot a trend with the constructivists, who find in the symbolic interactions tools that are not part of materialistic categories—to address conflicts.⁴⁰

The second approach is located at the crossroads of scenographic studies and the sociology of culture. The use of the concept of musical scenes evacuates the essentialism that surrounds the observation of music practices in small groups. It corresponds to that wider stage considered as “the federator of the various built-ins between a territory and the artistic activities that develop within it”⁴¹ or like “a cutting-up and an assembly that would be both sensible and sensitive, of space, time, action, the structuring of a space and an event placed in front of a public audience, bringing into play actors and spectators.”⁴² In other words, the concept of musical scenes “suggests the visibilization and publicization of a milieu or an area field by the intervention of a particular framework in which specific events and expressions of human activity take place (the artistic, musical, theatrical, choreographic, literary scenes). It refers to the ecosystem that includes all actors, spaces, networks, protocols, procedures of an area field (political, diplomatic, social, scientific scenes), the cultural, social or individual factors (learned, popular, public and private scenes), implying either acknowledgment or rejection.”⁴³ Beyond this generic term, Will Straw, a specialist in Communications Studies, first researcher to define the concept of scene in the early 1990s,⁴⁴ offers to distinguish the study of local music scenes on the one hand and a more subtle and fluid spatial reality that would be formed on the basis of international musical affiliations⁴⁵ on the other hand. In his more recent work, he invited his readers to understand the concept of scene as “restricted” or “open,”⁴⁶ the first helps to measure how the specific categories of expression, artistic or cultural, as well as the

forms of sociability, circulate in a given territory and the second, also developed in the work of Terry Nichols Clark's team in 2010, allows to "understand how a scene, through the image it has in society, makes sense, and to weigh its consequences on social life and thereby on decisions in terms of public policies."⁴⁷ By this way, "scenes, in this sense, are a visible effervescence in which may be observed the flux and diversity deemed to be definitive of city life."⁴⁸ This dimension of visibility emphasizes the distinction between the two aforementioned scenic configurations: while "in the open model [...], the scenes are the visible part of the city's cultural and social energies"⁴⁹; in the restricted model, it is often what is invisible that defines them.⁵⁰

At the intersection of the "restricted" and "open" scenes, how do musical and diplomatic scenes, local and international scenes actually articulate? How can the international scene and different musical scenes across time and space be described? Does music fill a peripheral or a central function on the diplomatic scene? What are their degrees of visibility? Do they provide a background or are they at the core of diplomatic practices? If we finally agree with Marcel Freydefont that "there can be no scene without acting and staging,"⁵¹ what are the musical issues on the international scene? Therefore, we propose a movement from urban sociology to the study of international relations in order to inform the links between musical diplomacies and the international scenes.

DIMENSIONS OF MUSICAL DIPLOMACIES IN INTERNATIONAL SCENES

The different chapters that compose this edited volume share several ideas about the acoustic turn in IR. They rely on an extension of musical material: sounds and voices are not restricted to music per se. The voices (speech) of musicians in the international arena are also taken into account and examined. They also propose an extension of strategic figurations. A lot of the literature deals with diplomacy without looking at the role of musical diplomacies in the context of war (beyond the issue of bipolarity on which many publications in this field have focused). They show the role of an emotional or symbolical approach of musical diplomacies as well. To study music in the international stage means to examine the representation of the self and the otherness. All the contributors of this volume use their own set of theories and hypothesis, and because they come from several disciplines (history, musicology, sociology, political science), they do not mobilize the

same framework for documenting and analyzing these diplomatic and musical scenes. One option could have been to use a sociology of practices as a common tool for this research.⁵² The practical turn and the acoustic turn have much in common because diplomacy is an art and not a science. This perspective was simply not tenable, however. Indeed, it would have meant imposing to our colleagues from other traditions of thought a framework that would have locked the plurality of intellectual perspective. Beyond the heterogeneity of approaches, it should be noted that all the authors propose an alternative study of IR based on the role of sensitivity.

The book is divided into four parts. Firstly, the contributors explore *how the musical diplomacies shape the musical scenes*. Here, the musical scenes are a dimension or a part of diplomacy, where musical diplomacies focus on an economic and cultural sector in particular. In her chapter entitled “Europe in Rome and Rome in Europe: Diplomacy as a network of cultural exchanges,” Michela Berti proposes to understand the role played by the Roman court as a central scene of cultural and musical effervescence of Europe during the eighteenth century and how diplomacy used arts in general and music to facilitate exchange across the continent. Taking the examples of two festivals organized by French ambassadors at Rome in 1747 and 1782 and the study of diplomatic correspondence, the author analyzes the role of the diplomatic network in the circulation of festive performances and music from Rome to other models of European courts. The chapter also measures the impact this network may have on the recognition of those artists involved. Michela Berti underlines the importance of the concepts of cultural transfers and musical practices, which, although recognized as “Italian,” were in fact initiated by foreign diplomats (French and Spanish).

In the same vein, the chapter written by Mark Ferraguto confirms the central position of the diplomats as musical agents who facilitated the musical interaction between the different actors of the music scene of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Diplomats had become music agents. By observing the practices of several diplomats who served the Court of Vienna at this time, the author draws up a typology of musical responsibilities based on the analysis of three directions (exchanges of musical staff and goods, collaborations and interventions with composers and performers, connections within the “salon networks”). Mark Ferraguto provides new ways of thinking about music as a diplomatic resource but also diplomats as agents of music dissemination across borders and as agents of connection between musicians.

With her chapter entitled “Targeting New Music in post-war Europe: American Cultural Diplomacy in the crafting of Art Music Avant-Garde Scenes,” Anne-Sylvie Barthel-Calvet invites us to continue our discovery of diplomacy music as it developed in the middle of the twentieth century. She studies the American cultural diplomacy tools (conducted mainly by the Congress for Cultural Freedom until 1967 and by personalities such as Nicolas Nabokov) on aesthetics in music creation. The chapter shows the enlargement of the music scene—or what she qualified as “trans-local scenes”—thanks to the increasing number of meetings between eastern and western composers during the Cold War.

This first part illustrates the music scene like a vector of geographical transmission—from the local to the European for the two first cases, from the United States to Europe for the third—but also and above all a vector of genres (Italian music, avant-garde music) to these times. A scene goes beyond the location of performances, it is also the distribution or the promotion of a musical style. These first three chapters demonstrate that *the musical scenes are not essentialized but that they are the product of diplomatic agents* (more or less official and visible) *who shape the acoustic environment of the public* (which is “open or restricted”).

The second part of the volume underlines *how the musical diplomacies shape the diplomatic scene* by leading conducts and diplomatic relations on the basis of music. This art becomes a resource or even a model for acting in international relations. If we consider that the diplomat has three complementary identities—a bureaucrat, a hero and a mediator⁵³—then it is necessary to recognize the fundamental role of music in the training and the realization of mediation. Rebekah Ahrendt proposes a very stimulating connection between the history of an instrument (the viol) and the practice of diplomacy. Based on the publication of Hubert Le Blanc,⁵⁴ her chapter insists on the sound produced by the instrument. The bass viol is the ultimate instrument of intimacy but also the instrument of a “continuous sound” when accompanying the other instruments called “on top.” This kind of sound is compared to a model for ambassadors who must adopt the same tone: “careful dissemblance and control of tone was just as necessary to a satisfying performance of negotiations as they were to a concert on the viol.”

By exploring two periods of history (early nineteenth century and early twenty-first century), Damien Mahiet does not focus on international orders inspired by musical frameworks but on musical practices adopted by leaders and state representatives. Whether these practices are considered

old or new and beyond such qualifications, music and dance shape the environment where diplomats evolve during a specific negotiation or at the international level at large. Sounds, voices and ballets highlight how practitioners conceive their role in the diplomatic scene. These practices in “restricted” or “open” musical scenes facilitate non-verbal or informal relations but may also entail making faux pas or offenses, be they deliberate or not.

Noé Cornago focuses on the work of Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Boulez. Sounds and voices are taken here to the letter, because we know how much these two composers offered another relation to the act of listening based on an exploration of new sound horizons. Even if the interpretation of Noé Cornago will no doubt trigger debates with musicologists, it provides above all a new description of a major phenomenon, that is a trend to the decolonization of French diplomacy from different ways. Musicians can perform diplomatic functions. Beyond the official responsibilities, they disseminate models of relationships to others that diplomatic practice can draw on or even adopt. Although diplomacy is a practice of estrangement,⁵⁵ Noé Cornago shows that diplomacy suggests a dissociation of the otherness, that is, to recognize peoples and representatives of the South as diplomatic actors per se.

By suggesting the analogy between diplomatic scenes and music scenes, this second part deliberately explores the relations between open and visible versus restricted and invisible dimensions of these scenes. For example, advocating the viol means limiting diplomacy to restricted spaces. The duplication of the diplomatic scene between formal or informal meetings shows a continuum of diplomatic practices. To restrict the scene does not automatically entail invisibility for negotiators. On the contrary, it reveals the positions and the emotions that they can share. As the last empirical instance on Schaeffer and Boulez shows, to make visible new others who did not exist in the international play means to open the diplomatic scene to new performers. In other words, *the ways to conceive and to practice music in international relations shape some conducts on diplomatic scenes.*

The third part deals with *how music is an object of diplomacy.* Music and sounds are then at the forefront themselves. For instance, music becomes a diplomatic issue in the agenda of multilateral forums. Fanny Gribenski studies what is at the heart of scientific debates in music: to set up the frequency of the A (the norm ISO 16 “Standard tuning frequency”). Far from a natural principle recognized by physics, this frequency is a source of intense discussion and dialogues in international fora. Although the

French specialists and actors were leaders during the nineteenth century, they did not control sound diplomacy: the United States and also a series of private actors and industry that find commercial interests in the definition of this frequency are involved in the discussions. Fanny Gribenski points out that these negotiations can go beyond a social multilateralism that focuses on social conditions of existence or cultural reconciliation and that they are an opportunity for the industrial sector or actor to uphold and defend their own ideas and interests.

In their contribution, Anaïs Fléchet and Esteban Buch describe how an imprisoned musician has become a diplomatic issue because he symbolizes the struggle against a dictatorship. The Argentinian pianist Miguel Angel Estrella was incarcerated in Uruguay in 1977. Other musicians had made themselves heard by actively engaging in advocacy activities. This chapter underlines the depoliticization of the mobilization as a way of enlarging support to the cause. But it also documents a chain of solidarity between musicians to save one of them. Music, here, is in the front stage because diplomats have leaped to the rescue of a musician.

Music may also provide resources of reputation. This perspective is not to be restricted to nation branding for the states, it also concerns distinctiveness. Dean Vuletic explores these phenomena by focusing on the Eurovision Song Contest. This show is the ultimate embodiment of this idea of bringing music to the fore of the diplomatic scene. The votes express political alliances between the national broadcasting organizations. The chapter analyzes how authoritarian states have used Eurovision in their public diplomacy during the Cold War (Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia) or since the fall of the Berlin wall (Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia).

In her chapter, Emilija Pundziūtė-Gallois shows that music is a genuine dimension of diplomatic relations and can even become a sector of intervention in the domestic affairs of a foreign state. The context in which the author studies these phenomena is singular and corresponds to the Baltic countries faced to Russia. The organization of classical concerts directed by maestros recognized for their support to President Putin, the choice of musical pieces, the support for the organization of popular music festivals: all these elements become diplomatic issues between Lithuania and Latvia on the one hand and Russia on the other hand. Such political concerns translate into decisions made by the ministers of foreign affairs, who have the power to prevent the guest artists to enter the territory.

This third part observes music like a diplomatic object according to different perspectives. The two first cases analyze the intergovernmental

diplomatic scene in order to impart how the music and the musicians penetrate negotiations to deal with standards or the life of an individual. The two last cases focus on the musical scenes—the Eurovision Song Contest or the festivals organized within a nation—to explore how the states shape the musical trends. In both situations, the scenes may be compared with what Straw analyzes in urban sociology, that is, the “role of affinities and interconnections which (...) mark and regularize the spatial itineraries of people, things and ideas.”⁵⁶ On top of that, *this part shows how and when the open music scenes are imported on the diplomatic scenes.*

This book also shows that an art like music is not an artifice or an ornament in diplomatic practices. To understand musical diplomacy is not only to gain access to the musical scenes “made” by ambassadors. It aims at capturing the moments during which these ambassadors think of the diplomatic stage as a musical scene, how international music scenes emerge, where the musical challenges become some objects of diplomatic negotiations and interactions per se. All these phenomena show that sounds, musics and musicians are movements of deterritorialization because they generate trans-local scenes, they promote technical norms across borders and they contribute to transnational advocacies. But these sounds, musics and musicians may also provide opportunities for states and national actors to further express their peculiarities and identities in the international realm. Music as movement of deterritorialization is thus ambiguous, making all the more relevant the assertion by Claude Lévi-Strauss: music is “the supreme mystery of the science of man, a mystery that all the various disciplines come up against and which holds the key to their progress.”⁵⁷

Sounds and voices make diplomacy and even more, world politics. In the last part, Jessica Gienow-Hecht extends this idea by putting the various contributions of this volume into perspective. Beyond the methodological difficulties to observe the impacts of music and sounds on the international sphere and beyond, the questions that remain open when reading the contributions (that justify new collaborative research in the near future), she identifies a continuum that irrigates the book: “musical nation-branding.” According to her, each case study “makes a statement relating to the desire to be heard in a specific way, to craft an image for a person, a group or a nation state to be acknowledged.” *A new research agenda appears here, between the logic of branding or of the marketable sound and the concept of scenes, both open and restricted.*

During his official visit to Vietnam in 2016, President Obama answered to a question of a 26-year-old rapper named Suboi about the role of music in international relations. He said: “Music, poetry, representations of life as it is and how it should be—those are the things that inspire people. And if I listen to a Vietnamese rap and it connects to the things I’m feeling, now I feel closer to a country on the other side of the world. (...) Let’s be honest. Sometimes art is dangerous, though. And that’s why governments sometimes get nervous about art. But one of the things I truly believe is if you try to suppress the arts, then I think you are suppressing the deepest dreams and aspirations of the people.”⁵⁸ We would be tempted to add: ... and also an analytical resource for understanding ideas and conducts in the international realm.

NOTES

1. However, some musicians would have allowed a flow of information abroad via partitions that present a coded message. But this practice refers more to intelligence or espionage than to diplomacy. For instance, the novel *Imprimatur* is a story of the French guitarist and composer Robert de Visée as a confidential informer. Rita Monaldi and Francesco Sorti, *Imprimatur* (Paris: Pocket, 2004).
2. Lucien Bély, “Musique et musiciens dans les relations internationales à l’époque moderne,” in Christian Meyer (ed.), *Le musicien et ses voyages. Pratiques, réseaux et représentations* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts Verlag, 2003), pp. 9–27.
3. Jean-François de Raymond, *L’Esprit de la diplomatie. Du particulier à l’universel* (Paris: Manitoaba/Les Belles Lettres, 2015), p. 222.
4. See, for instance, Olivier Urbain (ed.), *Music in Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics* (London: I.B. Tauris, in association with Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, 2008); Arild Bergh and John Sloboda, “Music and Art in Conflict Transformation,” *Music and Arts in Action*, 2(2) (2010): 1–17.
5. John M. O’Connell, “Introduction,” in John Morgan O’Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (eds.), *Music and conflict* (Urbana, Chicago & Springfield: The University of Illinois Press, 2010).
6. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, “Epilogue: Ethnomusicologists as Advocates” in *Music and conflict*, p. 246.
7. Stephen Walt, “Liberals are musicians, realists are jocks,” 2011, available at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/24/liberals-are-musicians-realists-are-jocks/> (accessed July 2016).

8. Roland Bleiker, "Aesthetic Turn in IR," *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 30(3) (2001): 509–533.
9. The realist adjective here does not refer to realist theories inspired by IR but all theories founded on the idea that reality exists independently of representations of the observer.
10. Roland Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
11. Bleiker, "Aesthetic Turn in IR."
12. Roland Bleiker, "In Search of Thinking Space: Reflections on the Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory," *Millennium* 45(2) (2017): 258–264.
13. M.I. Franklin, "Introductory Improvisations on a Theme: Resounding International Relations," in M. I. Franklin (ed.), *Resounding International Relations. On Music, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 7.
14. Iver B. Neumann, "Diplomacy and the Arts," in Costas Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, Paul Sharp (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2016), pp. 114–122.
15. Jessica Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (eds.), *Culture and International History* (New York & Oxford: Bergham Books, 2003).
16. Akira Iriye, "Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," *Diplomatic History*, 3 (Spring) (1979): 115–128.
17. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009).
18. Antoine Marès, Anaïs Fléchet, "Introduction," *Relations internationales*, (155) (2013): 3–9; "Musique et relations internationales I," *Relations internationales*, (155) (2013); "Musique et relations internationales II," *Relations internationales*, Paris/Genève, (156) (2014).
19. Danielle Fossler-Lussier, 2007, *Music Divided. Bartók Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press).
20. Jacques Sémelin, "Communication and resistance. The instrumental role of Western radio stations in opening up Eastern Europe," *Réseaux. The French Journal of communication*, 2(1) (1994): 55–69.
21. Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto and Damien Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
22. Jessica Gienow-Hecht (ed.), *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century* (New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015).
23. Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music*, selected and introduced by R. Leppert (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 113.
24. Edward W. Said, *Musical Elaborations* (London: Vintage Books, 1992).
25. "La merveille de la musique est de n'être que mouvement, c'est comme l'eau que l'on regarde et tout y bouge vaguement," Louis Aragon, *Le Fou*

- d'Elsa* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), p. 265. First verses of “La merveille de la musique” harmonized in two voices with ostinato by Marcel Corneloup (Lyon: A Cœur Joie, 1977).
26. François Châtelet, *Chronique des idées perdues. Conversations avec André Akoun* (Paris: Stock, 1977), p. 237.
 27. Christopher Hasty, “The Image of Thought and Ideas of Music,” in Brian Hulse and Nick Nesbitt (eds.), *Sounding the Virtual Gilles Deleuze and the Theory and Philosophy of Music* (Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), p. 3.
 28. Châtelet, *Chronique des idées perdues*, p. 237.
 29. Gilles Deleuze, *Périclès et Verdi. La philosophie de François Chatelet* (Paris, ed de minuit, 1988), p. 26.
 30. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis & London: The University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 302. It is worth noting that a book dedicated to Deleuze and international relations did not refer to this perspective in order to study alter-globalization movements. See Peter Lenco, *Deleuze and world Politics. Alter-globalizations and nomad science* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012).
 31. Deleuze, *Périclès et Verdi*, p. 26.
 32. Hasty, “The Image of Thought and Ideas of Music,” p. 5.
 33. Jean-Godefroy Bidima, “Intensity, Music and Heterogenesis in Deleuze,” in Hulse and Nesbitt (eds.), *Sounding the Virtual Gilles Deleuze*, p. 156.
 34. Noé Cornago, *Plural Diplomacies. Normative Predicaments and Functional Imperatives* (Leiden & Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013).
 35. Geoffrey Wiseman, “Polylateralism and New Modes of Global Dialogue,” *Discussion Papers No. 59* (Leicester: Leicester Diplomatic Studies Programme, 1999).
 36. Hasty, “The Image of Thought and Ideas of Music,” p. 5.
 37. Andrew F. Cooper, “The Changing Nature of Diplomacy” in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 35–53.
 38. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, “The World Is Ready To Listen: Symphony Orchestras and the Global Performance of America,” *Diplomatic History*, 36(1) (2012): 19–20.
 39. Frank Schimmelfenning, “Goffman meets IR: Dramaturgical Action in International Community,” *International Review of Sociology*, 12(3) (2002): 417–437. Guillaume Devin, “Observer la scène internationale: une perspective goffmannienne,” in Guillaume Devin, *10 Concepts sociologiques en relations internationales* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2015), pp. 9–28.
 40. Thomas Lindemann and Erik Ringmar (eds), *The International Politics of Recognition* (Boulder, Co./London, Paradigm Publishers, 2012); Thomas Lindemann, *Causes of War: The Struggle for Recognition* Colchester (European Consortium for Political Research Press, 2010).

41. Dominique Sagot-Duvaouroux, “Du cluster à la scène: l’encastrement des activités artistiques dans le territoire,” *L’Observatoire, La Revue des Politiques Culturelles*, 47 (January) (2016): 10. Our translation.
42. Marcel Freydefont, “Scène, scènes, essaimage d’un mot,” *L’Observatoire, La Revue des Politiques Culturelles*, 47 (January) (2016): 16. Our translation.
43. Freydefont, “Scène, scènes, essaimage d’un mot,” p. 15. Our translation.
44. Will Straw, “Systems of articulation logics of change: communities and scenes in popular music,” *Cultural Studies*, 5(3) (1991): 368–388.
45. Jérôme Guibert, Guy Bellavance, “Présentation,” in “La notion de ‘scène’ entre sociologie de la culture et sociologie urbaine: genèse, actualités et perspectives,” *Cahiers de recherche sociologique*, 57 (2014): 8.
46. Straw, “Systems of articulation logics of change.”
47. Jérôme Guibert, “La scène comme outil d’analyse en sociologie de la culture,” *L’Observatoire, La Revue des Politiques Culturelles*, 47 (January) (2016): 17–20.
48. Will Straw, “Scènes: ouvertes et restreintes,” *Cahiers de recherche sociologique*, 57 (2014): 20. The original English version of this article may be found at https://www.academia.edu/16305637/Two_Kinds_of_Scene?auto=download
49. Straw, “Scènes: ouvertes et restreintes,” p. 28.
50. Straw, “Scènes: ouvertes et restreintes,” p. 28.
51. Freydefont, “Scène, scènes, essaimage d’un mot,” p. 16.
52. See, for instance, Vincent Pouliot, 2008, “The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities,” *International Organization*, 62(2): 257–288; Vincent Pouliot, *International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Emanuel Adler and Pouliot Vincent (eds.), *International Practices* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
53. Iver B. Neumann, “To Be a Diplomat,” *International Studies Perspectives*, 6 (2005): 72–93.
54. Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense de la Basse de Viole, Contre les Entréprises du Violon Et les Prétentions du Violoncel. Par Monsieur Hubert le Blanc, Docteur en Droit* (Amsterdam: Mortier, 1740).
55. James Der Derian, *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement* (Oxford, Basic Balckwell, 1987); Sofer Sasson, “The Diplomat as a Stranger,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 8(3) (1997): 179–186.
56. Will Straw, “Scenes and sensibilities,” *Public*, 22(23) (2001): 253.
57. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and The Cooked. Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 18.
58. Eugene Scott, “Obama offers to beatbox for Vietnamese rapper,” CNN, 26 May 2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/05/25/politics/vietnamese-rapper-barack-obama/> (accessed March 24, 2017).

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PART I

Shaping the Musical Scene.
Sounds and Voices as Objectives
of Diplomacy

Europe in Rome/Rome in Europe: Diplomacy as a Network of Cultural Exchanges

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In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Rome, *the festa* was one of the most important manifestations of social status. *Feste*¹ were a medium through which ambassadors, cardinals and nobility could show their magnificence, and festive occasions functioned in terms of both political and religious power.

During the early modern era, Rome was one of the most important centers of the competition between European ruling houses toward the papacy.² For this reason, the ambassadors to Rome were the monarchs of one of the many “micro entourages” that made up the Roman aristocratic environment, together with those of princes and cardinals. The Roman scene was deeply international; musical life of the Eternal City was punctuated by events linked to foreign environments. While in other European courts there were few musical performances in honor of other nations,³ Rome was a plethora of *feste*, serenades and cantatas dedicated to His

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Majesty of France, the Empire, Spain, Poland and Portugal. In the words of Gérard Labrot, “The true representation takes place in Rome. Elsewhere there are only careful replicas.”⁴

The aim of this chapter is to understand what happened at the level of cultural circulation when an ambassador organized a festive event in Rome: how was the diplomatic network implemented and how did this facilitate and contribute to the circulation of aesthetic ideas between Rome and the rest of Europe? To whom did the ambassador address the festive events he organized? In which way did these events fit into and contribute to the creation of a Roman scene? If we consider the diplomatic network as a vehicle of circulation of musical models, how was the Roman scene redefined in an international stage?

The example of the diplomatic network of Rome is paradigmatic and is very different from that of other cities: the presence of the Pope determines these differences. Indeed, unlike the ruling houses in other countries, the office of the Pope is not hereditary; this means a change to the political structure on each election of a new Pope—that is, changing of the protagonist on the scene. Of course, since no court and no nation is favored by alliances due to marriages between royals, the Pope is also free from dynastic politics. The result is a relative balance between the influence and importance of ambassadors in Rome.

During the eighteenth century, Rome hosted a number of ambassadors and their entourage, which consequently prompted competition between them to display the power influence they could exercise on the city. This rivalry is clearly highlighted in Francesco Valesio’s *Diario di Roma*, in which he emphasized that the banquet organized in 1733 by the French ambassador was not as great as the one organized twice a year by the Imperial ambassador:

Tuesday 22nd December 1733

As the service which is customarily held by the French ambassadors in the Basilica of Laterano on the day of S. Lucia had been postponed to this day, cardinals Ottoboni, Belluga, Alessandro Albani and Acquaviva attended the service, which was followed by a banquet hosted by the aforementioned ambassador. The setting was public, in the hall of Palazzo Bonelli in SS. Apostoli, but the presentation did not turn out as magnificent as those held twice a year by Cardinal Cienfuego. As well as the aforementioned cardinals, Cardinal Corsini was also present at the banquet.⁵

During the eighteenth century, the French embassy to the Holy See⁶ was one of the most important production centers of music, soirées, masquerades and *feste*.⁷ All this was to celebrate the glory and greatness of the monarchy and “Most-Christian King.”

The festivities organized by the ambassadors in Rome were a competition to demonstrate their greatness and generosity; ambassadors used music to promote themselves and to gain appreciation for their king, representing him through luxury and extraordinary generosity in order to gain the esteem of the entire Roman court.⁸

One of the acknowledged characteristics of the relationship between music and diplomacy is how the latter made use of music for its own representation. Some studies, concerning the Baroque Era of Western Europe, have been devoted to the reconstruction of *feste* through diplomatic correspondence, to the musical taste of ambassadors or the musical style of performances⁹; another field concerns the studies on the interrelation between diplomacy and musical patronage and the role of ambassadors as brokers.¹⁰ However, it is also important to note that the diplomatic network is a pre-existing and well-organized network and, as such, it is a channel through which the circulation of ideas and artistic materials can develop more easily.¹¹

The process through which a feast was organized is very important to understand the direct contact between the main court—in Paris or Madrid—and Rome. On the occurrence of a festive event, the courts gave a mandate to all its embassies to organize the feasts. Therefore, in the case of events associated with the French royal family, directives and funds were sent from Paris to organize feasts varying in sumptuousness in every capital city. In Rome, those feasts assumed considerable importance because of their political implications.

The circulation of ideas and culture can be divided into three steps:

- (1) The event to be celebrated in Versailles, for example, the birth or marriage of kings, and guidelines for celebrations in the various embassies.
- (2) The organization of the feast in Rome with funds from France. In this case, the French sites in Rome, such as the palace of the ambassador and the French churches, were the centers of the event in the city. French places in Rome became the heart of the festivities; the

Papal Court remained in the background. Thus, the *feste* organized by the ambassadors contributed to redraw the Roman scene during the time of the festivity.

- (3) The festive event spread to other European courts through chronicles, diaries, engravings, scores and pictures. Through such circulation, the Roman scene came out of the city of Rome, occupying spaces and times in foreign courts.

The organization of the events followed these three steps; all the foreign crowns represented in Rome used this model.

Initially, events followed a centripetal motion: funds and guidelines arrived in Rome from European courts to organize a celebration. Then the motion became centrifugal, first in the city of Rome, from the French festive places to the other feast places. From this point of view, it is important to emphasize that in Rome there was a strict control of the neighborhoods by “foreign countries.” Formal festivities represented a medium through which a country could occupy physical spaces in a city belonging to another country.¹²

The third phase is the centrifugal movement of the feasts to the other European courts, where the Roman model was further developed and occupied the feast spaces, at least for the collective imagination of the aristocracy.

Through the circulation of scores, paintings and reports, ambassadors demonstrated both the *grandeur* of the king and their magnificence as authors of these wonderful feasts.

SOME EXAMPLES OF *FESTE*

To evaluate the impact of the circulation of Roman culture in Europe, this study will consider two festive events promoted by the French ambassadors to Rome: the feasts organized by Ambassador Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld to celebrate the wedding of Louis Ferdinand Dauphin of France and Maria Josepha of Saxony in 1747 and the feasts organized in 1782 by Ambassador Cardinal de Bernis to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin Louis Joseph Xavier of France in 1781.

The first festive event analyzed is the second marriage of the Dauphin in 1747.¹³ Preparations for the second marriage of Louis Ferdinand to Maria Josepha of Saxony began at the end of November 1746. The wedding was celebrated at Versailles on February 9, 1747. On this occasion, Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, French ambassador to the Holy See since

1745, spared no expense to organize one of the biggest parties of the eighteenth century in Rome. A lot of interesting information to help us reconstruct the event can be inferred from his correspondence: on April 10, 1747, Maurepas, supervising the business of the king at Versailles, wrote to the ambassador, saying that 12,000 French livres had been allocated for the organization of the party in Rome. The figure is very large compared to the amount spent annually to support the entire French Embassy in Rome, which was around 18,000 French livres; also the supervisor told the ambassador not to add personal loans to those sent from Versailles: he is in fact in a country where “imagination goes a long way” and could be tempted to add personal money to make the party even more magnificent. Maurepas concluded by asking the ambassador for “a little ‘pompous’ report of the event” because parties are never so beautiful as they are on paper the next day. He also asked for a copy of the *Componimento* to be commissioned, but only if it was composed expressly for the occasion.

Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, Count of Maurepas, to Cardinal Frédéric-Jérôme de La Rochefoucauld

Versailles, 10th April 1747

[...] I counted on receiving a small token of your gratitude for the 12.000 pounds accorded you for the celebrations you have to organise for the marriage of Monsieur the Dauphin, [...] but take care that this sum, higher than usual, does not cause you to spend still more, and do not add anything yourself, because you are in a country where imagination easily runs away with itself [...]. Send us merely a rather sumptuous description. Celebrations are never so fine as in the written accounts of them that we are always obliged to believe the next day.¹⁴

Even Vauréal, the French Ambassador to Spain, corresponded with Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld about the parties that both were preparing in their respective countries. In this correspondence, the economic issue has a great weight; this is not surprising because both France and Spain had been at war almost continuously since 1733. In a letter dated June 6, 1747, when discussing the actual design of the celebrations, Vauréal reveals some very interesting details. First, we find that over the years the model for this kind of *fiesta* had become Metastasio’s cantata *La Contessa de’ numi*, written to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin in 1729.¹⁵ The patron of the event was Cardinal de Polignac, the French ambassador to Rome from 1724 to 1731. Evidently it became a reference model for the organization of *fieste* given by other ambassadors.

It is even more interesting to note that, judging by the words of the French ambassador to Spain, the text was more important than the music in this kind of celebratory composition: this can be deduced from the fact that the diplomat speaks of the beauty of the libretto and of the need to obtain more like these but he does not say a word about the quality of the music. We get further very important information from this correspondence: the French ambassador to Spain is “embarrassed” for not having had time to write to Italy to commission a composition specifically written to celebrate the wedding of the Dauphin in Spain. Luckily the presence in Rome of a French noblewoman who commissioned two “serenate” or “cantatas” to be performed in Madrid, one for the healing of the king and the other for his wedding, saved him from this embarrassment.

Ambassador Vauréal concluded by asking his colleague in Rome for a copy of the cantata, but he wanted a copy only if the cantata had been commissioned specifically for the occasion.

Louis-Guy de Guérapin de Vauréal, Count of Vauréal, to Cardinal Frédéric Jérôme de La Rochefoucauld

Aranjuez, 6th June 1747

[...] I come now to your feast. I have never heard of 4000 pounds being given for a real celebration. It would be better to give nothing [...]. I don't know what the custom is in Rome, but I believe that it depends on the known affluence of the person giving the feast, and the graces they have received. You might, for example, find out how much was given to the Cardinal of Polignac, who gave an excellent feast for the birth of Monsieur the Dauphin. Of course, he had recently received the archbishopric of Auch. Metastasio expressly composed a piece for him, which is very beautiful; I hope you still have it in Rome, because there is nothing better in Europe as far as this kind of composition is concerned. It caused me some embarrassment, since I wished to have something expressly composed too, but did not have time to write in Italy. I was saved however by an unhoped-for stroke of luck. Madam the Duchess of Atry, who is in Rome at present, took charge of things and had two serenades or cantatas composed for me; one, on the convalescence of the king, the other, on the marriage. I remained in ignorance of the author's identity for some time. Finally, I learned that he is one of her relatives, a member of the Carracioli family, who is here as part of the bodyguard. These works do not have the force of Metastasio's, but, verily, they have some very good points. If you have commissioned a piece specially, please be so good as to send it to me [...]¹⁶

La Rochefoucauld commissioned Flaminio Scarselli to write the libretto and Niccolò Jommelli to write the music for a dramatic cantata. On the title page of the libretto, the name of the patron, Ambassador Rochefoucauld, appears almost as predominantly as the name of the couple for whom it was written. Two copies of the music of the *Componimento*, long believed lost, were recently discovered: one is preserved at the Biblioteca Filarmonica in Turin,¹⁷ and the other was put up for sale by the French auction house Alde, in 2009.

The feasts organized by Ambassador Rochefoucauld followed the usual pattern of Roman *feste*: Solemn High Mass, *Te Deum*, lighting, procession, lavish meals and refreshments and the commissioning of a cantata. In addition to all these elements, the feasts of 1747 had another element of great prestige: a majestic painting depicting the celebration at the Argentina theater at the performance of the *Componimento*. The painting was commissioned from Gian Paolo Pannini as a wedding gift for the Dauphin. The new element is the fact that, for the first time, the ambassador chose a real theater as the venue for the performance of the cantata, identifying this venue as the most representative of the whole feast and sending the painting as a wedding gift. The painting is now housed at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.¹⁸

The second *festa*¹⁹ analyzed is the one organized in 1782 by Ambassador De Bernis for the birth of Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François, Dauphin of France, the second son of Louis the XVI and Marie Antoinette. Cardinal de Bernis strove to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin. He sent the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Vergennes, a “project for the feste” (*projet de la fête*) on December 26, 1781.

We know that the French court sent 60,000 French livres²⁰ to its ambassador to the Holy See, enough to celebrate the happy event in appropriate style. From the *Bulletin* sent to court on March 6, 1782, we discover that De Bernis had used the money to illuminate the front of his palace and all the French churches in Rome; he organized the orchestra outside his palace, distributed bread and wine for the people and bestowed more than 200 dowries for orphaned girls. He also wanted a *Te Deum* sung by more than a hundred musicians in the Church of St. Louis of the French. He had the *Te Deum* performed in all the churches related to the French Crown and the exterior of his palace, and the Church of St. Louis of the French remained illuminated for weeks; a meeting of the Arcadians was organized on February 21, 1782, when they celebrated the happy event. The ambassador commissioned two different cantatas and had them performed in his

palace during the feast days dedicated to the birth of the Dauphin,²¹ the libretto of both having been written by the poet Vincenzo Monti. The music of the first cantata was composed by Antonio Buroni, Chapel Master of St. Louis of the French and St. Peter; the music of the second cantata was composed by Domenico Cimarosa, a well-known opera composer. The ambassador had the libretto printed and distributed to the aristocracy on the evening the cantatas were performed.

Of the two cantatas, only the one composed by Cimarosa survived, in three manuscripts: one score preserved in San Pietro a Majella²² in Naples, one preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek²³ and a good copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.²⁴ We can assume that this latter copy is the one that the cardinal refers to in his letter of March 6, 1782, to Count de Vergennes, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Louis XVI. From this letter, we can see that the ambassador sent the music to the queen; perhaps the copy preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek was the one sent to the Habsburg court, where Marie Antoinette, mother of the newborn, had come from.

Cardinal François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis to Charles Gravier, Count of Vergennes

Rome, 6th March 1782

I am enclosing two copies of each of the cantatas I had performed the 2nd and 3rd of this month to celebrate the birth of Monsieur the Dauphin. Please let me know if it would please the queen to have the music for them and I shall hasten, sir, to send it to you.²⁵

MODEL, CIRCULATION AND THE ROLE OF AMBASSADORS

The French festive model was entirely inspired by the Roman festive model, including places and themes dear to the Romans. The French ambassadors made a conscious decision to appropriate the festive Roman model, without making any changes or introducing any French elements with the intent to celebrate the French kingdom. In fact, the aim was not to attach a national character to a structured and successful model but to use this existing model to glorify the French monarch abroad.

The Roman model provided for a liturgical function and, in particular, a Solemn High Mass, which was attended by the Pope, cardinals, ministers, ambassadors and aristocrats—depending on the importance of the event. The other common elements were the festive meal or refreshments. The procession moved from the palace to the church, the churches and

palaces were lit up by candles, and a concert or cantata was performed, often commissioned for the occasion. In the case of the most important occasions, celebratory paintings were commissioned.

The proximity of the diplomatic environment to the highest ecclesiastical hierarchy allowed the French ambassadors to have access to the orchestras and chapel masters of the National Churches of St. Louis of the French and of St. Peter. Each event included an appropriate musical accompaniment: trumpets and drums to accompany the procession; sacred music during the liturgical function; orchestras placed in the front of palaces or in the squares to welcome guests and entertain the masses; dramatic works before or after the meal, in the same palace or in a theater. The participation of the masses was accepted even though they were kept apart from the aristocracy and thus decorations in the palaces would remain for a few days after the event. It is important to emphasize that these different musical communication codes had different fates. Yet, as we have seen, the scores of *componimenti* were traveling through diplomatic channels from one court to another, sacred music organized on these occasions was almost never performed on later occasions, and in some cases the scores were stored in the archives of churches without ever having been used.

Regarding music created for the masses, there is no consistent information but only a few mentions in diaries and chronicles. However, even though this information is missing, we can clearly see how the social hierarchy functioned thanks to the objects in circulation that have survived. Objects created to please the aristocracy surpass geographical and historical boundaries; we have traces throughout Europe and memory of them has come down to us.

By using a well-known model, ambassadors assured the comprehension of different levels of communication.²⁶ The style of the festive Roman model is addressed to a Roman audience, while subjects are often inspired by French history and mythological symbols, intelligible to all the aristocratic French in Rome and Europe. Using this festive model, the ambassador could direct his message to the aristocracy as well as to the masses, to the French as well as to the Italians.

The aim of these festivities was to deify the absent king; we can observe a twofold procedure to pursue this aim. On the one hand, there is the choice of historical and mythological symbols in the librettos of the cantatas, which superimpose the virtual image of the living king with the virtual image of the past kings. On the other hand, in the Papal City, it was very important to constantly reinforce a certain deference to Catholicism.

From this point of view, the role of the National Churches was central; this is the reason why the National Churches were involved in each such occasion. Their primary religious vocation was combined with their duty as a representative of a distant nation. This included the reception of pilgrims, support of fellow countrymen and the distribution of gifts to orphaned daughters of fellow countrymen.

In many aspects the duties and role of the Congregations and that of the ambassadors overlapped. Certainly this was the case with the *feste*, where this overlap, which occurred in the celebrations, facilitated the glorification of two absent entities: the king and God, whose figures became confused in the perception of the assembly of the faithful and the public in this mirror effect, typical of baroque culture.

The figure of the ambassador in Rome had to represent the magnificence of France; that's why he used the Roman model based on the concept of magnificence. In fact, the ambassador represented an abstract concept: *grandeur*. It is thus appropriate for the model to have a Roman context. The ambassador had the function of echoing distant *grandeur* and he was exposed to the public of the Eternal City, with the absent monarch acting as a guarantor of his "dependent's" status.

Due to the distance from the king and his court, the figure of the ambassador becomes central; unlike the Roman patrons, what makes the ambassador special is the distance of the actual patron, leaving a space of freedom for personal and local tastes, as well as the desire for self-affirmation and visibility.

Ambassador De Bernis had become so well known for the magnificence of his celebrations, dinners and conversations, that his palace was called *L'auberge de France au carrefour de l'Europe*²⁷ ("Inn of France at the crossroads of Europe").

The ambassador is the "king" of a remote kingdom, which is only represented and not reproduced; in the events organized by the ambassadors, "French" elements are completely missing. Even the language is Italian, unlike, for example, performances in Vienna,²⁸ where in the palaces of the French and Spanish ambassadors, there were dramatic works sung in French or Spanish.

There is another aspect typical of baroque culture: we have seen that ambassadors used their official and unofficial correspondence to ask for copies of the *componimenti* and scores only when they had been commissioned specifically for the occasion. The uniqueness and the originality of the event were very important from the point of view of baroque aesthetics;

there isn't any source showing the same *componimento* repeated in another context. Asking for copies of libretto and scores, ambassadors were interested not in the specific *componimento*, but in the model represented by the *componimento*. The object circulating was not a specific work by a certain artist, but a repeatable model for the feasts through new demand as other chapters in this volume also show.²⁹

Through circulation of information, the name of the artists became well known and their reputation increased. When the name of the artist became important, he could choose to work in the court or in the city that he preferred. For the aesthetic of this period, artists were obliged to create new work for each occasion; their careers depended on the circulation of their names through these channels. The circulation was a priority in a moment when the fame increased through the "internationalization" of their career. For the artists, this was the only way to build a network with foreign courts. Thanks to the diplomatic network, the artist could enlarge the scope of his action, his scene of action.

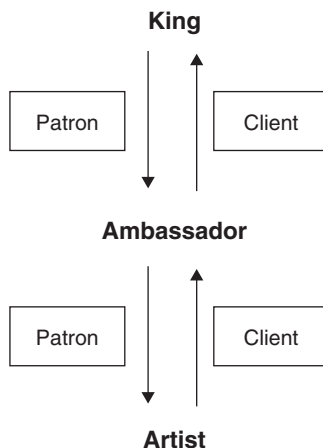
We can thus wonder to what extent the interaction between music and diplomacy is an integral part of the field of musical patronage. As Mélanie Traversier deftly demonstrated through her studies of the diplomatic papers of the Bourbon kingdom of Naples, ambassadors can be considered as mediators of the first rank, like brokers whose diplomatic activity and correspondence places them at the center of a vast network in which news and musical works circulated.

This was possible because the role of the ambassadors is characterized by a certain degree of freedom. Starting with a reflection of the classic "patron-client" binomial introduced by the studies of Claudio Annibaldi³⁰ about 30 years ago, we can assign to the ambassador the dual role of a patron to the artist and client in relation to the king, who is the real patron. We can therefore advance the hypothesis of a particular type of patronage: events sponsored by ambassadors are part of a wide program of *Bildpolitik*. Even though the ambassador takes care of the organization, the king is the promoter of the events. That's why we can talk about dependent patronage (Fig. 2.1).

CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the circulation of a festive model through diplomatic networks as a very complex form of cultural transfer. Through diplomatic network, a feast did not remain in the place where it had been

Fig. 2.1 Model of dependent patronage



conceived and realized, but it circulated in Europe disguised as reports, engravings, librettos, scores, paintings.

Some objects circulated as a part of duties of the ambassadors, as the reports. Some other objects circulated because of the personal tastes and ambitions of the ambassadors who chose to send something, as the painting presented to Louis XV for his wedding in 1747, or because someone in another country needed and desired to have examples from Roman-model festivities. Focusing on the objects circulated in that period, we are able to observe the internal organization of the festive Roman model in which there were parts reserved to the aristocracy and other parts dedicated to the masses.

Artists involved in the feasts gained a double advantage: on the one hand, they benefited from the order in terms of a rich and prompt payment; on the other hand, their names circulated in an international network thanks to these commissions.

Circulation of objects and people activated through the diplomatic network was fundamental in redefining the scene; events created in Rome in nondiplomatic context did not have the possibility to spread through Europe.

In this sense, the diplomatic network was essential to rethink the notion of Roman scene. Even if the ambassador organized such events to deify the king and to promote himself, the main result was in fact the circulation of the festive Roman model.

As Marc Bayard writes in the preface to the proceedings of the conference “Rome-Paris 1640. Transferts culturels et renaissance d’un centre artistique,” cultural transfer is also a way to establish the notion of identity not in the confinement of its historical and geographical references, but in its opening up to the others.³¹ From this point of view, it is essential to emphasize that in diplomatic correspondence music was called “Italian” in a period many years before the creation of a true Italian state. Indeed, cultural transfer implies a movement of objects, ideas, concepts and words between two or more separate cultural spaces.

In the case of the transfer of musical ideas, musical concepts and musical words from Italy to Europe through the activities of ambassadors, it is important to emphasize that the transfer was made not by Italian agents, but by other nationalities; the French ambassador to Rome who writes to his colleague in Madrid stimulates three different cultures amplifying cultural exchange.

NOTES

1. Concerning feasts in baroque Rome, see especially Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, *L’effimero barocco: strutture della festa nella Roma del ‘600* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977a); and Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, *La festa barocca* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1977b).
2. See Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Les cérémonies comme compétition politique entre les monarchies française et espagnole, à Rome, au XVII^e siècle,” in *Les Cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque*, ed. by Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2009), pp. 365–388, p. 367.
3. See Lawrence Bennett, “Musical celebrations of the 1720s in the palaces of the French and Spanish ambassadors,” in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 53, Bd., (2007): 31–60.
4. “La vraie représentation se déroule à Rome. Partout ailleurs il n’y a que des répliques attentives.” Gérard Labrot, *L’Image de Rome. Une arme pour la Contre-Réforme 1534–1677* (Paris, Seyssel, 1987), p. 354; quoted in Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Les cérémonies comme compétition politique...,” see note 2. The translation is mine.
5. “Martedì 22 dicembre 1733. Essendosi differita a questo giorno la cappella solita tenersi dalli ambasciatori di Francia nella basilica Lateranense nel dì di S. Lucia, intervennero alla cappella gli cardinali Ottoboni, Belluga, Alessandro Albani e Acquaviva, dopo la quale si fece il pasto dal sudetto ambasciatore, l’imbandimento del quale fu pubblico nella sala del palazzo

- Bonelli a' SS. Apostoli, ma non riuscì così magnifico come quelli che due volte l'anno suol fare il cardinale Cienfuego. Assisterono al banchetto, oltre gli sudetti cardinali, anche il cardinale Corsini.” (Translation by Beatrice Scaldini), Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, Vol. V (Milano, Longanesi, c1979), ed. by Gaetana Scano, Giuseppe Graglia, p. 653.
6. Concerning the French Embassy to the Holy See, see especially Gabriel Hanotaux, *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution française/publié sous les auspices de la Commission des Archives diplomatiques au Ministère des affaires étrangères* (Paris, F. Alcan; [then] E. De Boccard; [then] Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1884–1998), 31 vols.
 7. Concerning feasts organized by the French parties in Rome, see: AA.VV., *I francesi a Roma: residenti e viaggiatori nella città eterna dal Risorgimento agli inizi del Romanticismo*, Catalogo della Mostra, (Roma: Istituto grafico tiberino, 1961); Mattia Loret, “I Francesi a Roma nel primo Settecento,” *L'Urbe*, n. 6 (Roma, 1937). Martine Boiteux, “Il Carnevale e le feste francesi a Roma nel Settecento,” in *Il Teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1989), 321–371. Arnaldo Morelli, “‘Alle glorie di Luigi’. Note e documenti su alcuni spettacoli musicali promossi da ambasciatori e cardinali francesi nella Roma del secondo Seicento,” *Studi musicali*, xxv, (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia – Firenze, Olschki, 1996): 155–166. Jean Lionnet, *La musique a Saint-Louis des francais de Rome au XVII siecle*, 2 vols. *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, (Venezia, Fondazione Levi, III/1985–IV/1986). Michela Berti, “La vetrina del Re: l'ambasciatore francese a Roma Paul Hippolyte de Beauvillier duca di Saint-Aignan, tra musicofilia e politica di prestigio (1731–1741),” in *Miscellanea Ruspoli. II. Studi sulla musica dell'età barocca*, ed. by Giorgio Monari (Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012) pp. 233–290. Id., “Un caso di committenza dell'ambasciatore francese a Roma: il ‘Componimento Dramatico’ di Jommelli e il quadro ‘Fête musicale’ di Pannini per le nozze del Delfino Louis Fedinad (1747),” *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 16 (Roma, CIDIM 2011): 93–125. Id., “La ‘Cantata per la nascita del Delfino’ di Vincenzo Monti e Domenico Cimarosa,” in *Vivere tra città e campagna. I piaceri della Villa dal secolo XVIII al XXI*, ed. by Paolo Quintili (Milano, Unicopli, 2010), pp. 119–188.
 8. See Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Les cérémonies comme compétition politique,” see note 2.
 9. Some examples of this kind of studies are: Paolo Cascio, “Le feste in musica per le nozze di Vittorio Amedeo di Savoia e Ferdinanda di Borbone nella corrispondenza diplomatica (1750),” *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 14 (Roma, CIDIM, 2009). Sandra Myers Brown, “‘Cartas de España’: noticias musicales en la correspondencia diplomática, Madrid-Londres, 1783–1788,” *Revista de musicología*, 32(1) (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología,

- 2009). David Douglas Bryant, “Alcune osservazioni preliminari sulle notizie musicali nelle relazioni degli ambasciatori stranieri a Venezia,” in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*, ed. by Francesco Degrada (Firenze, Olschki, 1987), pp. 181–192.
10. Franco Piperno, “Diplomacy and Musical Patronage: Virginia, Guidubaldo II, Massimiliano II, ‘lo Streggino’ and Others,” *Early Music History* 18: 259–285. Melanie Traversier, “Le chant de la Sirène. Politique de grandeur et circulation des musiciens dans la Naples des Lumières,” in *PART[b] Enope. Naples et les arts/Napoli e le arti*, ed. by Camillo Favrezzani (Bern, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2013), pp. 51–70.
 11. We can find a first turnabout in Mélanie Traversier, “Costruire la fama musicale. La diplomazia napoletana al servizio della musica durante il Regno di Carlo di Borbone,” in *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel. 1650–1750. Analecta Musicologica* 52, ed. by Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Gesa Zur Nieden (Kassel [u.a.], Bärenreiter, forthcoming).
 12. See Maria Antonietta Visciglia, “Les cérémonies comme compétition politique,” see note 2, p. 13. Gesa Zur Nieden, “O la Francia o la Spagna. Finalità delle rappresentazioni musicali nella Roma di fine Seicento tra storia politica e storia culturale,” in *La musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. by Caroline Giron Panel, Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Roma, Collection de l’École Française de Rome 466, 2012), pp. 35–53 and 49–52.
 13. For a comprehensive study of this feast, see my article “Un caso di committenza dell’ambasciatore francese a Roma,” in particular note 7.
 14. “De Maurepas à M. de La Rochefoucauld. Versailles, le 10 avril 1747. [...] J’ai bien competé sur un petit remerciement de votre part pour le 12000 livres qui vous ont été accordées pour les fêtes que vous devez faire à l’occasion du mariage de M. le Dauphin, et je ne ferai pas le modeste en me défendant d’y avoir contribué; mais prenez garde que cette somme, plus honnête qu’à l’ordinaire, ne vous engagé en dépenser encore davantage et n’y ajoutez rien de vôtre; car vous êtes dans un pays où l’imagination va loin, et où Salley dit que vous en trouverez peut-être plus que vous ne voudrez, il ne se seroit cru bon auprès de vous, dans cette circonstance, que pour éloigner les conseils immodérés. Envoyez-nous seulement une description un peu pompeuse. Les fêtes ne sont jamais si belles que sur le papier qu’on est toujours obligé d’en croire le lendemain.” (Translation by Anna Little), *Correspondance de M. de La Rochefoucauld, ambassadeur à Rome, 1744–1748*, ed. by baron de Girardot (Nantes, Vve C. Mellinet, 1871), pp. 333–334, letter CCXXXIX.
 15. Pietro Metastasio, Leonardo Vinci, *La contesa de’ numi: una cantata a palazzo Altemps per la nascita del Delfino di Francia*, ed. by Rinaldo

Alessandrini, Laura Pietrantonio (Roma, Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2006).

16. “[...] Je viens à votre feste. Je n’ai jamais ouy dire qu’on donnât 4000 liv. de gratification pour un vraye feste. Il vaudroit mieux ne rien donner. [...] Je na sçais quel est l’usage à Rome, mais je crois que cela dépend de l’opulence connue de celui qui festoye, et des grâces qu’il a reçues. Vous pouviez, par exemple, sçavoir comment on a traité le cardinal de Polignac, qui donna une belle feste pour la naissance de M. le Dauphin. Il est vray qu’il avoit eu depuis peu l’archevêché d’Auch. Metastasio lui fit une pièce exprès qui est fort belle; je souhaite que vous l’ayez encore à Rome, car il n’y a rien de meilleur en Europe pour cette sorte de composition. J’y étois bien embarrassè, car je voulois avoir quelque chose exprès et je n’avois pas le temps d’écrire en Italie. Il m’arriva un hasard qui ne se pouvoit espérer. Mme la duchesse d’Atry, que vous avez actuellement à Rome, s’en chargea et me fit faire deux sérénates ou cantates, l’une, sur la convalescence du roy, at l’autre, sur le mariage. J’ai ignoré l’auteur pendant quelque temps. Enfin, j’ay sceu que c’est un de ses parentes de la maison Carracioli, qui est icy dans le gardes du corps. Cela n’est point de la force de Metastasio; mais, en vérité, il y a de belles choses. Si vous avez fait faire une pièce exprès, je vous prie de mel’envoyer. [...]” (Translation by Anna Little), *Correspondance de M. de La Rochefoucauld*, see note 14, 346–349, letter CCLI.
17. I-Tf/9 VII 38.
18. INV. 414.
19. For a comprehensive study of these *feste*, see my article “La ‘Cantata per la nascita del Delfino’,” note 7: 119–188.
20. Archives des Affaires étrangères, Paris, Comptabilité Ancienne, 1782, f.103r.
21. “...deux Cantates différents, pendant les deux jours de fêtes, relatives à la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin.” “Projet de la Fête que doit donner le Cardinal De Bernis, ministre de France, pour la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin, la veille et le jour de la Chandeleur.” *Correspondance des directeurs de l’Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bati-ments* (Paris, Charavay Frères, 1887–1912), letter n. 8179, p. 159.
22. I-Nc/Rari 1.6.8.
23. D-Mbs/Mus.ms. 247.
24. *Cantata a tre voci per festeggiare la nascita del Delfino*, F-Bn/D-2162.
25. “Je joins ici deux exemplaires de chacun des Cantates que j’ai fait exécuter le 2. et le 3. de ce mois pour célébrer la naissance du Mgr. Le Dauphin. Si la Reine étoit bien aisè d’en avoir la Musique, vous voudriez bien m’en informer et je m’empresserois, Monsieur, de vous les envoyer.” (Translation by Anna Little), Aff. Étr. Rome. Correspondance, t.890, fol. 278 v°, 280 et 281 v°. Original signé – Communiqué par M. Tausserat, *Correspondance des directeurs*, see note 20, vol. 14, letter n. 8221, p. 196.

26. See Maria Antonietta Visceglia, “Les cérémonies comme compétition politique,” see note 2: 380.
27. Charles Dupaty, *Letters sur l’Italie écrites en 1785*, vol. 3, (Avignon, J.-A. Joly, 1811), letter n. 88, quoted in Gilles Montègre, *La Rome des Français au temps des Lumières: capitale de l’antique et carrefour de l’Europe, 1769–1791*, (Rome, Collection de l’École française de Rome 435, 2011), p. 199.
28. Lawrence Bennett, “Musical celebrations of the 1720s...”, see note 3, p. 31.
29. This repeatable model shows how ambassadors shape musical scenes (for a similar process, see Mark Ferraguto’s chapter in this volume) but also promotes artists (for a contemporary perspective, see Chap. 11 by Emilija Pundziute Gallois).
30. Claudio Annibaldi, “Introduzione,” *La musica e il mondo. Mecenasismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento*, ed. by Claudio Annibaldi (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993), pp. 9–45.
31. Marc Bayard, “Pour une pensée de la translation en histoire de l’art,” in *Rome-Paris, 1640: transferts culturels et renaissance d’un centre artistique*, ed. by Marc Bayard (Rome, Académie de France à Rome – Paris, Somogy, 2010), pp. 11–23, 13.

