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**Programming Choices and National Culture:
The Repertoires and Canons of French and British
Symphony Orchestras (1967-2019)**

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School of Culture and Creative Arts

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Abstract

This thesis provides the first contemporary analysis of orchestral programming in Britain and in France, highlighting stable trends and transformations within concert canons over the past five decades. It presents the first sustained international comparison of contemporary orchestral canons and challenges the universalist approach of the Western musical canon. It examines the national differences between concert canons of French and British symphony orchestras from the mid-1960s onwards, based on four main case examples: the London Symphony Orchestra, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, the Paris Orchestra and Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra.

The main results show that canons do not only differ based on the old concept of national preference for local repertoire (developed by Vaughan Williams among others) but present more complex canonisation processes which impact foreign repertoire too. This thesis shows the significance of the original context of integration of a repertoire on its persistence in the canon, such as the early-twentieth-century critics using landscape metaphors for Nordic music (Sibelius, Nielsen), the Cold war for twentieth-century Russian music (Prokofiev, Shostakovich) and the tastes of intellectual circles for Second Viennese School music (Schoenberg, Berg, Webern). Furthermore, the research shows that, in addition to different proportions of certain repertoires in orchestral seasons, programming practices such as the pairing of different pieces for the same concert and its presentation to the audience significantly vary.

Finally, the role of orchestras within their society, based on cultural policies and deep societal trends has an impact on the repertoire considered as valuable. The case of the integration of film and video game music in concert halls illustrates the difference between French and British cultural systems.

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I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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Signature:

Abbreviations

BBCSO: BBC Symphony Orchestra

BBCSSO: BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra

BP: Berlin Philharmonic (Berliner Philharmoniker)

CBSO: City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra

EI: Ensemble Intercontemporain

EIF: Edinburgh International Festival

JSO: Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra

HO: Hallé Orchestra

LA Phil: Los Angeles Philharmonic

LPO: London Philharmonic Orchestra

LSO: London Symphony Orchestra

NP: Netherlands Philharmonic (Nederlands Philharmonisch Orkest)

NPR: National Philharmonic Orchestra of Russia

NSO: National Symphony Orchestra of Washington

NYP: New York Philharmonic

OCT: Toulouse Capitole Orchestra (Orchestre du Capitole de Toulouse)

OL: Lyon National Orchestra (Orchestre National de Lyon)

ONF: French National Orchestra (Orchestre National de France)

ONIF: Île-de-France National Orchestra (Orchestre National d'Île-de-France)

ONL: Lille National Orchestra (Orchestre National de Lille)

OP: Paris Orchestra (Orchestre de Paris)

OPRF: Radio France Philharmonic Orchestra (Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France)

OPS: Strasbourg Philharmonic (Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg)

OSM: Mulhouse Symphony Orchestra (Orchestre Symphonique de Mulhouse)

RSNO: Royal Scottish National Orchestra; SNO: Scottish National Orchestra (before 1990)

TPO: Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra

WP: Vienna Philharmonic (Wiener Philharmoniker)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In October 2019, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra and the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra opened their new seasons with Mahler's First Symphony, followed by the Tokyo Philharmonic performing the same piece the next month. Almost simultaneously, in other corners of the world, the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra was playing Mahler's Second Symphony under the direction of Zubin Mehta for the 100th anniversary of the orchestra and the Netherlands Philharmonic was performing Mahler's Seventh Symphony with Marc Albrecht.¹

A closer look at the 2019-2020 orchestral seasons worldwide reveals that the New York Philharmonic organised a 'Mahler's New York' festival to honour Mahler as their tenth Music Director (1909-1911), the Concertgebouw planned a third Mahler Festival after the 1920 and 1995 editions and Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra performed a complete Mahler cycle. Orchestras such as the Paris Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic and the Vienna Philharmonic programmed Mahler's symphonies for the season 2019-2020.² This season did not commemorate any Mahler anniversary which would, otherwise, explain the popularity of his pieces. Moreover, previous seasons show similar worldwide matching programmes. These, alongside other and similar data might lead us to think that the symphony orchestras in Berlin, Amsterdam, Vienna, Paris, Tokyo and London all play the same or similar repertoires, while at the same time both the academic discourse and the music press cultivate the notion of the classical canon as an international concept.³

¹ 3rd October in Dundee, 4th October in Glasgow and 5th October in Edinburgh (the same programme was performed in Paris in the preceding week): Strauss's *Don Juan Overture*, Berg's *Seven Early songs* and Mahler's First Symphony. JPO: 23rd, 24th and 25th October in the Wits Linder Auditorium; TPO: 1st November 2019; LA Phil: 24th October 2019 Los Angeles in the Walt Disney Concert Hall; Nederlands Philharmonisch Orkest with Marc Albrecht in Amsterdam Royal Concertgebouw.

² OP: Mahler's Third Symphony (December), Mahler's Sixth Symphony (March); LSO: Mahler's Fourth Symphony (April); BP: Mahler's Sixth Symphony (January), Mahler's Third Symphony (February), Mahler's Second Symphony (June); WP: Mahler's First Symphony (February), Mahler's Fifth Symphony (May).

³ The studies on the literary canon have proved to be applicable to the musical canon to some extent such as Bloom, Harold (1996) *The Western Canon*. London: Papermac; Dubal, David (2003) *The Essential Canon of Classical Music*. New York: North Point Press; Molnar, Antal (2003) *Classical Canons*. Budapest: Editio Musica.

The most obvious argument against the notion that the canon is universally shared may be the numerous ‘national’ festivals that populate orchestral seasons. For example, still within the 2019-2020 season, the LSO organised a festival entitled ‘British Roots’ with music by Michael Tippett, Edward Elgar and Ralph Vaughan Williams. The OPS played a concert ‘French Music of Past and Present’ including music by Philippe Manoury, Tristan Murail, Gabriel Fauré and Maurice Ravel in September 2014.⁴

However, the notion that orchestras around the world play a similar universal repertoire, with the occasional addition of some of their own national music, is insufficient to explain the data which I collected for this research, concerning the recent programming choices of two British and two French orchestras. The data I collected shows that my case study orchestras predominantly share a similar repertoire, but also present significant national differences when programming concerts. This database is comprised of concert programmes of four orchestras: the London Symphony Orchestra (LSO), the Royal Scottish National Orchestra (RSNO), the Paris Orchestra (Orchestre de Paris, OP) and the Strasbourg Philharmonic (Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg, OPS) from 1967 to the present day. This thesis therefore aims to demonstrate that the allegedly universal canon presents indeed significant variations in different countries and national contexts in ways that go beyond including and promoting national composers.

Three interconnected strands shape this research on the concert planning of orchestras. Firstly, the canonisation processes of specific repertoires need to be disentangled not only on an abstract international level but on a practical local level. The margins of these canons and repertoires are a crucial boundary in understanding what made specific pieces of music core elements in today’s orchestral performing culture. In this regard, William Weber’s studies on the Western musical canon as differing interlocking sets of pieces ground the start of this research. Weber’s research method comparing concert life in cities in Europe during the nineteenth century can be expanded through twentieth-

⁴ ‘Musique française d’hier et d’aujourd’hui’.

century musical life and up to the present day.⁵ However, the political and administrative context of Weber's work is different from contemporary orchestral management.

Secondly, the rather modern idea of nation-making through a variety of cultural policies impacts the canonisation of repertoires. Political nation-making strategies, based on various geopolitical events and territorial management directly (through funding) or indirectly (for example with international migrations of musicians) influence management teams of orchestras. Thirdly, a sociological approach to what makes a national identity - if such a concept even exists - allows one to examine the orchestra not only as a window into cultural politics but also as an expression of the society the orchestra is based in.

Even though the literature on musical canons, national culture and musical culture is rather prolific, studies focusing specifically on orchestral canons are much rarer.⁶ This thesis aims to provide one of the first sustained comparative approaches based on two European countries, France and Britain.⁷ Contrasting French and British models of symphony orchestras allows a deeper preliminary understanding of national canonical variations.⁸ Some aspects of this thesis can be seen as a continuation of and elaboration on one of Dowd and Liddle's key findings: the increased performance capabilities of orchestras 'reduces the

⁵ Such as *Music and the Middle Class: the social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (2017), *Redefining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig* (2006).

⁶ For a comparative approach on the canon of music education, see: Bevers, Ton (2005) 'Cultural Education and the Canon: A comparative analysis of the content of secondary school exams for music and art in England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, 1990-2004', *Poetics*, vol. 33, no. 5-6, pp. 388-416.

⁷ To my knowledge, Weber's work on nineteenth-century European cities is the only comparative approach specifically on orchestral canons. Other comparative studies focused on other aspects, such as funding systems and unions. See: Hannesson, Haukur F. (1998) *Symphony Orchestras in Scandinavia and Britain: a comparative study of funding, cultural models and chief executive self-perception of policy and organisation*, Unpublished Doctoral thesis. London: City University London; Schuster, J. Mark Davidson (1985) *Supporting the Arts: An International Comparative Study. Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain, Netherlands, Sweden, United States*. Washington: National Endowment for the Arts [Online: <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED257740>] Last accessed 9th April 2020; David-Guillou, Angèle (2009) 'Early Musicians' Unions in Britain, France, and the United States: On the Possibilities and Impossibilities of Transnational Militant Transfers in an International Industry', *Labour History Review*, vol. 74, no. 3, pp. 288-304.

⁸ The phrase 'canonic variation' was first coined by Joseph Kerman. This thesis builds on the concept of canonical variations as the typical differences between several national, regional or international canons as consequences of various factors explained in the following section on canons and repertoires. Kerman, Joseph (1983) 'A Few Canonic Variations' *Critical Inquiry* no. 10 vol. 1, pp. 107-125.

conformity of orchestral repertoires.’⁹ If evidence suggests that orchestral repertoires were progressively diversified in the US between 1842 and 1969, my study is based on the hypothesis that a significant degree of diversity exists in orchestral repertoires and canons. It aims to identify these canonical differences in Britain and France in a period of time which follows Dowd and Liddle’s sample.

Britain and France make interesting cases to compare. Away from Central Europe, London and Paris were two centres of musical life which were established early on and competed with other major musical centres such as Leipzig and Vienna.¹⁰ Neighbouring countries Britain and France host some of the oldest modern symphony orchestras in Europe, as well as famous opera houses and concert halls. The French and British institutions have been some of the most renowned and influential in Western Europe since the end of the nineteenth century. These include teaching institutions such as the Royal College of Music London (1882), Guildhall School of Music and Drama (1880), Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (formerly, Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, 1845), Paris Conservatoire (1795), Schola Cantorum (1894), Lyon Conservatoire (1872) and Strasbourg Conservatoire (1855). The two neighbours engaged in musical exchanges for centuries.¹¹ Musicians travelled between the two countries, such as Berlioz visiting Britain (1847-1855) and Elgar conducting his Violin Concerto in Paris (1933). More recently the RSNO appointed French musician Stéphane Denève as principal conductor from 2005 to 2012 and the OP appointed British musician Daniel Harding as principal conductor from 2016 to 2019.

This thesis therefore aims to demonstrate the amplitude of national differences in French and British orchestral canons based on the study of concert

⁹ Down, Timothy J., Liddle, Kathleen (2002) ‘Organizing the Musical Canon: the repertoires of major U.S. symphony orchestras 1842-1969’, *Poetics*, no. 30, pp. 35-61.

¹⁰ Weber, William (2003) *Music and the Middle Class: the social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge. Weber, William (2006) ‘Redifining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig, 1800-1848’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 507-532.

¹¹ Wathey, Andrew (1990) ‘The peace of 1360-1369 and Anglo-French musical relations’, *Early Music History*, vol. 9, pp. 129-174; Rohr, Deborah (2004) *The Careers of British Musicians 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

programmes, despite the geographical proximity, interconnected history and shared European culture of Britain and France.

Research questions

This thesis aims to bridge the research gap on contemporary orchestras providing answers to the following two questions:

- How different are national symphonic canons? This thesis aims to extend Weber's studies on the musical canons to further demonstrate the national particularities in concert canons of symphony orchestras in France and Britain.
- To what extent do nation-making dynamics influence the canonisation of local and foreign music in the repertoire of national orchestras? For example, the canonisation of local music (French and British music) and specific foreign repertoires such as Nordic and twentieth-century Russian music in national canons appear to rely at least partially on particular political and critical contexts, as I will attempt to demonstrate. Extending Bourdieu's field theory and his concepts of symbolic capital and distinction to the canonisation processes of orchestral works goes some way towards explaining the different canonical status of the music of the Second Viennese School, twentieth-century Russian music and screen music in France and Britain.

This thesis contributes to the understanding of symphony orchestras and their repertoires. Compiling information about the recent seasons of these four orchestras benefits the research community as these ensembles and their seasons have not yet been covered extensively by academic research. As mentioned in the specific section on the four chosen orchestras of this thesis, the OP, and especially the OPS have been the focus of very scarce academic research. My discussion of canonisation processes is based on the analysis of this database. Some of this data has been studied before, such as Honegger's studies on the concert programmes of the OPS and Noltingk's recent PhD thesis on contemporary music in the programmes of the RSNO.¹² However, I choose to

¹² Honegger, Genevieve (1998) *Le Conservatoire et l'Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg*. Strasbourg, SEDIM; Noltingk, Jaqueline Susan (2017) *The Scottish Orchestras and New Music, 1945-2015*. PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow.

integrate the most recent concerts in the database, addressing the lacuna between archived ephemera and contemporary events. This information might benefit researchers interested in these orchestras, the musical life of London, Paris, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Strasbourg and the reception of the specific composers and works considered in this thesis. Moreover, the international comparative methodology I apply to very recent concerts in a post-globalisation world provides new results on concert canons and the reasons behind national differences in canonisation processes. This thesis provides an innovative combination of references to both nation-making governmental policies and societal cultural values.

Canons and repertoires

The Western musical canon is probably one of the most written-about concepts in musicology. This significant corpus of studies demonstrates the importance of canons in the understanding of music within societies.

In this thesis, the ‘universalist’ approach towards the canon refers to the idea of a common status of specific pieces of music within the Western musical canon. This transnational perspective focusses on the global community around symphony orchestras. For example, with this perspective, the symphonies of Sibelius would share the same or very similar canonical status in Britain, France, Germany and the US.

The universalist approach towards the musical canon might come from the term’s origin in Biblical studies (traceable back to the very first Church Councils who determined the content of the Bible), then expanded to the entirety of a nation’s literature.¹³ It can be defined as ‘a catalogue of approved authors’, ‘a body of exemplar works drawn from the past’.¹⁴ In music, the idea of canon as a collection of musical works drawn from the past was firmly established in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Weber suggests that ‘one of the most

¹³ Reid, George J. (1908). "Canon". In Herbermann, Charles George (ed.). *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. pp. 272, 273.

¹⁴ Bloom, Harold (1994) *The Western Canon*. London: Papermac, p. 20; Morgan, Robert (1992) ‘Rethinking Musical Culture: Canonic reformulations in a post-tonal age’ in Bergeron, Katherine, Bohlman, Philip (eds) *Disciplining Music: musicology and its canon*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p. 44.

¹⁵ Weber, William (2008) *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: concert programming from Haydn to Brahms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

fundamental transformations in Western musical culture is the rise of a canon of great works from the past'.¹⁶ As the canon in literature consists of what is considered worth reading, the canon of Western art music can be the repertoire considered influential and judged as valued by a society. This includes an extensive number of works which set up the model of Western art music and which survive in the repertoire from very early music to contemporary music. The idea of Western music as a universal language shaped the idea of a global canon.¹⁷ Crucially, this canon is not to be considered as a stable entity, it perpetually changes, and we might presume that 'no secular canon is ever closed'.¹⁸

Recent authors started to deconstruct the idea of one unique stable canon for a more variable concept of canonisation. The Western musical canon has drawn the attention of musicologists for the last thirty years as a constrictive concept with works such as Weber's 'Consequences of Canon: The institutionalization of Enmity between Contemporary and Classical Music', Citron's 'Gender and the musical canon' and Sancho-Velazquez's 'The Legacy of genius: improvisation, romantic imagination, and the Western Musical Canon'.¹⁹ Weber's studies, for one, presented sets of 'interlocking canons' rather than a 'universally authorized play-list'.²⁰ Different forms of canons can be defined based on their area of application. For example, the 'teaching' canon as a catalogue of approved pieces to be taught to music students differs from the 'academic' canon which includes all pieces considered as valuable research topics. In this instance, scales and exercises would clearly belong to the former and probably not the latter. Importantly, all canons do overlap. This thesis primarily focuses on the orchestral canon as a sub-section of the 'performing' canon. It is important to

¹⁶ Weber, William (1999) 'The history of the musical canon' in Cook, Nicholas and Everist, Mark (eds) *Rethinking Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 336.

¹⁷ 'Of all the arts, music is undoubtedly the art form with the potential to affect people more immediately and more deeply than any other. It can stir the emotions as nothing else, inspire people to the loftiest thoughts and sentiments, and bring them together in indissoluble bonds.' Dr Peter van den Dungen General Coordinator, International Network of Museums for Peace in Urbain, Oliver (2015) *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*. London: I.B.Tauris, p. xvi.

¹⁸ Bloom, Harold (1994) op. cit. p. 37.

¹⁹ Weber, William (2003a) 'Consequences of Canon: The institutionalization of Enmity between Contemporary and Classical Music', *Common Knowledge*, vol. 1, no. 9, pp. 78-99; Citron, Marcia (2000) *Gender and the Musical Canon*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press; Sancho-Velazquez, Angeles (2001) *The Legacy of Genius: Improvisation, Romantic Imagination, and the Western Musical Canon*. University of California, Dissertation.

²⁰ Weber, William (1999) op. cit. p. 347.

note that other canons do interfere, such as the youth orchestral canon and the pedagogical canon of conservatoires and universities that, for example, impact the choices of concertos by soloists.

Several studies, mostly US-based research, such as Dowd & Liddle, Kremp and Pompe & al., focused on canons and repertoires of American symphony orchestras and the factors which influenced their programming choices.²¹ Taking into consideration financial and institutional aspects, the US research strand on music programming stands as the core literature of the field. For example, Dowd and Liddle provided a solid foundation for the study of orchestral canons with their study of twenty-seven symphony orchestras circling down towards three main factors of innovation in the introduction of new composers: ‘the increased performance capabilities of symphony orchestras, the expanded resources for new music, and the proliferation of music programs among US colleges and universities’.²²

In his study of twenty-seven U.S. symphony orchestras from 1879 to 1959, Kremp underlines the ‘conservatism’ and ‘concentration of the repertoire’ as out of the 1,612 composers ever played, thirteen of them represented half of the performances.²³ Moreover, the first hundred of the most often played composers accounted for 86% of the programmes. Kremp’s results must be examined within the Northern American symphony tradition, reputed to be more conservative than European traditions. These results show a very tradition-oriented canon, at least until the middle of the century. However, applying Kremp’s method to the 2014-2015 season of six French and five British major symphony orchestras leads to completely different results.²⁴ The first hundred most often played composers constituted approximately two thirds of the French and British programmes (2014-2015), far from the 86% of the American programmes (1879-1959). Instead of thirteen composers in the US, thirty-six composers in France and twenty-six in

²¹ Down, Timothy, J., Liddle, Kathleen (2002) ‘Organizing the Musical Canon: the Repertoires of Major U.S. Symphony Orchestras 1842-1969’, *Poetics*, no. 30, pp. 35-61.

²² Ibid. p. 35.

²³ Kremp, Pierre-Antoine (2010) ‘Innovation and Selection: Symphony Orchestras and the Construction of the Musical Canon of the United States (1879-1959)’, *Social Forces*, vol. 88, no. 3, p. 1051.

²⁴ The study was done with the programmes of the OP, OCT, ONL, Lamoureux Orchestra (Paris), OPS, Philharmonia Orchestra (London), CBSO, LSO, RSNO and RLPO in Bols, Ingrid (2016) *Management des grands orchestres symphoniques: programmation et culture*, Master dissertation. Reims: Neoma Business School, p. 42.

Britain represented half the performances. The thirteen most often played composers constituted only 29% of the performances in France and 35% of the performances in Britain.²⁵

The studies of Weber, Kremp, Dowd and Liddle agreed on the idea of the current diversification of the orchestral repertoire, as ‘the annual number of “new” composers - whose works were played for the first time - has grown since the late nineteenth century as well as the total number of composers played’.²⁶ Instead of continuing to grow on the catalogues of past composers, the evolution of the canon was reversed from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. Dowd, Liddle, Lupo and Borsen demonstrated that the top five of composers played by twenty-seven major U.S. Symphony Orchestras went from 52.3% of the performances in 1842-1857 to 29.1% of the performances in 1954-1969.

The studies on programming choices of contemporary orchestras juggle with the crucially different concepts of repertoire and canon. The boundary between canon and repertoire remains difficult to establish and all the following distinctions are of a non-schematic nature. The existing literature, as well as my own analysis of the database, suggests that neither the canon nor the repertoire are stable. Both sets are continuously modified by fashion trends of programmatic ideas, musical discoveries and the new works of contemporary composers, among other factors.

In his pioneering research, Kerman introduced the idea of the crucial significance of critics in the formation of the musical canon. He considered the repertoire as a programme of action determined by performers and the canon as an idea determined by critics (‘who are by preference musicians, but by definition literary men or at least effective writers about music’).²⁷ In this thesis, the many references to newspaper critiques and concert reviews follow this necessary consideration of critics in the canonisation processes. Kerman put

²⁵ The thirteen most often played composers by a selection of French orchestras in 2014-2015, from the most frequently played composer: Mozart, Beethoven, Offenbach, Bach, Saint-Saëns, Ravel, Verdi, J. Strauss (son), Berlioz, Tchaikovsky, Brahms, Haydn and Mahler. In Britain: Beethoven, Mozart, Stravinsky, Tchaikovsky, Brahms, Prokofiev, Rachmaninov, Sibelius, Elgar, Dvorak, Mahler, Bartók and Ravel.

²⁶ Kremp, Pierre-Antoine (2010) op. cit. p. 1068.

²⁷ Kerman, Joseph (1983) ‘A Few Canonic Variations’, *Critical Inquiry* vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 107, 112.

a stronger emphasis on the ideological aspect rather than the performing aspect of the canon.

Weber rehabilitated the crucial performance aspect in the formation of the canons, by adding the 'Repertory' as one of the four aspects of the canons, with 'Craft', 'Criticism' and 'Ideology':²⁸

The *performing* canon, involves the presentation of old works organized as repertoires and defines as sources of authority with regard to musical taste. I would argue that performance is ultimately the most significant and critical aspect of musical canon. While editions and anthologies figured significantly within the pedagogical and critical aspects of this problem, what emerged as the core of canonicity in musical life, beginning in the eighteenth century, was the public rendition of selected works. Celebration of the canon has been the focus of its role in musical culture: although some canonic works are not performed, they have for the most part been part of specialized pedagogical canons. We shall see that a performing canon is more than just a repertory; it is also a critical and ideological force.²⁹

For Kerman, 'a canon is an idea; a repertory is a program of action'.³⁰ I take a different point of view in this thesis, developing Weber's idea of the performing canon: I argue that the canon is the combined result of canonised repertoires, and the canonisation processes that these repertoires went through are a programme of action. The canon is a result, the repertoire is a prerequisite. I focus on two main criteria to differentiate canon from repertoire: frequency and significance.

In this thesis, the repertoire relies mainly on frequency of performance. The repertoire of an orchestra comprises all the pieces played once or more by this orchestra. Moreover, I consider a spectrum between the core and periphery of repertoires. A piece can be considered as part of the core repertoire of an orchestra when frequently played by this orchestra. For example, Stravinsky's *Petrushka Suite* can be considered as part of the LSO's core repertoire as it was

²⁸ Weber, William (1999) op. cit.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 340.

³⁰ Kerman, Joseph (1983) op. cit. p. 107

performed close to a hundred times since 1904. The core repertoire of an orchestra *de facto* often belongs to its canon, as high-levels of frequency are often correlated with significance.

A piece can be considered as part of the marginal repertoire when rarely performed. Butterworth's *A Shropshire Lad* is part of the marginal repertoire of the LSO as it was performed only three times since 1904. The repertoire tends to be influenced more by short-term considerations. For example, an orchestra might program more rarely performed works during the celebrations of the anniversary of a composer. These works are thus part of the repertoire, but not of the canon.

The canon of an orchestra is the set of pieces that cumulates high-levels of frequency and significance for international recognition. A piece can be thought as part of the national canon when it has been repeatedly played by various orchestras and conductors over a significant period of time. It is, of course, impossible to determine with absolute precision what a significant period of time is for these purposes; my analysis of the database suggests that, in the present context, if a work is regularly performed for more than twenty years, we can consider it part of the canon. As for significance, a canonical piece will have a certain meaning and status that not all pieces in the repertoire will possess. Several dimensions contribute to this symbolic meaning, including the reputation of the composer (e.g. Beethoven), the composition and reception context (Britten's *War Requiem*) and the prestige of its past and present performers (Mendelssohn conducting Bach). In general, orchestras need to perform canonical pieces to acquire national and international recognition and prestige. The idea of prestige will be discussed in the next section.

In addition, canonical works are not a homogeneous set. As for repertoires, I consider a spectrum between the core and the periphery of the canons. Pieces in the core will typically combine high frequency of performance and wide significance beyond local or national contexts. Some pieces and composers are essential for an orchestra to gain credibility and international prestige, with the most representative example being the symphonies of Beethoven, which have

been the ‘ultimate figure of the canon’ since the 1890s.³¹ This idea that some musical pieces having significance beyond local and national contexts relied on a construction that dates back to the earlier years of musicology research. Applegate explained how ‘the universality of German music was an unproblematic fact of European musical development’ from the 1930s and persisted in the literature.³²

The dated idea that German music expresses ideals ‘in a manner that emphasizes their universal content rather than their nationalistic manner of speech’ still partly echoed in the conception of the core canon of symphony orchestras of the past five decades.³³ For example, E.T.A. Hoffmann’s canon constituted by the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven appeared to be still prevalent to this day, especially for Beethoven.³⁴ For example, the LSO played one of Beethoven’s symphonies 647 times between 1967 and 2015. However, the database shows that a number of other works cumulate very high and stable levels of frequency and significance. For example, Mahler’s symphonies are part of today’s core canon, even if the canonisation of his works happened in relatively recent times.³⁵ Mueller’s study of twenty-seven American symphony orchestras from 1890 to 1970 shows a great rise of the proportionate representation of Mahler in the orchestral programmes from the 1960s onwards.³⁶ Moreover, our database shows that Mahler’s symphonies are being performed almost as frequently as Beethoven’s symphonies over the past five decades (appendix 1).

Marginal canonical pieces can be thought as those less frequently performed but still considered as prestigious in certain contexts. Marginal canonical pieces might often be performed by one specific orchestra or within a specific nation but might be performed less frequently or have reduced significance in other

³¹ Weber, William (2003a) op. cit. p. 91.

³² Applegate, Celia (1998) ‘How German is it ? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century’, *19th-Century Music*, vol. 21, no. 3, p. 275.

³³ McKinney, Howard, Anderson, W. R. (1940) *Music in History: The Evolution of an Art*. New York: American Book co, p. 707.

³⁴ Kerman, Joseph (1983) op. cit. p. 112.

³⁵ ‘Conductors are always at some stage of a Mahler cycle and when one finishes, another cycle starts.’ Chandler, Bill (2019) *Director of Concerts and Engagement, former Associate Leader of the RSNO*, interview by Ingrid Bols, 16th April. Glasgow: RSNO Centre.

³⁶ Mueller, Kate H. (1973) *Twenty-seven Major American Symphony Orchestras*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

contexts. For example, Elgar's symphonies can be thought part of the canon in Britain but not in France (as will be discussed in chapter 2). Therefore, Elgar's symphonies are marginal canonical pieces on an international level. If this repertoire were to be removed from the programmes, it would not drastically affect the international prestige of the orchestra. Other examples include film music and Nordic music. For example, the Berlin Philharmonic did not perform the Third Symphony of Sibelius for 128 years.³⁷ The OP never performed Nielsen's First and Sixth Symphonies. Moreover, the programmes of the season 2014-2015 suggest that German orchestras, including the Berlin Philharmonic, almost never perform film music.³⁸

Furthermore, the canons and repertoires exist at different geographical levels: the orchestra, the city, the national and the international classical music scene. A piece can be thought as part of the national repertoire when it has been played a few times by a restricted number of orchestras, supported by a few conductors and musicians and over a limited period of time. A piece can be in the repertoire without belonging to the canon, or belong to several categories of repertoire and canon, depending of the different levels of analysis. For example, a piece can be part of the international canon, the British canon and the French repertoire, such as Handel's *Messiah*. In 1946, Mellers stated that in Britain 'performances of *Messiah* were elevated to a rite, became a kind of national substitute for religious experience',³⁹ but this was not the case in France. Indeed, while the RSNO performed the *Messiah* once every season, from its beginnings in 1891 and the LSO performed it 47 times from its beginning in 1904 (15 times from 1967), the OP has played the piece only 3 times since its founding in 1967.⁴⁰

The flexible distinctions between repertoire, canon, core and periphery must be nuanced by the several possible units of analysis: the performances of a single piece (e.g. Beethoven's Seventh Symphony), a set of pieces by the same

³⁷ Service, Tom (2010) 'Rattle rehabilitates Sibelius in Germany', *Guardian*, 10th May [Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/music/tomserviceblog/2010/may/21/rattle-sibelius-berlin-philharmonic>] Last accessed 10th February 2018.

³⁸ Bols, Ingrid (2016) op. cit.

³⁹ Mellers, Wifried (1946) *Music and Society: England and the European tradition*. London: Dennis Dobson, p. 147.

⁴⁰ The RSNO's 108th performance of the *Messiah* was in 1975. The recent and upcoming performances show that this tradition is kept alive (20th April 2019, 2nd January 2020).

composer (Beethoven's symphonies), a set of pieces by different composers (Nineteenth-century symphonies), or all the work of one composer (Beethoven).

Considering the composer as the unit of analysis comes with great limitations. Cook's exploration of the Beethoven's 'noncanonic works' *Wellingtons Sieg* and *Der glorreiche Augenblick* provided a clear perspective on the limits of the composer as the unit of analysis.⁴¹ For example, *Wellingtons Sieg* and *Der glorreiche Augenblick* are not part of the repertoire of most of the orchestras of our database. Moreover, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, probably unequivocally considered as canonical for its critical and philosophical significance, was performed less often than several of Brahms's and Tchaikovsky's symphonies by the OP (appendix 1).

The orchestral music of Mendelssohn is an example of the non-schematic nature of the distinctions on the spectrum between the core canon and marginal canon. Mendelssohn's position within orchestral programmes greatly varied: Mueller's study showed that Mendelssohn was among the top five composers accounting for the most performances from 1842 to 1905, and then remained at 'low but stable' rates from the 1945.⁴² The database shows that Mendelssohn's symphonies were performed six times less often than Beethoven's symphonies by the LSO (appendix 1). Mendelssohn's First and Second Symphonies are extremely rarely performed; and one could question the relevance of considering the complete set of Mendelssohn's symphonies as part of the core canon of the LSO. However, Mendelssohn's Fourth Symphony is one of the most frequently played symphonies of the repertoire of my database (appendix 1).

Goehr demonstrated the historical and philosophical limitations of the 'work-concept' in art music and that 'thinking about music in terms of works is not straightforward'.⁴³ However, in practice, identifying the canonical trajectories of single orchestral pieces appears to be the most precise, but tedious, way of studying orchestral canons. Nevertheless, this method presents some conceptual

⁴¹ Cook, Nicholas (2003) 'The Other Beethoven: Heroism, the Canon, and the Works of 1813-14', *19th Century Music*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 3-24.

⁴² Mueller, Kate H. (1973) *Twenty-seven Major American Symphony Orchestras*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

⁴³ Goehr, Lydia (1994) *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 2.

limitations too. The status of a certain piece in the repertoire does not imply the status of its composer. For example, Rimsky Korsakov's *Scheherazade* was performed as often as Beethoven's Ninth Symphony by the LSO. However, Rimsky Korsakov cannot be considered as a composer in the canon of the LSO on the sole basis of the performances of *Scheherazade*. Indeed, five pieces (*Scheherazade*, *Capriccio Espagnol*, *Flight of the Bumblebee*, *Dubnushka*, *Overture for a Russian Easter*) constitute the two thirds of the 228 performances of Rimsky Korsakov by the LSO from 1967 to 2015.

Instead of focusing on one unit of study, I aim to present different perspectives and level of analysis of the orchestral repertoires. Some of the case studies of this thesis focus on the orchestral works of a composer as a unit of analysis, such as Debussy, Messiaen, Sibelius and Nielsen. Other case studies focus on repertoires defined by discourses of historical and cultural belonging such as the cases of British music, twentieth-century Russian music and the Second Viennese School. Some other repertoires are defined by their original function and style, such as film and screen music. By contrast, the cases studies on Rostropovich and Gergiev take the perspective of the performer instead of the composer.

Several phrases are frequently used throughout this thesis to study the trajectories of these repertoires in the canons of the orchestras of our database. These can be defined as follows:

A canonisation practice is a habitual procedure that can result in the canonisation of certain repertoires. Radio and television broadcasts, programming choices of conductors, the frequent publication of critiques and articles are examples of canonisation practices.

A canonical practice is a habitual procedure of programming that is typical of one or several orchestras. For example, pairing Debussy's *La Mer* with other pieces on the theme of the sea is a canonical practice of the RSNO and LSO (case study 2).

A canonical difference is a variation of programming practices that is typical of one or several orchestras. For example, the greater proportion of film music in the programmes of some of the London orchestras is a canonical difference with Paris orchestras (case study 9).

Canonisation processes are the complex set of actions and influences that will make certain pieces of the repertoire gain significance and become part of a certain canon.

Of course, there is no official list of the pieces in the canons and repertoires at the different levels presented in this thesis. I ascribe works to one or the other based on my own research on concert programmes, historical data, studies on discourses and reception of these works. Ultimately, this thesis aims to provide an attempt at making sense of how orchestra programmers, managers, musicians, the public and academics are influenced and in turn influence differences in status between different musical works. The database of concert programmes assembled for this thesis shows that such frictions and negotiations are best seen in works and composers existing in the periphery (and not the core) of the canon. I will therefore be focusing mostly on the former.

Prestige, cultural and symbolic capital

In this thesis, the idea of significance is a central difference between repertoires and canons; orchestras perform significant pieces to acquire recognition, status and prestige. The concept of prestige is used in the frameworks in the fields of anthropology and sociology, mainly the systems of the distinction, cultural capital, symbolic capital and the prestige economy. Sociological frameworks have been applied on symphony orchestras and brought meaningful results. For example, Atik focused on the types of leadership within the orchestra.⁴⁴ Carpos used ‘the theoretical framework of a prestige economy as a way to understand perceptions of orchestral musicians within their orchestral context’.⁴⁵

Coulangeon and Lehmann studied the social tensions within the orchestra, based on the observation of rehearsals, concerts and interviews of musicians at the Paris Conservatoire (CNSMDP) and the Paris Opera (Opéra de Paris).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Atik, Yaakov (1994) ‘The conductor and the orchestra’, *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 22-28.

⁴⁵ Carpos, Francesa (2017) *The Prestige Economy of a London Orchestra*, PhD thesis. London: UCL, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Coulangeon, Philippe, Lehmann, Bernard (2002) ‘L’orchestre dans tous ses éclats. Ethnographie des formations symphoniques’, *Revue française de sociologie*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 813-817.

In this research, I apply several of Bourdieu's sociological frameworks to symphony orchestras in France and in Britain.⁴⁷ One could legitimately question the relevance of Bourdieu's theories, developed as they were through his analysis of French society in the 1960s and 70s to explain the contemporary orchestral scene. However, several studies demonstrated the relevance of Bourdieu's concepts out of their original contexts. As Prieur and Savage pointed out in their discussion on updating cultural capital theory, Bourdieu's *Distinction*, as the main work centred on the effects of cultural capital, did not present any clear definition of cultural capital but the concept took different forms such as 'formal education, knowledge about classical music, preferences for modern art, well-filled bookshelves'.⁴⁸ I agree with Prieur and Savage that this lack of formal definition is not a weakness but instead allows the framework to be adapted to a field in constant motion and to other fields.⁴⁹ As Prieur and Savage pointed out, 'for Bourdieu, a capital is always linked to a field, in which agents battle relationally for strategic advantage and position.'⁵⁰ Therefore, as long as the field is correctly described and circumscribed, Bourdieu's concepts can be applied to the classical music performing industry.

Kremp applied Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, symbolic capital and field of cultural production to American symphony orchestras. In his study of twenty-seven American orchestras, Kremp focused on how they programmed pieces beyond their usual canon, and the persistence of these innovations in the long-term. Kremp went beyond the individual choices of conductors and emphasised the cultural aspect of music. According to him, the degree of innovation in programmes depends partly on the age and prestige of the orchestras. Older orchestras tend to try newer pieces and composers, whereas newcomers are likely to stay within the existing boundaries. Long-established orchestras would have less difficulty in overcoming 'economic and symbolic costs' such as 'lost revenue, negative reviews from critics'.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. First published in France in 1979; Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) *Language and Symbolic power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. First published in France in 1982.

⁴⁸ Prieur, Annick, Savage, Mike (2011) 'Updating Cultural Capital Theory: a discussion based on studies in Denmark and Britain, *Poetics*, vol. 39, p. 568.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 567.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 570.

⁵¹ Kremp, Pierre-Antoine (2010) op. cit. p. 1076.

This particular result of Kremp highlights the methodological limits of the choice of a specific set of orchestras to collect concert data. The many recent orchestras which were explicitly founded to focus more on contemporary and neglected repertoire stand as strong counterexamples. For example, the London-based Chineke! Orchestra, founded in 2015, especially performs ‘a mixture of standard orchestral repertoire along with the works of Black, Asian and ethnically diverse composers both past and present’. Moreover, the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, the newest professional full symphony orchestra based in Scotland, has an extensive commissioning policy.⁵² No obvious conclusion can be made by applying Kremp’s study to my European sample. This strand of symbolic capital and prestige clearly has to be explored more thoroughly.

Based on my database results, I argue that Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital works more effectively when some form of division or distinction exists in the chosen context. For example, the Cold War divided the Western world into two constructed cultural areas. Therefore, exiled Soviet musicians and the repertoire they brought hovered on this cultural border (chapter 4). Moreover, a salient feature of French musical society at the time of the introduction of the work of the Second Viennese School was the distinction between conservatoire intellectual circles (to which Deutsch and Boulez belonged), on the one hand, and general audiences, on the other (chapter 5). Lastly, concert programmes show a clear distinction between film music and art music within orchestral seasons and the habits of the audience (chapter 6).

In addition, I argue that Bourdieu’s framework provides more illuminating results in the periods in which the studied repertoire went through some of its main canonisation processes during the 1960s-1980s. For example, the case of twentieth-century Russian music provides a favourable context to apply Bourdieu’s framework if we circumscribe it to the careers of exiled Soviet musicians, which mainly took place from the death of Stalin in 1953 to the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s (chapter 4). Secondly, the case of the Second Viennese School is mostly developed with the examples of Boulez and Deutsch, who were most active from 1960s onwards (chapter 5). Thirdly, the first

⁵² Noltingk, Jaqueline (2017) *The Scottish Orchestras and New Music, 1945-2015*, PhD Thesis. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, p. 165.

significant integration of screen music in the repertoires of orchestras occurred in the early 1980s, with John Williams and the LSO for example (chapter 6).⁵³

Due to the mostly chronological order of the case studies of this thesis, Bourdieu's ideas will be used in the second part of this thesis (chapters 4, 5 and 6). Instead of a long conceptual introduction, I choose to further develop Bourdieu's ideas during the second part of this thesis. These later chapters aim to show how the programming choices of orchestras can be, in certain cases, a broadening of Bourdieu's works as his ideas interrelate with the prominent concepts of nation-making and cultural policy.

Nation making

The idea of nation-making is a counter trend of the concept of the universal canon, and universality in general. Universality is a vague concept that entails several meanings, conceptual stands and practical implications in different semantic fields. Gourlay developed the idea of significance beyond occurrence in his definition of universality:

To avoid the simplistic, research must, therefore, aim at the discovery of significant or meaningful universals, rather than concentrate simply on occurrence. This raises the questions 'Significant/meaningful of what?' and 'To whom?'.⁵⁴

Gourlay's *The Non-Universality of Music and the Universality of Non-Music* focused on the discussion of the existence of musical attributes to humankind in general. In the context of the study of concert canons of symphony orchestras, 'universality' is necessarily reductive and Eurocentric. The orchestral canons are significant to a reduced community of musicians, scholars, critics, concert planners, music directors, concert-goers, music and musicology students, and listeners of a particular type of radio programmes, among others.

Symphony orchestras embody the cultural values of this particular group and give rise to a set of socially situated behaviours (such as attending a concert).

⁵³ The London orchestras were recording film music for longer but the transfer of the music from the studio to the concert hall happened later on.

⁵⁴ Gourlay, Kenneth (1984) 'The Non-Universality of Music and the Universality of Non-Music', *The World of Music*, vol. 26, no. 2, p. 26.

They are therefore part of culture in its anthropological sense, as defined by Kroeber & Kluckhohn's *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*:

Culture consists of patterns (explicit and implicit) of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.⁵⁵

The idea of an 'essential core of culture' that derived from a traditional selection echoes with the idea of canons as the selection of pieces that were considered and presented as valuable. I argue that the selection processes of these pieces of music (canonisation processes) are by themselves a pattern of behavior and therefore part of a culture. The idea of 'the distinctive achievement of human groups' leads us back to Gourlay's questions of agency: to whom are these pieces of music significant and therefore canonical? Whose culture is in the focus?

Instead of taking a universalist approach of the canon, a transnational perspective of the global community around symphony orchestras, I choose to focus on the study of nations as the 'imagined communities' that constructed the orchestral canon.⁵⁶ Since the late nineteenth century, orchestras have often been a key part of national cultures. Therefore, nation-making forces influence, and might in turn be influenced by, the canonisation processes of orchestral repertoires, and national cultural policies and economic systems can then be considered key to explain the canonical differences in the repertoires of national orchestras. Unravelling the concepts of national culture, their historical origins and their implications is therefore fundamental to study the variations between the national orchestral canons.

⁵⁵ Kroeber, Alfred L., Kluckhohn, Clyde (1952) 'Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions', *Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers* no. 47.

⁵⁶ Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Books.

As Anderson developed, nations are constructed ideas of ‘imagined communities’ and present significant limitations. Tensions exist between the sense of belonging to the different levels of communities and the rejection of the national ‘imagined community’ has an impact on orchestral programmes. The case study 1 about the constructed notion of ‘British’ music and the low frequency of performances of English music in Scotland is a striking example of these tensions. Studying the programmes of the RSNO and the LSO as a common set could wrongly imply that the British ‘imagined community’ is more relevant than the distinction between the Scottish and the English communities.

Moreover, culturally-relevant levels of analysis can be overlooked by the idea of national culture. For example, the region Alsace in France has a distinctive cultural heritage from its proximity with Germany. The OPS was run by French, Prussian and German administrations and could embody the cultural values at a more local level than the orchestras in Paris. By contrast, the OP could embody the cultural values of the projected vision of Frenchness directed towards a more international audience. Similarly, London orchestras stand at the intersection between the culture of the city and the state, among other levels.

Despite these limitations, the study of national orchestral canons can be justified by the effects of national cultural policies, economic systems and the nationality of orchestra players and administrations.

Cultural policies

The national - often centralised - cultural policies that shaped the performing art industries can provide an explanation for these differences and suggests evidence against a universalistic approach. Produced by a more or less centralised government, cultural policies are the ‘means of reconciling contending cultural identities by holding up the nation as a universalising essence that transcends particular interests’.⁵⁷ The national scale of cultural policies, differing funding systems, and the structures of society, thus justify adopting a national approach for the study of canons. First, the effects of nation-making forces on culture was studied by the field of cultural policy. For example, on understandings of culture in Britain, O’Brien wrote:

⁵⁷ Miller, Toby, Yudice, George (2002) *Cultural Policy*. London: Sage, p. 8.

By the 1960s, in the UK, culture came to be associated with a more anthropological understanding, being concerned with the construction and transmission of meaning (McGuigan 2004), where culture is about the artefacts and activities associated with a given community's 'way of life' (Williams 2010).⁵⁸

Miller and Yudice defined cultural policy as 'the institutional supports that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective way of life - a bridge between the two registers. Cultural policy is embodied in systematic, regulatory guides to action that are adopted by organizations to achieve their goal.'⁵⁹ Symphony orchestras are among the cultural institutions most shaped and influenced by cultural policies. Their budgets and organisations rely, to a great extent, on governmental decisions. Cultural policies have an influence on programming choices, as they allocate financial resources that might favour a certain repertoire over another and suggest broad directions or orientations that might, for example, favour national music rather than music imported from abroad.

Although how these orientations are implemented is not always straightforward, the fact that cultural policies are normally circumscribed to the territory of a nation-state makes it legitimate to focus on national canons in a study covering orchestral repertoires from the second half of the twentieth century. Historically, this is a relatively new development. For example, Weber's research conclusions, which I have referred to earlier, work well for the nineteenth-century pre-centralised political system, particularly in Germany, with private court and influential noblemen funding concert life on their estate.⁶⁰ However, in order to make Weber's approach applicable to the second half of the twentieth century and beyond, we must consider how canonisation interconnects with the rather recent notion of nation-building. While Weber's book on concert life in Paris, Vienna, London and Leipzig focused on cities and nineteenth-century local territories, I choose to focus on the national level, which I consider as one contemporary unit of understandings of twentieth-

⁵⁸ O'Brien, Dave (2014) *Cultural Policy: management, value and modernity in the creative industries*. New York: Routledge, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Miller, Toby, Yudice, George (2002) op. cit. p. 1.

⁶⁰ Weber, William (2003) op. cit.

century musical institutions, through cultural policies and national economic systems that shape different understandings of culture.

According to O'Brien, British cultural policy is based on the three uses of culture by the government: 'excellence, inclusion and the economy'.⁶¹ These three aspects shaped the policies of successive governments. The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport directs cultural policies, and the funding of performing arts is supported by separate ministries and Art Councils in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.⁶² From the beginnings of the Arts Council, its founder John Maynard Keynes promoted artistic excellence, considering culture as the high point of civilisation.⁶³ The discourse on social inclusion and exclusion progressively faded in British governmental communication for the 'commitment that focuses on supply- rather than demand-side interventions'.⁶⁴ In post-industrial societies, O'Brien noticed that creative industries and their cultural artefacts are often presented by cultural policies as a potential replacement for industrial production.⁶⁵ Manton argued that the arts in Britain were under-funded and that the distribution of funds was unbalanced, as data suggest that English companies were more successful in rising funds from the Art Council, whereas Welsh and Scottish companies leaned more towards local authorities.⁶⁶

In France, cultural policy-making is more centralised than in Britain. A crucial reference for understanding the differences between the British and French cultural policies is Kim Eling's *The Politics of Cultural Policy in France*. Published in 1999, the study, even if not recent, is still relevant to some extent. Indeed, Eling argued that, even though governments come and go, the conception of governing remained similar. In France, cultural policy is strongly seen as a national mission, more than a mere financial support of the arts.⁶⁷

⁶¹ O'Brien, Dave (2014) op. cit. p. 38.

⁶² Manton, Kate (2001) 'The performing arts' in Selwood, Sara (ed.) *The UK Cultural Sector: profile and policy issues*. London: Policy Studies Institute, p. 26.

⁶³ O'Brien, Dave (2014) op. cit. p. 38, quoting Upchurch, Anna (2004) 'John Maynard Keynes, the Bloomsbury Group, and origins of the Arts Council movement', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 2, no. 10, pp. 203-18.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 40.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 46.

⁶⁶ Manton, Kate (2001) op. cit. p. 368.

⁶⁷ Eling, Kim (1999) *The Politics of Cultural Policy in France*. London: MacMillan Press, p.xiv.

Eling sees cultural policy as an echo of ‘republican’ values defending France as a nation and French as a language.⁶⁸

By contrast with the British traditions of delegating the art funding to other institutions such as Art Councils, the French cultural policies came from the highest segment of the political hierarchy. The Culture Ministry (Ministère de la culture) directly applied cultural policies planned by the head of state. While British cultural policies focused on ‘excellence and inclusion’, French recent cultural policies, in the tradition of André Malraux, focused principally on trying to combine excellence and inclusion through ‘democratisation’ measures.⁶⁹ From Malraux’s successors in the 1970s to Jack Lang’s tenure as Ministry of Culture in the 1980s, the economic aspects of the cultural industry appeared to be subordinated to the conflict between democratisation and excellence. In practice, differences between the structure of cultural policies in France and Britain can be seen by the higher rate of national cultural campaigns launched by the French centralised government to make a specific composer or period known to the widest possible audience, such as the anniversary celebrations of Debussy. As sometimes administered by the city council, French orchestras are more encouraged to follow these national cultural plans.⁷⁰

Both in Britain and France - as well as around the world - orchestras are among the few institutions to have the qualifier ‘national’ in their title. Nevertheless, the epithet ‘national’ differs in meaning between France and Britain. In France, in most cases, ‘national’ orchestras got their title from the reformation of French orchestras in the 1960s initiated by André Malraux, as part of a governmental policy for the arts. Therefore, ‘*Orchestre National*’ has an administrative meaning; it is a statute for orchestras supported by the centralised state. In this respect, the Strasbourg Philharmonic is officially named Strasbourg Philharmonic National Orchestra (Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg, Orchestre National), even if the full name rarely appears on communications.⁷¹ Other examples are the Lyon National Orchestra and the Lille National Orchestra. The newly founded French National Orchestra is an

⁶⁸ Ibid. p.xiv.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 4.

⁷⁰ For example, the OPS is run by the staff of the Strasbourg city council.

⁷¹ The OPS is ‘Orchestre National’ since 1994. OPS (2019) *Présentation de l’orchestre* [Online: <https://philharmonique.strasbourg.eu/presentationen>] Last accessed 6th April 2020.

exception, as it was created within Radio France (the French public broadcasting company). The closest British version of the French 'national' epithet is the 'Royal' title. As an example, the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, formerly the Scottish National Orchestra, got its royal patronage in 1990.

The political system of Britain as a country of several nations suggests that the epithet 'national' for an orchestra is more identity-oriented. As British orchestras do not benefit from a significant part of state funds, the epithet 'national' is not related to a centralised governmental policy. The idea that orchestras can stand as trophies for a certain status of national identity seems to persist in the names of the Royal Scottish National Orchestra, the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, and even in other institutions such as the English National Ballet and the English National Opera.

Economic systems

In addition to cultural policies, economic systems are a significant aspect of nation-making processes. Research by Pompe, Tamburri and Munn suggested that there was a link between funding systems and programmes of American orchestras.⁷² The production costs, including the salaries of musicians and the administrative staff, fees of soloists, the costs of logistics such as renting additional instruments or scenic material, the costs of scores and copyright, factor into the decision-making processes. Pompe et al. created a standard repertoire index to measure innovation in the 2006-2007 season of sixty-four American orchestras. Results were compared with the funding type of orchestras, i.e. the balance between 'earned income, private contributions, endowment funds and government support'.⁷³ The main results of this study suggested that 'increased levels of funding from ticket sales, endowment, and local government encourage innovative programming'.⁷⁴ Moreover, government funding seemed to enable orchestras to experiment with new music with less pressure from potentially hostile audiences, according to Pompe. However, only

⁷² Pompe, Jeffrey, Tamburri, Lawrence, Munn, Johnathan (2011) op. cit.

⁷³ Ibid. pp. 167-168.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 183.

local government funding, as opposed to US federal funding, seemed to encourage ‘nonstandard programming’.⁷⁵

French and British orchestras generate similar levels of income when of similar size. However, French and British orchestras have significantly different funding models. The French state, through regional council grants, is the main supporter of French national orchestras. To top up their budget, French orchestras rely on a small amount of private and corporate support. Additional funds are more likely to come from corporations than from individuals, as in most European countries.⁷⁶

British orchestras follow a model which lies between the mostly privately funded American orchestras and the state-governed French and German music institutions. British orchestras rely on private donations to a greater extent and therefore might be more subjected to market laws. To illustrate this point, six available financial reports of three British and three French orchestras were compared.⁷⁷ The data confirms that British orchestras raise a significant part of their income, whereas French orchestras rely on state support to a much greater extent. British orchestras fundraise half of their budget, whereas for French ones, the figure is between 10% and 15% of their budget. As a result, British orchestras are under greater pressures to sell tickets whereas French orchestras appear to be more sheltered from market laws and protected from economic pressures. Similarly, the costs of the staff constitute a larger part of the budget in French orchestras, up to 93% for the OPS.

The study of Pompe and al. presents several limitations that prevent me to directly apply these results to the sample of orchestras in this research. Firstly, Pompe’s results are based on a homogeneous sample of American orchestra whereas the LSO, RSNO, OP and OPS are based in different countries. Secondly, Pompe et al. acknowledged that the results, based on one season only, can be biased by circumstances such as the anniversaries of composers. Furthermore,

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 183.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 169.

⁷⁷ PO, LPO, CBSO, LSO, ONPL, ONL and OPS, see p. 43 for the table.

the standard repertoire index used for this study is also based on the 2006-2007 season only.⁷⁸

Pompe et al. suggested that financially unstable orchestras may want to avoid 'unfamiliar and challenging programming that may dampen ticket sales, citing Baumol and Bowen's report that showed an attendance drop of 20% for 'adventurous orchestral programs' in London Royal Festival Hall in the early 1960s.⁷⁹ This claim can be nuanced by the case of recently-created ensembles, without an initially stable funding, which developed their programming identity and audience based on 'unfamiliar and challenging programming'. For example, the Scottish Ensemble aims to promote 'imaginative concert programmes' and present 'well-known pieces alongside new or more rarely performed works with the aim of introducing audiences to new works which may challenge, surprise or inspire them'.⁸⁰

Another striking claim of Pompe et al. was that 'a symphony orchestra's music director does not have a significant impact on the degree of program conventionality' as opposed to the funding type.⁸¹ This contradicts the usual way of presenting the history of European orchestras - where conductors are normally credited with shaping the repertoire and introducing new works. For example, Václav Talich was supposed to have integrated multiple innovative thematic concert series as a guest conductor of the RSNO in the 1920s.⁸² At the same time in Alsace, Guy Ropartz, a student of Cesar Frank's, was significant in introducing French music to the programmes of the OPS despite the audience's strong preference for Romantic German music.⁸³ Likewise, Alexander Gibson, principal

⁷⁸ The standard repertoire is defined as comprising of the most often performed compositions of the sample. Pompe, Jeffrey, Tamburri, Lawrence, Munn, Johnathan (2011) op. cit. p. 172.

⁷⁹ Baumol, William, Bowen, William (1966) *Performing arts—the economic dilemma*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, p. 255. Cited in Pompe, Jeffrey, Tamburri, Lawrence, Munn, Johnathan (2011) op. cit. p. 169.

⁸⁰ Scottish Ensemble (2021) 'About us', *Scottish Ensemble* [Online: <https://scottishensemble.co.uk/about-scottish-ensemble/>] Last accessed 8th March 2021.

⁸¹ Pompe, Jeffrey, Tamburri, Lawrence, Munn, Johnathan (2011) op. cit. p. 167.

⁸² Wilson, Conrad (1993a) *Playing for Scotland: the history of the Royal Scottish National Orchestra*. Glasgow: Harper Collins, p. 23.

⁸³ Lévy, Hervé (2005) *Un orchestre dans sa ville: 150e anniversaire de l'orchestre philharmonique de Strasbourg*. Strasbourg: BKN, pp. 19-20.

conductor of the (R)SNO for twenty-five years, introduced new cycles of Schumann, Mahler and Henze in the 1960s.⁸⁴

These examples show that musical directors and principal conductors had a word to say about repertoire. The strong mythological role of the conductor remained latent at least in European orchestras, if not always in American ones.⁸⁵

Therefore, even though funding models might influence programming choices for screen music in France and Britain, evidence suggests that other factors could have more impact. As cultural institutions, symphony orchestras are not only defined by their income and funding but also by their prestige and their history of distinguished conductors and soloists.

Orchestra players and administrators

A third national characteristic that is often overlooked is the background of the orchestral players and the administrative staff. The interconnections between the scholar, the pedagogical and the performing canons suggest that the training of the players and the staff could be one of the factors that influence programming practices. Moreover, the national aspect of the musical and administrative training of the members of the orchestras stands as an argument for considering Britain and France as the main unit of study.

Symphony orchestras are often wrongly considered as very international institutions. The positions of leaders, section leaders and principals attract international candidates for auditions but the great majority of orchestra players usually come from the country in which the orchestra is based or were musically trained there. For example, 63 of the 73 musicians presented on the website of the RSNO in 2017 studied in Britain (e.g. the Royal College of Music, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, the Royal Northern College of Music and the Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama) and 15 of them studied at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in Glasgow. The principals of the RSNO string section are more likely to be from an international background but often studied in Britain: the principal second violin from the Netherlands studied in Manchester, the leader from Japan, the principal cello from Belarus and the principal double

⁸⁴ Wilson, Conrad (1993a) op. cit. pp. 84-85.

⁸⁵ Buch, Esteban (2002) 'Le chef d'orchestre. Pratiques de l'autorité et métaphores politiques', *Annales Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, vol. 57, no. 4, p. 1002.

bass from Spain all studied in London. Likewise, several sections of woodwind and brass presented on the website of the OPS were trained in France: the five flautists, the four clarinetists and the three trombonists all studied at the same conservatoire in Paris (CNSMDP) and many other players studied at the Strasbourg Conservatoire. In general, music directors and principal conductors come from an international background but the concert planners and administrative boards are often locals.

Political and financial context

No extensive cross-border comparative research has been made on the influence of national context and culture on orchestral repertoires and canons from a musicological perspective. Comparative approaches exist in the field of social sciences. For example, Pierre Korzilius's research provided an analysis of the relationship between public subsidies and programming choices of contemporary music in France, Germany, Britain and the US.⁸⁶ This present thesis aims to provide answers to partially fill the research gap on contemporary orchestral canons and, consequently, provide data for management teams of orchestras. This work further investigates the results of a preliminary study of sixteen French, British and German orchestras which implied national particularities of the contemporary orchestral concert canons.⁸⁷

Understanding canonisation processes and their national particularities can eventually help with the everyday management of season programming. Bill Chandler, RSNO Director of Concerts and Engagement, stated one golden planning rule: 'don't put too many chickens in the pot', i.e. do not program too many hits together.⁸⁸ One crowd-pleasing piece will leave opportunities for other pieces besides. Understanding the canonisation processes and contexts help identify popular pieces and marginal repertoire at a national level. For example, this thesis explains how the Second Symphony of Sibelius became a canonical piece in Britain but not in France.

⁸⁶ Korzilius, Pierre (2001) *Soutien public et programmation de musique contemporaine en France, en Allemagne, au Royaume-Uni et aux Etats-Unis*, PhD thesis. Paris: École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

⁸⁷ Bols, Ingrid (2016) op. cit.

⁸⁸ Chandler, Bill (2019) op. cit.

This thesis offers various case studies of the multiple complex factors that influence programming, as a series of events have impacted on state cultural policies. With the global financial crisis of 2008, European slumps of the Greek debt failure and the Spanish and Portuguese episodic banking fragility, Russian geopolitical tension playing on oil supplies, the refugee crisis and, most recently, Brexit, political and economic dimensions have all impacted the classical music industry. The gradual reduction of public subsidies is endangering the future of state-founded national French orchestras. The public budget cuts had a lesser impact on British orchestras than on their French colleagues but other factors are nevertheless starting to threaten British classical musical life. Brexit engenders a sense of major uncertainty that might severely hit the classical live music industry with increased costs for slower border checks and visa applications for international musicians. Moreover, many European orchestral players and conductors might be discouraged to apply for or accept jobs and opportunities in Britain. The extent of this human and financial cost on the British classical music organisations will significantly rely on the post-Brexit governmental policies and bi-national emigration treaties.

On the French side, the latest territorial reform is one of the widest geographical upheavals since the creation of the fifty-six *French départements* in 1956. From 1st January 2016, the twenty-two French metropolitan regions were reduced to thirteen (the overseas DOM-TOM remained the same). Some regions such as the Île-de-France (Paris) kept the same borders, whereas others, such as Alsace, administratively disappeared. The new Grand Est (Great East) merged Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne-Ardenne, constituting a titanic region of ten departments, nearly double the surface of Belgium with a population equivalent to Scotland's.⁸⁹ If the regional funding for cultural institutions drastically drops (the reform was advertised as a budget-cut measure) the four eastern permanent orchestras will be at stake.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (2016) *Compareur de territoire, région du Grand Est* [Online: <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/1405599?geo=REG-44>] Last accessed 15th March 2017.

⁹⁰ OPS, Orchestre Symphonique de Mulhouse, Orchestre Symphonique et Lyrique de Nancy, Orchestre national de Lorraine which changed its name to Orchestre national de Metz in 2018 as the region Lorraine does not exist anymore.

The answer to financial difficulty of orchestras, however, does not lie in their fundraising capabilities only. In France, as much as in Britain, the economic gloom impacted corporations and private sponsors too. One of the most durable solutions to maintain the financial health of orchestras is to increase their earned income from concert sales, recording sessions, products and merchandising. Orchestras must consider their programming choices as a direct way to secure their earned income. Confirming that point, Ugur Yavas demonstrated, in his article on American regional symphony orchestras, that one of the main factors not to renew a concert subscription is a ‘poor music selection’.⁹¹

The number of permanent musicians differs in the four studied orchestras. The OPS has 107 permanent musicians (66 strings, 20 woodwinds, 6 horns, 10 brass players and 5 percussionists). The OP has 115 permanent musicians (73/20/7/10/5), the LSO has 87 (56/15/4/8/4) and the RSNO has 69 (47/8/11/3). French orchestras have a larger team of permanent players as hiring contractor musicians results in high employment taxes. Not all musicians perform in every concert. For example, the ‘super leader’ of the OPS only plays repertoire with significant soloist parts.⁹² British orchestras have a shorter list of permanent musicians but they hire a significant number of extra players as allowed by the more liberal British job market.

French and British orchestras have similar budgets for orchestras of an equivalent size. Some press releases situated the budget of the OP at around 19 million euros (ca. £16 million) with 2.8 million euros earned income (ca. £1.9 million) and 1.2 million euros of touring income.⁹³ No online published report presented the budget of the OP outside of the consolidated versions of the

⁹¹ Yavas, Ugur (1996) ‘Regional symphony orchestras: A marketing challenge’, *Journal of Professional Services Marketing*, no. 13, vol. 2, p. 131.

⁹² The first violins of the OPS include one super leader (“premier violon super soliste”), two leaders (“premier violon soliste”), two co-leaders (“premier violon co-soliste”) and fourteen other first violins (nineteen violinists in total). OPS (2019) *Orchestre* [Online: <https://philharmonique.strasbourg.eu/les-musiciens/>] Last accessed 6th April 2020. In comparison, the RSNO has two leaders, two associate leaders, two assistant leaders, one sub-principal and seven other first violins (fourteen violinists in total). RSNO (2020) *Musicians* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/musicians/>] Last accessed 6th April 2020.

⁹³ Arnaud, Jean-Francois (2017) ‘Comment l’orchestre de Paris se taille un succès populaire’, *Challenges* [Online: https://www.challenges.fr/lifestyle/comment-l-orchestre-de-paris-se-taille-un-succes-populaire_443323] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

financial report of the Paris Philharmonie.⁹⁴ The OPS had a slightly lower provisional budget of 11 million euros in 2013 (ca. £9.3 million).⁹⁵ The LSO had a budget of £16.4 million (earned income £8.9 million) in 2013. The RSNO had an income of 8.5 million (earned income £2.3 million) in 2017.⁹⁶

French and British orchestras do not share the same funding structure: most British orchestras rely on a higher earned income, whereas French orchestras are substantially state-supported. Available financial reports of eight French and British symphony orchestras are compared in the table below. The reports of French orchestra are difficult to find as they are often consolidated within the City Council financial statement or in larger municipal structures.

⁹⁴ Cité de la Musique Philharmonie de Paris (2015) *Bilan d'activité* [Online: <https://philharmoniedeparis.fr/sites/default/files/bilan-philharmonie2015.pdf>] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

⁹⁵ Conseil Municipal de Strasbourg (2013) *Convention pluriannuelle d'objectifs 2013-2016 entre l'Etat (DRAC) et l'Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg* [Online: http://strasbourg.creacast.tv/files/2013-05-27/deliberations/2013-05-27_31.pdf] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

⁹⁶ RSNO (2017) *Annual Review* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/RSNO-Annual-Review-2017.pdf>] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

Examples of financial figures of French and British orchestras

In £k	British orchestras				French orchestras			
Name	RSNO ⁹⁷ 2017	LPO ⁹⁸ 2016	CBSO ⁹⁹ 2016	LSO ¹⁰⁰ 2016	ONPL ¹⁰¹ 2015	ONL ¹⁰² 2014	OPS ¹⁰³ 2016	ONLO ¹⁰⁴ 2016
Income	8,519	9,569	8,634	14,614	8,852	9,767	9,655	5,306
Earned income	2,306	5,766	4,160	8,031	1,330	1,449	1,003	0,559
Donations and subventions	5,562	3,762	4,472	6,062	7,649	8,200	8,652	4,579
% earned income on the whole income	27.06	60.26	48.18	54.95	15.02	14.83	10.39	10.53

This table shows a clear funding divide between French and British orchestras: the proportion of earned income is significantly higher for British orchestras.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ LPO (2016) *Report and Financial Statements* [Online: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends45/0000238045_AC_20160831_E_C.PDF] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

⁹⁹ CBSO (2016) *Annual report and financial statements* [Online: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends76/0000506276_AC_20160331_E_C.PDF] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

¹⁰⁰ LSO (2016) *Report and financial statements* [Online: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends91/0000232391_AC_20160731_E_C.PDF] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

¹⁰¹ Chambre régionale des comptes (2017) *Observations définitives concernant la gestion du syndicat mixte Orchestre National des Pays de la Loire (ONPL)* [Online: <https://www.ccomptes.fr/sites/default/files/2017-10/ROD-2017-218-SMIX-ONPL.pdf>] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

¹⁰² KPMG Audit Nord (2015) *Association Orchestre National de Lille: Rapport du commissaire aux comptes sur les comptes annuels* [Online: http://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/publications/assoccpt/pdf/2015/3112/306853839_31122015.pdf] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

¹⁰³ Conseil Municipal de Strasbourg (2013) *Convention pluriannuelle d'objectifs 2013-2016 entre l'Etat (DRAC) et l'Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg* [Online: http://strasbourg.creacast.tv/files/2013-05-27/deliberations/2013-05-27_31.pdf] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Orchestre National de Lorraine (2017) *Comité syndical de l'Orchestre National de Lorraine séance du vendredi 15 décembre 2017* [Online: <http://orchestrenational-lorraine.fr/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Comit%C3%A9-syndical-17-d%C3%A9cembre-2017.pdf>] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

Methodology

This thesis draws upon a database of concert programmes of four orchestras, two in Britain and two in France: the London Symphony Orchestra (LSO), the Royal Scottish National Orchestra (RSNO), the Paris Orchestra (Orchestre de Paris, OP) and the Strasbourg Philharmonic (Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg, OPS) from 1967 to the present day.¹⁰⁵ These four orchestras, their history, repertoire, management and concert schedules provide a solid ground to answer the above-mentioned research questions in a variety of contexts. Indeed, they all are major symphony orchestras in capitals and regions, while maintaining sufficiently distinct identities.

On the one hand, the OP and the LSO work as a comparison as orchestras of equivalent size and scale, based in the capital cities London and Paris. Both orchestras share similar market positions and competitors. On the other hand, the RSNO and the OPS share a similar situation in regions. Based at the heart of Scotland's strong national identity, geographically distant from the South of England where cities gravitate around London, the situation of the RSNO echoes with that of the OPS, established in the regional Alsatian subculture of Strasbourg, sufficiently far away from Paris to be able to exist without the cultural attraction of the centralised French capital.

The choice to focus on these four orchestras, however, comes with some limitations. The four chosen orchestras were simultaneously active from 1967, the date of the foundation of the OP, the most recent orchestra. The years 1967-2018 are therefore the main studied time period.

I occasionally complemented this sample with other orchestral programmes, to access a broader context of French and British orchestral programming. In France, some seasons of the ONL, OL, OCT, ONF, OPRF, Orchestre Lamoureux and Orchestre Colonne completed the OP and OPS main case studies. In Britain, some seasons of the Hallé Orchestra, Philharmonia, LPO, SCO, CBSO, BBCSO, BBCSSO and EIF completed the LSO and RSNO main case studies.

¹⁰⁵ The OP, the most recent orchestra, was founded in 1967. Starting the database in 1967 allows for comparing the four orchestras simultaneously.

The research on orchestral seasons requires the consultation of concert programme collections and faces the material issues that the ephemera implies. The current trend of research on concert programmes as ‘a unique documentary record of musical life over the past three centuries’, has led to the amelioration of British collections as underlined in Rupert Ridgewell’s report.¹⁰⁶ Christina Bashford sees this trend as ‘a solid demonstration of the crucial importance of ephemera’.¹⁰⁷

The available collected databases present different levels of completion for this thesis. Two complete collections are the digital databases of the LSO from 1904 to 2015 and the OP from 1967 to 2019. The RSNO concert database was partially reconstructed based on the programmes in Glasgow’s Mitchell Library from 1967 to 1988, on the RSNO archived website from 2002 to 2014 and on the concert brochures from 2014 to 2019. The OPS concert archive was completed based on the programmes in Strasbourg National University Library (BNU) from 1973 to 2014 and on the OPS archived website from 2014 to 2019.¹⁰⁸ Some seasons are still missing in the timeline of the OPS and RSNO, but data are representative enough for this study.

The gaps in certain databases have to be taken into account. In order to provide more context on the performances and their reception and to collect missing or older programmes, newspaper articles have been consulted. The press reports are mostly based on the digitalised archives of *The British Musician*, *The Guardian*, *Gramophone*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Musical Herald*, *The Musical Times*, *The Musical Standard*, *The Observer* and *The Scotsman* in Britain; *Action Française*, *Diapason*, *Le Figaro*, *Liberation*, *Le Ménestrel*, *Le Monde* and *Le Progrès* in France; and *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in the US.

Available data issued by the orchestras themselves were consulted, such as financial and activity reports, press reports and interviews of musical directors and principal conductors. In order to get a direct point of view from inside the

¹⁰⁶ Ridgewell, Rupert (2003) *Concert programmes in the UK and Ireland: a preliminary report*. London: IAML and the Music Libraries Trust, p. v.

¹⁰⁷ Bashford, Christina (2008) ‘Writing (British) Concert History: the Blessing and Curse of Ephemera’, *Notes* vol. 64, no. 3, p. 459.

¹⁰⁸ Exact findings in Strasbourg BNU: 1972-1981; 1985-1987; 1989-2006; 2007-2009; 2010-2011; 2014-2015.

studied orchestras, two members of the LSO and RSNO staff with a long corporate memory were interviewed. Libby Rice, LSO archivist, joined the LSO management team in the 1980s and had several operational jobs within the administration of the orchestra. Bill Chandler, Director of Concerts and Engagement, joined the RSNO as Associate Leader in 1995 and presents a rich perspective as a player and concert planner.

Recordings provide another significant testimony of repertoire popularity and leave traces of the choices of music directors. As recordings stand on their own as a research topic, this thesis does not aim to present an extensive study of recording and broadcasting. In order to set the broader context of orchestral performances, some recordings are occasionally mentioned. For more information, relevant publications on recordings and broadcasting include Christopher Dromey's 'Talking about Classical Music: Radio as Public Musicology' (2018) and David Patmore's 'Commerce, Competition and Culture: the Classical Music Recording Industry, 1923-1932' (2015).¹⁰⁹

In this thesis, I choose to take a distinct path from the heavy statistical tools used by the above mentioned studies of American orchestras. I limited the amount of quantitative data displayed and the statistical results are the start of my reflexion rather than stand-alone arguments.

Using mainly quantitative methods to analyse concert programmes present some methodological biases. The databases have limitations as some musical ensembles, archives institutions and libraries do not always own complete runs of programmes. The ca. 13,000 concerts used as primary data of this thesis give a very valuable insight into canonisation processes but do not allow for a generalisation to all French and British orchestras. The different sizes of the four archives, with some orchestras performing more than others, could be treated with several different statistical techniques. For example, the season of the LSO has the highest number of concerts, with many programmes being repeated more than twice and the seasons of the OPS are the shortest of the four studied orchestras.

¹⁰⁹ Dromey, Christopher (2018) 'Talking about Classical Music: Radio as Public Musicology', in Dromey, Christopher and Haferkorn, Julia (eds) *The Classical Music Industry*. London: Routledge; Patmore, David (2015) 'Commerce, Competition and Culture: the classical music recording industry 1923-1932', *ARSC Journal*, vol. 46, no. 1, p. 43.

The question of counting repeated concerts produces a significant statistical bias: a repeated concert could have a greater canonical impact as reaching a wider audience, potentially in different cities or countries in case of tour concerts, but the programming choice would have been made only once. The issue of the significance of the audience for the study of the orchestral canons can be expanded with the case of the radio broadcasting of certain concerts. Arguably the concerts of the RSNO broadcasted on Classic FM reached a greater audience in numbers but this did not show in the database. Moreover, the touring capacity of an orchestra is directly linked with its financial stability. The LSO toured more often and with more dates than the OPS which needed funding from Strasbourg City Council for these projects. Some concerts were repeated many times because of the audience demand, such as the film music concerts of the RSNO repeated several times during the same afternoon, and almost sold out every year. Some concerts are played only once but hold a meaningful canonical status, such as the introduction of the music of the Black composers Joseph Bologne and Florence Price in the 2020-2021 digital season of the RSNO.

The meaningfulness of 'exact' statistics and figures in such a widely changing set of data is questionable and justifies a complementary qualitative approach to the database of concerts. In this thesis, the difference between canons and repertoires relies on the concept of significance beyond the frequency of performance. A mainly quantitative approach would lead to discussions about the repertoires of these orchestras, not their canons. Moreover, the figures do not hold an absolute meaning, and the comparisons can be misleading. For example, in my study of the season 2014-2015, the French orchestras played 1.6% of Nordic music and the British orchestras played 4.7% of the same repertoire. The difference could arguably be significant and meaningful (see chapter 3). In the same study, the British orchestra played 25.4% of German music and the French orchestras played 28.7% of German music in their programmes.¹¹⁰ The difference between the performance of Nordic music in France and in Britain and the difference between the performances of German music in France and in Britain seem statistically equivalent (around 3% of the total performances). However, the qualitative analysis leads to another

¹¹⁰ Bols, Ingrid (2016) op. cit. p. 42.

interpretation: German music represented about a quarter of the programmes of French and British orchestras but Nordic music, barely ever performed in France, stood as a British canonical programming practice.

Therefore, I choose to limit my references to percentages and statistical figures. The figures remain available in the appendices.

The following section presents a summary of the history of the chosen orchestras.

London Symphony Orchestra (LSO)

Literature

Unlike the other three studied orchestras, extensive resources on the history of the LSO are available. The LSO is one of the rare orchestras to have an archivist, and considerable amounts of documents and archival records can be consulted in the Barbican Centre in London. The availability of data has encouraged researchers, and publications include *London Symphony: Portrait of an Orchestra* (1954) by Hubert Foss and Noël Goodwin, *The LSO at 70* (1974) by Maurice Pearton, *The LSO: scenes from orchestra life* (1984) by Linda Blandford, *Orchestra: The LSO: A Century of Triumph and Turbulence* (2004) by Richard Morrison and *The London Symphony Orchestra: the first decade revisited* (2013) by Simon McVeigh.¹¹¹

History and conductors

The London Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1904 by players from Henry Wood's Queen's Hall orchestra, is one of the first self-governed orchestras in Europe.¹¹² This collaborative system involves a board of musicians and is still in place today. From its beginnings, the turnover of principal conductors is rather fast compared with the other three studied orchestras (appendix 2). Some conductors stayed several decades conducting the RSNO where the LSO podium saw a fast succession of musicians from different backgrounds such as Hans Richter (1904-1911), Edward Elgar (1911-1912), Arthur Nikisch (1912-1914) and Albert Coates (1919-1922).

The First World War put the LSO in financial difficulty: some players joined the army and never came back and other German members or members of German descent were demoted following anti-German protests.¹¹³ Moreover, the war

¹¹¹ Blandford, Linda (1984) *The LSO: scenes from orchestra life*. London: M. Joseph.
McVeigh, Simon (2013) 'The London Symphony Orchestra: the first decade revisited', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 138, issue 2, pp. 313-376.

¹¹² Kennedy, Michael et al. (ed) (2013) 'London Symphony Orchestra', *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e6223>] Last accessed 14th April 2017.

¹¹³ LSO (2019) *Chronology 1910s* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/chronology-alt/1910s.html>] Last accessed 5th April 2019.

impacted the repertoire of the LSO since German composers such as Brahms were targeted by the same protests.

In 1929, the LSO became a permanent orchestra, with three guaranteed seasons for contracted players.¹¹⁴ The succession of principal conductors did not slow down and stayed cosmopolitan with Willem Mengelberg (1930-1931), Hamilton Harty (1932-1935), Josef Krips (1950-1954), Pierre Monteux (1961-1964) and István Kertész (1965-1968).

The list of LSO conductors suggests a desire for innovation from the beginnings of the ensemble. Instead of showing definite trends, the signature of the LSO is unexpected choices. This innovating market position is still to be seen in today's seasons with for example the new LSO visual identity 'Always moving'.¹¹⁵

From the late 1960s, the LSO settled with principal conductors for longer, allowing them to have a greater influence on the repertoire of the orchestra. André Previn (1968-1979), known at the time as both a jazz and concert pianist, conductor of St Louis SO and Houston SO, was an adventurous choice. He was known for his support of English music such as Vaughan-Williams, Britten and Walton. Then, Claudio Abbado (1979-1987), the first principal conductor in the Barbican, innovated with themed festivals within the season, for example on Webern (1983) and Mahler (1985). Devoted to musical excellence, he brought numerous milestone recordings to the LSO discography.¹¹⁶ Michael Tilson Thomas (1988-1995) developed a reputation for his innovative programmes of little-heard pieces.¹¹⁷

The conductors of the LSO of the past two decades had various profiles (appendix 2). Colin Davis (1995-2007) continued the trend of favouring English music. Davis also privileged Berlioz, Elgar, Sibelius and Mozart over Bruckner and

¹¹⁴ LSO (2019) *Chronology 1920s* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/chronology-alt/1920s.html>] Last accessed 5th April 2019.

¹¹⁵ The LSO collaborated with leading research of the University of Portsmouth's School of Creative Technologies and Vicon Motion Systems Ltd. to create a visual identity based on the motion capture of Simon Rattle conducting. LSO (2019) *Our new visual identity* [Online: <https://alwaysmoving.lso.co.uk/visualidentity/>] Last accessed 4th April 2019.

¹¹⁶ LSO (2014) *Obituary: Claudio Abbado (1933-2014)* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/more/news/126-claudio-abbado-1933-2014.html>] Last accessed 4th April 2019.

¹¹⁷ Barber, Charles (2001) 'Thomas, Michael Tilson', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027868>] Last accessed 27th March 2019.

Mahler.¹¹⁸ Valery Gergiev (2007-2015) brought more Russian music to the programmes as did Rostropovich as a soloist and previous guest conductor.¹¹⁹ Simon Rattle (2017-), is the current conductor and also the first music director of the LSO; the orchestra had only principal conductors beforehand. Coming from his mandate at the prestigious Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Rattle arrived with world-wide recognition allowing him more adventurous programmes.¹²⁰

The LSO has a long history of recording film soundtracks from 1935 as the 'premier film orchestra' with the *Things to Come* by Arthur Bliss.¹²¹ The orchestra recorded soundtracks by famous English composers during the 1940s such as Vaughan Williams's *49th Parallel* (1941), Walton's *Henry V* (1944) and Ireland's *The Overlanders* (1947) and continued on that path with the latest Desplat's *Harry Potter* and Williams's *Star Wars*.¹²²

Residence

The main concert venues of the LSO were the Royal Festival Hall and the Royal Albert Hall from 1904 to the 1980s. The Barbican Centre, opened in 1982, has been the residence of the LSO ever since. During the first seasons in the Barbican, the LSO stayed in residency three months of the year in March, June and October-November, until settling in the venue for its whole season.¹²³ As suggested by LSO archivist Libby Rice, the change of venue was not the easiest for the audience, who could not always locate the newly built Barbican Centre. A free bus used to run between Liverpool-Street and Waterloo stations to the Barbican, a yellow line was painted in the streets from Moorgate to guide the audience and the humorous communication was launched along the line of 'If the LSO can find the Barbican, it'll play...'. With major corporate sponsors, the

¹¹⁸ Rice, Libby (2018) *Archivist of the LSO*, interview by Ingrid Bols, 30th April. London: Barbican Centre.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ LSO (2019) *LSO and film music* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/lso-and-film-music.html>] Last accessed 27th March 2019.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Rice, Libby (2018) op. cit.

LSO rebuilt the Hawksmoor church of St Luke's in the 1990s to use as an alternative venue, mainly for contemporary programmes.¹²⁴

London is one of the largest European cities, with 8.5 million inhabitants in 2014 (54 million inhabitants in England).¹²⁵ London hosts many different types of music ensembles and world-leading festivals. The principal competitors of the LSO are the BBC Symphony Orchestra (1930), the London Philharmonic Orchestra (1932), Philharmonia (1945), London Royal Philharmonic Orchestra (1946), English Chamber Orchestra (1960), Southbank Sinfonia (2002) and Aurora Orchestra (2004). The musical scene is also shared with an outstanding number of amateur orchestras.¹²⁶ Moreover, the LSO shares its current principal conductor with the British period instrument ensemble Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (1986), where Simon Rattle is one of the six 'principal artists'.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ LSO (2019) *History of LSO St Luke* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/lso-st-lukes/about-lso-st-lukes/history-of-lso-st-lukes.html>] Last accessed 30th April 2019.

¹²⁵ Office for National Statistics (2016) *Subnational population projections for England: 2014-based projections* [Online: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationprojections/bulletins/subnationalpopulationprojectionsforengland/2014basedprojections>] Last accessed 20th April 2017.

¹²⁶ A database of amateur orchestras in London is available at: [\[http://amateurorchestras.org.uk/olondon.htm\]](http://amateurorchestras.org.uk/olondon.htm)

¹²⁷ Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (2020) *Our players and instruments* [Online: <https://oae.co.uk/who-we-are/player-profiles/>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

Royal Scottish National Orchestra (RSNO)

Literature

Both written by Conrad Wilson in 1993, *Playing for Scotland* and *Alex: the authorised biography of Sir Alexander Gibson* are the two main core references of the study of the history of the RSNO.¹²⁸ Other sources include biographies of the successive music directors of the RSNO and the website of the orchestra.

History and conductors

In April 1844, musicians accompanied the Glasgow Choral Union to perform Handel's *Messiah*. This ensemble kept meeting regularly and was to be the precedent of the Scottish Orchestra (SO), founded in 1891.¹²⁹ George Henschel, a German-born composer and baritone, trained in the Berlin and Leipzig conservatoires, became the first principal conductor of the SO in 1893.¹³⁰ The ensemble started with conductors from a German tradition, such as the Dutch violinist, trained in Berlin and Leipzig, Willem Kes and Wilhelm Bruch (appendix 2).¹³¹

The English composer Frederic H Cowen was the first conductor to interrupt this German dynasty. Interested in contemporary Scandinavian and English music, Cowen's decade with the SO from 1900 to 1910 aided the transformation of the repertoire of the orchestra, as discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis.¹³² His contribution to British music was valued during his lifetime as he received the honorary doctorate from Cambridge University in 1900 and Edinburgh University in 1910.¹³³ The three seasons with John Barbirolli as principal conductor from

¹²⁸ Wilson, Conrad (1993b) *Alex: the authorised biography of Sir Alexander Gibson*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.

¹²⁹ RSNO (2019) *History* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/history/#top>] Last accessed 26th March 2019.

¹³⁰ Ledbetter, Steven, Bell, Brian (2014) 'Henschel, Sir (Isidor) George', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002256855>] Last accessed 13th March 2019.

¹³¹ Bokum, Jan ten (2001) 'Kes, Willem', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000014928>] Last accessed 13th March 2019.

¹³² His Third Symphony is entitled *Scandinavian Symphony* (1880).

¹³³ Dibble, Jeremy, Spencer, Jennifer (2001) 'Cowen, Sir Frederic Hymen', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press [Online:]

1933 to 1936 also leant towards this English tradition, as he was known to be passionate for the music of Elgar, Delius and Vaughan Williams, alongside late romantic figures such as Mahler and Bruckner.¹³⁴

Yet, the SO did not show any visible trend in the choice of its various principal conductors. For example, George Szell, trained in Vienna, succeeded Barbirolli from 1936 to 1939. As opposed to Barbirolli's main interests in late Romanticism and English music, Szell was renowned for his performances of Austro-German repertoire, in particular Schumann but also Beethoven and Brahms.¹³⁵

In 1950, the Scottish Orchestra, renamed as the Scottish National Orchestra (SNO), was established as a permanent and full-time ensemble.¹³⁶ Over the following years, the orchestra saw its first Scottish music director, Alexander Gibson, who has remained one of the most influential musical directors of the SNO. He succeeded the conservative German-trained Karl Rankl (1952-1957) and Hans Swarowsky (1957-1959). Alexander Gibson's twenty-five years at the head of the orchestra (1959-1984) brought innovative programmes such as the symphonies of Sibelius (see chapter 3), new 'thematic programmes' and composers such as Iain Hamilton and Thea Musgrave.¹³⁷

The RSNO was awarded Royal patronage in 1977 and changed its name in 1990. The orchestra then was led by various principal conductors: Neeme Järvi (1984-1988), Bryden Thomson (1988-1991), Walter Weller (1991-1997) and Alexander Lazarev (1997- 2005). French and Canadian music directors Stéphane Denève (2005-2012) and Peter Oundjian (2012-2018) were innovative choices out of the Central and Eastern Europe traditions.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006744> Last accessed 13th March 2019.

¹³⁴ Crichton, Ronald, Bowen, José A. (2001) 'Barbirolli, Sir John', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press [Online:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000002013>] Last accessed 13th March 2019.

¹³⁵ Charry, Michael (2001) 'Szell, George', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-00000027305>] Last accessed 13th March 2019.

¹³⁶ RSNO (2019) *History* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/history/>] Last accessed 10th April 2019.

¹³⁷ Wilson, Conrad (1993b) op. cit. p. 72.

Today's major figure of the RSNO, Thomas Søndergård, who became music director in 2018 after six seasons as principal guest conductor, shares some similarities with Alexander Gibson, still seen as a major founding figure.¹³⁸ Both Alexander Gibson and Thomas Søndergård are experienced opera orchestra conductors, known to support Nordic repertoire such as Sibelius and Nielsen. Alexander Gibson started his career in Sadler's Wells Opera where he became musical director in 1957 and most famously founded the Scottish Opera in 1962.¹³⁹ Thomas Søndergård conducted the Bayerische Staatsoper, Norwegian Opera, Deutsche Oper Berlin, Royal Swedish Opera and Royal Danish Opera.¹⁴⁰

Residence

The initial association between the SO and Glasgow Choral Union explains its current residency in Glasgow. The first residence of the orchestra, the St Andrews Hall (located on the site of today's Mitchell Library extension), was ravaged by a fire in 1962. The SNO performed in alternative venues such as Bute Hall in the University of Glasgow and a cinema in Charing Cross before getting a residence in the new renovated Glasgow's City Hall in Candleriggs in 1968 and Henry Wood Hall in 1979.¹⁴¹ The city council decided to build a new music venue and the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall opened in 1990, where the RSNO is based today.¹⁴²

In the 1910s, the orchestra started touring in the country with performances in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee.¹⁴³ Since then, the ensemble has shared its concert schedule between several halls, most frequently the Edinburgh's Usher Hall on Friday night and Glasgow Royal Concert Hall on Saturday night with occasional Thursday nights outside the Scottish Central Belt. This ever-moving performing schedule differs from the usual continental residences and from the habits of London orchestras.

¹³⁸ RSNO (2019) *Thomas Søndergård* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/thomas-sondergard/>] Last accessed 26th March 2019.

¹³⁹ Wilson, Conrad (1993b) op. cit. p. 67.

¹⁴⁰ RSNO (2019) *Thomas Søndergård*.

¹⁴¹ Wilson, Conrad (1993a) op. cit. p. 81.

¹⁴² RSNO (2019) *History* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/history/#top>] Last accessed 26th March 2019.

¹⁴³ Wilson, Conrad (1993a) op. cit. p. 12.

The main competitors of the RSNO are the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra (founded in 1935) and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra (1974), both performing in the City Halls. Other classical music performing companies on the market include the Scottish Opera (1962) and the Scottish Ensemble (1969). Various non-permanent or amateur orchestras complete the musical landscape such as the Glasgow Orchestral Society (1870), Glasgow Chamber Orchestra (1956), Glasgow Symphony Orchestra (1975), Glasgow Sinfonia (1986), Amicus (2008), Edinburgh Chamber Orchestra (1930), Edinburgh Symphony Orchestra (1963), Scottish Sinfonia (1970), New Edinburgh Orchestra (1994) and Edinburgh Orchestral Ensemble (2009). Moreover, the Edinburgh Festival invites world-leading orchestras every summer such as the LSO, Baltimore SO, Colburn SO, Swedish Radio SO, Shanghai SO and Cincinnati SO.

Scotland has 5.3 million inhabitants, concentrated mainly in the Central Belt between Glasgow and Edinburgh.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Scottish Government (2016) *Demographics* [Online: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality/Equalities/PopulationMigration>] Last accessed 20th April 2017.

Paris Orchestra (OP)

Literature

The main publication on the OP remains the state-supported monograph *L'Orchestre de Paris: De la société des concerts du conservatoire à l'orchestre de Paris, 1828-2008* (2007) by Reynaud, Holoman and Massip.¹⁴⁵ The majority of French research on the OP explored an ethnological or social point of view. Lehmann focused on Parisian orchestras to elucidate the social hierarchies and symbolic tensions between the players according to their instrument in his publications including *L'orchestre dans tous ses éclats: ethnographie des formations symphoniques* (2005) and *L'envers de l'harmonie* (1995).¹⁴⁶ Pégourdie focused on the social division of labour in conservatoires and orchestras with a case on the OP.¹⁴⁷

Southon's *Les symphonies de Beethoven à la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire* is one of the only sources focusing predominantly on the predecessor of the OP.¹⁴⁸ The research focused on the evolution of Beethoven in the canon of the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire (Conservatoire Concert Society Orchestra, OSCC) and is therefore close to the research topic of this thesis. However, the narrow repertoire (Beethoven) and the time-period leave space for further investigation.

Some additional information can be found in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the Grove and Cambridge music dictionaries. The historical timeline of the orchestra as well as the biographies of the principal conductors and music directors are available on the websites of the OP and the Paris Philharmonie.

¹⁴⁵ Reynaud, Cécile, Holoman, Dallas Kern, Massip, Catherine (2007) *L'Orchestre de Paris: De la société des concerts du conservatoire à l'orchestre de Paris, 1828-2008*. Paris: Editions du Patrimoine Centre des monuments nationaux.

¹⁴⁶ Lehmann, Bernard (2005) *L'orchestre dans tous ses éclats: Ethnographie des formations symphoniques*. Paris: Editions la découverte; Lehmann, Bernard (1995) 'L'envers de l'harmonie', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 110, pp. 3-21.

¹⁴⁷ Pégourdie, Adrien (2015) 'L'« instrumentalisation » des carrières musicales Division sociale du travail, inégalités d'accès à l'emploi et renversement de la hiérarchie musicale dans les conservatoires de musique', *Sociologie*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 321-338.

¹⁴⁸ Southon, Nicolas (2007) 'Les 'Symphonies' De Beethoven à La Société Des Concerts Du Conservatoire: Une Étude Des Matériels D'orchestre Du XIXe Siècle', *Revue De Musicologie*, vol. 93, no. 1, pp. 123-164.

History and conductors

The OP, founded in 1967, replaced the OSCC - one of the oldest orchestras in the world, founded in 1828. From its early years, the OSCC was an established nineteenth-century ensemble with soloists such as Schumann, Mendelssohn and Chopin.¹⁴⁹ Charles Münch (1967-1968) was the first conductor of the orchestra, but he died very early during the first US tour of the OP in 1968.¹⁵⁰ As musical advisor, Herbert von Karajan (1968-1972) raised the orchestra to international recognition, inviting prestigious soloists and conductors such as Sergiu Celibidache, Arthur Rubinstein and Mstislav Rostropovich.¹⁵¹ After the French Serge Baudo (1969-1971), all musical directors have been from an international background but most of them seem to share a taste for new music (appendix 2). Baudo was a known supporter of French contemporary music, as he premiered works of Milhaud, Messiaen, Dutilleux, Daniel-Lesur and foreign composers such as Menotti, Nigg and Ohana. Founder of the Berlioz Festival, Baudo is a specialist of French music and recorded numerous French opuses.¹⁵²

Georg Solti (1972-1975) came to conduct the OP after Baudo, with a different repertoire. As a convinced Wagnerian, Solti favoured Austro-German romanticism, post-romanticism and operatic music.¹⁵³ Daniel Barenboim (1975-1989) stayed long enough to deeply influence the repertoire of the orchestra. Like Baudo, Barenboim supported new music and premiered pieces by Berio, Boulez, Carter, Goehr and Henze during his career.¹⁵⁴ Semyon Bychkov (1989-1998) followed this tradition, recording works by Dutilleux, Berio and from

¹⁴⁹ Britannica (2019) *Orchestre de Paris* [Online: <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Orchestre-de-Paris/943072019>] Last accessed 20th April 2019.

¹⁵⁰ OP (2019) *Histoire* [Online: http://www.orchestredeparis.com/fr/orchestre/presentation/lhistoire_8.html] Last accessed 20th April 2019.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Goodwin, Noël (2001) 'Baudo, Serge', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000002345>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁵³ Jacobs, Arthur, Bowen, José A. (2001) 'Solti [Stern], Sir Georg', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-00000026170>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁵⁴ Blyth, Alan (2001) 'Barenboim, Daniel', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000002040>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

French modern music such as Bizet and Ravel.¹⁵⁵ The German conductors Christoph von Dohnányi (1998-1999) and Christoph Eschenbach (2000-10) had a different repertoire of more conventional romantic core pieces, with the addition of Schoenberg.¹⁵⁶

A new profile of a non-pianist conductor was brought to the orchestra by the Estonian Paavo Järvi (2010-2016). Renowned for his versatile repertoire, Järvi brought some innovations of Nordic and Slavonic music (Sibelius, Nielsen, Pärt, Tüür, Tubin) not frequently played by the OP.¹⁵⁷

The young British conductor Daniel Harding (2016-2019) was the music director of the OP during the writing of this thesis.¹⁵⁸ Trained in Britain, former LSO principal guest conductor, Harding bridges the traditional repertoire of the OP with British traditions. His repertoire leans towards romanticism (Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Dvořák and Mahler) with some modern additions of Bartók, Berg and Britten. He announced in 2018 he would not renew his contract, ending in 2019.¹⁵⁹ Klaus Mäkelä, appointed music advisor of the OP in September 2020, should be the next music director from 2022 to 2027.

Residence

The OP performed in the Salle Pleyel from 1967 to 2015. The Salle Pleyel closed for four years in 2002 and the OP temporarily moved to the Théâtre Mogador.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Mermelstein, David (2001) 'Bychkov, Semyon', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043775>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁵⁶ Gill, Dominic, Duchen, Jessica, Mauskopf, Michael (2013) 'Eschenbach, Christoph', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002249484>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁵⁷ Wigmore, Richard (2013) 'Järvi, Paavo', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0002021090>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁵⁸ Wigmore, Richard (2001) 'Harding, Daniel', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000053279>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁵⁹ Tribot Laspière, Victor (2018) 'Daniel Harding quitte l'Orchestre de Paris', *France Musique* [Online: <https://www.francemusique.fr/actualite-musicale/daniel-harding-quitte-l-orchestre-de-paris-58737>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁶⁰ OP (2017) *Découvrez la saison* [Online: http://www.orchestredeparis.com/fr/actualites/decouvrez-la-saison-20172018_138.html] Last accessed 24th April 2019 ; Cochard, Alain (2006) *Retour À La Salle Pleyel* [Online: <http://www.concertclassic.com/article/retour-la-salle-pleyel>] Accessed 24th April 2019.

In 2015, the Paris Philharmonie opened as a new residence for several Parisian ensembles including the OP and the Ensemble Intercontemporain.

Paris hosts a significant number of orchestras compared with French regional cities. The French National Orchestra (Orchestre National de France, ONF), a radio orchestra inheritor of the French Broadcasting National Orchestra (Orchestre National de la Radiodiffusion française, 1934) is the main competitor of the OP alongside the Radio France Philharmonic (Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France, 1937).¹⁶¹ Other orchestras include Île-de-France National Orchestra (Orchestre National d'Île-de-France, 1974) mainly touring around Paris, Lamoureux Orchestra (1881), Colonne Orchestra (1873), Padeloup Orchestra (1861), Conservatoire Laureate Orchestra (Orchestre des Lauréats du Conservatoire, 2004), French Youth Orchestra (Orchestre français des jeunes, 1982), Paris National Opera Orchestra (Orchestre de l'Opéra National de Paris, 1672). Professional orchestras share the Parisian music scene with amateur orchestras such as the Impromptu Orchestra (1994), La Symphonie du Trocadéro (1985), Coalescence Orchestra (1999) and many others with the addition of the numerous orchestras of the higher education institutions.¹⁶²

The region, Île-de-France, had 12.1 million inhabitants in 2016, which is more than twice the population of both the Grand Est and Scotland.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Lehmann, Bernard (2005) *L'orchestre dans tous ses éclats: Ethnographie des formations symphoniques*. Paris: Editions la découverte.

¹⁶² Parisian amateur orchestras are listed in a document from the city council [Online: http://www.mpaa.fr/documents/Listes/Orch_Symphoniques_Oct2015.pdf]

¹⁶³ The Grand Est is a new French region which merges Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne-Ardenne. The OPS is based in Alsace.

Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra (OPS)

Literature

There are few resources to track the history of the Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra. Local musicologist Genevieve Honegger remains the specialist on the OPS with *Le Conservatoire et l'Orchestre philharmonique de Strasbourg* (1998) and her interviews in one of the main edited monographs: Hervé Lévy's and Pascal Bastien's *Orchestre philharmonique de Strasbourg, un orchestre dans sa ville* (2004).¹⁶⁴ As a researcher on the German occupation, Honegger's contributions predominantly show this side of the history of the orchestra. The monograph by Gabriel Andres, *L'Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg, une histoire faite de bribes et de souvenirs* (2004), was based on personal memories and testimonies.¹⁶⁵ Additional sources can be found in the biographies of music directors and on the rather laconic website of the orchestra.

History and conductors

The Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra was created simultaneously with Strasbourg Conservatoire by Strasbourg City Council in 1855 with the funds from the endowment of Louis Apffel.¹⁶⁶ The first major figures included the Belgian conductor Joseph Hasselmans, who brought with him Belgian musicians and the young music director Franz Stockhausen (1871-1907), who raised the orchestra to an international level.¹⁶⁷

As an orchestra based on the border between France and Germany, the early history of the OPS was shaped by the ongoing military conflicts, starting with the Franco-Prussian war.¹⁶⁸ The annexation of Alsace by the Prussian Empire left the Alsatian Stockhausen bitter about the situation, claiming 'we shall not let

¹⁶⁴ Honegger, Genevieve (1998) op. cit.; Lévy, Hervé, Bastien, Pascal (2005) *Orchestre philharmonique de Strasbourg, un orchestre dans sa ville*. Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue.

¹⁶⁵ Andres, Gabriel (2004) *L'Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg, une histoire faite de bribes et de souvenirs*. Colmar: Bentzinger.

¹⁶⁶ Andres, Gabriel op. cit. p. 23.

¹⁶⁷ Happel, Jean (2001) 'Strasbourg', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000026901>] Last accessed 26th April 2019.

¹⁶⁸ Alsace belonged to Prussia from 1871 to 1918 after French defeat, to France after the Treaty of Versailles from 1919 to 1940, to Germany after Nazi conquest from 1940 to 1944 and to France from the end of Second World War in 1945.

Germans do what we can do by ourselves'.¹⁶⁹ However, the migration of German musicians rapidly filled the desks of the orchestra. The First World War had an impact on the orchestra as the Belgium musicians, brought at the very beginning of the ensemble, were banned, and most musicians were sent into the army. When Guy Ropartz took the baton at the end of the war in 1919, the German musicians had left, decimating the orchestra.¹⁷⁰ Again, the Second World War had an intense effect on the programmes of the orchestra as French language and French and Jewish music were forbidden by Nazi Germany.¹⁷¹

The successive music directors suggest a trend of German-trained conductors with some performances of French music (appendix 2). For example, the Alsatian Franz Stockhausen first studied the piano in Paris before moving to Leipzig Conservatoire.¹⁷² Moreover, Stockhausen's successor Hans Pfitzner (1907-1918), notorious for his later 'increasingly polemical expressions of anti-Modernist adherence to traditional German artistic value', was trained in Frankfurt.¹⁷³ Before building this persona in reaction to the defeat of Germany, Pfitzner was keen to include French music in the programmes of the OPS and even wrote to commission Claude Debussy for a world premiere (which never materialised).¹⁷⁴

The conductors of the OPS engaged in a constant back-and-forth between French and German traditions. On the French side, the conductor and composer Guy Ropartz (1919-1929), student of César Franck, Théodore Dubois and Jules Massenet, tried to introduce more French music during his decade at the OPS baton.¹⁷⁵ Likewise, Alain Lombard (1972-1983), trained in Paris Conservatoire, defended the French repertoire with recordings of Debussy and Berlioz with the

¹⁶⁹ Lévy, Hervé, Bastien, Pascal (2005) op. cit. p. 14.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 19.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p. 24.

¹⁷² Pascall, Robert (2001) 'Stockhausen family', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000026807>] Last accessed 26th April 2019.

¹⁷³ Franklin, Peter (2001) 'Pfitzner, Hans', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000021537>] Last accessed 26th April 2019.

¹⁷⁴ Lévy, Hervé, Bastien, Pascal (2005) op. cit. p. 18.

¹⁷⁵ Krier, Yves (2001) 'Ropartz, Joseph Guy (Marie)', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023810>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

Lévy, Hervé, Bastien, Pascal (2005) op. cit. p. 20.

OPS.¹⁷⁶ On the other side, the Vienna-trained George Szell (1917-1921), who succeeded Otto Klemperer as principal conductor on the recommendation of Richard Strauss, brought his Austro-German repertoire to the OPS, before being appointed principal conductor of the RSNO in 1936.¹⁷⁷ The recent German conductor Marc Albrecht (2006-2011), known for his passion for late Romantic Austrian and German repertoire, followed a similar trend.¹⁷⁸

Several conductors sought music beyond the French-German link, such as the Alsatian Ernest Bour (1950-1963) who made the repertoire of the orchestra evolve towards contemporary music by Hindemith, Bartók, Stravinsky, Górecki and Ligeti.¹⁷⁹ Alcéo Galliera (1964-1972) was one of the first musical directors not trained in Germany or France. Likewise, the Austrian Theodor Guschlbauer (1983-1997) supported the Classic and Romantic repertoires from his country.¹⁸⁰ The most recent example is the English conductor Jan Latham-Koenig (1997-2003) who further enlarged the repertoire of the OPS.

The OPS kept a close link with opera throughout its history, sharing the pit of the Rhine Opera (Opéra du Rhin) with the Mulhouse Symphony Orchestra since its creation in 1971.¹⁸¹ Several principal conductors of the OPS such as Alcéo Galliera, Theodor Guschlbauer and Jan Latham-Koenig had a career in opera houses. Marko Letonja (2012-), today's musical director, matches the DNA of the orchestra as conductor in many opera houses including the Wiener Staatsoper, Semperoper Dresden, Milan Scala, Berlin Staatsoper Unter den Linden and Deutsche Oper Berlin.

¹⁷⁶ Spieth-Weissenbacher, Christiane, Goodwin, Noël (2001) 'Lombard, Alain', *Grove Music Online* [Online:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016895>] Last accessed 24th April 2019.

¹⁷⁷ Henahan, Donal (1970) 'George Szell, Conductor, Is Dead', *New York Times Archive* [Online: <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/31/archives/george-szell-conductor-is-dead-george-szell-of-cleveland-orchestra.html>] Last accessed 19th April 2019.

¹⁷⁸ Albrecht, Marc (2019) *Personal website* [Online: <http://marcalbrecht.website/english/>] Last accessed 19th April 2019.

¹⁷⁹ Spieth-Weissenbacher, Christiane (2001) 'Bour, Ernest', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000003710>] Last accessed 26th March 2019.

¹⁸⁰ Elste, Martin (2001) 'Guschlbauer, Theodor', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044050>] Last accessed 19th April 2019.

¹⁸¹ Andres, Gabriel (2004) op. cit. p. 73.

Residence

The Strasbourg Municipal Orchestra, as it was named before 1994, performed in the Strasbourg Theatre. The OPS settled in 1975 in its current residence, the Palais de la Musique et des Congrès, near the European Parliament. The OPS is the only national orchestra based in Strasbourg, the closest state-funded orchestra being the Mulhouse Symphony Orchestra, 50 miles away.¹⁸² Other Strasbourg-based ensembles have been or currently are active in the city including Martin Gester's Le Parlement de Musique (1990) and Strasbourg Symphony Orchestra (2016). Amateur or non-permanent ensembles such as the Strasbourg University Orchestra (1961) and Strasbourg Youth Orchestra (1988) complete the musical scene.

The Region Grand Est, a new region resulting from the merging of Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne-Ardenne, counted 5.5 million inhabitants in 2016 (Alsace: 1.9 million).

¹⁸² Only Ile-de-France, Rhone-Alpes, Provence-Alpes-Cote d'Azur, Aquitaine and Alsace have two permanent state-funded symphony orchestras in the same region in France. Some regions as Champagne-Ardenne do not have permanent orchestras. French regions changed shape in 2015, for continuity purposes, the former regions are considered in this thesis.

Thesis plan

This thesis presents a series of ten interconnected case studies, grouped by themed chapters. Every case study focuses on a specific type of repertoire and its canonisation within French and British orchestral practices. All case studies allow us to consider the impact of nation-making policies and social structures on the canonisation processes of repertoires from different but interconnected angles.

The first three case studies (chapter 2) focus on the cultural stereotypes of French music being played in France and British music in Britain. The repertoire of national composers presents canonical variations in both countries, such as Debussy, Messiaen and British music. This chapter will review the different trends and mechanisms behind the integration of orchestral music into its home national canon.

The next two chapters (chapter 3 and 4) provide two different angles on the canonisation of foreign musical traditions. In chapter 3, two cases studies on Sibelius and Nielsen illustrate how the support of a local musical network plays a fundamental role in the integration of a foreign tradition. In chapter 4, two cases studies on the first generation of Soviet exiled musicians including Rostropovich and the post-Cold-War Russian conductors explore the introduction of a national musical culture by expatriates. These examples demonstrate the impact of the geopolitical situation during the Cold War on the canonisation of twentieth-century Russian music.

The last three case studies (chapter 5 and 6) explore the idea of innovation in cultural systems with the introduction of new styles of art music such as the works of the Second Viennese School and new musical genres such as film and video game music. The influence of Pierre Boulez in the canonisation of Second Viennese School unravels variations between the orchestral canons in France and in Britain. The case studies 9 and 10 explore the canonical boundaries with the on-going integration of film music in the seasons of symphony orchestras.