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Eighteenth-Century Diplomats as Musical Agents

Mark Ferraguto

Along with an emphasis on diplomacy “as a historical phenomenon and a personal experience in its own right,”¹ the so-called cultural turn in diplomatic history has prompted scholars to consider the significance of diplomats’ “hands-on work” in relation to policymaking.² That this hands-on work has historically involved a broad range of musical activities, however, is not generally recognized. Focusing on a selection of diplomats who served in Vienna in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this chapter proposes a typology of their musical duties, offering new ways of thinking about music as a diplomatic resource.³ It also highlights the role diplomats played in the constitution of a Europe-wide “music scene,” one that transcended regional and national boundaries and contributed to the standardization of musical forms, genres, styles, and practices.⁴

By 1803, Vienna hosted nearly 50 embassies, more than any other European city.⁵ Table 3.1 lists 16 foreign diplomats who, during their official residencies in Vienna, contributed to the city’s musical life in significant ways. This list, by no means exhaustive, includes only those resident diplomats for whom a relatively substantial record of musical

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Table 3.1 Musically active diplomats serving in Vienna during Haydn's lifetime

<i>Name</i>	<i>Represented</i>	<i>Served</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules (1763–1844)	France	1798	Mörner (1952), Landon (1976–1980), Sipe (1998), Clive (2001)
De la Gardie, Jacob Gustaf (1768–1842)	Sweden	1799–1801	Grade (1931), Mörner (1952), Landon (1976–1980)
Dolfin [Delfino], Daniele Andrea (1748–1798)	Venice	1786–(?)92	Preto (1991), Link (1997)
Durazzo, Giacomo (1717–1794)	Genoa	1749–1752	Clive (1993), Brown (2015)
Gemmingen-Hornberg, Otto Heinrich Freiherr von (1755–1836)	Baden	1782–1805	Gugitz (1964), Clive (1993)
Golitsyn, Dmitry Mikhailovich (1721–1793)	Russia	1761–1792	DeNora (1995), Link (1997), Petrova (2015)
Griesinger, Georg August (1769–1845)	Saxony	1804–1813, (?)1815–1845	Biba (1987), Clive (2001)
Iriarte, Domingo de (1739–1795)	Spain	1777–1786	Fisher (1978), Stevenson (1982)
Keith, Sir Robert Murray (1730–1795)	Great Britain	1772–1792	Link (1997), Du Toit (2004)
Mastrilli, Marzio, marchese di Gallo (1753–1833)	Naples	(?)1786–1797	Link (1997), Rice (2003), Sperber (2008)
Murray, David, 2nd Earl of Mansfield (Lord Stormont) (1727–1796)	Great Britain	1763–1772	Burney (1775), Scott (2004)
Nissen, Georg Nikolaus (1761–1826)	Denmark	1793–(?)1812	Clive (1993), Servatius (2012)
Razumovsky, Andrey Kyrillovich (1752–1836)	Russia	1792–1799, 1801–1807	Wassilchikow (1893–94), Razumovsky (1998), Ferraguto (2014), Ferraguto (2016)
Silverstolpe, Fredrik Samuel (1769–1851)	Sweden	1796–1802	Mörner (1952), Landon (1976–1980), Kuschner (2003–2006)
Sorkočević, Luka (1734–1789)	Dubrovnik	1781–1782	Everett (1993–1994), Van Boer (2012), Samson (2013)
Taruffi, Giuseppe Antonio (1722–1786)	Rome (Holy See)	(?)1765–(?)72	Burney (1775), De Rossi (1786), Godt and Rice (2010)

Source: Author

participation survives. Letters, memoirs, and other sources allow us to distinguish three primary ways in which these and other contemporary diplomats acted as musical agents. First, they arranged and conducted *exchanges* of musical personnel, goods, and information, either at the behest of their courts or through personal initiative. Second, they supported performers and composers either through *interventions* on their behalf (writing recommendation letters, interfacing with publishers, arranging for performances on foreign soil) or through *collaborations* (libretto writing, translation, even co-composing). Third, they served as major hubs in what historian Brian Vick has called “salon networks,” drawing together a select company of politicians, musicians, artists, and literati and thereby fostering fruitful musical *connections*.⁶ While this typology is meant to be neither rigid nor restrictive, it offers one way of assessing the breadth of diplomats’ musical activities through a number of interrelated examples. This chapter explores each of these overarching categories—exchanges, interventions and collaborations, and connections—in turn.

EXCHANGES

From patronage and performance, to the hosting of private entertainments, to the oversight and attendance of ceremonies and festivities, diplomats were expected to engage in numerous and varied musical activities as part of their professional duties.⁷ One such activity concerned the transfer of musical personnel and goods throughout Europe and beyond. Availing themselves of couriers rather than the slower post, diplomats stationed throughout the continent regularly fulfilled commissions and exchanged gifts and goods with their own courts and with foreign ones. In so doing, they not only helped to build the infrastructure (*Kapellen*, opera companies, libraries, etc.) required for the performance and study of music but also played a vital role in shaping a transnational European musical culture.

The diplomatic transfer of musical personnel was largely bound up with the competitive climate of the eighteenth-century theater. With emperors and impresarios alike on the lookout for foreign virtuosos, the well-placed diplomat could prove a valuable asset. No more auspicious an example exists than in 1783, when Emperor Joseph II ordered Count Durazzo, his ambassador at Venice and the former director of the imperial theaters in Vienna, to engage a company of Italian singers for a comic opera to be

given at the Viennese court. In tenor Michael Kelly's words, the decree stated that "no expense was to be spared, so that the artists were of the first order; that no secondary talent would be received amongst them, and that characters were to be filled by those engaged, without distinction, according to their abilities; and the will of the director appointed by the Emperor."⁸ According to an anecdote that Durazzo related to his guests, the decree resulted from a dispute between the emperor and a French company of actors, who, while "drinking their wine and abusing it," chided the emperor over the quality of the Burgundy at Schönbrunn. The emperor answered that he felt the wine to be quite satisfactory but that perhaps a better vintage was to be found in France, to which nation he promptly expelled the entire troupe. Whatever its veracity, the anecdote was little more than a pretext for the reinstatement of Italian *opera buffa* to the Burgtheater stage, where German *Singspiel* had become unpopular. After signing contracts with Durazzo, the virtuosos Kelly, Nancy Storace, Francesco Benucci, and Stefano Mandini set out for Vienna where they would help to inaugurate a new era in Italian comic opera.⁹

The transfer of musical personnel could also result from a diplomat's own initiative. Fredrik Samuel Silverstolpe, a Swedish diplomat in Vienna who is well known in the Haydn literature, went out of his way to try to secure a position in Stockholm for the Swedish-German composer Paul Struck. Struck, in his 20s, had been a pupil of Albrechtsberger and Haydn in Vienna. Silverstolpe wrote directly to King Gustav IV of the young man's abilities, noting affectionately (if hyperbolically) that Haydn called him "the most skilled pupil he ever taught."¹⁰ Silverstolpe wrote 14 more recommendation letters on Struck's behalf and purchased 44 volumes of German keyboard music as a present for him before his journey.¹¹ While the young composer did not ultimately attain his hoped-for position of court conductor of the *Hovkapellet*, he was inducted into the Swedish Royal Academy of Music, participated in the first Swedish performance of Haydn's *The Creation*, and composed a cantata dedicated to Queen Frederica; he would later return to Vienna and conclude his career in Pressburg.¹²

Diplomats also played a key role in the transfer of musical manuscripts and printed editions throughout the continent, due in large part to imperial commissions. As John Rice has shown, Empress Marie Therese relied on Count Ludwig Cobenzl, Austrian ambassador at Paris, and Marchese di Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador, to supply her library with new music. In a letter of 1802, Cobenzl explained that "Y[our] M[ajesty] need only

indicate to me what pieces you do not yet have, and I will purchase them. After Y. M. has obtained in this way everything good that is available at the moment, I will be on the look-out for what is newly available, in order to acquire everything that is good enough to deserve to be sent to you.”¹³ Wealthy diplomats like Russian ambassador at Vienna Dmitry Mikhailovich Golitsyn and his successor Andrey Razumovsky amassed considerable libraries of their own; their zeal for collection was both a public display of connoisseurship and a reminder to foreign guests of Russia’s cosmopolitan character.¹⁴

Imperial commissions could also include other musical objects not easily obtainable through local channels. A 1795 letter from Razumovsky in Vienna to Count Platon Zubov, favorite of Catherine the Great, indicates that the Russian court looked to its diplomats for certain high-quality musical provisions:

I take advantage with the greatest eagerness of a courier leaving from here to acquit myself of the commission that Y[our] E[xcellency] kindly gave me to have sent to her some music with a provision of violin strings of the best quality that one could find in Vienna coming from Italy. A particular advantage that these ones have is to be quite dependable. Regarding the quantity I determined it according to the proportion of the sizes and of the need to replace the strings on the instrument; in this fashion there are twelve packets of chanterelles [E strings], eight of the A string, and six of the other D. The whole for the sum of 96 florins, 30 xr., contained in a tin case for their conservation.¹⁵

It is difficult to know precisely how many strings were contained in a “paquet,” but this was unquestionably a large order. In the 1770s, Viennese A and D strings could be purchased for three kreuzer each, E strings for four kreuzer each. Imported strings were much more expensive: one Viennese instrument maker charged three times as much for Italian cello strings as for domestic ones.¹⁶ Based on the most conservative estimate, the sum of 96 florins, 30 kreuzer (= 5790 kreuzer) implies a minimum of about 482 strings (roughly 18 per packet), or enough upper strings to outfit 160 instruments.¹⁷ An order of this size would certainly have accommodated the violin section of a large court *Kapelle* and then some, even in St. Petersburg where oversized ensembles were in vogue.

Another chief task of diplomats was the exchange of information, and musical information was no exception. Musical reports, often embedded within longer dispatches, not only portrayed the cultural atmosphere at a

foreign court or capital but also provided details about such matters as the engagement or dismissal of personnel and even the musical tastes of the reigning sovereign and the public. Reporting back to the Dresden court on a Munich production of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* in February 1773, the Saxon minister saw fit to note that "Her Highness the electress is strongly in favor of this opera, which meant that those who respect the wishes of this august princess took care to say no more."¹⁸ Such accounts of musical and theatrical events contributed to painting a larger picture of the political climate at a court or capital.

Silverstolpe regularly corresponded with members of his family about musical happenings in Vienna. His letters reflect more than a passing interest in music; they reveal a man who was deeply ensconced in the city's musical scene and who aimed to describe it in detail to an eager readership back in Stockholm. He often asked for the choicest bits of news to be passed along to Pehr Frigel, Secretary of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music.¹⁹ In a 1798 letter to his brother Axel Gabriel, for instance, Silverstolpe included some "annotations concerning Viennese musicians" explicitly earmarked for Frigel:

The greatest now living male singer, Marchesi, is in Vienna and will soon perform in the theatre. The greatest female singer, Lady Billington, was like Marchesi engaged for several months, but she will not come, because she has a French lover whom she cannot leave. Marchesi is a castrato. Besides him, the castrato Crescentini is considered the chief; I heard him often a year ago, although not with the great enthusiasm that reigns everywhere. – Kreuzer, who composed *Lodoiska*, departed with ambassador Bernadotte. – Haydn's *Creation*, a new oratorio, will be performed in 8 days for the first time. I already heard the majority of it from the author himself playing from the score.²⁰

Silverstolpe's reference to composer and violinist Rodolphe Kreutzer's departure with Bernadotte is of special interest in the context of diplomatic musical exchanges. Kreutzer, primarily remembered today as the dedicatee of Beethoven's Op. 47 sonata, arrived in Vienna with Bernadotte's party when the latter took over as French ambassador in February 1798. On April 13 at around 7 p.m., Bernadotte gave the order to hoist the French tricolor flag on the balcony of his residence as a provocation. A crowd quickly formed and the situation escalated. Austrian officials intervened, but before military reinforcements could arrive, a mob broke through the embassy gate, destroyed the windows and kitchen

furniture on the ground floor, and damaged two carriages. The flag itself was taken down, torn, and burned. Following the incident, Bernadotte demanded a passport from the Austrian government and fled the capital.²¹ Kreutzer hence ended his Viennese tenure prematurely and returned to France where he would enter into the musical service of Napoleon. Silverstolpe, for his part, would eventually come to know Bernadotte in quite a different capacity when he (Bernadotte) was elected heir presumptive to King Charles XIII of Sweden, later becoming king himself.

COLLABORATIONS AND INTERVENTIONS

Another way in which diplomats acted as musical agents was through collaboration with—and/or intervention on behalf of—composers and performers. The most prominent diplomatic musical collaborator of the eighteenth century was, of course, Gottfried van Swieten. After stints in Brussels, Paris, London, and Warsaw, Swieten served as Viennese ambassador to the court of Frederick the Great in Berlin from 1770 to 1777. On his recall to Vienna, he became Prefect of the Imperial Library, and in the early 1780s, president of the Court Commission on Education and Censorship, where he was instrumental in implementing Joseph II's liberal reforms.²² His musical contributions to Viennese life are manifold; among them were the founding of the Gesellschaft der Associierten Cavaliers to promote the performance of oratorios; the commissioning of Mozart's Handel orchestrations; the commissioning of C.P.E. Bach's six-string symphonies for connoisseurs (1773); and the arrangement of the librettos for Haydn's three oratorios, *The Seven Last Words* (1796), *The Creation* (1798), and *The Seasons* (1801).²³

Haydn's autobiographical sketch of 1776 suggests that Swieten was already advocating for him while active as a diplomat in Prussia: "In the chamber-musical style I have been fortunate enough to please almost all nations except the Berliners... Despite this, they try very hard to get all my works, as Herr Baron von Switen [sic], the Imperial and Royal Ambassador at Berlin, told me only last winter, when he was in Vienna: but enough of this."²⁴ Their principal collaboration, however, revolved around the three oratorios. As Edward Olleson notes, Swieten became "increasingly independent" as a librettist, while the librettos of *The Seven Last Words* and *The Creation* are largely adaptations of preexisting material, in *The Seasons*, "the whole conception is his own; the individual scenes are mostly to be found in Thomson's poem, but their organization into a libretto is the

work of Swieten.”²⁵ In preparing both *The Creation* and *The Seasons*, moreover, Swieten—a fairly prolific if sometimes belittled composer in his own right—made notes in the margins offering musical suggestions, many of which Haydn adopted. In spite of oft-repeated criticisms of Swieten’s tendency toward picturesque gimmicks such as the croaking frog of *The Seasons*—which Haydn himself wrote off as “Frenchified trash”—it is difficult to imagine how either of the large-scale oratorios could have come into being without Swieten’s financial assistance, institutional support, or creative prodding. Swieten’s well-documented reverence for the music of Handel and Bach—developed during his travels and residency at Berlin—likely also had an influence on the character of Haydn’s oratorios, just as it did on Mozart’s music of the 1780s (and on the development of Vienna’s “serious” music culture more generally).²⁶

While Swieten collaborated in highly visible ways with contemporary composers, other diplomats labored behind the scenes as third parties to benefit them. One such figure was Haydn’s first biographer Georg August Griesinger. Griesinger arrived in Vienna in the spring of 1799 to tutor the nine-year-old son of Count Johann Hilmar Adolph von Schönfeld, the Saxon ambassador. He soon began to take on diplomatic duties himself, rising to the position of secretary of the Saxon legation in 1804 and later counselor. During his residency, he served as the Viennese representative of the Leipzig firm Breitkopf & Härtel, then the most prestigious music publishing firm in the German-speaking lands. Leveraging his diplomatic skills, he ensured that the firm became Haydn’s principal publisher late in life, negotiating among other things its publication of the “*Oeuvres Complètes de Joseph Haydn*,” and of five of the six late masses, plus the earlier *Missa Cellensis*.²⁷

Silverstolpe, too, interfaced with Breitkopf & Härtel on behalf of a celebrated composer, in this case the late Joseph Martin Kraus. Silverstolpe and his family championed the music of Kraus, the German-born Kapellmeister in Stockholm from 1788 until his death in 1792.²⁸ Along with his brother Gustaf Abraham, Silverstolpe persuaded the Leipzig firm to publish Kraus’s *Oeuvres Complètes*; the brothers not only spearheaded the project but also subsidized it. Kraus was still an unknown to many outside of Sweden (though Haydn admired him greatly), and the music did not sell well, but three volumes made it to print in Leipzig and were distributed in Sweden by the Silverstolpes.

Silverstolpe also intervened as a third party on Haydn’s behalf. Through his instigation, Haydn became one of the first foreigners to be elected to

the Swedish Academy of Music as an honorary member. To be sure, there was an element of national competition here: as Silverstolpe noted in 1797, Haydn had already been made a doctor of music in England, and the accolade flattered him so that he had become “more inclined to undertake a third trip to that country.”²⁹ By awarding honorary memberships to Haydn, Naumann, Salieri, and Albrechtsberger, Silverstolpe hoped to entice them to travel (or travel back) to Sweden, in order to enhance the prestige of its musical culture and to “give a great lustre” to its music.³⁰ One sees here how interventions could easily morph into exchanges.

Perhaps the most ambitious of Silverstolpe’s musical interventions, however—rising in some respects to the level of a collaboration—was his project to translate *The Creation* into Swedish in advance of its Stockholm première (which he helped to arrange). Silverstolpe’s superior, Ambassador Graf De la Gardie, financed the project, and together, the two diplomats translated Swieten’s libretto from German, altering the text of the recitatives where necessary to preserve the correct sense. Haydn himself checked and approved the translation, and it appeared in print in 1800, not long before the Swedish premiere on April 3, 1801.³¹ As Stellan Mörner remarks, it is amusing to think that in the middle of the Napoleonic Wars, two active diplomats in Vienna had enough spare time to engage in a massive translation project of this kind.³² To be sure, this was a labor of love and the result of Silverstolpe’s personal esteem for Haydn’s music. But the project was by no means incidental to politics; rather, the publication and performance of a Swedish-language version of *The Creation* meant that Northern European audiences would have access to the most celebrated musical work in Europe, placing Stockholm on a par with Vienna, London, and Paris in terms of its cultural program. In adapting *The Creation* for Stockholm, Silverstolpe and De la Gardie aimed to highlight the city’s modish cosmopolitanism while asserting Sweden’s cultural competitiveness on the international stage.

Diplomats also used musical interventions or collaborations as a means of articulating national or cultural particularity. The promotion of home-grown talent abroad was one way to argue for a nation’s individuality or superiority. Another was the incorporation of local musics within foreign contexts, whether performative or compositional. This was doubtless the rationale behind the inclusion of Russian folk songs from the well-known Lvov-Pratsch Collection (1790) in Beethoven’s Opus 59 string quartets, dedicated to Razumovsky.³³ At the Congress of Vienna, national and cultural identities were displayed, compared, and contested through music

and dance; one celebration at Razumovsky's palace included such nationalistic offerings as a Muscovite *divertissement* danced by the *corps de ballet* of the Imperial Theatre, a couple dances in Russian costume, and two Polish dances with strong Russian associations—the *polonaise* and the *mazurka*.³⁴

CONNECTIONS

Diplomats also helped to foster musical connections in their salons, an aspect of their activities that can be productively viewed from the perspective of networks. In his study of salon culture during the Congress of Vienna, Brian Vick observes that the European social and political elite were interlinked through two types of networks. *Insider networks*—chains of individuals connected by marriage, family, friendship, collegiality, or common belief or purpose—connected certain individuals within a broader social context. “Such networks,” as he notes, “are delineated as much by whom they exclude as whom they include, and exhibit a high degree of ‘clustering,’ whereby two individuals with close ties to one another likely also share close ties with others in the group.” *Small-world networks*—networks formed around “the strength of weak ties” such as correspondence—connected individuals and small groups at a social or geographical remove from one another. In these networks, necessarily more inclusive than exclusive, clustering is less pronounced and individuals or groups can potentially be connected “in just a few steps, anywhere in the world...” Considering these two types of networks together, Vick proposes visualizing social relations among the European elite as a complex web or net, “with threads running from one person to another representing their social interactions”; these threads come together to form clusters or hubs where social interactions become most dense, as for example in the bustling capital cities of Paris and Vienna.³⁵

The *corps diplomatique* had elements of both an insider network and a small-world network. Because diplomats and their spouses ran many of Europe's prominent salons, they served as insider network hubs, drawing together intellectuals, politicians, artists, and musicians of like mind or station.³⁶ At the same time, they acted as nodal points of high connectivity linking together large swathes of individuals (e.g., Berliners to Viennese or Parisians to Bostonians) through correspondence and travels. While diplomats were by no means the only social group to move between these two types of networks, they did so perhaps more fluidly and consistently than

any other, due to their similar educational and sociocultural backgrounds, multilingualism (and almost universal knowledge of the French language), inviolability during travel, and access to couriers.

Mapping social relationships provides one way of conceptualizing the role of diplomats in stimulating and fostering musical connections. As a case study, consider Charles Burney's visit to Vienna in 1772, during which he interacted closely with two resident diplomats, Lord Viscount Stormont of Great Britain and Abate Giuseppe Taruffi of Rome. Burney's account of the visit, as recorded in his second travelogue, is a valuable resource in thinking about networks. Not only did Burney encounter numerous distinguished musicians and music lovers during his residency, but he also noted meticulously how and through whom he made nearly every one of his acquaintances. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the Viennese salon network in which he moved with some precision.

Visualizing this network proves complex because of the high degree of clustering: individuals regularly moved from salon to salon, maximizing their ties with others in the network. Rather than representing each individual's ties to every other individual in the network, then, we may examine how Burney moved through the network via his first encounters. Figure 3.1 maps Burney's first encounters with significant personalities in the city. Lines connect Burney to each individual he met, whether through direct contact or through one or more intermediary contacts. Red boxes indicate primary contacts, blue boxes secondary contacts (resulting from primary ones), green boxes tertiary contacts (resulting from secondary ones), and so on. To be clear, the map does not represent a network in the strict sense—for which certain requirements must be met and which, ideally, would involve a much larger data set—but rather Burney's experience of making acquaintances within a network.³⁷ As such, it provides a glimpse into a much more complex and extensive system.

Prior to his arrival in the city on August 30, Burney had arranged for letters of recommendation to the British Ambassador Lord Viscount Stormont, the Secretary of the Papal Nuncio Abate Giuseppe Taruffi, and the imperial physician Louis Alexandre Laugier (or L'Augier), among others. Armed with these letters along with printed copies of *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* and the plan (in multiple languages) for his general history of music, Burney first arrived at Stormont's. The British Minister at Munich, Lewis de Visme, had written the recommendation letter to Stormont, and the small-world connection quickly bore fruit:

...I very soon obtained an audience, and [Stormont] condescended to enter heartily into my views, and to interest himself about them immediately on my arrival. This was a most fortunate circumstance for me, as his long residence here, had furnished opportunities for his being perfectly acquainted with all such persons and things as I wished to know; and that universal esteem and respect, which a steady, judicious, and amiable conduct had acquired him, joined to his high rank and station, rendered him all powerful in whatever cause he espoused.³⁸

Indeed, over the course of Burney's two-week visit, Stormont's connections to the city's musical insider network proved to be invaluable; as Burney elsewhere notes, "it was to his lordship's influence and activity, that I owed the greatest part of my entertainment, and the information I acquired during my residence at Vienna."³⁹

Burney dined with Stormont on six separate occasions, during which he made a number of important acquaintances. These included the musical patrons Count and Countess Thun, the Duke of Braganza, Prince Poniatowski (brother to the King of Poland), General Walmoden of Denmark, and an unnamed Portuguese minister, as well as the celebrated composers Weigl, Ordonez, and Starzer. These links multiplied into further connections as his visit progressed: through Countess Thun, Burney met Gluck and his family; through Braganza, the iconoclastic composer Costa ("a kind of Rousseau, but still more original"); and through Costa, the composers Wagenseil and Gassmann (the latter of whom would helpfully grant Burney access to the archives of the imperial chapel).⁴⁰

Stormont also presented Burney to the staff of the Imperial Library, arranging for him to gain access not only during regular hours but also "on holidays, and in vacation time, when it was denied to others...."⁴¹ Since the passing of Swieten's father, Gerard van Swieten, the office of principal librarian had remained vacant; however, deputy librarian Joseph Martines (whom Burney would also encounter later through Metastasio) was doubtless among those bookkeepers who assisted him with "unlimited politeness and courtesy."⁴² (The dotted line in Fig. 3.1 indicates Burney's possible first encounter with Martines through Stormont.)

Both diplomats, Stormont and Taruffi, wrote application letters on Burney's behalf to procure an audience with the poet Metastasio.⁴³ This was no insignificant task, as Metastasio had cultivated an aura of inaccessibility; before leaving England, Burney had been assured "that it would be in vain for me to attempt even a sight of Metastasio, as he was totally worn out, incommunicative, and averse to society on all occasions."⁴⁴ This turned

out to be an exaggeration: Metastasio regularly hosted a select group of friends in the evenings and “had a kind of levee each morning, at which he was visited by a great number of persons of high rank and distinguished merit.”⁴⁵ The applications of Stormont and Taruffi elicited affirmative response letters at around the same time; due to protocol, Burney first saw Metastasio with Stormont and then on the following day with Taruffi, after which more visits ensued. (Since Burney was formally introduced to Metastasio by both Stormont and Taruffi, Fig. 3.1 treats these encounters as equivalent.) Metastasio’s lively salons resulted in additional encounters for Burney, most notably with the talented composer, keyboardist, and singer Marianna Martines (Joseph’s sister).

Burney’s connection to Taruffi, though not quite so robust as his connection to Stormont, introduced him to a different group of musicians and music lovers. Most significantly, it gave him access to Hasse, Faustina, and their daughters, seemingly not among Stormont’s frequent guests. Connections also resulted from Burney’s primary contact with L’Augier; however, in spite of the physician’s offer to introduce him to Hasse, Gluck, Wagenseil, and Haydn, it was ultimately through the two diplomats, Stormont and Taruffi, that Burney’s most significant musical encounters took place. As Table 3.2 shows, Stormont and Taruffi were the hubs through which Burney encountered 11 of

Table 3.2 Composers and music professionals encountered by Burney during his visit to Vienna

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Social link(s)</i>
Bordoni, Faustina (1697–1781)	Singer	Taruffi→Hasse
Costa, Antonio da (c. 1714–c. 1780)	Composer/ guitarist	Stormont→Braganza
Gassmann, Florian Leopold (1729–74)	Composer	Stormont→Braganza→Costa
Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714–87)	Composer	Stormont→Thun
Hasse, Johann Adolph (1699–1783)	Composer	Taruffi
Martines, Marianna (1744–1813)	Composer/ singer	Stormont and Taruffi→Metastasio
Metastasio, Pietro (1698–1782)	Poet/librettist	Stormont and Taruffi
Ordenez, Karl von (1734–86)	Composer	Stormont
Starzer, Joseph (1728–87)	Composer/ violinist	Stormont
Vanhal, Johann Baptist (1739–1813)	Composer	None
Wagenseil, Georg Christoph (1715–77)	Composer	Stormont→Braganza→Costa
Weigl, Joseph (1740–1820)	Cellist	Stormont

Source: Author. References listed at the end of the chapter

the 12 major composers and music professionals he met in the city. (The exception, the 33-year-old Vanhal, had relocated to “an obscure corner of the town” where he seems to have avoided social contact—Burney found him with difficulty only at the end of his stay, announcing himself without introduction.)⁴⁶ By fostering these connections, these diplomats made it possible for Burney to experience Vienna’s musical life from an insider’s perspective. Generous to the last, Stormont also ensured that Burney would be admitted to other musical insider networks upon leaving the city, offering him recommendation letters to Dresden, Berlin, and Hamburg.

CONCLUSION: FUTURE WORK

The diplomats discussed here represent a fraction of those who served throughout Europe in the long eighteenth century. In the two decades from 1789 to 1809, Great Britain alone sent 18 diplomatic representatives to Vienna.⁴⁷ Some of these stayed only long enough to fulfill special missions, such as congratulating the Emperors Leopold II and Francis II on their accessions; others served for longer stints as ambassadors, secretaries, or *chargés d'affaires*. When one considers that this figure accounts for the official representatives of a single sovereign power in a single European capital over just 20 years, it becomes clear that the number of diplomatic personnel who frequented the theaters and salons of Europe’s cities in the long eighteenth century was substantial indeed. To be sure, only a subset of these must have had the musical enthusiasm of a Griesinger, Razumovsky, or Silverstolpe, but all were expected to participate in official events and informal occasions involving music and dance. The letters, writings, and account books of the *corps diplomatique* hence constitute an important and largely untapped resource for scholars of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music.⁴⁸

In addition to examining (or reexamining) these sources, creating a database of musical diplomats active throughout the period would allow us to more fully conceptualize Europe’s transnational “music scene.” Such a database could allow the viewer to see the career trajectories of individual diplomats, the roster of those present in a given city at a given time, and their individual contributions to musical life. This project would inevitably require a large-scale collaboration among researchers and would perhaps most logically proceed on a city-by-city basis. The resultant data set, ideally encompassing at least the major European capitals, would provide a new and fascinating window into the era’s musical life. It would also create further opportunities for the application of network theory to fundamental questions of musical patronage, mobility, and transmission.

NOTES

1. Markus Mösslang and Torsten Rlotte, "Introduction: The Diplomats' World," in Mösslang and Rlotte (eds.), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815–1914* (Studies of the German Historical Institute London; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 10.
2. Iver B. Neumann, *At Home with the Diplomats: Inside a European Foreign Ministry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 3.
3. This chapter is a revised and augmented version of my article "Diplomats as Musical Agents in the Age of Haydn," *HAYDN: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America* 5(2) (Fall 2015), available at, <https://www.rit.edu/affiliate/haydn/diplomats-musical-agents-age-haydn>
4. Driver and Bennett define "music scene" as "a form of collective association and a means through which individuals with different relationships to a specific genre of music produced in a particular space articulate a sense of identity and belonging." Christopher Driver and Andy Bennett, "Music Scenes, Space, and the Body," *Cultural Sociology* 9(1) (2015): 99–115, 100. For a previous illustration of this process concerning the promotion of a style and a genre of music, see Chap. 2 in this volume, by Michela Berti.
5. Antoine-Chretien Wedekind, *Almanac des Ambassades* (Braunschweig: Frederic Vieweg, 1803), pp. 169–80.
6. Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 112–52.
7. The diaries of Count Zinzendorf contain numerous mentions of concerts at diplomatic residences. See Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122(2) (1997): 205–57.
8. Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, including a Period of Nearly Half a Century; with Original Anecdotes of Many Distinguished Persons, Political, Literary, and Musical*, Vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), p. 194.
9. Daniel Hertz, *Mozart, Haydn, and Early Beethoven, 1781–1802* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), pp. 30–31.
10. Silverstolpe to Gustav IV (2 October 1799), quoted in C.-G. Stellan Mörner, *Johan Wikmansson und die Brüder Silverstolpe: Einige Stockholmer Persönlichkeiten im Musikleben des Gustavianischen Zeitalters* (Stockholm: Ivar Haggströms Bocktryckeri, 1952), pp. 342–3.
11. Mörner, *Johan Wikmansson*, p. 346.
12. Anders Lönn, "Struck, Paul," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26992> (accessed August 5, 2015).

13. Count Cobenzl to Marie Therese (3 February 1802), quoted and trans. in John A. Rice, *Empress Maria Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 23.
14. See Maria Petrova, “The Diplomats of Catherine II as Cultural Intermediaries: The Case of the Princes Golitsyn,” in Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding and Ellen R. Welch (eds.), *Intermédiaires culturels/Cultural Intermediaries: Séminaire international des jeunes dix-huitiémistes (2010: Belfast)* (Paris: Honoré-Champion, 2015), pp. 83–100, and Mark Ferraguto, “Beethoven à la moujik: Russianness and Learned Style in the ‘Razumovsky’ String Quartets,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67(1) (Spring 2014): 77–124.
15. “Je profite avec le plus grand empressement d’un courrier partant d’ici pour m’acquitter vis-à-vis de V. E. de la commission qu’elle a bien voulu me donner de lui faire parvenir de la musique avec une provision de cordes à violon de la meilleure qualité qu’on puisse trouver à Vienne venant d’Italie. Un avantage certain qu’ont celles-ci, c’est d’être d’un bon usage. Quant à la quantité je l’ai réglée selon la proportion des grosseurs et du besoin de renouveler les cordes sur l’instrument; de cette manière ce sont douze paquets de chanterelles, huit de la corde A et six de l’autre D. Le tout pour la somme de florins 96 30 xr., compris dans une caisse de fer blanc pour leur conservation.” Razumovsky to Zubov, n.d. [Spring 1795], quoted in Alexandre Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, trans. Alexandre Brückner (Halle: Tausch & Grosse, 1893–94), Vol. 2, Part 4, p. 26.
16. Richard Maunder, “Viennese Stringed-Instrument Makers, 1700–1800,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (April 1999): 28.
17. In 1797, one Viennese music shop advertized “Gute Saiten à 4 kr,” suggesting that inflation over two decades had a negligible impact on the cost of (presumably) locally made strings. *Wiener Zeitung* (11 February 1797), 442. Why Razumovsky only purchased upper strings may be explained by the fact that G strings were typically overwound with wire rather than pure gut and were hence both more dependable and more expensive.
18. Moritz Fürstenau, “Glucks Orpheus in München 1773,” *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 4 (1872): 216–24. Quoted and trans. in Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), p. 206.
19. Silverstolpe’s reports were evidently the basis of his published account of his friendship with Haydn, which appeared in 1838. The account is reproduced in German in C.-G. Stellan Mörner, “Haydniana aus Schweden um 1800,” *Haydn-Studien* 2(1) (1969): 1–33, 24ff. It appears as a series of translated extracts in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1976–80), Vol. 4 (pp. 251–2, 256–7, 264, 266, 318, and 335).

20. “Der grösste jetzt lebende Sänger, Marchesi, ist in Wien und wird bald im Théâtre auftreten. Die grösste Sängerin, Frau Billington, war gleich Marchesi auf mehrere Monate engagiert, sie kommt aber nicht, da sie einen französischen Liebhaber hat, den sie nicht verlassen kann. Marchesi ist Castrat. Neben ihm gilt der Castrat Crescentini als der Vornehmste; ihn habe ich vor einem Jahr oft gehört, obgleich nicht dem grossen Enthousiasmus der überall herrscht. – Kreuzer, der Lodoiska componiert hat, ist mit Botschafter Bernadotte abgereist. – Haydns Schöpfung, ein neues Oratorium, wird in 8 Tagen zum ersten Mal aufgeführt. Ich habe den grössten Teil davon schon von dem Auctor selbst aus der Partitur spielen gehört.” Silverstolpe to Axel Gabriel Silverstolpe (25 April 1798), quoted in Mörner, *Wikmansson*, pp. 329–30.
21. The incident is related in *A Faithful Account of the Riot in Vienna, The 13th of April, 1798, occasioned by the French Ambassador’s Hoisting in that City the National Flag of France, by an Eye Witness, translated from the Original German, published at Vienna, April 23d, 1798* (London, 1798).
22. On music’s role in Swieten’s educational reforms, see Wiebke Thormählen, “Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten’s Vienna,” *The Journal of Musicology* 27(3) (Summer 2010): 342–76.
23. For a fuller account of Swieten’s musical activities, see Edward Olleson’s entry in *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University, 2009), pp. 377–9.
24. Haydn to Mademoiselle Leonore (6 July 1776), in H. C. Robbins Landon, ed. and trans., *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (Fair Lawn, NJ: Essential Books, 1959), pp. 18–21, 20.
25. Edward Olleson, “Gottfried van Swieten: Patron of Haydn and Mozart,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 89th session (1962–63): pp. 63–74, 70.
26. On Handelian elements in *The Creation*, see Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 4, 398–9. On Swieten and serious music culture in Vienna, see DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 20–27.
27. While much of the correspondence between Griesinger and Gottfried Härtel was destroyed during the Second World War, a good deal had been copied or excerpted. It is collected in Otto Biba, “Eben komme ich von Haydn...”: *Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel 1799–1819*. Zurich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1987.
28. On the close relationship between Kraus and the Silverstolpes, see Bertil H. Van Boer, *The Musical Life of Joseph Martin Kraus: Letters of an Eighteenth-Century Swedish Composer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

29. Silverstolpe to Axel Gabriel Silverstolpe (27 December 1797), quoted in Mörner, *Wikmansson*, pp. 323–24. Translated in Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 4, p. 268.
30. Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 4, p. 268. Estelle Joubert has shown how Johann Gottlieb Naumann’s appointments at the Swedish and Danish courts—attained through diplomatic networks—earned him the reputation as a “cultural ambassador from Dresden.” Estelle Joubert, “Opera Composer as Cultural Ambassador? Diplomatic Relations and Politics Surrounding Johann G. Naumann’s Foreign Appointments,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, PA (November 2013), 5.
31. The libretto’s complete title is “Skapelsen. / Oratorium satt i Musik / af / Joseph Haydn, / Doctor i Tonkonsten, / Capellmästare / hos Regerande Fursten af Esterhazy, / Ledamot / af / Kongl. Svenska Musicaliska Academien. / Öfversättning. / Wien, / Tryckt hos Mathias Andreas Schmidt, / K. k. Hofboktryckare. / 1800.” Mörner, *Wikmansson*, p. 355, note 1.
32. Mörner, *Johan Wikmansson*, pp. 354–5.
33. See Mark Ferraguto, “Beethoven à la moujik.”
34. Auguste-Louis-Charles de La Garde-Chambonas, *Anecdotal Recollections of the Congress of Vienna*, trans. Albert Dresden Vandam with introduction and notes by Maurice Fleury (London, 1902), 214–15.
35. Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, p. 114.
36. In Vienna, unlike Paris, males were often (though not exclusively) the central figures of the salon. Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, p. 121.
37. In a formal network, each actor must be connected to at least two other actors. See Mike Burkhardt, “Networks as Social Structures in Late Medieval and Early Modern Towns: A Theoretical Approach to Historical Network Analysis,” in Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle, eds., *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014): pp. 13–43, 14.
38. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, or The Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for A General History of Music*, 2nd edn. (London, 1775), Vol. 1, p. 220.
39. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*, pp. 219–20.
40. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*, 260.
41. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*, 275.
42. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*
43. For the purposes of discussion, I consider correspondence within a city to establish or affirm insider network connections and correspondence between cities to establish or affirm small-world network connections.

44. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*, 233–4.
45. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*, 234.
46. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...*, 356.
47. S. T. Bindoff, E. F. Malcolm Smith, and C. K. Webster, *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1934), pp. 9–13.
48. In addition to the published correspondence of Silverstolpe (Mörner, *Wikmanson*) and Griesinger (Biba, “*Eben komme ich von Haydn*”), a source of particular interest is the letters of Norbert Hadrava, Austrian diplomat in Naples (Giuliana Gialdroni, “La musica a Napoli alla fine del XVIII secolo nelle lettere di Norbert Hadrava,” *Fonti musicali italiane* 1 [1996]: 75–143; on Hadrava, see John A. Rice, “Improvising Face to Face,” *Mozart Society of America Newsletter* 3(2) [27 August 1999]: 5–6). Archival work continues to turn up new materials, including a letter by Haydn (September 27, 1802) recently rediscovered by Damien Mahiet in the Metternich archives in Prague (Damien Mahiet, “Haydn and Metternich: A Letter by Joseph Haydn in the Metternich Archives,” *Haydn-Studien* 11, no. 1 [December 2014]: 150–65).

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Targeting New Music in Postwar Europe: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Crafting of Art Music Avant-Garde Scenes

Anne-Sylvie Barthel-Calvet

“I am Glad the CIA is Immoral”: such was the title of an article by Thomas Braden, issued in the *Saturday Evening Post* of May 20, 1967. In this chapter, the head of the CIA’s International Division sparked a scandal that smoldered for a while, by revealing that the alleged non-governmental *Congress for Cultural Freedom* (CCF) was in fact funded by the CIA through vehicle foundations and that one of its agents was involved in the Congress.¹ Beyond the scandal such a statement provoked at that time, the action of what should since then be called *hybrid* diplomacy appears as a very interesting case of *public diplomacy* involving a complex web propaganda, nation branding and foreign cultural relations.² This mixing will be studied in the crafting of three “cultural scenes,”³ operated by the *Congress for Cultural Freedom* and more particularly by his General Secretary Nicolas Nabokov: Paris and the Festival *L’Œuvre du XX^e siècle* in 1952, Rome and *La Musica nel XX Secolo, Convegno Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea* in 1954 and the early 1960s’ West Berlin.

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While official American cultural diplomacy was indeed for a long time reluctant to support avant-garde art in the postwar period, as Danielle Fosler-Lussier has shown in *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, non-governmental structures as the *Congress for Cultural Freedom* or the Ford Foundation—even financially connected to state agencies—engaged ambitious actions incentivizing musical creation and its diffusion, through concert organization, cultural press and support to young performers and composers. Even if Cold War studies have already examined the implication of different institutions involved in American cultural diplomacy for the formation of European elites,⁴ studying in details those projects concerning musical life reveals a complex web of immediate actions and long-term consequences exceeding the pure diplomatic scope. In fact, those actions were mostly led by individual figures of the musical world, primarily Nicolas Nabokov, who acted a lot more freely than other intellectuals beside the anti-Soviet infighting program. Using his composer's skills in his job of *Congress for Cultural Freedom's* general secretary, he developed also pure cultural projects beyond the diplomatic purpose.

AVANT-GARDE MUSIC IN POSTWAR EUROPE AND AMERICA

It first needs to be reminded that a real “avant-gardist bubble” has appeared and grown in Art Music from the late 1940s to the 1970s on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States, it was expressed in various trends from the 1940s onward. Among those, Milton Babbitt initiated use of duration rows in *Three Compositions for Piano*, as early as 1947–1948, before his European serial colleagues. The “New York School,” including people like Morton Feldman, Earle Brown and Christian Wolff around John Cage, developed works involving aleatory processes.⁵ However, in Europe, avant-gardist trends had known a more progressive development. Even if the *Darmstädter Ferienkurse* had started as soon as 1946, they featured in fact primarily works by the avant-garde of the twentieth century's first half, which were censored as *Entartete Musik* under Nazi regime, and knowledge of which composers and performers-to-be were deprived for 12 years. In France, the researches in “musique concrète” had started since 1948 with the foundation of the “Studio de Musique Concrète” by Pierre Schaeffer who created the same year the first “concrete” works, *Cinq Études de Bruits*, and Messiaen composed the following year his famous piano etude *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités*, which the avant-gardist epic will thereafter describe as opening the path to the Promised Land of integral

serialism. Institutions like the *Darmstädter Ferienkurse*—and, to a lesser extent, the *Donauesschinger Musiktage*—promoted very early exchanges between young composers and performers from both sides of the Atlantic, featuring classes by European-emigrated figures like Varèse or Krenek, or provocative ones like John Cage.⁶ It should however be outlined that the threshold of the mid-1950s will have to be crossed to see the flowering of what will be thereafter recognized as the masterpieces of the European postwar avant-garde (under which—and non-exhaustively—Boulez’s *Le Marteau sans maître*, Stockhausen’s *Gesang der Jünglinge*, Nono’s *Canto sospeso* or Xenakis’s *Metastasis*).

NICOLAS NABOKOV AND ART MUSIC AVANT-GARDE IN EUROPE: A COMPOSER IN THE POLITICAL PLAY

The same period of time saw—after the immediate postwar action of the Office of Military Government, United States (OMGUS) in Germany⁷—the expansion of the American non-governmental cultural diplomacy toward Avant-Garde Music, mostly under the aegis of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, which strongly owed his development to a musician, the composer Nicolas Nabokov.⁸ Born a white Russian in 1903, he emigrated when the October Revolution broke out, first in Berlin, then in France where he came in a close friendship with Stravinsky, which lasted up until the latter’s death. He finally moved to the United States, of which he became a citizen in 1939. At the end of the war, he was involved in cultural missions for the revival of musical life in Germany, at the OMGUS’s Information Control Division, where he worked hand in hand with Michael Josselson, who would become his alter ego at the head of the International Secretary of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*. Having a brilliant mind, he was a handsome and seducing man (he was married five times) and had a special talent for developing human relationships. During the last three decades of his life (he died in 1978), his destiny got mixed up with the development of American non-governmental cultural diplomacy, through his successive functions as general secretary of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, as cultural counselor of West Berlin’s Mayor Willy Brandt from 1961 onward and eventually as adviser for the Aspen Institute for Study of Humanities and the Shiraz Festival.

Concerning Nabokov’s engagement in the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, it has to be outlined that he was involved in its very beginning when, on the Soviet side, the Wrocław Congress, held in August 1948,

launched international campaigns for peace led by the Soviet Union and tried to involve worldwide intellectuals. One of its first steps was the Cultural Conference for World Peace, held in New York City at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, in March 1949, and starring famous figures like the composer Shostakovich. As a member of a protesting group, Nabokov made there his first public political appearance, by asking Shostakovich if he agreed with the *Pravda*, when this journal declared that Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Hindemith were “formalist bourgeois decadents” and “lackey of the imperialist capitalism.” Shostakovich, supervised by KGB escort, nodded while blanching.⁹ In June 1950, at the *Kongress für kulturelle Freiheit* held at Titania-Palast in Berlin’s American Sector, which paved the way to the organization of the forthcoming *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, Nabokov presented an analysis of the Shostakovich case and the question of Zhdanovism. Afterward, 1951 was a year of strong infighting about heading, location and leading positions for this future institution; by presenting his project of a festival on the twentieth-century arts located in Paris, Nabokov handled the situation very skillfully in order to be appointed general secretary of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*.¹⁰ This was the first step of a strategy of cultural diplomacy that he developed later in other European places, and in other continents.¹¹ All those projects present common characteristics that allow to describe them in terms of “scenes” as defined by Will Straw as a “phenomenon formed by the supplement of sociability which attaches itself to any purposeful cultural activity.” They appear specifically as “trans-local scenes,”¹² as they replicate a kind of events’ organization (concerts, intellectual encounters and debates, exhibitions, publications, etc.), providing “the occasions for an endlessly renewed sociability, and for the emergence of in-groups, obscure logics of advancement and other features typical of scenes.”¹³ In the crafting of those scenes, Nabokov’s action appears besides to have pursued a double purpose by developing, within the global frame of the CCF’s public diplomacy, a personal program targeting the revival of European musical creation. Considering his personal history of former white Russian, he was sincerely committed in the American project of struggle against communism in which he collaborated with people like Chip Bohlen, Shepard Stone or Joseph E. Slater,¹⁴ but he was also fiercely attached to European culture and could not resign himself to Europe’s cultural decline. He wanted its cultural rebuilding and maybe—more or less consciously—the restoring of its cultural leadership.

PARIS'S SCENE: THE FESTIVAL *L'ŒUVRE DU XX^e SIÈCLE*

As outlined by Nabokov, the purpose was to organize what he had planned to be the first close partnership in Europe between American and European high-level artistic institutions, and also, on a complete equal footing, of American and European artistic production. The choice of Paris for this first event is related to the setting up of the CCF's general secretary in this town and mainly to the strong influence of the French Communist Party among intellectuals, which was seen as urgent to challenge. The goal of the project was to display the interdependency of American and European cultures as both depending on the Free World, but also to reveal the high quality of American cultural life and therefore to break down the idea of its so-called *lowbrow* nature. To put it in a nutshell, Nabokov presented a multi-art project as having a decisive impact in the *Kulturkampf* with the Soviet Union. Proposing an art exhibition and literary debates, *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle* highlighted mostly—certainly due to Nabokov's profession—music and dance. The art exhibition took place at the same time and in the same location, the *Musée d'Art moderne*, as an exhibition of Mexican art¹⁵ supported by communists, according to Volker Berghahn, who speaks of a “Battle of the Festivals,”¹⁶ which was echoed in the press, both on pro- and anti-American sides. *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle*'s exhibition presented a range of 126 European modernist masterpieces of the beginning of the twentieth century kept in American collections. Their selection was run by James Johnson Sweeney, art critic and former director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, in accordance with Jean Cassou who hosted this collection in Paris.¹⁷ The symbolic signification of this selection was not even subliminal: America as savior and assessor of European art! From May 16 onward, literary debates gathered, at the *Salle Gaveau* for two public lectures and at the *Centre des Relations Internationales* for four smaller audience's debates, writers from 20 countries: Jean Guéhenno, William Faulkner, Guido Piovene, Roger Caillois, Allan Tate, Czeslaw Milosz, Gaëtan Picon and Katherine Anne Porter, among others. Some of the lectures and the discussions were reprinted, mainly in *Preuves*¹⁸ and, reading them, their outstanding reflective level has to be outlined. Mostly focused on questions concerning the role of contemporary art for contemporary human being, they approached it either through pure aesthetical or more political reflections on the function of the writer in society, the place of medias concerning artistic creation, the question of universality, and so on. Referring to musical or

plastic works presented in the concerts or at the exhibition, they drew the intellectual background connecting these local artistic events to a broader cultural and civilizational context.

The great majority of the concerts were located at the *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées*, which is also a significant element in the building of the artistic scene. As the place where major works of the pre-World War I avant-garde were premiered (like Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* or Debussy's *Jeux*), bringing sometimes mythical scandals, it bore the symbolic value of a place dedicated to the avant-garde and, maybe, an appeal to revitalize such a spirit. By settling its festival in this theater, located in one of the richest districts of Paris West Side—as also the *Museum of Modern Art* and the *Salle Gaveau*—the *Congress for Cultural Freedom* mainly addressed an upper-class aristocratic and grand bourgeois audience, of high-standard culture, mostly little receptive to the pro-communist World Peace movement's propaganda. In fact, Nabokov preached to the converted. Even if Thomas Braden had thereafter said that a concert of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in Paris had made more for America than hundreds of discourses by Dulles or Eisenhower¹⁹ could have done, the ideological efficiency of this event within the global scene of communism's countering in cultural scopes has to be nuanced by considering the actual social dimension of the scene in which it had taken place.²⁰

Focusing on a particular cultural object—twentieth-century Art Music—calling specific social practices of upper-class concert-goers (international highest-level orchestras and conductors, prestigious concert and conference places), building the motto of the American-European dialogue and gathering various artistic and intellectual expressions, Nabokov designed what Straw calls a “restricted” scene defined by “people, practices and objects” surrounding “a particular cultural object or domain” to which a consistent reference is made.²¹

The Symphonic and Lyrical Program

From April 30 to June 1, 1952, the Festival brought up, in postwar days where everyday life remained difficult in most European countries, what may be called a luxury program, featuring highest level musical institutions from both sides of the Atlantic, as the *Boston Symphony Orchestra*, the *Wiener Philharmoniker*, the *Orchestre du Théâtre National de l'Opéra*, the *New York City Ballet*, the *Orchestre de la Suisse Romande*, the *RIAS Orchestra* and the *Royal Opera of Covent Garden*,²² and famous artists as

Charles Munch, Karl Böhm, Igor Stravinsky, Benjamin Britten, Bruno Walter, Pierre Monteux, Ernest Ansermet, Hans Rosbaud, Igor Markevitch and Ferenc Fricsay. Some of them were involved in musical life both in Europe and America and embodied through their career the fundamental Euro-American cultural partnership that the *Congress for Cultural Freedom* wanted to outline, and the reality of such an artistic scene, shown as united around common esthetical values.

The outstanding choice of performed orchestral, lyrical or choreographic works was also very significant: among those, Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, in the *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées*, the place of its scandalous first performance in 1913 and under the baton of the same conductor, Pierre Monteux; the French premiere of Berg's *Wozzeck* (production of the *Wiener Staatsoper*); the French premiere also of Schoenberg's *Erwartung* and Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*; the Paris premiere of Poulenc's *Stabat Mater*; Stravinsky's *Œdipus Rex* with Jean Cocteau as speaker; orchestral works by the first half of twentieth-century French composers (Debussy, Ravel, musicians of the *Groupe des Six*), by German ones (Richard Strauss, Paul Hindemith or Boris Blacher), by Italian artists (Vittorio Rieti, Luigi Dallapiccola, Alfredo Casella, Francesco Malipiero), or from Eastern Europe (Bohuslav Martinu, Zoltán Kodály, Serge Prokofiev, Dmitri Shostakovich with the *Concert suite* from *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*) and by American composers like Aaron Copland, Samuel Barber, Walter Piston and William Schuman.²³ Above all, the great amount of works by Stravinsky—the keenest to Nabokov's own taste—could not escape the attention. Such a choice naturally appealed at that time critics and comments: all these more or less nasty remarks merged into the main criticism addressed to Nabokov which reproached him to have emphasized the century's first decade production rather than more recent works.²⁴

The Chamber Music Programming

However, regarding this question, what needs to be kept in mind is that Nabokov's initial project was based on the observation—underlined by Vincent Giroud²⁵—that, in comparison to the pre-1914 period, European musical life was dominated in the early 1950s by excellent young performers, while composers rather stayed in the shadow. Such a statement may come as a surprise today, but, from the 1951 or 1952 point of view, it was actually rather accurate: as noted above, the musical “avant-gardist bubble”

was at that time only budding and started to really swell from 1954 to 1955 onward. What recent significant symphonic works could have been planned and were not? Not that many, except, for instance, Messiaen's *Turangalila-symphonie* and Boulez's cantata *Le Soleil des Eaux*. However, the programming of the chamber music part of the festival is clearly a lot bolder and more modernist than the symphonic one, featuring actual contemporary works of various aesthetical orientations, as Boulez's still ink-wet *Structures Ia pour deux pianos*, world-premiered by the composer, organist and ornithologist Olivier Messiaen, the same Messiaen's *Visions de l'Amen*, Dutilleux's *Choral et Variations pour piano* or even Henry Barraud's *Le Testament de François Villon*, besides twentieth century's first half's references as Debussy's *Syrinx*, Webern's *Fünf Sätze für Streichquartett op. 5*, Ives's "Concord" *Sonata* or Varèse's *Ionisation*.²⁶ This part of the program was the work of Fred Goldbeck, who turned out to be a true point man of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, though remaining more in the shadow than the light-catching and flamboyant Nabokov. From Dutch origin, this conductor, music journalist and musicologist was the husband of the pianist and pedagogue Yvonne Lefébure. He was very involved in the defense of musical avant-garde, through his activities in the CCF as member of the Arts Committee, as editor of the concert chronicles in the journal *Preuves* and, in those years, by his participation to the organization of 1952 Paris and 1954 Rome Festivals, but also by roundtables in the Festival *Donaueschinger Musiktage*. The chamber music program of *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle* was actually close to what was outlined in the same years in those clearly avant-garde-oriented latter events, and, considering both sides of the whole program—the symphonic and the chamber music—the festival appears, in such a light, as quite balanced between the beginning of the century and more recent works. Referring to Nabokov's idea that postwar musical creation has indeed fallen short of the high quality of performing and also of the innovation of the century's first half, this range of works may be seen both as a stimulation toward new musical tastes for the audience and as an incentive to creativity for young composers, put in front of great models.

La Revue Musicale's *Special Issue*

This connection between pre-World War I and post-World War II avant-gardes is also emphasized in *La Revue Musicale's*²⁷ special issue published in April 1952 and dedicated to *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle*. The May issue also gave the libretto of Berg's *Wozzeck* and Britten's *Billy Budd*, which had

their Parisian premiere during the Festival. It presented texts written by composers, musicologists or writers in connection with the festival program, dealing either with featured composers or works or, more generally, with musical revival in different European countries (France, Germany, Italy, England) and clearly aiming at providing a broader and more complete overview of the musical twentieth century. As a matter of fact—and it is meaningful—two articles did not fall exactly within this scope: Pierre Schaeffer's text "L'objet musical," excerpt of his forthcoming book *À la recherche d'une musique concrète*, outlined the "musique concrète," an aspect of French contemporary music that was not presented during the Festival; and "Éventuellement..."²⁸ in which Pierre Boulez explained the theoretical and metacompositional background of his *Structures Ia pour 2 pianos*, quite opposed to the general mood of this publication by its very abstract demonstrations and by the polemical "manifesto" tone of its famous formula: "any musician who has not experienced—I do not say understood, but truly experienced—the necessity of dodecaphonic music is USELESS. For his whole work is irrelevant to the needs of his epoch."²⁹ Therefore, *La Revue Musicale*, for this special issue, did not hesitate to put itself at the leading edge of current compositional problematics. It is also interesting to take a closer look at the more general articles that focused on giving a picture of musical creation in different countries: among others, "L'Esprit de la musique française" by Henry Hell, "L'École anglaise" by Rollo H. Myers, "Notes sur les perspectives du ballet et de l'opéra en Amérique" by Virgil Thomson, "La musique nouvelle en Allemagne" by Heinrich Strobel and "Le renouveau musical italien" by Francesco Malipiero. Globally, these texts aimed at describing aesthetical characteristics of twentieth century's musical creation approached under the scope of national scene. It led sometimes to commonplaces in "nation branding," like in "L'Esprit de la musique française" by Henry Hell. Questioning the notion of "spirit of French music," the author aligned conventional thoughts as "elegance" and "clearness," considering as a more recent limit the beginning of the century with composers as Debussy, Fauré or d'Indy! Other authors included the socio-political context in their description of the artistic scene, even if they left blind spots, which had to be taken into account. Considering thus the Italian musical resurgence, Francesco Malipiero set the stage with the Peninsula's musical life in the first half of the nineteenth century,³⁰ however remaining mute on the Fascist period! Heinrich Strobel, as far as he was concerned, mentioned the Nazi era, but outlined the role of the Allied occupying forces in cultural rebuilding of Germany, among which he said the French to be the most efficient.³¹ Even if he was strongly dependent on the French authorities as Director of the

Music Department of the Baden-Baden-based Südwestfunk, it seems quite odd to praise French cultural politics in such an event as an American-supported Festival! Strobel still adopted a very free tone and developed personal views, by putting Paul Hindemith as the central figure of German New Music and only mentioning Schoenberg by the fascination he exerted on the youngest generation. Moreover, he did not hesitate to label Messiaen's music "appalling erotic mystic."³² Such a freedom of tone should not have displeased Nabokov: as a matter of fact, Hell's and Malipiero's contributions included, for the first, a note of a one and a half page and, for the second, a short letter, that both could be assumed to respond to a request of the editor and that expressed a more personal point of view about recent developments in musical creation. Hell presented chronologically more recent French composers, schools and movements, not depriving himself to express his own likes and dislikes, even harshly, as he viewed Florent Schmitt's art as a music where "the glitter battles with the noisy"³³ and considering Boulez as an "outstanding figure that may be the great musician to-be, if the mathematical feature of his music however does not over-ride the pure sonic dimension."³⁴ Conversely, Malipiero, who indicated that he was invited to express his own view about his fellow composers, appeared as clearly reluctant to assess their works on the basis of novelty and emphasized the loyalty of each to his own style.