The repertoires presented in this thesis were selected among the most telling cases of canonical differences. Other cases were examined at the early stages of

this research but were not included in the present work such as Mendelssohn, choral music and Christmas concerts.

This thesis presents structural divisions between the ‘cases of identity’, the ‘contextual investigations’ and the main database analysis based on the level of original contribution. The ‘cases of identity’ deal with the delicate concept of national culture supported by secondary material. The ‘contextual investigations’ present data between introductory and core research material. These contextual investigations, such as the cultural context of the Cold War or the performances of the music of the Second Viennese School before 1945, are crucial to grasp the case studies. The original contribution of these sections stands in the compilation of early primary sources from before 1967, such as newspaper articles, concert reviews and programmes and the application of chosen secondary sources. The other sections of database analysis directly rely on the primary research material I gathered, with insight from the preliminary ‘cases of identity’ and ‘contextual investigations’.

In this thesis, the comparison between the most recent programmes and the earlier history of programming practices comes from the method I used to identify potential canonical variations. I first analysed recent programmes of the early twenty-first century in France and in Britain and then searched for evidence to support my findings in the archive of earlier programmes. I consider the recent orchestral programmes as the result of the trends and dynamics that can be traced back in the archives. For example, the sections ‘Sibelius in recent programmes’ and ‘Nielsen today’ show the state of current repertoire based on the canonisation processes unravelled in the first part of these case studies.

CHAPTER 2: FRENCH AND BRITISH MUSIC, NATIONAL CANONS AND NATIONAL MUSIC

Indeed, the common adage that music is a universal language, is but half true.

Carl Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music*, 1866.

Emerging from the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of 'national music' presupposed that identifiable national traits existed in the music itself. It assumed that national preference for certain genres or styles existed. Carl Engel, a German musicologist and organologist at South Kensington's Albert Museum, produced one of the first modern publications on national music, *An Introduction to the Study of National music* (1866). Engel's scholarly work and the many others which followed were testament to the widespread acceptance of the concept of national music, and its introduction into programme notes and, later on, academic musicology.¹⁸³ In his introduction, Engel stated the core belief of national particularities in music: 'the term of National Music implies that music, which, appertaining to a nation or tribe, whose individual emotions and passions it expresses, exhibits certain peculiarities more or less characteristic, which distinguish it from the music of any other nation or tribe'.¹⁸⁴ Some forms of this particular idea of national music survived throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. A famous instance was Ralph Vaughan Williams stating in *National Music* (1934) that: 'Art, and especially the art of music, uses knowledge as a means to the evocation of personal experience in terms which will be intelligible to and command the sympathy of others. These others must clearly be primarily those of his own nation or other kind of homogeneous community'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Engel, Carl (1866) *An Introduction to the Study of National Music*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Byer. Other publications include Chorley, Henry Fothergill (1880) *The National Music of the World*. London: S. Low; Calvocoressi, Michael D (1916) *The National Music of Russia*. London: Waverley Book.

¹⁸⁴ Engel, Carl (1866) op. cit. p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Vaughan Williams, Ralph (1934) *National Music*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 3.

Vaughan Williams implied that each country has its own national musical taste, but he assumed that this national taste would follow the same mechanisms of national preference in every nation. If we take at face value the definition of national music of Vaughan Williams, we might expect to find French and British music holds similar canonical status in France and Britain, respectively. An important nuance is brought to the debate by Vaughan Williams's mention of the 'homogeneous community' which presupposed that nations without a homogeneous community would not fit his framework. This quote raises the vast question of what 'homogeneous' could mean for nations, which stand on a practical level as the combination of several more or less distinct populations. For example, the differences between the English and Scottish concert programmes show the limitations of Britain as a unit of study.

The database used in this thesis suggests that some aspects of the statement of Vaughan Williams still apply to orchestral programmes, but it does not explain the different results for the performances of French and British music in their local territories and abroad. Indeed, results show that French music was performed far more often in France than British music was in Britain. Moreover, the RSNO played French music more often than British music which points towards the significance of anti-Englishness in Scotland.¹⁸⁶

In this chapter, I will examine the status of French and British music within their respective canons. The database suggests that local composers are slightly more prominent in the repertoire of local orchestras, but other particularities matter such as the high proportion of French music in British programmes. The fact that French music in France does not necessarily share the same canonical status than British music in Britain suggests a revaluation of the notion of national preference. On the basis of these observations, I argue that beyond the constructed idea of 'national' music, the canonisation processes of local repertoires present some national specificities.

While the appropriateness of using the nation as a historiographical category in the study of music history has been long established, as has the international context of European musical nationalism, the ways in which contemporary

¹⁸⁶ Most of what can be labelled as 'British music' in the orchestral repertoire is in fact English. Very few Scottish or Welsh composers were performed, see following sections.

orchestras reflected these opposing tensions have been studied to a lesser extent.¹⁸⁷ While Weber focused on some such tensions, his study concentrated exclusively on concert societies in the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁸ This chapter thus aims to analyse how such notions of the ‘national’ and their sometimes very different configurations and understandings in different contexts extend beyond composers and into contemporary programming choices. No comparative studies have been undertaken into how national taste is built in the case of contemporary orchestral repertoires.

A case of identity: Frenchness and Britishness

Before I start my discussion of programming practices, I would like to briefly define what could be considered as French or British music. To use citizenship as the sole criterion can lead to some problematic exclusions: for example, Elgar’s music would be considered as British but not Handel’s early works when living in Germany and Italy. Likewise, Honegger’s music, as a Swiss citizen, would not be considered as French despite his spending most of his creative life in Paris.

Miller’s definition of citizenship which included three aspects - political, economic and cultural - expanded and complexified the idea of French and British music. For Miller, ‘cultural citizenship concerns the maintenance and development of cultural lineage via education, custom, language, and religion, and the acknowledgement of difference in and by mainstream cultures.’¹⁸⁹

Therefore, whether composers engaged in ‘maintenance and development’ of the British or French culture throughout their lives must be considered too. Handel acculturated his music to the British tastes whereas Chopin, even though he lived a significant part of his life in France, is not considered a French composer, and probably not a Polish national composer either, according to Pekacz.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Applegate, Celia, Potter, Pamela (2002) *Music and German National Identity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Bohlman, Philip (2004) *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, p. 35; Riley, Matthew, Smith, Anthony D. (2016) *Nation and Classical Music, From Handel to Copland*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

¹⁸⁸ Weber, William (2008) op. cit.

¹⁸⁹ Miller, Toby, Yudice, George (2002) op. cit. p. 24.

¹⁹⁰ Pekacz, Jolanta (2017) ‘Deconstructing a “National Composer”: Chopin and Polish Exiles in Paris 1831-49’, in Carroll, Mark (ed) *Music and Ideology*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Where pinning down what French music appears relatively straightforward, the very qualifier of 'British' music raises identity issues. France is generally considered a nation-state, as opposed to Britain which includes several nations. The existence of British music as opposed to English, Scottish and Welsh and, presumably for much of the history, Irish music remains debatable and there are various qualifiers for the works of British composers. For example, Elgar's First Symphony is considered as the 'greatest of all British symphonies' and Elgar himself as an 'Edwardian' by the RSNO.¹⁹¹ Likewise, the LSO describes a concert of Tippett, Elgar and Vaughan Williams as 'all-British programme, highlighting the responses of composers to the world around them in early-twentieth-century Britain'.¹⁹² However, in the same season, *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* of Vaughan Williams is described as 'unmistakably English'.¹⁹³

Consequently, in this study of programming choices of orchestras, the reception of music perceived as British, English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh matters more than how the music itself may feature national ways of composing. Studies revealed the crucial influence of the audience and the persona of the composer in the reception of English music. Some of Vaughan Williams may be designated as British in some recent programmes but he remains a major figure perceived as English.¹⁹⁴

Frogley provided a detailed study on the construction of the English persona of Vaughan Williams which confirmed most of the references to England in the programme notes.

At its simplest level, Vaughan Williams's reputation as a nationalist composer is based on four overlapping elements: his published writings arguing the importance of national roots for musical styles; work as a

¹⁹¹ RSNO, season brochure 2017-2018, concert of the 10th February and 7th February: 'Under the Skin of Elgar'.

¹⁹² LSO, concert of the 12th December 2019 'Sir Antonio Pappano: British Roots' [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/whats-on/icalrepeat.detail/2019/12/12/1560/-/elgar-tippett-vaughan-williams.html>] Last accessed 10th December 2019.

¹⁹³ LSO, concert of the 15th March 2020, 'Pappano: British Roots' [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/whats-on/icalrepeat.detail/2020/03/15/1551/-/vaughan-williams-britten.html>] Last accessed 10th December 2019.

¹⁹⁴ 'The perceived Englishness of the Third Symphony and of Vaughan Williams's music in general, has remained a pervasive thread in his reception.' Grimley, Daniel (2010) 'Landscape and Distance: Vaughan Williams, Modernism and the Symphonic Pastoral', in Riley, Matthew (ed.) *British Music and Modernism 1895-1960*. Burlington: Ashgate, p. 150.

collector, arranger, and editor of native folksongs and hymn-tunes; educational and administrative activity as a teacher, competition adjudicator etc; and the manifold influence of his music of a variety of English musical, literary, and other kinds of sources, above all folksongs, Tudor and Jacobean music, and the English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most notably the King James Bible and Shakespeare.¹⁹⁵

Likewise, Poston underlined that the repertoire played during Henry Wood's first London Proms was to become a way to strengthen English musical identity. He stated that: 'The advent of the Proms, then, came at a transitional moment in English musical culture, coinciding with the rise of the full-time professional orchestra and increased chauvinism about English music. By looking more closely on programming, we can assay the understanding of English music Wood's attitudes tented to inculcate in his audiences.'¹⁹⁶

The notions of Britishness and Englishness were challenged by recent studies which show how the canonisation of a certain repertoire goes beyond musical style. Whether a composer was seen as British or English did not depend on his musical style only but rather on complex mechanisms and practices of programming and reception. Even composers typically classed as British or English, such as Vaughan Williams himself, did not simplistically adhered to the idea of a national style. For example, Grimley argued that English symphonies reveal tensions 'between inward and outward impulses, between notions of Englishness and a more cosmopolitan continental European modernism', rather than exhibiting an 'exclusively English musical idiom'.¹⁹⁷ Tensions in their music were therefore reflective of how British or English composers themselves were aware that national identity is constructed to a great extent.

Miller's notion of expanded citizenship can therefore help us unravel how constructed notions of Frenchness and Britishness operated in the reception and

¹⁹⁵ Frogley, Alain (1996) 'Constructing Englishness in Music: national character and the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams', *Vaughan Williams Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 5.

¹⁹⁶ Poston, Lawrence (2005) 'Henry Wood, the "Proms", and National Identity in Music, 1895-1904', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 47, no. 3, p. 403.

¹⁹⁷ Grimley, Daniel (2010) op. cit. p. 148.

canonisation of national music, resulting in two very differently configured national canons. This chapter intends to do so through considered discussion of selected case studies of French and British music. The first case study focuses on British music, elucidating some differences between English and Scottish orchestras with the case of English music as a specialised repertoire. The two following case studies focus on French music, discussing the different status that Debussy and Messiaen hold in the French orchestral repertoire.

Case study 1: British music and the idea of universality

The concert database suggests that the canonical status of British music in Britain is not exactly equivalent to the canonical status of the two following cases of French music in France. The music of Debussy exemplified the status of a shared core repertoire between both French and British orchestras. While British orchestras performed a significant proportion of French music, results showed that British music is rarely played in France (appendices 3 and 4). The only two British composers (not considering film music composers) with a significant presence in French programmes are Elgar and Britten, whereas concert programmes show that late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century music such as Elgar and Vaughan Williams works constitute the major part of the British music performed by symphony orchestras.

This imbalance between British and French music can be explained by examining the discourses around British music, nationalism and universalism. The idea of universality in music has been widely examined, mostly in connection to the German canon, revealing that it is not the case that some music or styles are more intrinsically 'universal' than others; rather, they are constructed as such by complex dynamics involving discourse, tradition and reception issues.¹⁹⁸ Potter and Applegate pointed out that, in the cases where German music was presented as universal, '[...] the links between music and German identity can more often than not be traced to writers, thinkers, statesmen, educators, impresarios, demagogues, and audiences but only occasionally to composers'.¹⁹⁹

The discourse around German music of the nineteenth century was constructed around both ideas of universal and national in different points in time, but British music mainly remained considered as tied to a local perspective.²⁰⁰ The research literature showed that British music shared this 'national' characterisation with other nations and was labelled as a form of 'musical

¹⁹⁸ Applegate, Celia, Potter, Pamela (2002) op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 3.

²⁰⁰ Beller-McKenna, Daniel (1998) 'How "deutsch" a Requiem? Absolute Music, Universality, and the Reception of Brahms's "Ein deutsches Requiem," op. 45', *19th Century Music*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp.3-19.

nationalism'.²⁰¹ Applegate and Potter stated 'When musicologists place Finnish, Czech, Russian, or Spanish musical compositions under the heading of "musical nationalism", they implicitly compare them against a universally accepted German music and presume that other nations tried to distinguish themselves by deviating from the German standard.'²⁰²

The discourse around the local aspect of British music might have been one factor that slowed down its integration in the repertoires of symphony orchestras outside Britain. Nicholas Temperley proposed several reasons why British music was so sporadically exported, based on the structure of British society. Temperley claimed that the lack of British music abroad was partly due to the political domination and imperialism of the Victorian Britain: 'the British arrived late in the arena of musical nationalism perhaps because they had felt unchallenged in most other contests.'²⁰³ Temperley's ideas of a relationship between the success of British music abroad and the constructed national strategy of the Victorian society could provide one possible explanation, among others, of the lack of British music in French programmes and its moderate proportion in British ones:

The change of terminology ('Land ohne Musik' to dark age followed by renaissance) came with the rise of English or British nationalism in the late Victorian era. This, it now seems clear, had little to do with the music, but was motivated by the emergence of Germany, and to some extent the United States, as economic, political and potentially military rivals. So long as Britain was clearly the world leader among nations, we welcomed foreign imports, including music. But an era of protectionism was coming.²⁰⁴

More generally, in England, the music of Elgar and Vaughan Williams was to a great extent perceived as tailored to the society in which it existed, matching the then contemporary notion of the modern. As put by Meirion Hughes,

²⁰¹ Riley, Matthew (2016) *British Music and Modernism, 1895-1960*. Abingdon: Routledge; Horton, Peter, Zon, Bennett (2018) *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, vol. 3. Abingdon, Routledge.

²⁰² Ibid. p. 1.

²⁰³ Temperley, Nicholas (1999) 'Xenophilia in British Musical History', in Bennett Zon (ed) *Nineteenth-century British Music Studies*, vol. 1, no. 13, p. 5.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 8.

Victorian modernity 'did not predicate a radical break with the past. Rather, Victorians regarded the modern as synonymous with the new, the contemporary and, towards the end of the century, the improved.'²⁰⁵ Victorian trends partly remained throughout Edwardian times and the idea that English music was more appealing to English audiences continued to circulate. The concert reviews typically emphasised that the English musical style - if such a thing existed - included a fashion for pastoral metaphors, presented new musical colours without breaking with tonality, and was away from the Austro-German chromaticism, the developments of Second Viennese School and the French ideals of modernity. English music was described as the perfect embodiment of musical ideals inherited from Victorian times and the ideal repertoire for the newly created orchestras, such as the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra (1853) and the Hallé Orchestra (1858).

The database of concerts suggests that these discourses dating back from the late nineteenth century shaped the orchestral repertoire. The press disseminated these discourses and played a crucial role in engraining English music in the canons of English orchestras. Hughes explains how Elgar was consistently supported by *The Guardian*, promoting him 'as a radical and progressive modern who worked on the cutting edge of his art above and beyond any considerations of class, privilege, or national identity - in the spirit of what might be referred to as 'freetrade' in music.'²⁰⁶ Hughes demonstrated that the interaction between the English press and Elgar made him from a 'mere local musician into nothing less than Britain's musical laureate.'²⁰⁷ This again suggests that Elgar's music was thought to perfectly match the socio-political trends of the time, which differed in France and England.

Heritage in contemporary concert programmes

Based on the outcome of my contemporary database, I argue that the canonisation processes rooted in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were still shaping the orchestral programmes of the last fifty years.

²⁰⁵ Hughes, Meirion (2010) 'A thorough going modern': Elgar reception in the Manchester Guardian, 1896-1908', in Riley, Matthew (ed) *British Music and Modernism 1895-1960*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 33.

²⁰⁶ Hughes, Meirion (2010) op. cit., p. 33.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

Several recent programmes showed that the idea of British music as a local repertoire persisted for more contemporary repertoires, perpetuating the discourses created around late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century British music.

Some pieces were explicitly identified by the composers as inspired by aspects of the English, Scottish and British cultures, especially the ideas of pastoralism and landscape. For example, the RSNO mentioned in the programmes notes that Sally Beamish's Second Piano Concerto *Cauldron of the Speckled Seas* was inspired by 'a whirlpool off the west coast of Scotland'.²⁰⁸ However, some pieces without a direct connection to extra-musical local inspiration were also introduced with the idea of a national reference. For example, the OP 2017 season brochure described Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* as 'often called "The English Parsifal"' and as a 'national monument in England but very rarely performed abroad'.²⁰⁹ This common discourse in concert brochures perpetuated the idea of British music as a local particularity.

Moreover, this constructed discourse sometimes undermined the transcultural and more regional aspects of the inspiration of some composers. For example, the music of Peter Maxwell Davies was almost exclusively introduced to audiences based on his inspiring 'love of Scotland', ignoring the Orcadian aspect of his inspiration and the intersection of Orcadian, Scottish and English cultures.²¹⁰ The SCO's concert 'A celebration of Scotland's Musical Hero Maxwell

²⁰⁸ RSNO programme notes of the 6th, 7th and 8th April 2017, p. 8: 'This Concerto is a response to a request from Jonathan Biss, who has commissioned five works to partner the five Beethoven piano concertos. This piece corresponds to Beethoven's First Piano Concerto, and was composed over the autumn of 2016. My first two piano concertos refer to the natural world - the first, Hill Stanzas (premiered by Ronald Brautigam with the Amsterdam Sinfonietta), to the Cairngorm mountains, and the second, Cauldron of the Speckled Seas (premiered by Martin Roscoe and the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra conducted by Thomas Dausgaard), to a whirlpool off the west coast of Scotland. In this Third Piano Concerto, I turned to the urban landscape.' British Premiere of Beamish's Third Piano Concerto *City Stanzas* (British Premiere) conducted by Peter Oundjian, Jonathan Biss, piano.

²⁰⁹ OP 2017-2018 season brochure, concerts of the 21st and 22nd December conducted by Daniel Harding: 'Les anglais vouent un culte unique au *Dream of Gerontius*, méditation musicale saisissante de la vie après la mort. [...] Créé en 1900, ce grand oratorio souvent appelé le « Parsifal anglais », est un monument national en Angleterre mais est très rarement donné en dehors de ses frontières.'

²¹⁰ Conway, Paul (2000) 'San Francisco to Orkney: Some Recent Maxwell Davies Orchestral Works', *Tempo*, no. 214, p. 43-45.

Davies' exemplified this trend, depicting his music as 'imbued with landscape, weather and sea [... Scotland's] history and traditional music.'²¹¹

The discourses dating back from the late nineteenth century can partly elucidate the difference of performance of British composers in Britain and France. For example, during the last fifty years of our database, Elgar was performed 398 times by the LSO against 24 times by the OP; Britten was performed 356 times by the LSO against 59 times by the OP and Vaughan Williams was played 111 times by the LSO against 3 times by the OP (in 2006, 2015 and 2016). The gap in frequency was even wider for other composers such as Walton, Holst, Delius, Tippett, Tavener, Finzi and Ades as their music was barely performed at all by the studied French orchestras (appendix 3).²¹²

Moreover, the database suggests that, even if British music was performed more often by British than French orchestras, this repertoire was not performed very often in Britain in the first place. For example, the LSO played Ravel more often than Elgar. This can be partly understood in the context of historical tastes: the British upper classes favoured foreign music during several centuries up to Victorian times. According to Temperley, the fashion for foreign music, especially German music, was gradually enlarged to Russian and Slavic music in the end of the nineteenth century.²¹³ It was precisely this period which saw the creation of the first symphony orchestras and the establishment of their canonical repertoire. Moreover, British musical society welcomed numerous musical visitors. For example, Dvořák was an 'English celebrity' and The Royal Philharmonic Society of London commissioned his Seventh Symphony.²¹⁴

The database shows that French music is more frequently played in French programmes than British music is in British programmes. The settlement of foreign composers in Britain and the long-lasting demand for their music explains

²¹¹ SCO 2016-2017 season brochure, concert of the 2nd December, p. 13: 'A celebration of Scotland's Musical Hero Maxwell Davies An Orkney Wedding' [...] 'Sir Peter Maxwell Davies' love of Scotland has inspired him to create so much wonderful music imbued with landscape, weather and sea, and also its history and traditional music.'

²¹² Numbers of performances: LSO, RSNO; OP, OPS. Walton: 230, 16; 6, 9. Vaughan Williams: 193, 15; 2, 1. Tippett: 95, 9; 2, 0. Holst: 54, 5; 3, 3. Delius: 48, 3; 0, 0. Finzi: 15, 0; 0, 0. Ades: 9, 0; 2, 0. Tavener: 7, 0; 0, 1.

For an example of canonisation processes of contemporary music in Britain, see Noltingk, Jaqueline (2017) op. cit.

²¹³ Temperley, Nicholas (1999) op. cit. p. 13.

²¹⁴ Gordon, David, Gordon Peter (2005) *Musical Visitors to Britain*. New York: Routledge, p. 175.

this difference in canons. More than being simply visitors, many foreign composers settled in the country for longer periods of time and produced fashionable music that outweighed the local British production. Handel stood as one of the first cases and can be considered as ‘an Englishman by choice’.²¹⁵ Mendelssohn remained one of the most striking examples of a foreign musician adopted by British society. His numerous tours in England and Scotland resulted in a ‘long-lasting veneration of Mendelssohn in England’.²¹⁶ His Second Symphony dedicated to the Royal Philharmonic Society proved Mendelssohn’s brilliant success in Birmingham. Mendelssohn wrote that ‘universal English applause lifted a stone from my heart’ and Queen Victoria’s declaration for Mendelssohn’s death showed his deep integration in the British society.²¹⁷

In addition, with the support of the press, British music benefitted from the influence of British conductors who were often composers themselves. As Libby Rice suggests, English music is still considered today as a specialty of English conductors. The concert database shows that English music was a pillar of the repertoire of the LSO from the start and English composers regularly conducted the orchestra. For example, William Walton (1948-1957) and Arthur Bliss (1958-?) were appointed presidents of the LSO and Elgar (1911-1912) was appointed principal conductor.²¹⁸ Compared with the French orchestras, the LSO appointed well established composers as conductors (appendix 2). No evidence suggests composer-conductors of such a significance in the programmes of the OPS and the OP. This particular canonisation practice of established local composers as conductors helped engrain British music into British orchestral canons.

However, a distinction between English and Scottish orchestras has to be made. Vaughan Williams himself wrote: ‘Then there is the question of place. Is music that is good music for one country or one community necessarily good music for another?’²¹⁹ This question of the significance of the ‘community’ raises the

²¹⁵ Ibid. p. 56.

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 121.

²¹⁷ Ibid. p. 122: ‘We were horrified, astounded and distressed to read in the papers of the death of Mendelssohn, the greatest musical genius since Mozart, & the most admirable man.’; Ibid. p. 68: quoting Marek, G.R (1972) *Gentle Genius, the Story of Felix Mendelssohn*, Robert Hale, p. 317.

²¹⁸ LSO (2020) *Title holders* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/title-holders.html>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

²¹⁹ Vaughan Williams, Ralph (1934) op. cit., p. 15.

issues of Britain as a unit of study. De facto, 'British music' included more compositions of English composers than Scottish, Welsh and Irish composers. The anti-Englishness sentiment of a part of the Scottish audience and critics cannot be ignored. The databases of the LSO and RSNO showed a significant gap between English and Scottish programmes of English music. The proportion of English music was significantly lower in the programmes of the RSNO than in the programmes of the LSO. The statistics confirmed what Libby Rice, LSO Archivist, and Bill Chandler, RSNO Director of Concerts and Engagement, declared about English music. Libby Rice asserted that Britten and Elgar were popular among London audiences but that English music required 'a specialised conductor'. Moreover, Bill Chandler admitted that English music did not sell very well in Scotland.

To conclude, English music can be considered as a canonised repertoire in England but the state of British music in Britain is more complex, especially in the canons of Scottish orchestras, and relied on local cultural history. The support of the press and conductors helped the canonisation processes of British music in Britain. The following cases on Debussy and Messiaen show that this phenomenon also occurred with the canonisation of French music in France. The persisting discourse around British music as a local phenomenon partially impeded its international diffusion and integration into foreign canons. The production issue developed by Temperley and the idea that British music was thought to be less universal during Victorian times, as opposed to central European music, partly explain the differences of canonical status of French and British music. Moreover, as developed in the earlier 'case of identity', the existence of 'British' music as opposed to 'English' and 'Scottish' music remains an open debate. The significant variations between the programmes of Scottish and English orchestras stand as a major canonical difference with the case of French music in France. As opposed to Debussy and Messiaen rather similarly performed across French regions, Elgar was more often played in England than in other parts of Britain. The following cases aim to further develop the differences between French and British music in their national territories.

French music in the database

The databases of the LSO, OP, RSNO and OPS showed that French music has been a significant part of the orchestral repertoire. As predicted, French orchestras performed French music more often than their British colleagues but British orchestras performed that repertoire too, and in a significant proportion. Maurice Ravel, Hector Berlioz and Claude Debussy were the three most often performed French composers, significantly more so than any others (appendix 4). For example, the performances of Debussy represented four times those of Camille Saint-Saëns or Georges Bizet, and ten times those of Gabriel Fauré in the programmes of the LSO. The OP and the LSO shared a similar proportion of performances of Ravel and Debussy but Berlioz was performed twice more often by the LSO (882 performances by the LSO, 472 performances by the OP).

The database suggests that French and British music have different statuses within French and British programmes, respectively (appendices 3 and 4). Based on the statistics, three distinct groups of composers can be identified: the 'leading trio' (Debussy, Ravel and Berlioz), the core repertoire and the marginal repertoire. Concerning the former, as explained, the performances of Ravel, Berlioz and Debussy were significantly more frequent than any other French composers.²²⁰ The group of composers that can be considered as part of the core repertoire, such as Fauré, Saint-Saëns and Offenbach, were performed frequently in both countries, but more so in France.²²¹ The archives showed a stable performance frequency of the composers of the leading trio and the core repertoire. Some exceptions can be noticed in the archives that I suggest were down to the choices of soloists and the unbalanced persistence of some pieces of otherwise neglected composers in the canons. For example, the performances of Jules Massenet were low and stable in frequency but *Méditation de Thaïs* was almost the only piece played from this composer. Another discrepancy was Pierre Boulez being performed more often in London rather than in Paris but less in Scotland than in Strasbourg. The strong relationship Boulez formed with the LSO when he was their conductor helped explain these figures.

²²⁰ Performances of the LSO, RSNO; OP, OPS in the available databases. Berlioz: 882, 36; 472, 62. Ravel: 517, 36; 508, 125. Debussy: 358, 21; 359, 41.

²²¹ Saint-Saëns: 84, 15; 146, 46. Fauré: 37, 6; 72, 20. Offenbach: 22, 0; 31, 18.

The third group encompasses the greatest number of composers and makes up part of what has been earlier defined as marginal repertoire, that is, a repertoire that is not strictly necessary for an orchestra to gain international recognition. This marginal repertoire included more or less known composers such as Ernest Chausson, Francis Poulenc, Paul Dukas, Henri Dutilleux, André Jolivet, Olivier Messiaen, Darius Milhaud and Charles Gounod, who remained performed significantly more often by the selected French orchestras compared with their British colleagues.²²² For example, the French performances of Gounod and Messiaen doubled the British performances and Poulenc and Dukas tripled the British ones. Chausson was performed once by the LSO against 41 times by the OP during the same time period. Moreover, none of Jolivet can be found in the last fifty years of the programmes of either the LSO or RSNO.

Based on these observations, I chose two case studies to deeper analyse the canonisation practices in the performance of French music. The first case study, Claude Debussy, is an example of the shared core repertoire of British and French orchestras. Debussy was performed approximately at the same rate in both countries, but the specific pieces that were programmed alongside Debussy in a concert and the programme notes revealed some national differences in how this repertoire is contextualised and presented to audiences. The second case study, Olivier Messiaen, aims to provide an example of French repertoire played in France and Britain, considered as significant in France but marginal in Britain. This case shows the canonisation processes of this repertoire, including the impact of press critics in maintaining or discarding newly-introduced and stylistically demanding repertoire.

²²² Chausson: 0 (1 from 1904), 0; 41, 0. Poulenc: 23, 4; 67, 20. Dukas: 30, 5; 60, 15. Dutilleux: 14, 0; 52, 19. Jolivet: 0, 0; 22, 9. Messiaen: 34, 1; 90, 20. Milhaud: 9, 0; 41, 9. Gounod: 12, 0; 21, 2.

Case study 2: Claude Debussy

This section discusses the differences in programming Debussy and highlights the national particularities found in the history of my four studied orchestras and in the centenary celebrations of Debussy in 2018. The concert programmes of the RSNO, LSO, OP and OPS suggest that Debussy is equally part of the core repertoire of orchestras on both sides of the Channel. The LSO and the OP programmed Debussy in a similar proportion, as did the RSNO and the OPS albeit on a smaller scale. Debussy was part of the trio of the three most often performed French composers with Berlioz and Ravel. Debussy was performed 358 times by the LSO, 359 times by the OP, 21 times by the RSNO and 41 times by the OPS (appendix 4). The number of concerts has to be taken into consideration too, as the LSO scheduled slightly more concerts than the OP. This nuance would give a subtle advantage to the performances of French music by French orchestras. However, results remained significantly high on both sides of the Channel.

The differing practices in presenting and pairing Debussy can be found in concert programme notes and concert brochures. To exemplify this, I will first examine the Debussy 2018 celebrations in relation to cultural policies and the impact of these on the programming choices of orchestras. Secondly, I will examine several aspects of canonisation practices of programming concerning how Debussy was presented as French, modern and as programme music through the pairings of his works with other composers.

Both French and British orchestras played Debussy at similar rates but studying the specificities of the programming practices of Debussy in France and in Britain allows one to go beyond an understanding of national music as a style. Three main themes emerged from programme notes and season brochures. Firstly, Debussy was often described as the archetypical French composer and presented as such in programmes, a tradition shared by both French and British orchestras with some variations. For example, the OPS chose the headline ‘Debussy, the French touch of classical music’ for its 2018-2019 season.²²³ Secondly, concert programmes were often built around the idea of the ‘modern

²²³ OPS 2018-2019 season brochure, p. 39: ‘Debussy, Ravel: La French touch de la musique classique’.

Debussy', pairing his works with a trend of pieces either considered as modernist and revolutionary (such as Stravinsky and Ravel) or new music of living composers, premieres and commissions. Thirdly, British programmes tend to amplify the programmatic elements of Debussy, especially his maritime inspiration.

Debussy today, the centenary celebrations in 2018

The celebrations of the centenary of the death of Debussy in 2018 were an occasion for orchestras to program his music. Examining these special concerts and celebrations help unravel the canonisation practice for a repertoire which is evenly shared by the French and British orchestras. The commemorations of Debussy showed that the national particularities in canonisation practices need to go beyond the citizenship of a composer and need to be examined through the reception and programming history. The 2018 celebrations reflected that orchestras did share some international canonisation practices for the general performance and the reception of Debussy.

For the season 2017-2018, only a few French and British orchestras explicitly programmed a celebration of the anniversary of the death of Debussy on the 25th March.²²⁴ The centenary of Debussy was celebrated in France and Britain but the territorial distribution of these events varied within both countries. The British orchestras celebrating Debussy were located in various cities whereas the French celebrations were concentrated in Paris.

In France, a clear division between Parisian orchestras, celebrating the centenary, and provincial orchestras, mostly planning other cycles, can be observed. The Orchestre National de France (ONF) and the Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France (OPRF), both Parisian radio orchestras, mentioned Debussy in the introduction of their season. The ONF performed five celebration concerts and one concert with Debussy without commenting on the centenary. The OPRF performed seven celebration concerts and six additional concerts featuring Debussy. Likewise, the OP celebrated 'the centenary of the

²²⁴ Observations are mostly based on the websites and brochures of the orchestras at the time of the anniversary. Some orchestras could have mentioned Debussy in the concert programme notes and not in their general communication, but this is considered as unlikely.

death of Debussy' with seven special concerts and six additional concerts during the season 2017-2018.

In French regions, Debussy was programmed only sparsely, and these performances were not directly connected with the celebrations. For example, there was no mention of Debussy in the narrative presented by the communication of the Orchestre du Capitole de Toulouse (OCT) even if three concerts feature Debussy. The Orchestre de Lille (ONL) only performed one of Debussy's piano works in a chamber series and themed its season on Ravel. One of the only provincial examples of an advertised Debussy memorial concert was a concert of the Orchestre de Lyon (OL) conducted by Leonard Slatkin.²²⁵ The OPS programmed the 2017-2018 year around Beethoven but the 2018-2019 season as both the celebration of the centenary of the death of Debussy and the 250th anniversary of the death of Berlioz in 2019. However, these celebrations of Debussy happened rather late compared to the international and Parisian orchestras.

By contrast, in Britain, the orchestras celebrating Debussy were located in capitals and regional metropolises such as London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Birmingham. The LSO programmed a significant series around Debussy which was commented upon by François-Xavier Roth and introduced by Simon Rattle in the prologue of the season brochure. The LSO built an entire Debussy section on its website and programmed seven concerts. The CBSO also organised an entire Debussy festival with eight concerts. The RSNO did not clearly mention Debussy's centenary in the season brochure but planned one celebration concert. Likewise, there was no clear celebration by the LPO even if three concerts included Debussy, such as *Printemps* alongside Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. The LPO focused on a 'War and Peace' theme and a Stravinsky cycle. The Hallé Orchestra focused on Russian music in the introduction of the 2017-2018 brochure, but some Debussy was programmed during the season. Philharmonia performed a concert with Debussy and Ravel without mention of the centenary neither in the concert description nor in the season introduction. Likewise, the BBCSSO only

²²⁵ The new production of Debussy's *Pelleas and Melisande* by the ONR stands as another example out of orchestral repertoire.

performed one piece by the French composer and the BBCSO did not celebrate or perform Debussy at all.

Contextual investigation: French cultural policies

This discrepancy between French and British territorial distribution of the orchestral celebrations of Debussy can be partly explained by the French governmental cultural policies. The British celebrations were planned by institutions independently from wider guidelines, as a way to celebrate Debussy and as a marketing tool to theme seasons. In France, the celebrations of Debussy were planned by the French government and focused on the nation-building aspect of celebrating Debussy as part of the French culture. The educational aspect of events prevailed in French celebrations and the two cities where Debussy's celebrations reached orchestral programmes were precisely the home of the only two higher conservatoires, Paris and Lyon.

As is clear from a great many separate lines of evidence, the French government designed the centenary celebrations as a way to educate audiences about Debussy and transmit a national musical heritage. These educational and nation-building aspects manifested in the programmes as a great part of these events were performed by music schools, conservatoire orchestras and educational institutions. Memorial concerts played by students and schoolchildren showed that the French celebrations of Debussy focused on transmitting a national heritage reaching a wider audience rather than celebrating Debussy with high end productions. For example, the celebrations included a national orchestration competition for conservatoire students and the founding of an academy during the festival 'Le monde de Debussy' (Debussy's World) in Debussy's native town Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

The programmes of the celebrations of Debussy show that the French governmental policy impacted more the chamber music festivals and recital concerts than symphony orchestras. The website launched by the French government for the centenary included very few symphonic concerts.²²⁶ For example, the opening event was a piano recital by Daniel Barenboim, attended

²²⁶ Ministère de la Culture (2018) *Centenaire Debussy* [Online: <https://centenairedebussy.culture.gouv.fr/>] Last accessed 19th March 2019.

by the French Culture Minister, the French president and the Chancellor of Germany.²²⁷

In addition, the differences between the French and British enthusiasm for the celebrations of Debussy can partly be explained by the different status of French and British orchestras. British orchestras, more reliant on earned income, saw the celebrations of Debussy as a marketing opportunity to theme their season. French orchestras, state-funded and subsidised, had less incentive to follow a strong marketing trend.

The centenary of Debussy provided a clear example of how cultural policies impacted French orchestras. Kremp's study 'Innovation and selection: symphony orchestras and the construction of the musical canon in the United States' showed the correlation between the type of funding and the programming choices of US symphony orchestras. These ideas can be partially applied to European orchestras and their different funding traditions. The French orchestras are some of the most extensively public-funded orchestras in Europe, together with those in Germany. Publicly, orchestras denied following any state guidelines of programming and claimed to be completely free to build musical seasons. In reality, the amount of public support conditioned their musical direction to an extent. Evidence suggests that the cultural policies of the successive French governments impacted programming choices of national orchestras.

The public policies for music, national orchestras and symphonic concert life varied from the beginning of the twentieth century in France. Yannick Simon sketched a detailed portrait of the beginnings of French public subventions during a period he named the 'prehistory of state musical policy' from 1861 to 1969.²²⁸ These early grants started with the first state subvention for a symphony orchestra in 1878.

²²⁷ Ibid. 'Le ministère de la Culture lance une année de célébrations du centenaire de la mort de Claude Debussy, disparu le 25 mars 1918. Françoise Nyssen, ministre de la Culture, en a fait l'annonce publique le 19 janvier dernier à la Philharmonie de Paris lors d'un récital Debussy donné par Daniel Barenboïm, en présence du Président de la République et de la Chancelière fédérale d'Allemagne.'

²²⁸ Simon, Yannick (2018) 'Le subventionnement des concerts symphoniques dans les départements français entre 1861 et 1969: une préhistoire de la politique musicale de l'Etat et une géographie de la France musicale', *Transposition*, no. 7.

Moreover, the literature showed that France has consistently pursued cultural policies favouring French composers from the creation of the Commission for Concerts in 1932, which dictated the policies of the French state for symphonic music.²²⁹ After the Second World War, the Commission became more than just a funding body by prioritising musical nationalism.²³⁰ Indeed, the decisions of the Commission were consistently led by nationalistic ideas and discourses. For example, in 1947, a debate took place concerning whether the Opera and Opera Comique should start playing Richard Strauss again.²³¹ The committee agreed 'because of the talent of the composer and the Francophile and anti-Nazi feelings he never failed to give proof of during the war'.²³² The nationalistic orientation of the Commission had consequences on French musical life. For example, in 1950, the Commission reduced the state subvention to Besançon Festival as a fine for having a very low programming of French music, and in 1951 the Aix-en-Provence Festival was subjected to the same penalty. The Commission continued to pursue such policies until its dissolution in 1967.²³³

No evidence suggests the existence of governmental guidelines for the celebrations of Debussy in Britain. Debussy was performed at a very similar rate in France and Britain, but the celebrations of the centenary did not hold the same meaning in both countries. In France, the anniversary stood as the celebration of a national figure, a composer seen as an epitome of French culture. The portrait of Debussy on the old French 20-Francs banknotes shows the significance of the composer as a national figure.²³⁴ In Britain, Debussy's anniversary was merely the celebration of a composer among others, praised for his artistic skills and branded as French, mainly for marketing purposes.

In Britain, the celebrations of Debussy were more down to programming choices of concert planners and conductors. The British boards of orchestras planned their celebrations of Debussy without governmental guidelines. Bill Chandler

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid. paragraph 60.

²³¹ During the war, most German and Austrian composers were banned from concert programmes in Paris.

²³² Ibid. paragraph 58: 'Compte tenu du talent de ce compositeur, des sentiments francophiles et antinazis dont il n'a cessé de faire preuve pendant la guerre'.

²³³ Ibid. paragraph 60.

²³⁴ Other portraits on the last series of franc bank notes (1980-2001) before the euros included scientists Pierre and Marie Curie (500 francs), architect Gustave Eiffel (200 francs), painter Paul Cézanne (100 francs) and writer Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (50 francs).

explained that the celebrations of Beethoven during the 2019-2020 season were organised by all Scottish musical institutions independently. However, representatives of each national institution (RSNO, Scottish Opera, and Scottish Ballet) met to avoid performing the same works during the same week or month to reduce a potential loss of audience. This case suggests that a similar process happened for the celebrations of Debussy. Orchestras focused on which pieces to play in coordination with each other, but there were no governmental guidelines for a wider national programme grouping orchestral seasons, chamber music concerts and educational projects.

Programming practices around Debussy

The concert programmes show that symphony orchestras paired Debussy with other composers following specific trends and programming practices. These practices further suggest canonical national differences in concert planning.

Firstly, the concert programmes suggest that modernism stood as a canonical theme to associate Debussy with other works. To some extent, the OPRF, OP, ONF, LSO and CBSO shared this programming practice during the celebrations of Debussy. All these orchestras paired Debussy with other repertoire around two main vision of modernity: modernity in music in general, with composers considered as essentially modern such as Ravel and Stravinsky, and contemporary music today with premieres.

The practice of pairing Debussy with Stravinsky and Ravel was not exclusive to the celebration but has been a canonical programming practice for several decades, supported by conductors from various backgrounds and eras. French and British orchestras similarly programmed Debussy with Stravinsky; this canonisation practice can be considered to be widespread on an international level - unlike other practices discussed in this thesis. Valery Gergiev remained the most striking contemporary example of the practice. As conductor of the LSO, he created several programmes based solely on these two composers, which were first performed in London and then on tour in France in 2007. However, there are several examples predating Gergiev, with examples of Alexander Gibson performing Debussy's *Printemps* with Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* with the RSNO in 1981.

More recently, Boulez with the LSO and Bychkov with the OP frequently performed Debussy and Stravinsky together. This trend continues with Gergiev performing Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint-Sebastien* and Stravinsky's *Firebird* with the OP in December 2019. The French orchestras share this programming practice. For example, the orchestra of the CNSMD of Lyon performed Debussy's *Nocturnes* with Stravinsky's *Le chant du rossignol*.²³⁵

Likewise, concert programmes show that performing Debussy alongside contemporary composers was a common practice both in France and Britain. For example, the CBSO entitled one of its Debussy Festival concerts 'modern Debussy', including music by Stravinsky (considered as timelessly modern) and music by the contemporary composer Tōru Takemitsu.²³⁶ The database of the OP provided various examples such as Debussy's *La Mer* with Serge Nigg's Violin Concerto (1957, played in 1971), Debussy's *Printemps* with Jean Martinon's Second Symphony (1944, played in 1974), Debussy's *Jeux* with Manuel Rosenthal's *Le temple de Mémoire* (1975, played in 1988), Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* with the French premiere of André Prévin's Violin Concerto (2005).²³⁷

Secondly, the programmes show that Debussy was often associated with other French composers but French and British orchestras did not share the same practices in qualifying music as French. Indeed, most French composers, such as Berlioz and Fauré, were not necessarily presented as such to the audience. For example, the SCO programme notes of Berlioz's *L'enfance du Christ* did not include any mention of France or Paris. Starting with an anecdote about the conversation of Berlioz with his friend Joseph-Louis Duc and delving into the long genesis of the piece, commenting on the style, on the instruments and the

²³⁵ Orchestre du CNSMD de Lyon conducted by Mikko Franck: Stravinsky's *Le chant du rossignol*, Boulanger's *D'un soir triste*, Debussy's *Nocturnes* (17th November 2018).

²³⁶ 'Modern Debussy' conducted by Mirga Gražinytė-Tyla and Michael Seal: Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (chamber version), Debussy's *Première rhapsodie*, Stravinsky's *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*, Takemitsu's *Green* and Debussy's *Jeux* (18th March 2018).

²³⁷ Conducted by Pierre Dervaux: Roussel's *Le Festin de l'Araignée*, Nigg's Violin Concerto, Debussy's *La Mer*, (25th and 26th May 1971); conducted by Jean Martinon: Schumann's *Genoveva overture*, Beethoven's Triple Concerto, Debussy's *Printemps*, Martinon's Second Symphony (23rd and 25th November 1974); conducted by Manuel Rosenthal: Debussy's *Jeux*, Saint-Saëns' Second Piano Concerto, Rosenthal's *Le Temple de Mémoire*, Dukas' *La Péri* (excerpts) (30th November and 1st December 1988); conducted by André Prévin: Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, André Prévin's Violin Concerto *Anne-Sophie*, Beethoven's Fourth Symphony (1st and 2nd June 2005).

Christian faith of Berlioz, the two-page note did not feature the word ‘French’ or ‘France’ a single time.²³⁸

Likewise, the SCO note on Fauré’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* did not focus on any French aspects of the piece. The comments started with the British-centred story of Mrs Patrick Campbell commissioning the piece for an English production of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Then, the note mentioned the Nordic inspiration of Maeterlinck’s libretto which Fauré appreciated. As I will show in chapter 3, Nordic music stands as a particularity in the canons of British orchestras. Programme notes suggest that finding comments about the alleged Nordic inspiration of some French music is a British national particularity which is not regular practice in French notes.²³⁹ The same SCO programme did not connect Bizet’s Symphony in C with French composition schools of the time, only briefly mentioning Bizet’s teacher Charles Gounod.²⁴⁰

While the concert programmes and the overall rhetoric used during the celebrations of Debussy presented a French-oriented discourse, critics did not tend to treat French composers as a homogeneous group. Whereas some composers such as Berlioz were not always qualified as ‘French’ in the programme notes and season brochures, Debussy was almost always tied with a discourse around ‘Frenchness’ and very often pictured in programmes as the archetypal French composer. For example, the RSNO described Debussy’s *Jeux* as set ‘in a sultry French twilight’, as if this time of the day could have a national character.²⁴¹ Likewise, the LSO season brochure included an interview of French conductor François-Xavier Roth presenting the series on Debussy with a very national tone: ‘it’s fantastic to be celebrating this most important of French composers with three of my compatriots as soloists and with the LSO’.²⁴² The OPS qualified Debussy, alongside Ravel, as the ‘French touch of classical music’ in their 2018-2019 season brochure.

²³⁸ SCO programme notes of the 21st October 2016 concert written by David Cairns.

²³⁹ SCO programme notes of the 8th and 9th March 2018 concerts written by David Gardner: ‘It’s Mrs Patrick Campbell we should thank. It was her inspired idea to invite Fauré to write incidental music for an English production of Maeterlinck’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* which she was presenting at the Prince of Wales Theatre in London in 1898.’ ‘Fauré was never one for noisy display and so he found the musky mists of Maeterlinck’s mysterious Nordic tale very much to his taste.’

²⁴⁰ At the time, there were strongly antagonistic trends of the more cosmopolitan Conservatoire and the ‘more French’ Schola cantorum.

²⁴¹ RSNO 2017-2018 season brochure (3rd March).

²⁴² LSO 2017-2018 season brochure, p. 21.

Thirdly, programmes suggest significant national differences in the use of visual and programmatic elements associated with Debussy's composition style. Debussy's interest in the visual arts (such as *Nuages* inspired by Whistler's painting) and his composition style blurring the edges of rhythm and colour made him known as an 'impressionist' composer. Most of Debussy's orchestral music features clear programmatic insights, mostly based on exotic landscapes and seascapes.

Examining in detail the pairing of programmatic pieces of the celebrations of Debussy and the last fifty years of the concerts of the RSNO, LSO, OP and OPS, revealed national differences between the studied orchestras. British orchestras more frequently built programmes based on programmatic and visual discourses around Debussy whereas French orchestras tended to focus around other themes such as 'modernity' or 'Frenchness'. The programmes of the RSNO and the LSO revealed the great number of associations based on the sea with Debussy's *La Mer*. Pairing Debussy's *La Mer* with maritime programmatic music was a widespread British practice whereas only an occasional programming choice in France. For example, Britten's *Four Sea Interludes* often formed half of a concert with Debussy's *La Mer* for the LSO and the RSNO.²⁴³ By contrast, the OP never paired this piece of Britten with *La Mer* so far. Other LSO sea-themed concerts included Chausson's *Poème de l'Amour à la Mer*, Berlioz's overture *Le Corsaire*, Ravel's *Une barque sur l'océan*, Tippett's *The Rose Lake*, Coates's *By the Sleepy Lagoon*, Henry Wood's *Sailor's Hornpipe*, Wagner's overture of the *Flying Dutchman*, Debussy's 'En Bateau' from *Petite Suite*, Mendelssohn's overture *Fingal's Cave*, Aaron Jay Kernis's *Symphony in Waves*, and Williams's *Jaws*.²⁴⁴ The RSNO completed the list with Walton's overture *Portsmouth Point* and Vaughan Williams's *Sea Symphony*.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ LSO (10th October 1968 and 3rd April 2003); RSNO (20th February 2016).

²⁴⁴ LSO: Chausson's *Poème de l'Amour à la Mer*, Debussy's *La Mer* (17th April 1975); Debussy's *La Mer*, Berlioz's *Overture Le Corsaire* (9th January 1976); Ravel's *Une barque sur l'Océan*, Debussy's *La Mer* (5th March 1987); Tippett's *The Rose Lake (premiere)* and Debussy's *La Mer* (19th February 1995). LSO Discovery: Britten's *Dawn from 4 Sea Interludes*, Coates' *By the sleepy lagoon*, Henry Wood's *Sailor's Hornpipe*, Berlioz' *Overture Le Corsaire*, Wagner's *Overture of the Flying Dutchman*, Debussy's *En Bateau from Petite Suite* Mendelssohn's *Overture Fingal's Cave*, Debussy's *La Mer (mvt 2)*, Traditional Skye boat song (21st June 1995). LSO: Mendelssohn's *Hebrides*, Coates' *By the sleepy lagoon*, Debussy's *En Bateau from Petite Suite*, Debussy's *La Mer*; Britten's *Dawn from 4 Sea Interludes*, Wagner's *Overture of the Flying Dutchman*, Henry Wood's *Sailor's Hornpipe* (8th June 2001). LSO USA tour: similar programme (24th July 2003). LSO:

As French orchestras perform very little British music (see case study 1), the pairing with French or foreign music based on the sea could be the alternative. However, the only pairing of Debussy's *La Mer* with Ravel's *Une barque sur l'océan* by the OP occurred during a very recent concert on the 9th May 2019. Likewise, during the celebrations of Debussy, the only sea association consisted of Debussy's *La Mer* with Ravel's *Une barque sur l'océan* by the ONF on 5th April 2018. Moreover, the OP never paired Chausson's *Poème de l'Amour à la Mer* with Debussy, neither with its only performance of Sibelius's *Océanides*, nor with its only performance of Debussy's orchestrated *Petite Suite* including 'En bateau'.

National musicological traditions do not explain these differences. Indeed, both French and British musicology and music criticism engaged with the programmatic aspects of the music of Debussy concerning sea and water. French examples included the research of Francesco Spampinato, Jacques Riviere and Francois Sabatier among others. The British musicology trends associating Debussy and water included David Knight and 'Waterscapes' in music, Caroline Potter and many others.²⁴⁶ Therefore, no major difference in the reception and description of Debussy and its relation with water can be observed between French and British musicology.

Instead, evidence suggests that the notions of British identity can partially explain that British concert planners, as opposed to their French colleagues, would consider 'the sea' as a legitimate theme. In *The Sea in the British Musical imagination*, McLamore stated and exemplified that 'the ocean has long defined British identity in terms of both how Britons view themselves and how their country is regarded abroad'.²⁴⁷ In the introduction of the same edition, Saylor and Scheer took the daily Shipping Forecast on BBC radio 4 as a metaphor for the

Britten's *Four Sea Interludes* (no. 4), Aaron Jay Kernis' *Symphony in Waves*, Williams' *Jaws*, Debussy's *La Mer* (1st March 2006).

²⁴⁵ RSNO: Walton's *Overture Portsmouth Point*, Debussy's *La Mer* and Vaughan Williams' *Sea Symphony* (29th January 1977); Ravel's *Une barque sur l'océan* and Debussy's *La mer* (22nd November).

²⁴⁶ Spampinato, Francesco (2011) *Debussy, poète des eaux: métaphorisation et corporéité dans l'expérience musicale*. Paris: L'Harmattan; Potter, Caroline (2003) 'Debussy and nature', in Trezise, Simon (ed) *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁴⁷ McLamore, Alyson (2015) 'Britannia Rule the Waves: maritime music and national identity in eighteenth-century Britain', in Saylor, Eric, Scheer, Christopher M (eds) *The Sea in the British Musical Imagination*. Woodbridge: the Boydell Press, p. 11.

maritime identity of British people and their music: the programme is broadcasted almost without non-sailors taking notice, but it remains an unmissable part of a daily ritual. This maritime identity made 'the sea' as a topic that could include various composers from diverse national backgrounds and not only an analytical qualifier for Debussy. Not only did a great number of British composers were inspired by the sea, it is also a part of British culture to see this inspiration as a relevant programmatic theme.

The French and British celebrations of Debussy revealed a trend of programming Debussy with similar programmatic pieces. This observation was confirmed by the databases of the last fifty years of the concerts of the RSNO, LSO, OP and OPS. The concert programmes suggest that this practice was a consistent tradition in Britain, whereas only an occasional practice in France.

To conclude, the concert programmes show that Debussy holds the position of canonical repertoire both in France and Britain, without significant variations in terms of the rate at which his works are played. However, the programme notes demonstrated that French and British orchestras have differing practices to programme this repertoire. French and British orchestras shared some of these practices such as associating Debussy with contemporary composers and timelessly modern composers such as Stravinsky and Ravel. Other practices presented national canonical differences such as the discourse on Frenchness, prevalent in France and only sometimes used in British programmes. Moreover, considering Debussy equally for its modernism and its programmatic extra-musical insight stands as a British practice, especially with maritime themes.

Case study 3: Olivier Messiaen

The programming practices around the music of Olivier Messiaen in French and British symphony orchestras provide another example of how musical style, the history of reception and circumstantial factors combine to manifest national differences. The programmes show that most of Messiaen's work belong to the above-described second category of French composers, hardly performed by British orchestras but canonical in France (appendix 4). More than being just an instance of a French composer being favourably received in France, the music of Messiaen helps unravel deep-seated canonisation practices of British orchestras in integrating new music.

In 'Messiaen, Koussevitzky and the USA', Nigel Simeone explained how favourable the reception of the orchestral music of Messiaen was in the US. Simeone stated that 'The USA was among the first countries outside France to recognise Messiaen's originality and American organisations supported his work with important commissions from the 1940s until the very end of his life'.²⁴⁸ As this article explained, the success of the orchestral music of Messiaen was a combination of the support of individual influential figures and institutional help. Conductor Serge Koussevitzky was a primary advocate of Messiaen and conducted the first performance of a Messiaen orchestral score outside of France, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1936. Furthermore, foundations and national organisations took an active part in the canonisation of Messiaen in the US. For example, the New York Philharmonic Orchestra commissioned *Eclairs sur l'Au-Delà*. Therefore, it was possible for Messiaen to be successful abroad.

The newspaper archives and the programmes showed that the difficult integration of Messiaen into the British orchestral canons was due to several combined factors including hostile music critics making individual support difficult, slow institutional support and a rejection of Messiaen's modernism. These different factors caused variations in the canonisation of stylistically demanding repertoire for the audience, in France and in Britain.

²⁴⁸ Simeone, Nigel (2008) 'Messiaen, Koussevitzky and the USA', *The Musical Times*, vol. 149, no. 1905, p. 25.

Governments, orchestras and foundations

The various commissions to Messiaen by French institutions contrasted with the colder reception of the composer in Britain. Messiaen's early works such as *Le Banquet eucharistique* (1928), *Les Offrandes oubliées* (1930), *Le Tombeau resplendissant* (1931), *Hymne au Saint-Sacrement* (1932), *L'Ascension* (1932-33) were written without commission but the major works that followed were almost exclusively commissioned by French and American individuals and ensembles. For example, Denise Tual commissioned the *Trois petites liturgies de la présence divine* (1944) for the 'Concert de la Pléiade', Rudolf Albert and the Domaine Musical premiered *Oiseaux exotiques* (1955-56) and Pierre Boulez commissioned *Un vitrail et des oiseaux* (1986) for the Ensemble Intercontemporain.

French institutions supported Messiaen and helped embedding his works into the canons of French orchestras. For example, the City of Paris commissioned the *Sept haïkai* (1962) for Debussy's birth centenary, Minister of Cultural Affairs André Malraux commissioned *Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum* (1964) to commemorate the victims of war and French politician Michel Guy commissioned *La Ville d'En-haut* (1987). Messiaen also gained popularity in the US following the major commissions of the *Turangalîla-Symphonie* (1946-48) by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, *Eclairs sur l'au-delà* (1992) by the New York Philharmonic, *Des Canyons aux étoiles...* (1974) by Alice Tully, premiered by Frederic Waldman conducting the Musica Aeterna Orchestra in the Lincoln Centre in New York. Culture Minister Jack Lang's declaration after Messiaen's death exemplified this long-lasting support of the French and American institutions: 'Messiaen was a great figure of French music. [...] He managed to renew the classical music language. [...] He was just finishing a great work commissioned by the New York Philharmonic which Zubin Mehta will premiere next season.'²⁴⁹

The late performances of Messiaen by the LSO suggest that his works were slower introduced into the British orchestral repertoire. For example, the LSO first performed *L'Ascension* (1933) in 1970, the *Turangalîla-Symphonie* (1948) in

²⁴⁹ 'Olivier Messiaen était une figure de proue majeure de la musique française. [...] Il a su renouveler le langage musical classique. [...] Il venait de terminer une longue œuvre commandée par le New York Philharmonic Orchestra qui doit être créée la saison prochaine sous la direction de Zubin Mehta.' Anonymous (1992) *Le Monde*, 30th April, p. 12.

1975 and *In Exspeco resurrectionem mortuorum* (1964) in 1979. Moreover, the LSO generally commissioned and premiered a significant proportion of new music, including French composers but none from Messiaen.

British institutions started to recognise the influence of Messiaen as a composer in the 1970s. The Royal Philharmonic Society awarded him the Gold medal in 1975 and *Des Canyons aux Etoiles* was premiered in Britain for the occasion. However, the Gold Medal award was a single event and had less long-term consequences on the orchestral canons than the commissioning policies of the French government. Likewise, the festivals organised in London to commemorate Messiaen's 70th and 80th birthdays in 1978 and 1988 introduced some of Messiaen's works in the repertoire of British orchestras but had a rather short-term impact. The events were criticised for the negatively 'cumulative effect' of the overwhelming concentration of Messiaen's gigantic pieces.²⁵⁰ Similarly, the Scottish premiere of *Des Canyons aux Etoiles* in 1997 at Glasgow's Tramway, by the BBCSSO conducted by Martyn Brabbins, was mostly reviewed negatively in terms of venue, on account of unsuitable acoustics rather than on the compositional qualities of the pieces performed.²⁵¹

By contrast, the support of the French institutions went beyond the organisation of single events and had a greater impact on the orchestral canons. The Olivier Messiaen Foundation, founded in 1995 by Yvonne Loriod, further engrained Messiaen in the orchestral repertoires and helped the canonisation of these works. The foundation funded performances, academic research and the creation of a centre to preserve the scores, works and manuscripts of Messiaen.²⁵² The Olivier Messiaen Foundation did not only focus on orchestral works but the constant support of Messiaen generally impacted the canonisation of this repertoire in France.

²⁵⁰ 'In a sense, the concentration of so many of this gargantuan works into so short a time has not really worked to [Messiaen's] advantage, except perhaps for fully paid-up Messiaenistes, who have been gourmandising on this feast of creamy offerings from the extraordinary *Maître* of musical *haute cuisine*.' Canning, Hugh (1988) 'A long journey into Creation', *The Guardian*, 20th December, p. 23. Morrison, Richard (1992) 'Messiaen, devout innovator of musical style, dies at 83', *The Times*, 29th April.

²⁵¹ Lerner, Gerald (1997) 'Messiaen lost in space', *The Times*, 1st May.

²⁵² Fondation de France (2020) *Fondation Olivier Messiaen* [Online: <https://www.fondationdefrance.org/fr/fondation/fondation-olivier-messiaen>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

The regular performances of Messiaen in France and his significance and recognition as a composer placed his works in the French orchestral canons. For example, the *Messiaen Festival* helped keeping Messiaen in the repertoire of orchestras and took part in the canonisation processes of his works after the death of the composer. The festival mainly included piano recitals, chamber music concerts, conferences and bird watching walks.²⁵³ The occasional but regular performances of Messiaen during this Festival by various orchestras and conductors partly explained the stabilisation of his works within the French orchestral canon. For example, Roland Hayrabédian conducted *Trois petites Liturgies* with the Orchestre Régional de Cannes Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur in 2014.²⁵⁴ Bruno Mantovani conducted *Oiseaux exotiques* with the Orchestre des Lauréats du Conservatoire in 2012.²⁵⁵ Marko Letonja conducted *Et Exspecto Resurrectionem Mortuorum* with the OPS in 2015.²⁵⁶ Jean-François Heisser conducted *Des Canyons aux étoiles* with the Orchestre Poitou-Charentes in 2017.²⁵⁷ The performances of Messiaen in the concert seasons of national orchestras, outside the *Messiaen Festival* further showed the canonisation of this

²⁵³ Aimar, Pierre (2009) *25 juillet au 2 août, 12ème Festival Messiaen au Pays de la Meije « La tentation de l'exotisme » à La Grave - Briançon dans les Hautes-Alpes* [Online: https://www.arts-spectacles.com/25-juillet-au-2-aout-12eme-Festival-Messiaen-au-Pays-de-la-Meije-La-tentation-de-l-exotisme-a-La-Grave-Briancon-dans_a3070.html] Last accessed 28th February 2020; Aimar, Pierre (2011) *Festival Messiaen au pays de la Meije, 14e édition. Thème « Musique des Couleurs », du 23 au 31 juillet 2011 à La Grave, Briançon et Monétier les Bains* [Online: https://www.arts-spectacles.com/Festival-Messiaen-au-pays-de-la-Meije-14e-edition-Theme-Musique-des-Couleurs--du-23-au-31-juillet-2011-a-La-Grave_a6094.html] Last accessed 28th February 2020; Festival Messiaen (2016) *Le Programme de l'édition 2016* [Online: <http://www.festival-messiaen.com/doc/Lepianoselonmessiaen.pdf>] Last accessed 28th February 2020; Festival Messiaen (2018) *Le Programme de l'édition 2018* [Online: <http://www.festival-messiaen.com/doc/Programme-Festival-Messiaen-2018.pdf>] Last accessed 28th February 2020; Festival Messiaen (2019) *Festival Messiaen au pays de la Meije* [Online: <http://www.festival-messiaen.com/doc/Programme-Messiaen-2019.pdf>] Last accessed 28th February 2020.

²⁵⁴ The programme included Florentz's *Magnificat*. Festival Messiaen (2014) *Programme des concerts* [Online: <http://www.festival-messiaen.com/doc/Programme-Festival-Messiaen-2014.pdf>] Last accessed 7th April 2020.

²⁵⁵ Festival Messiaen (2011) *Le blog du festival Messiaen* [Online: <http://blogmessiaen.blogspot.com/2011/>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

²⁵⁶ Festival Messiaen (2015) *Programme des concerts* [Online: <http://www.festival-messiaen.com/doc/programme-2015.pdf>] Last accessed 27th February 2020. The concert, broadcasted on national TV Arte, also included Ligeti's *Lontano* and Strauss's *Death and Transfiguration*.

²⁵⁷ Festival Messiaen (2017) *Programme de la 20^e édition* [Online: <https://www.festival-messiaen.com/doc/programme2017Site2.pdf>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

repertoire. For example, the OPRF performed *Turangalîla-Symphonie* conducted by Susanna Mälkki in 2019.²⁵⁸

The more sustained support of French institutions partly explained the different status of Messiaen in the orchestral canons in France and in Britain. The fact that most of Messiaen's works were deeply rooted in his Catholic faith might have partly stood as a justification of the possible reservations of British institutional commissions. England and Scotland have evidently different religious histories and backgrounds and these complex social identities cannot be easily explained. However, the great success of James MacMillan in Britain with compositions inspired by his Catholic faith was a counterexample of the idea of a possible lukewarm reception of religious, especially Catholic, works.²⁵⁹ For example, the LSO commissioned and premiered MacMillan's Easter triptych *Triduum* including *The World's Ransoming* (1996), the Cello Concerto (1996, with Mstislav Rostropovich) and the *Symphony Vigil* (1997). Other religious works commissioned by the LSO were *A Deep but Dazzling Darkness* (2003) and *St John Passion* (2008).

Conductors and musicians

In France, the orchestral music of Messiaen benefited from the individual support of some leading musical figures, especially Messiaen's students such as the composer Pierre Boulez who conducted several of his works in France and abroad. For example, Boulez conducted the British premiere of *Des Canyons aux Etoiles* with the BBCSO on the 12th November 1975, only a fortnight after its French premiere by the Ensemble Ars Nova conducted by Marius Constant on 29th October 1975.²⁶⁰ Considering the relatively poor reception of Messiaen at the time in Britain, the programming choice of Boulez showed some support for his teacher. However, these rare events were not enough to stabilise the repertoire in the British musical canon. In Britain, Messiaen's students such as George

²⁵⁸ Radio France (2019) *Les concerts* [Online: <https://www.maisondelaradio.fr/evenement/concert-symphonique/messiaen-turangalila>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

²⁵⁹ White, Michael (2019) 'People are fascinated by the baffling aspects of Christian belief': an interview with Sir James MacMillan', *Catholic Herald* [Online: <https://catholicherald.co.uk/people-are-fascinated-by-the-baffling-aspects-of-christian-belief-an-interview-with-sir-james-macmillan/>] Last accessed 4th March 2021.

²⁶⁰ Hill, Peter, Simeone, Nigel (2005) *Messiaen*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 399.

Benjamin and Peter Maxwell Davies also supported his music but the rather hostile reception of the press and the audience combined with the lack of support from British institutions slowed down the canonisation processes.

Some conductors introduced Messiaen in the repertoires of British orchestras but the performances of his orchestral music remained rare. The work of André Previn with the LSO in the 1970s was one of the most memorable examples. Previn conducted Messiaen's *Turangalila Symphony* twice, once in the Royal Festival Hall in 1975 and once in the Royal Albert Hall in 1977. Previn's recording of the *Turangalila Symphony* with the LSO, Michel Béroff (piano) and Jeanne Loriod (ondes martenot) in 1978 was a major move towards the stabilisation of Messiaen in the repertoire of the LSO but did not compensate the relatively rare live performances of the orchestral music of Messiaen.

The works of Messiaen do not hold the same canonical status. This case illustrated the state of his orchestral music, which differed from the canonical status of his chamber, piano and organ music in France and Britain. The organ music and, to a certain extent, the piano repertoire was supported from the start by British musicians and some of the first, and most significant, recordings of Messiaen's organ music were by British and British-based organists. For example, Jennifer Bate and Gillian Weir recorded the complete organ works in the 1980s and 1990s and performed Messiaen live on a regular basis from the 1970s. Based on my database, it appears that the orchestral music of Messiaen did not benefit from a comparable support in Britain.

Reception and newspapers

The reception of the orchestral music of Messiaen is a further illustration of the crucial role of critics in the idea of canon first developed by Kerman.

The difficult integration of Messiaen into the British orchestral canons started in the early 1950s, when the orchestral works of Messiaen met a hostile reception, first in concert halls and then in newspapers. The balanced tone of early reviews suggests that music critics and radio representatives might have found a genuine interest in Messiaen. However, their cautious descriptions and comments about his music demonstrate a frankly negative reaction from the general audience. For example, introducing the 1953 broadcast and performance of Messiaen's

L'Ascension, the BBC representative Deryck Cooke tried to reassure the audience of the BBC Radio 3, stating that this opus was 'a more "normal" manifestation of Messiaen's art' than the *Turangalîla-Symphonie*, badly received the preceding spring.²⁶¹

Some balanced comments and comparisons with other composers such as Berlioz, Tippett and Ives revealed that some music critics tried to accommodate Messiaen for the general audience. By contrast with other repertoires, such as Nordic music (see chapter 3), the general lack of support of music critics for Messiaen slowed down the canonisation processes of his works and complicated the support of conductors and soloists.

Scholarly publications confirmed the problematic early reception of Messiaen in Britain. Niber recently documented the tense reception of the French school of *musique concrète* in the early 1950s, labelling Messiaen as 'a common sacrificial lamb in the British press'.²⁶² Niber did not focus on orchestral music in particular, but his quote of the review of the critic John Amis on a festival on the continent in 1951 exemplified the hostile reaction of the British musical scene towards French avant-garde music of the time:

What sort of music are they writing? Well, prettiness is out, politics seem to be out too... Of the recent French composers, Messiaen was universally disliked and so was the latest French craze, '*musique concrète*'.²⁶³

The typical slow introduction of the French composers of the generation of Messiaen in the repertoire of the LSO could hint towards a possible stylistic rejection of some of the earlier French modernism. For example, Francis Poulenc's suite *Les Biches* was first performed in 1988, almost five decades after its creation in 1939. Likewise, the LSO first played the Concerto for organ,

²⁶¹ Nieber, Louis (2018) '“There is music in it, but it is not music”: a reception history of *Musique concrète* in Britain', *Twentieth-century Music*, vol. 15, no. 2, p. 220. Quoting Deryck Cooke (1953) 'Autumn Symphony concerts' *Radio Times*, 25th September, p. 27: 'In the *Radio Times*'s preview for a 1953 performance of Messiaen's *L'Ascension*, a BBC representative attempted to mitigate any fears of their Third audience might have towards the composer. First admitting that 'This French Catholic mystic flabbergasted most of us with his *Turangalîla Symphony*, broadcast last June in the Third: some thought it the work of a visionary, others that of a charlatan, they then assured the listener that since in his new work, they would find 'a more "normal" manifestation of Messiaen's art, it will perhaps allow us to form a more balanced opinion of his status as a composer''.

²⁶² Ibid. p. 222.

²⁶³ Ibid.

strings and timpani (1938) in 1973, the Concerto for two pianos (1932) in 1954 and the *Concerto Champêtre* (1928) in 1945. However, English music of the same era seemed to be faster integrated in the repertoire of the LSO. Gerald Finzi's Violin Concerto was premiered in 1928 by the LSO, *For St Cecilia* (1947/1954) and *Intimations of Immobility* (1950/1954) were performed less than a decade after their composition. Likewise, the LSO premiered Edmund Rubbra's *The Morning Watch* (1941) in 1946 and performed the *Festival Overture* (1947) in the following year of its completion.

The reception of the 1953 performance of *Turangalîla-Symphonie* was an example of the complexity of the reaction of the British musical society to Messiaen's form of modernism. Heyworth related the event in *The Observer* in his review of Yvonne Loriod's piano recital and Bruno Maderna's direction of *Oiseaux exotiques* with the BBCSO in 1961:

For a brief period he [Messiaen] exploded into prominence here, when in 1953 the BBC gave a public performance of his gigantic "Turangalila". This rent London in twain, cliques and friendships that had stood the test of ages crumbled overnight and what one man saluted as a work of genius a life-long comrade in arms denounced as a pretentious fraud. Clearly such a disorderly state of affairs in which one could hardly tell one's left hand from one's right, could not be allowed to last. Messiaen was quietly put to one side as irrelevant excrescence who disturbed the tidy slogans around which opinions forms. [...] The final resort Messiaen is an original, and like most originals (Berlioz, Tippett and Ives are others), he combines big virtues with big failings.²⁶⁴

The tone of the critics was not completely dismissive but the overall unenthusiastic reviews of Messiaen seemed to space out the performances of his orchestral music and slowed its introduction in the repertoire of the British orchestras. For example, *Turangalîla-Symphonie* (premiered in Boston in 1949) was performed in 1953-1954, but then had to wait thirteen years to be performed again.²⁶⁵ This significant delay showed the relative lack of interest of

²⁶⁴ Heyworth, Peter (1961) 'Two French originals', *The Observer*, 4th June.

²⁶⁵ Cole, Hugo (1967) 'Messiaen's Turangalila-Symphonie at Oxford Townhall', *The Guardian*, 29th June.

some of the main influential musical figures in Britain. Messiaen was acclaimed by some close musical circles, but the reception of his orchestral works, played for the more general audience, was neither a great success neither a complete rejection. Some of the critiques of the later performance of the *Turangalîla-Symphonie* at the Oxford Town Hall in 1967 showed that Messiaen was still not among the most favoured repertoire by critics. The review in *The Guardian* stated:

It is easy to call his music vulgar and over inflated, to pick out banalities and crudities. Yet this is, after all is said, the most explicitly emotional music of our age - the crudities are the price paid for a music that refuses to be sidetracked into cleverness, refinement, or wit, and sticks to what are for the composer the main issues [...]. The ondes martenot, that dangerously powerful electronic device whose personal vibrato can surimpose itself on a full orchestral fortissimo, added an almost unbearable super-piccolo effect to some of the final chords.²⁶⁶

While acknowledging the compositional originalities and emotional qualities of Messiaen's style, the lack of enthusiasm of this particular critique illustrated a common discourse around the composer in the 1960s in Britain.

In France, a part of the press showed a mixed reaction to the earlier performances of Messiaen's orchestral music. For example, in 1953, *Sud Ouest* qualified *Les Cinq Rechants* a piece more interesting to read than to hear.²⁶⁷ In 1961, the French premiere of *Chronochromie* conducted by Georges Prêtre with the ONF during Besancon Festival received a divided reaction ('the audience was vociferous, both for and against').²⁶⁸ However, many enthusiastic concert reviews shaped an overall more positive discourse around Messiaen in France than in Britain and supported the integration of his works in the orchestral repertoires. The opinions presented in these local and national newspapers reached a wide audience, including concert goers, and these frequent articles partly facilitated the reception of Messiaen in concert halls. For example, as

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ 'Les « Cinq Rechants » d'Olivier Messiaen nous ont certes intéressés, mais surtout en tant que composition à lire plutôt qu'à écouter ! Les recherches, les subtilités de l'écriture ne nous ont pas convaincus de la sincérité du musicien.' Anonymous (1953) *Sud Ouest*, 18th May, p. 6.

²⁶⁸ Hill, Peter, Simeone, Nigel (2005) op. cit. p. 237.

early as 1954, *Sud Ouest* published a positive review of Herbert Albert conducting *Turangalîla-Symphonie* with the ONF. A significant proportion of the French press described the *Turangalîla-Symphonie* as one of the most significant works of the composer, challenging the twelve-tone fashion.²⁶⁹ By contrast, more than a decade later in 1967, many British newspapers were still qualifying the symphony as unbearably too loud.

From the late 1970s, most of the French press enthusiastically supported the composer's work with positive reviews of orchestral concerts. The discourse in several reviews tended to shift from congratulating the orchestras to manage such intricate music to singing the praises of the music itself, its stylistic, emotional and compositional qualities. For example, *Sud Ouest* praised the 1978 performance of *Turangalîla-Symphonie* in by the Bordeaux Orchestra conducted by Charles Bruck. The piece was described as 'a grand arch, probably the largest symphony of the twentieth century, maybe the last in these dimensions'. The composer was complimented for not losing any sense of rhythm and form, therefore directly linked with the Beethovenian tradition, beyond post-romanticism and impressionist music.²⁷⁰

Some British institutions started to recognise Messiaen as a major figure among contemporary composers in the 1970s and the tone of several reviews took a more balanced turn. For example, Peter Heyworth's review of the premiere of *Des Canyons aux Etoiles* when Messiaen got the Royal Philharmonic Society's Gold Medal in 1975 was a typical example of a balance between the recognition of Messiaen's composition techniques and the overall scepticism around the aesthetics of his style:

²⁶⁹ 'Herbert Albert et l'Orchestre National ont offert à un chaleureux public une audition soigneusement mise au point de la Turangalila Symphonie qui remplit à elle seule tout le programme et reste, à l'heure actuelle, une des productions les plus considérables et les plus significatives d'Olivier Messiaen.' 'Mais Messiaen ne va-t-il pas bientôt passer pour un fâcheux réactionnaire aux yeux de ses cadets, du dodécaphonisme intégral !' Anonymous (1954) 'Regards sur l'activité musicale', *Sud Ouest*, 23rd March, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ 'Avec ardeur, un piano et des percussions, sur fond de gloire de la vie: c'est un peu la 'Turangalila Symphonie' œuvre fleuve, portique grandiose, la plus imposante sans doute des symphonies au XXe siècle, la dernière, peut-être, qu'on écrira dans ces dimensions.' 'Olivier Messiaen ne perd à aucun moment le sens du rythme ni de la mesure, se rattachant ainsi directement à la grande lignée beethovenienne, par-delà les post-romantiques et les impressionnistes.' Anonymous (1978) 'Bordeaux musicale', *Sud Ouest*, 27th November, p. 6.

Like everything Messiaen composes, the works contains some marvellous moments. [...] Nonetheless [...], I became increasingly oppressed by the music's repetitiveness, by a feeling that Messiaen has in his later works increasingly come to be a prisoner of his own idiom.²⁷¹

In the 1980s, the orchestral music of Messiaen seemed to gradually gained recognition, probably echoing the more favourable state of this repertoire in France and in the US. The tone of a visible part of the British press was still rather unenthusiastic at best, hostile at worse, but some more positive reviews emerged. For example, in 1985, *The Times* praised the playing of Philharmonia's brass section in the *Turangalîla-Symphonie* but described the works as requiring 'these players to traverse some awkward leaps'.²⁷² One year later, the same newspaper praised ILEA's woodwind and percussion sections in Messiaen's *Et Exspecto Resurrectionem Mortuorum*, blaming the work for 'its ponderous pauses, its oddly juvenile obsession with oppressively long gong trills, and its monotonously homophonic chorales', adding that 'the works sounds more bombastic and unconvincing as the years go by.'²⁷³ By contrast, Stephen Pettitt praised the performance of Murail's *Time and Again* and Messiaen's *Turangalîla-Symphonie* by the CBSO in 1986:

I am going to find it difficult to do justice to this concert, it was that good. It consisted of two works by pupil and teacher, and when that teacher happens to be Olivier Messiaen you can be sure that the pupil's music is not going to be all bad.²⁷⁴

The overall lukewarm reception in the British newspaper did not favour the canonisation of the works of Messiaen. Some of his pieces were introduced in the repertoire of some orchestras with the support of conductors, soloists and institution, but the mixed reviews of the performances slowed down any possible canonisation process. Some of the more recent reviews of the performances of Messiaen still use a rather critical tone, such as some of the critiques of the

²⁷¹ Heyworth, Peter (1975) 'World of joy and wonder', *The Observer*, 16th November.

²⁷² Morrison, Richard (1985) 'Concerts: Review of Philharmonia conducted by Salonen at the Festival Hall', *The Times*, 11th November.

²⁷³ Morrison, Richard (1986) 'Concerts: Review of Ilea/Tippett/Cleobury at the Festival Hall', *The Times*, 28th January. (Inner London Education Authority)

²⁷⁴ Pettitt, Stephen (1986) 'Concerts: Review of CBSO/Rattle at the Barbican', *The Times*, 24th January.

performance of the *Trois Petites Liturgies de la Présence divine* by the BBC in 2005. The *Times* admitted that the BBC Concert was ‘well played, well executed’, but qualified Messiaen’s *Trois Petites Liturgies de la Présence divine* as:

A work from the composer’s beadiest decade, the 1940s, when songs of love and death, the divine intertwined with the profane, poured out like strawberry jam from a pot. And it’s jam with a high sugar content.²⁷⁵

From the start, some music critics partly justified this persistently bad reception of Messiaen with cultural discourses on French and British composition schools. What journalists later named ‘the Messiaen problem’ was believed to be, among other factors, a matter of national stylistic differences and cultural taste. These two concert reviews, eighteen years apart one from another showed that a part of the musical criticism adhered to the idea that the style of Messiaen was too peculiar to be fully successful in Britain:

1960 - Most English listeners (or German ones, for we are very much like Germans in what we look for in music) also tend to find modern French music too predominantly decorative, descriptive, and sensuous in character, and not soulful or formal enough, to enjoy for two hours.²⁷⁶

1978 - At 70, Olivier Messiaen is a fitting subject for a retrospective. He is beyond question the most influential of living composers, and many would agree that he is also the greatest, though this raises questions of taste which have always been a particular sticking point for British audiences with Messiaen.’[...] ‘The Messiaen problem which still inhibits acceptance in this country of even his finest works, has usually been regarded as fundamentally a problem of taste in the sense of “tastefulness”. The objection broadly speaking, is to the ‘sugary religiosity’ of his style; or at times it is an objection to Messiaen’s ‘naïvety’ (for example, in his obsession with birdsong as a structural, rather than decorative, material).’ [...] ‘If one compares Messiaen with Debussy, who did a few of

²⁷⁵ Brown, Geoff (2005) ‘BBC SO / Runnicles’, *The Times*, 21st December.

²⁷⁶ Mason, Colin (1960) ‘Too sensuous for us?’, *The Guardian*, 23rd January. About the BBC invitation concert, a piano recital by Yvonne Loriod including works by Debussy, Jolivet and Messiaen.

the same things, one feels a refinement and urbanity in Debussy which softens the impact of his radical techniques. Messiaen, by contrast, is bold and often strident in his radicalism.²⁷⁷

These two concert reviews far apart in time supported the same idea that Messiaen's style was too hermetical for the British audiences but presented different justifications. The first reviews clearly evoked a national cultural argument and grouped all 'modern French music' together as lacking of structure, whereas the second review aimed to demonstrate that Messiaen's style in particular, as opposed with a hypothetical French style in general (Debussy's 'refinement'), was the core of the reception issue. Both reviews joined on the argument that the music of Messiaen was intrinsically less appreciable for 'British audiences'.

Contrarily to the US, Britain did not greatly support the orchestral works of Messiaen. This repertoire had little individual and institutional support and Messiaen faced mostly unenthusiastic reviews from the British press, included some discourses based around cultural differences. This phenomenon partly slowed down the introduction of Messiaen into British orchestral repertoires and the canonisation of these repertoires. The concert database, programmes and reviews show that the orchestral works of Messiaen cannot be considered as part of the canons of British orchestras. Some opuses were included in the marginal repertoire of some orchestras on a local level, such as the BBCSO, but no evidence suggests that Messiaen holds a stable status in the orchestral repertoire on a national level.

However, Messiaen holds a significant place in other British musical canons. For example, the status of Messiaen's chamber, organ and piano music surely differs but is not part of my study. Moreover, Messiaen is considered as one of the most influential teachers and composers of the time, alongside Schoenberg. His pedagogical influence shaped a new generation of composers, including his British students Peter Maxwell Davies, Alexander Goehr and George Benjamin.²⁷⁸ Messiaen had a close influence on his British students. For example, Benjamin

²⁷⁷ Walsh, Stephen (1978) 'Questions of taste', *The Observer*, 2nd April, p. 25.

²⁷⁸ Benitez, Vincent (2000) 'A Creative Legacy: Messiaen as Teacher of Analysis', *College Music Symposium*, vol. 40, p. 117.

assisted Yvonne Loriod-Messiaen completing the *Concert à quatre* after Messiaen's death.²⁷⁹ The scholarly research on Messiaen's work confirms the prevalence of his chamber, organ and piano music over his orchestral works. For example, Peter Hill's impact on the diffusion of Messiaen mainly concerned piano music and chamber music.²⁸⁰

Conclusion

The cases of Debussy, Messiaen and British music demonstrated that national repertoires do not necessarily share the same status in their local territories and abroad. French and British music went through different canonisation processes. The results of the database show that canonisation practices vary for composers and even specific pieces. These three cases show nuances in the stereotype of national preference as a programming practice ('French music is played more often in France, British music is played more often in Britain').

The first case study on British music shows how national music cannot be considered as equivalently canonised in France and in Britain. The database suggests that Elgar and Vaughan Williams were performed less often in Britain than French music was in France, even occasionally less than some French composers in Britain. Whereas the most frequently performed French composers such as Ravel, Berlioz and Debussy made their way into the international programmes, British music rarely reached French orchestras. The fact that late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century British music was thought to be specifically tailored to the tastes and demands of the British upper classes of the time partly explained the canonisation of this repertoire in Britain. The canonisation of English music in England shared some similarities with Messiaen in France who had the support of the press, institutions and conductors. Several factors that explain the lack of British music into French programmes however differ from the case of Messiaen. No evidence of hostile critiques against British music can be found in French newspapers.

²⁷⁹ Benitez, Vincent (2008) *Olivier Messiaen: A Research and Information*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routeledge.

²⁸⁰ Hill, Peter (2014) *Impact Case Study*, University of Sheffield [Online: <https://impact.ref.ac.uk/casestudies/CaseStudy.aspx?Id=12081>] Last accessed 27th February 2020.

Even for shared canonical repertoires such as Debussy, national differences occurred in programming traditions. The concert programmes showed that some practices were shared, such as pairing Debussy with other modern works such as Stravinsky and Ravel as well as contemporary composers. However, other practices differed, such as French-themed concerts which were rarely advertised as such in Britain but commonly publicised in France. Moreover, associating Debussy with comparable programmatic content such as sea-inspired music with *La Mer* remained only a British practice. The programmes of the celebrations of the centenary of Debussy in 2018 revealed a variation in the territorial distribution of the festivities in Britain and France, where a clear division appears between Paris, Lyon and other cities. This example showed the impact of cultural policies on orchestral performances. The French governmental cultural policies, focused on the educational side of the celebration, mainly reached cities with national conservatoires.²⁸¹

The third case study provided an example of set of pieces that stands in the canons of French orchestras and in the marginal repertoires of British orchestras. The regular performances of Messiaen's orchestral music in France were indicative of its position in the French orchestral canons. The lack of Messiaen in British programmes was partly a long-lasting effect of hostile critics in the press, and the lack of individual and institutional support. The popularity of Messiaen in the US showed that the slow canonisation processes in Britain were not only based on national preferences. Newspaper articles suggest that style more than nationality affects the canonisation of modern repertoire. The chapter 5 of this thesis, on the Second Viennese School, provides an additional example of this process.

This chapter also aimed to highlight that the idea of national music remains questionable. The case of English music in the programmes of Scottish orchestras illustrated the limitations of the nation as a unit of study and the problematic

²⁸¹ In France, there are three main types of conservatoires: local conservatoires ('conservatoire à rayonnement départemental'), regional conservatoires ('conservatoire à rayonnement régional') and national conservatoires ('conservatoire national supérieur'). The two French national conservatoires of Paris and Lyon are equivalent to British higher education music institutions such as the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music. The regional conservatoires present more junior programmes and courses for amateur musicians.

notion of British music. Moreover, the OPS was ruled by the Prussian and German governmental policies during a significant period from 1871 to 1918 and from 1940 to 1944, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. The French and German administrations of the OPS and the strong regional culture of Alsace could have impacted the reception of the music from Paris and questions the relevance of the concept of 'French music'.

The canonical differences in the programmes of symphony orchestras go beyond the performances of local repertoire and impacted on a great proportion of symphonic repertoire, including foreign music such as Nordic music, to be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: NORDIC MUSIC

And it so happened that in all the years of the Orchestre de Paris (and indeed other French orchestras) there had never been a complete set of Sibelius symphonies recorded by a French orchestra - this is now the twenty-first century and we still don't have a complete set, so when I was the music director there I thought it was something that I would very much like to remedy.²⁸²

Paavo Järvi on Sibelius, 2019.

The previous chapter demonstrated how national schools of composition were integrated in their own societies in France and Britain. The canonisation processes previously discussed intertwine with ideas of a national musical culture. Local music within a national context has already been extensively researched, including one of Riley and Smith's latest publications, which this thesis aims to complement.²⁸³

Nevertheless, the major part of the repertoire of French and British symphony orchestras comes from foreign composers. Restricting national musical culture to local music would be underestimating the canonical differences between orchestral repertoires in France and Britain. A historical perspective on concert repertoire suggests that the involvement of local conductors, critics and musicians can facilitate the canonisation of foreign repertoires. Moreover, the societal context and literary and artistic fashion could favour the canonisation of a certain repertoire in a certain country. The performances of Nordic music provide a particularly clear example of canonical differences between French and British symphony orchestras.

Howell defined 'Nordic countries' as the group formed by Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the Åland Islands, the Faroe Islands and Greenland. This definition differs from the group of 'Scandinavian countries' which share a

²⁸² Cooper, Katherine (2019) 'Paavo Järvi on Sibelius', *Presto Classical* [Online: <https://www.prestomusic.com/classical/articles/2470--video-interview-paavo-jarvi-on-sibelius>] Last accessed 1st May 2019.

²⁸³ Riley, Matthew, Smith, Anthony D. (2016) *Nation and Classical Music, From Handel to Copland*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

linguistic proximity (Sweden, Denmark and Norway).²⁸⁴ The term ‘Nordic music’ tended to gradually replace ‘Scandinavian music’ in more recent musicological publications.²⁸⁵ The idea of ‘Nordicness’ raises similar issues as the ideas of ‘Frenchness’ and ‘Britishness’ of the previous chapter. Fjeldsøe & Groth well explored ‘Nordicness’ as a ‘cultural practice’ with all issues that this ‘imagined community’ can present:

By accepting Nordicness as a construction that comes into existence through discursive acts, we also alter the way we understand the process through which music is perceived and received by its audience and critics. It is not possible to uphold the idea that a specific musical feature, whether in a score or in sound, is the origin of a perceived imagination; instead, we must have some idea of what to look for in advance.²⁸⁶

The perception of this constructed identity is therefore more essential than the supposedly typical idioms in the music of Nordic composers. The idea of Nordic music as a cultural unit was partly shaped by music critics with reviews and programme notes.

As mentioned in the introduction, Kerman stated that the canon is determined by critics, whereas the repertory is defined by performers.²⁸⁷ While re-evaluating the impact of performers on musical canons, this chapter also provides one of the most telling illustrations of Kerman’s points on the crucial significance of music critics. This chapter aims to demonstrate how the canonisation of a foreign repertoire, based on a fitting societal context, can also be a national canonical variation. This chapter aims to demonstrate that Sibelius and Nielsen, as the main composers of the Nordic music repertoire, are part of the canons of British orchestras but only part of the occasional repertoire of French orchestras. Moreover, the different status of Nordic music is the result of

²⁸⁴ Howell, Tim (2019) *The Nature of Nordic music*. London: Routledge, p. xvi.

²⁸⁵ Older publications include: Dodge, Daniel Kilham (1911) ‘Scandinavian Character and Scandinavian Music’, *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 279-284; Horton, John (1964) *Scandinavian Music: A Short History*. New York: W. W. Norton; Wallner, Bo (1965) ‘Scandinavian Music After the Second World War’, *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 111-143.

²⁸⁶ Fjeldsøe, Michael, Groth, Sanne Krogh (2019) ‘Nordicness in Scandinavian music: A complex question’ in Tim Howell (ed.) op. cit. p. 3.

²⁸⁷ Kerman, Joseph (1983) op. cit. p. 112.

the historical support of French and British musical societies and still relies on cultural factors such as the closer proximity between Britain and Scandinavia.

Nordic music matches my definition of marginal repertoire, as there is no absolute requirement to perform Sibelius or Nielsen in order to build a career as musician or even for an orchestra to gain national and international recognition. For example, Simon Rattle convinced the Berlin Philharmonic to perform the Third Symphony of Sibelius for the first time again in 2010, after 128 years.²⁸⁸ British orchestras have a long tradition of programming Nordic music, a tradition which emerged from the beginning of the twentieth century. Concert programmes show that British orchestras have been performing more of this music than French orchestras.

Statistical data illustrates the gap between the French and British performances of Nordic music, which mainly includes Edward Grieg (1843-1907), Jean Sibelius (1865-1957), Carl Nielsen (1865-1931) and Einojuhani Rautavaara (1928-2016). The performances of Sibelius and Nielsen of the last fifty years of the OP and the LSO provide a striking example of this canonical variation (appendices 5, 6 and 7). From its beginnings in 1967, the OP performed a Sibelius symphony 51 times, his Violin Concerto 30 times and a Nielsen symphony 11 times. Across the Channel, the LSO programmed the above-mentioned 176, 105 and 19 times.

A reason that helps explain this difference is that Nordic music found more support from music critics, conductors, composers and musicians in Britain than in France. For example, Sibelius had the admiration of Rosa Newmarch who - among other activities - wrote the programme notes for many of the London concerts. The music critics Ernest Newman, the conductor, and founder of the London Proms, Henry Wood, the composers Granville Bantock and Ralph Vaughan Williams, later conductors such as Colin Davis, Alexander Gibson and Constant Lambert, all played a crucial role in the reception of Sibelius.²⁸⁹ During the first part of the twentieth century, when two of the main Nordic fashions - Sibelius and Nielsen - hit Britain, many of the leading musical figures in France were focussed on the Second Viennese School. Several leading figures of twentieth-

²⁸⁸ Service, Tom (2010) op. cit.

²⁸⁹ Franklin, Peter (2004) 'Sibelius in Britain' in Daniel Grimley (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Sibelius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

century Britain were then searching of ways to bypass Austrian modernism and Scandinavian modernism appeared an ideal option.²⁹⁰ No major figure of the French music scene of the time acted as a principal supporter of Nordic music.

As will be developed in this chapter, the discourse around Nordic music created by music critics and major figures shaped the habits of twentieth-century British audiences and partly explains why the import of Nordic music was almost immediately successful in Britain and largely rejected in France. Early-twentieth-century Britain was habituated to comparing Sibelius and Nielsen to native composers such as Vaughan Williams and other British composers believed to be inspired by landscapes. Presenting and explaining Nordic music with a discourse based on landscape to a British audience was therefore easier because of local precedents. The reception of Nordic music went through different steps in France and Britain and was perpetuated and amplified by broadcast programmes. Our recent database shows that Nordic music still carries some historical stereotypes cultivated for marketing and didactic purposes.

Jean Sibelius and Carl Nielsen - two composers born in the same year - are the two cases studies of this chapter. The recent five decades of concert programmes show that the early reception history of the music of Sibelius and Nielsen continues to have an impact on the perception of their works. Understanding how Sibelius and Nielsen made their way into the French and British orchestral repertoires tells us about significant processes of canonisation - or non-canonisation - of composers and the vivid national differences that exist between orchestral canons.

Recent major studies have been conducted on the reception of the music of Sibelius in Britain, such as Franklin's *Sibelius in Britain* (2004) and Menin's *Waving from the Periphery* (2011) showing the support of conductors and critics.²⁹¹ Research explored the reception of Sibelius in other countries such as Finland with Jackson's and Murtomäki's *Sibelius Studies* (2001) and the US with Pollack's *Samuel Barber, Jean Sibelius, and the Making of an American Romantic*

²⁹⁰ Gray, Laura (1997) 'The Symphonic Problem': *Sibelius Reception in England Prior to 1950*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University. [Online: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=5552186>] Last accessed 28th April 2019.

²⁹¹ Franklin, Peter (2004) op. cit., p. 184; Menin, Sarah (2011) 'Waving from the Periphery', Grimley, Daniel (ed.) *Jean Sibelius and his World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 231.

(2000).²⁹² However, I am not aware of any cross-border study explaining why Britain was more favourable to the success of Sibelius than other national contexts.

Gray's unpublished PhD thesis (1998) explored another angle of the British success of Sibelius. She showed how Sibelius provided an answer to 'the symphonic problem' as 'the perception from the beginning of the century of a crisis in symphonic form', 'believed to have been caused by the incongruity between form and content in post-Beethovenian symphonies strictly adhering to "text-book" sonata schemes'.²⁹³ This perspective indeed provides insights on the reception of Nordic music in some close-knit circles of composers and critics, looking for alternatives to Central European modernism. Compositional considerations can indirectly affect the reception of the audience through programme notes and programming choices.

If research has focused more on the reception of Sibelius in Britain than in other countries, including his native Finland, the less-widely explored reception of Nielsen seems more concentrated on Denmark and musical nationalism. These studies include Krabbe's 'The Reception of Gade, Hartmann and Nielsen: three Danish classics, and the role of the scholarly edition' (2005) and Brincker's *The Role of Classical Music in the Construction of Nationalism: an analysis of Danish Consensus nationalism and the reception of Carl Nielsen* (2008).²⁹⁴ Krabbe's 'A survey of the written reception of Carl Nielsen, 1931-2006' (2007) provided a more general international context that was used as a starting point for the elaboration of this chapter.²⁹⁵ Brincker's *The role of classical music in the construction of nationalism: a cross-national perspective* (2014) remains one of the few comparative cross-border studies of which I am aware. However, Brincker compared composers in their national contexts as opposed to one

²⁹² Pollack, Howard (2000) 'Samuel Barber, Jean Sibelius and the Making of an American Romantic', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 84, no. 2, pp. 175-205; Jackson, Timothy, Murtoimäki, Veijo (eds) (2001) *Sibelius Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁹³ Gray, Laura (1997) op. cit.

²⁹⁴ Krabbe, Niels (2005) 'The reception of Gade, Hartmann and Nielsen: three Danish classics and the role of the scholarly edition', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 116-124; Brincker, Benedikte (2008) 'The role of classical music in the construction of nationalism: an analysis of Danish consensus nationalism and the reception of Carl Nielsen', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 684-699.

²⁹⁵ Krabbe, Niels (2007) 'A survey of the written reception of Carl Nielsen 1931-2006', *Notes* vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 43-56.

composer internationally. For example, Nielsen in Denmark is compared with Shostakovich in Soviet Union, Hindemith in the Third Reich and Copland in the USA.²⁹⁶ This chapter aims to bridge a research gap, comparing composers in different foreign national contexts.

²⁹⁶ Brincker, Benedikte (2014) op. cit.

Case study 4: Jean Sibelius

The reception of Sibelius underwent several phases in Britain and in France. These steps in the canonisation of his music, now part of the orchestral repertoire, differed in both countries. One of the main reasons for how the music of Sibelius persisted and bloomed in British concert programmes for over a century is the incessant support he had from influential figures of the British classical music scene from the 1900s onwards. From Granville Bantock to Colin Davis, the work of Sibelius was disseminated by major influential figures such as critics, conductors and musicians.

From the very beginning, the encounter between British orchestras and Sibelius was facilitated by some of his British friends, such as the composer and conductor Granville Bantock, who was one of the first to perform Sibelius with the Liverpool Philharmonic. Henry Wood, the founder of the London Proms, heard Bantock conducting *En Saga* and consequently introduced the First Symphony of Sibelius to London in 1903.²⁹⁷ Bantock was also the first one to invite Sibelius to conduct his First Symphony and *Finlandia* in Liverpool at a 'Ladies Concert' of the Orchestral Society in 1905.²⁹⁸

Sibelius was introduced simultaneously in several regions in Britain. In England, his music was performed in Liverpool by Bantock, spread to London with Wood, and was made popular through the good reviews of the music critics Rosa Newmarch and Ernest Newman. In Birmingham, Newman supported the introduction of the music of Sibelius in the academic context, with one lecture on Sibelius in 1909 as part of his series on 'modern musicians'. In 1912, Sibelius came to conduct his Fourth Symphony during Birmingham's Festival. In Glasgow, Frederic H. Cowen, principal conductor of the Scottish Orchestra from 1900, introduced one of the symphonies of Sibelius to a town concert in 1907.²⁹⁹ The music of Sibelius was therefore already present in symphonic programmes all over Britain before the First World War.

²⁹⁷ Franklin, Peter (2004) op. cit. p. 184.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Anonymous (1907) 'Music in the Provinces', *The Musical Standard*, vol. 682, no. 27, 26th January, p. 60.

While British orchestras were thus performing Sibelius, this new music was played in France mainly by foreign musicians and only on very rare occasions. My exploration of the press articles of the time shows that when Sibelius began to be heard in Britain, it was played by British musicians, whereas in France his music was still considered as exotic repertoire performed by foreign musicians. The main influential French conductors of the time such as Edouard Colonne and Charles Lamoureux were, for example, focused on the diffusion of the French music of Berlioz, Delibes, Fauré, Lalo, Massenet and Saint-Saëns, among others.³⁰⁰

One of the first occasions for French intellectuals to encounter the work of Sibelius was during the Exposition Universelle of Paris in 1900. The composer was chosen to represent Finland in the Finnish pavilion. Robert Kajanus conducted two programmes including the First Symphony - the only symphony of Sibelius at that time, *La Patrie* from *King Christian II Suite*, the 'Swan of Tuonela' and 'Lemminkäinen's Homeward Journey' from the *Lemminkäinen Suite*.³⁰¹

Publications of the time suggested that the music presented during the Expositions Universelles impacted French musical life. For example, the French composer Louis Benedictus successfully published a score for voice and piano entitled *Les Musiques bizarres à l'Exposition* (Strange Music at the Exhibition) after 1898's and 1900's Paris Exhibition.³⁰²

However, the music of Sibelius, almost completely unknown in France at that time, did not seem to benefit from the magnitude of the Exposition Universelle. The press greatly amplified the impact of the Exposition Universelle on the society as newspapers 'both general and specialized, devoted not only columns and pages but entire issues to coverage of the Exposition'.³⁰³ And yet, the lack of a significant corpus of press articles shows the minimal interest of the French press in the Finnish concerts. *Le Ménestrel's* article on the Finnish concerts did not match the usual journalistic quality of this eminent music and theatre specialised newspaper of the time. Inaccurately, the article 'Foreign Music in

³⁰⁰ R.P (1896) 'M. Edouard Colonne' *The Lute*, no. 167, 1st November, p. 553.

³⁰¹ Menin, Sarah (2011) op. cit. p. 231.

³⁰² Lombard, Denys (1992) 'Le Kampong javanais à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1889' *Archipel*, no. 43, p. 128.

³⁰³ Wilson, Michael (1991) 'Consuming History: the nation, the past, and the commodity at l'Exposition Universelle de 1900', *Journal of Semiotics*, vol. 8, no. 4, p. 131.

the Exhibition' misnamed the First Symphony in E minor of Sibelius as 'Symphony in C minor' and the titles of the movements of *Lemminkäinen Suite* are not even mentioned, just vaguely described as 'two fragments of the music inspired by the grandiose epic of Kalevala'.³⁰⁴

The music reviews suggest that the French musical world of 1900 noticed the extra-European musical presentations at the Exposition Universelle more than the Finnish pavilion and the concerts by Kajanus. Paris fashion for Asian art had been influencing audience tastes for a decade. For example, the interest of Debussy in the texture of Balinese Gamelan started in the Exposition Universelle of 1889.³⁰⁵ Other significant musical trends of early twentieth-century France included the fashion for Spanish-inspired music and for Russian exoticism following the famous Parisian performances of Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* and the introduction of Stravinsky and Prokofiev.³⁰⁶ Moreover, the early 1900s saw the emergence of neoclassicism and French musical nationalism with the creation of the Schola Cantorum by Vincent d'Indy.³⁰⁷

As in the previous chapter, the idea of nation-making is interconnected with canonisation processes of Nordic music. In his works, Weber often linked canons and political contexts and the Paris Expositions Universelles provided another example of canonisation and nation-making as associated processes. Under an ideal of cosmopolitanism, events such as the Exposition Universelle reflected geopolitical tensions of the time.³⁰⁸ For example, Austrian and Hungarian pavilions as 'adjoining sets of rooms of decorative arts and furnishing' were illustrative of the tensions between the two 'rival neighbours and imperial counterparts'. Austrian critics praised their display, ignoring or criticising the

³⁰⁴ Anonymous (1900) 'La musique étrangère à l'exposition', *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 3620, no. 32, 12nd August.

³⁰⁵ Parker, Sylvia (2012) 'Claude Debussy's Gamelan', *College Music Symposium*, vol. 52.

³⁰⁶ Llano, Samuel, ed. (2012) *Whose Spain?: Negotiating Spanish Music in Paris, 1908-1929*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Sanz García, Laura (2017) 'Music and Gardens In Granada: Debussy And Forestier's French Mark In Spanish Artistic Creation', *Anuario Musical*, no. 72, pp. 209-218. Defrance, Yves (1994) 'Exotisme et esthétique musicale en France: approche socio-historique', *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie*, no. 7, pp. 1-20.

³⁰⁷ Wheeldon, Marianne (2017) 'Anti-Debussyism and the Formation of French Neoclassicism', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 70, no. 2, pp. 433-474; Paul, Charles B. (1972) 'Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 46-56.

³⁰⁸ Murphy, Margueritte (2010) 'Becoming cosmopolitan: viewing and reviewing the 1855 Exposition Universelle in Paris', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 32.

Hungarian Art Nouveau style.³⁰⁹ Therefore, the Franco-Russian Alliance (1891-1917) could have impacted the French reception of the Finnish pavilion. Finland, still a 'Russian province', as described by visitors such as the Croat writer Matos, built a detached Finnish pavilion showcasing national Finnish culture.³¹⁰ A greater appreciation of the Finnish pavilion could have been seen as the support for Finnish independence against the Russian empire.

The press articles I collected shows that Finnish musicians were the principal ambassadors of Sibelius in France before the First World War; very few French musicians and conductors were performing this new music. For example, the Finnish singer Ida Ekman performed one melody of Sibelius alongside a Finnish folk tune during a chamber music of the Colonne concert series in Paris in 1902. Again, the press release, even in a specialised magazine such as *Le Ménestrel*, remained very sparse, without any indication of which pieces were performed.³¹¹ In general, it was rarely the case that chamber music concerts provided a way for Nordic repertoire to be integrated into the programmes of orchestras. However, the Colonne concerts were side events to the concerts of the Colonne Orchestra and could therefore have generated some new programming ideas.

By contrast, while British ensembles performed rather early significant pieces of Sibelius such as the symphonies and complete suites, France did seem to program shorter tone poems. One of the first performances of Sibelius by a French conductor, Alexandre Chevillard, were concerts in Switzerland in the Kursaal of Montreux with *Finlandia* in 1910, *The Swan of Tuonela* and *En Saga* in 1911. Auguste Serieyx, a journalist of the time, noted wisely that the works played in Montreux were not sufficient to appreciate the music of Sibelius. By asking for *En Saga* and *Finlandia* to be performed in the Salle Gaveau or in The Châtelet - larger French venues, Serieyx confirmed that these pieces, even if among the less unknown at the time, were not often performed in Paris.³¹²

³⁰⁹ Houze, Rebecca (2004) 'National Internationalism: reactions to Austrian and Hungarian decorative arts at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 55.

³¹⁰ Letter written on the 5th May 1900, published in French translation in: Matoš, Antun Gustav (1985) 'A l'exposition universelle de 1900', *Most - Književna Revija*, 1-2, p. 156; Department of Media (2017) *The Finnish Pavilion at the 1900 World Fair*, Aalto University [Online: <http://paviljonki.mlog.taik.fi/history>] Last accessed 12th April 2019.

³¹¹ Berggruen, O. (1902) 'Concerts Colonne', *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 3698, no. 6, 9th February, p. 45.

³¹² Serieyx, Auguste (1911) 'Concerts', *L'Action Francaise*, no. 309, 5th November.

The First World War suspended most orchestral musical life in France and in Britain. Many orchestras were dismantled or merged, such as the French Colonne and Lamoureux orchestras. Musicians, composers and conductors were sent on battlefields, leaving concert halls with fragmentary musical seasons. The art newspaper publications shrank making the archival research arduous. Therefore, I will continue by tracing back Sibelius in post-war musical programmes.