Globally, rather than presenting a systematic overview of musical creation through the twentieth century, the editorial line of this journal issue obviously aimed at matching and displaying links between pre-World War I and post-World War II avant-gardes and, more generally, between different musical creative movements throughout the first half of the twentieth century, even though, at the beginning, the articles' authors were not willing to join this approach of musical evolution. In any case, it has to be noted that, paradoxically, the special issue of *La Revue Musicale* was more audacious in the presentation of musical creation than the program of the Festival: Sauguet was played, but the journal gave extensively voices to Schaeffer and Boulez.

THE ROME SCENE: *LA MUSICA NEL XX SECOLO, CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE DI MUSICA CONTEMPORANEA*

In Nabokov's mind, *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle* was not an end, but rather a stage in both the struggle against communist influence in cultural fields and the support toward the development of New Music. After France, his

new target was Italy, another country under strong communist influence. By the end of 1953 and early 1954,³⁵ he planned the organization of this event, having learned from the successes and weaknesses or errors of the 1952 Paris Festival. Unlike this latter, *La Musica nel XX Secolo, Convegno Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea* held in Rome between April 4 and 15, 1954, included all at once a “regular” festival featuring concerts and operas, an International Conference on “Music in Twentieth Century,”³⁶ and an international composition competition.³⁷ Beyond a will to correct the errors of the 1952 program,³⁸ this event responded in its three axes (performances, composition competition, discussions) to Nabokov’s recurring idea to let young European composers meet their American fellows and to give a real international audience to their works, in sum, by opening up national cultural boundaries and compartmentalization between composers, performers and critics, to help young composers give up their “provincial outlook.”³⁹ The stakes were to set up a consistent organization instead of the shapeless juxtaposition of national entities born out of the war rubble.

Although the Roman scene displayed strong features of replication of the Parisian one (same cultural object, same main actors)—and also of the Darmstadt *Ferienkurse*’s one, even if this latter is independent of Nabokov’s project—it showed a different perspective on the articulation between artistic project and ideological background, in particular, as it highlighted the question of music composition. According to Mark Carroll, Rome represented “in contrast to the Paris festival (...) the Congress’s shift from overt propagandizing to a rational discourse, one that nevertheless maintained its pro-Western imperative.”⁴⁰ In fact, even if the Italian pro-communist press campaigned forcefully against what it called “abstraction and formalism” of the project,⁴¹ it has to be outlined that esthetical issues prevailed mostly and were developed. Beyond performances that juxtaposed works of young composers, like Henze’s *Boulevard Solitude* or Carter’s *First String Quartet*, and well-known ones, as Stravinsky conducting his own *Orpheus* and *The Firebird’s Suite*,⁴² panel discussions, in the Conference itself, set face to face different actors of New Music (composers, performers, journalists and scholars), leading them to approach topics like music and technics, music and society, and so on. However, the main focus of the event—and what made the difference with Paris festival—was the composition competition. Of the 12 pre-selected young composers,⁴³ five received an award from the hands of Stravinsky himself: Mario Peragallo, the first prize; Wladimir Vogel and Giselher Klebe sharing the second one

and Lou Harrison and Jean-Louis Martinet, the third. As Fred Goldbeck noted in *Preuves's* June issue, all the winning works “the *Violin Concerto*, the two *Overtures* and the two awarded chamber music works are all using *dodecaphonist* writing—although no one in the jury is known as particularly aware and supportive of this technique (or esthetics).”⁴⁴ The conclusion he drew from this statement may surprise in retrospect. Indeed, he did not observe that the serialist technique was taking a leading position among compositional practices of the time and that tonal or modal music was definitively out of date, but rather that it was becoming commonplace, affirming that “dodecaphonist technique (or esthetics)—or serialist genre, as a kind of—is not, as claimed both its supporters and its opponents, a sort of exclusive watchword and musical credo; but, in a far more trivial manner, a sort of guiding thread, of safeguard or outrigger afforded to the one who wants to move and to find more easily his bearings in the baroque and changing situation nowadays imposed to composers.”⁴⁵ He added that what had been presented in Rome had little to do with the first works of the Viennese School.

Boulez's Reaction

As it is now well known, Boulez scorned this Conference in a famous letter addressed to Nabokov, stating that he should rather organize a conference about the use of condoms in the twentieth century.⁴⁶ Beyond the sharp and offensive tone of these letters and the fact that Boulez might have been upset not to have been programmed in the concerts and only invited to participate to the panel discussions, the main significance of this reaction should not be missed. What Boulez denounced is the misunderstanding to his eyes that covered this superficial use of serialism as “guiding thread” and “safeguard,” and that bypassed completely its esthetical implications. It is actually confirmed by the fact that composers involved in such a path and rewarded at the Rome competition appear nowadays as remaining rather minor figures of the postwar musical avant-garde. Following Mark Carroll,⁴⁷ it also needs to be reminded that 1954 was for Boulez the year he wrote “Current Investigations” in which he criticized in terms hardly any more muted than in the letters he had addressed to Goldbeck and Nabokov, the fetishism for the number 12 of some slaving dodecaphonist compositional practices.⁴⁸ In short, his critics targeted two points: first, a “lukewarm” use of serial principles (not involving, for instance, other parameters that pitches) and second, the rigidity of a strict serialism

that he had at that time recognized as an aporetic way. The incident with Nabokov did not lead actually to a long falling out, but the latter asked his younger fellow not to write to him anymore.⁴⁹ However, it has to be outlined that Boulez was no more directly supported by the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*. In fact, beyond the argument's words, this episode revealed strong divergences, not only about esthetics and compositional practices but more broadly about the conception of musical evolution, and the approach driven by the *Congress* was clearly voiced in the musical chronicles held in the journal *Preuves*, particularly under the pen of Fred Goldbeck.

FRED GOLDBECK'S MUSICAL CHRONICLE IN *PREUVES*: OUTLINING THE PRESENCE OF HISTORY IN MUSICAL CREATION

Subtitled *Cahiers mensuels du Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture*, the review *Preuves* belonged to the bunch of national journals (like *Der Monat* or *Encounter*) conceived as the intellectual armed wing of anti-communism. Focused on political, sociological and, more generally, ideological questions, it did not neglect also cultural life. As such, it appears as one of the elements surrounding the cultural object of musical creation⁵⁰ and as a tool for crafting the French artistic scene. *Preuves* started to be published in March 1951 and Fred Goldbeck joined the editorial staff in 1952, at the time of the festival *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle*. In the musical chronicles, he took over almost all the reports concerning twentieth-century music, leaving concerts and disk critics⁵¹ to the composer André Casanova. Even if he was a keen advocate of musical creation, Goldbeck never took openly the one particular stream's side and appeared on the contrary as trying to decipher large trends that overrode technical differences. One of the ideas he raised recurrently is the links contemporary composers had built with their predecessors, in sum, their relation with history. As early as April 1954, in "La musique du XX^e siècle est-elle contemporaine?"⁵² he stated that traditionalists and neo-classical composers but also serialists advocating for *tabula rasa* were equally linked to music history, while "in debate with the whole history of our art, whether distant or recent."⁵³ His point is the following: Debussy was the first to open musicians' ears and sensibility to distant practices and esthetics—and not only the immediately prior ones—and obviously, in such a trend, Stravinsky⁵⁴ reached the pinnacle.

Nevertheless, and despite their claims, Goldbeck considered that the wildest among young composers had not broken off this dialogue with the past: “The difference lies rather in the dialogue’s level of violence. When Britten has informal and altogether debonair discussions with Verdi, Purcell and Elizabethan composers, Boulez targets head down the Beethovenian sonata or shatters to pieces canon-mirrors of *The Art of the Fugue*.”⁵⁵ Such an idea underlied later critics and chronicles. Indeed, as soon as December 1954, Goldbeck took it up in an open letter to André Hodeir about his book *La musique étrangère contemporaine*: besides remarks concerning erroneous technical analysis, Goldbeck reproached to him not to have been aware of the fact that “our time experiences musically the simultaneous presence of many centuries of music and is, in no way, comparable to those of Perotin or Machaut.”⁵⁶ He came back to this idea in the review of the French premiere of Britten’s *The Turn of the Screw*,⁵⁷ by stating that tonality used by Britten was some ghost haunting postwar music or, in other words, that it represented the resurfacing of a repressed history. San Marco’s world premiere of Stravinsky’s *Canticum Sacrum* was also an opportunity to bring to evidence the senselessness of the critics opposing Stravinsky to serialist composers and stating: “Now, every dogmatism regarding musical modernity is shaken.”⁵⁸ Highlighting the presence of history and therefore the misinterpretation of music’s evolution by the supporters of *tabula rasa* appears retrospectively not only as the red fade of Goldbeck’s personal understanding of the evolution of postwar music but also as a broadly shared conception in the CCF’s environment.⁵⁹ In his quite provocative text “Il n’y a pas de ‘musique moderne’,” Denis de Rougemont, President of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*’s Executive Committee, speaking as music lover and not specialist, evoked the great diversity of musical styles of contemporary music, but contested the conception of musical evolution as a linear progression to which young composers were attached and that he thought to be an overstatement. Targeting clearly Boulez by quoting his essay “Possibly...,” he denounced the senselessness to apply the political and economic notion of “needs of the time” to the musical field, where it has no relevance according to de Rougemont. For him, this obsession was paradoxically linked to the fact that these composers were conscious of all the music history that preceded them and that they absolutely wanted to create something different. In fact, these debates and these statements, diverging from both supporters of rather traditionalist esthetics and fiery avant-gardists enable to bring to light another setting of the European postwar musical situation, which

cannot be reduced to the simplistic bilateral confrontation between traditional and avant-gardist serialist composers that is frequently described on the basis of declarations of both sides.

OPENING OTHER PATHS TO MUSICAL INNOVATION

Boulez's excessive reaction on the occasion of the Rome Conference, the acrimony and sterility of the debates, the widening of avant-garde movements around the mid-1950s, all at once may have driven the CCF's Committee of Arts to turn its attention to other artists exploring new creative paths. Among others, the young Greek composer, Iannis Xenakis, who had fled dictatorship where he was prosecuted as communist militant, received significant support from American non-governmental cultural diplomacy that led to a long-lasting friendship with Nabokov.

While trying to get premiered *Metastasis*, his first significant work of both serialist and graphical conception, he received the warm support of his master Messiaen, but also Fred Goldbeck, who urged Strobel, the director of the festival *Donaueschinger Musiktage*, to schedule this large orchestral score by an unknown composer. Goldbeck wrote an incredible lyrical letter to Strobel in May 1955, presenting Xenakis as "the most interesting Greek musician since Amphion, whose music only a Rosbaud or a Scherchen are able to conduct."⁶⁰ The premiere took place on October 16, 1955, in an ambience of scandal, half of the audience booing, the other one clapping. Afterward, it seems that Goldbeck opened up to him the network of the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*: in 1957, he received a grant from the European Culture Foundation founded in 1954 and developed an artistic program led by Denis de Rougemont and Nabokov; in April 1961, he was invited at the *East-West Music Encounter* in Tokyo with composers as Berio, Carter or Sessions and presented, in this event, a concert of experimental music. This trip allowed Xenakis to discover Japanese art and civilization which made a strong impression on him. In the summer of 1963, he was invited by Aaron Copland to teach composition at the Berkshire Music Center in Tanglewood—summer headquarter of the Boston Symphony Orchestra—and, from fall to spring 1964, he benefited from a Ford Foundation's grant to stay in West Berlin. At that time, Nabokov had moved to Berlin to become Mayor Willy Brandt's cultural counselor; as displayed by their correspondence,⁶¹ Nabokov personally intervened to support Xenakis's application and then stayed in a strong relationship with him when both were in Berlin. During this stay, the young composer elaborated

powerful theoretical developments and fruitful compositional tools, as sieves theory, compositional use of permutation groups and his famous outside-time/inside-time theory. Nabokov also clearly intervened on his behalf one more time: as consultant for The Aspen Institute from late 1969 to 1973, he proposed summer programs, where authors and artists could meet business leaders; as shown by their correspondence, he suggested Xenakis's name for the 1971 edition, where he was actually invited with his family.⁶² In some other activities, Xenakis crossed either Nabokov's own steps or spheres of competence of institutions related to American cultural diplomacy, even if there is no piece of evidence of that: for instance, in 1962, he had access to the big computer of the IBM company in Paris to compute the calculation of the ST series of works; from 1967 to 1972, he was invited to teach as associated professor at Indiana University at Bloomington, and from 1969, he was several times invited in Iran, at the Shiraz Arts Festival of which Nabokov was cultural adviser.⁶³ Even for his involvement in this latter event, for which he was—despite his protest—openly criticized⁶⁴ before resigning, Xenakis stayed away from any particular commitment; conversely, he contacted Nabokov once, to ask for help from American authorities on behalf of political prisoners in Greece.⁶⁵ The global benefit for him was actually in the provided support that ensured him a financial security, allowing him to spend time going to the heart of his particularly original compositional search.

BUILDING A NEW CULTURAL SCENE: NABOKOV IN WEST BERLIN

West Berlin's situation was for some time an area of preoccupation for Western-occupying Allies, and this concern went acute when East German authorities started to build the Wall by surrounding the western part of the town with fences and barbed wires during the night of August 12 to 13, 1961. Contacts were taken between his Mayor, Willy Brandt, the heads of the CCF and of the Ford Foundation, which led to the writing of a memorandum by Nabokov.⁶⁶ The key idea of this paper was “that Berlin should stop attracting the *political* attention of the outside world and try for its *cultural* attention.”⁶⁷ For this purpose, Nabokov proposed events, such as a festival devoted to New Music, a program of artists in residence, an opera workshop, and so on, for which he planned to involve artists and intellectuals of the Soviet Bloc. The Ford Foundation and CCF accepted to support the project, and at that time Nabokov started to feel very uncomfortable

with the secret funding of the organization he led;⁶⁸ the request of Willy Brandt to the *Congress* to assign Nabokov to him as his cultural adviser turned out to be a good opportunity for the latter, who moved to Berlin in the fall of 1962. He developed several initiatives⁶⁹ in the former German capital, that crafted the West Berlin scene quite differently from the Paris and Rome ones. Focusing less on the incentive of musical creation, he kept ideological issues—intrinsic to the 1960s West Berlin place—at the core of his action but tried to overtake by culture the context of political frontal opposition. First, as artistic director of the Berlin Festival—a position he held from 1963 onward—Nabokov hired artists from the East Bloc. As he retold in *Bagázh*, he got in touch with the Soviet ambassador in East Berlin in December 1963, and, negotiating with him, he succeeded in inviting Russian artists at the Berlin Festival,⁷⁰ who were Mstislav Rostropovich, his wife the soprano Galina Vyshnevskaya and the conductor Kirill Kondrashin. Programming such artists in West Berlin was a tremendous response to the Wall! Another international feature was, in the same festival, the realization of the “Black and White” theme, dealing with the reciprocal influences of African and Western Arts, which he previously wanted to run in South America and that actually failed. It featured music, theater, dance from Africa and, like for Paris *L’Œuvre du XX^e siècle*, two art exhibitions, one of African bronzes and the other documenting the influence of African art on modern painting.⁷¹ Such a theme aimed at overtaking the criticism of the oppression of Black people in the United States, frequently emphasized in the denunciation of the American imperialism by communist propaganda. Here again, Nabokov brought a cultural response in the political debate.

The second point is the artists’ residence program funded by the Ford Foundation that aimed at gathering in the walled-up West Berlin writers, composers, and painters from all around the world. As Vincent Giroud explains it,⁷² they were mostly young people, as older and more famous declined the invitation, but it did not discourage Nabokov, on the contrary, as his project was an incentive to intellectual and creative exchanges between artists on the go. As a matter of fact, and despite his personal efforts to organize cultural and social events, such creative bubbling did not really happen. Xenakis recalled having a hard time there, feeling very alone, even if he met Ford grant’s fellows and if his family joined him. In a certain way, this solitude was fruitful for him, as he wrote his major work *Eonta* and his architectural essay “La Ville Cosmique” during this Berlin stay and conceived his famous sieves and outside/inside-time theory.

Although in this particular case, this residency project was not useless, it may be said that it globally remained under Nabokov's hopes, as his attempts to build an international sociability around artistic creation failed.

The third main project that he settled in Berlin, remaining successful in the long run,⁷³ is the *Institute for Comparative Music Studies* founded in June 1963 and headed at its start by Alain Daniélou, with the financial support of Ford Foundation and under the aegis of UNESCO.⁷⁴ Its aims were the preservation of Asian and African musical achievements and their integration in the world cultural legacy.⁷⁵

Through the real international dimension (including the communist side of Europe) he brought to those diverse initiatives, Nabokov made of the newly walled-up West Berlin a real vivid and living cultural scene. Berlin appeared then as the culminating point of his efforts to build a cultural international policy developing artistic goals keen to his heart within the ideological context of the struggle between pro-Soviet and pro-American cultural influences.

During a little bit more than a decade, through the coincidences of political developments, the opportunities of Nabokov's career and the involvement of its linchpin structures—the *Congress for Cultural Freedom* and the Ford Foundation—American non-governmental cultural diplomacy developed its musical action in certain towns: Paris, Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, New-Delhi, and so on, defining each time a specific cultural scene, although with a “trans-local” dimension.⁷⁶ In postwar Europe, these projects appear as carrying the interactions between ideological and esthetical strategies, and, besides the international context, the main incidence of this action concerning the avant-garde—mostly due to Nabokov's personal investment—remained the development of local events, structures or even cultural habits and the launching of individual artistic personalities, like former communist Iannis Xenakis.

NOTES

1. CCF's action during the 1950s and 1960s was mostly investigated under this angle of view in Frances Stonor Saunders's *Who paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* which has taken advantage of this appealing air of scandal, focusing on operations' modes and relations between the CIA and the different actors involved in this organization. The recent *Nicolas Nabokov: A Life in Freedom and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) by Vincent Giroud sheds new and more nuanced

- light on this question. For a discussion of Saunder's position, see also W. Scott Lucas, "Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control: Approaches to Culture and the State-Private Network in the Cold War," in Giles Scott-Smith and Krabbendam, Hans (eds.), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), pp. 55–57; and Jessica Gienow-Hecht, "How Good Are We? Culture and the Cold War," in Scott-Smith & Krabbendam (eds.), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe*, pp. 272–274.
2. For the definition of public diplomacy, see Jan Melissen, Chap. 1: "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," *The New Public Diplomacy*, p. 16.
 3. For the notion of "cultural scene," see *La notion de "scène", entre sociologie de la culture et sociologie urbaine: genèse, actualités et perspectives, Cahiers de recherche sociologique* 57 (Fall 2014), and more particularly the article by Straw, "Scènes: ouvertes et restreintes," 17–32.
 4. Among others: Volker Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001); Giuliana Gemelli (ed.), *The Ford Foundation and Europe (1950s–1970s): Cross-fertilisation of Learning in Social Science and Management* (Brussels: Interuniversity Press, 1998); Pierre Grémion, *Intelligence de l'anticommunisme: Le Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture (1950–1975)* (Paris: Fayard, 1995).
 5. For the composition of his *Music of Changes* (1951), Cage involved chance by the procedure of drawing lots, according to the Chinese divination book I Ching.
 6. See Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 44–51 for the implication of OMGUS and HICOG in the beginning of *Darmstädter Ferienkurse*; pp. 64–71, for Cage's programming in Donaueschingen; and Barthel-Calvet "Un stratège de l'avant-garde: le rôle de Heinrich Strobel dans le redémarrage des *Donaueschinger Musiktage* après 1945", in Jean-Paul Aubert, Serge Milan and Jean-François Trubert (eds.), *Avant-gardes: frontières, mouvements*, vol.1: *Délimitations, historiographies* (Sampzon: Delatour, 2012), pp. 201–227, for the restarting of *Donaueschinger Musiktage*. For the details of *Darmstädter Ferienkurse*'s programming, see Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenith...*, vol. 3; for the details of Donaueschingen Musiktage, see Josef Häusler, *Spiegel der Neuen Musik: Donaueschingen—Chronik—Tendenzen—Werkbesprechungen* (Cassel/Stuttgart: Bärenreiter/Metzler, 1996), pp. 436–443.
 7. See Beal, *New Music, New Allies*, chapter 1: "The American Occupation and Agents of Reeducation—1945–1950", pp. 8–51.

8. For a complete knowledge of Nabokov's life and works, see the extensive biography: Vincent Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov: A Life in Freedom and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
9. For a complete account of the event, see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 216–222; Saunders, *Who paid the piper?*, pp. 57–67.
10. See for details of this building's period of the CCF, Grémion, *Intelligence de l'anti-communisme*, chap. II, pp. 53–97; Saunders, *Who paid the piper?*, pp. 96–114.
11. For instance, with the *East-West Encounters* held in Tokyo in 1961 and in New Delhi in 1964.
12. This process tends to differ with the dissemination of musics and styles from a specific local scene as described in Michela Berti's chapter (see Chap. 2 in this volume), focusing on the Roman scene.
13. Straw, "Two Kinds of Scenes," pp. 2–3.
14. As early as the mid-1940s, Nabokov was in close relation with the circle of nonpartisan foreign policy advisers called "The Wise Men." Mostly former Ivy Leaguers, experts on European issues, they were involved in the immediate postwar reconstruction in Europe and struggle against communism. Bohlen occupied diverse ambassador's positions (including in the URSS); Stone was Director of International Affairs at the Ford Foundation and Slater, President of the Aspen Institute.
15. "Art mexicain du précolombien à nos jours," May–July 1952. The catalogue was edited by the "Presses artistiques de Paris," as the one of the exhibition "L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle: peintures, sculptures."
16. Berghahn, *America and the intellectual Cold Wars*, p. 135.
17. Stonor Saunders, *Who paid the piper?*, p. 129.
18. "Conférences et débats," *Preuves* 16 (June 1952): 40–43; "Les Entretiens de l'Œuvre du XX^e siècle," *Preuves* 18–19 (August–September 1952): 71–82.
19. Thomas Braden, "I am Glad the CIA is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 20, 1967.
20. Berghahn, *America and the intellectual Cold Wars*, p. 174. On the reception of the event by French intellectuals, see: "La Presse Française et l'Œuvre du XX^e siècle," *Preuves* 16 (June 1952): 48–58; Berghahn, *America and the intellectual Cold Wars*, pp. 135–136; Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 264–267.
21. Straw, "Two Kinds of Scenes," p. 4.
22. Complete list includes the *Wiener Staatsoper Chor*, the *Grand Ballet du Marquis de Cuevas*, the *Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire*, the *Orchestre National et Choeurs de la Radiodiffusion Française* and the *Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*.

23. For the complete program, see: Mark Carroll, *Music and Ideology*, Appendix, pp. 177–185.
24. See Giroud: *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 259–260; Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, Chapter I: 8–24.
25. Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 236.
26. For complete program, see Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, Chapter I, pp. 8–24.
27. This journal was set up in 1920 by the French musicologist Henry Prunières to promote New Music.
28. English version: “Possibly...” in *Stocktakings from an Apprentices* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 111–140.
29. *Stocktakings from an Apprentices*, p. 113.
30. “Pour se rendre compte de ce qu’est réellement ce que l’on nomme ‘renouveau musical italien’, il faut connaître la vie musicale italienne entre 1800 et 1850,” Francesco Malipiero, “Le renouveau musical italien,” *La Revue Musicale* 212, special issue “L’Œuvre du XX^e siècle” (April 1952): 27.
31. “Au moment de la capitulation de l’Etat nazi, il se trouva, parmi les nouveaux dirigeants des puissances occupantes, quelques têtes intelligentes qui comprirent immédiatement que, pour gagner les Allemands, il fallait les prendre par le biais de la *culture*. Dans l’assaut d’émulation entre les quatre puissances alliées, les Français furent incontestablement vainqueurs. On eut mille fois raison d’introduire en Allemagne la musique française, à côté du théâtre de France—la musique française, dont les musiciens allemands avaient, depuis des dizaines d’années, la puissante nostalgie,” Heinrich Strobel, “La musique nouvelle en Allemagne”: 24.
32. “la consternante mystique érotique de Messiaen”, in Strobel, “La musique nouvelle en Allemagne”: 24. It has however to be recalled that Strobel had programmed the German premiere of the *Turangalila-Symphonie* (which eroticism had been actually vigorously criticized by the press) during the concerts season of the Südwestfunk a year earlier and invited the composer to perform *Harawi* for the first time in Germany, with Gabrielle Dumaine, at Donaueschingen Festival, in October 1961.
33. “Musique coruscante, où le clinquant le dispute au tapageur,” Hell, “L’Esprit de la musique française”: 14 (author’s translation).
34. Author’s translation of: “Le plus combatif et le plus jeune d’entre eux, Pierre Boulez, personnalité remarquable, sera peut-être le grand musicien de demain, si toutefois le caractère mathématique de la musique ne l’emporte pas chez lui sur le côté purement sonore,” Hell, “L’Esprit de la musique française.”
35. For details of Nabokov’s approaches, see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 281–283.

36. According to Fred Goldbeck in the chapeau of “La Musique du XX^e siècle est-elle contemporaine?” (*Preuves* 38 (April 1954): 81–82), this Conference was organized by the European Center of Culture, with the collaboration of the CCF and the RAI.
37. Announced in *Preuves* 26 (April 1953): 91: “Après avoir présenté, avec “L’Œuvre du XX^e siècle,” un bilan de la création musicale contemporaine, le Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture entend désormais faire œuvre de pionnier en donnant des moyens d’expression et de réalisation à des artistes de la nouvelle génération. Un concours international de composition musicale aura lieu sous ses auspices à Rome, en avril 1954.”
38. Like, for instance the oversight of Jacques Ibert or Carl Nielsen (see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 282).
39. Nabokov, quoted by Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 282.
40. Carroll, *Music and Ideology*, p. 167.
41. For details, see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 285.
42. For broader information about this program, see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 282.
43. Yves Baudrier, Conrad Beck, Bernd Bergel, Peter Racine Fricker, Camargo Guarnieri, Lou Harrison, Giseler Klebe, Jean-Louis Martinet, Mario Peragallo, Camillo Togni, Wladimir Vogel, Ben Weber (Giroud: 283–284). Jury members were: Paul Collaer, Aaron Copland, Roland-Manuel, Rollo H. Myers, Geoffredo Petrassi, Robert Soetens and Heinrich Strobel (Fred Goldbeck, “Le concours international de Rome,” *Preuves* 39 (May 1954): 102. The committee that ran the pre-selection was chaired by Igor Stravinsky and comprised: Samuel Barber, Boris Blacher, Benjamin Britten, Carlos Chavez, Luigi Dallapiccola, Arthur Honegger, Francesco Malipiero, Frank Martin, Darius Milhaud and Virgil Thomson.
44. Author’s translation of: “Et il se trouve que le *concerto de violon*, les deux *ouvertures* et les deux œuvres de musique de chambre récompensées sont toutes d’écriture *dodécaphonique*—et cela bien que parmi les juges aucun ne soit que l’on sache particulièrement prévenu en faveur de cette technique (ou esthétique)”, Goldbeck, “La Musique du XX^e siècle à Rome,” *Preuves* 40, June 1954: 78.
45. Author’s translation of: “La technique (ou esthétique) dodécaphoniste—ou le genre sériel, dont elle est une espèce—n’est pas, comme le prétendent partisans et adversaires, une sorte d’exclusif mot d’ordre et de credo musical; mais, bien plus anodinement, une sorte de fil conducteur, de garde-fou ou de balancier offert à qui veut circuler et se reconnaître plus commodément dans le baroque et le mouvant imposé aujourd’hui aux compositeurs,” Goldbeck, “La Musique du XX^e siècle à Rome”, p. 78.
46. He expressed the same feeling in two—also undated—letters to Goldbeck. These three letters are held at the Médiathèque Gustav Mahler, Goldbeck files.

47. Carroll, *Music and Ideology*, p. 171.
48. Pierre Boulez, "Current Investigations," *Stocktakings from an Apprenticeship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 15–19.
49. According to Saunders (*Who paid the Piper?: 233*), but Giroud said: "their falling out turned to be brief" (*Nicolas Nabokov: 286*).
50. Following Will Straw defining a "restricted scene" by "the people, practices and objects which surround a particular cultural object or domain," in "Two Kinds of Scenes", p. 3.
51. Starting only from the issue 47 of January 1955 onward.
52. *Preuves* 38 (April 1954): 81–82, published version of Goldbeck's lecture "L'esthétique et la technique" at Rome International Conference.
53. *Preuves* 38: 81.
54. Without naming him, Goldbeck described "the trendiest musician of the moment" whose "works's catalogue is a remarkable continuation of *recherches du temps perdu* and dialogues with the fate of western music, from the tribute to the ancient Russia's folklore to the tribute to Webern..." / "le musicien aujourd'hui le plus en vue; le catalogue de ses œuvres est une suite exemplaire de *recherches du temps perdu* et de dialogues avec le destin de la musique occidentale, depuis l'hommage au folklore de la Russie ancienne jusqu'à l'hommage à Webern," *Preuves* 38: 81 (author's translation).
55. Author's translation of: "La différence est plutôt dans le degré de violence du dialogue. Là où un Britten s'entretient à bâtons rompus mais somme toute assez débonnairement avec Verdi, Purcell, et les élizabéthains, un Boulez s'en prend tête baissée à la sonate beethovienne ou fracasse jusqu'à les pulvériser les canons-miroirs de l'Art de la Fugue," *Preuves* 38: 82.
56. Goldbeck, "Lettre à l'auteur d'un livre qui pourrait être utile," *Preuves* 46 (December 1954): 66 (author's translation).
57. Goldbeck, "Benjamin Britten," *Preuves* 66 (August 1956): 86–87.
58. Goldbeck, "Le Cantique de Saint-Marc de Stravinsky," *Preuves* 69 (November 1966): 90–91: "Maintenant, tout dogmatisme en matière de modernité musicale est ébranlé", p. 91 (author's translation).
59. For the political connections, see also Carroll, *Music and Ideology*, p. 173.
60. Author's translation of a letter of F. Goldbeck to H. Strobel, April 30, 1955 (Südwestfunk Archives, Baden-Baden). For details, see Barthel-Calvet, "*Metastasis*, 'opus 1' de Xenakis," p. 263.
61. Letters between Xenakis and Nabokov, March 12, 1963, October 3, 1963, s.d. after Berlin's residence (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin).
62. Letter of Xenakis to Nabokov, January 19, 1971 (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center).
63. Compared with Mark Ferraguto's chapter in this volume (Chap. 3) that focuses on official diplomats, this chapter analyzes how a non-governmental diplomatic platform financed by a governmental organization shapes musical scenes in Europe.

64. Serge Rezvani, “L’autre Iran”, *Le Monde*, November 24, 1971; Iannis Xenakis, “Correspondance”, *Le Monde*, December 14, 1971 (reprinted in Iannis Xenakis, *Musique de l’Architecture*, Marseilles: Parenthèses, 2006, pp. 312–313); open letter of Xenakis to Farouk Gaffary, February 10, 1976 (Médiathèque Gustav Mahler, files Fleuret).
65. Letter from Xenakis to Nabokov, February 10, 1970 (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center).
66. For details, see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 341.
67. Nabokov, *Bagázh: Memoirs of a Russian Cosmopolitan* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), p. 255, quoted by Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 341.
68. Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 340. Nabokov remained however Secretary General of the CCF.
69. Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 343–362.
70. For another conception of Music Festivals in Europe and the role of Russia, see Chap. 11 in this volume, by Emilija Pundziūtė-Gallois.
71. Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 355–356.
72. Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 344.
73. Becoming the *International Institute for Traditional music* in 1991, this institution was supported by the Berlin Senate for Cultural Affairs until 1996, when it was dissolved.
74. UNESCO was represented by Jack Bornoff, setting at the board with musicians and musicologists as Boris Blacher, Yehudi Menuhin, Paul Collaer and Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt (Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, p. 347).
75. For further details, see Giroud *Nicolas Nabokov*, pp. 346–347.
76. Straw, “Two Kinds of Scenes,” pp. 2–3.

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PART II

Shaping the Diplomatic
Scene. Sounds and Voices
as Frameworks of Diplomacy

The Diplomatic Viol

Rebekah Ahrendt

My starting point is an oft-cited but little discussed quotation from a curious 1740 publication. Hubert Le Blanc, in his *Defense de la basse de viole, contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740), described the sound of the bass viol as “resembling the tone of voice of an Ambassador, which is not loud, and is even a little nasal.”¹ While the word *nazarde* may bring to mind images of sleazy, sycophantic courtiers—and a “nasal” tone in fact became a stereotype of unenlightened diplomats in the nineteenth century—I would like to indulge for a moment that Le Blanc meant this comment to be taken at face value. What we have then is an account of a viol—an inanimate instrument—sounding like a very specific kind of person, with a specific tone and a specific social background.

I do not wish to perform here a mere “contextualization” of this curious comment. Rather, I intend to explore the cultural conditions that allowed Le Blanc to liken the sound of the viol to that of an ambassador. I also wish to investigate the social *scenes* implied by such a statement and to explore how the viol—an instrument of wood and gut—became allied

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with ideas of the negotiations and negotiators that divided up the world across the long eighteenth century. My project thus responds to what literary scholar Timothy Hampton has termed “diplomatic poetics.” Hampton proposes a way of reading literature “attuned to the shadow of the Other at the edge of the national community, and a way of reading diplomacy that would take into account its fictional and linguistic dimensions.”² For Hampton, diplomacy is the symbolic act *par excellence*—a form of action that is eminently political but semiotic at essence, for it is based on the exchange of legible signs. The success of diplomacy is dependent on the correct interpretation of those signs. Thus, diplomatic action is equivalent to symbolic action.

I contend that music presents an even stronger case than literature for the reflection and constitution of diplomatic practice, because of early claims to music’s abilities to effect non-linguistic, non-verbal, and even universal communication.³ If diplomacy is the exchange and interpretation of signs, then surely music—and especially music that does not have recourse to language—could be allied even more closely than literature to diplomatic praxis. Sound, too, was a vital component of the symbolic language of diplomacy.

In this chapter, I argue that a musical instrument could enable, embody, and represent diplomatic practice. I take the viol as my example in part because the development of the modern, resident embassy and institutionalization of a recognizably modern diplomacy occurred in tandem with the cultivation of the viol as *the* instrument of elite sociability, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Tracing the history of the viol thus also means tracing the history of diplomacy as it became a regular system of communication between (modernizing) states. I focus on three points of interaction. First, I explore the role of the viol in elite sociability. In this period, diplomatic representation was the province of elites, and the social life of the viol was inextricably linked to the same circles that produced ambassadors.⁴ The viol aided in developing the comportment necessary to an ambassador: forming the hands, positioning the body, communicating a notion of uprightness, and easy, regulated, graceful action. As an instrument of polite social performance, the viol continued to provide pleasure and civilized social interaction to generations of diplomats as they embarked on their careers. The viol’s scene thus overlapped with and aided in the construction of the diplomatic scene.

Second, the idea of the resident embassy and of diplomatic representation in general was understood to be a question of bodily presence in this

period. Thus, I consider the material capabilities of the viol to construct a notion of the domesticated—and yet cosmopolitan—negotiator, occupying a space that was at home in the world. The materiality of the viol, its shape, its construction, and the materials from which it was created, was itself charged with the luxury and rarity of the ambassadorial class. Many of those materials were dependent on the work of diplomacy: of negotiating long-distance trade, of maintaining or obtaining status as a colonial power.

Lastly, considering that sound was an essential component of the symbolic language of diplomacy, the sound of the viol could provide a model for negotiators. The instrument was long purported to be the one most capable of imitating the human voice. Yet this was a non-linguistic capability. Generations of commentators lauded the viol's uncanny ability to express emotions beyond words and to affect the inmost feelings of its auditors. Above all, it possessed the sound of intimacy: of intimacy with the sovereign, of the intimate conversations that more frequently concluded negotiations than any staged congress could.

In studying the viol this way, I am responding to research centered on the agency of musical instruments in human social lives. Particularly salient to my thinking is the work of ethnomusicologists like Ali Jihad Racy, who observed that instruments “perpetually negotiate or renegotiate their roles, physical structures, performance modes, sound ideals, and symbolic meanings.”⁵ Along these lines, Maria Sonevtsky has identified the instrument as an “active actor in the negotiation of meaning in performance,” which is capable of steering “the interpretive maneuvering that occurs between performer and listener.”⁶ The reflections of Racy and Sonevtsky seem particularly well suited to my project, as early modern diplomacy was not called “diplomacy” at all but the *art of negotiation*. As we shall see, the viol was itself a remarkably capable negotiant, for no other instrument had the sound of the viol.

An approach centered on social scenes is particularly valuable for instruments, like the viol, that were cultivated by a surprisingly durable network over hundreds of years. Here I follow Eliot Bates, who has argued for studying the “social life of musical instruments” in a way that takes into account the entangled and complex relationships “between humans and objects, humans and humans, and between objects and other objects.”⁷ Bates's concern, and mine, is not merely to study instruments as incidental to social interactions but also the agency they possess to create social interactions and social scenes. In the case of the viol, part of its stability as an objective presence in facilitating social negotiations may be due to the

stability of the language used to describe it. *If*, as Ian Woodward insists, “it is stories and narratives that hold an object together, giving it cultural meaning” it would seem that the viol—with its remarkably stable, consistent narratives—was and is a particularly durable reservoir of meaning.⁸ The language used to describe the viol, over and over again across time, intimately links it to the world of the diplomat, a world contingent on being able to be heard but not to offend, to mediate between different, often contentious, voices.

ELITE INSTRUMENTS

The social life of the viol was inextricably linked to the same circles that produced ambassadors. First cultivated at the same northern Italian courts that developed the idea of the resident embassy, the viol quickly spread along channels of polite communication to be adopted in the highest social circles across Europe (and beyond)—those which were most likely to produce ambassadors. What made the viol so attractive to elites were the physical traits necessary to its performance. Simply put, a body looked good while playing the viol. And that body began to look—and act—ever better as the viol technique developed across the seventeenth century. Whereas most writers of the sixteenth century concerned themselves with the sonic appeal of viol playing, the discourse gradually assumed a moral cast, emphasizing an upright playing position and a balanced body. Perhaps responding to contemporary notions that comportment reflected moral character, viol tutors began emphasizing an upright carriage for both player *and instrument*. The viol thus became an essential training for the bodies and souls of young elites. As a method of training, as a mode of sociability, the sound of the viol resonated throughout the world of the early modern diplomat.

One of the earliest and most often repeated references to the viol in elite sociability derives from Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*, first published in 1528, a work that has been viewed as an important early text in the history of diplomacy. Castiglione, himself an ambassador, based his work on his experiences at the court of Urbino in the early sixteenth century. Urbino was at the forefront of a trend toward resident embassies that shaped modern diplomacy.⁹ It was also an early adopter of an instrument still in its infancy, the *viola da gamba* (which I refer to more familiarly as the “viol”).¹⁰ Castiglione’s views on the positive effects of music in international relations relate to Renaissance conceptions of cosmic harmony

and order made audible through “good music.”¹¹ Particularly well suited for these purposes, in Castiglione’s view, was the sound of the viol. Castiglione singles out the viol as uniquely amenable to courtly sociability in a passage given in the voice of Diplomat Federico Fregoso on the nature of “beautiful” music:

Beautiful music, replied Sir Federico, consists in singing well and with a beautiful style from the score; but even more so singing to the viol... Above all, most gratifying is the singing to the viol of prose, this adds so much loveliness and efficacy to the words, which is a great marvel ... And no less delightful is the music of four viols, which is the sweetest and most artificial.¹²

I return to the idea of voice and viol uniting and mutually reinforcing each other below. The point I will make here is that the viol had already come to dominate courtly musical sociability by the time Castiglione wrote these words, thanks to powerful patron-musicians like Isabella d’Este who had developed a taste for the instrument as early as the 1490s.¹³

Soon, the viol was cultivated in other places by other sorts of elites as well. Philibert Jambe de Fer explicitly linked the instrument to those elites charged with negotiating the world in the mid-sixteenth century. “We call viols,” he writes, “those instruments with which gentlemen, merchants, and other persons of quality pass their time. ...I have not illustrated the violin for you because it is considered beneath the viol, also because there are few persons to be found who use it, if not those who live by its labor.”¹⁴ As early as 1556, then, the viol was the province of “persons of quality,” whereas the violin was a low instrument for the hired help—a stereotype that Le Blanc would weaponize in his 1740 treatise. More pertinent to my point, however, is the kind of company Jambe de Fer kept and to whom his treatise is addressed. Jambe de Fer was a part-time musician who was otherwise a *corratier juré*—a broker of deals between sellers and buyers, whose activities were governed by the consular jurisdiction of Lyon, which was a center of international trade at the time.¹⁵ Today his occupation would fall under trade diplomacy.

Jambe de Fer was one of the first to remark on how the viol ought to be held. While his instructions are vague, he clearly notes that the playing posture differed between “Italians” and “French” and that in France, at least, a position that balanced the bodies of the player and instrument in an upright position was to be preferred. His comments echoed through to

the seventeenth century, as posture in viol playing began to be conflated with notions of moral uprightness. Whereas most sixteenth-century writers concerned themselves with the aesthetic appeal of viol playing, the discourse gradually assumed a moral cast, emphasizing an upright playing position and a balanced body. And this despite—or maybe because—of the fact that the instrument itself had changed significantly. Jambe de Fer’s “French” instruments had only five strings, for instance, whereas he described “Italian” instruments as possessing six. Organological and iconographic evidence of the time similarly demonstrates wide variety in the shapes of viols and how they were held. Yet this diversity evened out by the early seventeenth century, when a six-stringed instrument positioned vertically between the legs became the norm across Europe and beyond.¹⁶ Viols and viol players, their bodies united by the act of performance, thus took part in what Racy has termed a “dialectical process” in which instruments and their players “readjust or reaffirm their positions as they respond to, and act upon, a complex network of demographic, political, musical, physiological, acoustical and ideological factors.”¹⁷

So which came first, the upright position of the viol or the moral insistence of viol tutors? That we cannot know. What we can know is that the viol became essential training for the bodies and souls of young elites, many destined for careers in international relations. I give but one, albeit extended, example here of the importance of the viol for (future) negotiators. Dutch Diplomat and man of letters Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) perceived learning the viol as an essential part of childhood education. Huygens began learning the viol at age six, when his father (also a servant of the state) engaged an English mercenary soldier as a viol teacher.¹⁸ By the age of 11, young Constantijn was capable enough to participate in music making with the likes of famous organist and composer Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. The pattern of musical movement education Huygens instituted for his sons Constantijn Jr. (who himself eventually assumed state duties) and Christiaan (the great scientist) mirrored his own: first singing, then the viol, then dance, then other instruments. Undoubtedly, the attraction of the viol for Huygens lay not only in its ability to “perfect” the voice—a feature lauded by numerous viol tutors of the time—but also in its power to shape the body. We can guess that the Huygens children were taught to play in an upright manner: seated easily, feet firmly on the floor with toes gracefully pointed slightly outward, the viol carefully balanced on the calves and thighs, the neck of the viol held mostly upright, though tilted slightly so as not to obscure the highly held, forward-facing head of the performer.¹⁹

The uprightness of the viol tallied well with Huygens's own beliefs in the moral effects of posture. At that time, it was commonplace to assume that a person's exterior reflected his interior.²⁰ Any physical defect, be it crookedness of the spine or a twist in a limb, indicated moral deficiency. Poor posture, if not corrected, could warp the soul. So extreme was Huygens's commitment to uprightness that he made a drastic decision regarding his eldest son in 1637, when the boy was nine years old. Apparently, since the age of four, the head of little Constantijn Jr. had tilted to the left, a sure portent of lasciviousness, femininity, and moral weakness. His concerned parents tried everything to cure him, from purges to steam to corrective apparatus. But nothing worked. Finally, the desperate father made an equally desperate decision: he allowed a doctor in Utrecht to operate. The life-threatening surgery was successful, Constantijn Jr. finally had his head on straight, and a month later, he began to learn the viol.²¹

NEGOTIATING MATERIALS

My second point of interaction concerns material capabilities of the viol to construct a notion of domesticated cosmopolitanism. The very physical presence of the viol could mediate and represent social stature, much in the same way as the physical presence of the resident ambassador. At the same time, the viol as a physical object was subject to negotiation. Buyers haggled prices with sellers of antique instruments and ambassadors negotiated treaties of commerce and colonization that affected the manufacture of new ones. And viols, especially the highly ornamented viols in favor by the end of the seventeenth century, regularly incorporated exotic materials dependent on overseas trade and/or colonization.

To return to my example of the Huygens family: by the late 1630s, they could form their own chamber group of six viols, but they needed quality instruments. Huygens's diplomatic connections proved useful in this quest, as his correspondence reveals. He enjoined the Secretary to the Dutch Ambassador at London, Maarten Snouckaert van Schauburg, to search for a chest—a matched set—of English-made viols. Snouckaert, undoubtedly through his professional contacts at the English court, enlisted English Court Musician Nicolas Lanier to the cause. Writing to Huygens in August 1638, Snouckaert reported:

I wrote to you before my departure from England...that one of the foremost members of the music of Their Majesties...has personally taken charge

of the search for the elite instruments that you wish to have. Since then, he has found...a consort of six old viols, but the most excellent one could ever find.²²

The price was 30 pounds sterling for the set, which Snouckaert felt was rather high. By January of 1639, Snouckaert had managed to haggle the price down to 27½ pounds plus a “gray Dutch hat,” assuring Huygens that even though Lanier and other musicians of the English court had judged the viols to be “very excellent, very rare, and well worth the price of 30 pounds,” he had wished to ensure that Huygens received the best price possible.²³ One might speculate about the Dutch hat: was this a symbolic exchange of one rarity for six others? Regardless, the viols made their way across the Channel, to find a new home and new lives with the Huygens family.

Huygens’s desire to acquire “elite” English instruments for his domestic consort underscores the idea that an instrument itself could embody social class. What made his English viols “elite” was their age and reputation; already by the 1630s, viols of English manufacture from the late sixteenth century were recognized as the finest available. Much like a Stradivarius violin today, viols by makers like John Rose retained their value for centuries. Other viols were made still rarer by the exotic materials with which they were decorated. Richard Leppert has productively explored the relationship between materials and prestige in his discussion of the sorts of hyper-ornamentation found on viols.²⁴ Discussing a 1701 viol by Hamburg luthier Joachim Tielke, now in Brussels, Leppert observes that “the instrument’s very materiality is a mute signifier of political subjection, just as its physical beauty is a disguise worn by subjection, to both construct and authorize prestige,” for it is crafted not of native European hardwoods but of exotic materials culled from European colonies.²⁵

Exotic materials certainly contributed to the transformation of the viol (and other instruments) across this period. Some materials seem to have been used rather for their appearance or rarity than for their potential to produce sound. Such is the case with the *Cedrela odorata* (commonly known as “Spanish cedar” or “West Indian cedar”) used by Parisian luthier Michel Collichon to craft the bodies of at least three surviving instruments.²⁶ The three bass viols, dated 1683, 1687, and 1688, all use this same wood, which is more commonly found in veneers than in the bodies of instruments. In other words, the origin of the wood trumped its functionality. It will likely never be known how Collichon obtained this wood or why he used it. What seems clear is its origin in the French West Indies, first colonized by France in 1635.

I emphasize here that the power to obtain such exotic materials was the product of negotiation. A driving force in diplomacy of the long eighteenth century was the divvying up of the world's riches.²⁷ Colonial territories and their products and people were bought, sold, won, or lost through networks of European international relations, whether peaceful or bellicose. The very dedicatee of Le Blanc's *Defense*, Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, *comte de Maurepas* (1701–1781), was directly responsible for the defense and development of French overseas territories as Secretary of the Navy between 1723 and 1749—and for the collection of hundreds of songs in what is today known as the *Chansonnier Maurepas*. His actions, which included maintaining his own network of informants, enabled France to regain prestige and position as a naval power. And his primary concern at the time Le Blanc wrote his treatise was the sprawling French Empire in the New World.²⁸

Other supply routes were no less important, however. A direct acknowledgment of the role of negotiation in viol fabrication comes from a dispute between two writers in the 1680s. Le Sieur Danoville (no first name known) declared that the bow of the viol *must* be of “bois de la Chine.” This wood of the Asian Tung tree was ideal for Danoville's purposes because of its density and flexibility. As Danoville stated, a bow should not be too heavy “because it renders the hand too peasant-like,” nor too light “because it does not draw out enough harmony”; rather, the weight should be proportionate to the hand.²⁹ Note that Danoville's choice of adjective—*pesante*—again brings to the fore issues of social class, just as his emphasis on proportion speaks of the idealized balance of viol and body. Shortly thereafter, Jean Rousseau responded to Danoville's insistence with the observation that “it seems to me that many sorts of other woods are used to make bows, which are no less good than the wood of China.”³⁰ Admitting that Tung bows are quite good, Rousseau nonetheless asserts they are not required, “for if this were the case and if one no longer had commerce with the Chinese, the viol would have to be abandoned.”³¹ He therefore recommended flexibility in choosing bow wood. And, despite Danoville's pleas for Asian wood, the woods of choice for viol bows in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as today, were New World hardwoods.

Rousseau realized that trade was subject to negotiation and that overseas imports were subject to fluctuations in supply. Likely, most delighted owners of elaborately decorated viols never gave a thought to the human and environmental toll exacted by their instruments.³² They were more concerned with the ability to both look and sound pleasing, for the materials of the viol were thoroughly conditioned by its social function.

THE “VIOL” SOUND OF DIPLOMACY

If the viol’s materials could represent state policies abroad, it could also fulfill other essential tasks of the ambassador: it could mediate and negotiate. Nowhere is this ability more apparent than in the description of the viol’s *son continu*—its “continuous sound.” Sound was, and is, an important part of the symbolic language of diplomacy. The determining factor in the success of negotiations, in the opinion of contemporary writers on the subject, was the tone—a product of the ambassador’s character. François de Callières, in his important manual on negotiation, stresses that a negotiator should possess flexibility, an equal humor, and “an approach always open, sweet, civil, agreeable, with easy and insinuating manners.”³³ Antoine Pecquet’s 1737 “update” of Callières treatise goes even further, declaring that while a negotiator must sometimes be firm, he must also cultivate “sweetness in language, agreement in society.” Above all, the negotiator must conduct himself with “extreme delicacy.”³⁴

The continuous sound of the viol, due to the use of the bow, gave it flexibility and a mediating quality peculiarly close to contemporary descriptions of effective negotiators. Danoville, for one, asserted that “by its sweetness it attenuates [elle attendrit] the sound of iron strings, unifying by its continuous sound the divided sound of other instruments.”³⁵ Most important to Danoville is the ability of the viol’s sweetness to render the sounds—and hence the emotions—of other instruments more sensitive and tender. *Attendrir* in fact had a moral sense at this time: the sound of the viol could bring others into harmony, creating concert out of discord, just like a mediator at a peace conference negotiating between contentious voices.³⁶

The viol’s sustaining, flexible sound character also permitted comparison to the human voice. Such comparison not only humanized the viol, it also created a space in which the instrument could be ever more closely linked to the intimate human interactions on which the conduct of negotiations depended. The viol’s uncanny ability to wordlessly articulate emotions and convey meaning as effectively as any orator posed challenges to those theorists attempting to describe its effects. For Marin Mersenne, the viol’s preeminent ability to imitate the human voice renders it an instrument of human emotions. He states that the viol:

is the true image of the disposition of the voice... Those who have heard excellent players and good consorts of viols know that there is nothing more ravishing after beautiful voices than the dying strokes of the bow which

accompany the tremblings on the fingerboard, but because it is no less difficult to describe this grace than that of a perfect Orator, one must hear it to comprehend it.³⁷

Mersenne recognizes here the insufficiency of language to describe the experience of listening, whether to viols or to orators. But it is the similarity between the viol and the voice that facilitates his comparison: like a human orator, the viol could speak, the viol could breathe.

Mersenne's correspondent Pierre Trichet recognized the disability of descriptive language in the viol article of his *Traité des instruments* (c. 1640), in a passage that freely paraphrases Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. Trichet concludes with Castiglione's advice to not play the viol for the ignorant or low but with a twist: "it is just as necessary that reason and judgment control the rudder as it is in all other human actions."³⁸ Trichet's use of the phrase *tenir le gouvernail* immediately places this statement in the realm of political discourse, for the rudder in this phrase was ever understood to mean "the rudder of government." Taken together, Trichet's rudder and Mersenne's orator indicate that the viol, *because of its purported ability to imitate the human voice*, was also able to bear political signification—thus providing essential background to understanding why Le Blanc was able to describe the viol as having the tone of an ambassador.

The development of political theory across the long eighteenth century emphasized the importance of being able to control effectively the rudder of government in order to steer a straight and steady course to the accomplishment of state priorities, which generally had to do with maintaining the balance of power. Or, in the words of Hubert Le Blanc, who was after all a doctor of the law, one must *tenir le juste milieu*—a quality he deemed native to the viol.³⁹ This notion of balance and control was emphasized in both viol playing and international relations. Marin Marais, Jean Rousseau, Christopher Simpson, and others recommended a "balanced" hand to best perform on the viol. Le Blanc insisted that the viol, with its tones that are "perfectly equal," demonstrates a happy medium between voice and resonance: a balance of the powers of sound.⁴⁰

It was indeed the viol's sweetness and continuous sound that allowed it to overcome the shift away from consort playing that occurred in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The viol was reconceived as the unifying voice in a continuo group, or as an instrument capable of tenderly expressing song, or even as an instrument perfect for self-accompaniment when singing. As such, it continued to be cultivated by distinguished amateurs,

including the Dutchman Jacob Jan Hamel Bruyninx, who in 1699 assumed the duties of ambassador of the Dutch Republic in Berlin. His qualities as both a musician and a negotiator were praised in a letter by François d'Usson de Bonrepaus, Ambassador of France in The Hague, on May 29, 1699. Writing to his colleague Desalleurs, Ambassador of France in Stockholm, Bonrepaus gushed that Hamel Bruyninx:

is a very *honnête garçon*, and very agreeable, sings well, and plays to perfection the bass viol. He is also extremely intelligent in business. He was the secretary of the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Ryswick, which is what gave me the occasion to get to know him. You would give me pleasure, Monsieur, to bear witness to him that I recommended him to you.⁴¹

Bonrepaus's recommendation was not at all necessary. Hamel Bruyninx was headed to Berlin, after all, and not Stockholm. Additionally, he was a young man who had just begun his (lengthy) diplomatic career. His career had started, as many did, with on-the-job training as secretary to the Dutch ambassador in Vienna (1692–1694), of the Dutch Republic at the peace negotiations in Ryswick (1696–1697), and of the Dutch ambassadors in Paris (1698–1699) and Berlin (1699–1700). When the ambassador in Berlin was ill in 1699, Hamel Bruyninx assumed his duties, eventually receiving his official accreditation to the court of Brandenburg-Prussia in September 1700, before departing for Vienna three months later, remaining there as ambassador until 1732.⁴² Perhaps Bonrepaus, an able diplomat, was able to see through his normal hatred of Protestants and realize that this young man would pursue a brilliant career.

Or perhaps, just perhaps, as this previously unreported letter indicates, it was the Dutchman's musical ability that lubricated their relationship. Hamel Bruyninx's competence in singing—and especially in playing the viol—impressed the Frenchman, who had likely heard him play and sing in The Hague or even in Paris. This rare insight into the music making of diplomats themselves certainly indicates that musical ability enabled negotiators in their boundary crossings.⁴³ Being able to speak an “international” musical language, understood at least by the French, created opportunities for Hamel Bruyninx. Thanks to Bonrepaus, he had a friend in Desalleurs—a relationship that undoubtedly attained more significance in future years, when Bruyninx represented the Dutch to the Holy Roman Empire and Desalleurs represented the French to the Ottoman Empire.