Contextual investigation: British obsession and French curiosity of the 1930s

Sibelius really started to become fashionable in Britain in the late 1920s, peaking in the 1930s as a result of the pre-war constant effort of Newman, Newmarch, Wood and Courtauld. In France, several of the most influential musical figures of the time focused on the experiments of the Second Viennese School, as an echo to post-war trauma, as presented in chapter 5. By contrast, several leading British figures were willing to find a musical alternative more transitional than revolutionary. The music of Sibelius had already been part of British musical life for two decades and the composer himself visited the country again in 1922, conducting some of his works. *Finlandia* and *Valse Triste* emerged as the most famous of his pieces in Britain. However, his larger works continued to be introduced such as the first performance of the Sixth Symphony conducted by Wood in Queen's Hall in December 1926, only three years after its premiere in Helsinki.³¹³

In Britain, Sibelius bloomed in programmes supported by a significant group of British conductors such as Thomas Beecham, Hamilton Harty and Henry Wood. Examples of this trend included *Tapiola* and *Finlandia* performed by the Glasgow Choral Union in Glasgow in 1929, the Third Symphony performed by the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester during the season 1930-1931, the Violin Concerto conducted by Vaclav Talich and performed by Emil Telmányi in Queen's Hall in January 1931 and the Fifth Symphony performed by Thomas Beecham and the LSO in November 1931.³¹⁴ The year 1932 saw the creation of the Sibelius society

³¹³ Gray, Cecil (1926) 'Sibelius' *The Nation and athenaeum*, vol. 40, no. 9, 4th December, p. 336.

³¹⁴ Sebastian (1929) 'Music in Scotland', *The Musical Times*, vol. 70, no. 1040, 1st October, p. 939; Sebastian (1929) 'Music in Scotland', *The Musical Times*, vol. 70, no. 1033, 1st March, p. 266; Cardus, Neville (1930) 'The Halle Concert', *The Manchester Guardian*, 17th October, p. 13; Anonymous (1931) 'Philharmonic Concert', *The Scotsman*, 16th January, p. 8; Anonymous (1931) 'Music of the week', *The Observer*, 29th November p. 10.

by the H.M.V. Gramophone Company for issuing records of Sibelius and more performances of the symphonies of Sibelius by the LSO conducted by Kajanus.³¹⁵ The British premiere of *Pohjola's Daughter* during the same year showed the establishment of Sibelius in the British repertoire. From 1925 to 1939, the numerous performances of Sibelius by the LSO, under Thomas Beecham and Hamilton Harty, show his integration within orchestral repertoire.³¹⁶

In the 1930s, no Sibelius fashion of this extent hit France, as no major influencing figure of the time focused on the introduction of the music of Sibelius to the French concert audience. In France, Sibelius did not reach a wider audience before the First World War as it did in Britain with Wood's Proms. As a result, a post-war Sibelius fashion had no ground on which to be developed. By contrast, the Second Viennese School and post-Wagnerian atonal and dodecaphonic experimentations absorbed a part of French leading musical figures in conservatoires, universities and concert halls, as developed in chapter 5. Another symphonist, Mahler, whose popularity suffered from the Franco-German wars, was for some influential figures such as Nadia Boulanger, one of the priorities for re-evaluation.³¹⁷

Mussat elucidated the introduction of the music of Schoenberg before the First World War by the *Revue Musicale* of the Société Musicale Indépendante (SMI, founded in 1910).³¹⁸ Articles and analyses published by the SMI and specialised newspapers as well as the performances of Schoenberg, which started to be more frequent from the 1920s, played a role in the reception of Schoenberg in Paris.³¹⁹ The broader public struggled with the style, but in more private circles,

³¹⁵ Gray, Cecil (1932) 'London Music: a changed attitude to Sibelius', *The Manchester Guardian*, 6th July, p. 7.

³¹⁶ LSO performs Sibelius 1925-1939: Fifth Symphony conducted by Thomas Beecham (23th November 1931), Second Symphony conducted by Hamilton Harty (15th February 1932), Second Symphony conducted by Hamilton Harty (24th November 1932), Fifth Symphony conducted by Hamilton Harty (12th December 1932), *Tapiola* conducted by Hamilton Harty (20th March 1933), Sixth Symphony conducted by Hamilton Harty (9th October 1933), *Three Pieces for Violin and Orchestra* conducted by Hamilton Harty (14th March 1934), Second Symphony conducted by Nikolai Malko (4th November 1935), Second Symphony conducted by Albert Coates (11th December 1936), First Symphony conducted by Nikolai Malko (4th March 1937), Second Symphony conducted by Anthony Collins (14th November 1938), *Valse Triste* conducted by Charles Hambourg (28th November 1939).

³¹⁷ Mugmon, Matthew (2018) 'An Imperfect Mahlerite: Nadia Boulanger and the Reception of Gustav Mahler', *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 76-103.

³¹⁸ Mussat, Marie-Claire (2001) 'La réception de Schönberg en France avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale', *Revue de Musicologie*, vol. 87, no. 1, pp. 145-186.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

‘dodecaphonic scores found their audience slowly’ as ‘Parisians particularly enjoyed the atonal works based on literary supports’.³²⁰

Nevertheless, some performances of Sibelius must be noticed during the late 1920s and 1930s, such as Boris Schwartz performing the Violin Concerto during one Padeloup concert. The review of this concert sums up the state of the music of Sibelius in France at the time: it was nowhere near to the core orchestral repertoire and far from being canonised. The music critic René Brancour praised the original choice of Schwartz, but hesitated about the nationality of Sibelius (‘Finnish musician - if I’m right’) as he said the composer was ‘almost unknown’ to French audiences.³²¹ A year later, another of *Le Ménestrel*’s articles about an evening of Finnish music by Greta de Haartman, admitted Finnish music to be still ‘little or badly known in France’.³²²

A fashion for Sibelius did not take off in France as it did in Britain but French orchestras finally started to play his music. For example, another Padeloup concert in 1929 included the *Swan of Tuonela* conducted by Hermati in the Théâtre des Champs Élysées and the Paris Symphony Orchestra performed his First Symphony.³²³ Some of the British craze for Nordic music filtered through the French press and radio programmes but the French audience was not as well prepared as the British one, as Sibelius remained mostly unknown in Paris. Reports on how often Sibelius is played in Britain helped legitimise his music in France. For example, the *Ménestrel*’s review on the Fifth Symphony performed by Hallé Orchestra and Hamilton Harty qualified Sibelius as a master of whom France was just about starting to grasp the full art.³²⁴ Radio broadcasting of Sibelius started to be regular towards the end of the 1920s mostly with

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ ‘Loué soit M. Boris Schwarz, lequel nous joua un concerto pour violon qui n’était ni de Mendelssohn, ni de Beethoven, Saint-Saëns, ni de Lalo ! Sibelius, un musicien finlandais, - si je ne fais erreur - , est à peu près inconnu chez nous.’ Brancour, René (1928) ‘Concerts Padeloup’, *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 3, no. 4786, 20th January, p. 28.

³²² P. M. (1929) ‘Concerts divers’, *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 4839, no. 4, 25th January.

³²³ Anonymous (1929) ‘Concert Padeloup’, *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 5, no. 4850, 12th April, p. 172. Belvianes, Marcel (1929) ‘Orchestre Symphonique de Paris’, *Le Ménestrel*, no. 4882, 22nd November pp. 503-504.

³²⁴ Garnier, G. L. (1931) ‘Angleterre’, *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 10, no. 4949, 6th March, p. 111.

Finlandia, *Valse Triste* and *En Saga*.³²⁵ The larger works such as his First and Second Symphonies arrived later in the late 1930s.³²⁶

With these reports of English concerts, some local performances and the more regular radio broadcasting of his works, Sibelius became part of the musical landscape in France even if his presence remained marginal compared with some other modern composers of the time. As a result, at the dawn of the Second World War, Sibelius was part of the orchestral repertoire in Britain but not in France. The introduction of this foreign Nordic repertoire was thus a particularity of the British repertoire with no parallel in France. This national particularity started to expand based on the support of local musicians and a receptive audience. It must be pointed out that the supporters of Sibelius in Britain were locals: newspaper clippings previously discussed show that most of the British performances of Sibelius were planned by local British conductors whereas fewer French conductors, as opposed to Finnish ones, performed this repertoire in France.

Scepticism, re-establishment and canonisation

In the 1940s, Sibelius still found supporters among British conductors such as Basil Cameron, Malcolm Sargent, Adrian Boult and Constant Lambert who continued to extensively perform his works in London and regionally. However, from the end of the Second World War to the centenary celebration of the composer in 1965, the criticism of the style of Sibelius increased in Britain. The reception of his music entered in a phase of scepticism, even if a group of conductors were still strongly supporting his music. Critics claimed his music was gloomy and monotonous. For example, in a review of the composer's 90th birthday in the London Royal Festival Hall by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Thomas Beecham, Neville Cardus asserted that 'the evening did

³²⁵ Examples of radio broadcasting in France: *En saga* (5th February 1926), *Valse Triste* (29th August 1927), *Valse Triste* (29th September 1928), *Finlandia*, *Valse Triste* (28th October 1928), *Finlandia* (15th January 1929).

³²⁶ Examples of radio broadcasting in France: *Nocturne et musette* (19th September 1933), *The Swan of Tuonela* (7th March 1935), *Valse Triste* (27th September 1935), *Valse Triste* (8th May 1937), *Finlandia* (19th April 1938), *Canzonetta* (13th May 1938), First Symphony (29th December 1938), *Valse Triste* (30th April 1939), Second Symphony (27th May 1939).

not escape monotony', the Fourth Symphony being 'austere'.³²⁷ Likewise, the enthusiastic obituary of the *New York Times* in 1957 commented on Sibelius as 'prevaillingly dark, its mood defiant or brooding, its character unmistakably Northern'.³²⁸ Cardus, again, even if considering himself as 'one of the first admirers and propagandists' of Sibelius, worried about the persistence of this repertoire on the occasion of the centenary celebrations, stating that 'the future of Sibelius' music with the general public is hardly likely to be safer if he becomes prey to the new criticism'.³²⁹

However, this wave of post-fashion criticism collapsed with the celebrations of the centenary of Sibelius in 1965. In Britain, this brief phase of rejection needs to be mentioned as it provided an optimal context to the development of Nielsen in concert programmes, as explained in the second part of this chapter.

In France, Adorno's publications on Sibelius as a mediocre composer threatened the timid introduction of Sibelius in concert programmes.³³⁰ France was more heavily influenced by German and Central-European critics and authors than Britain at that time. Adorno published his *Glosse über Sibelius* in 1938 as a reaction to Bengt de Törne's book *Sibelius a close up* released in 1937. Adorno's strong aesthetic critique and the associations he made between Sibelius and the Nazi regime conspired to blacken the composer's reputation. Adorno, as 'a leading intellectual figure in post-war Western Germany', influenced musical circles in neighbouring countries, including France.³³¹ Adorno's views were echoed in the polemical declarations of the French conductor René Leibowitz who wrote a pamphlet for the composer's 90th birthday called *Sibelius, the worst composer in the world*.³³² The positions of Adorno and Leibowitz are representative of a common stand among some of the French leading musical

³²⁷ Cardus, Neville (1955) 'Sibelius Birthday Concert: Sir Thomas's choice', *The Manchester Guardian*, 10th December.

³²⁸ Anonymous (1957) 'Sibelius, composer, dies at 91 of stroke at home in Finland', *New York Times*, 21st September, pp. 1-3.

³²⁹ Cardus, Neville (1965) 'Symphonies and Sagas', *The Guardian*, 4th December, p. 7.

³³⁰ Adorno, Theodor (1938) 'Glosse über Sibelius', *Theodor W. Adorno, Gesammelte Werke*, Rolf Tiedemann (ed.) in collaboration with Gretel Adorno, Susan Buck-Morss, and Klaus Schultz. (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt am Main, 1986; Directmedia: Berlin, 2003), vol. 17, p. 247.

³³¹ Oramo, Ilkka (2007) 'The Sibelius Problem', *Studies in music and other writings* [Online: <https://relatedrocks.com/2007/10/01/the-sibelius-problem/>] Last accessed 5th April 2019.

³³² Leibowitz, René (1955) *Sibelius, le plus mauvais compositeur du monde*. Liège: Aux Editions Dynamo. P. Aelberts.

figures of the time, namely the rejection of Sibelius and the promotion of the Second Viennese School.³³³

The chapter 5 of this thesis will put the reaction of Leibowitz into greater perspective, providing context on the introduction of the Second Viennese School in France and Britain. In brief here, Leibowitz was a major figure in the introduction of the Second Viennese School in France after the Second World War. His rejection of Sibelius further engrained an attitude in French musical circles: one could not support tonal (post-) Romantic modernism such as Sibelius and at the same time Central European atonal systems mainly developed by Schoenberg and his students Berg and Webern. Twelve-tone technique, serialism and atonality were therefore opposed to other tonal and motivic developments of music such as Sibelius and Nielsen. These compositional considerations probably did not reach a great proportion of the audience of wider orchestral concerts. However, this strong opposition between visions of modernism appeared to have shaped the discourses of musical circles and critics which can directly and indirectly influence orchestral concert planners and conductors.

The support of recent conductors

Despite a brief period of rejection by some music critics, Sibelius entered the orchestral canons of British orchestras from their repertoires. From his death in 1957, the support for the music of Sibelius in Britain remained strong until the most recent seasons. The musical critic Edward Greenfield saw in the centenary of the composer a unique occasion to reverse the gloom of scepticism that was hovering over Sibelius during the previous decade.³³⁴ The most recent major supporters of this niche repertoire such as Simon Rattle, who reintroduced Sibelius in the programmes of the Berlin Philharmonic, Colin Davis at the LSO and Alexander Gibson in Scotland, stood as inheritors of the early-twentieth-century Newmarch, Newman and Wood.

³³³ For a detailed study on the variations of Adorno's positions on the Second Viennese School, see: Lee, Sherry D. (2020) 'Adorno and the Second Viennese School' in Peter E. Gordon, Espen Hammer and Max Pensky (eds) *A Companion to Adorno*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 67-83.

³³⁴ 'By what masterly timing the Sibelius centenary comes up to save us from the blackness of Sibelius reaction!' Greenfield, Edward (1965) 'Sibelius on Record' *The Guardian*, 20th September, p. 7.

Recordings are not the focus of this research, but some recording milestones are worth considering as participating in the canonisation of Sibelius in Britain. For example, Alexander Gibson's regular and extensive recordings started with the Fifth Symphony with the LSO in 1971 and pursued with the SNO of which he became musical director in 1959. Karl Rankl, the previous principal conductor of the SNO, was notorious for his dislike of Nordic composers Sibelius and Nielsen, both of whom he refused to conduct.³³⁵ Alexander Gibson undertook a mission to reintroduce Sibelius in Scotland and started a cycle of the symphonies which had not been played for seven years.³³⁶ He recorded with the SNO the complete *Tone Poems* including *En Saga*, *Luonnotar*, *Finlandia*, *Spring Song*, *The Bard*, *The Dryad*, *Pohjola's Daughter*, *Night Ride and Sunrise*, *The Oceanides* and *Tapiola* in 1977 and some of these pieces again in 1989. He recorded the complete cycle of symphonies from 1982 to 1985, *Lemminkäinen Legends* in 1991 and the *Scenes Historiques*, *Rakastava Suite* and *Valse Lyrique* in 1992. Gibson's commitment beyond the most famous works of Sibelius was internationally renowned and the Finnish Government awarded him with the Sibelius Medal in 1978.

In France, British conductors continued to bring his music to the audiences but did not yet achieve to establish this occasional repertoire in the French orchestral canons. Colin Davis helped to introduce Sibelius in France as when he conducted the Fifth Symphony in 1977 with the OP. He recorded numerous versions of the works of Sibelius in London, including three complete cycles of the symphonies. Davis kept performing Sibelius with the LSO from 1962 onwards. This example seems to confirm that the French supporters of Sibelius failed to canonise this repertoire as foreign musicians, including British conductors, performed the great majority of the rare concerts of Sibelius in France.

The newspaper articles, concert reviews and established research publications I compiled show that these canonical variations in recent orchestral programmes in France and in Britain derived from several decades of local canonisation processes. In Britain, fifty years of the support from influential musical figures helped to engrain Sibelius in the British orchestral programmes. In France, other

³³⁵ Wilson, Conrad (1993b) op. cit. p. 72.

³³⁶ Ibid. p. 73.

fashions of musical exoticism exemplified by the reviews of Paris Exposition Universelles combined with a later interest for Central European modernism within intellectual circles resulted in a lukewarm reception of Sibelius. These results seem to be confirmed by the recent disciples of Sibelius. Most of them continue to be British conductors such as Simon Rattle and Michael Tilson Thomas whereas today's French conductors still do not seem to have joined the British enthusiasm for Sibelius.

After more than a century of support from British conductors and critics, Sibelius is now part of the British orchestral canons. The LSO, the SNO, Bournemouth Orchestra, Philharmonia, London Philharmonic Orchestra all recorded some Sibelius. His works have become an essential repertoire to perform for any British orchestra claiming for a national reputation. Sibelius went from a marginal repertoire to the core of the British orchestral canons. By contrast, in France, his music remained an occasional repertoire, mainly supported by foreign conductors and soloists.

However, recent French orchestral programmes could indicate the start of a new moderate increase in Nordic repertoire. Some international conductors such as Paavo Järvi started to popularise this music as a stable repertoire in France. Paavo Järvi regularly performed Sibelius from his very first concert with the orchestra in 2004, especially during his time as principal conductor of the OP from 2010 to 2016.³³⁷ The Violin Concerto managed to enter the core repertoire of the orchestra with the influence of soloists such as Maxim Vengerov. The frequency with which the Violin Concerto is performed could suggest that it is the only one of the pieces of Sibelius in the French orchestral canon, as the symphonies remain too rarely played to be considered.

Importantly, concertos and solo works do not share the same canonical position with symphonic pieces and cannot justify alone the position of a composer in the orchestral canons. For example, the Violin Concerto counted for 53 of the 64 performances of Bruch by the LSO from 1967 to 2015. Likewise, the *Symphonie*

³³⁷ Paavo Järvi and Sibelius with the OP: Sibelius's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Berg's Seven Early Songs, Nielsen's Second Symphony (10th and 11th March 2004); Sibelius's Violin Concerto with Lisa Batiashvili, Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony (30th May 2007); Dukas's *La Péri*, Sibelius's *Kullervo* (15th September 2010); Sibelius's *Tapiola*, Shostakovich's First Cello Concerto, Prokofiev's Sixth Symphony (10th November 2010); Sibelius's Violin Concerto with Akiko Suwanai, Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony (29th and 30th November 2017).

Espagnole for solo violin and orchestra represented all the performances of Lalo by the LSO. Soloists make a significant part of the programming choices of concertos which stand at the intersection between orchestral, soloistic and therefore pedagogical canons. Several other factors play in the programming of a certain concerto, such as the canon of the soloist's place of study, the limitation of the available repertoire for the instrument (such as viola concertos) and the release of a recording to be advertised, which relies on the artistic and financial choices of recording companies.

The newspaper clippings and concert reviews previously examined showed the crucial influence of British major musical figures in the canonisation of the music of Sibelius. Moreover, programme notes revealed another phenomenon: the literary discourse constructed around Nordic music and its impact on collective imagination.

Swans, snow, Finns and motivic development: the discourses around Sibelius

Sibelius was not only supported by conductors but also by music critics and journalists who shaped a literary discourse around his music. This part of the chapter aims to demonstrate how the differing states of Sibelius in French and British canons were not only due to the support of musicians but relied on cultural factors such as the proximity between Britain and Scandinavia and their relation to national landscape. Understanding how the discourse around Sibelius shaped the imagination of concert listeners is crucial to examine the stabilisation of Sibelius in the British canons during the past century.

The literary language around Nordic music in recent programmes can be traced back to the early years of the introduction of Sibelius. In the early 1900s, critics were presenting his music as national music, but French and British press and specialists were not focusing on the same aspects. In Britain, music critics, principally Rosa Newmarch, Ernest Newman and Cecil Gray, deeply rooted their musical description in extended metaphors with landscape, whereas in France, the music was judged more on its modernity and foreign originality. These first years were crucial for the introduction of Sibelius, and the discourse normally paired with his work lasted for decades, culminating in the 1930s.

The discourse based on landscape metaphors and cultural mythological references was a British particularity in the reception of Sibelius. An early example of the nationalist discourses can be found in Ernest Newman's lecture in Birmingham in 1909, where he presented the music of Sibelius as belonging to 'a different civilisation' and influenced by the rhythm of Finnish language and literature. The gloom and alleged sadness of his music was another main theme developed in critics that Newman attributed to the 'melancholy that is deep rooted in the nature of the people to be found in every section of Finnish art'.³³⁸

Comparing Sibelius to romanticised Nordic landscapes became the classic cliché of British music critics. For example, in an article of 1912, Sibelius is described as 'an interpreter of the lakes, islands, forests and bright summer nights of his native country, of its storms and snows'.³³⁹ Some examples can be found in the Manchester publication note of the *Songs* op. 57 comparing Sibelius with Grieg, both of them sharing 'the haunting charm of the Northern song', 'vague and indefinite' as would a 'landscape veiled in mists' be.³⁴⁰ His Third Symphony started to be presented as 'The Pastoral Symphony of the North', placing him as a Beethovenian modernist, a symphonist from the North who kept a privileged contact with nature.³⁴¹

Later, in 1928, Neville Cardus described the Sixth Symphony as a tale of Finland's 'fitful summer and its hard, stark winter' and, in 1930, the Third Symphony as 'unfriendly mists and dangerous flickerings'.³⁴² *The British Musician* compared his music to 'pale twilight glimmers' of 'a land of enchantment'.³⁴³ This language persisted after the war as critics, including Cardus, continued to cultivate it. For example, in 1965, he described the music of Sibelius as 'an empty Finnish landscape on a sunless day'.³⁴⁴ The idea of a deep connection

³³⁸ Grew, Sydney (1909) 'Music in Birmingham', *The Musical Standard*, vol. 27, no. 682, 1st May, p. 285.

³³⁹ A.R.R. (1912) 'Finland's Music: the national festival', *The Manchester Guardian*, 27th June, p. 12.

³⁴⁰ Anonymous (1910) 'New Books', *The Manchester Guardian*, 3rd June, p. 5.

³⁴¹ Anonymous (1919) 'Jean Sibelius', *The Musical Herald*, no. 853, p. 108.

³⁴² Cardus, Neville (1928) 'The Sixth Symphony of Sibelius: a Liverpool performance', *The Manchester Guardian*, 24th October, p. 20; Cardus, Neville (1930) 'The Halle Concert', *The Manchester Guardian*, 17th October, p. 13.

³⁴³ Anonymous (1930) 'Sibelius and the Music of Finland', *The British Musician*, vol. 6, no. 58, p. 302.

³⁴⁴ Cardus, Neville (1965) 'Symphonies and Sagas', *The Guardian*, 4th December, p. 7.

between Sibelius and landscape is still to be found in the most recent concert programmes.³⁴⁵

As opposed to compositional considerations circulating in specialised circles, this discourse centered around the landscape did reach the wider British audience through general newspaper reviews and, more importantly, through programme notes. France did not develop such a discourse before the Second World War, mainly because of the lack of performances of Sibelius, but also because of a less favourable cultural context. Based on Lowenthal's exploration of British identity through the English landscape, I argue that the literary discourse around Sibelius is a major cultural variation between the French and British reception of this repertoire.

The landscape comparisons had more chance of being effective in Britain than in France, as landscape occupies a particular place in British national identity. Lowenthal suggested that 'nowhere else is landscape so freighted as legacy'.³⁴⁶ The national identification with the British landscape as an idealised artefact was cultivated by literature and arts including music.³⁴⁷ In England, composers of the early twentieth century such as Elgar, Butterworth and Vaughan Williams valued this link between musical composition and landscape. The titles of English works of the time show this tradition such as Butterworth's *The Banks of Green Willow*, Delius's *On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring*, Bax's *Tintagel*, Vaughan Williams's *The Lark Ascending* and *Norfolk Rhapsodies*. Not only titles, but musical indications included comparisons with landscapes. For example, Elgar indicated for woodwinds to 'breathe the scent of Severnside to those who know it', in the rondo of his Second Symphony.³⁴⁸ In 1935, in an obituary for Elgar, Vaughan Williams praised Elgar's music as being 'the intimate and personal beauty of our own fields and lanes'.³⁴⁹ In addition, the Fourth

³⁴⁵ RSNO 2018-2019 season brochure: 'Deep in the Finnish forests of Sibelius' hugely popular Violin Concerto'.

³⁴⁶ Lowenthal, David (1991) 'British National Identity and the English Landscape', *Rural History* vol. 2, no. 2, p. 213.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Quoted by Lowenthal, David (1991) op. cit. p. 216.

³⁴⁹ Quoted in Adams, Byron (ed) (2007) *Edward Elgar and His World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. xvi.

Symphony of Vaughan Williams has been analysed based on landscape depiction.

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Therefore, the comparison between landscape and music was already well-established within the musical circles of composers and critics. British readers of programme notes and concert reviews would be more used to this discourse when it was transferred to Nordic repertoire than French concertgoers. Critics were able to translate this discourse based on landscape from English to Nordic music based on a constructed vision of Britain as a Northern country.

The idea of Britain, and especially Scotland, being closer to Scandinavia is a geographic reality amplified by a constructed cultural discourse. When Conrad Wilson states that 'Scottish audiences had a natural affinity to Nordic symphonies, especially those of Sibelius', it should not be taken as how the Scottish ear would 'naturally' react to this music but how Scottish people are culturally used to the discourse of the adverse weather through their climatic reality and founding stories that incorporate this idea.³⁵¹ As an example, the imagery around the Glencoe massacre in 1692 accentuated the adversity of frozen Highlands which killed the surviving members of the MacDonald clan.³⁵²

In early-twentieth-century France, Sibelius and his music were described without reference to Northern landscapes but simply as a foreign music with compositional qualities. The review on the concerts conducted by Kajanus at the Exposition Universelle simply mentions the music of Sibelius as of a 'great originality and a lot of variety and invention', with a rich orchestral texture 'without crossing the borders of good taste'.³⁵³ The melody Ida Ekman sang during a Colonne Concert in 1902 was simply qualified as having a 'melancholic

³⁵⁰ Barone, Anthony (2008) 'Modernist Rifts in a Pastoral Landscape: Observations on the Manuscripts of Vaughan Williams's Fourth Symphony', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 91, no 1/2, pp. 60-88.

³⁵¹ Wilson, Conrad (1993b) op. cit. p. 72.

³⁵² Examples can be found in the poems *On the massacre of Glencoe* (1692) by William Scott ('The winter wind that whistled shrill, the snows that night that cloaked the hill') or songs such as the *Ballad of Glencoe* (1963) by Jim McLeod ('Oh, cruel was the snow that sweeps Glencoe and covers the grave o' Donald') and in Victorian paintings such as James Hamilton's *The Massacre of Glencoe* (1883-1886) and John Blake MacDonald's *Glencoe* (1879).

³⁵³ 'Dans ces œuvres, M. Sibelius manifeste une grande originalité et beaucoup de diversité et d'invention ; son orchestration est richement colorée sans franchir les limites du bon goût.' Anonymous (1900) 'La musique étrangère à l'exposition', *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 32, no. 3620, 12th August.

grace', which the audience enjoyed.³⁵⁴ The laconic descriptions of the works of Sibelius in *Le Ménestrel* and other newspapers focused more on the value of the performers than on the compositions. For example, *The Swan of Tuonela*, conducted by Albert Dupuis during one of the Ysaye Concerts in 1903, was briefly described as a 'symphonic legend of a penetrating charm'.³⁵⁵

In Britain, several leading critics and concert planners constructed the image of Sibelius as a wise hermit, almost a magician, understanding the deepest forces of nature. The legend around the man, feeling 'the magnetism of natural laws', helped the dissemination of his music. A striking example, cited by Franklin, was the notice on Sibelius in the *Modern Musicians: A Book for Players, Singers and Listeners* (1913), which focused on the outside activities of the composer presenting him as 'boating and fishing, tramping through the storm, wrestling with Nature in her savage moods, baking in her beauty, driving about the moorland in his trap, or lying on the hills dreaming and brooding.'³⁵⁶ Likewise, the *Musical Herald* of 1st April 1919 presented Sibelius as a Finn characterised by 'a belief in magic, and a tendency to a pantheistic conception of nature'.³⁵⁷

The discrepancies between the tone and the language of French and British critics show the canonical variations in the descriptive and performing contexts of Sibelius. This constructed comparison between his music and landscape and the magical aura around the composer did reach the wider audience with programme notes and influenced the collective imagination toward this repertoire.

In the 1920s, the music critics Newman and Gray started to change the tone of their articles, focusing increasingly on the compositional aspects of the pieces more than on their extra-musical hypothetical evocations. A new, more musicological, discourse around Sibelius was crucial in trying to prove the value of this music which had a growing number of detractors. The musicological-

³⁵⁴ 'Deux mélodies finlandaises, l'une due à ce grand poète qui est le peuple, l'autre de M. Sibelius, ont plu par leur grâce mélancolique et par l'expression que l'artiste [Ida Ekman] a su leur donner.' Berggruen, O. (1902) 'Concerts Colonne', *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 6, no. 3698, 9th February, p. 45.

³⁵⁵ 'une légende symphonique, d'un charme pénétrant'. L.S (1903) 'Nouvelles diverses: étranger' *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 8, no. 3752, 22nd February, p. 62.

³⁵⁶ Franklin, Peter (2004) op. cit., p. 188.

³⁵⁷ Anonymous (1919) 'Jean Sibelius', *The Musical Herald*, 1st April, no. 853, p. 105.

orientated discourse helped to unravel the composition techniques of Sibelius which provided a sustainable answer to what Laura Gray called 'The Symphonic Problem', as the dead end for symphonic forms after Beethovenian principles.³⁵⁸

For example, in his chronicle in the *Manchester Guardian*, Ernest Newman wrote mostly on the use of woodwinds in the orchestration, especially the clarinet.³⁵⁹ Later, in a rather long article on Sibelius published in 1926, Gray developed an analysis of the evolution of the style of Sibelius, starting with pieces of his youth to a 'growth and development of his individuality' through the work of musical fragments which have 'little in common with the rhetorical emotionalism of the Romantics as with the sensationalism of modern music'.³⁶⁰

However, the landscape and national discourses around the music of Sibelius suggesting it being closer to nature and a landscape description obedient towards ancient magical laws of the foreign and mysterious Finnish civilisation, remained a strong rhetorical practice. Initially a British construction, the trend grew on the international scene and was partly reemployed later on by French critics in the late 1920s. The reviews of Greta de Haartman's Finnish evening concert on 17th January 1929 started to define the Finnish aspect of the music of Sibelius as balancing a classical form with the flexibility of Slavonic melody.³⁶¹ The same article included one of the first landscape metaphors: the nostalgia within the song being described as 'extremely evocative of lunar landscapes and frozen spaces'.

Moreover, the mythical descriptions around the composer himself also appeared in the French press. In 1929, in a concert review of the First Symphony performed by the Paris Symphony Orchestra, Sibelius was described as a 'composer born in a country of giants and forests'.³⁶² The retreat of Sibelius in Järvenpää during the Second World War amplified the myth of the isolated

³⁵⁸ Gray, Laura (1997) op. cit.

³⁵⁹ Newman, Ernest (1921) 'The week in music', *The Manchester Guardian*, 24th February, p. 5.

³⁶⁰ Gray, Cecil (1926) 'Sibelius', *The Nation and athenaeum*, vol. 40, no. 9, 4th December, pp. 336-337.

³⁶¹ 'La musique finlandaise, empruntant sa forme à l'art classique et sa substance à l'élasticité slave, offre un charme attirant par son caractère nostalgique, éminemment évocateur de paysages lunaires et d'espaces glacés.' P. M. (1929) 'Concerts divers', *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 4, no. 4839, 25th January, pp. 38-39.

³⁶² 'Un compositeur né dans un pays de géants et de forêts': Belvianes, Marcel (1929) 'Orchestre symphonique de Paris', *Le Ménestrel*, no. 882, 22nd November, pp. 503-504.

artist. For the composer's 77th birthday in 1942, Noël Boyer released an article in the nationalist royalist newspaper *Action française*. The tone of this article, the emphasis on the wintry landscape and the composer's isolation proved that the legend around Sibelius had reached the French intellectual sphere.

The master, one says from Helsinki, is in excellent health and continues to work with passion in his retreat of Järvenpää, hidden in the forest now covered in snow, twenty kilometres away from the Finnish capital. Sibelius studied in Vienna and Berlin. His art, inspired by the great classics, is however detached of any foreign influences, I think he is one of the composers with and after Grieg who best expressed the Nordic soul in music.³⁶³

However, the discourse used in this review has to be balanced by the nationalist orientation of the newspaper *L'Action française*.

Sibelius in recent programmes

Recent French orchestral programmes still used this discourse based on landscape and the mythical representation of Sibelius, even long after his death. However, it remained a British construction that appears to be more successful in its native context. Recent programmes suggested that Nordic music is still being presented with a similar discourse, elaborated on since the beginning of the twentieth century in Britain and then imported to France.

In my database, the comparison between music and landscape shaped some recent French programmes. For example, the OP described the Violin Concerto as a 'pure chant' of 'misty and diaphanous light' in 2015.³⁶⁴ Likewise, the OP mentioned compositional context of the piece as written 'in the forest quiet of

³⁶³ 'Le maître, déclare-t-on d'Helsinki, est en excellent santé et continue à travailler avec passion en sa retraite de Jaervenpaepae, cachée dans une forêt actuellement couverte de neige, à une vingtaine de kilomètres de la capitale finlandaise. Sibélius fit ses études musicales à Vienne et à Berlin. Son art imprégné des grands classiques est cependant dégagé de toute influence étrangère, et il est, je pense, un de ceux qui ont le mieux exprimé après et avec Grieg l'âme nordique dans la musique.' Boyer, Noël (1942) 'Jean Sibelius', *Action Française*, no. 295, Lyon edition, 12-13th December, p. 4.

³⁶⁴ OP 2016-2017 season brochure (5th October 2016): 'La pureté du chant du Concerto de Sibelius, sa lumière voilée et diaphane, sa poésie intense l'ont depuis longtemps inscrit au premier rang des chefs-d'œuvre violonistiques du XX^e siècle. Il fut créé en 1905 sous la direction de Richard Strauss, et a depuis conquis les plus grands virtuoses, dont Maxim Vengerov, qui est l'un des rares violonistes autorisés par les héritiers de Sibelius à jouer la version d'origine.'

[Sibelius's] house in Järvenpää'.³⁶⁵ As mentioned in the introduction, the Violin Concerto of Sibelius, even if his most popular piece, was played 30 times by the OP and more than 3 times more by the LSO, with 105 performances. Therefore, the comparison between music and landscape did not share the same purpose in France and Britain. In France, Sibelius remained a form of Northern exoticism and can still be considered as marginal repertoire, whereas he was fully assimilated into the British orchestral canon.

Most of the major French orchestras did not record the complete works of Sibelius and most of the performances are still conducted by foreign musicians. The lack of support for this new music from the very beginning of the twentieth century has widened the gap between the French and British concert programmes. A revival of Sibelius can be observed in France during the last decades, principally with the influence of foreign conductors such as Paavo Järvi, principal conductor of the OP from 2010 to 2016.

Sibelius has remained less well-known for French concertgoers than for the British audience. In Paris, programming Sibelius is still an original choice whereas his Second Symphony has been a British favourite for more than half a century (appendix 5). This case illustrated how the national musical culture, constructed by local and international conductors, musicians and music critics, influenced and continues to influence the programming choices of orchestras.

³⁶⁵ Strasbourg (22nd May 2015).

Case study 5: Carl Nielsen

Carl Nielsen was born the same year as Sibelius, in the neighbouring country of Denmark. Whereas orchestral seasons show that Sibelius is now part of the standard orchestral repertoire, concert programmes suggest that Nielsen is not yet part of the canons. Several factors which explain the difference of reception between Sibelius and Nielsen in France and in Britain will be discussed in this section.

As previously explained, Sibelius benefitted from a network of international supporters during his life. By contrast, Nielsen, who died earlier at the age of 66 in 1931, remained more confined to his native Denmark. Concert programmes suggest that the British supporters of Nielsen, mostly the same as Sibelius, helped to start the canonisation processes of Nielsen in Britain. The French critics, conductors, concert planners and musicians did not seem to give any warmer a welcome to Nielsen.

Contextual investigation: a belated surge in interest

The integration of Nielsen in the orchestral repertoire, especially in Britain, was progressive and far from being facilitated by the composer himself. During his first visit in London in 1910, Carl Nielsen met Henry Wood, the director of the London Promenade concerts. Wood was determined to conduct one of Nielsen's works but the composer declined an invitation in 1921.³⁶⁶ In his article on the reception of Nielsen in Britain, Muntoni details Nielsen's initial reluctance to involve himself in London musical life as he wrote in a letter to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen of the 9th September 1921: 'I am not going to London, as I can't speak English and therefore I can't talk about the performance with Wood anyhow. Indeed he can't speak any other language than English'. Nielsen, as the successful conductor of the Gothenburg Orchestral Society from 1914 to 1931, at the time he received Wood's invitation, could have been involved in London

³⁶⁶ Muntoni, Paolo (2012) 'Carl Nielsen in the United Kingdom', in Krabbe, Niels (ed.) *Carl Nielsen Studies*, vol. 5. Copenhagen: The Royal Library, p. 165.

musical life and taken advantage of the previous fashions for Sibelius and Grieg.³⁶⁷

Nielsen's lack of involvement in the British music scene of his time seem to have had long term consequences on the performances of his works outside Denmark. Eventually, Carl Nielsen accepted the invitation to conduct his works in the Queen's Hall in London with the LSO in the presence of Queen Alexandra of Denmark on the 28th June 1923.³⁶⁸ The programme included the Fourth Symphony which still remains one of his most often played opuses. Nielsen's Violin Concerto was interpreted by his son-in-law Emil Telmányi and got 'mixed reviews'.³⁶⁹ In *Carl Nielsen in the United Kingdom*, Muntoni highlights that after the 1923 London concert, 'Nielsen's music left no consistent tracks in British musical life' during the next two decades.³⁷⁰ The LSO, the only British orchestra conducted by the composer, forgot about Carl Nielsen for more than four decades. The archives of the LSO show that not a single one of Nielsen's pieces was played before the composer's concert in 1923 and none was to be played until the celebration of Nielsen's posthumous 100th birthday in 1965.

Moreover, only rare occurrences of his name can be found in the press of the time, often associated with a Danish performer. For example, some of the only British references to Nielsen in the *Guardian* between 1923 and 1950 are the recital of Telmányi, performing 'a prelude and presto movement' in 1934 and the pianist Johannes Stockmarr's 'recital of Danish pianoforte music' with Nielsen's *Six Humoresques* to be broadcasted on the BBC radio channels.³⁷¹ Likewise, few traces of Nielsen are visible in French programmes and press articles before the 1950s. One of the only times Nielsen's name appeared was in the list of published journal compiled by the Société française de Musicologie (French musicology society) which included Knud Jeppesen's article 'Carl

³⁶⁷ Hauge, Peter (2005) 'Carl Nielsen and the Gothenburg Orchestral Society 1914-31', in Niels Krabbe (ed.) *Carl Nielsen Studies*, vol. 2. Copenhagen: The Royal Library.

³⁶⁸ London, Queen's Hall, 28th June 1923, LSO conducted by Carl Nielsen: Fourth Symphony 'The Inextinguishable', Violin Concerto, *Pan and Syrinx*, *Maskarade* extracts, *Aladdin* extracts.

³⁶⁹ Muntoni, Paolo (2012) op. cit. p. 166.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Anonymous (1934) 'Wireless notes: microphone tour of rugby radio station - the BBC's week-end features', *The Manchester Guardian*, 17th February, p. 12.

Nielsen, a Danish composer' in *The Music Review* of Cambridge in 1946.³⁷² Even mentioned in a French journal, the article was written in England which shows that the interest for Nielsen was already higher in Britain than in France.

The interest in Nielsen could have developed in Britain in the late 1920s with the fashion for Sibelius, but was not, for several reasons. Britain was already overwhelmed by the fashion for Sibelius supported by Wood, Bantock, Newmarch and Newman. Articles of the time suggest that most of the musical press did not make a strong distinction between Nordic countries. A possible reason for the belated rise in interest for Nielsen could be that the Nordic fashion trend was already fully occupied by Sibelius. In addition, Nielsen himself did not facilitate the transmission of his music in Britain, as he was not cooperative with the influential figures who could have supported a development of interest for his work, such as Wood.

As previously stated, because there was not a fashion for Sibelius in France unlike in Britain, Nielsen did not have the support of a precedent of Nordic fashion. Nielsen made several visits in France in the 1920s, but his music did not often fill the columns of music reviews. French and Austro-German modernist trends were more popular among some of the French musical circles. For example, in the 1920s, Schoenberg and Webern benefitted from the support of *Les Six*, some of the most influential musical figures of the time: Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Arthur Honegger, Georges Auric, Louis Durey, and Germaine Tailleferre.³⁷³ The integration of the Second Viennese School, which will be developed in chapter 5 of this thesis, was a more supported path toward modernism at the time.

A moderate fashion

Recent concert programmes often pair Nordic music pieces together, associating Nielsen with Sibelius. Beyond stylistic considerations, this association partly has roots in the way Nielsen was integrated into the British musical repertoire after the Second World War. In Britain, Nielsen became more popular when, after the

³⁷² Société française de Musicologie (1947) 'Périodiques', *Revue de musicologie*, T. 29, no. 81/84, pp. 116-125; Jeppesen, Knud (1946) 'Carl Nielsen, a Danish composer', *The Music Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, Cambridge.

³⁷³ Moore, Christopher Lee (2006) *Music in France and the Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception*, PhD thesis. Montreal: McGill University.

War, the fashion for Sibelius was at its peak – perhaps played too often, in the opinion of many music critics. For example, in his review of the Edinburgh Festival concert of the Danish State Radio Orchestra, Eric Blom started comparing Nielsen with the fashion for Sibelius:

Nielsen might not wear too well if we heard him as often as we do hear Brahms, let us say, and it is to be hoped that he will never be overplayed as Sibelius is in this country. But if the Finnish master's music would benefit if we had a little less of it, by all means let us now have more of the most remarkable Danish composer who has yet appeared.³⁷⁴

The rise of Nielsen in concert programmes from the 1950s onwards coincided with this period of scepticism around Sibelius, which was considered as played too often and gloomily monotonous. Nielsen appeared as a way of refreshing Nordic-themed programmes.

Even though Sibelius and Nielsen were exact contemporaries, their musical style was not as close to one another as early critics claimed. In the 1950s, several critics began to detach from the Nordic music clichés and presented the compositional qualities of Nielsen rather than a depiction of a Northern lunar landscape as they did with Sibelius. Following the performance of the Fourth Symphony, *The Inextinguishable*, at Edinburgh Festival in 1954 by the Danish State Radio Orchestra, Blom reported the following, highlighting the obsession for programme music that was biasing any performance of Nordic music:

The titles of his symphonies are in a sense misleading for whatever they suggest, the substance is purely and simply musical music, which is no doubt the reason why it is disliked by those who want music to convey a message [...].³⁷⁵

Whereas several of the most influential musical figures were following the early Darmstadt school composers in France, publications of music critics and analysts of the time suggest that many British leading figures leaned more towards alternatives to the Austro-German modernism derived from the Second Viennese School. As Gray wrote about Sibelius, a non-Austro-German composer, actively

³⁷⁴ Blom, Eric (1950) 'Edinburgh again', *The Observer*, 3rd September, p. 6.

³⁷⁵ Blom, Eric (1954) 'From Glyndebourne to Edinburgh', *The Observer*, 29th August, p. 6.

described as such, was taken as ‘an inspiration in England’s own nationalist resistance to German musical hegemony’.³⁷⁶ As for Sibelius, one can argue that Nordic composers provided a musical modernity outside the Second Viennese School.

Studies have been made regarding the reception of Nielsen in Britain. Muntoni presented four phases in the British reception of Nielsen: the fashion (1950-55), rejection (1955-1965), revaluation (1965-1977) and revival (1977-1990).³⁷⁷ The study provided a stable point to build upon. However, some concert data, especially orchestral concerts needs to complement this general approach. Moreover, the interconnection between the receptions of Sibelius and Nielsen are crucial for understanding the canonical variations between the French and British performances of this repertoire.

The fashion for Nielsen is interestingly similar to the one for Sibelius in the 1930s. The interest in Nielsen grew with the publication of the first two major first-hand biographies of the composer: *Carl Nielsen: The Artist and the Man* (*Carl Nielsen: Kinsteren og Mennesket*) by Torben Meyer and Frede Schandorf Peterson in 1947-1948 and *Carl Nielsen: a musicography* (*Carl Nielsen: En Musikografi*) by Ludwig Dolleris, composer and Nielsen’s student, in 1949.³⁷⁸ The performances of Nielsen drastically grew in number, and newspaper articles on these performances flourished in the columns of critics. A noticeable event was the Edinburgh Festival of 1950 which hosted the ‘first British appearance’ of the Danish State Radio Orchestra conducted by Fritz Bush. The orchestra performed Nielsen’s works, especially his Fifth Symphony conducted by Erik Tuxen.³⁷⁹ In 1950, early press articles already associated the fashion for Nielsen with Sibelius as in the previously quoted article by Blom.

The afore-mentioned performance of Nielsen at the 1950 Edinburgh Festival was the starting point of the emergence of Nielsen in the orchestral programmes in

³⁷⁶ Sibelius provided a solution for ‘advanced modernity in the defense of English musical values against avant-garde trends, especially Schoenberg’s break with tonality and Stravinsky’s break with “logical,” “organic” structure in his neo-classical works’: Gray, Laura (1997) op. cit.

³⁷⁷ Muntoni, Paolo (2012) op.cit. pp. 169-70.

³⁷⁸ Krabbe, Niels (2007) op. cit. p. 45.

³⁷⁹ London Staff (1950) ‘The Edinburgh Festival: this year’s programme: a move to avoid overlapping’ *The Manchester Guardian*, 13th January, p. 5.

Blom, Eric (1950) ‘Music: Edinburgh Again’, *The Observer*, 3rd September, p. 6.

Britain. The early 1950s included several significant events which further engrained Nielsen in the British orchestral repertoire. The year 1952 saw the release of the first English-language monography *Carl Nielsen Symphonist* by Robert Simpson as a ‘further proof of the composer’s rising feature in Great Britain’.³⁸⁰ This taste for Nielsen was also detailed in the press such as in Blom’s review of Simpson’s book in which Blom pictured the composer as Britain’s ‘next musical fashion’.³⁸¹ This fashion was amplified by the organisation of a Carl Nielsen Festival for one week in Copenhagen that was covered by British music critics in newspapers.³⁸²

As Muntoni discussed, the mid 1950s saw a rejection of Nielsen right after the popular craze for his music.³⁸³ Muntoni stated that the ‘withering of this fashion’ began in 1955, but the tone of the music critics seemed to change already in 1954. The performances of Nielsen’s Fourth Symphony by the Danish State Radio Orchestra conducted by Thomas Jensen and his Clarinet Concerto performed during a morning concert got a lukewarm reception at the Edinburgh Festival. That year, Blom described the Fourth Symphony as fascinating but not original, asserting that ‘the titles of [Nielsen’s] symphonies are in a sense misleading for whatever they suggest’ and that Nielsen’s Clarinet Concerto ‘pushes the originality over the borderline of eccentricity as does much of his sixth symphony’.³⁸⁴

However, in this atmosphere of more severe criticism and doubts about this new Nordic fashion, the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester conducted by John Barbirolli started to play a series of Nielsen’s works in 1957 over the course of several years.³⁸⁵ The very well-received performances of Nielsen by the Hallé Orchestra

³⁸⁰ Muntoni, Paolo (2012) op. cit. p. 167.

³⁸¹ Blom, Eric (1952) ‘Carl Nielsen’, *The Observer*, 28th December, p. 6.

³⁸² Porter Andrew (1953) ‘Carl Nielsen Festival’, *The Observer*, 6th September, p. 10.

³⁸³ Muntoni, Paolo (2012) op. cit. pp. 169-70.

³⁸⁴ Blom, Eric (1954) ‘From Glyndebourne to Edinburgh’, *The Observer*, 29th August, p. 6.

³⁸⁵ Hallé Orchestra conducted by John Barbirolli, Manchester Free Trade Hall: Nielsen’s *Maskerade Overture*, Bax’s *The Garden of Fand*, Beethoven’s First Piano Concerto, Rachmaninov’s Third Symphony (9th January 1957, from: Mason, Colin (1957) ‘Halle Concert: Rachmaninov, Bax and Nielsen’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 10th January, p. 5.); Haydn’s Thirteenth Symphony, Chopin’s Piano Concerto in F min, Nielsen’s Fifth Symphony (6th February 1957, from: J. H. E. (1957) ‘Halle Concert: Carl Nielsen’s Fifth Symphony’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 7th February, p. 7.); Brahms’s Second Piano Concerto, Nielsen’s Fourth Symphony (25th March 1959, from: Mason, Colin (1959) ‘Nielsen symphony and Brahms concerto at the Halle’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 26th February, p. 9.); Nielsen’s Fifth Symphony, Mahler’s Seventh Symphony (2nd October 1960).

contradicted the gloom of London and Edinburgh-based music critics. One could expect a trickle-down effect from London's programmes to provincial seasons. However, these concerts in Manchester prove that Nielsen was not only in the repertoire of London but was integrated deeper in important musical cities in regions.

The press commentaries of these Hallé concerts show an enthusiastic reception of Nielsen in Manchester. Simpson's monograph, *Carl Nielsen Symphonist*, published in 1952 also positively impacted the reception of this music. Presenting Nielsen explicitly as a symphonist in the very title of his book, Simpson shaped the general assumption that the symphonies are Nielsen's best compositions.³⁸⁶ With the growing impact of this notion of Nielsen as a symphonist, the composer started to be compared with Mahler in Manchester, especially as Barbirolli was involved in performing and recording both Mahler and Nielsen. In a nutshell, the years 1955-1965 were neither years of total rejection and disinterest nor of musical praise for Nielsen in Britain.

In France, the decade 1955-1965 saw the emergence of Nielsen in the musicological circles but not for a wider audience. Nielsen started to be mentioned in French journals, but these articles referred to mainly Danish and sometimes German and British publications. The French-language journal *Fontes Artis Musicae* published a regular series of lists of international selected music and musicological publications. Several editions of Nielsen's works appeared in the columns on Denmark such as *Breve* with a commentary of Irmelin Eggert Møller and Torben Meyer in 1954, *Paske-liljen* in 1955, *Maskerade*, *Moderen*, *Koncert for flute*, *Serenata in vano* in 1957, *Quartet op. 44* and *Sinfonia semplice* in 1958, the revised edition of this symphony in 1959, *Helios* in 1963 and *Saul og David* in 1964.³⁸⁷ Additionally, the lists mention some scholarly works about Nielsen and life such as *Carl Nielsen* by the Danish Kaj Juel Nielsen.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁶ Muntoni, Paolo (2012) op. cit. p. 168.

³⁸⁷ International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres (IAML) (1955) 'Liste internationale selective n°5', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 71-86; IAML (1956) 'Liste internationale selective n°7', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 3 no. 2 pp. 229-259; IAML (1957) 'Liste internationale selective n°8', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 45-67; IAML (1958) 'Liste internationale selective n°10', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 46-72; IAML (1958) 'Liste internationale selective n°11', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 100-117; IAML (1959) 'Liste internationale selective n°13', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 81-95; IAML (1963) 'Liste internationale selective n°20', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 10, no. 1/2,

My database shows that the different status that Nielsen holds in French and British orchestral canons has its roots in the initial integration of his music and on the press coverage of major international events such as the centenary of the composer in 1965. The celebrations of Nielsen's posthumous 100th birthday in 1965 marked the beginning of the revaluation of his music. The regal musical celebrations in Copenhagen spread through Western Europe and to the United States. With his performing and recording of the Third Symphony with the Danish Royal Orchestra, Leonard Bernstein was awarded the Sonning Prize.³⁸⁹ Awarding this to Bernstein, a composer of a wide international influence, was a crucial step in opening up Nielsen outside Danish circles.

Both French- and English-speaking publications reported on the musical events in Denmark during the summer 1965 including the representation of *Masquerade* and *Saul og David* of the 'eminent Danish composer'.³⁹⁰ Scholarly interest rose again in Denmark and in the English-speaking research - for example with the publication of *Carl Nielsen em Billedbiografi* (*Carl Nielsen, an illustrated biography*) by Johannes Fabricus, *Carl Nielsen Kompositioner* (*Carl Nielsen composer*) by Dan Fog and *Mit barndomshjem erindringer om Anne Marie of Carl Nielsen skevet af deres datter* (*Childhood home recollections of Carl Nielsen written by his daughter Anne Marie*) by Anne Marie Telmányi.³⁹¹

The different statuses of Nielsen in the French and British orchestral repertoires can be partly explained by going back to these celebrations in the late 1960s (appendix 6). The press and scholarly publications had a greater impact in Britain than in France. The resurgence of Nielsen in the programmes of orchestras showed the influence of this European scholarly trend on programming choices. Nielsen reappeared in the programmes of the LSO that year of 1965 with the rarely played Clarinet Concerto conducted by Istvan

pp. 74-95; IAML (1964) 'Liste internationale selective n° 7' *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 229-259.

³⁸⁸ IAML (1957) 'Liste internationale selective n° 8' *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 45-67.

³⁸⁹ Comité national danois de la musique (1966) 'Manifestations de la saison', *The World of Music*, vol. 8, no. 2/3, pp. 43-57.

³⁹⁰ 'l'éminent compositeur danois' P.A.R. Rijnders (1965) 'Manifestations de la saison: activité du CIM et de ses organisations membres', *The World of Music*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 38-40.

³⁹¹ IAML (1967) 'Liste internationale selective n° 25', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 14, no. 1/2, pp. 7, 5-76.

Kertesz.³⁹² The LSO programmes showed the growing interest in the composer as several conductors performed Nielsen.³⁹³ In London, from a speciality of very few, Nielsen became the repertoire of more and more diverse musicians.

In Britain, by contrast with France, Nielsen was played with increasing frequency and progressively settled into the British orchestral repertoire despite some critical resistance. In Manchester, the performances of Nielsen still relied on Barbirolli. Although the first performance of Nielsen's Fifth Symphony by the Hallé Orchestra was well received in 1957, considered as 'eloquently set forth by John Barbirolli', the symphony got an acerbic critique as 'inevitably an anticlimax' by Gerald Larner for the celebration concert in 1965.³⁹⁴ From 1965, whatever the tone of the critics, Nielsen benefited from better press exposure and from new musicological studies that started to legitimise Nielsen as music of genuine musical interest, not only for exotic entertainment.³⁹⁵

The Nielsen celebrations of the year 1965 as well as the prior introduction of Nielsen by major musical figures such as Barbirolli strongly impacted programming choices in the late 1960s. Even if the fashion for Nielsen reached Britain in 1950, it took two more decades for pieces to be regularly played by British orchestras.

The British support for Nielsen

Nielsen started gaining support among British conductors such as Barbirolli and Gibson but no major French musical figure seemed to have followed that trend. The seasons of the LSO, SNO, OP and OPS show a significant difference between British and French programmes. The LSO and SNO programmes included Nielsen evenly during these last five decades, but this repertoire reached Paris and Strasbourg much later in the 1980s. According to Muntoni's timescale of the reception of Nielsen, while Britain undertook a revaluation of the composer

³⁹² LSO conducted by Istvan Kertesz: Brahms's Third Symphony, Nielsen's Clarinet Concerto, Schumann's First Symphony (30th November 1965).

³⁹³ LSO conducted by Seiji Ozawa: Bach's Fourth *Brandenburg* Concerto, Prokofiev's Violin Concerto, Nielsen's Fifth Symphony (1st June 1967); conducted by Antal Dorati: Haydn's Eighty-second Symphony, Mozart's Seventeenth Piano Concerto, Nielsen's Fourth Symphony (20th October 1968, 4th September 1969 at the Proms).

³⁹⁴ J. H. E. (1957) 'Halle Concert: Carl Nielsen's Fifth Symphony', *The Manchester Guardian*, 7th February, p. 7; Larner, Gerald (1965) 'Halle concert in Manchester', *The Guardian*, 23rd December, p. 5.

³⁹⁵ Krabbe, Niels (2007) op. cit., p. 47.

during the decade 1965-1977, France started programming Nielsen later during the 'revival' period in 1977-1990.

The performance of Nielsen's Fourth Symphony for the second season of the OP in 1968 was an exception on the French side, because the symphony was chosen by Barbirolli as conductor of the OP at that time. After the three concerts of 1968, Nielsen disappeared from the seasons of the OP until his Violin Concerto was performed in 1982 and his Fifth and Fourth Symphonies in 1988. In Strasbourg, the earlier occurrence of Nielsen in the available archives of the OPS is the Violin Concerto performed in 1993 which made Nielsen rather a latecomer to the programmes of the OPS.

Nielsen became part of a regular orchestral repertoire in Britain in the 1970s. The LSO continued to perform some of Nielsen's works such as the Third Symphony and the Second Symphony in 1974, Fifth Symphony and Little Suite no. 1 in 1975 conducted by the Danish conductor Ole Schmidt.³⁹⁶ Simultaneously, the LSO was recording a cycle of Nielsen's symphonies with Schmidt which was announced as 'the first genuine Nielsen cycle on record' - the previous cycles were compilations of different versions of the symphonies.³⁹⁷ This cycle and Nielsen gained yet more visibility when Schmidt won the Carl Nielsen prize for it. As Barbirolli did several years earlier, Schmidt toured with that repertoire in Britain including a concert with the BBC Northern Symphony Orchestra conducting the Fifth Symphony.³⁹⁸

The idea that the symphonies - especially the Fourth and Fifth - were the quintessential part of Nielsen's work was still strong, supported by Simpson's *Carl Nielsen symphonist*, but started to be balanced by interpretations of Nielsen's overtures and concertos. Moreover, the year 1977 saw the British premiere of the biblical opera *Saul and David* by the University College Opera.³⁹⁹

The establishment of Nielsen was not only a London-based trend but emerged in other English and Scottish cities. In Scotland, the SNO, conducted by Alexander

³⁹⁶ LSO conducted by François Huybrechts: Third Symphony (26th April 1974); conducted by Ole Schmidt: Second Symphony (22nd June 1974), Fifth Symphony and First Little Suite (21st September 1975).

³⁹⁷ Greenfield, Edward (1975) 'Danish View', *The Guardian*, 21st January, p. 10.

³⁹⁸ Newbould, Brian (1976) 'Master Vconcert', *The Guardian*, 18th February p. 10.

³⁹⁹ Ford, Christopher (1977) 'British Premiere of Nielsen's Biblical Opera Saul and David', *The Guardian*, 24th February, p. 8.

Gibson, regularly performed Nielsen from 1972 in various programmes.⁴⁰⁰ As Barbirolli introduced Nielsen in Manchester, Gibson strengthened the presence of this repertoire in Scotland with the 1978-1979 Nielsen thematic series of the SNO. In addition to the complete performance of Nielsen's six symphonies in one season - the First and the Sixth Symphony being rarely played at all - the SNO also played the three concertos and the *Maskarade* overture. By contrast, the Paris Orchestra never performed Nielsen's First, Third or Sixth Symphonies from its foundation in 1967. The SNO Nielsen series was not only the occasion to perform rare repertoire but also to record the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies in 1978.⁴⁰¹ The series even disseminated Nielsen outside of Scotland, as the SNO toured to London in July 1978 with the Fourth Symphony at the Royal Festival Hall.⁴⁰² With *Helios*, *Maskarade*, the Flute and Clarinet concertos, the SNO showed that a provincial orchestra - as the SNO then was - could innovate and not merely mimic London-based orchestras that were mainly playing the symphonies. These decades definitely anchored Nielsen in the British orchestral canon. On the other hand, as with Sibelius, France did not benefit from local influential figures to popularise Nielsen.

Nielsen today, a revival

Nielsen has never been performed particularly often, either in France or Britain, but the last two decades saw a revival of Nielsen in orchestral programmes. In Britain, this revival is a consequence of the earlier introduction of this

⁴⁰⁰ SNO conducted by Alexander Gibson: Berlioz's *Overture Beatrice et Benedict*, Brahms's Violin Concerto in D, Nielsen's Fourth Symphony (14th October 1972). 'A concert especially designed for young people of all ages', SNO conducted by Bernard Keffe: Canteloube's *Songs of the Auvergne*, Nielsen's *Helios overture*, Lutosławski's *Jeux Vénitiens*, De Falla's Second Suite from the *Three Cornered Hat* (4th January 1975). SNO conducted by Alexander Gibson: Nielsen's *Helios*, Beethoven's Third Piano Concerto, Wagner's *Siegfried Idyll*, Wagner's *Suite The Mastersingers* (27th November 1976); Schubert's *Overture Rosamunde*, Rachmaninov's Second Piano Concerto, Nielsen's Fifth Symphony (10th February 1977).

⁴⁰¹ SNO (1978) '6th October', *Season 1978-1979*. Bounded volume available at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (0.73 SCO).

⁴⁰² SNO conducted by Alexander Gibson: Berlioz's *Overture Le Corsaire*, Beethoven's Third Piano Concerto, Britten's *Serenade for tenor, horn and strings*, Nielsen's Fourth Symphony (July 1978, London Royal Festival Hall); Nielsen's First Symphony, Liszt's Second Piano Concerto, Nielsen's Second Symphony (31st November, 1st and 2nd December 1978, Glasgow and Edinburgh); Nielsen's Third Symphony, Elgar's Cello Concerto, Nielsen's Fourth Symphony (8th and 9th December 1978); Nielsen's Sixth Symphony, Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto, Nielsen's Fifth Symphony (12th and 13th January 1979); Nielsen's *Overture Maskerade*, Nielsen's Flute Concerto, Paganini's First Violin Concerto, Brahms's Second Symphony (16th and 17th March 1979); Brahms's Third Symphony, Nielsen's Clarinet Concerto, Debussy's *La Mer* (30th and 31st March 1979); Haydn's Eighty-fourth Symphony, Nielsen's Violin Concerto, Brahms's Fourth Symphony (6th and 7th April 1979).

repertoire by British conductors such as Barbirolli, Gibson and Colin Davis. In 2011, Davis received the Commander of the Order of the Dannebrog from Denmark to celebrate his commitment to Danish culture through his LSO Live recordings of the Nielsen's symphonies.⁴⁰³

In France, the introduction of Nielsen in programmes of major orchestras was the work of mostly foreign conductors such as Esa-Pekka Salonen and Paavo Järvi. For example, Järvi re-introduced Nielsen as he did with Sibelius in the repertoire of the OP, especially when he was appointed principal conductor (2010-2016). For example, the OP first played the *Maskarade Overture* in 2012 and the Clarinet Concerto in 2016 under his baton. The OP twice performed the rarely played *Aladdin Suite*, once in 2008 with Neeme Järvi and once in 2016 with his son, Paavo, and performed the Fifth Symphony during a 'Nordic evening' conducted by Osmo Vänskä in 2010. The Estonian conductor Marko Letonja, chose similar programmes for the OPS and conducted the Fourth Symphony in 2017.

⁴⁰³ LSO (2019) *LSO History 2010s* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/chronology-alt/2010s.html>] Last accessed 8th April 2019.

Conclusion

Nordic music such as Sibelius and Nielsen do not hold an equivalent status in French and British orchestral canons. Programming Sibelius and Nielsen became a common practice for British orchestras as opposed to a marginal choice for French orchestras (appendices 5, 6 and 7). Local support from British conductors, critics and musicians from the early twentieth century strengthened the establishment of this repertoire as canonical. During the crucial years when the two composers were still alive, France was focusing on other forms of modernism coming from central Europe and French conductors did not provide sufficient support to start the canonisation process of this repertoire. During the last two decades, foreign conductors have taken on this role, promoting Nordic music in the programmes of French orchestras. However, this latter trend cannot, for now, replace a century of local performances.

The case of Nordic music illustrates how cultural contexts can be more or less favourable to the introduction of a specific repertoire. The comparison between Sibelius and landscape, constructed by British critics, helped the adoption of the repertoire by a wider audience. The Edwardian fashion for romantic landscape as well as the English tradition of landscape-inspired music was a more than favourable terrain for the music of Sibelius to spread in the way it was presented by music critics of the time. More than just a fashion, landscape is said to be part of British identity more intensely than in France and this discourse not only survived but was continually developed even in recent programme notes.

French orchestras did program Nordic music; however both the discourse in current programme notes and the repertoire typically came from foreign conductors and critics. The study of a century of programme notes and concert reviews showed that the discourse based on landscape, today used by the OP and other French orchestras to describe Nordic music, was produced by British music critics and filtered through into the French press in the late 1920s. Moreover, the performances of Sibelius and Nielsen and the revival of their works during the last two decades, in France, were by the programming choices of mainly foreign conductors.

The main difference here between France and Britain remained the implication of several local leading musical figures in the introduction of a new repertoire.

In that case, local conductors had a greater impact on programming choices than visiting conductors such as Scandinavian musicians in France before the 1980s. One can wonder if Nordic music could have been canonised in France by Nordic and Eastern European musicians if they had been as settled and famous as Esa-Pekka Salonen, Paavo Järvi, Neeme Järvi and Marko Letonja today. The impact of settled foreign musicians in a specific political context is the main exploration of the next chapter on twentieth-century Russian music.

CHAPTER 4: TWENTIETH-CENTURY RUSSIAN MUSIC

Glinka, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev, and Shostakovich did not write music for one country only. They wrote for the whole world. Musicians, performers and conductors, playing this music, continue to serve their country and their people with honor, regardless of the corner of the globe in which they serve.⁴⁰⁴

Mstislav Rostropovich about Kiril Kondrashin's application for asylum in the Netherlands, 1978.

The cases of Sibelius and Nielsen demonstrated the impact of conductors, composers and music critics on the canonisation of a certain repertoire; this chapter considers another factor which can be added into this process: the political and geopolitical importance of certain major musical figures.⁴⁰⁵ The touring artists and émigrés from the USSR who disseminated some of the Russian repertoire in the West provided an excellent example of the significance and influence of the geopolitical dynamics of the musical canons. France and Britain were on the same side of the Iron Curtain, and concert life appeared heavily affected by the slower circulation of musicians from the other side. Therefore, one would expect twentieth-century Russian music to share an equivalent status in the canons and repertoires of French and British orchestras. However, the database of concert programmes, mainly of the LSO, OP, RSNO and OPS, shows national particularities in the performances of twentieth-century Russian music. The data suggest that British orchestras, especially in London but also in Scotland, were more receptive to the introduction of twentieth-century Russian music than French orchestras.

The first chapter of this thesis elucidated the impact of the constructed idea of national culture on local repertoire, the case of Nordic music revealed how a favourable cultural context plays a role in the canonisation of foreign music.

⁴⁰⁴ Home, Paul (1978) 'Top Soviet Conductor Asks for Asylum', *The Washington Post*, 5th December, p. B1.

⁴⁰⁵ Some of these findings were published in Bols, Ingrid (2019) 'Soviet émigrés and the introduction of twentieth-century Russian music in British symphony orchestras' programmes', *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, vol. 368, pp. 777-780. Available at <<https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/icassee-19/sessions/3019>>

This chapter aims to unravel the influence of major foreign musical figures with a stronger political image. The case of the integration of twentieth-century Russian music in the repertoires of French and British symphony orchestras shows how a wider network of national tensions and interaction affects orchestral canons, beyond the national French and British repertoire of chapter 4 and the local support of conductors in chapter 5.

The geopolitical context of the Cold War, fed by opinionated press coverage and the use of musicians as part of the ‘soft power’ of the USSR, appeared to be a favourable context for the canonisation of twentieth-century Russian music such as Shostakovich and Prokofiev. The Soviet émigrés who settled in the West, mostly in the US, but also sometimes in Western Europe, remained the main advocates of this repertoire because of their personal musical tastes but also to fit a persona constructed by the press of the time. On the one hand, newspaper articles and concert reviews of this period suggested the wider audience was expecting Soviet conductors and musicians to perform Russian music, therefore to do so would promote their own careers.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, the interviews and writings of these musicians show their genuine support for their colleagues’ music, showing solidarity during the war years.

Connecting geopolitics to orchestras is not a new idea. The anti-German protests at the LSO during the First World War were as an early example.⁴⁰⁷ Furthermore, some recent newspaper headlines followed that trend. For example, an article in the New York Times, entitled ‘Orchestra That Bridges Mideast Divide Tours a Fractured US’, related the travel issues of Barenboim’s West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, including musicians from belligerent countries such as Palestine and Israel, as well as countries named in Trump’s travel ban, such as Syria and Iran.⁴⁰⁸ Worldwide broadcasting companies provided dozens of examples, such as ‘Crossing Divides: Thai orchestra fights bloodshed with music’ by the BBC, ‘Refugee orchestra’s message of peace’ by Euronews and ‘Out of brutality,

⁴⁰⁶ Dubinets, Elena (2007) ‘Music in Exile: Russian émigré composers and their search for national identity’, *Slavonica*, vol. 13, no. 1, p. 66.

⁴⁰⁷ LSO (2019) *Chronology 1910s* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/chronology-alt/1910s.html>] Last accessed 5th April 2019.

⁴⁰⁸ Cooper, Michael (2018) ‘Orchestra That Bridges Mideast Divide Tours a Fractured U.S’, *New York Times* [Online: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/06/arts/music/daniel-barenboim-west-eastern-divan-orchestra-tour.html>] Last accessed 8th April 2019.

beauty: The Syrian Expat Philharmonic Orchestra' by BW.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, academic literature provides numerous publications on classical music and geopolitics.⁴¹⁰ The most prolific trend remained the implication of music as soft power and its opposite peace-oriented perspective with research such as Oliver Urban's *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*.⁴¹¹

Mostly focused on the sociological and ethical aspects of music in a community, these resources do not provide a satisfying account of the long-term implication of geopolitical contexts on musical canons. The studies of orchestras remain rarer and often merely focus on orchestras in situations of war or conflict, such as the case of the West-Diván Orchestra and the Israeli Palestinian conflict.⁴¹² France and Britain were not at first direct belligerents in the Cold War between the USSR and the US, but concert programmes suggest that the conflict impacted French and British concert life. This chapter on modern Russian repertoire stands as an example of the impact of geopolitical tensions on canonisation practices.

The first part of this chapter outlines an overview of the context around Russian music. Before any argument, it is necessary to define Russian music in light of the conflicting geographical and stylistic approaches. The database results then reveal canonical differences between French and British orchestras and are a starting point to identify the causes of such variations. As for previous chapters, the research into the reasons of variations between French and British orchestral canons cannot arbitrarily start from scratch in the 1960s (where the database

⁴⁰⁹ Wongsamuth, Nanchanok (2018) 'Crossing Divides: Thai orchestra fights bloodshed with music', *BBC News* [Online: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-43470707>] Last accessed 15th April 2019; Euronews (2018) 'Refugee orchestra's message of peace', *Euronews* [Online: <https://www.euronews.com/2018/01/18/refugee-orchestra-s-message-of-peace>] Last accessed 15th April 2019; Fulker, Rick (2018) 'Out of brutality, beauty: The Syrian Expat Philharmonic Orchestra', *DW* [Online: <https://www.dw.com/en/out-of-brutality-beauty-the-syrian-expat-philharmonic-orchestra/a-46078992>] Last accessed 5th April 2019.

⁴¹⁰ Bassin, Mark (2003) "'Classical' Eurasianism and the Geopolitics of Russian Identity', *Ab Imperio*, no. 2, pp. 257-266; Scherzinger, Martin Rudolph (2005) 'Music, Corporate Power, and Unending War', *Cultural Critique*, no. 60, pp. 23-67; O'Connell, John Morgan (2011) 'Music in War, Music for Peace: A Review Article', *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 112-127; Etcharry, Stéphan, Doé de Maindreville, Florence (eds) (2014) *La Grande Guerre en musique. Vie et création musicales en France pendant la Première Guerre mondiale*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang; Buch, Esteban (2004) "'Les Allemands et les Boches": la musique allemande à Paris pendant la Première Guerre mondiale', *Le Mouvement Social*, issue 3, no. 208, pp. 45- 69.

⁴¹¹ Urbain, Oliver (2015) *Music and conflict transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*. London: I.B.Tauris.

⁴¹² Etherington, Ben (2007) 'Instrumentalising Musical Ethics: Edward Said and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra', *Australasian Music Research*, no. 9, pp. 121-129; Riiser, Solveig (2010) 'National Identity and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra', *Music and Arts in Action*, vol. 2, issue 2, pp. 19-37.

starts). Instead, the reception of earlier Russian music, especially Romantic Russian music such as Tchaikovsky's ballets and symphonic works needs to be taken into consideration, as it paved the way for the introduction of twentieth-century music from the same area.

The second part of this chapter explores individual cases of the Soviet musicians, Mstislav Rostropovich and Valery Gergiev, and their impact on the orchestral canons. By contrast with the previous chapters, the twentieth-century Russian repertoire went through some of its main canonisation processes during the 1960s-1980s. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, I will start using French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's ideas to explain the canonisation of certain repertoires after the Second World War. Applying Bourdieu's framework of cultural capital to some of the most influential figures of the orchestral scene during the Cold War helps understanding how Soviet émigrés partly succeeded in canonising their repertoire abroad.

A case of identity: Russianness

France and Britain shared a simplified timeline of Russian music history and some practices in describing Russian music, for example, using different discourses for Romantic and modern works. Moreover, unlike the Nordic repertoire previously studied, both French and British orchestra do perform Russian music in large proportions. The considerable number of concerts advertising Russian music on both sides of the Channel shows that Russian music is a major part of the Western orchestral repertoire. For example, during the latest season, the OPS played a Shostakovich cycle, the OP programmed a Rachmaninov week-end, the LSO performed Shostakovich's First and Fourth symphonies and the RSNO scheduled Prokofiev's First and Fifth Symphonies.⁴¹³

⁴¹³ OPS conducted by Marko Letonja: Shostakovich's Second Cello Concerto 2, Fifteenth Symphony no. 15 (24th and 25th January 2019); Haydn's Forty-ninth Symphony, Shostakovich's Fourteenth Symphony (31st January and 1st February 2019). OPS: Haydn's Seventy-third Symphony, Shostakovich's Thirteenth Symphony (7th and 8th February 2019). OP conducted by Stanislav Kochanovsky: Rachmaninov's Third and Fourth Piano Concertos 3, *The Rock* (27th April 2019); Rachmaninov's *Rhapsody on a theme of Paganini*, First and Second Piano Concertos (28th April 2019). LSO conducted by Gianandrea Noseda: Kodaly's *Dances of Galanta*, James MacMillan's Trombone Concerto, Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony (1st November 2018). LSO: Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel*, Shostakovich's First Symphony (27th March 2019). RSNO conducted by Thomas Søndergård: Prokofiev's First Symphony, Tchaikovsky's First Piano Concerto, Ken Johnston's Three movements from *All Those Men Who Marched Away*, Poulenc's *Gloria* (9th

The programme notes suggest a distinction between the pre-revolution composers, such as Tchaikovsky's generation, and the composers who produced their main corpus under the Soviet regime, such as Prokofiev and Shostakovich. These definitions emanating from concert programmes are more simplistic than those we find in musicology and music historiography. The programme notes most frequently presented Tchaikovsky and his generation as Russian because of their use of folklore. For example, the RSNO qualified Borodin's *Prince Igor Overture* as 'swashbuckling, Russian-style', and Liadov's *Enchanted Lake* as 'old Russian fairy tales'.⁴¹⁴

On the opposite end of the emotional spectrum, programme notes frequently presented Shostakovich and Prokofiev as a musical rendition of war and oppression. For example, the OP described Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony as 'depicting the torments of an era falling into the abyss, a world collapsing, ending with a spectacular exaltation of the forces of resistance'.⁴¹⁵ Likewise, the programme note of the OPS on Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony focused on the political context of its premiere during Khrushchev's Thaw as its 'dense and new musical language had no chance to avoid censorship'.⁴¹⁶

From a chronological viewpoint, enforcing historiographical boundaries raises issues. Stylistically speaking, several schools are commonly thought to have existed in parallel, often blending with each other. For example, Rachmaninov might share more with Tchaikovsky, via his training with Arensky, than with Prokofiev, despite being his contemporary. In Britain, the Oxford Companion to Music defined four periods in Russian art music after classicism: the 'early-nineteenth-century developments', the 'years of consolidation', the 'Soviet era'

November 2018); Paul Chihara's *A Matter of Honor*, Rachmaninov's *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini*, Prokofiev's Fifth Symphony (22nd March 2019).

⁴¹⁴ 10th October 2015 and 5th November 2016.

⁴¹⁵ OP (29th November 2017): 'Écrite durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la Symphonie n° 7 de Chostakovitch dépeint les tourments d'une époque qui bascule dans un gouffre, évoque un monde qui s'écroule, pour finir par une exaltation spectaculaire des forces de la résistance.'

⁴¹⁶ OPS (12th February 2015): 'Suivra la Symphonie n° 4 de Chostakovitch achevée en 1936 et créée... en 1961 à la faveur du dégel khrouchtchévien. Il est vrai que dans les années 1930, cette partition marquée par un langage musical âpre et novateur n'avait guère de chances d'échapper à la censure, d'autant que le compositeur venait d'être menacé par les foudres du régime (dans un article de La Pravda intitulé Tohu-bohu à la place de la musique) à propos de la création de son opéra *Lady Macbeth de Mtsensk*.'

and the 'post-Soviet era'.⁴¹⁷ The Grove Music Dictionary divided Russian art music in three main eras after early music: 1730-1860, 1860-1900 and the twentieth century including 'the pre-Revolutionary period 1900-1917', the 'Political background to the Soviet period' and the 'Music of the Soviet period'.⁴¹⁸ The influential French musicologist André Lichké also provided a segmented vision of a timeline of Russian composers that he consciously kept 'for practical reasons'.⁴¹⁹ He used a strict generational framework which included, among others arbitrary categorisations, a 'golden century', Glinka 'and his lineage' and a 'silver century' made by 'a generation of teachers and epigones'.⁴²⁰ This simplistic approach showed how strongly the generation-based chronology infused French musicology and it reached a wider audience through programme notes.

For the purposes of this thesis, I attempt to find a compromise, a balance, between programme notes and the scholarly historiography in the terminology I use. I define 'Russian Romantic music' as music principally composed during the nineteenth century and the very beginning of the twentieth century. As a stylistic definition, it includes, firstly, the trend towards nationalism in music pursued by the Mighty Handful in Saint-Petersburg, mainly Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908), Alexander Borodin (1833-1887) and Modest Mussorgsky (1839-1881), following the German-trained Mikhail Glinka (1804-1857), nicknamed as the 'Father of Russian' music. Secondly, it features the European Romantic composition school of Moscow's Conservatoire with composers such as Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893), Sergei Taneyev (1856-1915) and Anton Arensky (1861-1906).

On the other hand, 'modern Russian music' is defined as music principally composed during the twentieth century, mostly during the years of the Soviet Union. The composition styles vary from Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1944) to

⁴¹⁷ Norris, Geoffrey, Muir, Stephen (2018) 'Russia', *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford University Press [Online: <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001/acref-9780199579037-e-5817>] Last accessed 7th December 2018.

⁴¹⁸ Frolova-Walker, Marina et. al. (2001) 'Russian Federation', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040456>] Last accessed 7th December 2018.

⁴¹⁹ Lischke, André (2006) *Histoire de la musique russe: des origines à la révolution*. Paris: Fayard, p. 217.

⁴²⁰ Ibid. pp. 217 and 429.

Alfred Schnittke (1934-1998). However, the modernist aesthetics operated mainly in reaction to the Romantic styles, with the exception of Rachmaninov. Among other trends, modern Russian music explored: stylistic innovation such as Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), neo-classicism such as Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953) and a new way out of what was considered as the tsarist Romantic style. This last category was censored as avant-garde and includes composers such as Dmitri Shostakovich (1906-1975). Modern Russian music is not normally taken as a synonym with ‘contemporary music’.

Is Stravinsky Russian enough?

The programme notes also suggest that not all composers were considered equally Russian. Whereas the discourse around Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Rachmaninov and Shostakovich was tightly centred on the ‘Russianness’ of their music, Stravinsky was more considered as a modern and iconoclastic composer than a Russian artist. For example, the BBCSSO considered Stravinsky’s ballet *Petrushka* as ‘showcasing the brilliance’ of the youth of the composer. The RSNO described Stravinsky’s *Firebird* as ‘a flash of light, a swirl of sound and deep in a magical kingdom, the enchanted Firebird darts across the sky’ and the *Rite of Spring* as a ‘revolutionary ballet’, without any mention of Stravinsky’s Russian heritage.⁴²¹ The OPS compared John Adams and Stravinsky in a concert of 2015, Stravinsky having inspired Adams with his ‘way of making a burst of colours, forms and sounds.’⁴²²

On the other hand, Tchaikovsky and Shostakovich seemed to be presented most of the time within a nation-based discourse. For example, the OPS played Tchaikovsky’s First Piano Concerto and Shostakovich’s Fourth Symphony in a concert entitled ‘The Russian Soul’ (l’Âme russe) in 2015.⁴²³ Likewise, the combination of Tchaikovsky’s *Serenade for string orchestra op. 48* and

⁴²¹ RSNO 2017-2018 season brochure (3rd March 2018, p. 17 and 7th October 2017, p. 9).

⁴²² OPS 2014-2015 season brochure (4th December): ‘Quand il compose Slonimsky’s Earbox en 1995, John Adams est à la croisée des chemins: il cherche à intégrer ses motifs de répétition à des lignes mélodiques complexes pour créer d’amples espaces sonores. Il s’inspire pour cela de Stravinsky, un compositeur qui le fascine par sa manière de provoquer l’éruption de couleur, formes et sons [...]’ Personal translation: When he composed Slonimsky’s Earbox in 1995, John Adams was at crossroads: he was looking for integrating repetitive motives to complex melodic lines to create wide sonic space. For that, he got his inspiration from Stravinsky, a composer that fascinates him with his way of making burst colours, forms and sounds.’

⁴²³ OPS conducted by Vassily Sinaisky (12th and 13th February 2015).

Shostakovich's Eighth Symphony was described as the 'meeting of two famous Russian pieces', putting the emphasis on the Russian side of this repertoire.⁴²⁴

Musicology underwent a notoriously heated debate around Stravinsky's 'Russianness'. Richard Taruskin's chapter 'Just how Russian was Stravinsky?' summarised the paradoxes in Stravinsky's identity.⁴²⁵ The composer only spent his first twenty-eight years in Russia before moving abroad. Moreover, even when his early music was associated with an expression of Russian character, it is mostly linked with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* which seemed to be already a representation of Russian culture. Indeed, Stravinsky only spent his youth in Russia, so it could be expected that less focus would be placed on his nationality than with Tchaikovsky, who lived his entire life in his native country.

However, Rachmaninov had a very similar émigré life. Nevertheless, notes and comments about Rachmaninov seemed to be mainly focused on his Russian national heritage. For example, the BBCSSO programmed an all-Rachmaninov concert on the 13th May 2018 with his Third Piano Concerto, *Symphonic Dances* and *Vespers*. A 'traditional Gregorian Chant in Russian Orthodox style' introduced the concert to demonstrate the inspiration of the composer as, according to the BBCSSO, 'something ancient echoes through everything [Rachmaninov] wrote: the znamenny chants of Russian Orthodox Church'.⁴²⁶

Taruskin's studies on Stravinsky and the perception of Russian music revealed a wide debate around Stravinsky's 'Russianness'. Taruskin's arguments were mainly presented in *Russian music at Home and Abroad* (2016) in his chapter, 'Just how Russian was Stravinsky?'.⁴²⁷ Taruskin put into perspective a concert series of the New-York Philharmonic entitled 'the Russian Stravinsky' and Stravinsky's own reluctance to be considered only as a Russian composer.⁴²⁸ According to Taruskin, Stravinsky could not 'deny the Russianness of his first period - not while his music so obviously traded on it' with Diaghilev's *Ballets*

⁴²⁴ OPS 1997-1998 season brochure p. 17: 'rencontre de deux fameuses oeuvres russes' (8th and 9th January 1998).

⁴²⁵ Taruskin, Richard (2016) *Russian Music at Home and Abroad*. Oakland: University of California Press.

⁴²⁶ BBC SSO January-March 2018 Glasgow season brochure. It is worth noticing that, in fact, the chosen chant was hardly Gregorian.

⁴²⁷ Taruskin, Richard (2016), op. cit.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., p. 301.

Russes, but Stravinsky ‘never set another word of Russian to music’ after the bad reception of his opera *Marva* in 1922.⁴²⁹ Administratively speaking, Stravinsky lost his Russian citizenship in 1918. Moreover, Taruskin quoted Stravinsky’s comment to his musical assistant Robert Craft, declaring himself ‘a composer of “pure music”, pledging “to exhaust and scuttle the limited tradition of [his] birthright.”’⁴³⁰

Deciding upon whether Stravinsky’s music is Russian or not is not the major point of Taruskin’s analysis nor a part of this thesis. The debate which exists around Stravinsky’s Russianness in musicology and musical criticism is what really needs to be considered.⁴³¹ The discourse around Stravinsky was transferred into the programmes of orchestras and the French and British orchestras shared this canonical trend in programme notes. The idea of Stravinsky being ‘more’ than his native nationality seems to have influenced programming choices. For example, Stravinsky appeared less likely to be part of ‘all-Russian’ marketed concerts.

Therefore, this chapter mainly focuses on Shostakovich and Prokofiev, more likely presented to concert audiences as having Russian features.

Russian music in the repertoires of orchestras

French and British orchestras do share some practices in their programme notes. However, the performances of Russian music also showed some canonical variations between France and Britain. Rough trends can be extrapolated from the analysis of the season 2014-2015 of eleven of the most influential orchestras in France and in Britain.⁴³² In this sample, Russian music was the second most often played national musical tradition, just behind German and Austrian music combined. The popularity of Russian music in Britain was confirmed by concert planners. In Scotland, the Russian repertoire was the most popular in terms of ticket sales, according to the RSNO.⁴³³ In France, Russian music was in the fourth position in 2014-2015, behind Germanic, French and American music. The

⁴²⁹ Ibid., p. 362.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ It even exists administratively as Stravinsky became a stateless person in 1918 and accepted a Nansen passport from the League of Nations. (Ibid. p. 365).

⁴³² Study done with the programmes of the OP, OCT, ONL, OL, Lamoureux Orchestra (Paris), OPS, PO (London), CBSO, LSO, RSNO and the RLPO in: Bols, Ingrid (2015) op. cit. p. 42.

⁴³³ Chandler, Bill (2019) op. cit.

popularity of the Russian repertoire is complex as a few individual pieces are more or less continuously performed on both sides of the Channel. However, some pieces hold a different status in the French and British orchestral repertoires. As an example, Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* was played 12 times by the LSO since 1967 and only twice by the OP since then.

The concert database of the past 50 years of the OP, OPS, LSO and RSNO suggests that the proportion of Russian music remained relatively stable in Britain. For example, in the case of the LSO, the proportion of Russian music per season oscillated but averaged between 10% and 15% of the pieces played. Some seasons peaked with higher, sometimes doubled, rates.⁴³⁴ The principal conductors of the LSO greatly varied: some supported the core Austrian repertoire, such as Claudio Abbado, others had a particular appeal for English music such as Colin Davis. Despite these changes in the main direction of the repertoire of the LSO, programmes always included guest conductors who performed Russian music. They were Russian musicians for the great majority of them such as Yevgeny Svetlanov (1928-2002), Gennadi Rozhdestvensky (1931-2018), Maxim Shostakovich (born in 1938) and Mstislav Rostropovich (1927-2007) in the 1980s.

The impact of these guest conductors on the orchestral canons primarily depended on the number of concerts they performed. In the case of the LSO, the influence of guest Russian-oriented conductors varied from the staggering 126 concerts conducted by Rostropovich to the more modest 9 concerts conducted by Maxim Shostakovich. In the middle of the spectrum, Svetlanov conducted 25 concerts and Rozhdestvensky 61.

The proportion of the performances of Russian music was relatively stable, but the type of music played varied across orchestral programmes. During the 1960s, the LSO mostly played Tchaikovsky and the Mighty Handful. New repertoire was then integrated, such as Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Stravinsky and Rachmaninov. The total volume of concerts and pieces played by the LSO rose from about 320 pieces in the 1960s and 1970s to between 450 and 520 pieces played in the last

⁴³⁴ 1974-1975: 16.82%; 1977-1978: 14.20%; 1979-1980: 21.67%; 1984-1985: 13.59%; 1989-1990: 11.11%; 1991-1992: 27.03%; 1994-1995: 11.82%; 1997-1998: 10.07%; 2004-2005: 18.66%; 2007-2008: 17.03%; 2009-2010: 11.78%; 2013-2014: 21.19%.

seasons (appendix 8). The proportion of Russian music remained stable as the overall volume of all pieces played in orchestral seasons increased at the same pace. New pieces were added to the repertoire of Russian music but did not necessarily replace all Romantic Russian music, such as Tchaikovsky's ballet suites and symphonies. The same phenomenon of a growing volume of pieces played can be observed in the seasons of the RSNO, OP and OPS as well.

Romantic and modern Russian music did not hold equally stable positions in the programmes of French and British orchestras. The frequency of pieces played suggests that several Romantic Russian composers such as Borodin, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Tchaikovsky are part of the orchestral canon. Within this group differences may be observed. The programmes suggest that many compositions by the members of the Mighty Handful are part of the orchestral repertoire, but only a few have been canonised. For example, Mussorgsky's *Night on the Bare Mountain* and *Pictures of an exhibition* constituted 73% of his music played by the LSO from 1967 to 2015.⁴³⁵ Likewise, Borodin's *Polovtsian Dances* stood for 78% of the performances of his music.⁴³⁶ Two thirds of the performances of Rimsky Korsakov were represented by five pieces (*Scheherazade*, *Capriccio Espagnol*, *Flight of the Bumblebee*, *Dubinushka*, *Overture for a Russian Easter*).⁴³⁷ By contrast, a significantly larger part of Tchaikovsky's catalogue was performed by orchestras on a regular basis, including his suites from ballets (*Nutcracker*, *Swan Lake*), symphonies and concertos (*Violin and Piano Concertos*, *Rococo Variations*).

Contrary to Romantic music, modern Russian music has been progressively added to the orchestral repertoire during my period of study. Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Stravinsky and Rachmaninov are now part of the standard repertoire of a symphony orchestra, which was not the case fifty years ago. Some other composers from the USSR are still regarded as marginal, such as Alfred Schnittke. Marginal repertoire refers to the concept elucidated in the

⁴³⁵ Mussorgsky's music was played 247 times by the LSO (1967-2015) including the *Pictures at an Exhibition* 144 times and the *Night on the Bare Mountain* 38 times.

⁴³⁶ Borodin's music was played 42 times by the LSO (1967-2015) including the *Polovtsian Dances* 33 times.

⁴³⁷ Rimsky-Korsakov's music was played 228 times by the LSO (1967-2015) including *Sheherazade* 68 times, *Capriccio Espagnol* 37 times, *Flight of the Bumblebee* 23 times, *Dubinushka* 13 times, *Overture for a Russian Easter* 12 times.

introduction of this thesis, as a corpus of pieces not necessary for an orchestra to gain national or international recognition. For example, the RSNO did not perform any single work by Schnittke from 1967 to 1988. Likewise, the OP only started to play his music in 1985 with the French première of the Fourth Violin Concerto. This was a late performance, considering that Schnittke started composing violin concertos almost 30 years earlier, with his First Violin Concerto in 1958. Similarly, the LSO started to play Schnittke with the Fourth Violin Concerto, three years later than the OP, in 1988.

The concert programmes show that modern Russian music is now a significant part of the core repertoires of major orchestras in France and Britain. The Russian repertoire held a stable place in French and British orchestral canons, but its frequency was significantly higher in British programmes (appendix 9). Various factors could potentially explain this canonical difference. In the case of twentieth-century Russian music, Soviet émigrés appeared to have played a role in introducing and maintaining this repertoire more strongly in the British than the French programmes.

Contextual investigation: new music and symbolic capital, Russian music and the émigrés of the Cold War

As with the case of the canonisation of Nielsen and Sibelius, major influential figures played a crucial role in the introduction and persistence of Russian music in the orchestral repertoires. The importance of major influential figures in building the canons was supported by Weber's work. Weber asserted that 'prior to the middle of the nineteenth century a canonical repertory was generally built around a major musical figure'.⁴³⁸ Weber's idea of 'cultic heroes' driving canons can be extended up until recent concerts. Major figures of classical music, in scholarship and the pedagogical and performance world, continued to shape the canon.

Moreover, in the case of Soviet-exiled musicians on the Western musical scene, Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital can illuminate the impact of Weber's 'cultic heroes'. Symbolic capital is based on economic, cultural, educational and

⁴³⁸ Weber, William (2008) op. cit. p. 348.

social capitals perceived through a system of classification or division.⁴³⁹ Kremp already proved the impact of symbolic capital on orchestral programming with the case of innovations as ‘musical directors endowed with high levels of symbolic capital are more likely to see their innovations last’.⁴⁴⁰ Individuals with a higher symbolic capital benefitted from a greater influence, fame and recognition among their peers and the wider audience.

In this respect, the Cold War stood as an ideal context for symbolic capital to emerge: the Cold War was a cultural conflict, based on a world-wide geographical, ideological and societal division. Rather than direct military confrontation between the two belligerents, the US and the USSR, the world was shaped into two zones of influence: East and West. The research field of historiography usually indicates that this conflict of ideologies started on the 12th March 1947 when the US president Truman presented his Doctrine to the Congress asking Americans ‘to join in a global commitment against communism’.⁴⁴¹

The case of Russian émigrés complements Kremp’s study on innovation in American orchestras. Kremp restated, following Bourdieu, that ‘field theory has emphasised the role of past and present struggles over the appropriation of economic and symbolic profits among artists and art organizations in explaining their “position-takings”, i.e. their propensity to promote different types of art and different conceptions of what art is (Bourdieu 1993)’.⁴⁴² In this respect, symbolic capital is not equally distributed among all musical directors and conductors. The press coverage of certain Soviet musicians suggests that they gained symbolic capital from their political struggles. This symbolic capital raised their power of influence and helped engrain their new programming choices in the habits of the orchestras they conducted.

The press clippings, the articles, the concert database and the record releases showed that Soviet émigrés such as Mstislav Rostropovich had a significant impact on the diffusion of the works of modern Russian composers. Soviet

⁴³⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre (1994) *Raisons Pratiques*. Paris: Seuil, p. 161.

⁴⁴⁰ Kremp, Pierre-Antoine (2010) op. cit. p. 1073.

⁴⁴¹ LaFeber, Walter (1997) *America, Russia, and the Cold War 1945-1996*. New York: McGraw Hill, p. 49.

⁴⁴² Kremp, Pierre-Antoine (2010) op. cit. p. 1055.

touring musicians such as the pianists Emil Gilels, Sviatoslav Richter and their recordings amplified this diffusion. Within the Cold War, these Soviet musicians became part of the cultural policy of the Soviet Union. The latest trends in historiography seem to generally agree on the use of cultural weapons by both sides of the world. As Tony Shaw summarised ‘virtually everything from sport to ballet to comic books and space travel, assumed political significance and hence potentially could be deployed as a weapon both to shape opinion at home and to subvert societies abroad.’⁴⁴³

The Western newspapers cultivated the image of Soviet musicians as epitomes of freedom in a repressive society. The articles about pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy’s decision to stay in London, even if the Soviet government authorised him to live in the West in 1963, exemplified the tone of the newspapers of the time. The Guardian related in an ‘exclusive interview’ how Ashkenazy did not ‘feel safe in returning to Russia’, after ‘he and his wife, he said, were kept in Moscow against their will for some weeks “in a state of acute anxiety and distress”’. The journalist emphasised Ashkenazy’s revelations, contradicting the claim of the Soviet authorities that he could freely cross the borders.⁴⁴⁴ Conductor Kiril Kondrashin’s application for asylum in the Netherlands in 1978 and conductor Maxim Shostakovich’s ‘escape to freedom’ helped by West German police in 1981 were other striking examples of significant press coverage.⁴⁴⁵ On the brink of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the British newspapers emphatically related cellist Mstislav Rostropovich’s actions. The Sunday Times described him as one of the ‘best-sung heroes of what history may term the August revolution’, after he came to take part in Boris Yeltsin’s coup in 1991, ‘joining the resistance inside the Russian parliament’.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴³ Shaw, Tony (2002) in Scott-Smith, Giles and Krabbendam, Hans (eds) *The Culture War in Western Europe 1945-60*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, p. 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Ezard, John (1969) ‘Soviet pianist says he dare not go back’, *The Guardian*, 21st August, p. 1. Anonymous (1981) ‘Shostakovich escaped with help of police’, *United Press International*, 13th April.

⁴⁴⁵ Home, Paul (1978) ‘Top Soviet Conductor Asks for Asylum’, *The Washington Post*, 5th December, p. B1.

⁴⁴⁶ ‘The demonstrators knew that their famous native son had put his life on the line. A drunken youth in a denim jacket prodded the cellist in the chest, saying: “There was no storming of the parliament building, Mstislav Leopoldovich, for one reason. Because you were with us.’ James Blitz (1991) ‘Cellist who became people’s hero; Mstislav Rostropovich’, *Sunday Times*, 25th August.

Few studies have focused on the Soviet touring classical musicians among the large corpus of those dedicated to the cultural policies of the US and the USSR and written after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Meri Herrola's and Tony Shaw's research do not focus on musical canons but effectively contextualised the cultural situation and the war strategies which impacted the musical world. Herrola's 'David Oistrakh and Sviatoslav Richter stepping through the Iron Curtain' provided context on how 'cultural diplomacy became the alternative method of interaction' between the US and the USSR after the Second World War.⁴⁴⁷ The classical music stars were part of 'the most powerfully persuasive force of Soviet cultural elites'.⁴⁴⁸

The exchanges of performing art became a significant part of the diplomatic relation between the US and the USSR.⁴⁴⁹ On both sides, from the beginning of cultural exchanges, culture was considered as an 'underlying force of diplomacy'.⁴⁵⁰ Herrola suggested that touring Soviet musicians did more than 'invade a country through the back door of culture', they parted the Iron Curtain for the first time, on 29th October 1949, when David Oistrakh's train arrived in Finland.⁴⁵¹ The beginning of cultural exchanges between the US and the USSR was usually set by historians shortly after the death of Stalin in 1955 as the American production of 'Porgy and Bess' toured in Leningrad and Moscow and pianist Emil Gilels performed in the US.⁴⁵² The exchanges were systematised with the signature of the first cultural agreement between the US and the USSR, in 1958.

The travels of Soviet musicians impacted orchestras worldwide, not only in the US but also in Europe, including the French and British orchestras. Soviet-exiled or touring conductors can be found in most of the orchestras studied here. For example, Semyon Bychkov, born in Soviet Union, saw his career stopped by the government due to his political views. He emigrated to the US in 1974 and

⁴⁴⁷ Herrala, Meri (2012) 'David Oistrakh and Sviatoslav Richter Stepping through the Iron Curtain' in Mikko Majander and Kimmo Rentola (eds) *Ei ihan teorian mukaan*. Helsinki: Ty öväen historian ja perintein tutkimuksen senra Yhteiskunn allinen ar Kistosäätiö, p. 241.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 242.

⁴⁴⁹ Richmond, Yale (2005) op. cit. p. 240.

⁴⁵⁰ Gienow-Hecht, Jessica (2004) 'How good are we? Culture and the Cold war', in Scott-Smith, Giles and Krabbendam, Hans (eds) *The Culture War in Westen Europe 1945-60*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routeledge, pp. 269-282.

⁴⁵¹ Herrala, Meri (2002) op. cit., pp. 242, 244.

⁴⁵² Richmond, Yale (2005) op. cit. p. 240.

obtained American nationality in 1983.⁴⁵³ He was musical director of the OP from 1989 to 1998. Moreover, with his 62 concerts with the LSO, Gennadi Rozhdestvensky was an influential figure for the repertoire of orchestra. Likewise, the interventions of Yevgeny Svetlanov supported Russian music in the programmes of the LSO. Another example is the Russian conductor Alexander Lazarev who became principal guest conductor of the BBCSO from 1992 to 1995 and successively principal guest conductor and principal conductor of the RSNO from 1994 to 2005.

Studying the impact of the tastes of these musicians allows us to understand how they influenced the programming choices of French and British symphony orchestras. The concert reviews suggest that a cultural identity was created around these personalities and audiences would expect specific performances from Russian musicians. This recent Prom concert review in the *Times*, in 2017, showed the persistence of these cultural expectations:

Will Valery Gergiev ever come on stage looking neat and cool, with a floral baton, ready to conduct a wide-ranging programme of Rameau, Brahms and Dame Ethel Smyth? Maybe when pigs fly. But Tuesday's packed Prom audience wasn't complaining at all. Wild man Gergiev and the London Symphony Orchestra gave them just what they came for: Russian music, nervous fury, crackling tension, fluttering fingers.⁴⁵⁴

Several studies on various concert societies revealed that this phenomenon around Russian musicians largely predated the Cold War. The history of Ernest Newman's Proms mentioned the 'exotic appeal' of Russian music in the 1890s, with composers such as Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Glazunov, Arensky, Cui and Mussorgsky.⁴⁵⁵ According to Taruskin, a 'Russomania' had been growing for decades in England and the US, starting in the 1880s with the spread of literature such as Tolstoy's and Dostoevsky's novels and continuing in music with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* and their 'industrial-strength export campaign'.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ Anonymous (2016) 'From refugee to maestro; Semyon Bychkov', *The Economist*, 8th October, p. 76.

⁴⁵⁴ Brown, Goeff (2017) 'LSO/Gergiev', *The Times*, 30th August, p. 19.

⁴⁵⁵ Doctor, Jenny, Wright, David (2007) *The Proms: a new history*. London: Thames and Hudson, p. 66.

⁴⁵⁶ Taruskin, Richard (2016) op. cit. p. 35.

Russian music was not only supported by Russian conductors, and this chapter does not claim that the influence of Russian émigrés was the only factor in canonising this repertoire. For example, some British and French conductors favoured this repertoire too. Alexander Gibson often programmed Prokofiev from the 1960s in Scotland. In London, David Atherton performed a Stravinsky series with the LSO in the 1980s. Recently, Daniel Harding performed Russian music with the LSO and the OP. The French conductor Pierre Boulez also performed a significant part of Stravinsky's catalogue with the orchestras he visited. Boulez saw an aesthetic coherence between Stravinsky and the Second Viennese School that he was trying to popularise (see chapter 5). As detailed earlier, conflicting views exist on the Russian characterisation of Stravinsky's music. In the case of Boulez, it is likely to be more of a support for Stravinsky's modernism than for a national tradition.⁴⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the Russian exiled musicians seem to outweigh the influential musicians of other nationalities.

This chapter focuses on the impact of Soviet musicians on the French and British orchestral canons in several phases during war time and after the fall of the Soviet Union. In Bourdieu's framework, symbolic capital and symbolic power can be exchanged. I would argue that the first generation of musicians exiled from Soviet Union, who supported composers such as Shostakovich and Prokofiev, partially transmitted their symbolic capital (including fame) to the following post-war generations. As examples from the first and second generations, this chapter focuses on two of the most striking cases: Mstislav Rostropovich and, more recently, Valery Gergiev. Both are major influential figures who transcended frontiers. Rostropovich had a conducting and cello career both in France and in Britain, allowing us to compare the impact of his programming choices on the canons of these two countries.

⁴⁵⁷ Boulez performed Stravinsky with the OP: *Firebird* (5th January 1976), *Petrushka* (5th and 6th May 1987, 8th February 1997 and 9th November 1999), *The Nightingale* (23rd and 24th April 1986) and the *Rite of Spring* (6th, 7th and 8th October 2000). Examples of Boulez's programmes with the LSO: Stravinsky's Symphonies of Wind Instruments, Berg's Violin Concerto and Stravinsky's *Firebird* (20th November 1984); Schoenberg's Five Orchestral pieces, Bartók's First Piano Concerto and Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (19th and 20th June 1993); Stravinsky's *The Song of the Nightingale*, Boulez's First and Fourth *Notations*, Webern's First and Second of the Six Pieces op. 6b (19th January 1995).

Case study 6: Mstislav Rostropovich, growing a legend and building a canon

The first generation of Soviet musicians gathered and grew their symbolic capital. One of the most famous Russian musician émigrés remains the cellist Mstislav Rostropovich. More than Rostropovich's programming choices, it is crucial to understand how he grew his symbolic capital and gained symbolic power that made his choices more influential in the long-term programming trends. Cello soloist and conductor, as well as the famous artistic director of the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington, Rostropovich was a significant figure within the political context of the Cold War, not only in the USSR and the US, but also in France and Britain. His support of Aleksandr Soljenitsin led to his loss of Soviet citizenship in 1978. With the heavy press coverage of his direction of the National Symphony Orchestra during the Cold War, he gained the image of the 'genial Russian émigré' adopted by the United States and who 'embodie[d] the Russian tradition'.⁴⁵⁸ As a conductor and cellist, his performances of Shostakovich and Prokofiev became his fingerprint and his symbolic capital never stopped growing within his lifetime.

The striking impact of Rostropovich on the programmes of some British and French orchestras partly relied on two combined factors. On the one hand, Rostropovich had his own, easily identifiable, canon of contemporary Russian music. On the other hand, the symbolic capital he acquired during the Cold war allowed his programmes to have a long-term impact on orchestral canons. The concert database shows that Rostropovich introduced new modern Russian repertoire to Western European and American orchestras. His personal relationships with Shostakovich and Prokofiev, as well as the commissions to contemporary composers such as Gubaildulina and Schnittke produced a new corpus to be integrated in the concerts Rostropovich conducted or played.

From the beginning of his career, Rostropovich was renowned as the advocate of 'modern music' as prove the numerous pieces which were dedicated to him as a cellist or commissioned by him. The most famous examples were Prokofiev's *Sinfonia Concertante*, Shostakovich's First and Second Cello Concertos, Britten's *Symphony for Cello and Orchestra*, three Suites for Cello Solo and Sonata,

⁴⁵⁸ McLellan, Joseph (1982) 'Five Years Behind the Baton; Rostropovich as conductor: what mark has he made?', *The Washington Post*, 21st November.

Dutilleux's Cello Concerto '*Tout un monde lointain*', Lutosławski's Cello Concerto, Pärt's Concerto, Kabelevsky's Cello Sonata, Schnittke's *Nostalgie* for cello and piano, Bernstein's *Three Meditations* and Penderecki's Second Cello Concerto.

A large proportion of his cello performances included works by Russian composers, especially Prokofiev and Shostakovich. However, his repertoire remained balanced by his famous interpretations of Dvořák's and Schumann's Cello Concertos as well as the more recent compositions of Britten. By contrast, his conducting repertoire was far less diverse. As a conductor of the LSO, three quarters of all the pieces Rostropovich performed were from Russian composers such as Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Schnittke. Shostakovich composed more than one third of all the pieces he conducted with the LSO. Another third of his repertoire was made up of the music of Prokofiev and Tchaikovsky together. The rest of his performances were not much more varied. For example, half of the remaining non-Russian quarter of Rostropovich's repertoire was the music of Britten (appendix 10).

In an early article in the *Music Journal* in 1967, Rostropovich admitted believing that 'every new work gives rise to a chain reaction' and that 'a work written by a modern composer offers wonderful food for the musician's imagination' as 'nobody has ever played or created the new canons' before the premiere, before you'.⁴⁵⁹ With this statement, Rostropovich did not only show his personal tastes for modern music as a playground for his imagination, but revealed one of his deepest beliefs about the musical canon. Musicians must work with contemporary composers to keep the tradition alive and to innovate. Rostropovich's support for contemporary music started to reach a wider audience with his own public figure and the political issues he faced.