And now I would like to return to the point at which I began: Le Blanc's comment regarding the shared tone of viols and ambassadors. The second part of Le Blanc's book, from whence the anecdote derives, takes the form of a dialogue between Sultan Violin and Lady Viol. This is not just any dialogue; however, it is actually a staging of a diplomatic encounter. Sultan Violin recently arrived in France and has designs on the establishment of a universal monarchy. Not content with just Italy (the mythical homeland of the violin), he proposes invading Italy's neighbors to enlarge his empire and eliminate the viol. Le Blanc's choice of the title "sultan" firmly places the violin in an Orientalist category charged with tensions between East and West, between Christianity and Islam. His imperialistic desire to "enslave" the musical traditions on the French side of the Alps is tinged with the colors of Barbary Coast pirates and white slavery—despite the fact that Le Blanc himself might have witnessed a successful Ottoman embassy to France, led by Mehmed Efendi in the early 1720s.⁴⁴

Described by Le Blanc as "an abortion, a pygmy," the primitive, hegemonic, non-European violin is placed in diametric opposition to the cultivated, natural, and balanced Lady Viol. Thus, we reach a point of contact with the conduct of international relations in the long eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Hegemonic power, like that desired by Sultan Violin, was seen as a product of political cultures too primitive to be able to conduct the resident diplomacy established by this period. At the same time, it soon becomes clear that Le Blanc's construction of the viol as cultured and natural bespeaks the sort of European universalism—based on notions of emulation and a shared artistic culture—propounded by political theorists of the day and practiced within the transnational networks of the newly emerged *corps diplomatique*.⁴⁶

Le Blanc's narrative takes on a further diplomatic cast as the sultan holds council in an enormous hall of the Tuileries Palace. There, he asserts that he "would rather be destroyed than not be introduced to the greatest Christian Monarch."⁴⁷ Le Blanc's choice of the phrase "se faire introduire" in conjunction with the violin's sovereign title places this encounter in the sphere of diplomacy. The violin, even though primitive, seems well aware of the formalities associated with the ceremonial system of Western European diplomacy that was firmly in place throughout the long eighteenth century. The symbolic act of introduction in particular was an essential part of diplomatic ceremonial at this time. The initial reception by members of the foreign court, the length of time that representatives waited for their first audience, the quality of the introduction, and the

gestures given and received in the initial audience were all interpreted as portending the success or failure of future negotiations.⁴⁸ And yet, Sultan Violin has it wrong. He imagines having *himself* introduced to the King of France, when in fact it should be his *ambassador*. The Sultan's lack of cultural competence is a further indication of his primitivism. While he understands that a formal introduction is necessary, he does not yet fully comprehend the notion of representation at the heart of the European system of international relations. Coming soon to this realization, he turns to Messire Harpsichord and Sire Violoncello to act as his representatives and aid in his plan to drown out the sound of the viol.

And so Lady Viol arrives after a long absence from France—perhaps acting as a representative to a foreign court.⁴⁹ She finds that the world has changed and that she is no longer respected. Yet some remember her, and she still recalls the “sweet experience of being deliciously felt to pass beneath the royal bow.”⁵⁰ Encountering Sultan Violin at the door of the Concert Spirituel, a public concert hall, the two enter into a dispute in the style of a courtroom drama or, rather, a staged negotiation. That this occurs at the Concert Spirituel seems especially significant, given that the theater was often the only place where ambassadors in the midst of negotiations could be seen to coexist publicly.

The primary thrust of Le Blanc's staged dispute between the viol and the violin is on the quality of their sounds. The violin is too loud and lacks resonance. The viol has a delicate touch and a fine, resonant harmony. The violin is appropriate for large spaces; the soft voice of the viol for intimate chambers. The violin uses force, the viol—reasonable negotiation.⁵¹ Thus the stage is set for the highpoint of Lady Viol's self-defense. In the midst of a digression on the sound of bells, Lady Viol responds:

that this *alta voce* much desired in a Clock for informing, becomes extremely disagreeable in an instrument played by a *galant homme* to entertain himself, and not to divert others; that the sound of the bass viol, resembling the tone of an ambassador's voice, which is not loud, and even a little nasal, is much more suitable; that the monarchs and princes of France have therefore sanely judged in favor of the viol, having given her place in their cabinet, in their chamber, close to their august person, while until now they have left the violin in the vestibule, or relegated it to the stairs, the stage of the loves of cats.⁵²

Le Blanc describes two different performance situations here: in the first, a gentleman performs for his own pleasure. The comment about the ambassador's voice, as it follows directly upon the description of the self-diverting

gentleman, seems thus to refer specifically to this first situation, equating the *galant homme* with an ambassador. The second scene Le Blanc describes seems rather to depict the long-standing custom of sovereigns to retain chamber musicians specialized in the viol. In both situations, however, the viol is portrayed as close to the body of the sovereign, whether as a permanent fixture in the sovereign's most intimate rooms or in the hands of an elite who could be the sovereign's chosen ambassador. Indeed, when at home, ambassadors, like viol players, had unparalleled access to the body of the sovereign; when abroad, their bodies were transformed by the act of representation into the sovereign's own. And the act of representation, like that of producing sound on the viol, was one of performance.

As Le Blanc's comment indicates, ambassadors—and diplomacy itself—had a *tone*, a non-verbal element. Tone, like gesture, allowed for deliberate ambiguity in the performance of speech acts. The tone of an ambassador's voice—like that of an instrument that “speaks” without words—could just as easily be interpreted or misinterpreted by a listener. While such concerns of representation were undoubtedly pressing for the courtier striving to create a space for himself within the early modern court scene, they were magnified by the responsibility of an ambassador to represent the interests of the state.⁵³ Hence, careful dissemblance and control of tone was just as necessary to a satisfying performance of negotiations as they were to a concert on the viol. And the terms used to describe the character of the perfect ambassador come strikingly close to those to describe the sound of the viol, thus solidifying the bonds between the two: sweetness, agreement, delicacy, ease, balance, and civility.

The durability of the language superseded the instrument itself, which was susceptible to changes in both form and technique across this period and which became all but obsolete by the end of the eighteenth. This is the other end of Racy's dialectical process: “instruments may become vulnerable, marginalized, or even irrelevant.”⁵⁴ One could argue that the decline of the viol owes more to the disintegration of the ambassadorial social world that had sustained it than anything else. Above all, the viol and the social scene it had created among ambassadors was dependent on the restricted nature of social relations within the *corps diplomatique*—the closed meetings in intimate chambers, the quiet evenings of private music. As diplomacy became more “public” across the eighteenth century, the intimate tones of the viol were no longer meaningful enough. Rather, the loud voice of the violin—or the military brass band—became the favored mode of musical representation on the international stage.

NOTES

1. "...tirant sur le Ton d'une voix d'Ambassadeur, qui n'est pas haut, & même nazarde un peu." Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense de la Basse de Viole, Contre les Entreprises du Violon Et les Prétentions du Violoncel. Par Monsieur Hubert le Blanc, Docteur en Droit* (Amsterdam: Mortier, 1740), pp. 80–81. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
2. Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 3.
3. The pre-Rousseauian history of "universal music" has not yet been systematically explored. For recent developments in that direction, see Philippe Vendrix, *Aux Origines d'une Discipline Historique: La Musique et son Histoire en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 1993); Ellen R. Welch, "Constructing Universality in Early Modern French Treatises on Music and Dance," in *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, ed. Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 103–123.
4. These circles may be qualified as an old conception of diplomacy. For the distinction between old and new diplomacies, see Damien Mahiet's Chap. 6 in this volume.
5. Ali Jihad Racy, "A Dialectical Perspective on Musical Instruments: The East-Mediterranean Mijwiz," *Ethnomusicology* 38(1) (1994): 38.
6. Maria Sonevitsky, "The Accordion and Ethnic Whiteness: Toward a New Critical Organology," *The World of Music* 50(3) (2008): 112.
7. Eliot Bates, "The Social Life of Musical Instruments," *Ethnomusicology* 56 (2012): 364.
8. Ian Woodward, "Material Culture and Narrative: Fusing Myth, Materiality, and Meaning," in *Material Culture and Technology in Everyday Life: Ethnographic Approaches*, ed. Phillip Vannini (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), p. 60.
9. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955; reprint, New York: Dover, 1988); Jeremy Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London: Reaktion, 2010), Chapter 1.
10. Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 86–87.
11. For an overview of Castiglione's thought, see Damien Mahiet, Mark Ferraguto, and Rebekah Ahrendt, "Introduction," in Ahrendt, Ferraguto, and Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy*, pp. 4–6.
12. "Bella musica,—rispose messer Federico,—parmi il cantar bene a libro sicuramente e con bella maniera; ma ancor molto piu il cantare alla viola ... Ma sopra tutto parmi gratissimo il cantare alla viola per recitare; il che tanto di venustà ed efficacia aggiunge alle parole, che è gran meraviglia...."

- E non meno diletta la musica delle quattro viole da arco, la quale è soavisima ed artificiosa.” Quoted in James Haar, “The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione’s View of the Science and Art of Music,” in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), Appendix, example 3. My translation; “artificial” is here a term of praise.
13. William F. Prizer, “Una ‘Virtù Molto Conveniente A Madonne’: Isabella d’Este as a Musician,” *The Journal of Musicology* 17(1) (1999): 10–49.
 14. “Nous appellons violes c’elles desquelles les gentilz hommes, marchantz, & autres gens de vertuz passent leur temps... Ie ne vous ay mis en figure ledict violon par ce que le pouuez considerer sus la viole, ioint qu’il se trouue peu de personnes qui en vse, si non ceux qui en viuent, par leur labour.” Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome Musical des tons, sons et accordz...* (Lyon: Michel du Bois, 1556), pp. 62–63.
 15. Laurent Guillo, “Les *Salmi cinquanta* de Philibert Jambe de fer (Genève, 1560) et les origines du psautier réformé italien,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme français* 156(3) (2010): 382.
 16. Ian Woodfield, “Posture in viol playing,” *Early Music* 6(1) (1978): 36–40. For histories of the viol beyond Europe, see esp. Yukimi Kambe, “Viols in Japan in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 37 (2000): 31–67; David R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
 17. Racy, “Dialectical Perspective,” p. 51.
 18. Tim Crawford, “Constantijn Huygens and the ‘Engelsche Viool,’” *Chelvy* 18 (1989): 41–60.
 19. A classic illustration may be found in Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Violist: or An Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground...* (London: William Godbid, 1659), p. 3.
 20. Georges Vigarello, “The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility,” in Michel Fehrer, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi (eds.) *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, pp. 149–199.
 21. Herman Roodenburg, “Over scheefhalzen en zwellende heupen. Enige argumenten voor een historische antropologie van de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst,” *De zeventiende eeuw* 9 (1993): 152.
 22. “Je vous ay escrit devant mon départ d’Angleterre ... qu’un des premiers de la musique de Leurs Majestez ... avoit prins en charge et recommandation singulière la recherché des instruments d’eslite que désiriez avoir, lequel a recontré depuis ... un accord de six violes vieilles, mais des plus excellentes que l’on puisse trouver.” Letter nr. 1929, August 24, 1638, transcribed in Rudolf Rasch, ed. *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, 2 vols. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), I, pp. 296–298.

23. Letter nr. 2035, January 19/29, 1638/9, transcribed in Rasch, ed. *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, I, pp. 299–301.
24. Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 45–57.
25. Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, p. 45.
26. Shem Mackey, “A Question of Wood: Michel Collichon’s 1683 Seven-String Viol,” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 47 (2012): 84–98; and “Michel Collichon, the seven-string viol and a question of wood,” *Early Music* 41(3) (2013): 439–445.
27. The bibliography on this topic is vast; for one perspective, see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c.1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).
28. John C. Rule, “The Maurepas Papers: Portrait of a Minister,” *French Historical Studies* 4(1) (1965): 103–107; and “Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain et Maurepas: Reflections on His Life and His Papers,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 6(4) (1965): 365–377.
29. “il faut que le bois soit de la Chine, & qu’il ne soit pas trop lourd, parce qu’il rendroit la main trop pesante, ny trop leger, parce qu’il ne tireroit pas assez d’harmonie; mais d’une pesanteur proportionée à la main,” Le Sieur Danoville, *L’Art de toucher le dessus et basse de Violle* (Paris: Ballard, 1687), p. 11.
30. “il me semble que l’on met en usage plusieurs sortes d’autres bois pour faire des Archets, qui ne sont pas moins bons que le bois de la Chine,” Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la Violle...* (Paris: Ballard, 1687), p. 39.
31. “car si cela estoit, & que l’on n’eût plus de commerce avec les Chinois, il faudroit donc abandonner la Violle,” Rousseau, *Traité de la Violle*, p. 39.
32. For a recent insight, see Jennifer L. Anderson, *Mahogany: The Costs of Luxury in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
33. François de Callières, *De la manière de négocier avec les Souverains* (Amsterdam: Pour la Compagnie, 1716), p. 19.
34. Antoine Pecquet, *Discours sur l’Art de Negocier* (Paris: Nyon, 1737), pp. 18 and 21–22.
35. “par sa douceur elle attendrit le son des cordes de fer, unissant par son son continu le son divisé des autres Instruments,” Danoville, *Art de toucher*, p. 14.
36. On the political dimension of concert, see Frédéric Ramel, “Perpetual Peace and the Idea of ‘Concert’ in Eighteenth-Century Thought,” in Ahrendt, Ferraguto, and Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy*.

37. “Ceux qui ont ouy d’excellens ioüeurs & de bons concerts de Viols, sçauent qu’Il n’y a rien de plus rauissant après les bonnes voix que les coups mourants de l’archet, qui accompagnent les tremblemens qui se font sur le manche, mais parce qu’il n’est pas moins difficile d’en descrire la grace que celle d’vn parfait Orateur, il faut les ouyr pour les comprendre,” Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636), II, p. 195.
38. “en quoi il faut que la raison et le iugement tiennent le gouuernail, aussi bien qu’en tout le reste des actions humaines,” Pierre Trichet, *Traité des instrumens* (ms, c. 1640), facsimile reproduction in *Méthodes & Traités I, Série I, France 1600–1800: Viole de Gambe* (Courlay: Fuzeau, 1997), p. 85.
39. Le Blanc, *Defense*, p. 107.
40. Le Blanc, *Defense*, p. 84.
41. “c’est un fort honneste garçon, et tres agreeable, chantant bien, et jouant en perfection de la basse de viole. Il est d’ailleurs tres intelligent dans les affaires. Il estoit secretaire des Plenipotentiars hollandois au traite de Ryswick, c’est ce qui ma donné occasion de le connoitre. Vous me ferés plaisir M. de lui temoigner que ie vous l’ay recommandé,” Archives nationales, Paris, KK 1398, ff. 114v-115r, letter of May 29, 1699.
42. O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland, 1584–1810* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), pp. 139–140.
43. See also Chap. 6, by Damien Mahiet, in this volume.
44. See Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) and Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters. White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
45. My understanding of international relations has been significantly shaped by reading diplomatic papers and correspondence from the 1680s to the 1710s in the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Great Britain.
46. Mai’a K. Davis Cross, *The European Diplomatic Corps: Diplomats and International Cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
47. “il aimoit autant être anéanti que de ne pas se faire introduire chez le plus grand Monarque de la Chrétienté,” Le Blanc, *Defense*, pp. 31–32.
48. William Roosen, “Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach,” *The Journal of Modern History* 52(3) (1980): 452–476.
49. Women were invaluable to the diplomatic enterprise, though not officially appointed ambassadors until the twentieth century. See Anne-Madeleine Goulet, “The Princesse des Ursins, Loyal Subject of the King of France

- and Foreign Princess in Rome,” trans. Rebekah Ahrendt, in Ahrendt, Ferraguto, and Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy*, pp. 191–207.
50. “la douce epreuve de s’être senti délicieusement passer pardessus l’Archet Royal,” Le Blanc, *Defense*, p. 59.
51. Le Blanc, *Defense*, p. 63.
52. “que cet *alta voce* très à rechercher dans une Horloge pour avertir, devoit très messéant [sic] dans un Instrument, dont joue un galant homme pour se desennuyer, & non divertir les autres; que le Son de la Basse de Viole, tirant sur le Ton d’une voix d’Ambassadeur, qui n’est pas haut, & même nazarde un peu, étoit bien plus convenable; que les Monarques, & [81] Princes de France avoient sainement jugé ainsi en faveur de la Viole, lui ayant donné place dans leur Cabinet, dans leur Chambre, proche de leur auguste Personne, pendant qu’ils avoient laissé jusqu’ici le Violon au vestibule, ou relegué à l’escalier, Théâtre des Amours des Chats...” Le Blanc, pp. 80–81.
53. A point made by Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*, p. 9.
54. Racy, “Dialectical Perspective”, p. 53.

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The Diplomat's Music Test: Branding New and Old Diplomacy at the Beginning of the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Centuries

Damien Mahiet

MUSIC, DANCE, AND THE DEFINITION OF DIPLOMACY

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the *corps diplomatique* and its early historians struggled with the role that music and dance ought to play in the conduct of international relations. This will not come as a surprise. The new noun *diplomatie*, derived from the study and authentication of documents, turned the spotlight away from orality to highlight the study of international treaties and texts.¹ The knowledge of this *corpus* amounted to a practical “science of the relations [and] interests of powers with one another.”² Its practitioners formed the *corps diplomatique* or, from the 1830s on, the *diplomates*. The word immediately carried negative overtones.³ Both revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries broadly opposed the pernicious effects of secrecy and duplicity.⁴ The founders of Republican regimes further objected to making war and peace the

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profession of select individuals—many of them aristocrats—and immediately called for the institution of a “new” diplomacy.⁵

The classic example of the debate over music and dance is the congress held in Vienna in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. Did the festivities and ceremonies of 1814 and 1815 distract the potentates from their mission or did they contribute to the successful conclusion of extensive negotiations over a new European order? *Le congrès danse, il ne marche pas*—the *bon mot* of the Prince de Ligne (translated by Brian Vick as “the congress dances, it does not advance”) has haunted its history from the very beginning.⁶ Already in 1820, the historian Gaëtan de Raxis de Flassan mentioned critiques against diplomatic entertainment.⁷ Flassan endeavored to distinguish official diplomats from the “multitude of foreigners and idle persons of both genders” (*cette multitude d'étrangers et d'oisifs des deux sexes*) that “effectively danced a lot” and “was not the Congress.”⁸ Of course, this line of argument did little to defend those sovereigns and ministers who joined the festivities on many occasions.⁹ In the body of his text, Flassan tried a different tack:

These entertainments were not as foreign to the purpose of the Congress as one might have thought. The diverse ministers met in these *fêtes*, gave one another explanations, and unexpected *rapprochements* ensued. Hence, pleasant occupations softened the stiffness of claims: without these, ever-tensed minds would have further soured as irritation mixed with boredom always speeds up extreme choices.¹⁰

Accordingly, ceremonies and get-togethers helped accredited diplomats sustain negotiations and conclude agreements.

The issue of the festivities at the Congress of Vienna catalyzed debates not only on what the everyday life of the diplomatic corps ought to be but also on why potentates continued to gather at congresses after 1815. Article Six of the Second Treaty of Paris established the new practice for “the repose and prosperity of Nations.”¹¹ Chateaubriand, the writer turned diplomat, suspected lesser interests. “Europe’s princes had their head turned by congresses,” he sneered, “there, they enjoyed amusements and divided a few peoples among themselves.”¹² Amusements conflated the *beau monde* (or good society) with the “*society* of states,” thus capturing the divide between princes and peoples.¹³ They symbolized a continued *entre-soi* that smacked of Ancien Régime and raised suspicions as to the capacity of potentates to serve any other interests but theirs. At congresses and in salons, the ideal of forum diplomacy drifted into the connivance of oligarchy and the exclusiveness of clubs.¹⁴

In this light, the indictment of music and dance as symbols of domination might remain equally damning today were it not for the cultural diversity and increased heterogeneity brought forth, in the diplomatic corps as elsewhere, by decolonization, new media technologies, and globalization.¹⁵ People trade and share in all kinds of music genres as part of economic exchanges, collective actions, cultural relations, private occupations, and governmental pursuits.¹⁶ The celebrity-studded performances staged for the benefit of an organization, a cause, or a policy are the most apparent segment of a broader socially conscious and internationally minded music industry.¹⁷ States are also no strangers to humanitarian music enterprises. Russia made a striking and contested use of these with its 2016 broadcast of conductor Valery Gergiev and the musicians of the Mariinsky Symphony Orchestra from the ruins of Palmyra.¹⁸ As a result, and to the extent that states do not control the production of music in its entirety, music necessarily emerges in international relations as a locus of negotiation and cooperation between state and non-state actors or, in other words, an instance of polyilateralism.¹⁹ Music and dance thus offer a ready metaphor, if not a synecdoche, for new forms of diplomacy. In the words of scholar Jan Melissen, diplomacy today “is no longer a stiff waltz among states alone, but a jazzy dance of colorful coalitions, and public diplomacy is at the heart of its current rebooting.”²⁰

Sound and movement continue to inform the everyday scenes from which accredited diplomats and their spouses draw a sense of self and place. As components of nonverbal communication, they offer crucial tools in the performance of one's part.²¹ Diplomatic “musicking” mobilizes a breadth of resources and competences, those of the technician who sets up the sound system, the professional or amateur performer, the officer who grants the crucial visa that authorizes the musician's travel, and the local partner who relays information or serves in the audience as a listener.²² The following sections of this chapter offer a brief comparison between early nineteenth-century and early twenty-first-century diplomatic musicking. The comparison brings to the fore a striking contrast in music and dance's valence then and now. Where music and dance were denounced as part of the old diplomacy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they are now being made into symbols of new practices and ideas. In this light, music and dance appear to test the diplomat's positions on who makes up the international scene and how. Yet in both time periods, the diplomatic practice of music and dance effectively included a broad spectrum of practices that belies in part the rhetoric of the new and the old.

MARKING THE NEW AND THE OLD

Music punctuated everyday diplomatic life at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Between 1816 and 1823, Ferdinand de Cornot, baron de Cussy, served in the French legation in Berlin under three ministers: Bonnay, Chateaubriand, and Rayneval. His memoirs illustrate the various ways in which individual investments in music and dance varied (Cussy's own heart was in acting).²³ "One heard a little music" when Bonnay hosted receptions on Sunday evenings.²⁴ Chateaubriand was fond of Fanny Solmar's salon where amateur concerts featured, in addition to her daughter Henriette, the pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel, the young prodigy Felix Mendelssohn, and the violinists Carl Moeser and Alexandre Boucher.²⁵ Rayneval, a "passionate music amateur," sat at the piano for two hours each morning in the company of his secretaries.²⁶ Lest we think Rayneval faulty in the discharge of his functions, however, Cussy first praises the minister's "experience and great skill as diplomat." The Austrian diplomat Rodolphe Apponyi similarly recalled Rayneval's equal skillfulness at diplomacy and music.²⁷ Indeed, the Duchess of Abrantes claimed that his musical talent opened doors otherwise closed to foreigners and proved "more useful to a diplomatic career than one might believe."²⁸ Joseph de Maistre, from his diplomatic post at St. Petersburg, concurred with this general assessment of music's utility and requested a young secretary, able "dancer, drawer, actor, and above all good musician," to learn from women their husbands' secrets.²⁹

Eugène Scribe and Germain Delavigne's play *Le Diplomate*, first performed in 1827, comically highlighted the aristocratic sociability of diplomats.³⁰ In the play, Chavigni is mistaken for a secret envoy and, in spite of himself, successfully brokers a dynastic marriage. While the ultimate decision is made off stage in the grand duke's cabinet, Chavigni never accesses that location. Instead, he interacts with key players in salons, at dinner, or in the ballroom. A ball is the opportunity for two protagonists to sing on the significance of dance in diplomacy. Both describe balls as *divertissements* in the strongest meaning of the word: balls distract its participants from the day's labors. For the Spanish envoy, this is an opportunity to catch others off guard and to acquire information: "often a *contredanse* teaches us more than a congress."³¹ For Chavigni, a ball is rather a celebration of social and international peace, and thus, a quasi-duty:

A ball alone is worth a treaty of alliance.
I would, were I the sovereign,
order all my subjects in a *contredanse*
and force them to give their hand to one another.³²

Diplomatic life in the nineteenth century resulted from the complex articulation of myriad sites: public festivals, diplomatic receptions, private salons, dinner rooms, ballrooms, opera loges, concert venues, and theater halls, not to mention negotiation tables and ministry offices. For Chateaubriand as for the wide majority of diplomats kept at arm's length by their own foreign ministers at the Congress of Verona in 1822, the social gatherings in the salons of the Countess of Lieven and of Prince Metternich, combined with the opera, effectively supplemented the all-too-rare assembly of diplomats. Ironically, Chateaubriand substituted political for social terms to describe these events, writing of the "political gathering" (*réunion politique*) at Lieven's and the "congress" at Metternich's.³³ In London, Chateaubriand had the leading role, but official communications still did not suffice. "One could see the ministers only at court, at balls, and at Parliament," Chateaubriand claimed.³⁴ The daily grind of entertainments and the sleep deprivation endured by nineteenth-century diplomats during the social season in London could prove not only stimulating but also overtaxing.³⁵

The multiplication of diplomatic sites had two complementary effects.³⁶ First, as historian Brian Vick has noted with regard to salon networks at the Congress of Vienna, it broadened the nature of diplomatic actors and the opportunities for engaging a variety of semi-official and private actors, from the representatives of lesser powers to the members of good society, including the women who structured and animated its life.³⁷ Second, the multiplication of diplomatic sites paradoxically maintained a strict hierarchy among those who made world politics. Access to and circulation across these sites marked significant distinctions among diplomatic actors. In Verona, Chateaubriand had to wait for his superior to leave before he could enter the sanctum sanctorum of political power, the *cabinet*, and join the negotiation table on his own terms.³⁸

Chateaubriand, like others, made a show of denouncing the social habits of the "old" diplomatic world. From Berlin in 1821, he wrote to France's foreign minister Étienne-Denis Pasquier that he would henceforth give his letters a new content and tone:

I have said nothing...as is otherwise customary, of the receptions, balls, shows and so on and so forth; I have given you neither small portraits nor useless satires; I have endeavored to pull diplomacy away from gossip. The reign of the everyday will return when this extraordinary time is over: today, one must only paint what should live on, and only attack what is a threat.³⁹

Chateaubriand, convinced he lived in epic times, dismissed entertainments as symbols of the old ways.

Today, music elicits contrasting approaches to the place of emotions and the role of the public in the conduct of international relations. President Obama, in his second term, took to singing in the domestic arena and, in a widely broadcast occasion in 2016, was invited to partner with a professional tango dancer in Buenos Aires. Nonetheless, his initial reaction to a peace concert organized in Cuba by rock star Juanes in 2009 was hardly supportive: “I certainly don’t think it hurts US-Cuban relations. These kinds of cultural exchanges—I wouldn’t overstate the degree that it helps.”⁴⁰ In that regard, Obama followed the immediate lead of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice who had expressed similar skepticism when the New York Philharmonic performed in Pyongyang in 2008. “I don’t think,” Rice declared, that “we should get carried away with what listening to Dvorak is going to do in North Korea.”⁴¹ In friendlier contexts, Secretary Rice nonetheless took her seat at the piano, in 2006 at the Associate of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) summit and in 2008 for the Queen of England.

In contrast, both Secretary Hillary Clinton and Secretary John Kerry placed explicit value on musical exchanges as a mode of public diplomacy. In a high-profile interview on CBS news, Hillary Clinton offered an instrumental view of cultural diplomacy and hip-hop as a useful—if perhaps “hopeful”—piece in the international “multidimensional chess” game.⁴² John Kerry, soon after taking office, welcomed youth from the Afghan National Institute of Music with more idealistic language: “Music is the international language of peace and of possibilities and dreams.”⁴³ Kerry has made music a component of his personal brand, picking up the guitar in Beijing in 2014 and bringing James Taylor to Paris City Hall after the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in 2015.⁴⁴ Such engagements are evidently not limited to US diplomats. In recent years, Brazil’s Minister of Culture Gilberto Gil made use of his musical skills, performing at the United Nations (UN) and in France. Five UN Ambassadors from Canada, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, Romania, and Nauru collaborated to record *Ambassadors Sing for Peace*. According to the UN News Service, Ambassador Simona-Mirela Miculescu, “a former pop rock band singer in a Romanian student band Symbiosis, rediscovered her love of music while singing and playing with colleagues in Iraq.”⁴⁵

Musical diplomacy today broadly signals a commitment to people-to-people exchanges and the long-term maintenance of a peaceful international relations system. Programs such as Rhythm Road, American Music Abroad, Next Level, and OneBeat, all sponsored by the US State Department, have

sought to empower ordinary people and musicians as diplomats. The US military is also no stranger to such forms of engagement.⁴⁶ For its promoters, music appears to epitomize the new public diplomacy in at least three regards. First, music empowers a variety of individuals—state diplomats, local representatives, international organization officers, nongovernmental actors, and celebrities—to pursue policy agendas. Second, most actors operate on the premise that music, through shared emotions or universal attributes, can generate a sense of community that transcends national interests and differences. “Jazz tells [of] the power of music to build peace and bring together people of all cultures and backgrounds,” Irina Bokova, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), declared on International Jazz Day in 2016.⁴⁷ Whereas claims to universality have historically been leveraged to elevate some works over others, this hierarchy is radically challenged on the international stage. The universality attributed to music extends to all works and genres. Posited as languages of the heart, music(s) and dance(s) hold a function akin to science, trade, and sports as imagined sites of mediation. Third, by virtue of its sonorous quality, music can actualize better than most arts the performance of active listening, and as such, can emphatically demonstrate a two-way engagement of domestic and foreign publics.

Promoters of the new public diplomacy emphasize the oft-underappreciated function of listening and dialog.⁴⁸ They argue that disposing others to accommodate your interests requires more than the aptitude to project a message. For this reason, public diplomacy scholar Nicholas Cull sees in OneBeat, a program that inverts the traditional flow of cultural diplomacy, “a breakthrough.”⁴⁹ The program, which brings musicians from around the world to the United States and invites them to collaborate on original music, “represents the United States listening to the world in an important way.”⁵⁰ Responses to auditory and gestural cues in the moment of performance, the expansion of compositional techniques, and the establishment of new collaborations can substantiate mutual respect and influence. At the same time, the debates around Paul Simon’s *Graceland*—questioning the moment in which he engaged with South African music and the terms of his collaboration with South African musicians—illustrate that asymmetries in economic and symbolic resources create aesthetic, moral, and political challenges.⁵¹ Thus, as one makes music and speaks about it, one defines who makes up a diplomatic scene and how. Today as in the past, the line between music that encompasses and music that excludes is thin and crucial to the production of international relations.

SETTING THE DIPLOMATIC SCENE, THEN AND NOW

The deriding of musical diplomacy as “old” at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the promotion of musical diplomacy as “new” at the beginning of the twenty-first century share a common assumption: they emphasize the interpersonal foundation of international relations and the resources music offers to structure and mediate it. From this perspective, the rhetoric of the old and the new in diplomacy obfuscates a wide spectrum of practices and often has more strategic than descriptive significance. Chateaubriand, stepping onto the world stage as a modern diplomat, had nonetheless to play the best possible representational part to further both national interests and personal ambitions. His reports in 1821 make much of the invitations he received to partner with members of royal families in the ballroom. “I would say nothing of these flattering distinctions,” Chateaubriand wrote to Pasquier, “if my title as France’s minister did not give them a political interest.”⁵² Soon thereafter, Chateaubriand commissioned the Italian composer and Prussian Kapellmeister Spontini for music to commemorate the recent death of the Duke of Berry in a public religious ceremony—but abruptly realized he could not afford the costs.⁵³ Yet to Cussy, Chateaubriand reiterated his commitment to play his part even at personal cost:

“France holds the first rank [among nations]. I am proud to represent it. For my king, for my country, I want to go into debt.”...Later on in London, the vicomte de Chateaubriand went well into debt because of the splendor of his presentation.⁵⁴

Indeed, Chateaubriand arrived to his London assignment with new tableware and a cook. He hosted private concerts by celebrated musicians (soprano Angelica Catalani, pianist Ignaz Moscheles, and violinist Charles Philippe Lafont) and hired the French expatriate Hubert Collinet to lead the music at his balls.⁵⁵ “Part of my role consists in going out into society,” Chateaubriand wrote to one of his correspondents at the time.⁵⁶

Even the United States envoys—paragons of new diplomacy—invested in music. Their simpler dress and occasionally rougher manners, sometimes displayed with a keen sense of theatrical effect and political tactic, challenged the ceremonial practices of monarchical regimes and the social norms of court life. The Republic upset the status quo, and the US Congress offered little financial support to its envoys for representational expenses.⁵⁷ Still, Thomas Jefferson, who as president disparaged diplomacy as “the workshop in which nearly all the wars of Europe are manufactured,” had

professed as a diplomat in Paris his belief that the arts could “increase [the] reputation [of his countrymen], to reconcile to them the respect of the world and procure them its praise.”⁵⁸ Far from rejecting European traditions, Jefferson, a keyboardist, violinist, and opera lover, expected his daughters to master music.⁵⁹ His contemporary John Adams similarly urged his son John Quincy Adams to pursue dancing and fencing, and the latter also took up the flute.⁶⁰ In turn, John Quincy Adams and his wife arranged music and dance lessons for their children and grandchildren.⁶¹

Music and dance were indeed central components in the public careers of John Quincy and Louisa Adams. Both held their place in diplomatic dances, including (in Louisa’s case) at the side of the Prussian king and the Russian emperor.⁶² While her husband negotiated a peace treaty with the British delegation in Ghent, Louisa Adams obliged a British dancing partner who wished “to astonish the World and show...that the English and Americans had enter’d into an alliance.”⁶³ In Washington as the spouse of the Secretary of State and, later on, the President, she hosted evenings and balls that attracted diplomats and Congress members among others.⁶⁴ While such entertainments were a way to campaign for political influence, she also described them as an attempt to make “Congress less dependent on the foreign ministers for entertainment.”⁶⁵ In effect, music was part of the couple’s public image. John Quincy Adams designed an emblem for his country that prominently featured the lyre and brought to the fore the idea of harmony in both political and celestial constellations.⁶⁶ On his request, the emblem appeared in several portraits made of him between 1816 and 1826 and on US passports until the 1870s.⁶⁷ In 1824, the year of the presidential election, Louisa Adams sat at her harp, music in hand, for her portrait by Charles Bird King.⁶⁸ She was proficient enough at this instrument to substitute for professional musicians when necessary.⁶⁹

John Quincy Adams’s extensive diaries further recorded his contemporaries’ investment in music, including that of members of the French Convention whom he met in The Hague in 1795. After a dinner hosted by the Swedish minister, Adams derided the “negligent” dress of the French representatives Alquier and Colon: “they have not yet got entirely above the affectation of simplicity or of equality.”⁷⁰ This sartorial profession of a-diplomatic conduct, however, was not all there was to French republican diplomacy. At a later dinner “with a numerous company, diplomatic, civil, and military,” Adams engaged with the French on such varied topics as the state of US-French relations, the recent successes of the French armies, and the cultivation of music in both countries. The latter

topic was prompted by the performance of *La Marseillaise* during the dinner. A debate over the quality of the performance gave Adams the opportunity to assess his interlocutors' musical enthusiasm:

Alquier complained that the music performing was bad, and after some time, declared that one of the clarionets was discordant. The director of the band was called, and ordered to make the harmony more complete. The discord, however, continued.... Alquier insisted, and appealed to Madame Richard.... The clarionet was pronounced discordant, and the decision, as far as I could judge, was just.⁷¹

Later on, Adams described other members of the French party as “very civil, polite people” and, by the end of the evening, traded courtesies with Alquier.⁷²

Today, music is no longer a commonplace of diplomatic training, but it still contributes to setting the accredited as well as the nongovernmental diplomatic scene. As a component of protocol, for example, it plays a part in the conventional script of official interactions and offers an opportunity to underscore cultural differences, power hierarchies, or cooperative aspirations. Musical entertainment remains a staple of diplomatic dinners. Ambassador Mary Mel French, in her guide to US protocol and diplomatic etiquette, highlights not only anthems but also the musical conclusion at formal White House dinners (by the Air Force Strolling Strings) and the 20-minute performances that follow (“from jazz to opera”).⁷³ Accordingly, music, a sound system, and a piano are part of the diplomat's entertainment checklist.⁷⁴ “String quartets,” Iver Neumann further notes in his study of diplomatic meals in Oslo, “are ubiquitous.”⁷⁵ Indeed, official dinners there commonly employ music to emphasize cooperation between parties (multicultural and bi-national performers), honor guests (anthems), highlight national differences (traditional or folk performances), or underscore transnational identities (jazz standards, Western classical music).⁷⁶ Music may foster a sense of sacredness or historical momentousness or, to the contrary, of informality and intimacy.

Paradoxically, the programs encompassed under the people-to-people umbrella partially revive a diplomatic sociability that seemed to belong to the past. The consultants who produced the evaluation of the Jazz Ambassadors Program emphasized in their report the function of “VIP concerts at official residences” to gather “high-level government officials, key contacts, and members of the diplomatic corps in more informal settings

where discussions can take place.”⁷⁷ 81% of the 143 respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the Jazz Ambassadors Program was “effective in providing alternative venues for policy dialogue.”⁷⁸ The number of people invited to embassy concerts varied from 35 diplomats for “a nice, intimate setting placing everyone at ease” to 250 guests for an outdoor party.⁷⁹ US Ambassador Matthew Barzun and his spouse, Brooke, landed on the *Tatler* list of “people who really matter” soon after launching the “Winfield House sessions” in London. The “sessions” were “intimate concerts” in the presence of artists and celebrities who volunteered their time.⁸⁰ The *Tatler* warned its readers that the hostess carefully “curates” the guest list to favor people “who ‘do’ something.”⁸¹ “The contrast of the beautiful, formal setting with more informal music and wearing jeans is part of the appeal,” according to the Barzuns.⁸² Guests “bring their whole selves, not only their work lives,” and Barzun thus hoped to “get the whole person engaged.”⁸³ The Embassy’s YouTube account, which presents video montages of the evenings, highlights “the special diplomatic power of live music, which can dispel differences and stir our sense of humanity’s common ground.”⁸⁴

Yet the musical production of diplomatic meaning is eminently a matter of circumstances, and there are many occasions for unmeant gestures and misinterpretation. Diplomats overestimate musicians’ ability to successfully communicate across cultures.⁸⁵ They occasionally fail to consider outsider perspectives. The video of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) officials singing *We are the World* at the conclusion of a summit dinner, released by the Turkish state news agency, elicited contradictory comments, for example.⁸⁶ Some focused on the positive image of the Turkish and Greek ministers locking hands and singing in unison.⁸⁷ But *Russia Today* took NATO’s officials to task, parodying the song’s statement in its report title: “‘We are the World’...order?”⁸⁸ Diplomats may further miss the symbolic implications of musical choices. After participating in a White House state dinner for President Hu Jintao, pianist Lang Lang faced controversy over his performance of *My Motherland*, a song from the soundtrack of the 1956 movie *Battle on Shangganling Mountain* that celebrates the courage of Chinese troops during the Korean War.⁸⁹ In an *NPR* interview, Lang Lang denied all knowledge of the song’s semantics and argued that he had selected it only for “the beauty of its melody.”⁹⁰

These controversies are reminders that musicians and audience members can effectively, if they so choose, snub their host, make a scene, and steal the show rather than playing their part as expected. In Kashmir in 2013, the general manager of the Bavarian State Orchestra publicly protested the

gap between the German ambassador's announced goal of reaching "the hearts of the Kashmiris" and the reality of a closed guest list made of "business leaders, government officials and diplomats": "the musicians," the manager pointed out, "waived the fees for Kashmiri people and not for an elite event...an embassy concert."⁹¹ Historical examples of guests offending their hosts also come to mind. In Paris in 1814, Grand Duke Constantine demanded a waltz where his British host preferred a quadrille; the Russian guests stormed out of the ballroom.⁹² In London soon thereafter, Grand Duchess Catherine announced at a dinner hosted by the Prince Regent that music made her sick and only reluctantly consented to hear a performance of *God Save the King* at a Guildhall banquet.⁹³ In Vienna, their brother Emperor Alexander I chose the peace festival hosted by the Austrian foreign minister Metternich to make slighting remarks against diplomats and the deceitful diplomacy of such festivities.⁹⁴

Notwithstanding these pitfalls, music and dance can nurture what Roger Fisher and Daniel Shapiro term "structural connections" where negotiators explore "roles that place [them] in a common group."⁹⁵ This fosters a sense of affiliation that, Shapiro argues, is crucial when diplomats must sustain an ongoing relationships or when the issue at hand would benefit from creative solutions.⁹⁶ This is obvious where individual inclinations are known. In 2011, Ambassador Eleni Kounalakis, while posted in Budapest, sought to satisfy Homeland Secretary Janet Napolitano's love of opera. Hungarian officials and artists seized the occasion. In the empty State Opera House, the ambassador and the secretary sat in the imperial box, typically reserved for Hungary's prime minister and president, to watch a ballet dress rehearsal. With only an hour notice, the ambassador's political advisor further secured a private performance by soprano Borbála Keszei.⁹⁷ Yet the utility of music and dance extends beyond ingratiating oneself with a particular individual. Music and dance temporarily reset the diplomatic scene. Whether diplomats make something of the occasion to change the course of the negotiations is another matter.

For a brief moment, music and dance alter the situation in which a negotiation takes place: they do so as the performance recasts the roles diplomats play and the partners they rely on. International actors, meeting as foreigners and perhaps opposed at the negotiation table, may join together as a single group of listeners and even join forces as participants and performers. Consider a string quartet hired to provide background music. At one level, professional musicians are part of the host team whose image they enhance. At another, however, they also perform a specialized

function that often confers to them a degree of individuality. This third-party status blurs the distinction between hosts and guests and fosters a temporary sense of affiliation among members of diplomatic teams: together, the diplomats form the musicians' audience and share in the pleasure (or displeasure) of listening. A fortiori, diplomats adopt new roles when they take the stage as musicians or ballroom dancers. The negotiating teams might redistribute themselves among new groups of performers and of audience members. Either way, negotiators are offered temporary roles as empathetic partners and joint problem-solvers rather than as adversaries. In these roles, they can reflect on their core identity concerns as negotiators, build an emotional rapport with their counterparts, and recast a conversation in mutually beneficial, if not cooperative terms.⁹⁸

During the Congress of Vienna, people recounted that Castlereagh, Metternich, and Nesselrode, respectively, representatives of England, Austria, and Russia, found themselves gathered around a piano at a dinner. One sat playing, the other two came to listen, and "all three carried by the power of harmony were for a moment in accord."⁹⁹ The scene was not as unusual as it might seem today. Nesselrode played the piano, and Castlereagh regularly drew guests to the piano to sing and perform.¹⁰⁰ Metternich's love for music and his attention to providing entertainment is also well documented.¹⁰¹ Tongue-in-cheek, a contemporary inquired: "Did they sing right?"—thinking "this might bode well for Europe"¹⁰². The joke, acknowledging the way in which gathering around the piano reconfigured the relations between the three negotiators, pointed to the opportunities and limitations encompassed in the musical moment. In this instance, the qualification of the performance as right or fair (*juste*) hinted at the performer's ethics as well as their good intonation. But there is more at stake than skills.

Music and dance are levers to assuage the parties' own sense of appreciation, affiliation, autonomy, status and role. They offer opportunities to exchange on core identity concerns and to manage the emotions that such concerns necessarily generate in the course of a negotiation.¹⁰³ What one makes of these opportunities is a matter of choice and sociability. Negotiators may or may not be able to effectively perform the roles they adopt on a musical occasion. More crucially, negotiators may or may not be able to couple the experience shared in the moment of performance with their pursuit of political goals. These practices, at the intersection of intimate and institutional life, underscore the significance of interpersonal relations in the production of world politics on all stages, from the

everyday to the accredited.¹⁰⁴ In this regard, the history of diplomatic investments in music and dance is foremost the history of a certain idea of international relations.

CONCLUSION

The historical comparison of nineteenth- and twenty-first-century diplomacy brings to the fore the paradoxical role of music in diplomacy. Liminal—perhaps by definition in a profession named after the written product of its activity—music nonetheless touches on the core of world politics as a technique of self-presentation. The musical scenes that diplomats nest in their activities convey conceptions of who the actors on the international stage are and what relations ought to exist among them—from the members of good society to the representatives of civil society to ordinary citizens. Music thus tests the diplomats’ understanding of the discursive and social practices that constitute world politics.

Music and dance, as they temporarily redefine the situation in which diplomats find themselves and the role they play, open a spectrum of possibilities. They can offer a venue for informal, nonverbal, and public communication, serve to foster a sense of affiliation among negotiators, and mediate the ideal of a cooperative approach toward a creative outcome. However, they also present occasions for all involved to give offense, to make a faux pas, and to divide. As such, they require careful analysis and execution.

Today’s professional diplomats likely make lesser personal investments in music than in the past. Yet even the degree to which this contrast exists is more a matter of intuition than demonstration. Little has been done to systematically document the musical activities of either past or present diplomats on a global scale. Cultural and geographical comparisons would raise further questions about the categorization of musical activities, their similarities, and their differences. The discourse on music and dance in international relations is primarily founded on untested assumptions and contested notions.

Arguably, the rhetoric of the new and the old has tended to obfuscate the function of music and dance in diplomacy in both time periods considered in this chapter. The category of the “old” is often too broad to be useful. Today, “old diplomacy” may encompass all at once the Renaissance Italian city-states, the Westphalian international order, Cardinal Richelieu, François de Callières, the eighteenth-century French court, and Sir Harold

Nicolson.¹⁰⁵ While continuities exist over long periods of time, the dramatic persona of the diplomat and the techniques of performance have not remained identical across centuries. The “stiff waltz” decried by public diplomacy scholars as a metonymy for traditional state relations might have stood for old ways since the twentieth century, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was the very symbol of a new informality, not only between men and women but also between heads of states and their subjects.¹⁰⁶ Sovereigns, attending dances “incognito,” transformed the relations of their subjects to the body of the king, giving them the chance to tread “on the toe of an Emperor.”¹⁰⁷ This history matters, whether to draw lessons from the past or to invent truly new practices. There is no other way to ensure that we are not just reorchestrating the same old tune.

NOTES

1. Costas M. Constantinou, *On the Way to Diplomacy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 76–83.
2. “science des rapports, des intérêts de Puissance à Puissance,” *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 5th edition (1798), *The ARTFL Project: Dictionnaires d'autrefois*, <https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois> (accessed December 15, 2016). Translations from the French are mine unless otherwise indicated.
3. Halvard Leira, “A Conceptual History of Diplomacy,” in Costas M. Constantinou, Pauline Kerr, and Paul Sharp (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy* (London: Sage, 2016), pp. 32–33.
4. Constantinou, *On the Way to Diplomacy*, pp. 76–89.
5. Linda Frey and Masha Frey, “‘The Reign of the Charlatans is Over’: The French Revolutionary Attack on Diplomatic Practice,” *Journal of Modern History* 65(4) (1993): 706–744 and Marc Belissa, *Repenser l'ordre européen (1795–1802): De la société des rois aux droits des nations* (Paris: Kimé, 2006), pp. 183–199.
6. Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 51.
7. On Flassan, see Belissa, *Repenser l'ordre européen*, pp. 164 and 187.
8. “Cette classe qui, en effet, dansait beaucoup, n'était pas le Congrès,” [Gaëtan de Raxis de Flassan], *Histoire du Congrès de Vienne par l'auteur de l'Histoire de la diplomatie*, volume 1 (Paris: Chez Treuttel et Wurtz, libraires, 1829), p. 156, n1. For a recent and extensive study of the function of festivities, see the first three chapters of Vick, *Congress of Vienna*.
9. For a compendium of these critiques, see for example Thierry Lentz, *Le Congrès de Vienne: Une refondation de l'Europe, 1814–1815* (Paris: Perrin, 2013), pp. 107–126.

10. “Ces divertissements n’étaient pas aussi étrangers au but du Congrès qu’on aurait pu le penser. Les divers ministres se rencontraient dans ces fêtes, se donnaient des explications, et il en résultait des rapprochements inattendus. Ainsi les passe-tems (sic) agréables adoucissaient la roideur des prétentions: sans eux, les esprits, toujours tendus, se fussent aigris davantage; car l’irritation mêlée d’ennui accélère les partis extrêmes” [Flassan], *Histoire du Congrès de Vienne*, vol. 1, pp. 156–157.
11. Jennifer Mitzen, *Power in Concert: The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Global Governance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 96.
12. “Depuis le Congrès de Vienne et d’Aix-la-Chapelle, les princes de l’Europe avaient la tête tournée de congrès: c’était là qu’on s’amusait et qu’on se partageait quelques peuples.” François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d’outre-tombe* volume 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), p. 88.
13. “La société des États.” The phrase appears in Richard de Metternich and Alfons de Klinkowstroem (eds.), *Mémoires, documents et écrits divers laissés par le Prince de Metternich*, volume 1 (Paris: Plon, 1880), p. 30.
14. Bertrand Badie, *La diplomatie de connivence: Les dérives oligarchiques du système international* (Paris: La Découverte, 2011), pp. 23–51.
15. Sasson Sofer, “The Diplomatic Corps as a Symbol of Diplomatic Culture,” in Paul Sharp and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds.), *The Diplomatic Corps as an Institution of International Society* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 34.
16. See, for example, Marianne I. Franklin (ed.), *Resounding International Relations: On Music, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
17. On peace activism and music, see Andrew F. Cooper, *Celebrity Diplomacy* (Boulder, Paradigm, 2008), pp. 36–51; Benjamin Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Arild Bergh and John Sloboda, “Sound and Art in Conflict Transformation: A Review,” *Music and Arts in Action* 2(2) (2010): 1–17, available at, <http://musicandartsinaction.net/index.php/maia/article/view/conflicttransformation> (last accessed on April 12, 2017); John Morgan O’Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (eds.), *Music and Conflict* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Ian Peddie (ed.), *Popular Music and Human Rights* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); John Street, *Music and Politics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), pp. 62–78; and Frédéric Ramel, “The Divan Orchestra: Mutual Middle-Range Transformation,” in Brigitte Vassort-Rousset (ed.), *Building Sustainable Couples in International Relations: A Strategy Towards Peaceful Cooperation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 209–237. There are extensive literatures on Live 8 and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, too numerous to list here.

18. "Russia's Valery Gergiev Conducts Concert in Palmyra Ruins," *BBC News*, May 5, 2016, available at, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36211449> (accessed April 12, 2017). For the usage of music by Russia in other countries, see Chap. 11 (by Emilija Pundziūtė-Gallois) in this volume.
19. George Wiseman, "Polylateralism and New Modes of Global Dialogue," in Christer Jönsson and Richard Langhorne (eds.), *Diplomacy*, volume 3 (London: Sage, 2004), pp. 36–57.
20. Jan Melissen, "Public Diplomacy," in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 436. The image is drawn from Parag Khanna, *How to Run the World: Charting a Course to the Next Renaissance* (New York: Random House, 2011), p. 22.
21. Several musical and diplomatic examples may be found in Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1959). See also Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power: The Art of Diplomatic Signalling* (London: Longman, 1987) and Vincent Pouliot, *International Pecking Orders: The Politics and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). On the everyday uses of music to set a scene and compose the self, see Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
22. On musicking, see Gilbert Rouget, *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations Between Music and Possession*, trans. Brunhilde Biebuyck (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 102–111 and Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), pp. 9–13.
23. This instance resonates with the diplomat as a music agent described in Chap. 3 (by Mark Ferraguto) in this volume.
24. *Souvenirs du Chevalier de Cussy, garde du corps, diplomate et consul général, 1795–1866*, volume 1, ed. Marc de Germiny (Paris: Plon, 1909), p. 169.
25. *Souvenirs du Chevalier de Cussy*, vol. 1, p. 224.
26. "Amateur passionné de musique, il nous faisait passer chaque matin, après déjeuner, deux heures fort agréables près de son piano, auquel il s'installait, jouant toutes les partitions, chantant tout," *Souvenirs du Chevalier de Cussy*, vol. 1, p. 306.
27. *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris (1826–1850), journal du comte Rodolphe Apponyi, Attaché de l'Ambassade d'Autriche-Hongrie à Paris*, volume 1, ed. Ernest Daudet (Paris: Plon, 1913), p. 195.
28. "M. de Rayneval possède à un degré supérieur le talent de la musique. C'est une chose plus utile qu'on ne pourrait le croire dans la carrière diplomatique ... Il ouvre les salons que bien souvent on fermerait à

- l'étranger qui n'apporterait que la seule qualité de son rang diplomatique. C'est une épreuve que j'ai souvent tentée et qui toujours a réussi." [Laure Junot], *Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantès, ou souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon, la Révolution, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration*, volume 2 (Bruxelles: Hauman, Cattoir et Comp., fourth edition, 1837), p. 82. See [Laure Junot], *Duchesse d'Abrantès, Souvenirs d'une ambassade et d'un séjour en Espagne et en Portugal, de 1808 à 1811* (Paris: Ollivier, 1837), pp. 152–156.
29. "Il faudrait qu'il fût jeune ... Je voudrais, de plus, qu'il fût danseur, dessinateur, comédien, surtout bon musicien ... un homme dont je me servais auprès des femmes pour savoir le secret des maris." *Mémoires politiques et correspondance diplomatique de J. de Maistre, avec explications et commentaires historiques par Albert Blanc* (Paris: Librairie nouvelle, 1858), p. 385.
 30. Eugène Scribe and Germain Delavigne, *Le Diplomate: comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, représentée, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre de Madame, par les comédiens ordinaires de son altesse royale, le 23 octobre 1827* (Genève: Lador, 1828). William James Roosen brought the play to scholarly attention in his introduction to *The Age of Louis XIV: The Rise of Modern Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1976).
 31. "Et souvent une contredanse / Nous en apprend plus qu'un congrès." Scribe and Delavigne, *Le Diplomate* (Act II, scene 1), p. 40.
 32. "Un bal vaut seul un traité d'alliance. / Je formerais, si j'étais souverain, / Tous mes sujets en une contredanse, / Pour les forcer à se donner la main." Scribe and Delavigne, *Le Diplomate* (Act II, scene 7), p. 56.
 33. François-René de Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, volume 5, edited by Pierre Riberette (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), pp. 309 and 312–313.
 34. "On ne pouvait rencontrer les ministres qu'à la cour, au bal ou au Parlement." Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. 2, p. 76.
 35. Chateaubriand describes a typical day and the growing lassitude of the diplomats in the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. 2, pp. 79 and 81. For other accounts, see John Bew, *Castlereagh: A Life* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 460, and Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, pp. 287–288.
 36. On the notion of diplomatic site, see Iver B. Neumann, *Diplomatic Sites: A Critical Enquiry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), p. 4–7.
 37. Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, pp. 113, 117–121, and 129–134.
 38. Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 5, p. 332.
 39. "Je ne vous ai point parlé, Monsieur le Baron, selon l'usage, des réceptions, des bals, des spectacles, etc.; je ne vous ai point fait de petits portraits et d'inutiles satires: j'ai tâché de faire sortir la diplomatie du commérage. Le règne du commun reviendra lorsque le temps extraordinaire sera passé: aujourd'hui il ne faut peindre que ce qui doit vivre, et n'attaquer que ce qui

- menace,” Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 4, p. 75. For another instance of Chateaubriand’s critique of diplomatic “gossiping,” see p. 145.
40. Quoted in Associated Press, “Cuba ‘Peace Concert’ Draws Multitudes,” *The New York Times*, September 20, 2009, p. A8.
 41. Quoted in Anthony Kuhn, “New York Philharmonic Heads to North Korea,” *NPR*, February 24, 2008, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=19320170>, (accessed April 12, 2017). See also Daniel J. Watkins, “North Korea Welcomes New York Philharmonic,” February 26, 2008, available at, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/26/arts/music/26symphony.html> (accessed April 12, 2017).
 42. Tracy Smith, “U.S. Diplomacy: Striking the Right Notes,” July 4, 2010, available at, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/us-diplomacy-hitting-the-right-notes/> (accessed April 12, 2017).
 43. John Kerry, Remarks to the Afghan National Institute of Music Ensembles, February 4, 2013, available at, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/02/203730.htm> (accessed April 12, 2017).
 44. Emmanuel Galiero, “L’émouvante surprise de John Kerry aux Parisiens,” *Le Figaro*, January 16, 2015, available at, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2015/01/16/01002-20150116ARTFIG00284-l-emouvante-surprise-de-john-kerry-aux-parisiens.php> (accessed April 12, 2017).
 45. Anaïs Fléchet, “Le monde musical de Gilberto Gil,” in Anaïs Fléchet and Marie-Françoise Lévy (eds.), *Littératures et musiques dans la mondialisation, XX^e–XXI^e siècles*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 242–243, and UN News Center, “Singing for Peace: UN Ambassadors Launch CD to Bridge Cultural, Generational Divides,” September 11, 2013, available at, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45821#.WEqzwZJ7bhM> (accessed April 12, 2017).
 46. Brigitte O’Preska, US Army Europe Public Affairs Office, “U.S. Army Europe’s 76th Army Band Performs with Fellow Military Musicians from Nine Nations,” November 9, 2007, available at, https://www.army.mil/article/6047/U_S__Army_Europe__039_s_76th_Army_Band_Performs_with_Fellow_Military_Musicians_from_Nine_Nations_at/ (accessed April 12, 2017) and Sgt. David Beckstrom, “United Through Music,” January 12, 2016, available at, https://www.army.mil/article/160806/united_through_music (accessed April 12, 2017).
 47. UN News Center, “On International Day, UN Spotlights History and Power of Jazz in Building Peace,” April 30, 2016, available at, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=53827&Kw1=power&Kw2=music&Kw3=#.WC3sVtx7bhM> (accessed April 12, 2017).
 48. Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(1) (2008): 31–54.