When Rostropovich and his wife, soprano Galina Vishnevskaya, were stripped of their Soviet citizenship by the government for behaviours 'that were harmful to the prestige of the USSR', they became an international symbol of oppressed artists and Rostropovich's popularity consequently rose.⁴⁶⁰ Browsing the American press articles of the time reveals how Rostropovich and other

⁴⁵⁹ Anonymous (1965) 'Modern Music and the Cello', *Music Journal*, vol. 23, no. 5, 1st May, p. 52.

⁴⁶⁰ G.A.M. (1978) 'Russian cellist loses citizenship', *The Globe and Mail*, 16th March.

musicians in his situation became a political issue during the Cold War. The US were trying to shape an image of a country of rights and freedom, especially after the upheaval of the Korean War. These Soviet émigrés were the perfect occasion to emphasise their position as a home of freedom. Rostropovich's case became quickly a national affair as the US government through the State Department spokesman, Hodding Carter, charged the Soviet Union with violating international law in stripping their dissident of their citizenship.⁴⁶¹

This context helped Rostropovich's programmes and performances to reach a wider audience with his public persona constructed by the press of the time. The press articles cultivated the image of Rostropovich as a Soviet refugee on the Western side of the world. He exemplified a vision of the West caring about oppressed dissidents of the Soviet Union. This type of communication started in the American press and spread around the West. For example, in 1981, Robert M. Andrews published in the Associated Press (Washington) an article entitled 'Exiled Soviet conductor sees new patriotism in Americans' where he presented the next outdoor concert played by the National Symphony Orchestra (NSO) conducted by Rostropovich for the 4th July. Later, in 1988, the Sydney Morning Herald entitled a press conference given by the musician, 'How the West has changed Slava'.⁴⁶² The New York Times saw the cellist as an Americanised 'political symbol'.⁴⁶³ These newspaper articles oriented the discourse and the expectations of the audiences. I argue that this mediatisation helped engrain his programming choices in the canons of the ensembles he visited.

Rostropovich was indeed a Soviet refugee, but the media and the musical world created a myth around him and other Russian exiled artists. He became the personification of the underlying cultural war between the Cold War belligerents. According to Bourdieu's framework, Rostropovich gained symbolic capital from this situation, which explains how his programming choices had long-term effects on orchestral canons. The reputation he gained as a musician, but also as a political figure, placed Rostropovich as one of the most influential

⁴⁶¹ News Service (1978) 'U.S. Criticizes Soviets In Rostropovich Affair', *The Washington Post* 17th March, p. A34.

⁴⁶² O'Callaghan, Mary-Louise (1988) 'How the West has changed Slava', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19th March, p. 78.

⁴⁶³ Rosenthal, Andrew (1989) 'Washington at work, maestro as political symbol: the americanization of Mstislav Rostropovich', *The New York Times*, 13th October, p. 16.

musicians of the time. As a supporter of the rehabilitation of Prokofiev's and Shostakovich's images as composers who were under oppression and not state collaborators, he became a defender of freedom rather than merely a simple musician performing his favourite repertoire.

Moreover, Rostropovich gained fame as a political figure and his growing persona supported the canonisation of his programming choices. Rostropovich claimed during an interview in New York in 1989 that he was not a 'political figure'. Nevertheless, it was precisely his political reputation which helped empower his actions regarding the musical canon. As Martin Feinstein, the director of the Washington Opera, former head of the NSO, declared in 1988, 'looking back on the last ten years, Slava was almost as significant a political figure as he was a musical one.'⁴⁶⁴ Rostropovich's first political action was to host his friend the writer Alexander Soljenitsin in his datcha in 1969. Soljenitsin was stripped from his Soviet citizenship after the publication of *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973) describing the Soviet forced labour camps. Numerous sources claim that Rostropovich hosted Soljenitsin entirely because of their friendship. However, Rostropovich's open letters to national Soviet newspapers made him a *de facto* political dissident.⁴⁶⁵

Rostropovich's influence as a cellist was amplified when he started conducting on a more regular basis. In the Soviet Union, Rostropovich was already a renowned conductor before his exile. For example, he was a permanent conductor at the Bolshoi Opera of Moscow and toured with his production of Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* in Berlin, Tokyo, Paris and Vienna in 1976.⁴⁶⁶ When he took the baton as the fourth musical director of the NSO in Washington in 1977, his reputation preceded him. On the occasion of Rostropovich's new

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Every man must have the right fearlessly to think independently and express his opinion about what he knows, what he has personally thought about, experienced and not merely to express with slightly different variations the opinion which has been inculcated in him. [...] I know that after my letter there will undoubtedly be an "opinion" about me, but I am not afraid of it. I openly say what I think. Talent, of which we are proud, must not be submitted to the assaults of the past. I know many of the works of Solzhenitsyn. I like them. I consider he seeks the right through his suffering to write the truth as he saw it and I see no reason to hide my attitude toward him at a time when a campaign is being launched against him.' Rostropovich, Mstislav (1970) *An Open Letter to Pravda*, translation by The New York Times, 16th November [Online: <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/11/16/archives/an-open-letter-to-pravda-a-distinguished-soviet-artist-appeals-for.html>] Last accessed 14th October 2019.

⁴⁶⁶ Saal, Hubert, Jane, Whitmore (1977) 'Slava as Maestro' *Washington Post*, 17th October, p. 69.

appointment, Leon Tuck, chronicler at the Washington Post was amused how the career of the young conductor started with recordings:

Rostropovich's first recording of a symphony in his flourishing midlife conducting career could never have been just, say, an hour of Beethoven, or even an hour and a half of Mahler. That's how other conductors do it. Instead, there arrives a weighty set of seven Angel discs on which Rostropovich conducts no fewer than five hours and forty minutes of Tchaikovsky.⁴⁶⁷

Shostakovich in London and Haydn in Paris

The concert schedules show that Rostropovich was more deeply involved with the British symphony orchestras than with the French ones. Nevertheless, Rostropovich owned a flat in the French Capital and had ties with the Parisian musical world. For example, he is said to have told his musician friends 'You watch. Paris is my city. You will see', during the 1982 tour of the NSO in Paris that he was conducting.⁴⁶⁸ However, he only played 58 concerts with the OP including 17 as a cello soloist, between 1968 and 2006, but performed 182 concerts with the LSO. Moreover, he chose British orchestras for key moments in his career such as the LPO for his first recording as a conductor (Tchaikovsky's Six Symphonies) and the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra to premiere Witold Lutosławski's Cello Concerto that he commissioned. Therefore, the introduction of new repertoire by Rostropovich did not have the same impact in France as in Britain.

The analysis of the orchestral programmes of Rostropovich reveals that he performed a different repertoire with the OP and with the LSO, both orchestras he started to collaborate with in the 1960s (1961 for his LSO debut and 1966 for his OP debut). Rostropovich included contemporary repertoire earlier in his concerts in London than in Paris with the world premiere of Khatchaturian's *Concerto Rhapsody* (21st December 1962) and the London premieres of

⁴⁶⁷ Tuck, Lon (1977) 'Daring Conductors, Past and Present; from the batons of the NSO Conductors', *The Washington Post*, 4th September, p. G1.

⁴⁶⁸ Hume, Paul (1982) 'Rostropovich and NSO triumph in Paris', *The Washington Post*, 20th February, p. C6. Programme of this Parisian concert: Schumann's Second Symphony, Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, encores: Offenbach's *Overture of Gaité Parisienne*, Paganini's *Perpetual Motion*, Prokofiev's *Death of Tybalt* from *Romeo and Juliet*.

Khrennikov's, Boris Tchaikovsky's, Miaskovsky's and Sauguet's Cello Concertos in 1965. Moreover, Rostropovich's second concert with the LSO, in 1962, featured Shostakovich's First Cello Concerto, composed only three years before, in 1959. The LSO has a long tradition of innovation and invited Rostropovich to programme a concert series, 'Festival of Rostropovich', in the summer of 1965.

By contrast, in France, the cellist performed more Romantic repertoire such as Dvořák's Cello Concerto (1968), Tchaikovsky's *Rococo Variations* (1969) and Strauss's *Don Quixotte* (1970). Moreover, the OP performed contemporary music from the USSR, such as Shostakovich's Second Cello Concerto that had just been composed in 1966, with some of the main figures of the French modernism: Dutilleux and Messiaen. This showed a deliberate choice by the OP from outside the usual repertoire of the cellist. The world premiere of Dutilleux's Cello Concerto '*Tout un monde lointain*' was the only contemporary concertante work Rostropovich played during the decade, with the less recent Prokofiev's *Sinfonia Concertante*, composed for him in 1952. In addition, Rostropovich's performances of the two classical Haydn's Cello Concertos in Paris and in London indicate that the Parisian scene expected older repertoire. Out of his 58 performances with the OP, 7 included Haydn (ca. 12% of his performances), whereas his 182 performances with the LSO only featured 5 occurrences of Haydn (less than 3% of his performances).

Rostropovich was interested in contemporary French music, including Messiaen, and French music critic Paul Samuel related that the cellist was hoping Messiaen could write a piece for him. In the end, Messiaen did not write a cello concerto but gave Rostropovich a cello solo amongst the other seven soloists of *La Transfiguration de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ* for large chorus, piano, cello, flute, clarinet, xyloimba and vibraphone solo and large orchestra.⁴⁶⁹ The OP premiered this gigantic work in 1969, conducted by Serge Baudo. The other major contemporary piece Rostropovich performed between 1967 and 1978 with the OP was the above-mentioned premiere of Dutilleux. Messiaen's work had been frustrating for the cellist, but a life-long friendship emerged between

⁴⁶⁹ Claude Samuel sent to Rostropovich a recording of the *Quatuor pour la fin des temps* and 'urged Messiaen to write a work for cello solo as soon as possible'. Samuel, Claude (1983) *Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishneskaya*, translated by E. Thomas Glasow. Portland: Amadeus Press, p. 16.

Rostropovich and Dutilleux after the premiere of the Cello Concerto.⁴⁷⁰
Rostropovich performed this concerto back to London in 1987 for his 60th birthday celebration, which showed its significance.

Rostropovich brought the works of Prokofiev and Shostakovich into the orchestras he conducted in France and in Britain, raising the popularity of this repertoire. However, this music did not meet an equivalent reception in both countries. In Britain, Russian repertoire, including modern works, was already strongly present in programmes. In France, Shostakovich and Prokofiev were performed far less often in the 1960s-1970s than in Britain. For example, the OP waited until 1975 to play Shostakovich's First Symphony, whereas the LSO and the RSNO played it in 1969. Moreover, the OP never performed Shostakovich's Second or Third Symphony, or Prokofiev's Fourth or Seventh. The only performance of the Second Symphony of Prokofiev by the OP was conducted by Rostropovich in March 1980. This demonstrates how even for one of the most prestigious French orchestras, the music of these modern Russian composers was unevenly represented in programmes (appendix 9).

The imbalance of modern Russian repertoire is not only limited to Paris. The OPS rarely performed Shostakovich's symphonies other than the Fifth and the Tenth. Moreover, none of the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth and Seventh Symphonies of Prokofiev were to be found in the available archives. Half the rare performances of the First and Fifth Symphonies in the programmes were played by invited orchestras in Strasbourg such as the Japanese Orchestra Ensemble Kanazawa and the Wroclaw Philharmonic Orchestra in 2004.

Contrary to their infrequent performances in Strasbourg, Shostakovich and Prokofiev had been part of the British programmes from the early 1960s. The trend was not only to be noticed in London but also in other parts of Britain. In Scotland, Alexander Gibson performed Shostakovich's First Symphony for the first time with the SNO the same year it was performed by the LSO in 1969. Furthermore, Shostakovich's Ninth Symphony was performed in Scotland by Bryden Thomson in 1971, sixteen years earlier than its first performance by the

⁴⁷⁰ 'He played it [*La Transfiguration de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ*] soundfully, with all his heart, but with an obvious sense of frustration', Claude Samuel, op. cit. p. 16. Paris Philharmonie (2016) *Mstislav Rostropovich: c'est un miracle que ce concerto* [Online: www.dutilleux2016.com/rostopovich/] Last accessed 5th November 2019.

LSO. When Rostropovich arrived with his repertoire, it was already part of the canons of many British orchestras. André Previn was the first conductor to extensively conduct Prokofiev's works with the LSO in the 1970s, with all-Prokofiev concerts in 1974.

Moreover, Rostropovich's taste for celebrations had an impact on the longevity of his programming choices. The sociological implication of a celebration generates cumulative symbolic capital. As principal conductor of the NSO, he celebrated his 50th birthday with a concert in New York on the 27th March 1977.⁴⁷¹ He also performed a gala concert for the 50th birthday of the NSO in the Kennedy Centre, disguised as Haydn 'just down from heaven' with eighteenth-century costumes.⁴⁷² The LSO integrated this event culture when the orchestra invited Rostropovich. Early in 1965, a 'Rostropovich festival' was organised, showcasing no less than 31 cello concertante works performed by Rostropovich. These celebrations influenced the repertoire of the orchestra and helped to embed Russian modern music deeper in its canon. Such events included the concert series 'Rostropovich 60th birthday celebrations', as the festivals 'Shostakovich music from the Flames' in 1988, 'Schnittke A Celebration' in 1990, 'Sergei Prokofiev the centenary Festival' in 1991 and 'Shostakovich 1906-1975' in 1998.

The celebrations of Rostropovich's birthdays suggest that he reached a wider audience in Britain than in France. In France, his influence remained ensconced within highbrow musical society in Paris. He celebrated his 70th birthday in the Théâtre des Champs Élysées in Paris with a gala charity concert hosted by the French President, Jacques Chirac, including the performances of the LSO, OP and Orchestre National de France. Royalty attended this gala, such as Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, Queen Sofia of Spain, and Prince Charles.⁴⁷³ By contrast, in Britain, his 70th birthday celebrations were opened to a wider audience of concert goers, with a series on composers inspired by the cellist.

⁴⁷¹ Hume, Paul (1977) 'Debut, concerts, winners', *The Washington Post*, 22nd March. Programme: Brahms's *Haydn Variations*, Haydn's Cello Concerto, Prokofiev's Third Symphony.

⁴⁷² Anonymous (1980) 'Joseph Haydn helps National Symphony celebrates birthday', *The Associate Press*, 19th September.

⁴⁷³ Reuter (1997) 'World honors cello maestro on his birthday', *The Toronto Star*, 27th March, p. 416.

Rostropovich performed there with 'his close musical friends' Zubin Mehta, Seiji Ozawa and the LSO.⁴⁷⁴

The proportion of Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Schnittke rose in the programmes with these festivals and celebrations. More importantly, the corpus of works played from these composers was diversified. For example, the LSO only played Shostakovich's Third Symphony three times, conducted by Rostropovich during these festivals.⁴⁷⁵ Similarly, Shostakovich's Second Symphony was only performed by Rostropovich during these concert series. Moreover, Rostropovich introduced the Eleventh and the Fourteenth Symphonies to the LSO repertoire. These two works have been performed regularly since then, which shows how crucial the integration of modern Russian music was at the time. The impact of Rostropovich's support to Prokofiev and Shostakovich is directly visible in the last fifty years of programmes of the LSO. Almost every concert he was involved in included a piece from one of the two composers, with the exception of a few cello concertos he performed, such as by Dvořák.

The relative lack of Shostakovich and Prokofiev in French programmes compared with in Britain does not mean that this music was rejected in France. As mentioned earlier, Rostropovich's interventions with the OP created a more diverse repertoire. Subsequent additions of contemporary French music (Dutilleux and Messiaen) and for example Dvořák's Cello Concerto, which constituted on its own six of Rostropovich's 58 performances with the OP, reduced his core repertoire of Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Tchaikovsky.

Twentieth-century Russian music stayed in the orchestral canons after the death of Rostropovich. The older generation of Soviet refugees depended of the support of the younger Russian conductors and their importation of non-Russian ensembles for the performance of this repertoire. Russian modern music continued to be regularly performed in Britain, such as by the LSO with the appointment of Valery Gergiev as principal conductor. In Paris, as in Strasbourg, no clear handover between Rostropovich and a new conductor occurred. In

⁴⁷⁴ Anonymous (1997) *Tempo*, no. 199.

⁴⁷⁵ Concert series: 'Shostakovich music from the Flames' (1988), 'Schnittke A Celebration' (1990) and 'Shostakovich 1906-1975' (1998).

France, Rostropovich chiefly remained a cello phenomenon, a champion of peace rather than an advocate of Russian repertoire.

The different programming choices of Rostropovich in France and in Britain demonstrated the influence of dynamics at a national level over individual choices. As the LSO was more welcoming to twentieth-century Russian repertoire than the OP, Rostropovich was able to take part in the canonisation of his favoured repertoire in Britain. In France, the rarer performances of twentieth-century Russian repertoire oriented Rostropovich towards already canonical pieces such as Dvořák and Schumann and French contemporary music such as Dutilleux and Messiaen.

Case study 7: Valery Gergiev and ‘Soviet’ music after the Fall of the Berlin Wall

With the Fall of the Berlin wall, the political context around modern Russian music changed. Before 1991, cultural protectionism and political repression (contemporary issues in the USSR) surrounded Soviet music composed during this period. Audiences could contextualise Shostakovich’s *Leningrad Symphony* with news from the other side of the Iron Curtain and stories of exiled Soviet artists stripped of their citizenship. The concert programme notes suggest that this repertoire was progressively detached from contemporary political issues and became a mythicised representation of Cold War years. This phenomenon seemed to be amplified by the rising proportion of concertgoers born without memories of the Soviet Union. In the 1990s, Shostakovich (1906-1975) and Prokofiev (1891-1953) were no longer contemporary composers. In 1970, this repertoire had been new, unknown and politicised. By 2010, Shostakovich was firmly a part of most orchestral canons.

To maintain the recently canonised Russian repertoire, a new generation of conductors had to follow the heritage of the previous generation of exiled Soviet musicians. Younger conductors such as Valery Gergiev, Mikhail Pletnev, Vasily Petrenko and Vladimir Jurowski continued to develop their musical persona within Russian repertoire. The language of music critics in concert reviews amplified the ‘russification’ of these conductors. The Ossetian-born conductor Gergiev, who received the direction of the Kirov Theatre in 1988, renamed as Mariinsky, exemplified this trend.⁴⁷⁶

The discourse of the press articles, the concert reviews and the programme notes partly associated the younger generation of Russian conductors with the preceding generation of Russian émigrés. This produced an ideal context for symbolic capital to pass from one generation to another and give younger conductors enough influence to maintain the recently canonised twentieth-century Russian repertoire. The press articles on Gergiev showed the Russian-centred tone of the critics. Moreover, critics seemed to keep the political language they used during the Cold War, such as ‘Conductor Valery Gergiev on

⁴⁷⁶ Merlin, Christian (2013) *Les grand chef d’orchestre du XXe siècle*. Paris: Buchet Chastel, pp. 359-360.

Putin, power and performance’, ‘Superstar Gergiev makes no apologies for singing Putin’s praises’ and ‘Russia’s most controversial conductor’.⁴⁷⁷ In addition, his Russian nationality was almost systematically emphasised such as ‘Valery Gergiev, the Russian Baton’.⁴⁷⁸

The press articles and programme notes maintained the strong cultural identity shaped around the first generation of touring Soviet artists for the following generations. These younger conductors were implicitly encouraged to maintain a similar persona that these of exiled Russian musicians of the Soviet years. Gergiev’s charisma opened avenues for caricatures and his constructed persona was partly based on previous clichés of Russian conductors which helped anchor his twentieth-century Russian repertoire in the orchestral canons. The concert review from the Times in 2017, quoted in the above contextual investigation, was an example of the dramatisation and over-‘russification’ of Gergiev.

Indeed, the concert programmes of Gergiev included a large proportion of Russian music. From his debut in 1988 up until 2015, sixty percent of the staggering 920 pieces he played with the LSO were composed by Russian musicians. Compared with Rostropovich, Gergiev has a more varied repertoire. The fact that Gergiev was the LSO principal conductor from 2006 to 2015, as opposed to a guest conductor, can explain the variety of his performances. Concert schedules suggest that guest conductors can specialise in a niche repertoire and are most often expected to perform it with the orchestra they visit. However, principal conductors can focus on the variety and coherence of the season as well as their own musical universe (appendix 10).

Gergiev’s repertoire

The concert programmes suggest significant variations between the repertoires of Rostropovich and Gergiev. Rostropovich focused on Austro-German music with

⁴⁷⁷ Thornhill, John (2016) ‘Conductor Valery Gergiev on Putin, power and performance’, *Financial Times*, 17th October [Online: <https://www.ft.com/content/84e97cc6-9080-11e6-8df8-d3778b55a923>] Last accessed 2nd March 2021; Moussaoui, Rana (2018) ‘Superstar Gergiev makes no apologies for singing Putin’s praises’, *AFP*, 5th June [Online: <https://yhoo.it/3bTzZ0b>] Last accessed 2nd March 2021; Swed, Mark (2018) ‘Russia’s most controversial conductor’, *Los Angeles Times*, 29th October [Online: <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-gergiev-mariinsky-colburn-review-20181027-story.html>] Last accessed 2nd March 2021.

⁴⁷⁸ Makarian, Christian (2018) ‘Valery Gergiev, la baguette russe’, *L’Express*, 15th July [Online: https://www.lexpress.fr/culture/musique/valery-gergiev-la-baguette-russe_2024891.html] Last accessed 2nd March 2021.

subsequent performances of Beethoven and Mozart. For example, Rostropovich paired Beethoven with Tchaikovsky during the tour of the LSO in Japan in 2001. The programmes of Gergiev tended to lead towards post-romantic gigantism with Mahler. Critics built Gergiev's reputation around his interpretations of Mahler's Symphonies 'very loud, feverishly energetic, devilishly dislocated'.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, the programmes of both conductors showed a difference in their performances of Russian music. Rostropovich conducted Shostakovich more than any other composer with the LSO, whereas Gergiev preferred Prokofiev. Out of all the 920 pieces Gergiev conducted with the LSO between 1988 and 2015, the proportion of Prokofiev (202 pieces) is more than double Shostakovich (75 pieces, appendix 10).

Despite these differences, Gergiev's persona was reminiscent of the earlier Soviet émigrés and he continuously relied on the performance of Russian music. For example, he conducted a concert series entitled 'Gergiev's Shostakovich' during the season 2005-2006 of the LSO. Gergiev conducted many of Shostakovich's Symphonies; however, he also programmed a larger variety of pieces from Russian romantic composers such as Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov. Furthermore, he conducted a significant series of Prokofiev featuring sixteen works played in fourteen countries in 2008.⁴⁸⁰ These festivals and concert series are comparable with the concert planning of Rostropovich and the LSO in the 1960s-90s and brought weight and significance to Gergiev's programming choices through a transfer of symbolic capital.

Comparing Gergiev's concerts with the LSO and with the OP highlights the differences between his repertoire and persona in Britain and in France. Gergiev conducted a different repertoire with the OP: none of the only four programmes he performed included Prokofiev or Shostakovich. Two of these programmes still featured some Romantic Russian music such as Mussorgsky's *Pictures of an exhibition* (2004) and Borodin's Second Symphony, *Prince Igor Overture* and *Polovstian Dances* (2007).⁴⁸¹ One of the programmes (2019) included Stravinsky's *Firebird*, but as paired with Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* which

⁴⁷⁹ Finch, Hilary (2008) 'LSO Gergiev', *The Times*, 11th March, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁰ LSO (2018) *History 2000s* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/chronology-alt/2000s.html>] Last accessed 20th May 2018.

⁴⁸¹ Mussorgsky's *Pictures of an exhibition* (1st and 2nd December 2004); Borodin's Second Symphony, *Prince Igor Overture* and *Polovstian dances* (4th October 2007).

suggests the piece was chosen more for its modernism than its Russianness, as explored earlier in this chapter regarding Stravinsky.⁴⁸² Britain's enthusiastic approach to twentieth-century Russian music over more than a century was certainly not to be found to the same extent in France. For example, no evidence showed a trend towards Russian music in the programmes of the OPS.

The most striking example remained the programme note of Gergiev's performance of Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* in 2015, reshaping an article from *The Guardian*.⁴⁸³ The programme notes presented the conductor as a French-music lover, 'who [did] not hide his admiration for Berlioz', far from the over-Russification of the conductor in Britain. The note did mention Gergiev as being Russian but used his nationality to justify his expertise for Berlioz's music with a quote from his interview for the British newspaper. This article from *The Guardian*, focused on Berlioz but also developing political statements about Gergiev and Putin (including a photograph of both), fuelled the ardent persona of the conductor, using journalistic practices created during the Cold War.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸² Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien* and Stravinsky's *Firebird* (19th and 20th December 2019).

⁴⁸³ Brahms's Double Concerto for cello and violin, Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* (19th December 2015).

⁴⁸⁴ Vulliamy, Ed (2013) 'Valery Gergiev interview: 'Berlioz inspired me long before I ever dreamed I would conduct'', *The Guardian* [Online: <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/nov/10/valery-gergiev-lso-berlioz-interview>] Last accessed 14th November 2019.

Excerpt of the concert note of the OP ⁴⁸⁵	Fragments from the article in <i>The Guardian</i>
<p>French music lover, the Russian conductor doesn't hide his admiration for Berlioz. For <i>The Guardian</i>, in 2013, he stated:</p> <p>'He is different from others, Berlioz was a dreamer, he could never achieve the happiness he was seeking (...),</p> <p>Russian people understood Berlioz before the French. They admired his music at a time it was booed in France.</p> <p>What I like in his music is that everything happens in the moment, he is like an erupting volcano. ⁴⁸⁶</p>	<p>'It still sounds unlike anything else,' says Gergiev, 'still fresh and wild. [Berlioz] was a dreamer, never able to achieve real happiness, suffering from this great fever of the soul in that very romantic way.'</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>'Russians understood his music more quickly than the French he was speaking. As a result, Berlioz was and is "iconic" in Russia,' says Gergiev; 'he was an important part of music education in the Soviet Union.'</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>'What excites me,' Gergiev says of the orchestration, 'is that everything happens in the moment. In Berlioz's orchestra, two or three volcanos can be erupting in one moment; on the palette there is this extraordinary variety of colours.'</p>

⁴⁸⁵ OP (2015) *Valery Gergiev dirige la Symphonie Fantastique*, programme note [Online: http://www.orchestredeparis.com/fr/concerts/concert-preview_2812.html] Last accessed 14th November 2019.

⁴⁸⁶ Amoureux de la musique française, le chef russe ne cache pas son admiration pour Berlioz. Pour *The Guardian*, en 2013, il précisait: « Il est différent des autres, Berlioz est un rêveur, il ne peut jamais atteindre le bonheur qu'il se fixe (...), les Russes ont compris Berlioz avant les Français. Ils ont admiré sa musique lorsqu'elle était huée en France. Ce que j'aime dans sa musique, c'est que tout se passe dans l'instant, il est comme un volcan en éruption. »

Comparing the original article of *The Guardian* with the version of the OP shows the different approach of French and British programmes towards Russian conductors. The French programme transformed most of Gergiev's words to support the claim that Russian people understand French music. Some of the translation completely changed the meaning of some of Gergiev's words. For example, Gergiev said Russian people understood Berlioz's music quicker than his French, which is translated as Russian people understood Berlioz's music before French people did. This transformation could be a way to justify Gergiev's expertise for sceptical audiences doubting the ardent Russian conductor's skills for delicate French music. More importantly, these programme notes cut out most of the sections on the Soviet Union and the musical context of the time that Gergiev related in his interview with *The Guardian*. This editorial process shows that the Russian persona of conductors is not as developed in France as it is in Britain. This persona helped introducing and engraining twentieth-century Russian music in Britain but was not as strong in France to achieve a similar canonisation.

The case of 1972-born Vladimir Jurowski, twenty years younger than Gergiev, Principal Conductor of the LPO and Artistic Director of the State Academy Symphony Orchestra of Russian Federation proves that the initial persona of the Soviet conductor continues to pass from one generation to another in Britain. In an interview by Elena Artamonova, Jurowski explicitly placed himself as the inheritor of the twentieth-century Soviet conductors who had a significant impact on London orchestras: 'I follow the steps of one of most significant musicians of the twentieth-century, Gennady Rozhdestvensky. The only conductor who managed to conduct all London orchestras. [...] He performed an enormous amount of Russian music, which the British hardly knew at the time'.⁴⁸⁷

The history of Russian musical émigrés in Britain shows a constant introduction of twentieth-century Russian music into the orchestral canons. This historical context further engrained the music in the canons of British orchestras.

⁴⁸⁷ Jurowski, Vladimir (2019) 'Musical connections between Russia and Britain', interviewed by Elena Artamonova with Gerard McBurney, in Tabachnikova, Olga (org) *Russian-British Intercultural Dialogue: Russian music in Britain - British music in Russia*. Preston: University of Central Lancashire, 6th and 7th November.

Conductor Jurowski claimed: 'I perform a lot of Russian music here and hardly ever felt any resistance, even when a concert programme contains Russian music names as yet little known to the English public, such as Vladimir Martynov, Alexander Vustin or composers of my generation. Up until now, the BBC Proms have shown great respect and deep interest in Russian music.' This phenomenon has spread over decades and built a strong popularity for Russian music in Britain and a close relationship between Soviet musicians and the British orchestras as exemplified by the 60th birthday concert for Gergiev in 2013 celebrated by the LSO.

Contextual investigation: Russian émigrés, festivals and the Alsatian performing canon

The concert schedules show that Rostropovich's programming choices impacted many British orchestras, mainly in London, but also in Bournemouth, whereas his influence in France remained more limited to Paris. In other French regions, it is crucial to examine other cases of Russian émigrés. In Strasbourg, the OPS stand as a completely different case as the orchestra never had a Russian musical director. None of the recent musical directors of the OPS had a Russian training. Apart from Alceo Galliera (1964-1972) trained in Italy, all musical directors of these last fifty years were trained in the Austro-German Hochschulen. The influence of Russian visiting conductors can be compared with the cases of the LSO and OP. However, the lack of a main established Russian figure within the history of the ensemble suggests different canonisation practices for twentieth-century Russian music.

The concert programmes of Alsatian festivals show that the establishment of Russian music as part of the performing canons went through summer festivals. The Russian violinist and conductor Vladimir Spivakov (born 1944) played a crucial role in the performance of this repertoire through Colmar Festival (South Alsace), created in 1979 by Karl Munchinger of which Spivakov became music director in 1989. Each of Spivakov's thirty editions of the Colmar Festival

celebrated a major musical figure; twelve of these figures were Russian musicians.⁴⁸⁸

The Russian musicians and personalities whom Spivakov invited to perform for the Festival concerts had an impact on the musical landscape of the city and of the region. For example, Marianna Chelkova, hired as a French-Russian translator for the Festival in 1989, settled in Alsace and presided the Rhine National Opera (Opéra National du Rhin, ONR) in Strasbourg (2012-2014) and became the Deputy Mayor for Culture in Colmar city council (2008-2015).⁴⁸⁹ The database *Les Archives du Spectacle* suggests that no Russian opera was performed by the ONR during the five seasons between 2009 and 2014.⁴⁹⁰ Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades* performed in 2015 at the ONR might have been planned during Chelkova's time in the institution. Chelkova had an influence in the local press and radio stations as demonstrated by her article on Diaghilev's *Ballet Russes* as a theme of the 22nd Colmar Festival for the regional classical music radio broadcaster Accent 4.⁴⁹¹

In contrast with the modern Russian repertoire supported by Rostropovich, the younger Spivakov sponsored a broader Russian repertoire. As music director of the National Philharmonic Orchestra of Russia (NPR), Spivakov established Russian ensembles as part of the Alsatian musical landscape. The NPR, in residence for the Festival, performed Russian repertoire of a wide range such as Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* in 2018 and Svetlanov's *Russian variation for harp and orchestra* in 2014.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁸ David Oistrakh (1990), Vladimir Horowitz (1992), Arthur Rubinstein (1996), Fiodor Chaliapin (1998), Dmitri Shostakovich (2005), Emil Guilels (2006), Rostropovich (2008), 2009: Sviatoslav Richter (2009), Rachmaninov (2010), Vladimir Spivakov (2013), Jascha Heifetz (2016), Evgeny Kissin (2018) [Online: <https://www.festival-colmar.com/fr/le-festival/anciennes-editions>] Last accessed 30th April 2019.

⁴⁸⁹ Anonymous (2015) 'Décès de l'adjointe à la Culture Marianna Chelkova', *L'Alsace* [Online: <https://www.lalsace.fr/haut-rhin/2015/11/04/deces-de-l-adjointe-a-la-culture-marianna-chelkova?fbclid=IwAR3c1JAf0S9uZ9YYfv8C54fjFLBFFfSfLinN9lDdWOtQ3vLxRNpiAXdgqpc>] Last accessed 29th April 2019.

⁴⁹⁰ Les archives du spectacle (2019) *Les archives du spectacle* [Online: <https://www.lesarchivesduspectacle.net/>] Last accessed 29th April 2019.

⁴⁹¹ Chelkova, Marianna (2010) 'Les ballets russes', *Accent 4* [Online: <http://blog.accent4.com/2010/05/festival-de-colmar-les-ballets-russes.html>] Last accessed 29th April 2019.

⁴⁹² Festival International de Colmar's tribute to Evgeny Svetlanov (11th July 2014); Deroeux, Emmanuel (2018) 'Puissance et émotion de la Russie au Festival de Colmar avec Eugène Onéguine', *Olyrix* [Online: <https://www.olyrix.com/articles/production/2228/eugene-oneguine-extraits-orchestre-national-philharmonique-russie-soiree-tchaikovski-spivakov-gerzmava-ladyuk->

However, Russian music as supported by Spivakov was almost exclusively performed by Russian soloists and ensembles. As mentioned in the case of Rostropovich, in Britain, local orchestras performed this repertoire under the baton of Russian conductors. In Colmar, the NPR performed most of the Russian repertoire. Chelkova stayed in Alsace and got the French residency, but most of Spivakov's guests would not stay during winter seasons. The lack of interaction between Russian influential musical figures and Alsatian orchestras partly explains the low levels of Russian music in the OPS programmes.

The programmes of summer festivals showed that Russian émigrés represented an important part of the Alsatian performing musical scene, but their impact on the local orchestral canons remained quite low. The last fifteen years of the Wissembourg International Festival also exemplified how chamber music repertoire did not necessarily transfer to orchestral canons. Many Russian musicians invited by the festival, such as pianists Nikita Mdnoyants and Vyacheslav Gryaznov, regularly performed twentieth-century Russian music. During the last fifteen years, only one case illustrated how the active Russian musical community of the festival impacted the repertoire of a local orchestra. In summer 2016, Nikita Mndoyants performed Prokofiev's Second Piano Concerto during the festival with the Mulhouse Symphony Orchestra (OSM). The same concert was later repeated as the opening of the season 2016-2017 of the OSM.

The limited presence of Russian music is surprising as the region around Strasbourg both in France and in Germany stood as an historical settlement for Russian émigrés from the beginning of the Russian Revolution of 1917. For example, Baden-Baden, a German city 8 miles across the French border and only 30 miles from Strasbourg, hosted some of the golden treasure of the last Russian tsars brought back by exiled Russians. Therefore, the lack of involvement of local orchestras and musicians towards Russian music mattered more for low levels of performances of twentieth-century Russian music than the culturally active Russian community settled in the region.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the political and geopolitical importance of certain major musical figures can play a role in the canonisation process of repertoires. The efficient integration of twentieth-century Russian music in French and British orchestral repertoires by Soviet émigrés can be analysed using Bourdieu's framework of symbolic capital in the context of a cultural war. The integration of twentieth-century music in the British orchestral canon greatly relied on the programming choices of exiled Soviet musicians. Bourdieu's framework of symbolic capital can explain the greater influence of exiled Soviet musicians in programming and keeping this repertoire alive. They acquired symbolic capital within the geopolitical context of the Cold war and therefore had a stronger power of influence than conductors from other nationalities. Moreover, the canonisation of this music in Britain by a sustained programming of the following generations of conductors shows the persistence of such influence from favourable cultural contexts.

The difference in frequency between the performances of twentieth-century Russian music in France and in Britain can be partially explained by the case of the influence of Soviet émigrés. The British orchestras in general performed Russian music more often, for example the LSO clearly programmed more Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev, Rachmaninov and Shostakovich than the OP and the OPS in the studied sample. Moreover, in Glasgow, Russian music remained the repertoire that sold the most tickets.⁴⁹³ The LSO constant Russian-marketed events showed a deep appreciation from the London audience as well. The programmes of the LSO and RSNO show that a significant proportion of twentieth-century Russian music was initially programmed by Soviet musicians. The first generation of émigrés such as Rostropovich passed their persona and primary symbolic capital on to the second generation such as Gergiev. As in the case of Nordic music, the national French orchestras were not as involved in the performance of modern Russian music conducted by Russian conductors as their British colleagues, impacting on the durable establishment of the repertoire in the French orchestral canons.

⁴⁹³ Chandler, Bill (2019) op. cit.

Almost three decades after the end of the Cold War - the contextual inspiration for most of Prokofiev's and Shostakovich's works - is the strong persona of the archetypal Russian conductor fading away? The season 2019-2020 of the Liverpool Philharmonic with their musical director Vladimir Petrenko (born 1976) suggests that, even if some traits of the persona remain, programmes lean towards more variety. Petrenko does perform a Russian-themed opening of the season with Liadov, Shostakovich and Stravinsky but later plays a wide variety of repertoires including a Mahler cycle. The recent appointment of the 1988-born Maxim Emelyanychev as musical director of the Scottish Chamber Orchestra for the 2019-2020 season exemplified non-Russian-music-based programming choices. Maxim Emelyanychev orientated his performances towards baroque and classical repertoire, performing Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, Telemann, Lully, Rameau and Vivaldi. However, Russian stereotypes keep hovering around the world of music critics as showed the first sentence of this newspaper article of 2017: 'If you want to know what Russian soul is, you only have to spend an hour or two with conductor Vladimir Jurowski.'⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Hewett, Ivan (2017) 'LPO conductor Vladimir Jurowski: yoga, macrobiotics and the meaning of life', *The Telegraph*, 23rd January [Online: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/what-to-listen-to/vladimir-jurowski-interview-crisis-faith/>] Last accessed 29th April 2019.

CHAPTER 5: THE SECOND VIENNESE SCHOOL

If you lose curiosity with what is new, with what another generation is thinking, I think you can already order your coffin and stay in it.⁴⁹⁵

Pierre Boulez, interviewed in Amsterdam in 1995.

This chapter focuses on the public orchestral performances and the reception of avant-garde music by a wider audience, supported by the concert reviews of general newspapers as opposed to the specialised press. This chapter aims to show the combined influence of critics, as defined by Kerman, and performers in the canonisation processes of certain repertoires. In my database, the music of the Second Viennese School is one of the most often performed repertoires of avant-garde music and therefore presents sufficient data to compare the programmes of the orchestras. The repertoire for this case study includes the orchestral works of Schoenberg, Berg and Webern.⁴⁹⁶ In this chapter, the term ‘avant-garde’ broadly gathers the non-tonal pieces of these composers, including their atonal, dodecaphonic and serialist pieces. However, following Peyser’s analysis, I differentiate Schoenberg’s post-romantic works such as *Gurre-Lieder* (1911) from his more ‘avant-garde’ atonal pieces such as *Five Pieces for Orchestra* (1909).⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ Boulez, Pierre (1995) *Interview by Maarten Brandt and Paul Janssen*. Amsterdam, 28th October [Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVq3ulNnWn0>] Last accessed 27th February 2020, 1’13’22.

⁴⁹⁶ Webern: *Im Sommerwind* (1904), *Langsamer Satz* (1905), *Passacaglia* (1908), *Entflieht auf Leichten Kähnen* (1908), *Six Pieces for Orchestra op. 6* (1909), *Five Pieces for Orchestra op. 10* (1913), *Two songs op. 19* (1926), *Symphony op. 21* (1928), *Five movement for String Quartet arranged for orchestra op. 5* (1929), *Concerto for Nine Instruments* (1934), *Das Augenlicht* (1935), *Cantatas no. 1* (1939), *Variations for orchestra op. 30* (1940), *Cantata no. 2* (1941-43) and *Three Pieces* (posth). Berg: *Seven Early Songs* (1907), *Altenberg Lieder* (1912), *Three Pieces op. 6* (1915), *Wozzeck* (1922), *Chamber Concerto* (1925), *Three Pieces from Lyric Suite* (1926), *Der Wein* (1929), *Lulu Suite* (1934) and *Violin Concerto* (1935).

⁴⁹⁷ Post-romantic works: *Verklärte Nacht* (1899), *Pelleas and Melisande* (1903), *First Chamber symphony* (1906), *Three Pieces for Chamber Orchestra* (1910), *Gurrelieder* (1911), *Suite for seven instruments* (1927), *Variations for orchestra op. 31* (1928), *Accompaniment to a Film Scene* (1929), *Violin Concerto* (1936), *Second Chamber symphony* (1939), *Piano Concerto* (1942), *Prelude to Genesis* (1945), *A survivor from Warsaw* (1947) and *Suite for string orchestra* (1935). Atonal works: *Erwartung* (1909), *Five Pieces for Orchestra* (1909), *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912), *Die Glückliche Hand* (1913), *Four Orchestral Songs op. 22* (1913-16), *Serenade op. 24* (1921-23) and *Jacob’s Ladder* (posth. 1974). Classification based on Peyser, Joan (2008) *To Boulez and Beyond*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, pp. 24, 25, 34.

The last fifty years of the programmes of the LSO, RSNO, OP and OPS showed an equivalent proportion of the performances of the Second Viennese School.⁴⁹⁸ However, I argue that the Second Viennese School does not hold the same position in French and British orchestral canons. In Paris, several conductors more evenly shared the volume of these performances than in London, where only a few dedicated supporters of avant-garde music kept this repertoire alive. The performances of Webern, for example, were more evenly shared by a greater number of conductors in Paris.⁴⁹⁹ The nationality of conductors does not seem to play a crucial role in this frequency of performance. The conductors who played Webern with the OP also occasionally conducted the LSO with other programmes.

The database suggests the hypothesis that conductors could more freely play avant-garde Austrian music on the Parisian scene than in London where this repertoire is part of the persona of the conductors supporting almost exclusively contemporary music such as Pierre Boulez. This chapter aims to unravel how the Parisian performing scene became more favourable to the Second Viennese School than in London. The performance archives of the OPS and RSNO lead toward an equivalent hypothesis. As shown in the appendices, the two provincial orchestras performed less often the Second Viennese School. However, the size and incomplete state of their archives can explain this wide difference. With a similar amount of data, the RSNO performed far less often the music of the Second Viennese School than the OPS during the last fifty years. The concert database shows that Berg's *Violin Concerto* and *Seven Early Songs*, Webern's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* and Schoenberg's *Pelleas and Melisande*, at least, belong to a relatively frequent repertoire and therefore a local performing canon in Strasbourg. The RSNO did occasionally perform this repertoire, but infrequent choices and specialist conductors seem to point towards a lower status in the local performing canon of these composers.

⁴⁹⁸ The LSO is equivalent to the OP and the RSNO is equivalent to the OPS, seasons being fuller of concerts in capitals than regions in general, mainly for budget reasons.

⁴⁹⁹ In my database, the very low proportion of the music of the Second Viennese School in the programmes of the OPS and RSNO does not allow a coherent analysis of these figures (see appendices). Incomplete seasons of these two orchestras partly explain these low figures. Consequently, I chose to mostly focus on the OP and LSO.

The historical introduction of this repertoire during the early twentieth century partly explains this difference between the French and British concert canons. However, Britain and France had a generally equivalent hostile reception of central European avant-garde music in concert halls until the 1950s. The influence of Pierre Boulez and his performances in France and Britain provides a starting point to unravel programming discrepancies. Pierre Boulez had a major impact on the programming of atonal Viennese orchestral music in Europe and in the US. I argue that the different status of the Second Viennese School in Britain and France partly derived from the fact that Britain did like Boulez himself and his revolutionary programmes, but France cultivated a deeper taste for avant-garde music, supported by the French intellectual upper-class and its taste for contemporary art as a matter of distinction from popular taste. The integration of the contemporary music of the Second Viennese School in French and British symphony orchestras illustrated the impact of society stratification and the social role of orchestras on musical canons. Examining the role of the French conductor Boulez through Bourdieu's concept of distinction helps unravelling canonical differences between France and Britain.

The phrase the 'Second Viennese School', including Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Alban Berg (1885-1935) and Anton Webern (1883-1945), problematically underestimated the individual personality of each of these three composers.⁵⁰⁰ The orchestral works of Webern shared a rather consistent atonal style, including serialism and dodecaphony. By contrast, Schoenberg went through different stylistic phases during his life.⁵⁰¹ Likewise, the style of Berg was more post-romantic than atonal, no 'new vocabulary' but 'the end of a world', according to Pierre Boulez in his conversations with Celestin Deliège.⁵⁰² As Peyser accurately summarised, 'Berg's music sprang from the world of German Romanticism; but his ties to the tonal world, like Schoenberg's were never

⁵⁰⁰ Anonymous (2001) 'Second Viennese School', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000053872>] Last accessed 7th April 2020.

⁵⁰¹ Simms, Bryan R. (2000) *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg 1908-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁰² 'Je savais très bien aussi que, pour trouver un vocabulaire nouveau, ce n'était pas vers Berg que je m'aiguillais, puisque, au contraire, il était, si j'ose dire, comme la fin d'un monde.' Boulez, Pierre (1975) *Par la volonté et par hasard, entretiens avec Célestin Deliège*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, p. 25.

severed completely. Webern, on the other hand, looked directly into the future.’⁵⁰³ Moreover, the term problematically presupposed a ‘First Viennese School’.

René Leibowitz’s phrase ‘Schoenberg School’, from his book ‘Schoenberg and his school’, the first publication about the twelve-tone composition technique outside Germany in 1947, provides an alternative to the problematic phrase.⁵⁰⁴ This expression gave a predominant place to Schoenberg over Berg and Webern and this chapter equivalently considers the above-mentioned composers. However, the phrase ‘Second Viennese School’ has become a musicological written convention. Therefore, for this thesis, I use the ‘Second Viennese School’ as a convention rather than as a conceptual stand.

Contextual investigation: Wood, Clark, Deutsch and Leibowitz before 1945

Concert reviews suggest that the orchestral music of the Second Viennese School was rather negatively received by a general audience in both early twentieth-century France and Britain. However, national differences occurred in the diffusion of this repertoire. The works of Schoenberg made their way to British audiences before the First World War but only reached closed intellectual circles in France. Combining Heyworth’s and Peyser’s observations shows that London audiences were ahead of Paris in the matter of getting exposed to atonal orchestral repertoire, with the visionary concert planning of Henry Wood.

The world premiere of *Five Pieces for Orchestra* op. 16 (1909) by Wood in London exemplified the early diffusion of the orchestral works of Schoenberg to the British general audience. The work waited three years before being performed again in the London Queen’s Hall in 1912 and was not performed in Germany. As expected for an innovative dissonant style, most of the British press reviews of the time show a strongly hostile reaction. Heckert confirmed that the performance stood among the ‘best-known examples of critical attacks on

⁵⁰³ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit., p. 52.

⁵⁰⁴ Leibowitz, René (1947) *Schoenberg and his School*, English translation by Dika Newlin (1949). New York: Philosophical Library. No straightforward evidence shows that Leibowitz actually studied with Schoenberg, he is more likely originally self-taught and met Schoenberg later. See Maguire, Jan (1979) ‘René Leibowitz’, *Tempo*, no. 131, p. 6; Kapp, Reinhard (1988) ‘Shades of the double’s original: René Leibowitz’s dispute with Boulez’, *Tempo*, no. 165, p. 4.

unfamiliar modern works'.⁵⁰⁵ The review in *The Referee* showed the hostile reception of the world première of Schoenberg's *Five Pieces* - the work being described as 'formless, incoherent, disjointed and utterly defiant of all preconceived ideas of what constitutes music'.⁵⁰⁶ From the announcement of the premiere to the reviews after the performance, the music was condemned. The announcement of the premiere by *The Daily Mail* exemplified the prevalent strong tone of most the critics of the time: 'to describe Schönberg as a modernist is, apparently, the merest platitude. Not only has he out-Straussed Strauss in his application (or repudiation) of the laws of harmony, but he claims, so we are told, serious consideration as a Futurist painter.'⁵⁰⁷

The concert reviews, even hostile, kept the British audience attuned with Viennese modern compositional trends. Controversy and scandal even predated the premiere of the op. 16. Two years before, the performances of Schoenberg's *Elektra* and *Salome* had already triggered acerbic critics.⁵⁰⁸ Peyser effectively relates this first foray of the performances of Schoenberg on the British scene and quotes the following review of the *The Times* describing the work as 'incomprehensible as a Tibetan poem'.⁵⁰⁹ Despite the strongly hostile reviews, the *Five Pieces* were quickly programmed again, one and a half years later, in London, in January 1914, conducted by Schoenberg himself.

The reception of the orchestral music of Schoenberg in Britain quickly changed for the better. By contrast with the premiere of the work, the 1914 performance of the *Five Pieces* was well received.⁵¹⁰ Heckert explained this change of reception of Schoenberg when the composer gradually became known by the general audience. In 1912, Schoenberg was mostly unknown and was only starting to have a reputation as 'a leader of the most advanced trends in contemporary German music' in the avant-garde musical milieu. The frequent musical exchange between British and Central Europe with 'the advanced

⁵⁰⁵ Heckert, Deborah (2010) 'Schoenberg, Roger Fry and the Emergence of a Critical Language for the Reception of Musical Modernism in Britain 1912-1914' in Riley, Matthew (ed) *British music and modernism 1895-1960*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 49.

⁵⁰⁶ *The Referee*, 8th September 1912, quoted by Lambourn, David (1987) 'Henry Wood and Schoenberg', *The Musical Times*, vol. 128, no. 1734, p. 422.

⁵⁰⁷ Lambourn, David (1987) op. cit.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. p. 24.

⁵¹⁰ Heckert, Deborah (2010) op. cit. p. 49.

educational opportunities Germany offered [to] British musicians and composers' started to influence the British musical audience.⁵¹¹

Positive reactions rose from younger British composers and Schoenberg kept being performed. British composers like Philip Heseltine and Percy Grainger, in the audience for the premiere of the *Five Pieces*, gave praising comments about the musical revolution they believed to be witnessing.⁵¹² A major figure in the reception of Schoenberg in Britain was his only English student, Edward Clark, who facilitated invitations for Schoenberg to come and conduct his works.⁵¹³ As musicians gradually acknowledged the earlier work of Schoenberg - a less difficult style to understand - his reputation grew in Britain, despite its cold beginnings. According to Lambourn, 'during the first part of 1914 interest in Schoenberg in Britain seems to have touched a peak it never regained in many years'.⁵¹⁴ Indeed, numerous publications including articles expanded Schoenberg's reputation in Britain and his works were slowly integrated into orchestral repertoires.

By contrast with pre-war Britain, the concert reviews suggest that the French general audiences were not yet exposed to the Second Viennese School. However, Schoenberg was known to music circles before the First World War with the support of the *Revue Musicale*.⁵¹⁵ Until the 1920s, mostly the chamber music of Schoenberg was performed. The main events included the concert-conference of Michel-Dimitri Calvoressi in 1912 and the chamber music concerts of the Société Musicale Indépendante.⁵¹⁶ The lack of performances shows that the general French public had very little exposure to the Second Viennese School. Moreover, at the time, some French intellectuals considered the twelve-tone technique as a culturally Central European composition process which could not present any possible development for French music. For example, Boulez

⁵¹¹ Ibid. p. 50.

⁵¹² Lambourn, David (1987) op. cit. p. 423.

⁵¹³ Ibid. p. 424.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid. p. 426.

⁵¹⁵ Mussat, Marie-Claire (2001) 'La reception de Schönberg en France avant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale', *Revue de Musicologie*, t. 87, no. 1, pp. 145-186.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid. p. 146.

claimed that Parisian circles expressed that the Second Viennese School was against French culture.⁵¹⁷

In Britain, the popularity of Schoenberg was hindered by the First World War and the diffusion of the Second Viennese School was significantly cut down for many years.⁵¹⁸ Schoenberg had to wait until the 1920s, with new influential figures ready to support his music on stage such as Eugene Goossens and Edward Clark and on paper such as Havergal Brian, Leigh Henry and Cecil Gray (the last of whom also supported the craze of Sibelius as explored in chapter 3). This showed that Schoenberg was sufficiently supported by British defenders to overcome post-war prejudice against Central European, especially German culture. In France, Mussat explains how nationalism and antisemitism played a role in the disastrous reception of Schoenberg's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* conducted by André Caplet at the Théâtre des Champs Élysées in 1922.⁵¹⁹

The interwar French performances of the orchestral music of the Second Viennese School had no stable context to rely on, unlike as Wood's concerts in Britain. As opposed to Britain, during the 1920s, the Parisian musical scene had a blurred knowledge of the 'characteristically abstract Central European theory.'⁵²⁰ However, some of the works of Schoenberg slowly started to reach a wider audience in France, relying on the efforts of a few conductors and musicians including the French Austrian composer, teacher and conductor, Max Deutsch (1892-1982), who was one of Schoenberg's students. Deutsch premiered numerous works of the Second Viennese School in France after he moved to Paris in 1924.⁵²¹ For example, he gave the French premiere of Berg's *Chamber Concert* in 1927.⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ 'Pendant tout un temps, on disait, et spécialement dans les milieux français, à Paris, que cette musique n'avait rien à nous apporter parce qu'elle était tellement d'Europe centrale qu'elle était à l'encontre de notre culture.' Boulez, Pierre (1975) op. cit. p. 33.

⁵¹⁸ Lambourn, David (1987) op. cit. p. 427.

⁵¹⁹ Mussat, Marie-Claire (2001), op. cit. p. 174.

⁵²⁰ Heyworth, Peter (1986) 'The first fifty years' in Glock, William (ed) *Pierre Boulez - a Symposium*. London: Eulenburg Books, . p. 10.

⁵²¹ Griffiths, Paul, revised by Jeremy Drake (2001) 'Max Deutsch', *Grove Music Online*. Available at: <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000007677>. Last accessed 28th November 2019.

⁵²² Griffiths, Paul (2001) op. cit.