49. Quote featured under “Resources” on the official website of OneBeat at <http://1beat.org/resources/> (accessed April 12, 2017).
50. See <http://1beat.org/resources/>. See also Larry Rohter, “A United Nations of Music,” *The New York Times*, October 3, 2012, available at, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/04/arts/music/us-onebeat-program-melds-32-musicians-from-21-countries.html?_r=3& (accessed April 12, 2017).
51. Louise Meintjes, “Paul Simon’s Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning,” *Ethnomusicology* 34(1) (1990): 37–73.
52. “Je ne vous parlerai pas, Monsieur le Baron, de ces distinctions flatteuses, si mon titre de ministre du roi de France ne leur donnait un intérêt politique: ces honneurs n’étaient pas pour moi, cela va sans dire; ils s’adressaient au caractère dont je suis revêtu,” Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 4, pp. 40–41.
53. Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 4, pp. 77, 98, and 102.
54. “La France occupe le premier rang. Je suis fier de la représenter. Pour mon Roi, pour mon pays, je tiens à m’endetter. ...Par la suite, à Londres, le vicomte de Chateaubriand s’est beaucoup endetté par l’éclat de sa représentation,” *Souvenirs du Chevalier de Cussy*, vol. 1, p. 289.
55. Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 5, pp. 74–75 and 124.
56. “Une partie de mon rôle consiste à aller dans le monde,” Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 5, p. 66.
57. David Paull Nickles, “US Diplomatic Etiquette during the Nineteenth Century,” *The Diplomats’ World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815–1914*, ed. Markus Mösslang and Torsten Riote (London: The German Historical Institute and Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 287–316.
58. The first quote from a letter to William Short, January 23, 1804, in *The American Historical Review* 33(4) (1928): 833. The second quote from a letter to James Madison, September 20, 1785, quoted in Cynthia P. Schneider, “Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works,” in Jan Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 147.
59. Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), pp. 30–40.
60. Margery M. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine: The Other Mrs. Adams*, ed. David L. Michelmore (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 53 and 58. See also H. Earle Johnson, “The Adams Family and Good Listening,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11(2/3) (1958): 165–176.
61. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, pp. 274 and 342.
62. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, 119, pp. 122–123 and 203.
63. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, p. 235.

64. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, p. 305, 313–315, and 348–355.
65. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, p. 314.
66. Andrew Oliver, *Portraits of John Quincy Adams and His Wife* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1970), pp. 8–12.
67. Oliver, *Portraits of John Quincy Adams and His Wife*, pp. 12, 58, and 77–78.
68. Craig Robertson, *The Passport in America: The History of a Document* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 33.
69. Heffron, *Louisa Catherine*, p. 314.
70. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams comprising portions of his diary from 1795 to 1848*, volume 1, ed. Charles Francis Adams, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1874), p. 89 (March 15, 1795).
71. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. 1, p. 100 (March 18, 1795).
72. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, vol. 1, p. 103.
73. Mary Mel French, *United States Protocol: The Guide to Official Diplomatic Etiquette* (Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), p. 191.
74. French, *United States Protocol*, p. 215.
75. Neumann, *Diplomatic Sites*, p. 63.
76. Neumann, *Diplomatic Sites*, pp. 55 and 62–68.
77. AMS Planning and Research Corp. in collaboration with Philliber Research Associates, *Evaluation of the Jazz Ambassadors Program*, Final Report prepared for the US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (March 2006), p. 52, available at, <https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/jazz-amb-program-vol.-i-final-report-march-2006.pdf>
78. *Evaluation of the Jazz Ambassadors Program*, p. 51. “Respondents represented more than 60% of all Posts that had participated in the JA Program” across the globe (p. 30). “33% were Cultural Affairs Officers or Assistants, 31% Public Affairs Officers or Assistants, and 19% Cultural Affairs Specialists.” Other respondents included Deputy Chiefs of Mission, Information Officers, and Public Affairs Specialists.
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81. The Tatler List, available at, <http://www.tatler.com/the-tatler-list/b/brooke-barzun> (accessed April and December 2016).
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Schaeffer, Boulez, and the Everyday Diplomacies of French Decolonization

Noé Cornago

This chapter examines the unofficial diplomatic makings of Pierre Boulez and Pierre Schaeffer, two outstanding figures of French contemporary culture, from a rather unexplored prism, namely, that of their respective roles in French decolonization during the central decades of the past century.¹ For so doing, this study adopts quite an inclusive conceptualization of diplomacy. In contrast with other approaches focusing exclusively on practices performed by official diplomats under clear governmental designs, it considers, as a non-controversial assumption, that diplomacy operates through countless practices, observable not only at ministerial headquarters and embassies or diplomatic summits but also in a variety of sites,² including some rather unexpected ones, such as concert halls and radio stations, in which a plurality of agents, acting in the most diverse capacities in interaction with their material surroundings, are also able to make a difference.³

To explore this possible influence, the system of contemporary music is considered in terms of its “dialectical relationship” with the wider “political, economic and cultural power-relations” that forged that era.⁴ But instead of concentrating on French government attempts to subordinate

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these two singular personalities under any French cultural post-war diplomacy great design,⁵ this study aims to ascertain, more specifically, to what extent, if any, Boulez and Schaeffer's possible contributions to the decolonization of French diplomacy and culture may be explained—beyond their personal views and intellectual dispositions—in terms of their interaction with the various institutional and material infrastructures and artifacts in which they were involved over the course of their long professional careers. For that reason, this chapter may be read, also, as an attempt to extend the new materialism turn in diplomatic studies beyond the official sites of diplomacy.⁶ As Dittmer convincingly argues:

The diplomatic system was composed through states, but is not reducible to them. By de-privileging the scale of the state, it becomes possible to see multiple scales emerging simultaneously through the processes of diplomatic assemblage... The entire diplomatic system can be understood as an assemblage, from which a transnational governmentality emerges.⁷

The approach sketched above allows also for a new understanding of the role of diplomacy in French decolonization. Less than as an inevitable transition leading to the inevitable multiplication of nation-states, decolonization, and the contestations it entailed, it should be understood as a process in which “the meanings of citizenship, nationality and sovereignty were not set in advance” and different people, placed in very diverse positions, “acted in relation to the possibilities they perceived in their time,” seeking “to widen—or to constrict—the openings they had.”⁸ As suggested by Opondo, these interventions, though framed in wider transformations, can be seen as everyday diplomacies, in other words multiple negotiations that reveal—perhaps clearer than the solemn declarations adopted in diplomatic summits and national conferences—the diverse political imaginaries that shaped the transition from the colonial era to the post-colonial age.⁹

As aptly formulated by Scott-Thomas, “once the frame of ‘diplomacy’ is altered, so the kinds of actors who become visible change with it—and the designations ‘diplomacy’ and ‘diplomat’ become more fluid...” although he immediately recognized that “catching the fluidity of diplomacy in these terms through history is no easy task.”¹⁰ For the sake of clarity, the possible impact of Boulez and Schaeffer in the decolonization of French culture and diplomacy is thus examined in three steps. First, in light of the abundant literature devoted to our protagonists, their respective personalities are

briefly analyzed, aiming to show their interesting differences and commonalities. Second, in the longest section of this work, attention is given to the place of non-Western cultures and, more specifically, colonialism, in their abundant writings and public pronouncements. Additionally, some of their musical works particularly revealing about the place of other cultures in their distinctive musical aesthetics are briefly discussed. Their long professional trajectories are also examined through the prism of their possible connections with the wider transformations underwent both by France and its overseas territories, during the post-war era, that were conducive to the final decline of French colonialism.

Finally, in the concluding section, Boulez and Schaeffer's distinctive interventions—official or not—in French diplomacy are approached through the prism of the different *cultural scenes*¹¹ in which they were respectively involved, first in their native France and later across the world, during their long professional careers. However, while literature on musical scenes tends to concentrate on those urban and locally territorialized ones,¹² the musical scenes of *serialism* and *concrète* music soon trespassed its Parisian origins, becoming, if not completely global, at least widely transnational.¹³ Additionally, Schaeffer and Boulez's singular careers, with various and simultaneous professional engagements that brought them to frequently travel across the world in different capacities, are also evasive from any attempt to reduce their respective demeanor and sociability to any particular scene. For that reason, instead of focusing exclusively on the social mediations that these cultural scenes produced, the analysis also focuses on their distinctive material surroundings, as formed by a variety of infrastructures and artifacts, under the assumption that these things¹⁴ enabled them to “establish, confirm or challenge social orders,”¹⁵ such as those affecting, far beyond the musicological disputes between defenders of *concrète* or *serialism* at the middle of the past century, the very viability of French colonialism.

PERFECT OPPOSITES OR MIRROR IMAGES

In the history of twentieth-century French intellectual life, the outstanding personalities of Pierre Schaeffer (1910–1995) and Pierre Boulez (1925–2016) present a rather paradoxical combination of commonalities and differences. Both Schaeffer and Boulez were innovative thinkers and audacious creators. In their radical opposition to tonality they equally provoked admiration and rejection.¹⁶ They both perceived themselves as

socially and politically engaged and fiercely defended their position as influential intellectuals but also of independent servants of the public interest, albeit through very different means. Both demonstrated, since the early stages of their career, a very special concern for their cultural legacy, dedicating significant efforts to secure the institutionalization of their legacies through diverse organizational forms, always adequately equipped for their creative purposes. Schaeffer's activity was always conducted through various institutional forms: *Studio d'Essai* (1942–1946), the *Club d'Essai* (1946–1960), *Groupe de Recherche de Musique Concrète* (GRMC) from 1951 to 1958, and then in 1958 the *Groupe de Recherche Musicale* (GRM) that survives today as INA-GRM.¹⁷ In a similar vein, Boulez created first *Le Domaine Musical*, (1954–1973), the *Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique* (IRCAM) in 1970, and finally, in 1976, the *Ensemble Intercontemporain*.¹⁸ Controversial in their home country, their careers soon acquired an important international profile, contributing to forge a dense transnational network of collaborators across the world, directly inspired in their contrasting approaches to musical composition.

However, their failed attempt to cooperate in the early stages of their musical careers was an early and clear indication of the difficult conciliation of two strong personalities, with radically different aesthetic and political views. Interested in exploring the potential of electronic music, Boulez joined Schaeffer's studio for a short time in 1949 but they both realized soon the incompatibility of their creative projects and personalities.¹⁹ In a letter to Cage written in 1953, Boulez refers to the frequent rows they had during that short period, dedicating some not very nice words to Schaeffer and adding that his experimental studio was “crap and more crap.”²⁰

Certainly, Schaeffer and Boulez were worlds apart. While Schaeffer aimed to radically redefine the meaning of music through an innovative combination of ethnomusicological and technological research, Boulez, in contrast, provocatively understood himself as the new master of the great tradition of European classical music and the sole one, after Webern, able to bring this tradition to its ultimate consequences. Being both prolific writers and articulated thinkers, their differences are also visible in the values they apparently professed. Schaeffer's fiction and non-fiction writings reveal a peculiar combination of spiritual and communicative utopianism and a keen inclination to engage social, cultural, political, and even environmental issues, in terms of a transcultural and inclusive humanism. Boulez, in contrast, frequently expressed, in his writings, an

uncompromising individualism and a sort of epistocratic elitism that may be seen as the quintessential expression of Western rationalism. The commonalities and differences briefly signaled above are also observable in the way Boulez and Schaeffer referred to non-European musical cultures in their writings and musical works but also in the way they conducted their professional careers, as the next section aims to show.

ENGAGING THE OTHERS, BEYOND EXOTICISM

Despite occasional expressions of interest in non-Western musical traditions, European contemporary music, as it was developed during the early Cold War years, was generally conceived as the ultimate expression of Western cultural superiority. As Vieira de Carvalho aptly contends: “Being based on a complete rationalization of composing, kept apart from the life-world and conceived as a self-referential system, ‘new music’ should thus represent not only the logical achievement of the historical development of European music, but also ... its universality and superiority over the music cultures of the whole world.”²¹ For sure, this understanding, convincing as it is, shall be applied cautiously to any composer, for the examination of individual trajectories reveals, not only in the long history of Western classical tradition but also in the case of Western contemporary music, considerable differences in terms of their respective engagement with cultural otherness.²²

Let’s explore the place given by Schaeffer and Boulez to non-Western cultures and colonialism in their abundant writings and interviews. These texts frequently refer to some of their most representative musical works, which will be also briefly discussed, not in terms of a technical analysis of their musical content but in the extent to which the presentation by their corresponding authors, and the critical reception they received, may help us to understand the cultural assumptions they more or less consciously mobilized, as well as their articulation with the wider sociocultural and political transformations underwent both by France and its overseas territories, during the post-war era, that were finally conducive to the final demise of French colonialism. Unfortunately, Kofi Agawu, in his valuable post-colonial critique of the representation of African musical cultures in Western culture, does not examine either Schaeffer or Boulez, yet some aspects referred below can be easily framed within his convincing critique of Western cultural appropriation of African music.²³ Others, and in particular those referred to in terms of the makings of music and broadcasting beyond the politics of representation, fall, in contrast, outside his scope.

Schaeffer

Schaeffer being 15 years older than Boulez, this overview begins with a brief examination of his figure. Following Fulcher, it can be said that his personality has been subject to very divergent understandings.²⁴ Historians know him as a radio engineer very active during Petain's collaborationist regime, who founded a conservative cultural venture called *Jeune France* of modest results and who later, after the *Liberation*, due to his late but significant involvement in French resistance and his polyvalent technical expertise, was able to hold some important institutional positions in post-war France. For others, particularly musicologists, he is the pioneer of experimental music, the discoverer of *musique concrète*, whose innovations were extremely influential in shaping electroacoustic contemporary music, trespassing the barriers between classical and popular music through time.

For the purposes of this chapter, however, there is a third approach to Schaeffer's polyedric personality that may be more fruitful than the two signaled above. This third perspective, represented by a group of authors personally related to Schaeffer,²⁵ presents him as a tireless, committed, and path-breaking personality that, inspired by a genuine humanistic concern, dedicated his entire life to improving, through different means, the conditions for human communication in modern societies beyond the boundaries of national culture and state sovereignty. Although it frequently adopts a rather celebratory tone, this body of work reveals some important aspects of Schaeffer's personality and career that otherwise would have surely remained occult. One of these aspects is the complex relationship that Schaeffer had for almost three decades with French colonialism. He was brought to such exposure in a rather unexpected form, a result of his technical expertise, his audacious understanding of the communicative and artistic potential of radio broadcasting,²⁶ and a radical sense of personal freedom that frequently collided with those at the top of the hierarchies in the professional realms in which he was involved. As Dan Lander has pointed out, the history of radio art:

represents a struggle to overcome the enforcement of the arbitrary boundaries drawn by the paranoid hands of the state. These boundaries stifle creativity in many ways, including the political, the aesthetic, the conceptual, the sensual, and the multitude of creative imaginings that shape the various models of expression and perception in a diverse cultural terrain.²⁷

These words are particularly suitable for the trajectory of Pierre Schaeffer, for his professional performance consistently demonstrated a sense of freedom and a will to escape from the “arbitrary boundaries drawn by the paranoid hands of the state” at the price of provoking angry reactions from the side of those at the top positions of the various administrative services he worked for across time. As a form of penalizing his indomitable character, he was repeatedly retired from his radio studio, being sent abroad to perform extremely technical and apparently unattractive tasks. For that reason, he served across years in different technical and executive capacities that eventually came to transform his perception of French colonialism. It was in that context that, rather unexpectedly even for himself, he served as an official representative of Morocco and Tunisia—at that time French protectorates—in various international diplomatic conferences of technical content. These conferences focused on the negotiation of a variety of technical issues, such as, for instance, the distribution of wavelengths for radio and television broadcasting, as it was the case of those held in Atlantic City, Copenhagen, and Mexico between 1943 and 1949.²⁸

Despite his initial discontent with a professional duty that was assigned to him as a form of punishment, Schaeffer’s performance of these diplomatic missions was always extremely committed and assertive. According to all available transcripts and minutes of these international conferences, Schaeffer was a particularly active participant in many deliberations and frequently made constructive proposals that reveal he performed his role in all seriousness. This attitude, in addition to his proven technical expertise, soon made him worthy of respect and recognition among delegates from all over the world. In addition, he was perfectly aware about his delicate position as a diplomatic representative appointed by France but serving the protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco, whose interests he consistently defended to the best of his knowledge and ability. For instance, he repeatedly advocated for securing a fair system of proportional reductions and even designed a technical proposal aiming to facilitate the agreement in that particular aspect, but it was ignored by great powers despite its undisputable quality. His positions also escaped from the Cold War ideological divide that framed the political process within the United Nations at that time, even to the point of voting, occasionally, against the positions adopted by France. This was, for instance, the case of Schaeffer’s support—against the French delegation and most prominently the United States—to a Romanian proposal at the Conference on High Frequencies

Broadcasting held at Mexico City in 1949, aiming at limiting international short-wave emissions to Germany, Japan, and Spain. The proposal stated that “frequencies to be assigned by the Conference should not be used for purposes contrary to mutual understanding and tolerance, or for purposes of propaganda, in whatsoever country conducted, whether it is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.”²⁹

Despite his repeated efforts, however, Schaeffer soon realized the limits of his attempts to modify diplomatic routines and the lack of generosity of the majority of delegations, developing an inner feeling of disappointment and frustration. In 1952, in his major book *A la recherche d'une musique concrète*, he first compares the “confined atmosphere” of his musical studio with the “broader horizons” of diplomacy, and his passing from his very personal concern with musical research to “problems so general that they required the presence of delegates from all over the world.”³⁰ Despite this candid recognition of the potential importance of these diplomatic encounters, he later portrays official diplomacy in rather negative terms:

These delegates...were going to share wavelengths among ninety countries on the planet. Months, years were going by without the slightest chance of agreement. In short, I was going from a difficult technique to an insoluble policy. Sometimes, in the course of endless sessions, I would listen to the delegates' pronouncements with a *concrète ear* and perceive all the better their perfectly illogical workings. No argument could convince anybody, and other laws governed persuasion: the patience of some, the violence of others, the endurance of the group, the cleverness of another; it was all about who could get the last quarter of an hour. Four booth of interpreters labored away completely pointlessly translating the speeches.³¹

Even more interesting is perhaps how carefully he later characterizes the diverse national diplomatic styles, reaching a conclusion particularly expressive about a new understanding of the world that he was acquiring as a result of his participation in these boring and endless international conferences:

You could hear the Russian without understanding him: an insistent melody and a multiple and inexhaustible rhythm are more convincing than the meaning of words. The Anglo-Saxons operated in blocks of blunt syllables, suave

or sharp halftones. The South American spoke with their hands, conducted orchestras, so comfortable with artifice, so expressive, that anymore and we would have thought them sincere. And among other indigenous music, those that we foolishly accused of exoticism, African, Hindu, Arab—truthfully, almost the only disciples of Descartes—defended fair shares, the geometrical mean—in short the so called Western rationalism.³²

Finally, echoing historical discussions on the metaphorical value of the notion of musical concert for understanding the political climate among nations,³³ Schaeffer compares the diplomatic conferences in which he directly participated, with a concert of *musique concrète*,³⁴ offering a rather singular formula to capture the few meaningful elements that these diplomatic conferences may have had, extending his method for music listening to the diplomatic realm:

In common with *concrète* music these international conferences were resolutely empirical. They too made a great noise in which, as in the case of the railway, variety had to be sought out amid endless monotony.³⁵

These diplomatic conferences gave Schaeffer a sense of critical distance with the formalities and routines of diplomacy but also increased his awareness about the intricacies of transcultural communication. Later, in various fiction³⁶ and non-fiction writings,³⁷ Schaeffer candidly offered his sad impressions about the experience of participating in a number of international diplomatic conferences. In his novel *Le gardien du volcan* (1969), the protagonist is a volcanologist who accounts extensively his experiences while participating in an international conference on “Volcanos and Seismology,” held in 1948 at Mexico D.F., as the official representative of a French colonial possession. Through this fictional character, Schaeffer offers a detailed and extremely critical account of the deceptive practices he witnessed in real multilateral diplomatic settings—conferences in which diplomats adopt a pompous and self-celebratory language whose sole outcome would be “ridiculous commitments” and in which, some day, a “translation failure” resulting from the nationalist refusal to use some common language could even trigger a nuclear war.³⁸

Schaeffer’s concern for the problem of transcultural communication is also observable in his most theoretical works. In his *Traité des Objets Musicaux* he identifies Europe, Africa, and Asia as the three principal continents of musical geography,³⁹ presenting their respective musical

traditions as particularly rich and variegated. But he also asserts that the relationship among these different musical cultures “invites to reflection,” for their salient differences make it difficult for audiences of a particular civilizational culture to understand the value of those musical creations belonging to another one. Aiming to illustrate this rather elemental problem he mentions how European audiences tend to receive with a combination of admiration and boredom some African musical performances in which for hours the sole instrument is the tam-tam. But for Schaeffer, in the light of the “passion of African masses” when they participate in these ceremonies, it is undisputable that these musical forms have their own logic and that they are perfectly understandable for them.⁴⁰ After all, as aptly formulated by Nattiez, music is always a “sound construction, organized and thought by culture.”⁴¹ In this way, Schaeffer finds the basis for a new musical universalism, namely, the theory of musical objects, which, according to his declared expectations, would hopefully help to forge first a new way of listening and then a new form of communication worldwide.⁴² The utopian dimensions of such a project and his practical infeasibility were obvious for his critics⁴³ and were later also recognized by Schaeffer himself.⁴⁴ Additionally, it explains why he never completed the announced second part of his *Traité*. But these humanist values are consistently observable in numerous aspects of his professional life and most prominently in his engagement with international broadcasting, as it will be discussed below.

During the early 1950s, besides his continuous research with *musique concrète*, and his participation in some multilateral conferences, another important concern demanded Schaeffer’s professional involvement and personal interest. At that time, the proliferation of a number of conflicts linked to war or decolonization seriously affected the French overseas broadcasting network. A number of them (in Algeria, Guyana, Reunion Island, Brazzaville, and Tunisia, among others) were under the control of the Radio Television Française (RTF), as a result of their previous loyalty to free France represented by the government in exile led by De Gaulle. Others (such as those of Abidjan, Conakry, Cotonou, Dakar, Djibouti or Tananarive, and others) were under the control of the French Ministry for Overseas Territories. In 1952, in view of his acknowledged expertise, Schaeffer was commissioned to perform a mission of technical assistance to Dakar. The precarious technical conditions and the careless and culturally nonsensical approach to programming he encountered there caused him a strong and disheartening impression.⁴⁵ In his own words:

They sent me on a mission to Dakar. Bad choice, for the Chief Engineer, outraged by the sad conditions of the radio stations in our overseas territories he witnessed, turned into an activist: he became the Chief of Programming and, by a hideous secession, he stabbed the monopoly in the back and created the *radio d'outre mer*, named first SORAFOM and then OCORA.⁴⁶

Bearing this determination in mind, Schaeffer began an intense round of consultations not only within the French public administration but also with some of the most outstanding representatives of the new African leadership: Leopold Sedar Senghor, Houphouët-Boigny, and Sekou Touré, at that time members of the French Assembly,⁴⁷ who a few years later became the first presidents of Senegal (1960), Guinea (1958), and Ivory Coast (1960), respectively. They all expressed their reserves to Schaeffer's idea of creating a new and genuine network of African radio stations in close collaboration with France, but their respective positions were considerably different.⁴⁸ While Senghor was finally rather supportive, Houphouët-Boigny demonstrated less interest, and Touré, less accessible and more distant from the French cultural milieu, was overly reluctant to the very idea of giving to a white Frenchman the leadership in such an important initiative, at the very moment he was considering independence as the sole venue toward emancipation. Schaeffer himself later confessed that he was always aware of the ambivalences of his project: "Placed at the middle of two ages, SORAFOM was an expression of poetic neo-colonialism and at the very same time a rather prosaic form of decolonization."⁴⁹

At that time, the French government was concerned about losing ground in the overseas territories. They were particularly concerned with the growing influence of Soviet-sponsored broadcasting in the continent.⁵⁰ In that context, Schaeffer's uncompromisingly free approach to his work created frequent frictions. Aiming for the enrollment of African professional cadres, his preferred interlocutors and staff were selected among the locals, while the top colonial administrators preferred expatriated nationals. Despite all this, and after the completion of a tedious process of administrative and political validation within the French political system, some important decisions were made. Firstly, a professional training center called the *Studio Ecole* was created, for a select group of promising and gifted young Africans, aiming to educate a new generation of broadcasting professionals ready to acquire immediately important responsibilities. Later, in 1955 the SORAFOM was launched.⁵¹ Schaeffer's effort during

the two years he was allowed to serve as Director (1956–1957) was the first serious attempt to equip French-speaking African countries with the necessary material and professional capabilities for broadcasting, preparing the communicational basis for post-colonial emancipation.⁵² Schaeffer was, in sum, a catalyzer, able to anticipate the needs and challenges of African radio broadcasting in a critical historical juncture.⁵³ Later, in 1959, just at the beginning of the French post-colonial era, Schaeffer suggested the transformation of SORAFOM into a new *Office de la Coopération Radiophonique* (OCORA—office for radio cooperation) formally established in 1962.⁵⁴ He was, in sum, a catalyzer, able to anticipate the challenges of African radio broadcasting at a critical historical turn,⁵⁵ while simultaneously escaping from Cold War raw and propagandistic geopolitical designs.⁵⁶

The new African independent states were nonetheless very “jealous” of their long-awaited sovereignty, also in the field of broadcasting, and OCORA little by little lost its specificity, being finally absorbed by the *Organization de la Radio et Television Française* (ORTF). In view of this situation, but concerned by the implications of the processes of acculturation that he observed across the continent, Schaeffer found in the preservation of African musical heritage a new mission worthy of his efforts. Determined to safeguard the authenticity of local cultures, he and his collaborators created a huge *phonotèque*. In Schaeffer’s words:

I was involved with the radio in Africa in the same period as I was doing *concrète*—I was doing both at the same time. I was deeply afraid that these vulnerable musical cultures—lacking notation, recording, cataloguing, and with the approximate nature of their instruments—would be lost. I and my colleagues were beginning to collect African music. At the radio there is a small department run by Mr. Toureille, who has very courageously for seventeen years systematically sent out expeditions to gather authentic African music and released them on record.⁵⁷

Although apparently he was directly involved in a few of these recordings only, his team made thousands of sound recordings, both on field and at the studio, while also carefully writing their corresponding notes. But his attempt to fixing the authentic sounds of tradition became more controversial than he expected, particularly when ethnomusicologist Charles Duvelle transformed OCORA in a commercial collection of world traditional music recordings. African intellectuals complained that these ethnomusical efforts ignored the dynamism and endless creativity of their

societies, converting their cultural heritage and their own experience of modernity in a rather vulgar and anachronic merchandise.⁵⁸ Not in vain, at that time, in many of these countries, hundreds of local musicians, then completely unknown in European metropolis, had already produced, in plenty of obscure recording sessions, the melodies and rhythms of a new and urban Africa, forging the soundtrack of the decolonization age.⁵⁹ Schaeffer, almost two decades after, only reluctantly accepted the coming of this new reality:

I don't think we can answer this question of value ultimately, but we can acknowledge the fact that civilizations are mortal. In music there are, unfortunately, two principles at work. There's the principle of barbarity. The fact that western civilization invaded these autochthonous people entwined with their ancient local cultures—this was certainly barbarous, if not entirely heedless. Barbarians always think of themselves as the bringers of civilization. The western barbarity was turntables, the radio, etc. Then there's the principle of economics, which is that bad money gets thrown after good. So if barbarity is the triumph of force, bad money is the triumph of economy—in a metaphoric sense...⁶⁰

French involvement in African soundscapes survived nonetheless the post-colonial era via *Radio France Internationale* (RFI), experiencing the changing role of radio broadcasting, within and beyond the boundaries of new independent states, in an era of huge socio-political and technological transformations in the continent. In a few decades, and almost inadvertently, RFI was obliged to reconcile, now under the guise of cooperation for development, two conflicting requirements, namely: “that of a national radio, created to transmit the French vision of current affairs, with that of a public service radio, in which African players, notably political ones, legitimately found expression for their democratic struggle.”⁶¹ In front of such a delicate predicament, RFI was forced by the circumstances to recognize its limits, accepting the consequences of the post-colonial age and the inevitable shrinking of its political influence. Remembering those years, Schaeffer offered in 1978 a proud but frank assessment of the scope and limits of his professional makings during his time in front of SORAFOM:

Each radio station we founded followed the fate of the new African republics. Turned into radio-station chefs or programming directors, the former interns of our *Studio École* will know dangerous honors. There are in Africa

good and bad governments. In any process of national independence there are more or less free radios, there are torture, internment camps, and reprisals. Africans conducted themselves just as whites did. The work of civilization has been accomplished. Yet I cannot forget that a big number of our friends endorsed, not without important perils and risk, the ideal of public service with which we trust them... The history of radio-diffusion and political history have been absolutely coincidental.⁶²

Schaeffer's sincere, albeit somewhat paternalistic, commitment to the improvement of African critical infrastructures—both in terms of technical capabilities and professional expertise and in terms of the social and political transformative potential they entailed—brought him to a rather disappointing fate. For, despite the singularity of his engagement, his case was after all another expression of a political rule that hardly fails to be complied to, as convincingly formulated by Challenor in 1979:

The status of a stranger class of bureaucrats and clerks, introduced and protected by a European colonial administration, depends upon the perpetuation of colonial rule. It follows that any host country which feels politically or economically threatened by a stranger group will expel that group when it gains the power or authority to do so.⁶³

Boulez

Expressions of Boulez's keen interest in non-European musical cultures abound in the countless interviews he gave during his long life, but are scarce in his own and more personal writings. Commenting on the non-Western musical influences behind some of his most influential compositions, such as *Notations* for piano (1945) and *Le Marteau sans Maître* for voice and six instruments (1952–1955), he frequently refers to his juvenile years when, hungry to discover other musical cultures, he listened to many ethnic records from all over the world, including numerous unpublished ethnomusicological recordings, and even considered to specialize in musicology.⁶⁴ Since 1943 he was a regular visitor of the *Musée Guimet*, where he also transcribed a number of these recordings, and of the *Musée de l'Homme*, where he studied African music for many years with the prestigious musicologists Gilbert Rouget and André Schaeffner.⁶⁵

Despite these precedents, in his most important book (1963), *Penser la musique aujourd'hui*, Boulez made a rather oblique and somewhat deceptive reference to African cultures. Aiming to explain how musical

innovators are frequently attacked when they still innovate beyond the limits that were previously accepted by their epigones, he offers quite an unexpected illustration of the social dynamics behind the opposition between irrational group mentality and rational individual creativity. He compared this behavior with that of some “primitive African tribes” that violently attack their idol when the latter does not offer what they expect, looking for their rapid replacement with a new idol apparently more inclined to follow their irrational understanding of things.⁶⁶

This somewhat abrupt expression of Western self-confident elitism, always looking for Promethean personalities able to make a path-breaking difference in any possible domain,⁶⁷ was also recognizable in Boulez’s career as one of the most influential conductors of the past century. In addition to increasing his international visibility, conducting also allowed him to express his personal interpretation of the big tradition of European classical music, while simultaneously extending the symphonic repertory to some prominent contemporary composers who were generally ignored beyond the relatively small circuit of festivals of contemporary music until then. Although generally ignored by many of his biographers, his debut as conductor was in Caracas in 1956, where he conducted the Venezuela Symphony Orchestra. After this and other subsequent yet occasional appearances, he began a formal appointment with the Cleveland Orchestra in 1965. Later he was also musical director of the BBC Symphony Orchestra and New York Philharmonic. These were important commitments that he conciliated with his work as composer and his responsibilities as director of both the *Ensemble Intercontemporain*, since 1970, and IRCAM, from 1977 to 1992.

Boulez’s audacious efforts to renew the symphonic repertory can also be read as the expression of his attachment to the traditional distinction between high and popular culture, with its corresponding practices, institutions, and discourses, in the form of concert halls, critical reviews, selected audiences, commercial recordings, VIP rooms at airport terminals, populated press conferences, selective interviews, and so on. An extremely demanding world, but one that only exceptionally brought him beyond the contours of the North Atlantic,⁶⁸ and considerably alienated from the social fabric of decolonization that during the 1960s and 1970s had transformed the world and particularly Western imperialism. This is rather paradoxical, for it is also true that in the previous stages of his career, Boulez demonstrated a considerable interest in the demise of colonialism, as exemplified by his participation in 1960 in the controversial

Manifeste des 121, a declaration calling for disobedience to the war in Algeria, signed by an impressive group of French intellectuals of libertarian and socialist ideas led by Maurice Blanchot.⁶⁹ All the signatories of this manifest were charged or suspended in their functions. A resident in Germany at that time, Boulez was boycotted by French radio and television and formally impeached to cross the French border, not being able to return to his country until 1963.

More recently, some attempts have been done to re-evaluate non-Western influences upon Boulez's creative work. Campbell⁷⁰ examines his professional trajectory dedicating considerable detail to the way in which the composer refers in his personal correspondence the three tours of South America that the composer undertook from 1950 to 1956, in his capacity as musical director of the Renaud-Barrault theater company. Apparently, the musical expression that was most impressive for Boulez during his travels was the performance of *candomblé* he witnessed during his stay in Brazil in 1950, which triggered his interest for percussions. Campbell concludes his analysis in a rather hyperbolic mode, as he contends that much work has to be done to show that the music of Boulez "far from being the product of some technocratic force, is irrigated with ethnic musical traditions from around the world."⁷¹ Inspired by these recent "musicological discoveries," the BBC Radio 3 broadcasted a special program in January 2017, directed by Robert Worby, devoted to explore the traces of non-Western inspiration upon Boulez's music, but unfortunately it was not able to find a better title than "Boulez and His Rumble in the Jungle."⁷² Campbell's argument referred to above, and other similar ones advanced by other musicologists,⁷³ at their best, concentrate solely on the formal aesthetic dimension of this relationship, without any consideration for its wider sociocultural or political implications—something, of course, that is perfectly legitimate. But even so, it may be considered as a semiotic inflation of what may be otherwise characterized as a rather oblique and superficial appropriation of some exotic musical elements, very much in the French tradition of musical post-romantic eclecticism—⁷⁴ little more than a fleeting and manipulated musical souvenir, not so different, for instance, from Schaeffer's use of a traditional instrument he brought to Paris from Mexico, where he had participated in an international conference, in his short composition *Variations pour flute mexicaine* (1949). Moreover, it can be said that Boulez's relationship with non-Western music was surely more problematic than Campbell suggests. Certainly, Boulez himself was very articulate

in specifying how he adopted non-Western musical instruments in his compositions while simultaneously denying the practice of any form of superficial “appropriationism”:

Neither the style nor the actual use of these instruments has any connection with these different musical civilizations. My aim was rather to enrich the European sound vocabulary by means of non-European listening habits, some of our traditional classical sound combinations having become so charged with ‘history’ that we must open our windows wide in order to avoid being asphyxiated. The reaction of mine has nothing whatever to do with the clumsy appropriation of a ‘colonial’ musical vocabulary as seen in the innumerable short-lived *rhapsodies malgaches* and *rhapsodies cambodgiennes* that appeared during the early years of the present century.⁷⁵

In his older years, however, Boulez openly admitted his unease when asked directly about this. In one of his most detailed comments on this particular issue, after repeating once again that he was very influenced by non-Western music when he was young, Boulez explains that despite his interest in Asian and African musical cultures, he never pretended to really understand them. Quite the contrary, he contends that due to cultural differences, he always considered that any attempt to engage with other musical cultures should accept a sort of inevitable misunderstanding:

I remember very well the first time I heard the music of Bali. Of course, it was a revelation! That world of sound that I did not know at all. So, possibly, I began to understand more but I cannot say that I still understand...I will analyze it from the point of view of a man in the Western world—in terms of periodicity, in terms of regularity, in terms even of some continuity of sixteenth notes, for example, in the rhythm. However, when the people of Bali play this music, they don’t think like that at all. So, when I am listening, I am putting my own grid of analysis on it.⁷⁶

Interestingly, despite the candid recognition of his cultural limits for a deeper understanding, Boulez further elaborates the consequences of these limits in a rather peculiar and self-asserting way:

With this kind of relationship, I want to open my mind, because I am very fascinated by this culture; but, given my education, what I want to get from this culture is something more than a kind of purely superficial relationship. You know, I can imitate the music of Bali, of course. With a vibraphone and so on, and with regularity of pulse and using pentatonic scales, imitation

could be very easy; but if you want to go beyond that, then you have to put your own grid of values on this music and demonstrate, for instance, what it means to you. For me, Balinese music is a kind of immobility, harmonic immobility...⁷⁷

Unexpectedly, in the same conversation, he later offers an intriguing comment that may be considered a rather unusual blend of crepuscular memories of the Cold War and colonial nostalgia:

We again have countries that are closing in on themselves; there is not the kind of exchange that we had during the fifties and sixties. There is again a kind of unease with other cultures, and it is really a big mistake if you are not open to other cultures! (...) And now we have a multiplicity of little nations fighting each other... Perhaps it is the collapse of colonialism that has led to this rise of nationalism, because at least before, under the old conditions, things were kept in check by the two powers. With the erosion of the Cold War, all chaos has broken out, which is extremely dangerous.⁷⁸

SOUND MAKINGS AND FRENCH DECOLONIZATION

In 1944, the Brazzaville Conference envisaged the transformation of French colonial empire into a federation to be governed by a new assembly with elected representatives from the metropolis and each of the associated territories. The proposal was apparently well received and in 1946 the *Union Française* was established. In 1958 a referendum was held and out of the 12 colonies in Africa, 11 decided to remain within the *Communauté*. However, despite these precedents, by the end of 1960, they were all independent.⁷⁹

This chapter aimed to approach this process from a rather particular prism. It examined the extent to which two outstanding personalities of the French post-war intellectual landscape may have contributed through their distinctive professional careers, even indirectly, in shaping the material or ideational basis for such an impressive change. Audacious as it may sound, it contends that Pierre Schaeffer certainly did it, facilitating in quite a significant way such an impressive change, not only through his key role in shaping the basis for African broadcasting, which soon became one of the critical infrastructures for independence,⁸⁰ but also through his political imagination and his engagement in countless negotiations about the transformation of transnational political space. Boulez's role, in contrast, was in contrast significantly less relevant.

The argument this chapter aimed to put forth is that beyond the place of cultural otherness in the musical creations of Schaeffer and Boulez, and their personal views and inclinations expressed in their writings, the makings of music, and the variety of infrastructures and artifacts in which music and sound are embedded, have an additional political effect that sooner or later reverberates in the wider cultural and political context, facilitating either the continuity of the existing power relations—including those sustaining colonialism—or conversely creating the basis for its subsequent contestation.

In the cases of Schaeffer and Boulez, despite the relatively similar material cultures in which they were involved in their formative and early career years, their diverging professional trajectories had important implications in the material worlds they inhabited for many years. For decades, Schaeffer was interacting constantly with radio stations, tape recordings, technical documents, translation headphones, prefabricated buildings, and precarious airport terminals. It was through these material mediations that he entered in countless negotiations with countless representatives of diverse constituencies, on subjects of sociocultural and political relevance for his interlocutors and critical importance for France and his overseas territories. Boulez, in contrast, beyond his temporary interest in electronics, dedicated his life to divide his creativity between the study and composition in solitude and the stressing but fancy climate of concert halls, repetitions in comfortable rooms with wall-to-wall carpets, luxury hotels, and highly selective press conferences, alienating him, despite his political ideas and will, from the social fabric which was at the time transforming the world.

Despite Boulez's candid participation in some important mobilizations in favor of Algerian independence, his combination of sharp modernism as composer and his careful cultivation of European classical music tradition in his role as conductor may be understood as a supreme form of Western cultural rationalism perfectly compatible with a rather superficial reformulation of colonial mentality in comfortable continuity with its corresponding North Atlantic diplomatic inertia. Conversely, Schaeffer's radical attempt to redefine the frontiers between communication, music, and sound, combined with his involvement in different professional capacities—including colonial administration—as an expert in the politics of broadcasting, worldwide and more specifically in Africa, brought him, rather unexpectedly, toward a real engagement with the material surroundings and the critical interlocutors that created the

basis for the demise of the French imperialism. In sum, the contrasting material cultures lived by Schaeffer and Boulez greatly affected their non-official diplomatic performance. The infrastructures and artifacts that they experienced, as aptly formulated by Rudolph,⁸¹ enabled them, with very different results, to “establish, confirm or challenge social orders,” such as those affecting the viability of French colonialism in the middle of past century.

This brief study confirms some interesting insights that proponents of the *new materialism* turn in diplomatic studies have recently advanced. Dittmer contends that beyond the routines of official diplomacy, there are everyday diplomacies that “not only enact the states in whose name they are done, but they also produce uneven geographies of affective intensity and flow.” These uneven geographies, he adds, “enable systems to self-organize over time becoming anew and enacting a collective agency that shapes the cognitive sense-making of the bodies politic enrolled in them.”⁸² These countless interventions, and the transformative force they unbound, are certainly embedded in governmental technologies and bureaucratic routines—such as border management, taxes, market regulation, civil registration, or, as this chapter contends, diplomatic conferences, short-wave broadcasting, and state-sponsored cultural programs—through which the agency of state emerges. But when considered in depth, we realize that the state appears to be “a transcendental subject that orders the political world, when in reality it is the effect of that political world,”⁸³ as the rapid dissolution of the French Empire has impressively shown.

NOTES

1. The author would like to thank Frédéric Ramel, Christian Lequesne, and Cecile Prévost-Thomas and all participants at the workshop “Sounds and Voices on the International Stage: Understanding Musical Diplomacies,” held at Sciences Po Paris in April 2016, for their valuable comments to the oral presentation of the first version of this chapter. Many thanks also to Ms. Miriam Perier for her careful editing of the manuscript. The final content however remains entirely the responsibility of the author.
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28. Robert, *Pierre Schaeffer: d'Orphée à MacLuban*, p. 69.
29. The proposal, supported by Schaeffer as delegate of Morocco and Tunisia along with the Soviet Union and other communist states, was refused after substantial debate by a majority of 33 votes against 11 and 19 abstentions. See *Documents de la Conférence internationale de radio-diffusion à hautes fréquences Mexique 1948–1949, Documents 804-E*. pp. 39–64. Geneva: International Telecommunications Union, itu.int/11.1004/020.1000/4.67.51.fr.208
30. Pierre Schaeffer, *In Search of a Concrète Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 29.

31. Schaeffer, *In Search of a Concrète Music*, p. 21–22.
32. Schaeffer, *In Search of a Concrète Music*, p. 22.
33. Frédéric Ramel, “Perpetual Peace and the Idea of Concert in Eighteenth-Century Thought,” in Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto and Damien Mahiet (eds) *Music and Diplomacy: From the early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 125–146.
34. On a different conception of diplomatic practices based on music or instruments, see Le Blanc’s perspective developed and examined in Chap. 5 (by Rebekah Ahrendt) in this volume.
35. Schaeffer, *In Search of a Concrète Music*, p. 22.
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37. Pierre Schaeffer, *Les antennes de Jéricho* (Paris: Stock, 1978).
38. Schaeffer, *Le gardien du volcan*, p. 75.
39. Pierre Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1966), p. 49.
40. Schaeffer, *Traité des objets musicaux*, p. 41.
41. Jean Jacques Nattiez, *Musicologie générale et sémiologie*, (Paris: Christian Bourgeois Editeur, 1987), p. 95.
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50. Beno Stenberg-Sarel, “La radio en Afrique noire d’expression française,” *Communications*, 1 (1961): 108–126.
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52. The number of radio stations rapidly increased. It was 11 in 1955, 15 in 1956, 17 in 1957, 20 in 1958, and 29 in 1959, including among others: Radio AEF Brazzaville, Radio Tchad (Fort lamy), Radio Djibouti, Radio Nouméa, Radio Tananarive in French, Radio Tananarive in Malgache, Radio Tahiti, Station Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, Radio Mauritania, Radio Saintlouis of Sénégal, Radio Dakar, Radio Garoua, Radio Douala, Station Yaoundé, Radio Lome, Radio Cotonou, Radio Sudan, Radio Abidjan, and

- Radio Conakry. Sylvie Dallet, “Un acteur méconnu de la décolonisation: Pierre Schaeffer et la SORAFOM,” in Michèle de Bussière, Cécile Méadel and Caroline Ulmann-Mauriat: *Radios et télévision au temps des ‘événements’ d’Algérie (1954–1962)* (Paris: l’Harmattan, 1999), pp. 171–181.
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 68. An interesting indication about Boulez and Schaeffer’s respective involvement in North Atlantic Cold War’s culture can be observed in the archives of Irving Kristol’s *Encounter* magazine (1953–1990), secretly subsidized by the CIA, and the most emblematic Western intellectual weapon against

- the influence of communism among left-wing European intellectuals. While Schaeffer was never mentioned, Boulez's name appeared in 17 issues from 1954 to 1984, and it was generally associated with discussions on musical elitism and popular music, being frequently portrayed as the iconic expression of European elitism. See <http://www.unz.org/Pub/Encounter>. See also Henry Pleasants, "Who's Afraid of Pierre Boulez?," *Encounter*, 17(2) (1969): 49–54.
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PART III

Bringing Music to the Fore
of the Diplomatic Scene.
Sounds and Voices as Objects
of Diplomacy

Negotiating the Pitch: For a Diplomatic History of A, at the Crossroads of Politics, Music, Science and Industry

Fanny Gribenski

On June 30, 1971, the Committee of Ministers of the European Union adopted a Resolution “on the standardization of the initial tuning frequency.” The text recommends the government of Member states to “introduce in their national territories [...] the international note [...] Treble A” graphically represented on the second lower staff of a musical stave bearing a G-clef and “defined as a note whose frequency is 440 Hz.” An appendix listing a number of “arrangements” and technical recommendations aimed at helping to enforce this resolution ends with the following, “The assistance of the ISO (International Organization for Standardization) would be of great help in the application of the resolution.” Presented as a simple tool to enforce the EU’s musical politics, the international organization was actually responsible for a similar resolution issued in 1953 that served as draft for the ISO 16 norm, entitled “Standard tuning frequency,” published in 1975. Both ISO texts confirmed an initial agreement reached in London in 1939 under the auspices of the International Federation of Standardizing Agencies.

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For most of the history of music, pitches were fluctuating concepts—as pointed out by Rousseau in his *Music Dictionary* where he wrote that “perhaps since music exists, one has never concerted in the same tone.”¹ Countries, cities and individual musical institutions used to perform music according to their own tones. In the modern era, the organ in churches was the prime instrument of tuning, for which pitches were fabricated to accord to the vocal range of choir singers’ voices. Pitch standardization constituted a response to complaints from music theorists, musicians and instrument builders about both the lack of uniformity in musical practices and the constant urge during the nineteenth century to raise the frequency of performing pitches in order to create ever-brighter sound effects. The assignment of a stable and world-recognized frequency to pitches is the result of international negotiations at the crossroads of music, science and industry throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century that involved a remarkably dynamic field of actors. Although performers were the ones to raise the initial cry for a musical standardization, it is mostly composers, scientists, instrument makers and state representatives who actually led the negotiations. These different groups were not stable over the course of history, and we will see that telling the “story of A” involves tracking the gradual empowerment of new actors and forces aiming to literally tune the world.

Although the history of shifting reference pitches over the course of the last four centuries has been thoroughly documented from the perspective of performance practice,² it has remained underexplored as a social, political and historical process in its own right. Science historian Myles Jackson has however paved the way for such approaches in a chapter of his book dedicated to the relationship between musicians, scientists and instrument makers in nineteenth-century German territories.³ This chapter aims to develop new directions for investigations in further territories and time periods in order to highlight the invention of the current musical standard ruling musical practices in the Western world. Why is A tuned to 440 hertz our global standard pitch? What were the diplomatic procedures that led to this adoption? Who were the actors involved in negotiations? Answers to such questions will demonstrate the political, technological, scientific and aesthetic contingencies underlying the historical construction of one of the seemingly most “natural” and stable objects of contemporary musical performance, itself the result of a cacophony of competing views and interests.

Following the country's national standardization of the musical pitch, France's voice prevailed in the first phase of international negotiations. After World War I however, France lost its authority in the concert of nations where the lead was taken over by the United States. But the empowerment of the New World actually resulted in a crucial shift in the diplomatic history of pitch: in the interwar period, the spread of the American standard followed new procedures, involving new actors who were no longer directly related to the administrative powers of states. The "French pitch" that ruled the Western world since 1859 was tuned to 435 hertz, only five frequencies lower than the new standard adopted in London in 1939: a barely audible difference. But in this chapter, I argue that the almost negligible increase of the Western standard note actually revealed the spectacular empowerment of new actors and forces in the history of "sound diplomacy."⁴

The diplomatic history of *A* therefore offers a good example of the way local and global musical scenes relate to each other. Actors leading negotiations on a regional or national scale especially tend to lose their authority on a global level, on which commercial interests appear to be the primary forces driving the construction of international musical norms. Whereas figures in charge of cultural diplomacy appear unable to secure the interests they represent, private actors and industry impose themselves as the agents of a universal harmony.

A 435, OR THE LEADING VOICE OF FRANCE IN PITCH NEGOTIATIONS

Pitch standard had long constituted an issue of concern for music theorists and acousticians—starting with Praetorius and continuing with Mersenne, Sauveur, Bedos de Celles and Chladni—when the first practical attempts to fix it were made in the nineteenth century, addressing issues in musical performance. In the first decades of the century, musicians and observers of the European musical life would first complain about the lack of uniformity in pitches across space that made it hard for performers to play in various places, at a time when musical tours were multiplying. In the columns of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, for instance, one finds multiple examples of claims in favor of the adoption of a European standard pitch presented as a means to ease musicians' travels.⁵ But performers, composers and critics would also point out the sharpening of pitches over

time, which they attributed to the development of instrumental music as well as to the increasing presence of brass instruments in orchestras.⁶ Whatever various causes they would invoke, they claimed this rise in frequency put singers in a difficult situation since the canonization of old and classical repertoires involved the persistence of vocal works by Mozart, Gluck, Haendel and other masters on European stages written for sometimes much lower performing pitches.⁷

In France, a country marked by early centralization of state power, attempts to stop this process were made at the Royal Academy and the Conservatory starting as early as around 1800.⁸ In 1824, following the complaints of the institution's prima donna M^{me} Branchu, the minister of the King's house decided to appoint a commission in order to fix a lower diapason pitch at the Paris opera.⁹ The committee suggested by Habeneck, the Opera director, and approved by the government, comprised musicians in charge of the main French musical institutions of the time, including the orchestra conductors of the Opera and the *Théâtre-Italien*, as well as heads of the Royal Chapel and the Conservatory.¹⁰ During the meeting of the commission, the Opera flutists and oboists were asked to play their *As* and the latter were compared with older instruments' pitches as well as with diapason forks used at various times in different French institutions. Members of the commission then decided, by listening and comparing these pitches, to lower the *Opéra* diapason by approximately three-eighths of a tone. Since they feared that "in the first days of its adoption, this improvement might surprise the audience by disaccustoming them to the brighter effects to which their ears have become habituated over the past few years," they recommended that "the diapason of the Royal Academy [...] [became] at the same time the diapason of the lyrical theaters, the Royal School and the Chapel."¹¹

This was not the last time the French state would mingle with sound issues. During the Second Empire, it drove a national standardization of the performing pitch, as it had previously standardized the metric system, based on new scientific procedures that emphasized precision as a value unto itself. This time, the call for standardization didn't come from performers, but from the scientific world. In 1855, at the time of the second world fair, Jules Antoine Lissajous, a young PhD in physics,¹² called for the organization of an international congress that would be in charge of stabilizing and unifying pitches all over the world.¹³ In order to build support among French elites in industry and science, Lissajous made his call in

front of the members of the prestigious Society for the Encouragement of National Industry (*Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale*) located in fancy Saint-Germain des Prés in Paris, an association created by Napoleon in 1801 to encourage innovation by gathering scientists, engineers and bankers.¹⁴ During the Second Empire, the Society served as the unofficial office for patents validation. In front of his bright audience, Lissajous argued that the art of singing was in great danger because of an exponential raise of the diapason pitch of approximately one and a half tone since the reign of Louis XIV, which he had his listeners experience by making sound seven different diapason forks from different time periods.¹⁵ He also exposed the great advantages the adoption of a universal standard pitch would have for the flourishing business of musical instruments' making in Second Empire France. With this talk, Lissajous was also clearly helping his own agenda by designating himself as the future designer of appropriate tools meant to guarantee and enforce this standardization process¹⁶—which he indeed ended up doing.

The first to heed Lissajous' call were instrument makers, who gathered under the authority of the piano builder's union in 1856.¹⁷ Two years later responding to the pressures of the builders, the French ministry of state appointed a commission¹⁸ charged with solving the artistic and commercial difficulties raised by the increase and the lack of uniformity of the musical pitch.¹⁹ This new diapason committee was very different from the 1824 Opera committee. Besides six composers, most of them members of the Institute, it comprised four representatives of the French state (Pelletier, Doucet, Mellinet and Monnais) and two scientists (Lissajous and Despretz).²⁰ The ambition of the committee was no less than producing a rational norm that would apply to the rest of the world: "Isn't it desirable, the members of the committee asked in their report, that a uniform and now fixed diapason adds to this intelligent community a supreme link and that an *A*, always the same, resonating on the whole surface of the universe with the same vibrations, eases the musical relationships and makes them even more harmonious?"²¹ This scientific and universalist ambition was clearly manifested by the procedures of the commission, which based its study on a broad spectrum of diapason forks from all over the Western world. Taking its distance with the approximate methods of the 1824 Opera Commission, finally, the committee used a precise instrument, the "siren" invented by physicist and member of the Academy of Sciences Cagniard de la Tour to measure the different diapasos.²²

If instrument builders had played a decisive role in catching the attention of the government, their role was minimal in the negotiations. In its report, the committee even accused them of having raised the pitch to create brighter sounds. Although the standard was presented as a compromise²³ between the original diapason of old masterpieces and the sharper tones used especially by military bands, it represented a significant decrease of the pitch that imposed the authority of composer to makers—whose ear, the commission claimed in a very Rousseau-esque fashion, was tuned to the laws of nature, embodied by the human voice—and the preeminence of vocal genres on instrumental music, accordingly to the hierarchies ruling the French musical scene. An *arrêté* was issued on February 16, 1859 that fixed a *diapason normal* at 435 hertz²⁴ that had to be adopted by “all musical institutions [...] authorized by the State.”²⁵ In the same way, a standard meter had been settled in the legislative chamber in 1799 as a reference after the revolutionary standardization of the metric system,²⁶ a model of the *diapason normal* was stored at the Conservatory where a bell tuned to *A* 435 hertz was also installed to accustom students and professors’ ears to this new pitch.²⁷ In order to enforce this law outside of the Conservatory, Lissajous was charged to control and validate every new diapason fork that was to be produced.²⁸ Archival material however reveals that this was not sufficient, and as in the case of the metric system, the standardization of *A* actually somehow increased the diversity of pitches by creating a parallel market of instruments tuned to *A* 435 hertz but that did not make other performing pitches disappear.²⁹

The French pitch nevertheless served as the first standard across the world. Over the next two decades, individual countries, cities and institutions began to adopt the French pitch. Vienna immediately introduced it and in 1879 it became the official standard of Spain.³⁰ Several German cities also adopted the new French standard, as did many American institutions.³¹ In 1885, pitch joined the cohort of industrial issues addressed by the “conference system” described by Craig N. Murphy as the diplomatic standard in late nineteenth century Europe, linked with the rise of civil experts in a growing range of fields.³² The Austrian government appointed an international committee in charge of fixing a common European standard pitch, addressing the pressures of the *Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde*. Responding to the invitation of the Austrian state, delegates from Italy, Hungary, Sweden, Russia and three German states gathered in

Vienna on November 16–19.³³ As in the case of conferences dedicated to the standardization of other objects, negotiations are led by actors who are not primarily in charge of international relations.

By the time the conference began, Austria had already chosen the French pitch as its national standard, arguing that the broad diffusion of this reference made it the most relevant as an international standard.³⁴ During the conference, the practical considerations of Austrian experts were opposed by the Italian delegation, which suggested the adoption of *A* 432, claiming that a standard pitch had to be based on mathematical principles. Following the argument made by physicist Charles Meerens in 1876,³⁵ Italian representatives claimed it was a far more consistent reference than the French pitch, as it would generate non-decimal frequency numbers for all the tones of the scale. At a time when “the rays of the sun of science heat[ed] and pierce[d] all disciplines of human knowledge as well as of the arts,” choosing 435 hertz instead of the scientific standard would be “sort of an anachronism.”³⁶ But the other delegates argued that the most practical choice was the French pitch as it was already spread out in Europe.

At the end of the nineteenth century, a first international agreement on musical pitch had been reached. With its standard, the French government would reinforce the centralization of its musical model structured by the pyramidal education system of the *Conservatoire* and local *succursales*, and the authority of the Academy of Fine Arts filled with composers who illustrated themselves in the very political genre of opera. With its norm, the French state would also secure its scientific- and musical-instrument makers a unified space for national and international trade and furthermore impose itself as the main arbiter on Europe’s musical scene by synthesizing and balancing all its aesthetical and social components. The French pitch encapsulated the entire and complex musical world of its time, by reconciling old and new; vocal and instrumental; civil and military musical traditions.

As in the case of other standards, science and commerce played a crucial role along with the state.³⁷ The French pitch traveled, thanks to international exchanges of measures and musical instruments and these early conquests were key to later international negotiations. In Vienna, mathematical considerations were defeated by the reality of the presence of the French pitch all the way to the margins of Europe. The history of *A* 435 nevertheless also reveals strong resistance, both on a national and international scale. To begin with, the state did not provide departmental musical institutions with the financial means to enforce standardization. Furthermore,

major countries were absent at the negotiation table in Vienna, including the United States who played an important role in redefining the new frequency. More than a reconfiguration of the concert of nations, however, the history of pitch standardization after World War I reveals the failure of state diplomacy in regulating international musical relations. The construction of a unified globalized musical scene, we shall see, was dependent upon the rise of a new model of governance dominated by international organizations representing the interest of the musical industry that overcame states' pretensions to rule the international musical stage.³⁸ Contradicting the narrative of musical internationalism's failure in interwar, the success story of *A 440* opens new avenues for the history of musical diplomacy by bringing sound to the fore.

A 440: THE BRIGHTER SOUND OF INDUSTRIAL INTERNATIONALISM

In a 1900 article dedicated to the history of the musical pitch in the United States, physicist Charles R. Cross concluded that “the International pitch chosen in Vienna has come to be generally adopted, so that it is now the standard of this country,” explaining that “the different manufacturers and musical organizations necessarily followed the usage abroad, and the same gradual rise in pitch that occurred there occurred here also.”³⁹ In 1917, however, the American Federation of Musicians, a union created in 1896, voted for the adoption of a higher frequency of *A 440* hertz. This decision resulted from the active campaign of a percussion instrument maker named John Calhoun Deagan who was familiar with the work of Hermann von Helmholtz and introduced German instruments to America.⁴⁰ The reasons of Deagan's commitment to *A 440* still need to be elucidated, but there were obvious advantages in this shift. Retuning the pitch would not only secure American builders a dominant position in the large domestic market by protecting them from transatlantic imports, but given the size of the US market, America's voice would also be positioned to impose itself on the international stage. In 1916, Deagan patented a tuning instrument called the “Dea-Gan-Ometer.” In the prospectus he published to describe his invention, emphasizing the confusion of pitches across the Western world, he claimed that his instrument would solve the issue of standard pitch⁴¹—revealing his universalist commercial ambitions.

In the years following the American Federation's decision, debates arose about this choice that involved important financial efforts, especially after *The Sun* published an article asking why the union had chosen the

“German pitch”—since *A 440* had been adopted during a conference of natural scientists held in Stuttgart in 1834,⁴² which could well be the cause of Deagan’s adhesion to this standard, interested as he was in the work of German acousticians and builders. “Why,” asked the reporter of the *New York Sun*, “was the German pitch selected,” only a few weeks after America had declared war to Germany? This episode is rather ironic given the patriot and anti-German feelings cultivated by the Federation at the time of its decision,⁴³ and there is little to be argued about the association’s implicit support to Germany. Despite the awkward resonances of the new American standard and the controversies it created in the 1920s, in 1925, the American Music Industry Chamber of Commerce confirmed the decision of the Federation of Musicians. At this point, *A 440* was definitely perceived as American, and European countries and actors started reacting to the shifting sounds coming from the New World.

In the vein of Deagan’s universalist claims and aims to impose his standard on the rest of the Western world, a number of American instrument makers led campaigns in favor of the adoption of the American pitch in Europe. Gathering concerns about this issue, the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations inscribed the issue of pitch on its program in 1926.⁴⁴ After two years of work, the Commission declared itself in favor of the Vienna standard, a way of re-affirming the nineteenth-century musical order led by France. Strikingly, the report of the Commission does not even refer to the Vienna conference but to the French decree of 1859, harkening back to the era of Napoleonic grandeur⁴⁵: “The Sub Committee for Arts and Letters concludes that the arrangements presented by the Committee in charge of establishing a uniform musical pitch during the 1858 Conference, are still fully valid today [...]. [It] expresses the wish to see all possible means taken by relevant authorities to maintain the 1858 standard.”⁴⁶ The decision of the League of Nations, however, did not prevail, and in the 1930s, the United States confirmed their position through the voice of the American Bureau of Standards, which adopted *A 440* as a reference pitch. This confirmation of the American position in sound negotiations was quickly followed by calls for the organization of new international conference on standard pitch.

The meeting confirmed what appears as the main trends in the American history of pitch standardization: the prevalence of commercial interests in other fields previously involved in the process—aesthetic and scientific especially—and the replacement of states in the negotiations by organizations in charge of regulating industrial exchanges. It was organized by the International Federation of Standard Associations, an institution

founded in 1926 in order to facilitate international cooperation for industrial standardization, following the creation of national agencies: the British Engineering Standards Committee created in 1901, the *Normenausschuß der Deutschen Industrie* founded in 1917, as well the French *Commission Permanente de Standardisation* created in 1918. In 1939, these were the institutions—or their more recent avatars—representing states. Besides them, two international organizations took part in the discussions: the International Broadcasting Union, an institution based in Geneva, created in 1925 by several national broadcasting companies,⁴⁷ and the International Consultative Committee on Telephony. All of them, except for the Italian state, had recommended the adoption of 440 hertz ahead of the conference.⁴⁸

Revealing the weight of the musical industry in the debates, the meeting took place in the headquarters of the BBC and was solemnly opened by Sir Cecil Graves, the CEO of the company.⁴⁹ Its importance is also visible when one looks more closely at the composition of some national delegations. For instance, besides two acousticians—one of them the head of the acoustic section of the British Standard Agency—representatives from England included two instrument makers (piano and organ builders) and the Head Program Engineer of the BBC, then famous for having invented the iconic BBC ribbon microphone.⁵⁰ The involvement of the broadcasting industry in the debates is understandable in the context of the 1930s as explained by acoustician and member of the British delegation Llewelyn S. Lloyd: “As soon as broadcasting entered into the field of discussion,” he wrote, looking back at the London meeting, “a new background was automatically provided. It became impossible to cling to any purely insular views, for broadcasting afforded a ready means of comparing the pitches used in practice in different countries.”⁵¹ The possibility to record sounds and hear back-to-back performances of any orchestra in the technologized world marked an important shift in the history of standard pitch as it revealed more obviously than ever the lack of uniformity in musical practices. Moreover, the broadcasting industry also provided the musical world with a new means to enforce standardization. In 1935, the American Bureau of Standards started broadcasting A 440 on a WWV radio station, arguing that it “was free from the vagaries of the material objects,”⁵² and providing a convincing answer to crucial interrogations about the nature of the device that could convey a standard frequency to the ends of the world. The broadcasted signal offered the first “tuning device” that was simultaneously accessible by an international community

of musicians. The American Bureau of Standards also suggested the use of A 440 pitches to telephone-ring tones,⁵³ which would similarly create a uniform and global experience of technology for users of the Western world—a concern that explains the presence of a telephony committee at the 1939 London conference.

The broadcasting industry did not only weigh in the conversations held in London, it also deeply oriented the scientific experiments on which decisions of the delegations were based. In the documentation sent by the International Broadcasting Union, one finds evidence of new measurement procedures that represented a little revolution in the field of acoustics. Until then, scientific experiments on musical pitch consisted in the testing of musical instruments and tuning devices' initial frequencies, outside any kind of musical context. In 1938, the Union used recorded materials in order to measure the variations of pitch frequency over the course of concerts. The experiment led by the International Broadcasting Union actually followed a pioneering study led in Berlin in 1937 at the Physical and Technical Institute by Werner Lottermoser, who was the assistant of the head of the German delegation at the 1939 conference. This study is mentioned several times in the material sent by national delegations ahead of the London meeting. In the context of the American standardization of pitch and the following debates that arose in Europe, Lottermoser led an unprecedented research based on the frequency testing of hundreds of broadcasting recordings "in order to get a general view on the question of knowing whether the European orchestras hold the pitch A 435, as required by the international Vienna Standard Pitch Conference."⁵⁴ By using this method, scientists could claim they were standing as close as possible to the reality of current musical practices although the tested corpus was clearly reflecting the classical music programs broadcasted on radios, opening to a tuning of the world essentially indexed on the symphonic canon promoted by stations around the Western world.

In interwar America and Europe, the tuning of the world was renegotiated according to procedures that revealed two main reorganizations. Given the importance of the North American market in a globalized world of musical trade, the United States imposed themselves as a new leader in the concert of nations. But more importantly, the diplomacy of sound left the vestibules of embassies and state administrations to develop new channels of negotiation created in order to regulate industrial exchanges, as the broadcasting industry was providing for the first time a

literal concert of nations to ordinary listeners. Under the lead of these new sound standardizers, the technological unification of the Western musical world appears as a strikingly successful operation compared to other attempts to create international musical relations. The history of pitch standardization therefore mitigates the idea of a failure in interwar musical diplomacies: though most musical transnational enterprises did not succeed in overcoming the contradictions between internationalism and nationalism, countries agreed upon a norm that was to survive the second world conflict and remains until the present an uncontested standard—although mostly loosely enforced by performers across the world. In other words, the history of pitch standardization invites us to reconsider the history of sound diplomacy in interwar. Demonstrating a form of “practical” or “technocratic internationalism,”⁵⁵ pitch standardizers successfully achieved a quite literal international concord, by pursuing profit and technological efficiency rather than cultural rapprochement and political ideals.

EPILOGUE—THE “SOUNDS OF WAR”⁵⁶

The empowerment of international organizations representing the interests of the musical industry in pitch negotiations created conflict within individual countries. As ISO was organizing a new meeting to validate the decision of the 1939 conference, whose enforcement the war had delayed, in France, composer Robert Dussaut started an active campaign to denounce the 1939 decision. Suggesting that the chosen reference was “German” and defending the authority of French musical and scientific traditional institutions, he organized a referendum among French musicians and tried to oppose the legality of granting standardizing agencies the power to decide on state reforms. In a 1951 letter to Head of the Paris Conservatory Claude Delvincourt, Dussaut wrote about AFNOR and ISO: “*these organizations are not official. They are far from having the great prestige of the Academy of Sciences. [...] Physicists credit us, so do the musicians. They consider A 440 illegal.*”⁵⁷ Responding to his call, in August 1951, the French state appointed a new diapason commission formed by members of the Academy of Fine Arts, the Conservatory and the Academy of Sciences, but also by performers, especially singers, and instrument builders—a very consensual gathering that nevertheless excluded one of the main agents of stan-

andardization at this point: the broadcasting industry.⁵⁸ While ISO was cultivating the same technocratic internationalism that began before the war, the government was reviving a diplomacy of sound typical of the 1850s. The experts from the state-appointed committee were dreaming of a natural, scientific and “true” standard advertised by Italy in Vienna—*A* 432.

Even if debates about the diapason pitch were still alive in the 1970s,⁵⁹ when ISO issued the latest version of the diapason norm, called ISO 16, they now seem to be over—at least in the places where dissidents were previously most active, such as circles of classical music performance in France.⁶⁰ Standard pitch, as a matter of diplomacy, is firmly in the hands of international organizations representing the interests of the musical industry. But doubts about *A* 440 persist in new places. Drawing on Dussaut and his supporters’ strategic suggestions about the “German” character of the London standard⁶¹ and following a campaign launched by political activist and pamphlet-writer Lyndon LaRouche at the end of the 1980s in favor of what he called “Verdi’s pitch,”⁶² a number of conspiracy theories have circulated denouncing the adoption of what they consider a Nazi norm, pointing out the fact that Goebbels was propaganda director by the time of the 1939 meeting, and therefore in charge of the German Radio. Yet the history of standard pitch reveals the importance of the United States rather than Germany in imposing *A* 440 in interwar—although the frequency was originally German norm at the time it was chosen by American musicians, it was definitely not Nazi—the development of acoustic knowledge in the twentieth century is still closely linked with political and military histories. This is especially true of the Physical Technical Institute in Berlin, where Lottermoser ran his experiments on radio in 1937. The Institute’s acoustic lab was created in 1934 for military purposes in the context of the German rearmament and as a result of the Nazification of the scientific policy of the institution—where physicists were asked to abandon fundamental research in favor of practical experiments.⁶³ During World War II, the use of radio and other new technologies of sound to encrypt communications and locate enemies in the field created an explicit link between the acoustical knowledge that led to an internationalization of musical pitch and the increasingly nationalized research agendas for the development of technologies that would make the difference in the pitched battles of WWII.⁶⁴

NOTES

1. “Peut-être depuis qu’il existe de la Musique n’a-t-on concerté deux fois sur le même ton” (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Ton,” *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: V^{nc} Duchesne, 1768), p. 516).
2. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of “A”* (Lanham, Mar., and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002). The study of Bruce Haynes partly relies on the work of British mathematician and philologist Alexander J. Ellis, who published a comprehensive and detailed history of the performing pitch as a contribution to contemporary debates related to pitch measure and regulation (it therefore needs to be read with precaution): “On the History of Musical Pitch,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 28 (March 5 and April 2, 1880): 293–336 and 400–403). These two articles have been republished in the following volume: *Studies in the History of Musical Pitch: Monographs by Alexander J. Ellis and Arthur Mendel* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1968), pp. 11–62.
3. Myles W. Jackson, *Harmonious Triads. Physicists, Musicians, and Instrument Makers in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2006).
4. By using Jessica Gienow-Hecht’s book title (*Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations*) in a literal sense, I mean to open the conversation on music and diplomacy to the field of sound studies.
5. Myles W. Jackson, *Harmonious Triads*, p. 199.
6. The argument of a constant rise of the pitch has been dismissed by Émile Leipp and Michèle Castellengo, “Du diapason et de sa relativité,” *La Revue musicale* 294 (1977): 7–10.
7. In 1840, for instance, music scholar and critic François-Joseph Fétis denounced the “murdering of singers” (“l’assassinat des chanteurs” [“Du changement de diapason que l’on dit projeté à l’Opéra,” *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, January 23, 1840: 55]).
8. Emmanuel Hervé, “Le diapason de l’Opéra de Paris,” *Musique. Images. Instruments* 12 (2010): 199–200.
9. Hervé, “Le diapason de l’Opéra de Paris”: 200–201.
10. The commission comprised three employees of the Paris opera (Dubois, stage manager; Bonnemer, cashier; and Kreutzer, orchestra director), as well as three members of the Conservatory (Cherubini, director; Berton and Boieldieu, both professors), the superintendent of the Royal Chapel (Lesueur), the director of the Royal Chapel’s Music (Päer) and the orchestra director of the *Théâtre-Italien* (Grasset) (Académie royale de musique, handwritten report by the June 21st 1824 Commission in AN, AJ/13/114).
11. “Les membres de la commission [...] ont pensé que cette amélioration pourrait dans les premiers jours, surprendre le public en le désaccoutumant à des effets trop éclatants auxquels son oreille est habituée depuis plusieurs

- années; mais comme ils jugent la mesure extrêmement utile, dans la vue qu'elle s'introduise sans trop de choc, et qu'elle ne puisse souffrir de la comparaison avec le diapason présentement en usage, ils sont d'avis que l'on prie S. Exc. d'interposer ses bons services pour que le diapason de l'Académie Royale de Musique ainsi rétabli, devienne en même temps celui des Théâtres lyriques royaux, de l'École Royale, et de la Chapelle" [Ibid.]).
12. For a short biography of Lissajous, see Serge Benoit, Daniel Blouin, Jean-Yves Dupont and Gérard Emptoz, "Chronique d'une invention: le *phon-autographe* d'Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville (1817–1879) et les cercles parisiens de la science et de la technique," *Documents pour l'histoire des techniques* 17(1) (2009): 89.
 13. Jules-Antoine Lissajous, "Note sur l'élévation progressive du diapason des orchestres depuis Louis XIV jusqu'à nos jours et sur la nécessité d'adopter un diapason normal et universel," *Bulletin de la Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale* 54(2) (1855): 293–297.
 14. On the *Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale*, see Serge Benoit, Gérard Emptoz and Denis Woronoff (eds), *Encourager l'innovation en France et en Europe. Autour du bicentenaire de la Société d'Encouragement pour l'industrie nationale* (Paris: CTHS, 2006). On the specific role of the *Société* for musical innovation, see Benoit, Blouin, Dupont and Emptoz, "Chronique d'une invention: le *phonautographe*."
 15. Lissajous, "Note sur l'élévation progressive du diapason": 294, n. 4.
 16. "I reserve myself, when we will deal with this determination, to offer a new method, based on the drawing of vibrations by the diapason itself" ("Je me réserve, lorsqu'on s'occupera de cette détermination, de proposer une méthode nouvelle, fondée sur le tracé des vibrations par le diapason lui-même," Lissajous, "Note sur l'élévation progressive du diapason, p. 297, n. 3). One could also argue that Lissajous had commercial interests, as suggested by his denunciation of "cheap diapasons, made no-one knows where and attuned no-one knows how" ("diapasons de pacotille, fabriqués on ne sait où et réglés on ne sait comment") in his "Note," as well as by the strong advertisement made by Delezenne in favor of the present and future collaboration between Lissajous and instrument builder Lerebours, for the production of diapason forks tuned to the new *étalon*. See "Correspondance," *Le Luth français*, July 5, 1856: 5. It is still unclear yet to me though if this collaboration started *before* or *after* the 1855 meeting at the *Société*.
 17. The necessity to discuss collectively the issue of standard pitch might explain the early gathering of various instrument makers in the same union mentioned by Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d'instruments de musique. Les luthiers et la facture instrumentale. Précis historique* (Paris: Sagot, 1893) but questioned by Malou Haine, *Les Facteurs d'instruments de musique à Paris au XIX^e siècle: des artisans face à l'industrialisation* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université, 1985), p. 293.

18. Arrêté du 17 juillet 1858, Ministère d'État, *Rapports et arrêtés pour l'établissement en France d'un diapason normal* (Paris: Librairie impériale, 1859, p. 3, AN, F/21/768).
19. Arrêté du 17 juillet 1858, p. 4.
20. Arrêté du 17 juillet 1858, p. 3.
21. "N'est-il pas désirable qu'un diapason uniforme et désormais invariable vienne ajouter à cette communauté intelligente un lien suprême et qu'un la, toujours le même, résonnant sur toute la surface du globe, avec les mêmes vibrations, facilite les relations et les rende plus harmonieuses encore?" (Arrêté du 17 juillet 1858, p. 12). This universalist ambition had already been expressed by Lissajous (see "Note sur l'élévation progressive du diapason," p. 297) and was shared by the *Société des fabricants de pianos*: "In the same way science, at the beginning of this century, fixed the standard for metric measures, based on invariable elements taken from nature, isn't it logical that the musical art finds in an instrument given by the laws of physics a sound standard with which everyone will want to conform and which will be transmitted from generation to generation?" ("[D]e même que la science, au commencement de ce siècle, a fixé l'étalon des mesures métriques, en prenant pour base des éléments invariables et puisés dans la nature même, n'est-il pas logique que l'art musical, à son tour, trouve dans un instrument donné par les lois de la physique un étalon sonore universel, auquel chacun voudra se conformer, et qui se transmettra d'âge en âge?" Henri Hoche, "De l'unité du diapason," *Le Luth français*, June 5, 1856: 3).
22. Jackson, *Harmonious Triads*, p. 209.
23. The term is used by Alexander J. Ellis to characterize the decision of the 1858 commission ("On the History of the Musical Pitch," p. 312).
24. Or rather 870 double vibrations, which is the way frequency was measured in France at the time.
25. Ministère d'État, *Rapports et arrêtés pour l'établissement en France d'un diapason normal*, p. 33.
26. Ken Alder, "A Revolution in Measure: The Political Economy of the Metric System in France," in M. Norton Wise, ed., *The Values of Precision* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 52.
27. See the correspondence between Jauniac, architect of the Conservatory and the ministry of Fine Arts held in AN, F/21/768.
28. Arrêté du 31 mai 1859 (AN, AJ/37/81).
29. The same phenomenon is attested in other countries after their adoption of the French pitch. Over the course of the 1860s, the French pitch was introduced in Boston, where the organ of the Music Hall was especially tuned according to this standard, but "[m]eanwhile the musical instruments in use in the various orchestras were still at the high pitch, and opera troupes and

- other foreign musical organizations employed the same standard. Serious difficulty was experienced when the Great Organ was used in connection with an orchestra. After a time, in fact, at two separate periods, the Harvard Symphony Orchestra was furnished with instruments in accord with the organ, but apart from the concerts of this society, at theaters and elsewhere, the performers were still obliged to use instruments at the high concert pitch, which naturally caused much annoyance,” Charles R. Cross, “Historical Notes Relating to Musical Pitch in the United States,” *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts of Sciences* 35 (1900): 453–454.
30. Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, p. 352.
 31. On the history of musical pitch in nineteenth-century America, see Charles R. Cross, “Historical Notes Relating to Musical Pitch in the United States.” By the time he writes, Cross considers that America is generally tuned to the French pitch.
 32. *International Organization and Industrial Change. Global Governance since 1850* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 56. For a list of the topics covered by such conferences, see table 3, “European and world conferences, 1850–1914, pp. 57–59.
 33. Kaiserlich-Königliches Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht (ed.), *Beschlüsse und Protokolle der Internationalen Stimmton Conferenz in Wien 1885* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königlicher Schulbücher, 1885 [Bundesarchiv, Berlin, from now on BA, R/901/70190]). German archival material used in this chapter has been collected, thanks to the support of the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin.
 34. The Austrian state followed the recommendation of the *Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde* that considered France as a leader in terms of pitch standardization, as expressed by the use of this revealing quote in the preparatory documentation sent ahead of the Vienna conference: “Let there be light! It was the voice of France” (“Es werde Licht! Es war die Stimme Frankreichs,” *Exposé zu der Eingabe der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde und Genossen No 26 vom 22. Januar in Wien an das k. k. Cultus- und Unterrichtsministerium, betreffend die Herbeiführung einer einheitlichen musikalischen Normalstimmung* [BA, 901/79190], p. 2).
 35. Charles Meerens, *Le Diapason et la notation musicale simplifiée* (Paris: Schott, 1873). An Italian version of this text was published in 1876: *Il Diapason (Corista). Versione con l'aggiunta di alcune noie di Gioacchino Muzzi* (Rome: G. Muzzi).
 36. “Die Strahlen dieser Sonne [der Wissenschaft] durchwärmen und durchdringen alle Disciplinen menschlichen Wissen, auch jene der Kunst. [...] Statt des wissenschaftlich vorzuziehenden Diapasons jenen von 870 Schwingungen wählen, hieße eine Art Anachronismus begehen.” (*Beschlüsse und Protokolle der Internationalen Stimmton Conferenz in Wien 1885*, p. 16).

37. On the relationship between the bureaucratic state, standards and commerce, see M. Norton Wise, *The Values of precision*, p. 222 and following.
38. For another conception of multilateral diplomacy, see Shaeffer's approach of international conferences developed by Noé Cornago in Chap. 7 in this volume.
39. Charles R. Cross, "Historical Notes Relating to Musical Pitch in the United States": 453.
40. Deagan's firm was created in 1880 in Saint-Louis under the name "J.C. Deagan Musical Bells Co." In 1891, he moved to San Francisco. The firm became J.C. Deagan & Co. in 1895 and in 1897 he settled in Chicago.
41. "The various nations [he wrote] have not been able to agree on the question of a universal pitch [...]. Recognizing this unfortunate condition we have produced a new standard tone measure, the Deagan-ometer, the function of which is to provide an easily understood, easily accessible and irrefutable PITCH STANDARD for the musician to work from, thus eliminating all uncertainty and guesswork regarding pitch or tuning. When once used, he added, the Deagan-ometer will be found as indispensable to the musician as the thermometer is to the physician, the compass to the mariner or the rule or scale is to the artisan or merchant." (*The Deagan-Ometer. A New Instrument for easily Ascertaining and Standardizing any Desired Pitch on a Scientific Basis* (Chicago, 1916).
42. "Why the German Pitch? A Musical Innovation of Importance to American Orchestras," *The sun*, February 13, 1919, p. 6.
43. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 169–170.
44. Responding to the solicitation of the Boston Peace Foundation, the subcommittee for Arts and Letters Section of the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (created in 1922) started working on the issue of standard pitch in 1926. Studies will actually mostly be led by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (co-founded in 1921 by France's government and the League of Nations and based in Paris). Detailed archival material on this matter is held at the UNESCO. On the musical politics of the League of Nations, see Christiane Sibille, "La Musique à la société des nations," *Relations internationales* 155(3) (2013): 89–102 and "Harmony Must Dominate the World." *Internationale Organisationen und Musik in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Quaderni di Dodis, 6, 2016), pp. 125–161.
45. Sibille, "Harmony Must Dominate the World," pp. 143–148.
46. "La Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts [...] conclut que les arrangements présentés par la Commission chargée d'établir un diapason musical

- uniforme, lors de la Conférence de 1858, conservent aujourd'hui toute leur valeur [...]. La Sous-Commission exprime le vœu que toutes les mesures utiles au maintien intégral du diapason de 1858 soient prises par les autorités responsables." (Société des Nations. Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle. Rapport présenté par M. Destrée au nom de la Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts, 19 July 1928 [Paris, UNESCO, C. I. C. I. / L. A. / 16, p. 9]).
47. Suzanne Lommers, *Europe—On Air. Interwar Projects for Radio Broadcasting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).
 48. See preparatory material held in BA, 4901/2741.
 49. W. C. Kaye, "International Standard of Musical Pitch," *Nature* 3630 (1939): 905.
 50. Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, vol. 2, "The Golden Age of Wireless," p. 92).
 51. "International Standard Musical Pitch," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 98 (1949): 76.
 52. "Standard Musical Pitch," *NBS Technical News Bulletin*, August 1957: 120.
 53. "Standard Musical Pitch."
 54. Werner Lottermoser, "Die Messung der Tonhöhe des Stimmtones a' bei Rundfunkmusikdarbietungen," *Akustische Zeitschrift* 1 (1938): 60.
 55. Johan Schot and Vincent Lagendijk, "Technocratic Internationalism in the Interwar Years: Building Europe on Motorways and Electricity Network," *Journal of Modern European History* 6(2) (2008): 196–218.
 56. I borrow this expression from Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War. Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
 57. Letter from Robert Dussaut to Claude Delvincourt, March 30, 1951 (AN, AJ/37/486). He underlines.
 58. "Arrêté du 6 août 1951," AN, 20140260/16.
 59. See Michèle Castellengo and Émile Leipp, "Du diapason et de sa relativité."
 60. ISO archives documenting the regular consultation of countries (every five years) on the issue of standard musical pitch show a constant consensus since the publication of the 1975 norm (archives of the *Deutsche Institut für Normen*, Berlin).
 61. "Le Congrès de Londres, en 1939, fait en cachette des musiciens, a été organisé précisément par la maison Couesnon, de connivence avec la Radio allemande (Letter from Robert Dussaut [to Claude Delvincourt], s. d. [1950], AN, AJ/37/486); "L'Institut international du son (I. I. S.) a l'honneur de vous inviter à bien vouloir venir participer à ses délibérations

en vue d'une proposition pour la fixation d'un nouveau diapason français, étant donné que le diapason allemand actuellement en usage (à 440 périodes), trop élevé, soulève de nombreux mécontentements en France." (Institut international du son. Organisme de documentation, de coordination, de centralisation et de diffusion des recherches acoustiques, and AN, AJ/37/486).

62. See Lyndon LaRouche, "Revive Verdi's tuning to bring back great music," *Executive Intelligence Review* 15(32) (1988): 24–34.
63. See Ulrich Kern, *Forschung und Präzisionsmessung. Die Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt zwischen 1918 und 1948* (Weinheim and New York: VCH Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994); and Dieter Hoffmann, "Die Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt im Dritten Reich," *PTB Mitteilungen* 122(2) (2012): 30–31.
64. Music is indeed not only a source of diplomatic incident but also a resource during wars. See Chap. 6 by Damien Mahiet in this volume.

Music, Diplomacy and International Solidarity: The Campaign for Miguel Ángel Estrella (1977–1980)

Esteban Buch and Anaïs Fléchet

On December 15, 1977, Argentinian pianist Miguel Ángel Estrella was arrested in Montevideo in the context of Operation Condor, the alliance between Latin American dictatorships to persecute political opponents.¹ Accused of belonging to Montoneros, a Peronist leftist guerilla movement, he was tortured and held incommunicado before being transferred to the Libertad Prison some 60 kilometers north of the capital. Two years later, on February 12, 1980, the Uruguayan Supreme Military Tribunal released him, expelling him to France, where he had obtained the right to asylum. Estrella's release took place in response to an intensive two-year international solidarity campaign. Advocates in the campaign included classical music celebrities, among them Henri Dutilleux, Yehudi Menuhin and Nadia Boulanger, as well as diplomats, human rights activists and simple music lovers who had been moved by the plight of the pianist.

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In September of 1978, the British ambassador in Montevideo, William Peters, found himself entrusted with a peculiar mission. At the request of the Queen's Counsel, Lord Hutchinson and his wife, Lady June, he headed to the Libertad Prison to bequeath a dumb piano to Miguel Ángel Estrella. The silent instrument was to allow the musician to continue to "play" inside the prison, without sound however, since it was forbidden by the penitentiary administration. Upon his return to Montevideo, the diplomat recounted his visit in the following terms:

Estrella talked with me about musical matters (it seemed to me that this was one of the things that, as one of his few, possibly only, non-family visitors, I could do to lighten his burden). He asked me quite a number of musicological questions, e.g. the circumstances under which Handel came to write his Water Music. He clearly still thinks a lot about music and welcomes opportunities to talk about it.²

This unusual scene, staging a conversation between an Argentinian political prisoner and a British ambassador about musicology and the English musical heritage, is emblematic of the international connections that were interwoven by music. It also conveys the complexity of diplomatic and aesthetic issues that surrounded what the media dubbed the "Estrella Affair."³

The campaign for Estrella's release, which was conducted by private actors who benefitted from significant state support, should be placed within the context of the various European solidarity movements that developed with Latin America in response to the Chilean Coup of September 1973 and to the revelations about the atrocities committed by the Argentinian military that seized power in March 1976.⁴ The cause of our musician nevertheless presents a number of unique characteristics that set it apart from other cases. More than ideological convictions or solidarities born out of exile, it was music that constituted Estrella's principal asset in swaying public opinion, allowing his case to galvanize support beyond traditional political cleavages. By conveying the role of music as a political and cultural instrument, this episode sheds new light on the links between music and diplomacy during the Cold War.⁵

How was this international musical cause constructed? Who were its actors, what was its setting and its timeline? And what can this tell us about the *place* of music in international relations? Based on archives from the Committee for Estrella's support, from UNESCO and from the French

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Quai d'Orsay), as well as on recent declassified files from the US Department of State⁶ and the Uruguayan military justice,⁷ and on a series of interviews,⁸ we retrace the history of the campaign from the imprisonment of the pianist to his release, in order to elucidate the links between music, diplomacy and international solidarity.

A VICTIM OF OPERATION CONDOR

At the time of his arrest, Miguel Ángel Estrella was a Latin American pianist of first rank: residing in Montevideo, he had just returned from a tour in Mexico and was expected to begin a series of concerts in Europe. Close to the left wing of the Peronist movement, Estrella was well known for his musical and syndical activities among the popular classes, especially Amerindian populations. Because of this activism, he was closely watched by the Argentinian military. As of 1976, his name appears on the dictatorship's black list, among those of artists, writers and journalists who "displayed a Marxist ideological track record" and were grouped under "formula n. 4" (the most dangerous on a scale from 1 to 4).⁹ To escape such threats, Estrella decided in 1976 to resettle to Uruguay: "The wave of disappearances continued, and in the course of my travels, I was able to realize the fear that the Argentinian family experiences."¹⁰ His stay in Montevideo was, however, not devoid of incidents. In 1977, the Uruguayan authorities canceled a series of his concerts and banned him from appearing in any official manifestation. Estrella was warned: "His every step is being watched." His personal security is guaranteed, but "he must not entangle himself in dirty business."¹¹

In the context of Operation Condor, the "dirty business" referred to above alluded to the presence on Uruguayan soil of Argentinian activists affiliated with the Montoneros and to collaboration with forces resisting Latin American dictatorships.¹² Institutionalized during a secret meeting held in Santiago in 1975, this criminal pact aimed at the surveillance, persecution and assassination of opponents in exile and relied on a division of labor between the signatory countries. The hunt for Montoneros refugees in Uruguay began with the arrest of leader Oscar De Gregorio in November 1977. Between December 15 and 17, several Montoneros were captured in Montevideo, while others committed suicide with cyanide to avoid detention—among them a childhood friend of Estrella's named Carlos Valladares. The arrest of the pianist and three persons residing with him on the night of December 15, 1977, was part of the same wave of repression.

Estrella was not a formal member of the organization. His name did not appear on the list of Montoneros wanted by the Uruguayan Intelligence Services at the request of the Argentinian military.¹³ Yet viewed from the outside, the nuances between belonging, sympathy and simple camaraderie with some of the members appeared tenuous. Much more tenuous indeed than the margin of error tolerated by the repressive apparatus of states, which systematically targeted militants of armed organizations as well as their sympathizers, close friends and even acquaintances.

Estrella recounted his abduction numerous times, including in his interviews with us: the encirclement of his house by civilians followed by his capture and that of his friends in the middle of the night. Hooded, they were then transported to a clandestine detention center close to the Montevideo airport known as “Castillito de Carrasco,” where they joined other Argentinian prisoners.

Among their brutal torture methods, they subjected me to electric shocks, to the “submarine,” to hangings, to beatings, to standing with legs torn apart for 20 hours. To psychological pressures, the most frequent was to simulate mutilation of my hands.

They wanted to have me sign declarations where I would acknowledge having come to Uruguay in order to organize a cell of Montoneros destined to commit attacks in Argentina.

They tried to persuade me to give my consent and to denounce friends. At a certain point, I ended up telling them: ‘I will never sign any of what you are asking of me. Cut my hands, kill me and may God forgive you.’ From that moment, the punishment stopped and I had a conversation with the person who must have been in charge of torture.¹⁴

There ensued a dialogue with the chief torturer, most likely Lieutenant Colonel José Nino Gavazzo, the leader of Operation Condor in Uruguay,¹⁵ which ended with the following monologue:

We are not going to kill you, nor expel you to terrible areas in your country where we hide away prisoners. We are not like the Argentinian military: we do not kill... but do not worry! We will destroy you and you will rot in prison. Here, after a good number of years, we will have rendered you incapable of being a man, an artist, a social being; and as an activist you will be completely destroyed.¹⁶

On December 22, the Uruguayan military handed over a portion of the prisoners to the Argentinian Navy. Boarded on a small plane headed for Buenos Aires, they disappeared in the clandestine detention center of la

Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (ESMA). Estrella and his friends remained in Uruguay. On December 21, they were formally interrogated in the facility of Batallón de Infantería Blindado n. 13, where they stayed imprisoned until their admission into the penitentiary of Libertad on January 20, 1978. On December 26, they were charged with “seditious association” in accordance with article 60 (V) of the Penal Military Code of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.¹⁷

For Estrella, this sorting out probably signified the difference between life and death. The decision to keep him in Uruguay rather than hand him over to the Argentinians was made at the latest on December 21. This led to the “legalization” of his kidnapping and in turn to the recognition of his incarceration in the Libertad Prison in February 1978. Later, this allowed an appeal hearing to take place in front of the Supreme Military Tribunal: on August 22, 1979, Estrella was condemned to four-and-a-half years of imprisonment for “seditious association” and “attack on the Constitution.” Lastly, an appeal hearing was initiated on February 12, 1980, at the end of which he was finally released and expelled to Paris. But how did this happen?

MOBILIZING THE MUSICAL COMMUNITY

News of Miguel Ángel Estrella’s sequestration reached Europe on December 17, 1977. This marked the start of an intense international solidarity campaign, remarkable both for its magnitude and the diversity of actors involved. The first initiatives arose in Paris, where Estrella had followed the teachings of Nadia Boulanger between the years 1968 and 1971 and formed robust friendships with a cohort of musicians. As soon as his disappearance was announced, a nucleus formed around the Haguenuer family that gave rise in the very last days of 1977 to the Committee of Support for Miguel Ángel Estrella. The committee was presided by Henri Dutilleux, while Nadia Boulanger and Yehudi Menuhin stood as honorary presidents; but the real driving force behind the committee was its vice president, Yves Haguenuer. Amateur musician and fervent music connoisseur, this industrialist who was nearing the end of his career was close to the communist party and had experienced the Nazi camps during World War II, where he had composed several pieces of music for the piano. Haguenuer was no doubt sensitive to the issue of music in prison; but added to this was his strong attachment to the person of Estrella, whom he had accompanied on his first concerts through France and whom he had supported at the time of his wife’s death in 1969 by welcoming him into his home in Neuilly.¹⁸ “The bond had become family,”¹⁹ recalled his son Jean-Louis Haguenuer, then a young pianist, and student and friend to the Argentinian musician.

Alerted of Estrella's disappearance by his sister-in-law, the Haguenaues did everything in their power to save their Argentinian friend. They alerted the intellectual and artistic circles in Paris, they contacted the Quai d'Orsay and UNESCO, as well as Amnesty International, which advised them to create an ad hoc committee.²⁰ As J.L. Haguenaue explained it: "We understood that it was better to personalize his story rather than to dilute it in a more general struggle; that we needed to work hand in hand with Amnesty, but also try to draw attention to the personal plight of Miguel."²¹

It is thus in the name of friendship and music that the first calls in favor of Estrella were issued. The first public action of the committee was to address a petition to Uruguayan President Aparicio Méndez, asking for the "immediate and unconditional release" of the pianist.²² At the bottom stood the prestigious signatures of musical celebrities (among them Pierre Boulez, Olivier Messiaen, Marcel Landowski, Iannis Xenakis, Luigi Nono, Daniel Barenboim, Mikis Theodorakis) but also of personalities belonging to artistic, intellectual and scientific circles (Nobel prize winners François Jacob, André Lwoff and Alfred Kastler, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, Vladimir Jankélévitch, Ernest Labrousse, Jacques Derrida, Costa-Gavras, Michel Piccoli, Yves Montand, Simone Signoret, etc.).²³ On January 3, 1978, a delegation of 25 musicians headed to the Uruguayan embassy in Paris in order to place the petition in the hands of Ambassador Jaime Barreiro. The Argentinian military authorities were also contacted. The document was addressed by mail to General Videla and to the Argentinian embassy in Paris. Largely inspired by the actions undertaken by Amnesty International on behalf of political prisoners, this strategy continued over the two-year duration of the campaign, new signatures being continually added to each version of the petition.

Soon, mobilization on behalf of Estrella extended beyond French borders, acquiring a truly international dimension. In Mexico, students of the conservatory organized a musical marathon until they obtained news of Estrella.²⁴ In Rome, the Syndicate of Italian Musicians issued a petition to "the musical, intellectual and scientific world" where one found the prestigious signatures of Claudio Abbado, Maurizio Pollini and Aldo Clementi.²⁵ In Holland, a group gathered around the pianist Marina Horak.²⁶ In London, Estrella benefitted from the support of close friends: young pianist Christopher Osborn and his mother Lady Hutchinson issued a petition as early as December 23, 1977, signed by several personalities of the musical world, among them Colin Davis, the Amadeus Quartet and Michael Tippett.²⁷

Following this wave of petitions, a season of “concerts for Estrella” was launched in the Spring of 1978.²⁸ In Paris, the support committee organized two prominent demonstrations: at Orsay Theater in April 1978, and in Salle Gaveau in June 1979 with the participation of Maurizio Pollini. The most prestigious concert halls opened their doors: Salle Pleyel, the Opera and Sebastopol Theater in Lille, Theater Charles Dullin in Chambéry and so on. But the solidarity movement extended far beyond official recital halls, as the demonstrations that took place in several conservatories attest (Nantes, Toulouse, Aubervilliers, Geneva), as well as in the youth and culture centers (among them the one in Firminy, where Estrella had performed several times before his arrest), and the Cité Universitaire in Paris. At the Voltaire High School, students played to bear witness to “the right of every man and every artist to express himself.”

Reaching a diverse audience and mobilizing premier soloists as well as musical amateurs, the concerts for Estrella shared several common characteristics. First, in every recital it was classical and romantic music that was honored, along with a few selections drawn from the French repertoire of the early twentieth century: Bach, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Debussy and Ravel were the composers whose pieces were most often played. To this mix were added several Latin American names meant to recall the origin of the pianist: Alberto Ginastera, Villa-Lobos and Leo Brouwer. Traditional as well as contemporary music were both banished—with the exception of a few tangos performed by Cuarteto Cedrón. In every concert, music was also punctuated by speech. In the Orsay Theater, a message by Yehudi Menuhin is read: “Tonight musicians are demonstrating their respect for the dignity of man, whose arbitrary humiliation is spreading across our earth like a pestilential disease.” Concerts provided an occasion to call on the generosity of the public: for the objective of the campaign was not only to draw attention to the plight of the pianist but also to raise funds to finance his defense and assist his family.²⁹ Highly emotional works were sometimes brought into play to reinforce this message. Thus, Paul Éluard’s poem *Liberté* invoked the memory of World War II, while the *Quatuor pour la fin du temps* by Messiaen—composed during his captivity in the Stalag VIII-A of Görlitz in Saxony—likewise elicited sympathy for the plight of imprisoned artists. Petitions were circulated and signed during the recitals and as of April 1979, the record *La musique en prison* was made available for sale; it was produced by Erato at the initiative of Estrella’s Support Committee and

featured a concert recorded by the pianist in 1971 at the Maison de la Radio in Paris in which he interpreted, among other pieces, Beethoven's *Sonata in D minor The Tempest*, op. 31 n°2.³⁰

By appealing to the register of aesthetic emotion, such manifestations formed the high point of the campaign, especially when they benefited from media coverage.³¹ In April 1978, the magazine *Panorama de la musique* published on its front page the picture of a pianist's hands in handcuffs to denounce the situation of Estrella. This highly poignant image was then used on the cover of the record *La musique en prison* when it came out one year later. Still more than the concerts, the record was highly publicized in France: the national press along with widely circulated magazines, private and public radios and news broadcasts rallied to the cause.³² Eric Lippman, host to the show "Concerto pour transistor" broadcast during prime time on Europe 1 radio channel, chose an excerpt from the record (the *Partita n. 2* by Bach) as its theme song. Every Sunday, the presenter thus recalled the plight of Estrella to his listeners, resorting to a mechanism that has since been used in cases where journalists are taken hostage.³³

Through these various actions, the world of classical music showed its commitment to free a pianist who had become the symbol of the repressive violence of Latin American dictatorships. And behind the image of Estrella—the innocent artist thrown into a dungeon who played the great works of the European repertoire in the obscurity of his cell on a silent keyboard—loomed the mythic and timeless figure of a revolutionary Beethoven.³⁴ As major French television magazine *Télérama* noted on the occasion of the screening of Pierre Jourdan's film *Fidelio* in March 1979: "Estrella has become the symbol of freedom for all artists and intellectuals in Latin America. We could not find a better occasion than *Fidelio*, this opera where liberty triumphs over tyranny, to invite you to join us in supporting Miguel Ángel Estrella."³⁵

DIPLOMATIC NETWORKS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Broadcast by the big names of classical music, the cause of Estrella also benefited from important relays in diplomatic circles. The activism of Nadia Boulanger in France was in this regard decisive. On December 23, 1977, she addressed a vibrant appeal in favor of her former student to the President of the Republic, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing:

Mr. President, will you excuse a gesture that only anxiety can explain? A young Argentinian pianist was arrested on December 16 in Montevideo, and since, no news. If the cause is first and foremost about a man, this man is also a great artist with exceptional talent and a remarkable personality. [...] Knowing your sentiments of human solidarity, we are here before you, soliciting your intervention in favor of Miguel Ángel Estrella towards our ambassador in Montevideo... Or maybe even toward the president of the Uruguayan Republic. What is at stake is nothing less than the life of Mr. Estrella and perhaps also his liberation.³⁶

On January 6, 1978, Giscard responded that he was “intensely sensitive” to the plight of the pianist and was examining the procedures that could be undertaken to save him.³⁷ At this date, the Quai d’Orsay had in fact already begun to look into the “Estrella case,” as an exchange of telegrams between the Direction of America and the diplomatic missions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo attest.³⁸ In response to repeated pleas for information on the plight of the musician, whose place of detention was still unknown, France announced that it was prepared to welcome him with a long-term visa. This early commitment did not come from the embassy in Montevideo but from the central services of the Quai d’Orsay, which remained active until the liberation of Estrella and his arrival in Paris in February 1980. As for the ambassador of France in Buenos Aires, Bernard Destremau, often suspected for his excessive goodwill toward the military,³⁹ one can only be struck by his silence: at no point did he step into the campaign for Estrella, contrary to his successive colleagues in Uruguay, Jean Ausseil and André Le Guen, and to the consuls Jacques Benaroch (Montevideo) and Huges Homo (Buenos Aires). In spite of these internal dissensions, the ministry played a key role informing and advising the committee on the recurrent and thorny question of how to pressure the Uruguayan authorities without exposing Estrella to acts of reprisal.

The diplomatic process unfolded over time. After the urgency of the first days, the nature of the campaign changed on December 22 with the admission of Estrella’s detention by the Uruguayans. In February 1978, news of his transfer to the Libertad Prison elicited a certain degree of optimism. The Quai d’Orsay nevertheless discouraged Haguenuer from sending a delegation of jurists to Montevideo, so as not to “irritate” Uruguayan authorities.⁴⁰ It was thus Yves Haguenuer and his wife Martine who were tasked by the committee with going to Uruguay to shed light on the situation of the pianist. After being delayed on several occasions, the trip finally took place in October 1978 “under the sign of

music, musicians and friendship.”⁴¹ The trip was made possible, thanks to the strategic and logistical support of both French diplomacy and the US State Department, the latter having been solicited by Menuhin and which intervened through its ambassador in Montevideo, Lawrence Pezzulo.⁴² These contacts allowed Haguenuer to go to the Libertad Prison to visit the pianist, whom he spoke to for several minutes through a glass window.⁴³ Hope for a swift release faded rapidly however at the beginning of 1979 and the Quai d’Orsay again intervened to assist the committee. Material support from the ministry came in several forms: sending letters through the diplomatic bag, providing currency for Estrella’s family and hosting various personalities involved in the campaign—among them French lawyer François Chéron who was authorized to see the musician in February 1979 and Jean-Louis Haguenuer who conducted a second mission on behalf of the committee of support in December 1979. Finally, the ministry issued a visa and accompanied Estrella to his liberation.

While Paris constituted the epicenter of the campaign, mobilization was deployed in several other chanceries. In Brussels and The Hague, political and diplomatic networks were mobilized as early as January 1978.⁴⁴ The US State Department kept a close eye on Estrella, while defending its own interests. In April 1978, Washington examined the possibility of exchanging prisoners in order to release four US citizens detained in Cuba, in return for members of the Uruguayan Communist Party incarcerated in Libertad prison. Estrella’s name was included in the “package” in order to give a “human rights” aspect to the operation and to aid the negotiations with Uruguay, Cuba and the USSR—yet that suggestion was rejected.⁴⁵

But it was Great Britain and France that played the lead role in the Estrella Affair. Alerted of the disappearance of the pianist by Lord Hutchinson, the Foreign Office multiplied its efforts to pressure the Uruguayan junta, and over the two-year period of his detention, emerged as a major player in the campaign for the liberation of Estrella. British diplomatic action, which relied on a long tradition of exchanges with Montevideo, more than once proved decisive. Thus, on February 15, 1978, Consul Patrick Langmead was the first to obtain the right to visit Estrella, whose place of detention was up until this point being held secret by the Uruguayans.⁴⁶ Likewise, Lord Mountbatten, one of the highest-ranking British officials, chief of combined operations during WWII and last viceroy of India, addressed a letter to the commander in chief of Uruguayan forces, General Gregorio Alvarez, in order to express his “deep concern on the outcome of the proceedings against Estrella.”⁴⁷

We recognize here the hand of the British diplomacy of influence, characterized by a willingness to exert real, but nonetheless discreet, pressure on the military while privately bringing into play pre-existing solidarities. Though difficult to evaluate precisely, this course of action seems to have had a real impact on Uruguayan authorities, who referred to the letter of Lord Mountbatten during interviews accorded to Jean-Louis Haguenauer in the fall of 1978.⁴⁸

A triangular web between Paris, London and Montevideo proved central to the case. Carried out by efficient intermediaries (Yves Haguenauer, Nadia Boulanger, Lord et Lady Hutchinson, Yehudi Menuhin), the Estrella campaign disturbed boundaries between public and private, between institutions and political sectors.⁴⁹ Bilateral diplomacy played its role, but the Estrella case unfolded within a multilateral space with multiple players.⁵⁰ It is worth noting the importance of international organizations in a context strongly marked by the Cold War, the election of James Carter and the rise of human rights movements.⁵¹ The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and Action by Christians for the Abolition of Torture all acted in support of the Estrella Committee.

The involvement of NGOs anchored the Estrella cause in a larger struggle for the defense of human rights in Uruguay. The context was particularly favorable, as Uruguay's human rights record was examined by the Organization of American States (February 1978), and by the Commission of human rights in Geneva (March 1978, February 1979).⁵² In December 1979, the UN General Secretariat sent a delegation to Uruguay to establish "direct links" with political prisoners. Led by Javier Pérez de Cuellar, this mission however fell short of its expected impact: in his report, the Peruvian diplomat asserted that the conditions of detention in Libertad were "normal" and that he was able to speak at length with Estrella, who "is in good health."⁵³ The author's proximity to the regime is readily apparent, for a comparison with the report of the International Red Cross written at the exact same moment describes acts of torture and inhumane conditions of detention in Libertad.⁵⁴ A controversy erupted at the Human Rights Commission in March 1980, when a statement written by Estrella was read aloud days after his release, in which he formally denied having received a visit from Pérez de Cuellar in prison.⁵⁵ Even though the pianist slightly revised his assertion thereafter, admitting that he had seen the diplomat from afar, a confidential cable from the US ambassador, Lyne Lane, corroborated Estrella's version:

Pérez declined opportunity to talk directly with such high-profile prisoners as Miguel Ángel Estrella and José Luis Massera, although he did ‘observe them’ engaged in normal activities. Our understanding of the visit is that Pérez de Cuellar camear (sic) the Government of Uruguay’s story, with clear instructions from his own superiors not to range more widely or to attempt to “investigate” conditions.⁵⁶

This report constituted a troubling episode for the image of Pérez de Cuellar—although ultimately it did not prevent him from becoming Secretary General of the United Nations in 1981. It is worth adding that in 1983, Estrella’s complaint filed with the UN Committee of Human Rights resulted in the condemnation of the Uruguayan state, convicted for violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights under articles 7 (torture), 10 (inhumane conditions of detention), 14 (unfair trial) and 17 (censorship of correspondence).⁵⁷

Indeed, as soon as he heard news of Estrella’s kidnapping, Haguenuer informed the UN General Secretariat through the intermediary of Jean-Paul Barré, Special Advisor to Kurt Waldheim.⁵⁸ Barré pressured the Uruguayan representative to obtain information. The latter’s response, dated January 4, indicated that Estrella had been prosecuted for “subversive association” and was imprisoned in Uruguay. His friends, who were still at the time worried he had been transferred to Argentina, received the news as a victory.⁵⁹ At the end of 1979, Barré was still speaking out on behalf of the pianist, provoking the ire of the Uruguayan delegation in New York: “Question E. raised to the ambassador of Uruguay. Very poorly received. ‘Why always Estrella? If he were in Argentina, he would have already disappeared.’”⁶⁰ Meanwhile, the Support Committee for Estrella lobbied intensively in Geneva,⁶¹ and in February of 1979, just as the Human Rights Commission was examining the situation in Uruguay, a delegation of musicians stormed into the Palace of Nations.

UNESCO’s help was also solicited. As of December 1977, Menuhin, who knew the intricacies of the organization for having presided over the International Counsel of music from 1969 to 1975, alerted Director General Amadou M’Bow.⁶² In April 1978, the “Estrella case” was submitted to the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations, an organ charged with examining the complaints transmitted to UNESCO by victims or persons aware of human rights violations in the sphere of education, science or culture. The committee voiced “its full concern” over the harshness of a “seemingly arbitrary” sentence and estimated that Estrella

should be released as quickly as possible “to pursue his musical career.”⁶³ In spite of the Uruguayan government’s protests, the file was once again submitted to the committee in September 1978 and in April 1979.⁶⁴ At the request of Federico Mayor, then Deputy Director General to UNESCO, the Uruguayan delegate detailed for the first time the charges and stages of the judicial procedure against the musician.⁶⁵ His case was still on the agenda in September 1979, but accompanied this time by a file, which had been assembled by Estrella’s Support Committee.⁶⁶ A few days before the opening of the session, an official note from the Uruguayan state explained that the trial of the pianist had taken place on August 22, that he had been condemned to four-and-half years in prison, and that this sentence could be repealed, leading to an early release as of March 1980.⁶⁷ Kept secret until this point, these elements prove the effectiveness of the pressure that was exerted by UNESCO on the military junta. UNESCO’s underground action was also palpable at the end of 1979, when M’Bow sent Brazilian delegate Paulo Carneiro to Montevideo to negotiate Estrella’s release.⁶⁸ Upon his release from prison, it was in fact to UNESCO’s representative in Montevideo that the pianist was handed over to before boarding for Paris.

MUSIC AS A HUMAN RIGHTS SYMBOL

Involving musicians, diplomats and human rights activists, the cause of Estrella really caught on, thanks to the commitment of numerous actors with a varied, and at times conflicting, set of strategies. Thus, at the beginning of 1979 when the situation appeared to be blocked, British diplomacy opted to lobby discreetly toward the Uruguayan military, while in Paris, the Estrella Support Committee issued calls to multiply public manifestations to pressure the junta.⁶⁹ But behind these apparent divergences, a common mechanism can be identified consisting in the “depoliticization” of the Estrella case. As Haguenaer asserted several weeks prior to the pianist’s liberation: “The means we have utilized were always situated on the plane of music [...] We have always steered clear of general demonstrations concerning Uruguay.”⁷⁰

This conclusion probably warrants some nuance given that transnational networks of human rights were, as we have seen, amply mobilized. But it was indeed around music that Estrella’s advocates built a case. In public manifestations as in diplomatic negotiations, Estrella was never portrayed as a leftist close to the guerrilla movement—although he was.

Instead, he was presented as a virtuoso pianist who fell victim to an arbitrary regime and to the Uruguayan jails' "process of systematic destruction," guilty simply of having "played Bach for the Indians."⁷¹ And the fact that he *continued* to be a musician in prison, by playing there roughly the same repertoire that one could discover in the record *La musique en prison*, was doubtless instrumental in arousing the public's sympathy—even if that Romantic image would eventually take a nightmarish turn, when in July 1979 notice was given in Paris that the dumb piano, instead of being a tool of psychic survival, was actually running the pianist mad, out of the anguish of playing a music that he was unable to hear.

We recognize here a strategy largely tested by Amnesty International: the will to personalize a cause, to elicit emotion by bearing witness to the suffering endured and to place the debate on the moral plane in order to transcend political cleavages. But music added an aesthetic dimension that transcended the rhetoric of human rights and moved the cause of Estrella from an intellectual to a sensory register. This constant back-and-forth movement between moral injunction and musical emotion, between, so to speak, two universals—that of human rights and of the great artistic repertoire of Europe—is what constituted the singularity of the campaign and, partly at least, explained its success.⁷²

For it was the musical community's swift mobilization along with the pressure exerted by diplomatic networks and international organizations that ensured Estrella was not transferred clandestinely to Argentina on December 15, 1977. The chronology of the first few days strongly suggests this: Estrella was abducted on the night of December 15; the telephone call to his sister-in-law in Paris took place on the 17th. This very day, the Uruguayan ambassador to UNESCO was informed of the emotion elicited within the musical community at news of Estrella's disappearance, which he then probably communicated to Montevideo. The following Monday, December 19 at the latest, the Uruguayan junta was for the first time subjected to significant international pressure in the form of a telegram sent by Yehudi Menuhin to President Aparicio Méndez. We do not know how this action was evaluated in the upper echelons of the Uruguayan state nor how this information was relayed to Castillito de Carrasco. But on December 21, the dice was already cast in the sense that his kidnapping had been "legalized." All the evidence thus suggests it was the immediate action of his support committee that saved Estrella from joining the ranks of the many *desaparecidos* who fell to the Argentine dictatorship. From this point on, Estrella's life was safe, and thanks to the

efforts of his friends and the powerful campaign initiated on his behalf, his liberty was later secured. Upon his arrival to France, the activities undertaken by Estrella—notably the foundation of an association known for its active role in prisons, *Musique espérance*—fit perfectly with the ideal image of him that was broadcast throughout the world to save his life: that of a man who embodied alternately music in prison and the freedom of music.

This incarnation, however, was not the individual genius shining beyond the boundaries of his dungeon cell (as suggested by the romantic legend). It was the result of an historical configuration which, in the last decade of the Cold War, allowed the combination of human rights, as a collective action program, with the hegemony of classical music, idealized as a universal language. This convergence was deep-rooted in elite circles, to which most of Estrella's supporters belonged. Yet, by that time, the revolutionary myth of Beethoven was showing signs of decline and was being replaced by a figure of the middlebrow culture industry, almost Warholian, all-pervading in the celebration of Beethoven's Bicentennial in 1970.⁷³ From the 1970s onwards—and even more so after the fall of the Berlin wall—aesthetic values of human solidarity grew and diversified, with a focus on pop rock music. Of course, classical musicians still inspire sympathy for political reasons, as shown by the recent case of pianist Fazıl Say, tracked down by Turkish authorities. But, as an iconic figure of the persecuted artist, Estrella's release is also the story of a survivor.

NOTES

1. This chapter was translated by Aurélie Perrier. We have also developed this issue, through a different angle, in an article published by the French journal *Les Annales*. See “La musique en prison. La campagne pour la libération de Miguel Ángel Estrella (1977–1980)” in *Les Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (2017).
2. Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, Archives of the Committee of Support for Estrella, Box ARC3018 (thereafter IHTP)/3/England: Letter from W. Peters to Lady Hutchinson, Montevideo, September 25, 1978.
3. Brigitte Massin, “L'affaire Estrella,” *Panorama de la musique*, March–April (1978): 11–12.
4. See Carol A. Hess, “Miguel Ángel Estrella: (Classical) Music for the People, Dictatorship, and Memory,” *The Oxford Handbook of Music Censorship*, Patricia Hall ed., Oxford University Press, 2015; Patrick W. Kelly, “The 1973 Chilean Coup and the Origins of Transnational Human Rights Activism,” *Journal of Global History* 8 (2013): 165–186.

5. Jessica Gienow-Hecht (Ed.), *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015; Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015; Anaïs Fléchet and Antoine Marès (Eds.), dossier "Musique et Relations internationales" I and II, *Relations internationales*, no. 155 and 156, 2013.
6. Thanks to the History Lab project led by Matthew Connelly: <http://history-lab.org/>
7. Archivo Judicial de Expedientes Provenientes de la Justicia Militar (thereafter AJPROJUMI), consulted thanks to the Secretaría de Derechos Humanos para el pasado reciente de la Presidencia de la República Oriental del Uruguay. We thank Director Fernando Gómez Pereyra as well as Mariana Mota and Isabel Wschebor Pellegrini.
8. We thank all those who confided in us and opened their private archives: Miguel Ángel and Javier Estrella, Martine and Jean-Louis Haguenuer, Myriam Chimènes, "Gato" Ember Martínez.
9. "Listas negras de artistas, músicos, intelectuales y periodistas," facsimile documents of the Proceso de Reorganización Nacional, Buenos Aires, Ministerio de Defensa, Presidencia de la Nación, 2014.
10. Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine, Nanterre, Fonds SIJAU-Weil-Uruguay: CDPPU, "La Libération de Miguel Ángel Estrella, de Charles Serralta et la situation en Uruguay," typed brochure, undated; Estrella's testimony contained inside is dated April 21, 1980.
11. "La Libération de Miguel Ángel Estrella, de Charles Serralta et la situation en Uruguay."
12. Stella Calloni, *Los años del lobo: Operación Cóndor*, Buenos Aires: Peña Lillo Ediciones Continente, 1999; Frank Godichaud, *Operación Cóndor. Notas sobre el terrorismo de estado en el Cono Sur*, Madrid: Sepha Ed., 2005; J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.
13. "Nómina de integrantes de la organización sediciosa argentina 'Montonero'," Servicio de Información de Defensa, July 1976, in "Partido Peronista 'Montonero' (in Uruguay)—Índice cronológico de documentos."
14. CDPPU, "La Libération..."
15. Gavazzo was convicted of crimes against humanity in 2006. His name appears in a new ongoing trial concerning the December 1977 events.
16. CDPPU, "La Libération..."
17. AJPROJUMI: Indictment 1009/77, Juzgado Militar de Instrucción de Segundo Turno, República Oriental del Uruguay, December 26, 1977.
18. Interview with M. A. Estrella, Paris, September 28, 2015.
19. Interview with J.-L. and M. Haguenuer, Paris, October 19, 2015.

20. IHTP/1: Yves Haguenuer, “Quelques repères concernant la ‘campagne’ pour la libération du pianiste Miguel Ángel Estrella, December 19, 1977–February 17, 1980”; IHTP/2/ONU: Letter from Jean-Paul Barré to Y. Haguenuer, January 10, 1978.
21. Interview with J.-L. et M. Haguenuer, Paris, October 19, 2015.
22. IHTP/3/Uruguay: “Petition for the Release of Miguel Ángel Estrella,” December 1977.
23. Private Archives of M. Chimènes: “Liste des personnalités ayant apporté leur soutien au comité de défense de Miguel Ángel Estrella,” December 27, 1977.
24. IHTP/1/Concerts: Opening remarks of Y. Haguenuer, April 24, 1978.
25. Private Archives of M. Chimènes: “Campagna italiana de solidarietà per Miguel Ángel Estrella,” Rome, September 4, 1978.
26. IHTP/3/England: Letter from Y. Haguenuer to Lady and Lord Hutchinson, Le Praz, August 20, 1978.
27. IHTP/3/England: Letter from C. Osborn to Y. Haguenuer, London, December 23, 1977.
28. IHTP/1/Concerts.
29. IHTP/1: Concert Program “Pour Estrella” au théâtre d’Orsay, April 24, 1978.
30. Record Erato ERA 9193.
31. IHTP/9: Press Release I.
32. IHTP/9: Press Release I.
33. IHTP/1: “Concerto pour transistor,” transcription, May 20, 1979.
34. Esteban Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven—Une histoire politique*, Paris: Gallimard, 1999.
35. “Fidelio, “L’opéra de la liberté pour la libération du pianiste argentin Miguel Ángel Estrella,” *Télérama*, March 14, 1979.
36. Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve, Direction Amériques, dossier Estrella, 110QO/87 (thereafter AD): Letter from N. Boulanger to V. Giscard d’Estaing, Paris, December 23, 1977.
37. AD: Letter from G. Robin to N. Boulanger, Paris, January 6, 1978.
38. AD: Letter from G. Robin to N. Boulanger, Paris, January 6, 1978.
39. In particular during the controversy that surrounded the coming of D. Barenboim and the Paris Orchestra in 1980. Cf. Esteban Buch, *Trauermarsch. L’Orchestre de Paris dans l’Argentine de la dictature*, Paris: Seuil, 2016.
40. IHTP/2/Embassy of Montevideo: Letter from J. Ausseil to Y. Haguenuer, March 7, 1978.
41. Private Archives of M. Haguenuer: Letter from Y. Haguenuer to N. Boulanger, Neuilly, June 16, 1978.

42. State Department Central Foreign Policy Files: “Human Rights. Recent Visit to Political Detainee Miguel Ángel Estrella,” November 15, 1978. <http://history-lab.org/documents/1978MONTEV03945>. See also Vania Markarian, *Left in transformation: Uruguayan Exiles and the Latin American Human Right Networks, 1967–1984*, New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 225.
43. AD: Telegram from Le Guen, November 16, 1978.
44. IHTP/3/England: Letter from Lady Hutchinsonto Y. Haguenuer, January 16, 1978.
45. State Department Central Foreign Policy Files: “Possibility for Political Prisoner Exchange,” April 24, 1978. <http://history-lab.org/documents/1978MONTEV01353>
46. AD: Telegram from J. Ausseil, Montevideo, February 21, 1978; IHTP/3/Embassy Montevideo: Letter from J. Ausseil to Y. Haguenuer, Montevideo, February 24, 1978.
47. IHTP/3/England: Letter from Lord Mountbatten to General Alvarez, Romsey, February 23, 1978.
48. AD: “Compte-rendu du voyage effectué par Yves et Martine Haguenuer à Montevideo du 27 octobre au 9 Novembre 1978,” p. 5.
49. All the characteristic elements of “grand causes” described by Élisabeth Claverie and Luc Boltanski are here present. Cf. Nicolas Offenstadt, Stéphane Van Damme (Ed.), *Affaires, scandales et grandes causes. De Socrate à Pinochet*, Paris: Stock, 2007, p. 409.
50. This case shows a pluralization of diplomacy, also described in Noé Cornago’s Chap. 7 in this volume.
51. Cf. Jan Eckel & Samuel Moyn, *The Breakthrough. Human Rights in the 1970s*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
52. Cf. Vania Markarian, *Left in Transformation...*, p. 124 and following pages.
53. Cf. Iain Guest, *Behind the Disappearances. Argentina’s Dirty War Against Human Rights and the United Nations*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, pp. 420–423.
54. Guest, *Behind the Disappearances*, pp. 423–428.
55. Estrella testifies at the request of Uruguayan lawyer in exile Alejandro Artucio, member of the International Commission of Jurists. Cf. IHTP/2/ONU: Miguel Ángel Estrella, information note dated February 25 1980, addressed to Waleed Sadi, President of the Human Rights Commission, February 27, 1980.
56. State Department Central Foreign Policy Files: “UN Approach to Uruguay Concerning Human Rights,” December 22, 1977. <http://www.history-lab.org/documents/1979MONTEV04717>

57. *Miguel Ángel Estrella v. Uruguay*, Communication No. 74/1980, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/OP/2 at 93 (1990). <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/undocs/newscans/74-1980.html> (accessed online, September 29, 2016).
58. IHTP/2/ONU: Letter from Y. Haguenuer to J.-P. Barré, Neuilly, December 23, 1977.
59. IHTP/3/England: Letter from Lady Hutchinson to Y. Haguenuer, January 2, 1978.
60. IHTP/2/ONU: “Telegram of November 16 to Barré,” manuscript note by Y. Haguenuer.
61. IHTP/2/ONU: Human Rights Commission.
62. UNESCO Archives, SCX/CR/PRIV/4–5(S) (thereafter UNESCO): Letter from Jack Bornoff to A. M’Bow, Paris, December 22, 1977. On the actions undertaken by Menuhin toward UNESCO, see Anaïs Fléchet, “Le Conseil international de la musique et la politique musicale de l’Unesco (1945–1975),” *Relations internationales*, 156(1) (2014): 53–71.
63. UNESCO: Proceedings of the 104th meeting of the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations of the Executive Board (April 17–19, 1978).
64. UNESCO: Proceedings of the 105th meeting of the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations of the Executive Board (September 19–23, 1978); Proceedings of the 107th meeting of the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations of the Executive Board (April 23–27, 1979).
65. UNESCO: Examination of the communications transmitted to the Committee, March 23, 1979.
66. UNESCO: Memorandum on the Estrella case.
67. UNESCO: Letter from Pelayo Diaz Muguerza to A. M’Bow, Paris, September 6, 1979.
68. The US Government supported Carneiro’s visit. Cf. State Department Central Foreign Policy Files: “UNESCO: Human Rights Procedure: Miguel Ángel Estrella,” November 27, 1979 <http://www.history-lab.org/documents/1979STATE306786>
69. IHTP/3/England: Letter from Y. Haguenuer to Lady and Lord Hutchinson, July 25, 1979.
70. IHTP/2/ONU: Letter from Y. Haguenuer to J.-P. Barré, Neuilly, August 1, 1980.
71. See for instance: IHTP/1: “Appeal in favor of Mr. A. Estrella,” AFP Press Release, Paris, July 3, 1979.
72. This case goes beyond the political cleavages described by Anne-Sylvie Barthel-Calvet in Chap. 4 in this volume.
73. E. Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven...*

The Eurovision Song Contest in the Musical Diplomacy of Authoritarian States

Dean Vuletic

The scene had never before been so far east, and never before had so much money been spent on staging the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC), even though it was being held in one of its poorest per capita participating states. In 2012, when Baku hosted the ESC, booming Azerbaijan held up a mirror to the wealthier European Union (EU). The scene had already partly been set for the Azerbaijani capital to show off its new clothes, especially as some of the most famous European fashion designers and hotel chains had recently opened branches in the city. Prestige construction projects were being completed, such as the Heydar Aliyev Centre, a cultural center designed by the architect Zaha Hadid and named after the first president of Azerbaijan who was the father of its second president, Ilham Aliyev; the Flame Towers, a collection of three skyscrapers lit up like flames; and the Carpet Museum, which was built in the form of a rolled-up carpet. Meanwhile, an entire city district was newly developed for the ESC, with residents being forcibly evicted to make way.¹ The venue for the contest was the purpose-built Crystal Hall, which was constructed by West European companies and was covered with lights that flashed in the colors

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of the national flag of the state as its performer sang on stage. Next to the Crystal Hall was the National Flag Square, boasting one of the world's tallest flagpoles.

The 2012 ESC drew the attention of the international media and organizations to the authoritarian government of President Aliyev, whose wife, the always stylishly dressed Mehriban Aliyeva, headed the organizing committee for the contest. The interval act in the final was performed by Emin Agalarov, the son of a billionaire and husband of Mrs. Aliyeva's daughter Leyla, the editor of the glossy magazine *Baku* that is published by Condé Nast. Not only did the Azerbaijani government use the ESC to promote its state as a tourist destination, but it did so also to convince hundreds of millions of European viewers that Azerbaijan, a state on the geographical border between Asia and Europe and with a majoritarian Muslim population, is also European. Although Azerbaijan lags behind the standards of European liberal democracy, it looks to the political model of secular Turkey and not to theocratic Iran, with which Azerbaijan has had tense relations. Iranian clerics even criticized Azerbaijan for hosting the ESC, which they considered a decadent, Western event, especially due to the well-known affinity of sexual minorities for the contest.² The Iranians were fuming that Azerbaijan was flaming, as the gay fans who claimed the ESC as their own scene uncomfortably danced alongside the Azerbaijani establishment that was now also staking the ESC as its own scene.

Azerbaijan is the most recent example of how an authoritarian state has appropriated the ESC in its cultural diplomacy to burnish its international image. Belarus and Russia are other recent examples of how authoritarian states have used their entries in the contest as cultural diplomacy, or what their critics would even consider regime propaganda. The ESC has been commonly viewed as a forum to promote cultural diversity, European integration and even minority rights, especially with regards to sexual minorities following the victories of the Israeli transsexual Dana International in 1998 and the Austrian drag queen Conchita Wurst in 2014. A liberal democratic system has never been a criterion for the participation of a state in the ESC, however. Not all member states represented in the ESC or its organizer, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), an organization which brings together national public service radio and television organizations from states in Europe and the Mediterranean rim, have been liberal democracies or members of Western political organizations. During the Cold War, Portugal and Spain entered the ESC when they were ruled by rightist dictatorships and Yugoslavia was the only communist, one-party state in the contest.

So why has a competition for pop songs, which have often been derided as kitsch or nonsense, been so prominent in the cultural diplomacy of authoritarian states? While the ESC has been appropriated in the cultural diplomacies of states with different political systems, it is in authoritarian states that this relationship has been most intimate. In liberal democracies, the national broadcasting organizations that represent their states in the ESC have a public service mission and are meant to be free of government interference. Their governments usually do not get involved in the national selections of entries for the ESC, but they often provide financial and political support for the hosting of the contest that the winning state of the previous year has traditionally done. In authoritarian states, on the other hand, because there is state control of the national broadcasting organizations, these are more obviously used to promote government policies, including when it comes to cultural diplomacy. Still, the ESC has always been presented by the EBU as an apolitical event, and, as such, it is easy to equate its taste for kitsch with the aesthetic preferences of authoritarian governments³ because kitsch is free of critically political value: as the writer Milan Kundera puts it, '[k]itsch is the aesthetic ideal of all politicians and all political parties and movements'.⁴ Kitsch aesthetics are also easily used by authoritarian regimes to, for example, promote the cult of personality of their leader. Yet, while the ESC has been a stage for the promotion of innocuous pop, it has also served as a scene for activists and dissidents who have been critical of authoritarian governments, both within and outside of their states. That is something that the folkloric derision of the ESC in national media and public opinion has often been unaware of or underplayed—duped by the contest's 'apolitical' label or the lightness of its kitsch entries.

The ESC has tolerated the participation of the national broadcasting organizations from authoritarian states almost from its outset because it has never had political standards for entry. Despite the fact that it has served as a metaphor for European integration, the contest has never been organized by the Council of Europe (CoE), the EU or other pan-European political organizations, but by the EBU. Although founded in 1950 as an alternative to the International Broadcasting Union, later renamed the International Organization for Radio and Television (Organisation Internationale de Radiodiffusion et de Télévision, OIRT), which gathered communist states mostly from Eastern Europe,⁵ the EBU aimed to promote technical cooperation and not political standards among its members. Membership in the EBU is based on the technical criteria of inclusion

in the European Broadcasting Area, as defined by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), an agency of the United Nations (UN), as well as a state being a member of the ITU.⁶ During the Cold War, the EBU included representatives from almost all Western European states and the Mediterranean rim with the exception of Andorra, Liechtenstein and San Marino, which did not have their own national broadcasting organizations then. What all member states of the EBU had in common during the Cold War was that they were not part of the Eastern Bloc, even if they were not integrated into some Western organizations or pursued divergent foreign policies of neutrality and nonalignment. So, the seven participants of the first ESC in 1956 were the six founding members of the EU (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany) plus the Swiss outlier, which hosted the first ESC in 1956 and has been the location of the EBU's headquarters ever since, but is still not a member of the EU or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Almost all Western European members of the EBU as well as Yugoslavia, Israel, Turkey and Morocco (other Arab states generally boycotted the ESC because of Israel's attendance) participated in the ESC consistently or irregularly during the Cold War.

The ESC was from its very beginning thus open not only to Western European liberal democracies but to all other members of the EBU that fulfilled the technical requirements to participate in the simultaneous transmission of the ESC. The national television broadcasters of Greece, Portugal, Yugoslavia and Spain joined the EBU or the ESC in a period of authoritarian government. Greece had experienced a civil war between anti-communist and communist forces from 1944 to 1949; with the victory of the non-communist forces, Greece's position in the Western Bloc was ensured. However, from 1967 to 1974, the state was ruled by a military junta which came to power in what it defined as a 'revolution' to save Greece from growing communist influence. This move isolated the state from Western European governments. Portugal had already become a rightist dictatorship in the interwar period, first ruled by António de Oliveira Salazar and then from 1968 by Marcelo Caetano. Spain also had a rightist dictatorship under Francisco Franco, who governed the state after the victory of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Yugoslavia was a communist state that was first led by Josip Broz Tito from 1945 to 1980, but it had ended its alliance with the Soviet Union in 1948, subsequently adopting an independent line among communist

states that saw its national broadcasting organization enter the EBU as the only representative of an Eastern European, communist state, and which would later be emphasized by its non-aligned foreign policy.

For Greece, Portugal, Spain and Yugoslavia, membership of the EBU was one affirmation of their connection to the Western Bloc when they were, for political reasons, excluded from other Western European organizations. Greece had entered the CoE in 1949, the EBU in 1950 and NATO in 1952, but in 1970 the junta withdrew Greece from the CoE, which promotes liberal democracy, human rights and the rule of law, as the organization criticized it for suppressing liberal democracy and violating human rights. Portugal was a founding member of the EBU and also Western military and economic organizations such as the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), NATO and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). However, only after the end of its rightist dictatorship in 1974 did it become a member of the CoE, and in 1986 it joined the European Community (EC). Although it remained officially neutral during World War II, the Franco regime was isolated in post-war Western Europe because of its previous close ties with the fascist states of Germany and Italy, which had supported the Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War, and it was consequently more internationally isolated than the Portuguese regime. Spain joined the EBU in 1955 and the OECD in 1961, but it was not a member of other Western organizations until Spain transitioned to liberal democracy after Franco's death in 1975. (Spain had submitted an application for EC membership in 1962, which was rejected because of its political system.) As a nonaligned and communist one-party state, Yugoslavia never belonged to the military, political and economic organizations of the West, but it was a founding member of the EBU. For Franco's Spain and Tito's Yugoslavia, membership in the EBU was thus a rare case of their states' participation in Western organizations.

The participation of Greece, Portugal, Spain and Yugoslavia in the EBU and the ESC had a special symbolism in the context of their economic growth during the 1960s. Spain entered the contest for the first time in 1961, when it was looking for improved economic ties with Western Europe as a founding member of the OECD. Yugoslavia was also intensifying its economic relations with the West then, and it debuted in the ESC in 1961, the year in which the first Conference of Non-Aligned States took place in Belgrade and reaffirmed Yugoslavia's independence from the Eastern Bloc. Portugal was a founding member of EFTA in 1960

and of the OECD in 1961, and it debuted in the ESC in 1964. A common feature of these states was the development of their tourism sectors centered upon their Mediterranean coastlines and which were crucial for their economic growth.⁷ Western European tourists were the main target market for the tourist industries of Greece, Portugal, Spain and Yugoslavia, and these states used the ESC as a platform to promote themselves as attractive Mediterranean destinations that shared commercial connections and a popular culture with Western Europe. The Mediterranean fantasies that these states played with were also reflected in the topics and music videos of their contributions to the ESC. Together with this touristic dimension, taking part in the ESC gave artists from these states the opportunity to advance their international careers in the lucrative Western European markets. A prime example is Julio Iglesias, who represented Spain in the ESC 1970 and went on to become an international superstar, especially in the largest pop music market in the world, the United States.

As the EBU was during the Cold War an organization that encouraged technical and not political standards, there was no official reaction from it to the restrictions on artistic, media and political freedom in its member states, including Greece, Portugal, Spain and Yugoslavia. There was never any expulsion of the national broadcasting organizations from authoritarian states from the EBU or the ESC due to the policies of their governments: the national television broadcasters from these states could send their ESC entries without facing criticism from the EBU, so long as they conformed to the rules of the contest which, again, were technical rather than political in nature. When there was a reaction to the political situation in these states, it came from other parties and not the EBU. A protest against Franco and Salazar by the Danish leftist Group 61 at the 1964 ESC that was staged in Copenhagen was deliberately not shown in the broadcast.⁸ The Austrian national broadcasting organization (Österreichischer Rundfunk, ORF) was the only member of the EBU that boycotted the ESC in protest against the Franco regime when the contest was held in Madrid in 1969. ORF was continuing its political activism at the ESC after having sent the Czech singer Karel Gott to represent Austria as the Prague Spring was taking place in Czechoslovakia in 1968. A picture of Franco, meanwhile, appeared in an article about a Spanish radio program in the EBU's official publication, the *EBU Review*, in 1970.⁹

That the Franco government considered the EBU and the ESC important not only for the development of Spain's television service but the promotion of its tourism industry was also embodied by the state's joint

ministry for information and tourism. Spain won the 1968 ESC with Massiel singing 'La la la': although she also protested against Franco's policies, such as by refusing to receive an award from him after her win, Massiel herself had symbolized the politics of the Franco government in the 1968 ESC because she had been a last minute choice to represent Spain in place of Joan Manuel Serrat, who had wanted to sing in Catalan but was prevented from doing so as Franco's government promoted a unitary national identity and suppressed regionalisms.¹⁰ The 1969 ESC was consequently held in Madrid and the Franco government invested significant resources into it, including by employing Salvador Dalí as the designer of the promotional material and an onstage sculpture.¹¹ The Franco government imposed no political restrictions on the participants in the 1969 ESC, which perhaps explains why only one national broadcasting organization, ORF, boycotted the contest out of political protest. Spain scored another victory in the 1969 ESC after its singer Salomé tied for first place with the Dutch, French and British entries; the four winners, and not the Franco government, turned out to be the biggest scandal of the 1969 ESC and resulted in changes to the contest's rules—as well as a boycott by more national broadcasting organizations of the 1970 ESC for this reason.

Portugal was one of the states that boycotted the 1970 ESC to protest against the voting structure which had resulted in four winners in Madrid, and it did so with four other members of EFTA, Austria, Norway and Sweden and associate member Finland. Although Salazar's Portugal was not excluded from Western European organizations to the same extent as Franco's Spain, unlike other Western European imperial powers, Portugal resisted decolonization and was even excluded from the ITU in 1973 after African states rallied against it because of its colonialist policies, as they simultaneously did against South Africa because of its Apartheid system.¹² That, however, still did not affect its membership in the EBU. Upon coming to power in 1968, Caetano instituted media reforms that allowed greater political diversity, and one reflection of this was that the leftist opposition played more of a prominent role in the production of ESC entries, especially with the songs written by the communist Ary dos Santos. The ESC also played a particular role in Portuguese history as the state's entry in the 1974 ESC, 'E depois do adeus' (And After the Farewell), sung by Paulo de Carvalho, was broadcast on national radio just weeks after the ESC on 24 April as the second of two songs that signaled the beginning of the Carnation Revolution that toppled the dictatorship and introduced multiparty democracy.¹³ In the 1975 ESC, one of the generals who had

led the Carnation Revolution, Duarte Mendes, performed ‘Madrugada’ (Dawn), which was also about the revolution.¹⁴ In the late 1970s, Portugal entered several songs celebrating its democratic transition, until the early 1980s when the themes of its entries ‘normalized’ with those of other participants to the more usual fare of fun and love.¹⁵ Portugal’s entries have certainly been the most nationally politicized in the history of the contest, perhaps explaining why it has never managed to win the ESC.¹⁶

While the Portuguese national media became more open from the late 1960s, the military junta that governed Greece from 1967 to 1974 invoked media censorship and many cultural figures who were labelled as ‘communist’ were exiled from Greece. However, the junta did not suppress Western popular culture and also encouraged the development of tourism, especially for the Western European market. These two factors in particular explain Greece’s interest to enter the ESC in 1974, after the junta began to pursue liberalizing measures that also sought to improve its image in Western Europe. Greece’s first entry ‘Krasi, thalassa ke t’agori mou’ (Wine, Sea and My Boyfriend) was sung by Marinella, who supported the junta and was representative of the *laikó* (urban folk music) genre.¹⁷ After the free elections that restored democracy were held in November 1974, Greece boycotted the 1975 ESC in protest against Turkey’s debut in the contest after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. The invasion had also been a factor that had contributed to the downfall of the junta, which had tried to replace the Cypriot government with one that supported Cyprus’ union into Greece.¹⁸

Although Yugoslavia’s unique participation in the ESC made it appear as the most culturally liberal, modern and open communist state in Europe, it remained a one-party state in which political opposition was suppressed. In terms of its government, Yugoslavia never approached the multiparty democracies of Western Europe and remained securely Eastern European in this regard. Some of its ESC artists were also censored for their political views. The most famous of them was Vice Vukov, an artist from the Dalmatian coast who represented Yugoslavia at the ESC in 1963 and 1965 with the maritime-themed songs ‘Čežnja’ (Desire) and ‘Brodovi’ (Boats). In the late 1960s, Vukov emerged as the bard of the Croatian Spring, a national movement that called for more autonomy for Croatia in a reformed Yugoslav federation. The Croatian Spring was quashed in December 1971 after Tito considered that its calls for autonomy had gone too far, and the movement’s key figures were arrested. Vukov managed to avoid arrest as he was touring the Croatian migrant community in

Australia; instead of returning to Yugoslavia, he went to live in Paris. His songs were censored in the Yugoslav media, and he was not allowed to perform publicly in Yugoslavia again until 1989.¹⁹

In an attempt to promote pan-Yugoslav values in the aftermath of the purging of liberal politicians in Croatia and other republics in the early 1970s, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia began urging pop and rock artists to incorporate themes such as the Partisan movement, Tito and multinational unity into their songs. This was reflected in Yugoslavia's 1974 ESC entry 'Moja generacija' (My Generation), sung by Kornj Grupa (Korni Group), which spoke about the generation born during World War II and how life had improved since. Kornj Grupa performed in the 1974 ESC just before ABBA, whose winning song 'Waterloo' had another, more innocuous take on war. That Yugoslavia, although relatively prosperous in comparison to other Eastern European states, never matched Western European economic and technological standards was also echoed in the ESC: its scores were generally in the bottom half of the scoreboard in the 1960s and 1970s, which prompted discussion in the Yugoslav media over how Yugoslavia was viewed in Western Europe. Such reactions to poor scores were also common in the national media of other states; for the Yugoslavs, however, it was their communist system and Slavic languages that exacerbated their commercial and geographical peripherality.²⁰ After the Yugoslav entry 'Ne mogu skriti svoju bol' (I Can't Hide my Pain), performed by the aptly named group *Ambasadori* (The Ambassadors), finished last in the 1976 ESC, Yugoslav Radio Television withdrew from the ESC until 1980. However, it contributed a series of Europop entries in the 1980s, some of which had as their theme romantic encounters between locals and tourists on the Yugoslav coast, and its Adriatic coastline was often used as a backdrop for the promotional videos of such entries.²¹ In 1989, Yugoslavia won the ESC with 'Rock Me Baby' sung by the group *Riva* from the seaside city of Zadar. Just months later, communist governments would fall across Eastern Europe, and Zagreb would go on to host the 1990 ESC just as the first post-communist multiparty elections were being held in Croatia.

After the fall of communism and the transition to liberal democracy in Eastern Europe, the OIRT was dissolved and its members joined the EBU. The most successful Central and East European participant in the ESC in the 1990s was Croatia, which had of course already had a tradition of participation in the ESC as a part of Yugoslavia. For the state-controlled Croatian Radio and Television (*Hrvatska Radiotelevizija*, HRT), the ESC

was important for the international promotion of the national identity of this newly independent state, whose first ESC entry in 1993 was 'Don't Ever Cry', a patriotic song about a young soldier who had fallen in the war in Croatia. The importance that HRT attached to the ESC was ironic considering that the European integration efforts of Croatia in the 1990s were thwarted by the authoritarian tendencies of President Franjo Tuđman and his party, the Croatian Democratic Union, which exercised excessive control over HRT. Croatia joined the CoE in 1996 only, NATO in 2009 and finally the EU in 2013. Slovakia, a state with roughly the same population as Croatia, entered the ESC from 1994 to 1998 after having unsuccessfully competed in the 1993 pre-selection just months after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. During this period, Slovakia was ruled by Vladimír Mečiar, whose government was also criticized by European organizations for its non-democratic policies, including its control over the national broadcasting organization, Slovak Television, which also initially stalled Slovakia's EU membership negotiations. The value that Mečiar himself accorded the ESC was demonstrated when he himself appeared in a video message to introduce the Slovak entry in the 1996 ESC alongside other politicians and diplomats who did the same for their national entries. However, unlike Croatia, Slovakia performed poorly in the ESC in the 1990s and was relegated every second year. After a more pro-European government headed by Mikuláš Dzurinda came to power in 1998, Slovakia did eventually join other Central and East European states in the 2004 EU enlargement. After 1998, however, Slovakia only returned to the ESC in 2009, thereby being an example of a state in which the ESC has been more appropriated under an authoritarian than a liberal government.

The participation of other East European states in Eurovision in 1993 was a cultural symbol of their political transition to liberal democracy and integration into Western organizations. Such symbolism was especially strong in contests in Tallinn and Riga in 2002 and 2003, respectively, shortly before Estonia and Latvia's accession into the EU and NATO. The 2004 ESC was held in Istanbul a year before the start of Turkey's negotiations for EU accession. Belgrade was the host of the 2008 ESC, and that contest symbolized the reintegration of Serbia in Europe after the wars in the former Yugoslavia and the dictatorship of Slobodan Milošević, although 2008 was also marked by tensions between Serbia and other European states following the latter's recognition of the independence of Kosovo three months before the ESC was staged. In the 1990s, Yugoslavia, then consisting of only Serbia and Montenegro, was excluded from the ESC by the EBU due to international sanctions against it for its role in the

wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo. The 2005 ESC in Kiev was also strongly marked by the symbolism of the democratic transition and European integration that followed Ukraine's Orange Revolution, which began six months after the victory of Ukraine in the 2004 ESC. The winner of the 2004 ESC, Ruslana, became a spokesperson for the successful Orange Revolution, which brought the overthrow of President Leonid Kuchma. The 2005 ESC was held in the spirit of this new era in Ukrainian history, and Ukraine's entry 'Razom nas bahato' (Together We Are Many) had been an anthem of the Orange Revolution. However, the Orange Revolution was not successful in the long term, and with the Euromaidan Revolution and the war in Ukraine in 2014, the democratization and European integration efforts of Ukraine were again topics that were present in the international media coverage of the 2014 ESC.

Other states of the former Soviet Union still have authoritarian governments, such as Azerbaijan, ruled by Heydar Aliyev from 1993 to 2003 and thereafter headed by his son Ilham. Azerbaijan is located outside of the EBA, but it was allowed to join the EBU in 2004 when the organization's statutes were altered to also allow membership to any national broadcasting organization from a state that is a member of the CoE, which was specifically done to facilitate the entry of the Transcaucasian states into the EBU. Azerbaijan entered the CoE in 2001, but its membership has been controversial due to the authoritarian government of Aliyev. Ironically, membership in an organization that promotes democracy, human rights, the rule of law and media freedom thus allowed Azerbaijan to join the ESC. Initially, the national broadcasting organization Azerbaijan Television was denied entry into the EBU because it was considered too controlled by the government. However, İctimai (Public) Television, a public broadcaster, was then admitted into the EBU in 2007 even though it too is controlled by the Azerbaijani government. This made Azerbaijan, together with San Marino, the last member of the CoE to enter the ESC.

From the beginning of Azerbaijan's participation in the ESC in 2008, the government has seen it as an important stage for the state's international promotion in the context of an economic boom based on its energy industry. The winners of the 2011 ESC, Ell & Nikki, were received by Aliyev and the first lady upon their return to Azerbaijan after their ESC victory. As Aliyeva also headed the organizing committee of the 2012 ESC and her son-in-law, the Russian-based billionaire Emin Agalarov, performed the interval act in the contest, the 2012 ESC was also a symbol of the concentration of power in Azerbaijan's first family that undermined the Azerbaijani government's Western aspirations. However, participation

in the ESC has been an expression of the pro-Western foreign policy that the Azerbaijani government has pursued because of Western economic interests there as well as Azerbaijan's desire to attract Western political support in the face of conflicts with Armenia and Iran. That Azerbaijan should define itself as 'European'—its official tourism campaign dubs it the 'European Charm of the Orient'—surprised many West European journalists covering the 2012 ESC, but the Azerbaijani definition of Europe is also self-referential. It is defined by close ties to Russia and Turkey, both of which are historically European powers that have had a strong cultural, economic and political impact on Azerbaijan. It is also defined against its southern neighbor Iran, with which Azerbaijan has territorial disputes considering that there are more ethnic Azeris living there than in Azerbaijan. The secular character of Azerbaijan's government also makes it more 'European' than Iran's Islamic republic, in which Western popular music is censored and homosexuality is punished with the death penalty.

The participation of Azerbaijan in the ESC has thus reflected the realpolitik of Western states toward it, which tolerates Azerbaijan's authoritarianism because of economic, especially energy, and geopolitical interests—not to mention the prominent role played by West European companies in producing the Baku contest. There was widespread political attention given to Azerbaijan as it prepared for the 2012 ESC. Both the CoE and the European parliament (EP) had their biggest ever discussions on the ESC because of its hosting in Azerbaijan: the imprisonment of artists and journalists critical of the government, its suppression of opposition protests and the forced evictions of residents to make way for construction projects were the focusses of the organizations' attention. The EP adopted two resolutions on Azerbaijan that referred to the ESC.²² Herman Van Rompuy, the president of the European Council; Manuel Barroso, the president of the European Commission; and Catherine Ashton, the high representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, all congratulated Azerbaijani officials whom they met on Azerbaijan's ESC win and urged them to use the ESC to improve the state's human rights record and international image. After meeting Aliyev, Barroso said in a statement:

I look forward to continuing our cooperation and to bringing Azerbaijan and the EU even closer together. I think we can be inspired by Azerbaijan's impressive victory in the Eurovision Song Contest last month, which was a first step in that regard. The fact that a majority of the Europeans voted for

Azerbaijan in this European contest showed the sincere good will there is in Europe regarding Azerbaijan. I know that this will be a year in which the international spotlight will be in your country, and I am sure that you will use this time to show commitment to the modernization of your country and also how committed you are on our European common values.²³

Germany's foreign minister Guido Westerwelle also declared that he hoped that the ESC would be an opportunity to 'promote our democratic values'.²⁴ The actress Anke Engelke, who co-hosted the 2011 ESC, also made a similar criticism on air when she presented Germany's voting results in the 2012 ESC. She stated: 'Tonight nobody could vote for their own country. But it is good to be able to vote. And it is good to have a choice. Good luck on your journey, Azerbaijan. Europe is watching you'.

Despite the calls by European politicians, as well as the EBU's attempts to address criticism of itself by instituting initiatives to democratize the Azerbaijani media,²⁵ the ESC did not leave a lasting legacy for Azerbaijan's democracy. When Azerbaijan took over the rotating chairmanship of the CoE in 2014, it was still being criticized for its human rights record. For the 2012 ESC, the 'Sing for Democracy' movement had been formed and staged protests in Baku to draw international media attention to Azerbaijan's democratic deficit and human rights record.²⁶ However, leaders of the movement were subsequently monitored by the police, and in 2015 one of them, Rasul Jafarov, was jailed as he sought to establish a similar campaign for the European Games.²⁷ The extent of media freedom in the state has also declined since 2012 according to the rankings produced by Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders. Azerbaijan had already been sanctioned by the EBU in 2009 for the Azerbaijani police's investigation into citizens who voted for Armenia, which compelled the EBU to introduce a rule that national broadcasting organizations needed to protect the identities of citizens voting in the ESC. Yet, allegations of vote buying were made against Azerbaijan in 2014, leading the EBU to make the identities of jury members transparent and to threaten a ban against any states found guilty of vote rigging.²⁸

One of Azerbaijan's closest allies, Turkey, has also had a tense relationship with the ESC due to its voting system. Following widespread criticism in the West European media and public opinion that the public tele-voting system introduced in the late 1990s fueled bloc voting, and especially among East European states, national juries made up of popular music and television experts were reintroduced in 2009 to determine 50 percent of

the national vote. This did not appeal to the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu, TRT), which also opposed the rule allowing the 'Big Five' states represented in the EBU, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom, direct entry into the final without having to first compete in the semi-finals, because they are the biggest financiers of the EBU and the ESC. By population, Turkey is a bigger state than any of the Big Five with the exception of Germany. It is ironic that TRT has been the staunchest advocate of public voting in the ESC considering the increasing authoritarianism of its president Erdoğan and his suppression of media freedom. TRT favors the 'voice of the people' over the preference for states or experts, which also reflects divisions within Turkish society itself between those who believe that its secular system should be upheld by the judicial and military establishment and those like Erdoğan who advocate for a government, even an Islamist one, that is chosen by the people. TRT has not participated in the ESC since 2013 because of its complaints about the voting system. Yet, TRT's position regarding the ESC is also telling of Turkey's relationship with the EU, which has declined in recent years as negotiations for EU accession have stalled. If Turkey were to enter the EU, it would be the second biggest state according to population after Germany, with demographic forecasts predicting that it will surpass Germany's population size by 2020. This is precisely why many European politicians and publics oppose Turkey's entry into the EU, as they do not want such a large, Muslim-majority state in the EU.

In line with the neo-Ottomanist emphasis in its foreign policy, Turkey has instead set up its own international song contest. In 2013, Türksoy, an international organization for Turkic culture set up in 1993 and headquartered in Ankara, established the Turkvision Song Contest in cooperation with the Turkish Music Box television station and with the support of the Turkish government. The Turkvision Song Contest is aimed at Turkic regions and states in East Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East, and entries in it are submitted by both public and private television broadcasters. Unlike the ESC, which is held in the winning state from the previous year, the Turkvision Song Contest has usually been held in the city that is designated by Türksoy as the Cultural and Arts Capital of the Turkic World, an equivalent to the EU's European Capital of Culture. The Turkvision Song Contest was accordingly meant to be held in Mary in Turkmenistan in 2015, which would have given Turkmenistan a rare opportunity to host such an international event, but the contest has now

been moved to Istanbul. The Turkvision Song Contest has been perceived as a cultural expression of Turkey's geopolitical aspirations as the state seeks to affirm itself as a major power on the global stage. Yet it is also an exceptional international event for entities that are supported by Turkey but otherwise have limited international recognition, such as Kosovo and Northern Cyprus, which have participated in the Turkvision Song Contest but are not allowed to enter the ESC or other international events.

Russia is also excluded from the 'Big Five', even though it has a population almost twice as big as that of Germany; like Turkey, the participation of Russia in the ESC is also made problematic by its government's authoritarianism. Russia's transition to liberal democracy has been undermined by the authoritarianism of Putin, who has served as either the president or prime minister of Russia since the turn of the twenty-first century. Putin has also been criticized for his control over the media, including the national broadcasting organizations Channel One and Russia-1 (Rossiya-1) that are responsible for organizing its ESC entries, as well as for being involved in the murders of journalists who have been critical of his rule. For his government, the ESC has been a tool for self-promotion and the reassertion of a Russia that had lost its superpower status.²⁹ When the 2009 ESC was staged in Moscow, the Russian government saw it as an important medium to affirm its power status and as a springboard for the staging of other international events, such as the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi. After the ESC in Baku, the second highest amount ever invested into any ESC was for the contest in Moscow.³⁰ Russia's de facto annexation of Crimea and the support for Russian separatists in the war in Ukraine, as well as the adoption of an anti-gay law, subsequently further strained relations with the West. This was demonstrated during the 2014 ESC when the Russian entry was booed by the audience and Austria's victorious bearded drag queen Conchita Wurst was portrayed in the international media as a symbol of Western tolerance against Russian intolerance. With the increase in tensions between Russia and the West, some Russian politicians have themselves also accused voting in the ESC as being biased against Russia. They have even called for the Intervision Song Contest (ISC) to be revived for participants from the former USSR and Asian states from the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as an expression of Russia's geopolitical power and Eurasian economic aspirations, and as a way of combating the 'gay' and 'pro-Ukrainian' politics of the ESC.³¹ However, the ISC has only been revived once in 2008, and then for states from the Commonwealth of Independent States, including several that have authoritarian rule governments.

Belarus is one of the authoritarian states that was represented at the 2008 ISC, but its national broadcasting organization, the Belarusian Television and Radio Company, is also a member of the EBU. Due to its human rights situation, especially its extant death penalty, Belarus is not a member of the CoE,³² and it has also been isolated by the EU because of the policies of President Aleksandr Lukashenko, who has been dubbed Europe's 'last dictator'. In the era of European unification, Belarus is Europe's last internal outsider. Belarus has been represented in the EBU since 1993 and has taken part in the ESC since 2004. It is reported that Lukashenko is a follower of the ESC and that he has even interfered in the voting in the national selection.³³ For example, when it appeared in 2012 that the voting had been rigged in favor of Alyona Lanskaya, Lukashenko intervened to annul the result and make sure that the all-male rock band Litesound won instead. Litesound played a more urban rock that stood out from the usual ESC pop, and it also included an Italian member which gave it an element of internationalism. The Belarusian entry in 2011, 'I Love Belarus', was also interpreted as a statement of national pride and resistance in the face of criticism of Lukashenko's authoritarianism by Western governments and organizations. However, with a succession of poor results at the ESC, Lukashenko has attacked voting in the ESC for not being objective³⁴—even as he has come under criticism from that same West for himself not allowing fair and free elections. He has also slurred Western politicians who have criticized his rule: his infamous barb against Westerwelle, Germany's openly gay foreign minister, was that it is 'better to be a dictator than gay'.³⁵

CONCLUSION: THE EUROVISION SONG CONTEST AS A WAY OF IMPROVING A STATE'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE

The ESC has been seen by different types of governments as a way to improve their own international image, but this has especially been so in the case of authoritarian, dictatorial and one-party regimes. The forging of such an image for a state has been the work of the national broadcasting organizations that have been charged with coordinating and selecting entries in the ESC and which are in liberal democracies meant to be independent of government interference. There has, then, been more government involvement in the ESC in states in which the national broadcasting organization has been more controlled by the government. As the recent

cases of Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia and Turkey demonstrate, while liberal democracies represented in the EBU grapple with issues of representation and transparency in their national broadcasting organizations, government control over the media remains an issue in authoritarian states that are also represented in the EBU. However, as with the fall of the rightist dictatorships and the transitions to liberal democracy in Portugal and Spain in the 1970s, the ESC has had a symbolic role in the democratization movements in some East European states after the fall of communism, especially those from the former Soviet Union in which the transition has been thwarted by authoritarianism. From the Mediterranean to the Caspian shores, democracy has always been contested on the ESC scene.

NOTES

1. Jane Buchanan, *“They Took Everything from Me”: Forced Evictions, Unlawful Expropriations, and House Demolitions in Azerbaijan’s Capital* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2012).
2. Margarita Antidze, “Iran’s ‘Gay’ Eurovision Jibes Strain Azerbaijan Ties,” *Reuters* (22 May 2012).
3. On music as a technique of presentation of the self, see Chap. 6 in this volume by Damien Mahiet.
4. Milan Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 251.
5. For a comparative study of the EBU and the OIRT, see Ernest Eugster, *Television Programming Across National Boundaries: The EBU and OIRT Experience* (Dedham, MA: Artech House, 1983).
6. International Radiotelegraph Conference (Madrid, 1932), *General Radio-communication Regulations Annexed to the International Telecommunication Convention; Final Protocol to the General Radiocommunication Regulations; Additional Radiocommunication Regulations Annexed to the International Telecommunication Convention; Additional Protocol to the Acts of the International Radiotelegraph Conference of Madrid, Signed by the Governments of the European Region* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1933), p. 12.
7. Sasha D. Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe’s Peaceful Invasion of Franco’s Spain* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 8.
8. Luisa Pinto Teixeira and Martin Stokes, “And After Love...: Eurovision, Portuguese Popular Culture and the Carnation Revolution,” in Dafni Tragaki (ed.), *Empire of Song: Europe and Nation in the Eurovision Song Contest* (Lanham, MA: The Scarecrow Press, 2013), pp. 223–225.

9. Aníbal Arias Ruiz, “‘Operation Plus Ultra’: A Genuinely European Radio Programme from Spain,” *EBU Review: Part B (General and Legal)* 120 (1970): 30.
10. Sílvia Martínez and Amparo Sales Casanova, “Afterword: Mediterranean Love Songs: A Conversation with Joan Manuel Serrat,” in Sílvia Martínez and Héctor Fouce, *Made in Spain: Studies in Popular Music* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 202–203.
11. Spain invested so heavily into the ESC that the budget of its national broadcasting organization had to rely more on commercials in order to pay for hosting the ESC. Eduardo Viñuela, ‘Popular Music in Televisión Española: Cultural Policies, Consumption and Spanish Identity’, in Martínez and Fouce (eds.), *Made in Spain*, p. 183; Juan Francisco Gutiérrez Lozano, “Spain Was Not Living a Celebration. TVE and the Eurovision Song Contest During the Years of Franco’s Dictatorship,” *View: Journal of European Television History and Culture*, 1(2) (November 2012): 11–17.
12. Francis Lyall, *International Communications: The International Telecommunication Union and the Universal Postal Union* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 113.
13. Pinto Texeira and Stokes, in *Empire of Song*, pp. 226, 231–236 (on media liberalisation, pp. 228–231).
14. Soraia Simões, *Passado-presente: uma viagem ao universo de Paulo de Carvalho* (Lisbon: Chiado, 2012), pp. 73–74.
15. However, as Portugal also finally shed its colonial territories after the Carnation Revolution, this was marked in the Portuguese entry ‘Conquistador’ (Conqueror) in the 1986 ESC.
16. Pinto Texeira and Stokes, in *Empire of Song*, p. 236.
17. Gonda Van Steen, *Stage of Emergency: Theater and Public Performance Under the Greek Military Dictatorship of 1967–1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 167.
18. Turkey, which was also a founding member of the EBU and a member of the CoE and NATO, witnessed three military coups during the Cold War. After Turkey joined the ESC for the first time in 1975, it had a military government from 1980 to 1983, and during this time it participated in the ESC every year.
19. Vice Vukov, *Tvoja zemlja: sjećanja na 1971* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 2003), pp. 79–80, 102.
20. As the journalist Maroje Mihovilović wrote regarding Yugoslavia’s experience in the ESC, “[w]e are a proud nation, we know that some geographical and historical circumstances have apparently pushed us into the background of the European cultural and pseudocultural community, and that bothers us,” Maroje Mihovilović, ‘Jer što je nama Eurovizija?’ (24 March 1976).

21. Dean Vuletic, "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest," in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Yugoslavia*, eds. Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, DC: New Academia, 2010), pp. 127–128.
22. European Parliament, 'European Parliament Resolution of 24 May 2012 on the Human Rights Situation in Azerbaijan,' *Official Journal of the European Union* C 264 E (13 September 2013), p. 91; European Parliament, 'Negotiations of the EU-Azerbaijan Association Agreement,' *Official Journal of the European Union* C 258 E (7 September 2013), p. 40.
23. European Commission, 'Statement of President Barroso Following his Meeting with Ilham Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan' (Brussels, 22 June 2011).
24. Cited in Milija Gluhovic, "Sing for Democracy: Human Rights and Sexuality Discourse in the Eurovision Song Contest," in Karen Fricker and Milija Gluhović (eds.) *Performing the 'New' Europe: Identities, Feelings, and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 207.
25. Stefan Niggemeier, "Eine Imageschaden? Glaube ich null," *Der Spiegel* (9 May 2012).
26. Gluhovic, "Sing for Democracy," pp. 208–209.
27. Commissioner for Human Rights, Council of Europe, 'Third Party Intervention by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights under Article 36, Paragraph 3, of the European Convention on Human Rights: Application No. 69981/14 Rasul Jafarov v. Azerbaijan' (Strasbourg, 30 March 2015), p. 7.
28. "Eurovision Amends Rules, Does Not Sanction Azerbaijan," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (17 September 2009); "Eurovision Song Contest: Vote Rigging Countries Face Three-Year Ban," *The Guardian* (6 February 2014).
29. For another set of tools in the hands of Putin's music diplomacy, see Chap. 11 by Emilija Pundziute Gallois.
30. Shahla Sultanova, 'In Eurovision Spending, Azerbaijan Is a Clear Winner,' *Transitions Online* (20 April 2012).
31. Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergej Lavrov even alleged that vote fixing was happening in the contest after Russia did not receive any points from Azerbaijan in 2013. Miriam Elder, "Eurovision Song Contest: Russian Foreign Minister Wades into Voting Row," *The Guardian* (21 May 2013).
32. The only other European states that are not members of the CoE are Kosovo, which does not have sufficient international recognition, and Vatican City, due to its theocracy.
33. Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin*, pp. 221–222.
34. "Lukashenko: Eurovision is Totally Biased," *BelTA* (30 April 2013).
35. "Germany Slams Lukashenko over Slur," *Der Spiegel* (5 March 2012).

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Music that Divides: The Case of Russian Musical Diplomacy in the Baltic States

Emilija Pundziūtė-Gallois

One of the most interesting intrigues in the recent scholarship of diplomatic practices, their evolution and innovation, is how to account for the widening spectrum of diplomatic actors. It has been acknowledged that states and their representatives are not the only ones acting on the international stage.¹ Diplomacy is no longer understood merely as the activity of a diplomat, a professional, appointed by a state, but can be attributed to non-state actors (NGOs, business corporations), sub-state entities (regions and cities) or even private individuals. Within such a perspective, musicians, crossing borders and performing to foreign audiences, should also be given attention as potential actors on the international stage. Recognition of “citizen diplomacy” as a valid international activity gives what we call here “musical diplomacy” a chance of being studied as part of international relations.

For the sake of the clarity of the argument, though, such an expansion of the definition requires establishing certain benchmarks. Not everything is diplomacy and not all the artists that travel abroad can be called diplomats. Diplomacy, for it to be worthy of its name, needs to have specific characteristics that would distinguish it from other social activities. Jönsson and Hall in their book *Essence of Diplomacy* define “communication, representation

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and the reproduction of international society as three essential dimensions of diplomacy.”² Paul Sharp, when talking about “citizen diplomats,” emphasizes representation out of the three and argues that diplomats, to be granted this name, must represent either a community or ideas.³ Informal diplomats, in this case, could be the advocates of human rights, or of such causes as lifting the Third World debt, they could also be the representatives of sectoral or local economic communities. However, as Paul Sharp argues, if it lies outside the sphere of politics, it is mere “commercial activity,” and it is not possible to call it diplomacy in order not to “rob the latter term of any specificity.”⁴

Representation seems to be a fundamental part of diplomacy: it supposes a question, in which naming the communication takes place and what represented communities it can engage. Other scholars of diplomatic studies agree: Sending, Pouliot and Neumann, for example, define diplomacy as “a claim to represent a given polity to the outside world” and they add that “diplomacy is a process... it is relational... and... it is political.”⁵

Music can fit in these definitional terms. Understood as a cultural production, music can be treated as a tool of diplomacy when it represents a cultural community and transmits a message, encoded in it, to other communities. Production, transmission and interpretation of music is a social activity which happens in specific cultural contexts. When music is composed and performed, it usually is imbued with symbolic value: it matters who the composer is, on what occasion and on whose demand he/she creates the music and what musical composition forms he/she decides to use. When the music is performed, it matters to an extent who the musicians are and where they come from. To put it in terms that shape the core of this collective book, the way the scene is set matters. When the music is listened to, it is being interpreted and evaluated, according to the social and political context in which the listener finds herself/himself and in relation to the general attitude she/he has with regard to the communities of the composer and the performer. Again, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, staging a performance needs a public, which makes an indispensable part of the process. Thus, placing musical communication within the social and political contexts, and reading the reactions that societies produce to it, can help us understand the significance of music as diplomacy.

We will see that the state is not a necessary actor in this situation.⁶ Music can be written and performed by private individuals, promoted by independent businesses, and travel across communities freely, creating connections or divisions between societies. Take the example of German

orchestras, conductors and musicians traveling massively to the United States of America at the second half of the nineteenth century, described by Jessica Gienow-Hecht in her book *Sound Diplomacy*.⁷ According to the author this kind of musical diplomatic communication across the Atlantic has helped create emotional affinities between the Americans and the Germans without much of state intervention. Elsewhere Gienow-Hecht states that musical diplomacy helped transform the image that the American society had of the Germans. From a place where people drink beer and eat sausage, Germany came to be seen as a country that gives rise to handsome and talented high-caliber pianists, conductors and composers.⁸

The attitudes that the communities have of one another is not an insignificant matter. They create contexts for other types of interaction, including official state diplomacy or, potentially, war. Peter Shrijvers in his book *The GI War Against Japan* discusses how the American GIs during the Second World War regarded the Asians as “uncivilized, savage, and subcultural ... subhuman and bestial”⁹ and how these pejorative attitudes resulted in the inhumane treatment of the enemy in the rage of war. When states conduct relations on peaceful terms, their diplomats, as social beings, are also influenced by the attitudes that their home communities cultivate for foreign societies. Merje Kuus shows, for example, how after the 2004 European Union enlargement the lack of social and symbolic capital of the newcomer Eastern European diplomats has hindered them to put through the positions of their represented countries, partly because the “natives” of the Brussels’ “European Quarter” did not take their competences seriously enough.¹⁰

This is where the sphere of politics becomes relevant: musical diplomacy, even the one emerging as a private initiative, by representing communities and communicating across borders, helps creating contexts in which other types of diplomatic interactions, including those of official state diplomats, take place. But it works the other way around as well: states and their policies play a role in identity building of their societies, and that makes part of the context in which music is created and interpreted. The stronger the quest for identity, the more virulent discussions would be on foreign private musical initiatives that encroach on identities of home communities.¹¹ Thus music and its performers enter a multiple game in international relations: they act as stage setters for further diplomatic encounters, but at the same time they are curtailed by states that impose their own authority for diplomatic stage setting. Simultaneously, musicians compete with diplomats as actors on the international scene and often the boundary between the two becomes

blurred. In turn, interpreting music and whatever musicians (or diplomats) do, the public turns music into a political and diplomatic object.

Having said that, music is perhaps one of the cultural expressions, as opposed to theater, literature or visual arts, which can be most easily void of any cultural symbolic value. What does Dmitri Hvorostovsky, a Russian opera singer, represent, performing Verdi at the Metropolitan Opera in New York? Is there anything more than a legitimate form of universally recognized high culture?¹² Music is also the one that can most easily pass for mere entertainment and mean nothing at all or may acquire multiple meanings consciously or unconsciously given by any social or political authority. Think of a Lithuanian popular song of war, “Kur lygūs laukai šiapus Nėrio” (Low fields on the side of Neris). It has a Polish melody (originally with Polish lyrics). It became popular and was sung in Lithuania during the wars of independence which were fought between 1918 and 1920 against Bolsheviks and especially around Vilnius—against the Poles!

In this sense, music can become a means of miscommunication. D. Yearsley rightly points out that “as musicians should know better than anyone, symbols are difficult, even impossible things to keep under control. They have a way of revolting against their would-be masters... Even the notes and signs on the page have a way of breaking free and making their own meanings, ones often unintended by the composer.”¹³

This is why the social contexts, in which the music is staged, performed and interpreted, should be analyzed closely in order for musical diplomacy to become an intelligible and useful concept to better explain international relations. Methodologically it would be difficult to produce wide-ranging explanatory schemes, but generalization within individual cases should be possible. The task would be “not to link specific instances to other specific instances but to investigate the *discursive field* in which these instances exist,”¹⁴ to explore conditions, which allow the possibilities of politicization or depoliticization of music.

This chapter proposes to analyze one specific case of musical communication between the Russian and the Baltic nations, and it touches specifically on the Russian popular (in some instances—classical) music performed on the scenes of two Baltic states—Lithuania and Latvia—during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The chapter aims to show how musical performances, instead of using the emotional effect of music to bring the peoples closer together, may sow uncertainty and division.

SETTING THE SCENE

The first thing to be pointed out is the process of identity building in the given societies. The Baltic states broke free of the Soviet Union and restored their independence shortly before the USSR collapsed in December 1991. These countries did not simply “secede” from the USSR, they claimed—and still do—that they had been illegally annexed. They restored their independence to come back to Europe, where they historically belonged.¹⁵ Much has been said by scholars about building the Baltic identity “against” Russia as its “opposing other” with a very strong aspiration to define itself as European.¹⁶

One of the early demonstrations of this historical return to Europe came through an act which can easily be called one of musical diplomacy, loaded with meaning and passing a very clear message to multiple audiences. It was the performance of the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven simultaneously in the city squares of Vilnius (Lithuania), Riga (Latvia) and Chişinău (Moldova). It occurred in April 1990, two weeks into the economic blockade imposed by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on Lithuania that had declared independence a month before (March 11, 1990). The choice of music was outspoken: Ninth Symphony, the anthem of the European Communities, *Ode to Joy*, symbolized at the same time the determination of the Lithuanian and Latvian people to claim their European identity and to show that they were joyful to be free in spite of economic suffering imposed by the blockade of the Soviet Union.

Once independence from Moscow’s grip was established and recognized, the Baltic European identity was being built not so much through cultural expressions, but rather through a political construction of a historical, ethnic and civilizational narrative.¹⁷ Culture was part of it mostly through the definition of what it meant to be Latvian, Estonian or Lithuanian, in terms of knowledge of language, history or loyalty to the state. Russia was feared and criticized politically, but not culturally. After all, Russia has a great culture, and much of its cinema, music, literature and theater was familiar to the greater part of the Baltic population. The taste in music was left largely to the private sphere, and Russian songs were abundant in the bars of the Baltic towns and cities, student dormitories and backyard parties. Also, a big part of the Baltic population is Russian-speaking (constituting around 25 percent of the population in Latvia and 6 percent in Lithuania) and has influence on what is popular in these countries. Besides, being part of Europe meant having an open society and accepting

cultural diversity. As one of the major aspirations of the Baltic states was to integrate the Euro-Atlantic institutions, it was important to foster tolerance and openness.

Uneasiness came around towards the later part of the 2000s, and it was related to the increasing expression of the Russian post-Soviet identity, starting with restoration of Soviet symbols (the national anthem, for example), tighter grip of Kremlin on the interpretations of history and ending with general encouragement of Soviet nostalgia in which cultural symbols, especially those of popular culture, play a non-negligible role. The culminating expression of this was the opening ceremony of the Sochi Olympic Games, where the representations of pride in the achievements of the Soviet society in Russia loomed large.

The interest of the Russian state in promoting Russian culture abroad with a specific focus on Russian speakers beyond the country also started to grow. Specialized institutions such as the *Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation* (Rossotrudnichestvo) and *Russian World* (Russkiy Mir) were created respectively in 2002 (and later transformed in 2008) and 2007. The aims of these organizations are essentially “the formation of objective views of modern Russia, its material and spiritual potential, content of internal and external policies,” and to achieve these objectives, options include the “organization of festivals, exhibitions and other cultural events, Russian language support and promotion, cultural, scientific and educational exchange, cooperation with compatriots abroad” and so on.¹⁸

One of the main targets of the enterprise, as mentioned, are the Russian speakers, the ones that Russia calls “compatriots abroad.” This immediately sparked suspicion from the Baltic states. Latvia and Estonia have had difficult experience during the early 1990s, when the rights of the Russian speakers in their countries were used as a pretext for stalling the withdrawal of the Russian army from the Baltic states.¹⁹ Moreover, the role of the Russian-speaking minority in the state-building and identity-building processes in the Baltics has been a contentious issue since the fall of the Soviet Union. Thus, while Russia increased attention and spending for its policy towards the “compatriots abroad,” Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians felt as if Russia fostered intentions to reclaim the Baltic Russian speakers for itself and make them part of the “Bigger Motherland” through the instruments of soft power.²⁰ Another reason for concern was that the activity of the above-mentioned institutions was not very transparent. Their financing has been growing since the mid-2000s, but it

has never been entirely clear what was being financed and which were exactly the target groups receiving funding.²¹ This contributed to the feeling of uncertainty and mistrust towards Russia, already rife in Baltic public opinions.

At around the same time on the Baltic side, academic interest increased in what was then called “psychological defense” in Estonia²² or “information warfare” in Lithuania with the rise of several scholars who focused exclusively on the matter. In a small market of ideas, such as the Baltic states, a few scholars are enough to found a considerably strong school and promote their theory. The pundits were mostly concerned about possible destabilization by Russia through disinformation, spread of specific political views and a historical narrative that runs counter to the one promoted by the Baltic states. However, it also touched upon culture, and specifically—music. For Nerijus Maliukevičius, one of the most famous authors on “information warfare” in Lithuania, a large percentage of Lithuanian population listens to Russian music radio stations, such as *Russkaya Radio* or *Laluna*, which constitutes a factor of vulnerability on this part of the population to Russian propaganda.²³

RALLYING THE PUBLIC

In the context of political mistrust between Russia and the Baltic states, which government officials or public opinion leaders did not hurry to ease, the sensitivity of the Lithuanian society towards the Russian musical performances started to grow. Public voices appeared in mainstream media outlets, claiming that the Russians are giving concerts in Lithuania specifically on the dates of the Lithuanian national holidays. Alla Pugacheva, a famous Russian singer since the Soviet times, gave her tour around Lithuania in 2010 on the occasion of February 16, the day of Lithuanian independence. Knowing how popular the singer is in Lithuania, those considering themselves patriots worried that the Lithuanians would spend their Independence Day listening to Russian music. For some, this looked like a deliberate Russian provocation. A similar story had occurred in 2005 when intellectuals and activists reacted to a concert of *Lube*—a group with a “militaristic” repertoire, in some of its songs hailing the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and the war in Chechnya. The group was to perform on another Lithuanian national holiday, March 11, marking the restoration of Lithuanian independence from the Soviet Union.

Renowned Lithuanian philosopher and influential public intellectual Leonidas Donskis summarized at that time the growing feeling of concern: “Cultural colonialism is not a fiction or fantasy. Societies with poor political cultures and weak identities are facing a threat of living according to scenarios written abroad and not according to their own rules... Our cultural nostalgia for the Soviet times means only that we are expressing a colonial or at best postcolonial consciousness.”²⁴

The biggest “scandal,” if one may call it so, was the concert in Kaunas given by Valery Gergiev, a famous Russian conductor, director of the St. Petersburg *Mariinsky Theater*. An Ossetian by birth, he gave a concert in South Ossetia after the brief Russo-Georgian war in August 2008, ostensibly—as a sign of “music for peace.” Apparently, “while the Georgian villages were still burning near Tskhinvali,”²⁵ Gergiev conducted the Seventh Symphony of Shostakovich, which had been dedicated by the author to the heroic resistance of Leningrad against the Nazi siege during the Second World War. For the Lithuanians, knowing the taste of the Kremlin to widely exploit the role that the Soviet Union played in the defeat of Nazism in Europe, and its propensity to use the “Nazi” label for its enemies (which became most apparent during the crisis in Ukraine in 2014), Gergiev’s concert was clearly a political act. When an orchestra from St. Petersburg comes to a foreign territory, de facto occupied by Russian troops, and plays the *Leningradskaya*, a symbol of anti-Nazi resistance, it passes a message about the “evil” Georgians, from whom triumphant Russian troops defend the innocent Ossetians. Gergiev himself is known for taking political positions on various issues and having openly supported Putin, including on the annexation of Crimea in 2014.

When the conductor came to give a concert in Lithuania in 2012, it was already controversial and in particular, because he came on January 13, the day when the Lithuanians commemorate the Soviet attack on peaceful and unarmed protesters in 1991—an attack during which 14 people perished. A local newspaper presented the concert as a mission of Maestro to “share the high culture with the wider public.”²⁶ Gergiev was introduced as the busiest conductor on the planet, giving a concert every second day, and sometimes even twice a day, sleeping only a few hours a night. The organizers wanted him very much in Lithuania, had little hopes, and “what a miracle,” (sic!), he was free only on January 13.²⁷ Of course, the Lithuanians suspected provocation and there was a scandal in the press. The mayor of Kaunas, a conservative and a manifest patriot, insisted that a minute of silence would be observed before the concert. A separate demonstration

was organized by a Lithuanian youth non-governmental organization (NGO) which lit candles in silence at the entrance of the hall and distributed copies of a newspaper of January 14, 1991, with the names of the victims of the Soviet attack. At the same time, nobody dared to cancel the concert: it brought big money, and many people wanted to see Gergiev—a truly rare performance in Lithuania.

Concerns about the abundance of Russian music (especially pop music) on the Lithuanian scene grew with the crisis in Ukraine in 2014, the unprecedented efforts of Russian propaganda, and the related fear of “information warfare,” which was especially big in the Baltic states. Rumors spread that certain companies specialized deliberately on Russian music, that they proposed cheaper rents for the concert halls on the important national Lithuanian holidays in particular and that even the taxi drivers in Vilnius were paid to turn on the Russian radio in their cars.²⁸

One of the illustrations of the fear that musical performances as symbols would be used as “warfare” comes from 2016, when a Russian pop star Dima Bilan was scheduled to give a concert on February 23, which is the “Defender of the Fatherland” day in Russia. A long and eloquent article was published in the main Lithuanian electronic daily *delfi.lt* by Aurimas Navys, another soft-power analyst and think-tanker, saying that this was the way in which the imperial Russia “brainwashed” the unconscious Lithuanians while augmenting its symbolic power.²⁹ The name of his article was outspoken: “Let’s decorate the concert of Bilan with pictures from the museum of Genocide,” suggesting that a concert of Russian pop music in Vilnius on the very day Russia celebrates the veterans of the Red Army is equivalent to dismissing the whole 50 years of suffering that the Lithuanian people underwent under Soviet occupation. To avoid controversies, the organizers moved the concert to February 22. The irony about the date is that the majority of Lithuanians born after 1985, thus the bulk of Dima’s fans, most probably do not know what is celebrated on February 23. The holiday was established during the Soviet times, is still widely popular in Russia, but not commemorated in Lithuania at all. It is possible that the concert wouldn’t even have acquired the symbolic value, hadn’t the influential daily uttered its explanation.

ASSIGNING ROLES TO THE ACTORS

There may be several assumptions why Russian singers are popular in Lithuania and in the Baltic states in general. According to some Lithuanian scholars, there is an effect of the former Soviet Union: the stars, the music

halls, the language are familiar to many, there is a large Russian-speaking population, so it forms somewhat of a “natural” public.³⁰ There might also be an economic reason: the Russian music is of a higher quality than most of the local production simply because it comes from a bigger market with bigger sums of money. The Western singers and musicians (also of the classical music scene) choose the biggest European concert halls rather than the small ones in the Baltics, so the Russian performers occupy the available scenes. Once the Lithuanians and Latvians get richer, they will be able to pay and attract bigger Western stars, so the analysis goes.³¹ Thus, the suspicion of the Russian music “invading” the Baltic states might be written off to the logic of the musical market. However, when the influential public opinion formers, politicians or decision makers of the state offer their interpretation of the symbolic value that the musical performances may entail, the musicians cease to be playing a merely economic role and become true political actors and even objects of bilateral Baltic-Russian diplomacy.

Take the example of the *New Wave* festival in Jūrmala, Latvia. It was conceived by two composers, the Russian Igor Krutoy and the Latvian Raimonds Pauls. Both of them became popular in the Soviet Union and had cultivated their publics in what is now the wider CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) space. They conceived the festival—a contest for young singers—in 2002 and called it *New Wave*. One may say that it is a continuation of a similar *Jūrmala* contest which had been held until 1990.³² *New Wave* started to grow and became widely popular in the former Soviet Union and beyond. From 15 contestants and a prize budget of 60,000 USD in 2002, by the end of the 2000s, it grew to hosting several semi-finals in Europe, Russia and Asia, selecting the winners from the list of 9000 initial participants from more than 35 countries, and a prize budget of 140,000 USD. Special separate prizes were introduced, given by the pop star Alla Pugacheva, the mayor of Jūrmala, the public, a “beauty” prize for best-looking female singers and so on. Add-on festivals such as *New Wave fashion* and *Children’s new wave* were organized on the sidelines.

The festival could have been seen as a manifestation of international friendship. Indeed, Latvian President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga (1999–2007) greeted the participants of the festival in the presence of the Russian ambassador in Latvia, and President Valdis Zatlers (2007–2011) was a common guest with the stars of the *New Wave*. The idea was also to build

upon the “good” Soviet heritage: to exploit the “common” history and those memories which were pleasant and inoffensive. Next to the *New Wave*, a couple of other festivals with roots in the Soviet times were held in town: *KVN—The Club of the Funny and Inventive*, which had started on Soviet TV in 1961 as a student comedy contest, and the *Jūrmalina* (from 2004)—a comedy festival with comedians from Russia.

This reach out to the good memories of the daily Soviet life and the valorization of Jūrmala as a place widely liked by the population in the whole geographic area of ex-USSR was essentially positive. But it was troubling at the same time. In the end, there were not many Latvian happenings in Jūrmala during those days. It was in fact a big celebration of Russian culture with a slight post-imperial flavor, targeting mainly the Russian-speaking audience from the former Soviet Union, something that Kevin Platt called the “Soviet retro”—a replay of something that once was. Not simply a nostalgia for things past and gone, but a wish to bring them back and perform them again.³³

Add on to this is the aura of Jūrmala—a seaside resort, once popular among the Soviet *nomenklatura* (like Yalta or Odessa on the Black Sea coast), and still popular among rich Russians, quite some of them—owners of real estate in the town. Lukas Aubin has analyzed how the investment of the new rich Russian residents of Jūrmala affect “the architecture of the town, its social structure and its urban identity.”³⁴ Local tourist services and entertainment are very much focused on Russian-speaking tourists, who, in 2012, at the heyday of the *New Wave* popularity, made up as much as 40 percent of the overall tourist population in Jūrmala.³⁵ All of this created an impression of a “Russian space” within Latvia. So while the Latvians, a generally open and tolerant European society, were trying to leave the festival-goers alone, the big yachts of Russian oligarchs, crowding the Jūrmala seaport, and their shiny Mercedes, parading the streets, were starting to irritate some, as if the Russians would “rent” a piece of Latvian land (claiming indirectly that at one point it was “their common land”) for their entertainment. As one local newspaper put it:

New Wave was always a divisive event in Latvia. To some it was an enjoyably over-the-top spectacle of glitz and glamor, while others felt uncomfortable at the prospect of Russian oligarchy taking over the famous Jūrmala resort in much the same way senior Communist Party bosses had once treated it as their playground.³⁶

The story ended abruptly: Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs Edgars Rinkevičs announced in the summer of 2014 that three of the Russian singers—Oleg Gazmanov, Joseph Kobzon and Alla Perfilova (known as Valeriya), guests of the festival—would be banned entry into Latvia, because they had officially supported Vladimir Putin’s policy in Ukraine and Crimea. According to the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the singers “through their words and actions have contributed to the undermining of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.”³⁷

It was only one in a series of bans and sanctions around the Ukrainian crisis, but for the *New Wave* it was decisive. The organizers of the festival, Russian politicians, members of the Russian State Duma, as well as the Russian Minister of culture Vladimir Medinsky, suggested that the *New Wave* would not be held in Jūrmala anymore, and after some consideration it was moved to Sochi, Russia. The Russian press was abundant with messages that the Latvians had “punished” themselves as the money that Jūrmala used to earn from the festival (14 to 20 million euros, according to the estimates of the Mayor of Jūrmala Gatis Truksnis³⁸) would be lost to Latvian economy.³⁹ However, as the local press reports, in the end Jūrmala continued on with lower prices and with more tourists from countries like Germany and the Netherlands, and only around 25 percent of Latvian population regretted the departure of the festival.⁴⁰ It is significant though that the 25 percent roughly represent the size of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia, which shows how the festival actually underlined the division of the Latvian society between the Russian speakers and the native speakers.

This last example also shows how private and public, cultural and political spheres intertwine and produce unexpected results. An actor, claiming a local musical scene, becomes a diplomatic actor on an international scene. The lists of undesired people are an especially illustrative example of how a private individual, a pop singer, can be attributed a representative (thus diplomatic) function: by banning his/her entry into its territory a state labels him/her as a representative of a specific political view, even though, on the occasion, he/she might be crossing the border merely to perform, not to do politics. The boundary between public and private, and between the state and the individual, is blurred.

This boundary was especially unclear in the case of the Russian armed forces’ official choir, known as the Alexandrov Ensemble, that had planned to give concerts in the Baltic states in 2015. The Ensemble functions within an official institution of the Russian state, the Ministry of Defense.

However, it travels as an independent cultural performer, singing a wide repertoire, including opera pieces and religious songs, such as *Ave Maria*, and performing with international artists such as Jean-Jacques Goldman, Julia Migenes, Celine Dion and others. The 2015 tour of the Ensemble was controversial, as the program was supposed to include a song called “Polite people”—a direct reference to the words which Vladimir Putin used to describe the men in unmarked military uniforms, who helped take over Crimea in March 2014.

In Poland the protestors threatened to greet the choir by “banging pots and pans.”⁴¹ In Lithuania the decision was made by the Russians not to make a big deal out of it and to organize an event simply for the Russian-speaking veterans of the Second World War in a cultural center of a small backwater town of Visaginas (where the Russian speakers form a majority of population). Lithuanian state officials were not involved in organizing the event, but as the issue was being discussed in the press, the director of the cultural center in Visaginas decided independently to refuse the concert. This act was praised on Twitter by the Lithuanian delegation to NATO as a fine example of Lithuanian “resilience to the Russian info warfare.”⁴² Latvian politicians were more outspoken on this issue: Minister of Foreign Affairs Edgars Rinkēvičs in an interview on state television declared that the concert was “not wanted” and that the choir should be treated as a “military unit,” therefore, should obtain a special permission from Latvian authorities to travel to the country.⁴³ The concert finally didn’t take place.

SCENE SETTERS, PUBLICS AND ACTORS IN INTERPLAY

National security has been increasingly evoked by the Baltic governments as one reason for being suspicious towards Russian performers, especially those that had openly supported the foreign policy of Vladimir Putin. The military conflict in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea in 2014, and to an extent the Russian war in Georgia in 2008, added to the case for security. It became clear that Russia does not rule out occupying and annexing territories and that it uses tactics now widely known as “hybrid warfare,” which involves, among others, propaganda, covert operations, internal destabilization, aiming especially at those parts of society that are favorable to Russian policy. It is worth noting that with both Ukraine and Georgia, official Russia had claimed to have common cultural and historical heritage, and one of the reasons behind Russian military actions in these countries, as

explained, was the necessity to defend the rights of compatriots.⁴⁴ Given the large percentage of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic states, their governments started paying closer attention not only to public but also to private Russian initiatives, including the musical ones, which might widen the gap between the Russian speakers and the native speakers.

Security has an overwhelming effect on society. The process described above could be called a successful case of *securitization*, where the state takes control of a specific sphere of social life, musical performances in this case, defining it as an existential threat and thus justifying the use of extraordinary measures, such as banning individuals from crossing state borders.⁴⁵ The suspicion, cultivated through public diplomacy efforts (the example of official tweets by Lithuanian diplomats), and by the media, encourages a sort of self-censorship within society. In the end, even private companies prefer not to have anything to do with the Russian performers. An especially illustrative example of this kind of voluntary self-censorship is a refusal by the *Compensa* concert hall in Vilnius to host Russian rapper Timati in November 2016. According to the concert hall representatives, the singer was “considered to be an instrument of Russian propaganda,” and his “attitude ... appears unacceptable” to the company’s leadership.⁴⁶ Moreover, this decision was made in a clear bow to the national security requirements as defined and “after consultation with cultural analysts and experts on information warfare.”⁴⁷

In a wider perspective, though, it is a question of identity of the Baltic public: how do the Baltic societies see themselves? Are they willing to remain and linger culturally in the post-Soviet space, cultivating together the post-Soviet “retro,” or do they want to sync their cultural experiences with the West? The identity question invites itself differently in the Baltic states than it would in countries like France or Germany, where Russian culture is generally welcomed and celebrated. It is seen in the big European countries as any other foreign culture: interesting, rich and beautiful. For the Baltic societies, though, it has a different meaning: it is part of the common cultural space of which they once were and of which they do not necessarily want to be any more. The possibility that Russian culture would not be seen as “foreign” in the Baltic states, with all the consequences that this might entail, creates a sense of uneasiness.

The symbolic value with which the Russian artists willingly or unwillingly load their music transformed with the shifts in the representations that the Russian society had of the Soviet Union. Nostalgia was cultivated by the state and by different forces within society itself. It was manifest

throughout the wide spectrum of social and political practices, starting with the statement of President Vladimir Putin in 2004, that the collapse of the Soviet Union was the biggest geopolitical catastrophe, with the re-establishment of such Soviet entertainment and sporting events as the already mentioned *KVN* or the *Kontinental Hockey League*, as a successor to the old *Soviet League*,⁴⁸ and ending with the popularity of such songs as Oleg Gazmanov's "Born in the Soviet Union," in which the singer essentially glorifies the scientific and industrial achievements of the USSR and makes references to its former geographical space, "Ukraine and Crimea, Belarus and Moldova... Kazakhstan and the Caucasus, and the Baltic states," as parts of *his* country.

These references are not necessarily approved by the Baltic populations. Many of the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians were born in the USSR and might still have nostalgia for the wet sausage, or candy made by the *Red October* factory in Moscow, but they wouldn't necessarily be happy to return to the Soviet cultural or territorial space. Where exactly do you draw the line between nostalgia for Soviet memories and artifacts and nostalgia for the former territory? Doesn't one potentially mean the other?

Caught in this complex socio-political environment, the performers of Russian music take on or are assigned—willingly or unwillingly—the roles of representatives of Russia. From mere private actors, performing music on stage, they become citizen diplomats, mediating relations between Baltic and Russian societies on a bilateral diplomatic scene. Public media, influential philosophers, politicians, and representatives of academia take on the task of interpreting the meanings of Russian music in the Baltic public spheres and thus shape the opinions of Baltic audiences. In some cases, especially, when the symbolic value of music is made in relation to the issues of national security, it is the state apparatus itself that intervenes in setting the scene by controlling the meaning of the private musical initiatives.

Musicians themselves enter the diplomatic scene not only as performers of music but also as political actors and stage setters to some extent. It matters how they position themselves within the Russian socio-political context, how they express support to the policies of the Russian state, especially on issues of foreign affairs, and how they make public appeals to the Soviet nostalgia or address directly the Russian-speaking segments of the Baltic populations as parts of the Russian World. The official Russian policies, concerning the appropriation of the Russian "compatriots," or its military endeavors in its neighborhood and the related rhetoric play a role in strengthening the insecurities resented by the Baltic populations. Music that travels outside the Russian borders brings these uncertain meanings along.

CONCLUSION

In this case, music, which is such a seemingly universal phenomenon that could be the ultimate instrument to bring peoples together, plays a role if not so much of alienating the Baltic-Russian societies, then at least of amplifying the uncertainty, prevalent in the bilateral relations. Its diplomatic functions are multiple, intertwined between diplomatic stage setting, directly mediating between the Russian and the Baltic nations or becoming an object of diplomatic action of states. Nevertheless, it should be added that the ambivalence of music as a medium of communication makes it a flawed diplomacy. If one follows the advice of the classical authors on diplomacy, communication should be as clear as possible: “the effectiveness of any diplomacy is dependent upon the amount of conviction or certainty that it inspires.”⁴⁹ Music, apparently, inspires only so much as the societies in communication are willing to propose or accept as a message. Dima Bilan can easily say “I am just singing, and earning money,” and his audience can say “we are just listening.” Given the historical circumstances in which the Baltic states and Russia find themselves, the Baltic societies may well ask “what if you are not?”

NOTES

1. Bertrand Badie and Marie-Claude Smouts, *Le retournement du monde: sociologie de la scène internationale* (Paris: Presses de la FNSP, Dalloz, 1992).
2. Christer Jönsson and Martin Hall, *Essence of Diplomacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 25.
3. Paul Sharp, “Making Sense of Citizen Diplomats,” in *Diplomacy*, ed. Christer Jönsson and Richard Langhorne (London: Sage Publications, 2004), Vol. III, pp. 343–361.
4. Sharp, “Making Sense of Citizen Diplomats,” p. 348.
5. Ole Jacob Sending, Vincent Pouliot and Iver B. Neumann (eds), *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 6.
6. Many contributions in this volume provide evidences of this phenomenon. See for instance Chaps. 7, 8 and 9.
7. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).
8. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Keynote address given at the conference “Sounds and Voices on the International Stage: Understanding Musical Diplomacies,” Paris, April 21–22, 2016.

9. Peter Schrijvers, *The GI War Against Japan. American Soldiers in Asia and the Pacific During World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).
10. Merje Kuus, *Geopolitics and Expertise. Knowledge and Authority in European Diplomacy* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).
11. For examples on American efforts to promote their national musical tradition, see Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*; on symbolism in diplomacy and its interpretation in high-context and low-context cultures, see Alisher Faizullaev, "Diplomacy and Symbolism," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 8 (2013): 91–114.
12. Here we could also refer to discussions on autonomy of what is called high culture: its independence from societal, political and economic dynamics, as opposed to more popular forms of art. I am grateful for these insights to Eglė Rindzevičiūtė.
13. David Yearsley, "Bach in Palmyra: Russia's Surprise Concert in the Ancient Syrian City," *Counterpunch*, May 20, 2016, <http://www.counterpunch.org/2016/05/20/bach-in-palmyra-russias-surprise-concert-in-the-ancient-syrian-city/> (accessed November 11, 2016).
14. Carolyn Humphrey cited by Kuus, *Geopolitics and expertise...*, p. 51.
15. See, for example, Lauri Malksoo, *Illegal Annexation and State Continuity: The Case of the Incorporation of the Baltic States by the USSR: A Study of the Tension Between Normativity and Power in International Law* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2003).
16. See, for example, Maria Malksoo, *The Politics of Becoming European. A study of Polish and Baltic post-Cold War Security Imaginaries* (London: Routledge, 2010); Richard Mole, *The Baltic States from the Soviet Union to the European Union: Identity, Discourse and Power in the Post-Communist Transition of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (New York: Earthscan, 2012); also Eglė Rindzevičiūtė, "The Geopolitics of Distinction: Negotiating Regional Spaces in the Baltic Museums," in *Performing Nordic Heritage. Everyday Practices and Institutional Culture*, ed. Peter Aronsson and Lizette Gradén (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 221–246.
17. Merje Kuus, *Geopolitics reframed. Security and Identity in Europe's Eastern Enlargement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
18. Cited in Victoria Panova, "Russia's 'Soft' Policies towards the Baltic States," in *The different faces of "soft power": The Baltic States and Eastern Neighborhood between Russia and the EU*, ed. Toms Rostoks, Andris Spruds (Riga: Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 2015), p. 90.
19. Sven Gunnar Simonsen, "Compatriot Games: Explaining the 'Diaspora Linkage' in Russia's Military Withdrawal from the Baltic States," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53(5) (2001): 771–791.
20. For a powerful illustration, see a study by a Lithuanian-born scholar Agnia Grigas, *Beyond Crimea. The New Russian Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

21. “Specialus tyrimas: Kremliaus organizacijos pinigai – į lietuviškas, latviškas ir estiškas kišenes” [Special report: the money of Kremlin’s organization goes to Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian pockets], www.15min.lt, June 8, 2015.
22. Tomas Jermalavičius and Merle Parmak, “Towards a resilient society or why Estonia does not need ‘psychological defence,’” *ICDS Occasional Paper*, September 2012.
23. Nerijus Maliukevičius, “Rusijos informacijos geopolitikos potencialas ir sklaida Lietuvoje” [The potential and spread of Russian information geopolitics in Lithuania] (PhD diss., Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University, 2008).
24. Cited in Natalia Zverko, “A. Pugačiova Lietuvoje koncertuos vasario 16-ąją” [A. Pugacheva will give her concerts in Lithuania on February 16], www.delfi.lt, September 25, 2009.
25. Ramūnas Bogdanas, “Gastroliuojantys muzikantai ir sausio 13-oji” [Musicians on tour and January 13], www.delfi.lt, January 23, 2012.
26. Joana Šimanauskienė, “V. Gergijevs: tikslas – pristatyti elitinį meną platesnei publikai” [V. Gergiev: objective to introduce elite art to larger publics], *Kauno diena*, December 12, 2012.
27. Šimanauskienė, “V. Gergijevs...”.
28. E-mail exchange with a Lithuanian representative of entertainment industry, November 28, 2016.
29. Aurimas Navys, “Papuoškime Bilano koncertą nuotraukomis iš Genocido muziejaus” [Let’s decorate the concert of Bilan with pictures from the museum of Genocide], www.delfi.lt, October 13, 2015.
30. Mindaugas Jackevičius, “Rusiškos muzikos populiarumas – okupacijos pasekmė” [The popularity of Russian music – consequence of occupation], www.delfi.lt, February 20, 2011.
31. Ramūnas Zilnys, „Koncertų rengėjai: rusų atlikėjų vizitų Lietuvoje turėtų mažėti” [Concert organizers: the visits of Russian performers should become rarer], www.delfi.lt, January 26, 2016.
32. Panova, “Russia’s ‘Soft’ Policies”, p. 95.
33. Kevin F. M. Platt, “Russian Empire of Pop: Post-Socialist Nostalgia and Soviet Retro at the “New Wave” Competition,” *The Russian Review*, no. 72 (July 2013): 447–69.
34. Lukas Aubin, “Le tourisme russe à Jūrmala: L’appropriation territoriale de la périphérie balnéaire de Riga,” *Regard sur l’Est*, December 15, 2013.
35. Aubin, “Le tourisme russe à Jūrmala...”
36. BNS, “Most not bothered by departure of ‘New Wave,’” www.lsm.lv/en, July 22, 2015.
37. Latvian MFA, “Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs Makes the Decision to Include Some Russian Citizens on the List of Persons Not Allowed to Travel to Latvia,” July 21, 2014, www.mfa.gov.lv (accessed April 15, 2016).

38. Sergejs Pavlovs, "Hotels in Jūrmala reduce prices as New Wave festival passes by," www.lsm.lv/en, July 6, 2015.
39. Anna Loshchikhina, "Where the "New Wave" Crashes," www.russkiymir.ru, January 19, 2015.
40. BNS, "Most not bothered."
41. Belsat, "Poles seeking cancellation of pro-Putin Alexandrov Ensemble's concert," www.belsat.eu, October 5, 2015.
42. Twitter, Lithuania in NATO @LitdelNATO, October 26, 2015: "#Lithuania demonstrated resilience to #Russian info warfare – Red Army choir fails to find venue for performance. <http://goo.gl/JmA0Rv>."
43. RFERL, "Latvian FM Says Russian Army Choir Concert 'Not Wanted'," <http://www.rferl.org>, November 2, 2015.
44. "Transcript: Putin says Russia will protect the rights of Russians abroad," *The Washington Post*, March 18, 2014.
45. On securitization see Copenhagen school of security studies, especially Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security. A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
46. BNS, "Rusų repriui Timati neleista rengti koncerto "Compensa" koncertų salėje" [Russian rapper Timati is not allowed to give his concert at the "Compensa" hall], www.alfa.lt, July 1, 2016.
47. BNS, "Rusų repriui Timati neleista rengti koncerto."
48. Lita Juberte, "Soft Power Resource Sport in Latvian-Russian Relations: Case Study of KHL Latvian Club Dinamo Riga" (paper presented at Yale Baltic-Scandinavian Studies Conference, New Haven, Connecticut, March 13–15, 2014).
49. Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1988) p. 50.

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PART IV

Musical. Nation Branding
on International Scenes

Of Dreams and Desire: Diplomacy and Musical Nation Branding Since the Early Modern Period

Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht

First off, a note of confession: I am not a musicologist nor am I a political scientist. I am, both by training and by biography, a historian of international history. The central topic in international history is the story of relationships, cultural, political, and otherwise. I am also by training, a cultural historian. Cultural history looks at cultural interpretations of historical experiences. Thus Janus-headed, I have spent the better part of my life thinking about the role of culture in international history. Much of that history focuses on how states, groups, and individuals reflect, use, operate within, or are influenced by culture in their relationships to other states, groups, and individuals. I am not the only one who has done so; this has been a major field of investigation since the mid-1990s.

This chapter is designed to conclusively reflect on the present volume. From the perspective described above, I would like, first, to make a number of observations on where the research in the field under investigation here is going. Then, I will identify what I see as a common challenge

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in nearly all of them. Finally, I would like to suggest ways how to meet that challenge by pointing to a singular phenomenon spanning space and time. I will argue that since the early modern period, nation states have framed the struggle for prestige and influence in an increasingly consumerist way based on mechanisms drawn from advertising. In this context, music has played a central role. The concept of “musical Nation branding,” I suggest, may be useful to grasp this development.

LISTEN TO THE LITERATURE

A scholar today interested in the interplay of music and international history does not have to do much digging; in recent years, there has been a veritable explosion of publications focusing on the role of music in international relations, history, sociology, diplomacy, and politics. Several articles’ introductions note the wave of publications in this field, among those Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet’s stellar volume on “Music and Diplomacy.”¹

Just in the realm of print publications, there are many forthcoming books these past years; indeed, the pace does not seem to be decreasing. As with many things in academia, there continues to be a concentration on “The West,” Europe and North America, likely because much popular and classical music originates from these societies. To be sure, there are also a number of anthropological investigations of the role of musical influences and styles among the natives of particular countries, in Africa or Australia. Indeed, since the 1960s, ethnomusicologists have been working on post-colonial music. The last section of “Audible Empire” (2016), by Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, notably the chapter on the “Sound of Anticolonialism” by Brent Hayes Edwards, is one of the most recent steps in that direction. Likewise, Bob W. White’s 2012 investigation on dynamics of music and globalization underlines how music has either intensified or impeded cross-cultural communication long before the concept of “world music” came in vogue, in the 1980s. White highlights both prominent musicians such as Gilberto Gil (later Brazil’s minister of culture) and David Byrne alongside lesser-known but equally influential players from Africa and Latin America to reveal the inner workings of musical encounter and consumption on a global scale.² To date, however, there does not appear to be a trend relating that research to the study of diplomacy and international history.

The topic of this volume—international relations, music diplomacy—has emerged as one of the novel themes in international history; much of this literature has focused on the United States and on the past 70 years. Notably the Cold War represents the focus of many studies, as a place and a time where music interconnected intensely with the geopolitics of leaders between Moscow and Washington. My sense is that jazz and blues music still rules,³ followed by hip-hop⁴ as well as the role of music in black US culture more generally, but that classical music is catching up fast.

To sum up, the emerging literature is rich and promising, yet it is also biased in a way that I wish to address below to then proceed to my suggestion. Much of the research in the field of music and international history/international relations has focused on the Cold War.⁵ As the anthropologist Anthony Grégoire has recently pointed out, that focus contributes to “illustrating international diplomatic relations without any word on or about peoples outsiders of the East-West dialectical view present a certain lack of integration” of other regions. To penetrate an understanding of East and West as the “bringers of international relations,” Grégoire continues, notably when it comes to the link between music and history of international relations, appears to reflect ethnocentrism, one that he urges us to “leave behind.”⁶

Ethnocentrism is one problem but, on a more general level, there is the matter of power at large. Relationships—including those international—are, on a basic level, negotiations about balance and projection. As such, music constitutes itself an instrument or a forum designed to perpetuate impression, identity, or hegemony but also resistance and protest.⁷ While it is true that the Cold War context reflected such struggles, it also suggested a very specific scenario, dominated by super power-oriented governmental structures, actors, and deeds.

The present book is a formidable example of what happens if we expand our gaze on musical diplomacy to transcend the Cold War, move beyond from the bipolar question, and, likewise, away from the notion of state-dominated cultural interaction. Historians interested in “informal diplomats”—such as bankers, entrepreneurs, doctors, journalists, and artists—have argued that as long as there is an intended or unintended diplomatic effect, any sort of international relation emerges in lieu of if not as representative for “diplomacy.” Here, international relations involving music may be understood as what Grégoire labels a “cultural contact that offers other point of analysis that can be missed by the study of diplomacy.”⁸ Investigating such contact may help us to understand how, when, and why music, musical

players, and musical events morphed into instruments as well as targets of state influence but, also, how they contributed to the proliferation and weakening of state power over time.

This interest has led to a surge of research interest but also to a profound messiness in the field. Today, we know much about policymakers playing music or sending music abroad. We have learned quite a bit about diplomats using music as a figurative and practical language of hegemony and relation. And we have, most recently, heard a lot about music and power. In the introduction of the abovementioned 2014 volume, “Music and Diplomacy,” the editors ask “is music empowered?”⁹ They answer this query in a series of chapters, and an afterword in which Danielle Fosler-Lussier concludes that “power is performed and negotiated among persons.”¹⁰ Music, so the argument goes, can create relationships and symbolic power and mediate ideas through performance.

But how exactly does this work and how can we study this phenomenon, not just case by case but on the theoretical, comparative level? That, it seems to me, is at the heart of the questions of the present volume. In their initial call for the international conference preceding the invitation to this volume, the editors, Cécile Prévost-Thomas and Frédéric Ramel, addressed the specificities and goals of musical diplomacy, as well as changes in diplomatic practices relating to music. They asked, how diverse hegemonic actors and institutions and as well as those who seek to achieve influence do so, at different points of time (without/besides resorting to violence and sanctions).¹¹

That question is not merely one of play and projection but, it seems to me, one of dream and desire. On a very basic level, all states, groups, organizations (state, non-state, and those that are non-state but wish to be seen as state), indeed, all people, desire to be heard, as well as seen. To be perceived and appreciated is what makes them exist. In order to be heard, and obtain all the opportunities that come with it (ranging from signing binational treaties to a seat in the United Nations), states embark on modes of projection, pitching themselves as legitimate entities performing in the global arena. That projection of the state—typically symbolized by a flag, a seal, an airline, a palace, and, yes, an anthem—targets the perception of different sets of audiences, one domestic, one foreign.¹²

In modern times, the two have increasingly come to influence one another. Much of this has to do with rise of the modern nation state, the democratic revolutions, and governments’ need to work foreign and domestic audiences simultaneously. Nowhere, it seems to me, is that more obvious than in the performing arts that involve a “stage” both in a

metaphorical sense as well as in a quite literal sense. The stage is a place where something happens, defined by audiences, performers, and controllers.¹³ To cite the editors of this volume again, in the introduction to this volume they suggest to consider any stage and, really, any “scene” to investigate “how do musical and diplomatic scenes, local and international scenes actually articulate?” The chapters that follow all offer examples of stages as places; they peruse the stage and action on or related to the stage (musical diplomacy), as mechanisms on the part of state and/or non-state actors to influence the musical scene, the diplomatic scene, or as a diplomatic target in and of itself.

Diverse as they may be, these chapters all raise important questions regarding the representation and performance in an international setting even though the answers are not often straightforward. Take, for example, the key question of this volume: what is it that music and its representatives (state and non-state) really do for international relations, in a diplomatic context? Michela Berti, in her study of Roman *feste*, is ambivalent about this; first, she tells us that concerts performed the king, not the nation, but later she goes on to argue that their implications went far beyond the king, to include grandeur and even divine implications. Mark Ferraguto’s portrayal of early modern diplomatic-cultural competition in Vienna and elsewhere faces a similar conundrum: for all the anticipatory talk about the transnational, how did musical diplomats manage to pitch and retain peculiarity in a market and an atmosphere that was crying out loud for early modern national distinction? Rebekah Ahrendt’s suggestive assessment of the viol as a means of preferred international communication is instructive but remains opaque when it comes to the benefit for this or that state’s portrayal in the international arena. In what I see as perhaps the most suggestive assessment, Damien Mahiet believes that in an international setting, music alters something that was not there before. But, what is it, exactly, that music resituates, alters, or adds to the cacophony of national interests—and can we make sense of it, notably in an assessment stretching across 200 years? Likewise, Fanny Gribenski tells a fascinating story about the genesis of the international pitch, citing “political and military” history. What role do these actions and semi-formal actors and their efforts to unify modes of representation play in the larger framework of international politics, ranging from, say, the war of 1870/1871 to the Munich conference? Anne-Sylvie Barthel-Calvet’s analysis of US musical politics in post-World War Europe moves from a political to a cultural analysis, from Nicolas Nabokov’s involvement in various musical ventures

loosely connected to the US government, to the desire to create a truly international music scene where US and European artists would meet on a par. But how do the two interconnect in the crafting of a “scene”? Noé Cornago’s chapter portrays musicians’ ambivalent political engagement for or against the cause of French colonialism, but their interaction with and impact on key events in French foreign relations remains unclear.

Commendably, several chapters in this volume address the issue of music and state control, but it is less clear to me how, exactly, we are to understand a peculiar authoritarian or anti-authoritarian note in the world of international music. Esteban Buch and Anaïs Fléchet’s provide a terrific story relating non-state actors to protest and diplomacy, but the connection between musical sympathy and the politics of human rights remains opaque: is music an instrument more likely to be exerted by democracies in favor of political action (including humanitarian causes)? Dean Vuletic’s assessment of authoritarian states posing at the European Song Contest (ESC) likewise circumvents tantalizing questions in regard to the link between democratic politics and representation. While it may be true that the ESC has proven to be a worthwhile scene of self-display for authoritarian states in a European setting, the fact remains that democratic states, smaller ones in particular, likewise use the ESC to put themselves on the map.

In the end, these questions all boil down to an effort to understand what happens when the states and non-state actors engage in ventures related to music, across different borders and at different times. What is the common denominator of music, international relations, and the state in the modern period? Below, I suggest to consider the term “nation branding” as a creative way to investigate how states and non-state actors have collaborated in an effort to address, project, or activate music and the nation as a metaphor for political, including diplomatic action. What I am suggesting here is to accentuate the act—the procedure—of representation more fully and to do so at the expense of “meaning” or the “essence” of the music performed. When reviewed collectively, every single one of the chapters above makes a statement relating to the desire to be heard in a specific way, to craft an image for a person, a group, or a nation state to be acknowledged. Nation branding can help us make sense of these case studies.

ON NATION BRANDING

Nation branding is a term that became somewhat hip about 15 years ago, mostly among advertising experts. Since then, it has begun to fascinate nearly all those currently concerned with making cultural policy.¹⁴

And it has since inspired much critical research, notably in the field of communication studies.¹⁵

Branding's major job is to improve or establish a positive image of a given product along with a "desire" to acquire it. This can be a cereal or a cruise boat. Branding supports the marketing of both the product at hand and also a way of life associated with that product. Nation branding, in turn, creates campaigns designed to inspire target audience to visit, invest in, or cooperate with that country. Nation branding experts typically believe that any country's foreign political and economic well-being depends on its international reputation. To this end, experts use specific mechanisms common in modern advertising, asking (1) How does a country wish to be seen and heard? (2) How does that wish relate to the reality (perception by others)? (3) How can the gap between desire and reality be bridged?

For example, the kingdom of Bhutan has been traditionally perceived as backward. Since the 1990s, local leaders have introduced, advertised, and internationally identified with the "Gross National Happiness" (GNH) index. Serving as a symbol for and a unique feature of the nation and a promise to the world, GNH pitches a more inclusive vision of prosperity, based not merely on output but also on the environmental, spiritual, social, and physical health of its citizens. A little-known, landlocked country in the Himalayan region with hardly any industry nor infrastructure that experienced violent factionalism in the 1980s and 1990s, Bhutan in cooperation with an international advertising firm thus seeks to introduce a new vocabulary into global competition while at the same time mending domestic ties. In doing so, GNH captured and transformed foreign perceptions of Bhutan, as Western tourism in the region has increased while the United Nations General Assembly, much encouraged by Bhutanese leaders, has adopted a resolution to achieve sustainable happiness, in 2011. Today, GNH is an influential force in Bhutanese nation branding.¹⁶

What makes nation branding as a concept so useful is that it turns a blind eye on many of the definitive facts typically attributed to cultural relations—and, by implication, musical diplomacy. Any actor, any state official, and any non-state group may be part of nation branding. The concept makes no distinction between "positive" cultural diplomacy in search of "mutual understanding" and "unscrupulous" propaganda on the other. Ideology is likewise insignificant: a state may be authoritarian or democratic.

In essence, the nation branding approach uses four different tools that may be very useful for scholars interested in music and international relations when they analyze and compare musical self-representation among actors across borders and time periods. First, it studies how interest groups contest and compromise to create a marketable sound—anthem, jingle, films, marches, promo videos—that may help to achieve goals that for whatever reason cannot or should not be reached by pressure (violence, economic sanctions). Second, nation branding focuses on the gap between self- and foreign perception; this, in turn allows us to compare case studies from different eras and regions that, at least in the songbook of historical analysis, are typically distinguished. Third, nation branding examines any actor, state, non-state and in tandem. Fourth, nation branding considers how sound and imagery is constructed by focusing on the process rather than the outcome/success: perception, communication, actors.

The application of the nation branding approach to music and IR, I think, works best precisely in the period under investigation in this book—in early modern and modern history. The terminology and conceptual approach of nation branding as outlined above along with its orientation toward advertising and marketing techniques resonate, in more than one way, the emergence and rise of the nation state. Let us take another look at the chapters presented in this book and see where we can retrace such mechanisms.

MUSIC AND NATION BRANDING

In many ways, the first three chapters in this volume can be understood as an anticipation of the nation state's modern projective power. As Hillard von Thiessen and others have pointed out, early modern representations of the state centered on dynastic understandings of power.¹⁷ Rulers and representatives perceived their power as God-given and personalized, as we see in Michela Berti's analysis of musical diplomacy as a network of cultural exchanges in early modern Rome. Berti argues that concerts "were a medium through which ambassadors, cardinals, and nobility could show their magnificence," merging divine and worldly aspirations. Likewise, Mark Ferraguto shows how transnational networks of diplomats in eighteenth-century Europe circulated composers and compositions by way of salons, concerts, and personal connections. If we take those aspirations for what they are—performances of taste and erudition—we can grasp the impulse to import and stage foreign music, as representations

not just of cultural competitiveness and cosmopolitanism but as political legitimacy in an age that closely connected all three. In this respect, Rebekah Ahrendt's portrayal of the viol as an instrument, quite literally, for the conduct of diplomacy, sounds like a swan's song from an era when tone and language reigned representative politics, to an equal extent until the written word superseded sound. Suavity, civility, morality, harmony all expressed in tone (and body posture) was, she writes, part of a regular system of diplomatic communication among states in tune with contemporary perceptions of political interaction.

But toward the end of the eighteenth century, European and North American interpretations of nation and power began to move away from religion to an understanding of rule grounded in this life. This change was central for the modern development of nation branding, including its musical component: governmental power was now squarely anchored in worldly affairs and entailed—rather imprecise points of peculiarity—to the nation. This new understanding of the modern state power underlined the nation's appeal among domestic and foreign audiences alike.

In the nineteenth century, this constellation intensified international cultural ties and conflicts, and Damien Mahiet's chapter is a picture book example of that. Mahiet provides a comparison of musical diplomacy in two periods; what was scoffed as ancient regime style in the early nineteenth century, he holds, was later on hailed as people-to-people in the early twenty-first century. Now, in those two eras each story is different yet the dreams and desires are similar: for whatever reason, policymakers put high hopes on music as a tool of national representation, related to either elitist or popular entertainment, but it does not really matter whether or not diplomats were personally playing, dancing, or singing or had someone else do it for them.

We know today that in the nineteenth century, informal actors played a central role in this scenario: bankers, clerics, aristocrats, intellectuals, academics, agents in the performative arts. And musicians: music became a "national marker" throughout Europe and North America in the nineteenth century as "specific cultural markers" including rhythms and musical idioms as well as rhythms were increasingly identified with specific national styles.¹⁸ Key patriotic events, such as war and crisis, victory and defeat, became powerful instruments of national musical expression: from Tchaikovsky's 1812 *Overture* to the Country style "Battle Hymn of the Republic," published by Julia Ward Howe during the American Civil War. Conductors such as Theodore Thomas and Frederick Stock in Chicago,

Karl Muck in Boston, or Ernst Kunwald in Cincinnati created world class orchestras hailing the European masters. Singers such as Ernestine Schumann-Heink exported Wagnerian operas to Asia and the Americas. Pianists such as Mark Hambourg, Emil Sauer, and Ignaz Paderewski toured to play but also represent their country's political aspirations. Composers such as Antonin Dvorak strove to create music reflecting the national soul, then crossed borders to pitch that music to global audiences.¹⁹

It's worthwhile to stop and think about these individual non-state actors for a moment. After all, most of them had no official mandate for musical contact and exchange. But they did feel a mission to unify the standards of classical music inside and outside of Europe. What is more, their activities had a profound diplomatic effect: they addressed and sought to bridge the discrepancy between foreign and self-perceptions of their own and other countries. After 1850, for example, international perceptions of the inhabitants of German-speaking lands changed from obese, narrow-minded, beer-drinking, and ugly provincialists with a difficult language to poetic, sexually attractive, musically gifted, and emotionally deep artists—think young daring pianist with forlorn look and long wavy hair, such as world-renowned artist Emil Sauer. It does not matter whether these images were “true.” What matters is that this change of perception, these “pictures in our minds” took place. The artists who contributed to this change counted among leading cultural diplomats of the nineteenth century. And whether they knew it or not, in many ways, they acted in the interest of the state.

It is at this precise crossroad of nationalism and internationalism that Gribenski makes an important contribution. The author describes international efforts with all their attendant national interests, to search for and negotiate a standard pitch for musical performance and recording. Regardless of the quarrel's significance and its outcome, here, non-state actors from Germany, France, the United States and elsewhere promoted their nations' preferred pitch as global standard and, thus, branded their respective nations as worthy to, quite literally, “set the tune” in the international arena.

Here, the raster of questions associated with nation branding helps to grasp various forms of state marketing in history. Musical nation branding seeks to promote the attractiveness of a country in the world. Formal or informal actors, resort to communication strategies in the form of music—today this is called brand management—to promote willy-nilly the portrayal of their country as an attractive and recognizable actor in the international

arena. The influential status of non-state actors changed dramatically after World War I; not that they disappeared but—and Gribenski points to that as well—they came increasingly under state control in divisions such as Weimar’s cultural division in the Foreign Office, the British Council.

I have spent much time trying to figure out why all of a sudden, after the end of World War I, such a diverse range of state governments became interested in musical nation branding. Why did officials become so interested in music and began to use it systematically (rather than erratically) to project the nation domestically and internationally? For whatever reasons, state officials began to believe that they were in a superior position to assess and orchestrate sound projections. That recognition, for all intents and purposes, constituted quite a shift in the structure of musical relations. Here, again, Gribenski’s account is enlightening. As she shows, for all the informal actors and international organizations involved in the consensus seeking over the A 440 pitch, at the end much of the force and the interest behind the decision was driven by national political and military actors, most notably the United States’ insistence to establish itself as “pitch setter.”

We know much about how the Cold War further expanded the state’s involvement in musical nation branding activities. Holger Stunz, Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Toby Thacker, Andrea Bohlman, Emily Ansari, Carol Oja, and many others have written about that,²⁰ and so has, in this volume, Anne-Sylvie Barthel-Calvet when she retraces US non-governmental cultural diplomacy to create common points of contacts for the European and American Art Music Avant-Garde. Confronted with bipolar conflict and an increasing cacophony of voices in the international arena, hegemonic powers and their clients established musical export programs in the name of the security state. Older nations such as the Soviet Union reinvented themselves by new sounds. New postcolonial states devised state-run campaigns complete with national anthems next to colors and airlines to put themselves on the map. Noé Cornago’s chapter powerfully illuminates this development. In this chapter, contemporary diplomatic settings emerge as a form of music, atonal and not harmonious but complex, contradictory and, often, pointless endeavors, one that inspired musicians such as Schaeffer and Boulez to assume a political position. Schaeffer’s engagement, in particular, is a striking contribution to the branding of postcolonial identities. What is more, he may not have been much of a formal diplomat but he undoubtedly contributed to the French nation brand as at least divided on the issue of decolonization.

When viewed in the context of nation branding, two things seem important about these observations. First, state-controlled “musical diplomacy” only constituted a small portion of musical nation branding. In many countries, including Great Britain, France, and Germany, many contradictory aspirations, contested notions of power, and internal struggles over identity framed governmental programs. Which orchestra should go on tour and who should be the conductor? Which singer should be singing for the heart of America abroad? Leonard Bernstein’s 1959 tour, we know, was highly contested because of his presumably communist leanings.²¹ Wilhelm Furtwängler’s planned overseas engagements aroused the ire of many who saw him as an opportunist at best and a National Socialist collaborator at worst. And as Noé Cornago reminds us in this volume, tours were not the only way to pitch an international musical presence. Artists such as Boulez displayed rhetorical insistence on decolonization that may have echoed their creative innovation.

What is more, much of musical nation branding in the Cold War had less to do with routine diplomacy than with timeless discussions over how governments and interest groups wished the nation to be perceived at home and abroad. In the United States and in the Soviet Union as well as in their client states, officials grappled with conflicting functions and interpretations of popular artists vis-à-vis the state. Artists as diverse as Shostakovich or Leonard Bernstein (or Louis Armstrong or Joan Baez, for that matter) were seen alternately as either a threat or an asset to national identity and security.²² In both Germanies, discussions among various interest groups and agencies reflected a timeless yet defining debate over German cultural distinctiveness that preceded the Cold War. To what an extent was classical music really “German”? Could Beethoven be universalist and at the same time German as well? Did the Gewandhausorchester represent the German nation, East Germany, or humanity at large? In new postcolonial states—as Cornago and others remind us—countries’ debates around heritage, folk music, modernization, and Western culture likewise conflicted on questions on identity.

Such debates over musical nation branding extended and continue to extend to both democratic and authoritarian states. In the twentieth century, authoritarian states ranging from Mussolini’s Italy over the Soviet Union to Latin American dictatorships built their nation’s identity and mobilization on musical displays (including marches, tours, compositions,

and shows) pitched to both internal and external audiences. Shortly after the turn of the millennium, the Chinese government created the Chinese Philharmonic Orchestra with the specific purpose to tour abroad, including Asia, Europe, and the Americas. That same decade, Iran sent the Teheran Symphony Orchestra to Europe to win sympathies for peace and friendship by playing an Iranian composer's little-known composition, albeit with limited success. In the present volume, Dean Vuletic highlights authoritarian states' efforts to use the European Song Contest as a way to pitch their national profile, seek cooperation across blocs and regimes, and interact with EC/EU member states to improve their own image. In 2012, the North Korean Symphony Orchestra ("Unhasu Orchestra") played their first European concert (though under the baton of South Korean conductor Chung Myung-Whun) at the Paris Salle Pleyel.²³ In each of these cases, state governments draw on the influence of non-state musicians to brand images of common affinities and preferences—however loosely defined—in an effort to attain legitimacy and credibility, to invite trade and tourism, and to pose as an influential actor in an international arena.

Examining musical diplomacy in and among democratic and authoritarian states inevitably leads to questions of music and protest. Here is where Esteban Buch and Anaïs Fléchet's assessment of human rights and music makes a valuable contribution. When considering protests and musical events in favor of his Miguel Estrella's liberation, music turns into an instrument for political action and, at the same time, a typical strategy to personalize but also pitch the issue of human rights. Spurred into action by creative non-state actors from the musical world, governments in France and Great Britain may well have wished to support the pianist but, at least as much so, to brand themselves as nations participating in an enlightened community supporting both human rights and classical music in a postcolonial age, never mind the fact that numerous authoritarian rulers had a soft spot for such musical staging as well.

State branding and resistance is also at the heart of Emilija Pundziūtė-Gallois. She analyzes Russian music as an informal tool to project hegemony in Latvia. Latvia's state ban of Russian concerts in the region has its double meaning: next to criticizing the Russian invasion in a neighboring state, it also promotes and defines Latvian culture as part of the national brand, worthy of domestic protection and international recognition.

CONCLUSION

Music, as we have seen in this book, plays a tremendously important role in international relations, both present and past. That story is increasingly well known, thanks to numerous musicologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and historians, including those contributing to this book. It is also, however, a very muddled story—multifaceted, multidirectional, and more often than not, confusing when it comes to the liaison between cultural preference and political implication.

In this chapter, I have proposed musical nation branding as a way to make sense of music's meaning in international relations across time and space. States, I said at the beginning of this chapter, need to be heard in the international arena. Latest since the early modern period, nations have taken advantage of means related to what we would call marketing techniques today, music and other sensual and cultural devices, to make statements, interact and claim legitimacy in domestic and international settings. Music can tell us how both state and non-state actors cooperated and antagonized each other in an effort to define and portray the nation's identity and influence at home and abroad.

Indeed, there is a story to tell how the state and its acting officials, in the twentieth century, assumed more and more control of international musical venues, whether these concerned a standard pitch or an artistic contest. In this development actors, including producers and consumers, often clashed over their respective visions of "what the nation sounds like." I suggest we begin studying this process not just *en détail* but strive to create a narrative of music and international relations across space and time by using the questions and ideas associated with contemporary nation branding. Such an endeavor will help us to understand the meaning of actors and actions as well as the persistence of musical exchange and self-representation. Most of all, it will help us figure out, in a gesture to Damien Mahiet's postulation, what works and what does not.

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