In Britain, the BBC performances of the Second Viennese School, conducted by Webern and Schoenberg themselves showed a consistent effort in introducing this contemporary trend to a wider British audience. Schoenberg conducted *Erwartung* for a BBC concert on 10 December 1930, already famous for his 1914 performance of the *Five Pieces*.⁵²³ After Schoenberg, Webern also came to conduct nine concerts with the BBC between 1929 and 1936, including his own *Five Pieces* on 2nd December 1929 and *Five Movements for String Orchestra* on 8th May 1931.⁵²⁴ Webern also conducted a significant proportion of Schoenberg and Berg, with themed concerts based entirely on the works of the three composers. His musicianship was acknowledged and the BBC hired Webern in 1935 to conduct the British premiere of Berg's Violin Concerto within a special memorial concert for Berg, who had recently died.⁵²⁵

The concert reviews showed that the quality of performance mattered in the introduction of Second Viennese School in France and in Britain. Conducting avant-garde music required expertise few conductors had yet acquired. Webern's reputation as a skilful conductor suggests that the BBC concerts of the music of the Second Viennese School were of a high standard.⁵²⁶ However, Pierre Boulez persistently said in different interviews that Parisian performances of the Second Viennese School in the 1940s France did not reach wide circles and were inexpertly conducted. The critiques of Boulez mainly targeted Leibowitz and these need to be balanced, considering their difficult teacher-student relationship.⁵²⁷ Leibowitz remained one of the major figures in support of the Second Viennese School during the Second World War. Moreover, conductors who had expert knowledge of the Austrian avant-garde such as Deutsch were also performing in Paris.

⁵²³ Foreman, Lewis (1991) 'Webern, the BBC and the Berg Violin Concerto', *Tempo*, no. 178, p. 2.

⁵²⁴ Webern's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* (2nd December 1929); Webern's *Five Movements for String Orchestra*, Schoenberg's *Song of the Wood-Dove*, Schoenberg's *Music for Cinema scene* op. 34 (8th May 1931); Berg *Two Pieces from Lyric Suite*, Berg *Kammerkonzert* (21th April 1933); Webern *Six Pieces* op. 6, Webern *Passacaglia* (25th April 1935); Berg *Memorial Concert: Berg Two Pieces from Lyric Suite*, Berg *violin Concerto* British premiere (1st May 1936). See: Foreman, Lewis (1991) 'Webern, the BBC and the Berg Violin Concerto', *Tempo*, no. 178, p. 4.

⁵²⁵ Foreman, Lewis (1991) op. cit. p. 3.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Boulez, Pierre (1995) *Interview by Maarten Brandt and Paul Janssen*, 28th October. Amsterdam [Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVq3ulNnWn0>] Last accessed 27th February 2020: 'We discovered Webern in a very funny way because then [in the 1940s] the performances of Webern were atrocious' (13'58); the op. 21 conducted by Leibowitz was a 'counterpromotion' (14'12); 'instrumentalists who play some notes without any reason, without any meaning, without any connection, without any continuity, without any coherence' (14'30).

During the 1940s, the rare French performances of Schoenberg were mainly for close circles, and the programmes included mostly his chamber music. This marked a first crucial difference with the orchestral performances of Schoenberg and Webern in Britain with the large audiences of Henry Wood and the BBC. As Heyworth stated, few French musicians knew about Schoenberg before the beginning of the First World War. In Paris, the twelve-tone technique 'was still widely regarded as an intellectual conceit, rather than an attempt to replace the laws he himself had shattered.'⁵²⁸ The fact that the music of Schoenberg was considered as an *intellectual* process was important for the reception of this repertoire in France. French higher classes were searching for distinctive tastes and what appeared as amusical before the Second World War was soon found to fit with post-war devastated Europe. This feeling was illustrated by Pierre Boulez himself, saying in an interview that romanticism was unbearable for him in 1945 because of the difficult social environment.⁵²⁹

The Second World War significantly impacted musical production in Europe. Composers, conductors and orchestra players were enrolled as soldiers, budgets were sent towards weapons and cultural policies peaked in Germany and annexed territories. The Nazi cultural policies affected the infrastructures of Strasbourg such as the OPS and the theatre where it used to perform.⁵³⁰ The German state wanted to make Strasbourg a window of its power. Even in a time of restricted resources for German theatres, the Reich made sure the performances kept their pre-war lustre in Strasbourg.⁵³¹ Hans Rosbaud was named as musical director and the Reich focused seasons around 'classics', mostly German. The works of the Second Viennese School were certainly not performed often - if at all - as the regime published earlier an exhibit on 'Degenerated music' condemning harmful musical influences of atonal composers.⁵³² Schoenberg was explicitly mentioned as a corrupt figure to be

⁵²⁸ Heyworth, Peter (1986) op. cit. p. 10.

⁵²⁹ Boulez, Pierre (1975) op. cit. p. 23.

⁵³⁰ Alsace was part of Germany from 1870 until France reclaimed the region at the First World War. Alsace was annexed again at French defeat of 1940 until the end of the Second World War.

⁵³¹ Bogen, Isabelle (1990) 'Le pari culturel nazi à Strasbourg: l'exemple du théâtre' in Rioux, Jean-Pierre (ed) *La vie culturelle sous Vichy*. Bruxelles: Editions Complexe.

⁵³² Potter, Pamela M. (2001) 'Nazism', *Grove Music Online* [Online: <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000042491>] Last Accessed 9th April 2020.

avoided. Potter confirmed that the music of the Second Viennese School was still marginally performed during the Third Reich. However, Strasbourg being a strategic cultural space for Germans, it is highly probable that none of this music was performed by the national orchestra in the theatre, the largest venue of the city.

The German administration of the OPS potentially led to two contradictory effects on the performances of the Second Viennese School. On the one hand, the war slowed down the diffusion of the Second Viennese School. Evidence suggested that no conductor could openly support this music, and so the wider audience was not introduced to the twelve-tone technique and the orchestra would not be trained to play this demanding repertoire. As Paris was in Vichy France, it is expected that a similar process impacted the predecessor of the OP. On the other hand, as the Second Viennese School was considered as producing 'degenerate' music by the Third Reich, such works would not be associated with the occupation and would therefore not suffer from a post-war psychological ban on German music. Just after the liberation, the broadcast of Webern's *Wind Quintet* clandestinely recorded by René Leibowitz showed the symbolic power of music forbidden by Nazi authorities.⁵³³ Hearing about the imminent liberation of Paris, Leibowitz illegally recorded Webern's works with the national radio premises in Paris, controlled by Vichy France. As a powerful symbol, this recording was broadcasted at the end of the war.

Leibowitz remained a crucial figure on the 1940s French contemporary musical scene. His arguments with Messiaen first and Boulez later might have decreased his prestige and made him an underrated influential figure. However, his devotion for the Second Viennese School impacted the performing practices of the time and Peyser stated that he 'almost singlehandedly revived 12-tone writing in Europe, where it had gone underground during the 1930s and early 1945s.'⁵³⁴ During the Second World War, he prepared numerous articles and music analyses from the South of France, hiding from German occupying forces.

⁵³³ Kapp, Reinhard (1988) 'Shades of the Double's Original: René Leibowitz's dispute with Boulez', *Tempo*, no. 165, p. 4.

⁵³⁴ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. pp. 126-127.

Several testimonies of composers suggested that the French diffusion of Schoenberg slowly started after the Second World War but was limited to specialised milieux and chamber music venues. For example, the performances of Leibowitz were mostly limited to chamber music works and did not reach the programmes of orchestras, such as his 1947 chamber music festival entitled 'Hommage à Schoenberg'. Moreover, Peyser confirmed the performances of Leibowitz mostly reached specialised audience of conservatoire students and composers. His concerts were 'important events among the avant-garde. As Boulanger held onto the reins of the dying neoclassical tradition, Leibowitz was celebrated as the father of the New.'⁵³⁵

The support from newspapers and critics cannot explain the variations in the performances of the music of the Second Viennese School in France and Britain. In the late 1940s, most of the critics had a similarly negative attitude towards Second Viennese School in France and in Britain. There were 'ready-made attitudes and cliché-ridden critical lexicon' for dodecaphonism as Constant Lambert's tone of *Music Ho!* in the 30s and this tone prevailed during several decades. In the 1950s, 'British discussions of serial technique were similarly dismissive'.⁵³⁶ Concert data showed that this repertoire was not yet included in the performing canon of the time. The concert reviews showed that the music of the Second Viennese School was not only a marginal style but also a marginally performed repertoire.

Before my concert archives start in the 1960s, the Second Viennese School already presented canonical differences between France and Britain. In Britain, the Second Viennese School was performed during open orchestral events in regular seasons of the Proms and the BBC and was therefore included in the repertoire of some of the main national orchestras. Conversely, in France, atonal orchestral pieces were hardly performed, and were mostly reserved for a specialised audience. The performances of the Second Viennese School started before the First World War in London and at the end of the Second World War in Paris. For example, Deutsch claimed in an interview in 1970 that he started to 'make a serious effort to explain and comment on [Schoenberg]' only after the

⁵³⁵ Ibid. p. 128.

⁵³⁶ Rupprecht, Philip (2015) *British Musical Modernism: The Manchester Group and their contemporaries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 23.

end of the Second World War.⁵³⁷ Neither French, nor British orchestras had yet canonised this repertoire and the primary efforts of Wood, Clark, Deutsch and Leibowitz needed to be pursued to reach orchestral canons. My concert database shows that Boulez, from a younger generation, emerged as the main supporter of the Second Viennese School for the following decades.

⁵³⁷ Sir, Niel (1972) 'Conversation with Max Deutsch', *Perspectives of New Music*, vol. 2, no. 10, p. 53.

Case study 8: The Second Viennese School and Pierre Boulez

Database analysis

The concert database of the LSO, RSNO, OP and OPS suggest similar frequencies for performances of the Second Viennese School in France and Britain during the last fifty years. Variations occur between the three composers: the OP performed more of Schoenberg and the LSO performed more of Webern and Berg (appendix 11). However, in this chapter, I argue that this repertoire does not share the same canonical position in France and in Britain. The Second Viennese School has entered the performing canons of several French orchestras whereas it remains a specific repertoire mostly supported by specialised conductors in Britain. As for Russian music in the previous chapter, these specialised conductors, such as Pierre Boulez, had enough cultural capital to be able to program the music of the Second Viennese School in Britain.

The databases of the LSO and OP show a striking difference in the number of conductors performing the Second Viennese School. This result suggests that the Second Viennese School is part of the canons of French orchestras, whereas in Britain, a similar number of performances came from fewer individuals. The performances of Webern and Berg provide the clearest example of the difference in repartition among conductors between London and Paris, where this repertoire is more evenly shared. Boulez and Abbado conducted 80% of the performances of Webern and more than 60% of the performances of Berg by the LSO. In Paris, Boulez and Barenboim conducted 40% of the performances of Webern and half of the performances of Berg. Moreover, the database shows that most conductors besides Boulez, Abbado, and Tilson Thomas, who concentrated more than 80% of Berg played by the LSO, only came for a very limited number of performances (appendices 12 and 13). By contrast, a majority of conductors performed Webern and Berg more than once with the OP, whereas Boulez is strikingly predominant on the podium of the LSO (appendices 12 and 13). For example, Boulez conducted almost twice as much Berg than Abbado, the second main supporter of the Second Viennese School in London. By comparison, Barenboim performed more Berg than Boulez with the OP (appendix 13).

The concert schedules of the studied French and British orchestras present similar rates of Schoenberg, even if this repertoire is performed more often by the OP than the LSO. By contrast with Webern and Berg only performed by few conductors, including Boulez, Schoenberg is performed by a larger number of conductors. Only half of the performances of Schoenberg were conducted by Boulez in the archives of both the LSO and the OP. I argue that this is due to the stylistic differences between Schoenberg's composition phases. Schoenberg's avant-garde works show similar results to Webern and Berg. Boulez conducted over 80% of Schoenberg's avant-garde music in the LSO programmes, against slightly less than two third of the same repertoire in the programmes of the OP.

As opposed with Berg and Webern, the performances of Schoenberg were more evenly shared by conductors on both sides of the Channel (appendix 14).

Boulez, Barenboim in Paris, and Abbado in London were less predominant for Schoenberg than for Webern and Berg. This apparent greater similarity between the LSO and OP can be explained by the stylistic diversity of the music of Schoenberg. Thus, differentiating his tonal from his atonal composition phases accentuates the differences between the OP and the LSO (appendix 15). The differences between the British and French performances of the atonal works of Schoenberg followed the same pattern as for Webern and Berg and Boulez largely dominated the performances of this repertoire by the LSO.

The differing results on the atonal music of Schoenberg suggest that Boulez could conduct this repertoire in Britain as part of his persona, whereas other conductors and programmers would not take the risk. From a canonical point of view, it suggests that the atonal music of Schoenberg stood as an occasional repertoire for the LSO, only supported by few conductors.⁵³⁸ In Paris, Schoenberg is closer to canonisation as more conductors, namely Boulez, Solti, Barenboim, Dohnányi and Saraste, share the baton. I argue that the canonical variations of the music of the Second Viennese School in Britain and France are due to several factors, including the type of audience the music was first introduced to and how Boulez built his persona in Britain.

⁵³⁸ Claudio Abbado, Yuri Simonov and Antonio Pappano conducted the remain fifth of the performances of Schoenberg's atonal music in the programmes of the LSO.

Audiences

The above-mentioned contextual investigation showed that, at the end of the Second World War, the music of the Second Viennese School was presented to a larger audience in Britain through popular concerts such as the Proms, whereas it had only been presented to an avant-garde audience in France. A decade later, the choice of concert venues suggested that the Second Viennese School was presented to a limited audience in France, but this audience of music specialists and intellectuals started to grow with the efforts of Boulez and Deutsch. According to Boulez, 'Webern was not known in France even ignored' and a 'new approach to concert life that will bring it into touch with what composers are doing today' was needed.⁵³⁹ The performances of the Second Viennese School in France from the mid-1950s included a significant part of chamber works, mainly for financial reasons, but occasionally included orchestral pieces.

In 1960s France, even though the Second Viennese School reached the Ecole Normale de Musique, Paris Conservatoire and the Sorbonne through Max Deutsch, this repertoire remained confined to intellectual circles. For example, Deutsch's advertising methods suggest that the second Grand Concert de la Sorbonne, dedicated to Schoenberg, mainly reached music students and specialists.⁵⁴⁰ Deutsch explained the lack of budget made him organise a 'word-of-mouth campaign'.⁵⁴¹ This advertisement campaign suggests that the event only reached concert-goers in relation to musicians, the university and the conservatoire to form a very educated concert audience. The Grands concerts de la Sorbonne (GCS), organised by Deutsch, mainly reached music specialists but started to build a significant educated audience for avant-garde music. For example, Deutsch claimed that 2 500 people came to the second GCS dedicated to Schoenberg. Newspaper articles claiming 'Schoenberg enters the Sorbonne' show the impact of these concerts on the Parisian intellectual milieu. Furthermore, Deutsch's statements on the creation of the GCS show the didactical purpose of this concert series, mainly directed towards music students. Deutsch considered

⁵³⁹ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. p. 180; Glock, William (1986) 'With Boulez at the BBC', *Pierre Boulez - A Symposium*. London: Eulenburg books, p. 236.

⁵⁴⁰ The concert included Schoenberg's *Book of the Hanging Gardens*, First Chamber Symphony and Suite for seven Instruments. Sir, Niel (1972) op. cit. pp. 58-59.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

the GCS, which he founded in 1960, as an ‘extension of [his] teaching activities, which are transplanted, as it were, from [his] studio to the concert hall.’⁵⁴²

In Britain, the Second Viennese School had already been presented to wider audiences before the Second World War. Alternatively to the French concerts for selected audiences, the performances of the Second Viennese School continued to be presented to concert-goers in large halls. For example, RSNO principal conductor Karl Rankl (1952-1957) brought Schoenberg’s *Chamber Symphony* in its arrangement for large orchestra to Scotland.⁵⁴³ Later on, RSNO principal conductor Gary Bertini (1971-1981) included twentieth-century music in his programmes such as Schoenberg’s *Five Orchestral Pieces* in 1971, *Erwartung* in 1979 and Berg’s *Suite from Lulu* (1972).⁵⁴⁴ The RSNO series on the Second Viennese School in 1978-1979 stands as another example of the diffusion of this repertoire to wider audiences.

At the same time, in France, the Second Viennese School was still presented to a limited audience. For example, the Domaine Musical crucially supported the integration of this repertoire on the Parisian scene with several French and Parisian premieres. The series first started as chamber music concerts sponsored by the Barraults in the Petit Marigny.⁵⁴⁵ Boulez stated that he aimed the Domaine Musical to be a stage for rarely performed pieces by Stravinsky, Bartók, Varèse, Debussy and the Second Viennese School.⁵⁴⁶ Between 1954 and 1964, almost sixty percent of the pieces performed at the Domaine Musical were from Schoenberg, Berg and Webern.⁵⁴⁷ These concerts started to attract an intellectual audience interested in contemporary art including music. As Peyser stated, the Domaine Musical of Boulez became ‘fashionable very quickly, attracting both the far-out and the chic.’⁵⁴⁸ The testimonies from musicians of the time such as Pousseur confirm the success of the concert series.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴² Ibid., p. 58.

⁵⁴³ Noltingk, Jacqueline Susan (2017) op. cit. p. 111.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 118.

⁵⁴⁵ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. p. 150.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 180.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 181.

⁵⁴⁹ Pousseur ‘There was an incredible fervor.’ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. p. 181.

I argue that the development of this fashion partly explains the canonical difference between the French and British performances of the Second Viennese School. In France, the introduction of this repertoire to an intellectual audience started a fashion that leaned on the French social stratification of taste. Programming the music of the Second Viennese School in a concert hall became less dangerous in France than in Britain, where this specific type of intellectual audience had not developed to such an extent. What Glock recalled as the ‘snobbish support among the French for contemporary art’ shows this specific Parisian audience was interested in the Second Viennese School as a mark of higher taste and Bourdieusian cultural capital.⁵⁵⁰ Moreover, Peyser confirmed this argument, stating the *Domaine Musical* of Boulez benefitted from being the ‘antagonism of the Establishment in France’.⁵⁵¹

The concerts schedules of the *Domaine Musical* suggest that the Parisian audiences were accustomed to the Second Viennese School even without the presence of Boulez. For example, Peyser claimed that Boulez would let Scherchen and Rosbaud conduct some of the concerts during the earlier years of the *Domaine Musical*.⁵⁵² Therefore, the audience of the Second Viennese School persisted when Boulez left France after the nomination of Marcel Landowski as musical director of the ministry by Malraux in 1964. Boulez was already settled in Germany from 1959 but his withdrawal from French musical scene had canonical implications as he ‘cancelled all engagements with the *Orchestre National*, forbade the newly formed *Orchestre de Paris* to play his music, cut off his connection with the *Domaine Musical*, and publicly announced that he would never again live in Paris where music was in the hands of incompetent men.’⁵⁵³

In the late 1970s, Boulez returned and paradoxically started to become what newspapers claimed in recent obituaries ‘the single most influential figure in the French musical establishment’.⁵⁵⁴ Venues and concert programmes show that his later projects reached a wider audience compared with the specialised audience that had been gathered by Leibowitz, Deutsch and himself. His involvement in French politics combined with the international fame he gained by his

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Ibid. p. 150.

⁵⁵³ Ibid. p. 224.

⁵⁵⁴ Eling, Kim (1999) op. cit. p. 39.

appointments as director of the BBCSO and NYPO in 1969 allowed him to have a direct influence on the political decisions of cultural policy in France.⁵⁵⁵ His major impact was the achievement of the Cité de la Musique as one of the *grand projets* of the French Fifth Republic in the 1990s. This was detailed by Kim Eling as part the ‘differential treatment’ afforded to him as a ‘prominent, if not hegemonic, position in the determination of policy towards contemporary music’.⁵⁵⁶ Boulez influenced the government of Mitterrand in building the Cité de la Musique as an integrated teaching and performing centre on the model of the Lincoln Centre in New York, as Paris needed a new building for the conservatoire and a new music venue.⁵⁵⁷ Boulez had a personal interest in the accomplishment of this project as his Ensemble Intercontemporain, founded in 1976, needed a residence.

The performances of the OPS of the Second Viennese School exemplified the diffusion of this repertoire to a select audience. The database of the OPS suggests that the Second Viennese School was performed rather infrequently. The OPS did perform Schoenberg, Berg and Webern, but within the more selective context of the contemporary music festival Musica, created in 1983. Most of the concerts of the OPS for Musica did not appear in the regular season communication. For example, at Musica, the OPS performed Berg’s *Altenberglieder* and *Three pieces op. 6* in 1986, Schoenberg’s *Pelleas and Melisande* in 1987, Webern’s *Six Pieces op. 6* in 1990, Webern’s *Six Pieces for Orchestra* and Berg’s *Seven Early Songs* in 2005, Schoenberg’s *Verklärte Nacht* in 2010, and Webern’s *Im Sommerwind* in 2011. The concert programmes showed that the audience of Musica was more specialised than regular concert-goers of the winter season. The database suggests that the OPS concentrated most of its performances of the Second Viennese School during the festival instead of presenting this repertoire to a wider audience during the winter season.

In Scotland, the contemporary music festival Musica Viva, then renamed Musica Nova, was included into the seasons of the RSNO. Created by Alexander Gibson in 1960, the festival lasted until 1990 and was integrated into the RSNO season communication reaching a wider audience. Within the Musica Viva festival, the

⁵⁵⁵ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. p. 222.

⁵⁵⁶ Eling, Kim (1999) op. cit. p. 63.

⁵⁵⁷ Heyworth, Peter (1986) op. cit. p. 40.

RSNO played Webern's *Variations for Orchestra*, Schoenberg's Violin Concerto and Piano Concerto in 1960 and Schoenberg's *Variations for Orchestra* in 1968.⁵⁵⁸ Moreover, several pieces were transferred to the RSNO regular seasons such as Schoenberg's Violin Concerto.⁵⁵⁹

The persona of Boulez

The contextual investigation developed earlier in this chapter shows that the reception of this repertoire partly depends on the fame of the conductor. For example, Webern's concerts with the BBCSO were more successful than Henry Wood's performances of Schoenberg. From the 1960s in London, the database shows that Boulez conducted a significant proportion of the performances of the Second Viennese School. With his strong statements and position-taking, Boulez created his own peculiar and selective canon, mostly based on contemporary music, modern works and some selected classics. The orchestral repertoire of Boulez stood as peculiar and selective. For example, his remarks on Cage and how introducing chance processes in composition has 'every likelihood of being uninteresting' and in the end 'demolish[es] any idea of a musical vocabulary' showed his selective taste.⁵⁶⁰ The first seasons of the EI showed his typical concert planning with a repertoire of mainly, Schoenberg, Stockhausen, Boulez and Darmstadt School composers.⁵⁶¹

The progressive adoption of Boulez by the British musical scene showed that Boulez created a performing persona. Boulez first became notorious in Britain for his polemical journal articles such as 'Schoenberg is dead' published in *The Score* on 6th February 1952, six months after the death of the Austrian composer.⁵⁶² Boulez progressively became an influential figure in the London

⁵⁵⁸ Noltingk, Jacqueline Susan (2017) op. cit. p. 120.

⁵⁵⁹ 'According to Gibson's introduction to the second MV concert.' Ibid, p. 123.

⁵⁶⁰ Boulez, Pierre (1975) op. cit. p. 85.

⁵⁶¹ Donatoni's *Tema*, Dalbavie's *In advance of the broken time...*, Rihm's *Triptyque: Pol-Kolchis-Nucleus* (French premiere), Hurel's *Six miniatures en trompe-l'oeil*, Messiaen's *Oiseaux exotiques* (20th November 1996); Stockhausen's *Gruppen* and *Klavierstück IX* (3th April 1998); Schoenberg's *March*, *Menuet*, *Variations*, *Sonett von Petrarca*, *Tanzscene*, *Lied*, *Finale* (9th October 1999); Debussy's *Danses pour harpe et cordes*, Boulez's *Dérive 1* and *Dérive 2*, Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* op. 21 (4th December 2001); Donatoni's *Tema*, Petrassi's *Estri*, Donatoni's *Le Ruisseau sur l'escalier*, Fedele's *Ali di Cantor* (23rd April 2004); Schoenberg's *Quatre Pièces* op. 27, Boulez's *Dérive 2* and *Cummings ist der Dichter...*, Birtwistle's *...agm...* (12th March 2010).

⁵⁶² O'Hagan, Peter (2016) 'Pierre Boulez in London: the William Glock years' in Edward Campbell and Peter O'Hagan (eds) *Pierre Boulez Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press, p. 303.

musical scene with his music which was first 'slow to travel to Britain with only occasional performances of his works'.⁵⁶³ Boulez was first hired as a conductor in Britain in 1957 for a BBC 3 programme directing the Marigny players and gradually was invited more often by William Glock, BBC Controller of Music from 1959 to 1972.⁵⁶⁴ Boulez was simultaneously appointed Chief Conductor of the BBCSO and Principal Conductor of the New York Philharmonic in 1972.

The concert database suggests that Boulez's strong persona and peculiar programming taste were successful in Britain. Boulez found in London a model of his conception of contemporary musical life and London found a conductor who played the Second Viennese School to full concert halls.⁵⁶⁵ Glock mentioned the success of Boulez as a performer in Britain:

It was in 1963 that I first asked Pierre Boulez if he would conduct the BBC symphony orchestra, and when the concerts came, in March 1964, they were a revelation. Within a year or two he had led the orchestra to some of its greatest triumphs since Toscanini in the 1930s.⁵⁶⁶

The tours of the BBCSO in 1965 and 1967 with Boulez conducting all twentieth-century programmes, including Schoenberg, Webern, Debussy, Berg and his own music, were examples of the success of his programming choices in Britain.⁵⁶⁷

However, the other conducting experiences of Boulez abroad suggest that his injection of contemporary and atonal music in the British repertoire greatly relied on his persona. For example, Peyser stated that he had certainly 'infused the New York Philharmonic with more contemporary music than it had known before he came, and more contemporary music than it knew after he was gone'.⁵⁶⁸ His musical direction of the NYP showed that his personal programming choices were not necessarily transferred to regular programming choices. The distaste for contemporary music on the part of the audience of the NYP, who 'could not tolerate the predominantly modern diet', mainly explained the unsuccessful canonisation of the programmes of Boulez including the Second

⁵⁶³ Ibid p. 305.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 307. Boulez conducted Nono's *Canti per Tredecì*, Webern's Concerto op. 24, Stockhausen's *Zeitmasse* and Boulez's *Le Marteau sans maître*.

⁵⁶⁵ Heyworth, Peter (1986) op. cit. p. 35.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid p. 321.

⁵⁶⁷ Peyser, Joan (2008) op. cit. p. 225.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 256-257.

Viennese School.⁵⁶⁹ I argue that, despite different audiences and contexts, the British performances of the Second Viennese School by Boulez partly followed a similar path than with the NYP.

The concert database suggests that the seasons of the Ensemble Intercontemporain (EI) most accurately represent Boulez's strong sense of programming. Most of the pieces that Boulez conducted with the EI were not directly transferable to a full-size symphony orchestra but that Boulez transferred his ideas of programming which can be traced back to the Domaine Musical and his first regular conducting experience abroad. In an interview for the Time magazine in 1969, he declared his 'ambition to build an entirely new repertoire; a repertoire in which the classics and contemporary works are of equal status and importance'. With the time given to him with these orchestras, Boulez wanted to 'build up what [he] would like to call a "model", a repertoire which reflects [his] own personality'.⁵⁷⁰ Moreover, the musical influence of Boulez can be traced from the concerts he himself conducted with a personal idea of what a concert programme should be. His ideal concert programme consisted 'of juxtaposing classical and contemporary works'.⁵⁷¹

The differences in the concert programmes that Boulez conducted with the OP and LSO confirmed that he had a stronger musical persona in Britain. The concert programmes show that Boulez mainly conducted the Second Viennese School as part of his performance persona in London, whereas his repertoire in Paris was a little more diverse. For example, the concerts of Boulez with the OP included Webern with Wagner in 1979, Schoenberg with Stravinsky and Bartók in 1982, and Schoenberg with Berio and Debussy in 1988. The events of the LSO with Boulez focused more directly on twentieth-century music such as the 1960 concert series 'The Crossroads of 20th Century Music by Pierre Boulez' which only included modern works by Berg, Schoenberg and Webern.⁵⁷² The concerts of

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 237.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid p. 321.

⁵⁷¹ O'Hagan, Peter (2016) op. cit., p. 322.

⁵⁷² Berg's Three Fragments from *Wozzeck*, Webern's *Das Augenlicht*, Cantata no. 2 and Cantata no. 1, Schoenberg's Four Songs, Berg's Three Pieces op. 6 (15th May 1969); Schoenberg's Film Music and Five Pieces, Webern's Symphony op. 21, Three Pieces and Variations for Orchestra, Berg's Violin Concerto (22nd May 1969); Webern's Concerto for Nine Instruments and *Entflieht auf Leichten Kähnen*, Schoenberg's Three Pieces, Berg's Chamber Concerto, Webern's Two Songs, op. 19 (25th May 1969).

Boulez with the LSO did not tend to blend classical music with modernist works. With the LSO, Boulez conducted almost exclusively the Second Viennese School alongside his own compositions, occasionally including some French composers he valued such as Debussy and young Berlioz and few other works by Stravinsky, Mahler and rarely Wagner. For example, his LSO debut in 1967 featured Debussy's *La Mer*, three opuses of Webern and Schoenberg's *Ewartung*.⁵⁷³ The concerts of the BBCSO confirmed this tendency.⁵⁷⁴

Conclusion

To conclude, the LSO and the OP present canonical variations for the performances of the Second Viennese School. The statistical data suggests a similar frequency of performance, but the programmes of the OP are played by a greater variety of conductors. The concert database shows that the Second Viennese School is more engrained in French canonical programming practices than in Britain where it relies on the choices of a few conductors, including Pierre Boulez.

The history of the integration of the Second Viennese School in French and British concert halls show the crucial significance of the audience in the canonisation processes of avant-garde music. In France, the Second Viennese School was presented to a specialised, limited audience, searching for distinctive methods of cultural consumption. The GCS of Deutsch, the Domaine Musical of Boulez and later the concerts of the EI contributed to building a wider audience who would fill concert halls. By contrast, in Britain, the Second Viennese School was initially presented to a wider audience with mixed reactions, as expected for avant-garde music. However, newspaper articles and Glock's testimonies show that British audiences positively reacted to the persona of conductors specialised in contemporary music. Therefore, Boulez's strong sense of programming built him enough cultural capital to sustain the performances of the Second Viennese School with the LSO and BBCSO. I argue

⁵⁷³ LSO conducted by Boulez: Webern's *Passacaglia*, Schoenberg's *Ewartung*, Webern's Six Pieces for Orchestra and Five Pieces for Orchestra, Debussy's *La Mer* (11th June 1967).

⁵⁷⁴ BBCSO conducted by Boulez: Berg's 3 Fragments from *Wozzeck*, *Altenberg Lieder*, Stockhausen's *Gruppen*, Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (5th September 1967 at Proms, from: Glock, William (1986) op. cit. p. 233.)

that the success of the Second Viennese School in Britain was more linked with the persona of Boulez than to a canonical integration of the music itself.

The impact of Boulez on the French and British programmes of the Second Viennese School would need further investigation after his death in 2016.

Examining the programmes of the LSO with the music of the Second Viennese School after 2016, in the short-term and long-term, would help to further determine the canonical differences between the OP and LSO.

CHAPTER 6: SCREEN MUSIC, HIGH CULTURE AND MASS ENTERTAINMENT

If movies are like lightning, then the musical score, for me, is like thunder. It can shake things up for years and it can even remain in our memories a lot longer than the film it accompanied. I got a couple of those - that John scored - where the music is more popular, a lot more popular, than the movie.⁵⁷⁵

Steven Spielberg introducing a concert of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra conducted by John Williams, 2017.

The preceding chapters focused on the integration of marginal *art* music repertoires within orchestral canons with cases of local music (chapter 2), foreign music supported by local influential figures (chapter 3), foreign music canonised within a favourable geopolitical context (chapter 4) and avant-garde music (chapter 5). The analysis of concert programmes and archives suggested that all these pieces lie somewhere in the spectrum of marginal repertoire. These cases showed how these margins account for some of the main differences between the British and French orchestral canons, where some music can be canonical in one country and marginal repertoire in another. However, no mention has been made of the margins of orchestral music as a wider genre. Indeed, within these permeable margins, other types of symphonic music enter the seasons of orchestras. Screen music, including film music and video game music, lies in the grey area of the orchestral repertoire and therefore can reveal how other types of music can move into and out of canonical spaces.

The previously mentioned art music repertoires such as French, British, Nordic, Russian and the Second Viennese School were presented as geographically-centred by programme notes, concert reviews and occasionally by the composers themselves in the score's paratext. By contrast, screen music appears more cosmopolitan. The universalistic idea behind core orchestral canon can be transferred to film music - which works could match Beethoven's international fame if not the soundtracks of John Williams? This chapter aims to show how

⁵⁷⁵ Seattle Symphony (2017) *Steven Spielberg on the Music of John Williams* [Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtaS833xEk0>] Last accessed 4th April 2019.

repertoire does not need to be presented with a nation-based discourse to have a differing status within the orchestral canons of different countries.

Following the results of the concert database, the literature also widely admitted the introduction and perpetuation of screen music in conventional symphony orchestral repertoire. As Carter and Levi asserted in the *Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*, 'in today's pluralist environment, some film music has entered the standard orchestral repertory and features regularly in concert programmes.'⁵⁷⁶ Indeed, screen music is a relatively common part of the orchestral repertoire and the proportion of screen music in musical seasons has grown since the publication of Carter and Levi's research.

A sample from the season 2014-2015 suggests that film music is the second most often performed type of music by both the French and British orchestras, behind classical music.⁵⁷⁷ The distinctions between 'screen music', 'classical music', and 'art music' are of a non-schematic nature. In this sample study, I based my classification on the characteristics mentioned in the programme notes, therefore on the presentation of the pieces to the audience (e.g. the marketing of film music concerts). Nevertheless, the data revealed disparities between ensembles, with some orchestras, such as the OPS, not performing any film music at all during the season 2014-2015. Moreover, the frequency of the performances of film music varied from one season to another, so the season 2014-2015 is not representative of half a century of programming.

Specialised ensembles have been created to perform mainly screen music, but national symphony orchestras on both sides of the Channel share this repertoire too.⁵⁷⁸ As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the music performing industry is more segmented in France, and evidence suggests that the performance of film music follows this pattern as well. In France, several main film orchestras such as Orchestre Cinématographique de Paris and Star Pop Orchestra exclusively play this repertoire, whereas British conventional

⁵⁷⁶ Carter, Tim, Erik, Levi (2003) 'The history of the orchestra' in Colin Lawson (ed) *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 16.

⁵⁷⁷ Other types of music here include pop, jazz and musicals. Winter seasons of OPS, OP, ONL, OL, Orchestre Lamoureux, LSO, RSNO, PO, CBSO, RLPO.

⁵⁷⁸ The equivalent sample of the 2014-2015 season of German symphony orchestras suggests that film music is quasi nonexistent in German programmes.

orchestras seem to remain the major film music performers, outside amateur and project-based orchestras such as the Glasgow Studio Orchestra.

Screen music is the second highest played music behind classical music in both countries, but its introduction to both the French and British orchestral concerts has been gradual and uneven.⁵⁷⁹ As an indication, the sample of the season 2014-2015 suggested that British orchestras performed this genre twice more than their French colleagues. Focusing closer on select orchestral programming further illustrated this gap. For example, John Williams appeared in the LSO's concert database 181 times, from as early as 1972.⁵⁸⁰ By contrast, the OP started to play John Williams three decades later, in 2005, 12 times in total. Likewise, James Horner's soundtracks were regularly performed by the LSO 6 times from 1999 and just once by the OP in 2007. John Barry was played 8 times from 2002 by the LSO and once in 2007 by the OP. Some composers did not appear at all in the programmes of the OP such as Hans Zimmer, Alexandre Desplat, Danny Elfman, Bill Conti and Henry Mancini. By contrast, Zimmer was played 10 times by the LSO from 2001, Desplat 16 times from 2005, conducting himself four concerts, Elfman 8 times from 2004, Conti 9 times from 1983 and Henry Mancini 27 times from 1976, conducting himself five concerts.

The database shows that some composers were performed less often than others. For example, the results were more anecdotal for composers such as Ennio Morricone, played only once in 2017 by the OP and never by the LSO. The reasons for such a disparity could be the targeted audience of film music concerts. Most of the communication of orchestras around film music concerts targeted younger audiences, from school pupils to young adults. Ennio Morricone's movies might not be sufficiently known among younger audiences.

The results suggest a strong difference between the LSO and the OP and can be extended beyond capital cities. The seasons of the RSNO and the OPS lead to the same conclusion. The Glasgow season of the RSNO featured regular performances of film music such as John Williams and more occasional works by

⁵⁷⁹ There is no stark divide between 'screen music' and 'classical music' as some pieces belong to both categories such as Prokofiev's *Lieutenant Kijé* and *The Queen of Spades*. In this study of the 2014-2015 season, the classification is based on the way these pieces were presented in the concert brochure.

⁵⁸⁰ It is worth noting that the LSO recorded the original soundtrack of *Star Wars* by Williams.

Ennio Morricone and John Barry. The OPS performed a lower proportion of film music with a few pieces of John Williams and Hans Zimmer.⁵⁸¹

As special events, film music concerts can be based on the release of an expected cinema success or on the anniversary of a composer or release. For example, the Philharmonia performed music from James Bond movies around the release of the twenty-fourth opus *Spectre* in November 2015. Likewise, the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra celebrated two movie releases in 2014-2015: *Star Wars* and *James Bond*.

Film music adapted to concert standards could be played alongside classical repertoire. However, for now, with the exception of Christmas concerts, music from different genres was usually not blended within the main season. The seasons of the Proms seem to have a different performing canon. In general, art music was separated from film music in winter seasons. Film music concerts sometimes featured art music; however, these works were considered as part of a soundtrack rather than as canonical repertoire. For example, the beginning of *Also sprach Zarathustra* by Strauss was often performed as the soundtrack of Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968).

The first case of this chapter aims to demonstrate how the interaction between culture and economy is particularly visible for film music and explains the different states of this repertoire across countries. Moreover, this chapter aims to prove that other processes than the cultural and economic interactions explain the different canonical status of screen music in France and Britain. The introduction of film music into the concerts of symphony orchestras stands as a major cultural paradox that questions the societal role of the ensemble. High-culture contrasts with utilitarian art in the Romantic orchestra as an institution. This art vs craft separation which resulted in the value of 'pure' concert music over applied music found its roots in Romantic philosophy of the nineteenth-century, the genesis period of the very idea of the orchestral canon.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸¹ RSNO 2008-2016 in Glasgow: John Williams 7 times, Morricone 3 times, John Barry once, no Zimmer. OPS 2014-2017 and 2004-2009: John Williams once, no Morricone, no Barry, Zimmer once.

⁵⁸² Audissino, Emilio (2014) 'Overruling a romantic prejudice: forms and formats of film music in concert programs', *Film in Concert: Film Scores and Their Relation to Classical Concert Music*. VWH Verlag, Glücksstadt, Germany, pp. 26-27.

Bourdieu's works help understand the implication of value in hierarchical social systems with his concept of symbolic capital.

Symbolic capital - another name for distinction - is nothing other than capital of whatever kind, when it is perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the incorporation of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident.⁵⁸³

For Bourdieu, symbolic capital can be any kind of capital (economic, cultural, academic or social) perceived as legitimate through a classification.⁵⁸⁴

As the literature suggested in the general introduction of this thesis, the orchestral canon is a classification system of what is considered as 'legitimate' to play. Applying this sociological framework to the case of screen music in the programmes of orchestras unravels the deep role of an orchestra in its society. Bennett's preface of the English-language edition of *Distinction*, elucidated the distinctive French context of Bourdieu's work, namely 'the persistence, through different epochs and political regimes, of the aristocratic model of 'court society', personified by a Parisian *haute bourgeoisie*, 'combining all forms of prestige and all the titles of economic and cultural nobility'.⁵⁸⁵ According to Bennett, this *haute bourgeoisie* has 'no counterpart elsewhere, at least for the arrogance of its cultural judgements'.⁵⁸⁶ A stronger French model of distinction based on art consumption could explain the canonical differences observed for the performances of screen music.

⁵⁸³ Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University press, p. 238.

⁵⁸⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre (1994) *Raisons pratiques*. Paris: Seuil, p. 161.

⁵⁸⁵ Bennett, Tony (1984) 'Preface' in Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge, p. xi.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

The two following case studies aim to examine two of the main aspects of the canonisation processes of screen music into the programmes of the French and British orchestras. Firstly, the analysis of concert data suggests that the interaction between culture and economic systems impacted the canonisation of film music, with different outcomes in France and Britain. Second, several variations on the role of orchestras as a flagship of high culture can be observed between France and Britain. Applying Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital on the introduction of video game music in concert halls elucidates the differences between the British and French performing practices.

Case study 9: performing film music, the economic and cultural systems of production

The case of screen music, film music in particular, stands as a crucial example to disentangle the effect of the interaction between economic and cultural systems on the canonisation of orchestral repertoires. This chapter is based on Kroeber & Kluckhohn's definition of cultural systems as 'products of action' and 'conditioning elements of further action' and Heilbroner & Boettke's definition of economic system as 'any of the ways in which humankind has arranged for its material provisioning', distinguishing two main types of economic systems: the market systems and the centrally planned systems.⁵⁸⁷ Heilbroner & Boettke highlighted two statements of modern capitalism: 'one very important element in the advent of a new stage of capitalism was the emergence of a large public sector expected to serve as a guarantor of public economic well-being' and 'a second and equally important departure was the new assumption that governments themselves were responsible for the general course of economic conditions.' Therefore, national orchestras being partly, if not completely, state-supported, the levels of governmental involvement in the finances of orchestras result in slight variations of the economic systems.

The effects of the interaction between economic and cultural systems can play a role in the introduction of film music in orchestral repertoires. Introducing film music to concert halls is an innovation within the culture system of Western classical music. Innovation might not be a concern in a closed culture system; however, the Western musical canon, of which orchestral repertoire is a manifestation, is grounded in the classical music industry. Symphony orchestras are also corporations.

Business literature emphasised the crucial role of innovation for new firms to survive on the market.⁵⁸⁸ Moreover, major firms can fail by not managing disruptive technological change.⁵⁸⁹ These results suggest, if transposed within

⁵⁸⁷ Heilbroner, Robert, Boettke, Peter (2019) 'Economic system', *Encyclopædia Britannica*. [Online: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/economic-system>] Last accessed 19th November 2019.

⁵⁸⁸ Audretsch, David (1995) 'Innovation, growth and survival', *International Journal of Industrial Organization*, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 441.

⁵⁸⁹ Christensen, Clayton (1997) *The Innovator's Dilemma: when new technologies cause great firms to fail*. Boston: Harvard Business Review Press.

the classical music industry, that even prestigious and well-established orchestras could encounter failure if they do not adequately manage innovation. The drop of public funding, both in France and in Britain, forced orchestras to raise their earned income and this involved a reflection on the practices of programming. For example, the 'RSNO at the Movies' concerts were likely to sell out in advance, as opposed to art music programmes.⁵⁹⁰

Beyond these institutional budgeting issues, it is crucial to examine the bigger picture of how the economic system of a nation interacts with its cultural system and therefore induces national particularities in the orchestral canons. France and Britain use a similar economic model of democratic liberalism but essential variations impact every-day economic life. These variations include employment and copyright laws, the level of open market, tax system and circulation of persons and goods.⁵⁹¹ According to socioeconomic literature, no evidence suggested a direct causal relation between culture systems and economic systems. However, Pryor's study on West Germany and East Germany showed that culture systems influence economic systems more than the reverse.

The impact of contextual economic variations on the orchestral canons is particularly visible in the case of film music as a form of art more directly linked with an industry than any other part of the canon.⁵⁹² My first case study in this chapter aims to apply some of Pryor's findings to France and Britain and the canonisation of film music by their symphony orchestras.⁵⁹³ The economic systems shaped the activities of symphony orchestras and their performance practices. For example, the budgets and the wages of musicians directly impact the ability of an orchestra to play larger works. Orchestras remained cultural artefacts and agents within the Western classical music cultural system. Based

⁵⁹⁰ RSNO (2019) *Booking info* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/booking-info/>] Last accessed 30th April 2019.

⁵⁹¹ For example, French railways have recently been opened to the market whereas British railways have long been shared between several companies. Moreover, France has less flexible employment laws, with minimum working hours on a contract (no zero-hour contracts) and minimum wage.

⁵⁹² This interaction between cultural and economic systems does not only apply to screen music, but can be seen in all repertoire, with larger orchestrations like Mahler's and Shostakovich's symphonies and more challenging pieces of the Second Viennese School which need more rehearsal time. Yet, this aspect more significantly helps to illuminate the case of screen music which has a closer relationship with economic systems through film, video game and recording industries (the latter being shared with the other repertoires).

⁵⁹³ Pryor, Frederic (2007) 'Culture and Economic Systems', *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 66, no. 4, pp. 817-855.

on Pryor's study, economic features of French and British art industries are partly the consequences of the French and British constructed national cultures. Therefore, economic facts such as employment and copyright laws are not only contextual factors but partly stand as cultural consequences.

Pryor's case was based on East and West Germany which existed during a relatively short period of time. By contrast, France and Britain have a long history as separate nation-states. Consequently, the minor differences for Pryor become more important for this study.

On the one hand, the history of British orchestras showed that they evolved in favourable interconnected cultural and economic systems for the integration and development of film music in their repertoires. On the other hand, the history of French orchestras showed that the relatively low frequency of performances of film music in France led to fewer interactions between orchestras and the film industry. Newspapers often depict economic facts as impacting the work of orchestras and their performances. With Pryor's insights, I argue that these factors, such as unpractical French copyright laws, can also be consequences of prior cultural differences.

Several processes of interaction between economic and cultural systems will be examined to unravel the more successful canonisation of film music in Britain compared with France. The difference in frequency and volume of film music played by French and British symphony orchestras could primarily have its roots in the relationship between orchestras and the national and international film industry. Different contextual reasons explain these different levels of interaction.

Firstly, aesthetic reasons elucidate the low levels of interaction between the French film industry and symphony orchestras in general. Literature suggests that the soundtracks of French cinema favoured discrete music with smaller instrumentation. The French schools of moviemaking focused on dialogue and image, music being subordinated to drama. Secondly, French high employment costs combined with a lack of studio infrastructure resulted in social dumping in Eastern European countries. In addition, the French restrictive and unpractical copyright legislation was more expensive for the film companies compared with

liberal copyright standards in Britain or Eastern Europe. These potential reasons will be explored in detail in the next section of this chapter.

Database analysis: the film industry, contextual reasons for a British success

The collaboration between British orchestras and the film industry exemplified a favourable synergy between economic and cultural systems and partially explained the better integration of film music in British concert halls. The concert database suggests that there was a transfer between film recordings and regular concert hall programmes. Orchestral seasons present a correlation between how involved the ensemble is with the film industry and film music performances. Indeed, the history of British symphony orchestras showed that the higher rate of film music in the British concert halls came from their closer collaboration with the film industry. The frequent recordings of film soundtracks showed that British orchestras are closer to the film industry than their French colleagues.

The history of the activities of British orchestras shows a strong interaction with the film industry, over more than a century and on a nation-wide level. Recording soundtracks constituted a great part of the schedule of London-based orchestras. For example, recent film recordings by British orchestras included, *Harry Potter* (2002-2011), *The Queen* (2006) and *Suffragette* (2015) by the LSO, *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015) by Philharmonia and the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001- 2003) by the LPO. Earlier film soundtrack recordings included Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1955), *Star Wars* (1977) and *Superman* (1978) by the LSO, *Scott of the Antarctic* (1948) with music by Vaughan Williams, *The Red Violin* (1998) by the Philharmonia and *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) by the LPO.⁵⁹⁴ Moreover, the close involvement of British orchestras with the film industry stood as a national tradition, not only restricted to London-based ensembles. In Scotland, the RSNO has been working forty years with the US film music label

⁵⁹⁴ LSO (2019) *LSO and Film Music* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/lso-and-film-music.html>] Last accessed 4th February 2019; Philharmonia (2019) *Soundtracks* [online: <http://www.philharmonia.co.uk/orchestra/history/soundtracks>] Last accessed 4th February 2019; LPO (2019) *Film Highlights* [Online: <https://www.lpo.org.uk/recordings/film-highlights.html>] Last accessed 4th February 2019.

Varèse Sarabande, with releases such as *Alien* (1996), *Vertigo* (1996), *Star Trek* (2000) and *Psycho* (2012).⁵⁹⁵

By contrast, the French industry did not have that level of interaction with the French orchestras. No equivalent connection between orchestras and the film industry can be found in France, either for the proportion of film music played during the orchestral winter seasons or for film music recordings. For example, the OP and the OPS did not advertise any filmography. Even if the ONL mentioned an ‘ambitious audio-visual policy’, which involved a new numeric studio, the focus was made on broadcasting symphony concerts rather than recording for the industry.⁵⁹⁶ No Parisian national orchestra seemed to work to any extent with the film industry and recording soundtracks seemed to be the mission of specialised ensembles only. Several economic, artistic and social reasons for this situation will be elucidated later in this chapter.

The budgets and employment costs partly explain the different involvements of French and British orchestras with their film industries. The US film industry, which often employed British orchestras, could allocate 2% of the budget of a movie to the music, whereas, in France, only 0.3-0.4% of the film budget was allocated to the music, even lower for the soundtracks of television series.⁵⁹⁷ In this context, hiring a full symphony orchestra in France became almost impossible. Moreover, high-employment costs resulted in the delocalisation of recordings by French film companies to Eastern Europe or to Britain.

A case of social dumping can be observed for Eric Lévi’s soundtrack for the French blockbuster *Les Visiteurs* (1993). The music featured Era’s *Enae Volare* and recomposed extracts of Mendelssohn’s Violin Concerto and Third Symphony and was recorded in Prague and London with the English Chamber Choir and the Czech Symphony Orchestra. In an interview for *Le Parisien*, film composer Jean-Claude Petit explained that France became less attractive for recording music

⁵⁹⁵ RSNO (2019) *Film Soundtrack Label Celebrates 40th Anniversary* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/film-soundtrack-label-celebrates-40th-anniversary>] Last accessed 4th February 2019.

⁵⁹⁶ ONL (2019) *Studio numérique* [Online: http://www.onlille.com/saison_18-19/studio-numerique/] Last accessed 4th February 2019.

⁵⁹⁷ Leloup, Jean-Yves (2015) ‘Musique de films, la débandade originale’, *Liberation*, 31st March [Online: http://next.liberation.fr/cinema/2015/03/31/la-debandade-originale_1232328] Last accessed 10th May 2017.

after the fall of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. French composers went to Czechoslovakia, then to Hungary and Bulgaria, and they are now based in Skopje, Macedonia. Petit stated that a three-hour recording session with a musician costed 27€ (ca. £24) in Skopje, almost ten times less than in France, where the composer would pay 260€ (ca. £230).⁵⁹⁸

The French orchestras seem trapped in a vicious circle of cost-efficiency. The less the film industry hired French orchestras, the less expertise these ensembles gained in recording soundtracks, the less reactive they were with a new film music score and the more expensive hiring a French national orchestra became, as the cost of a recording is based on the duration of the sessions and the rehearsals. According to Nicole Vusler, investigating during the recording of the music of *Minuscule: les mandibules du bout du monde* (2019) by the ONIF, the orchestra was sight-reading ‘as the recording of film music is never preceded by rehearsals’ and ‘each take can be repeated three times, rarely more’. In that context, the recording of film music is a different skill to learn for an orchestra which rehearses mostly for concerts.⁵⁹⁹

Moreover, aesthetic reasons partly explain the low level of interaction between the French film industry and symphony orchestras in general. As Chion explains in *Le Complexe de Cyrano*, French movies valued language over music as an aesthetic norm.⁶⁰⁰ Therefore, the French film soundtracks suggested that composers relied on more discrete chamber orchestrations. The major part of the French movie hits such as *Intouchables* (2011) and *Le fabuleux destin d'Amélie Poulain* (2001) scored chamber music or extracts of pre-existing orchestral music. As an explanation, *French Musical Culture and the Coming of Sound Cinema* by Lewis illustrated the different role of music in France and in the US at the beginning of synchronised sound. Starting in mid-1920s,

⁵⁹⁸ Revenu, Nathalie (2015) ‘L’Orchestre national d’Île de France ouvre ses bras au cinéma’, *Le Parisien*, 17th May [Online: <http://www.leparisien.fr/espace-premium/yvelines-78/l-orchestre-national-d-ile-de-france-ouvre-ses-bras-au-cinema-18-05-2015-4779643.php>] Last accessed 15th February 2019.

⁵⁹⁹ Vusler, Nicole (2018) ‘Cinéma: comment la France tente de relocaliser l’enregistrement des musiques de film’, *Le Monde*, 12th October [Online: https://www.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2018/10/12/cinema-comment-la-france-tente-de-relocaliser-l-enregistrement-des-musiques-de-film_5368419_3234.html] Last accessed 15th February 2019.

⁶⁰⁰ Chion, Michel (2008) *Le complexe de Cyrano: la langue parlée dans les films français*. Paris: Les cahiers du cinéma.

synchronised sound was quickly used in the US where ‘the industry adjusted with surprising rapidity, both economically and aesthetically’.⁶⁰¹ In France, the value of this innovation was hotly debated: ‘sound cinema was, according to some critics and filmmakers, “a savage invention” that threatened to destroy existing cinematic practices.’⁶⁰² Jean-Claude Petit, former president of the Film Music Company Union (UCMF) confirmed this tradition and outlined some of the reasons behind this French idea of discrete chamber music in soundtracks. He explained that the French film directors were mainly from a literary tradition, in which music has only a background purpose.⁶⁰³ The voice was only underlined by the music and remained the core of the soundtrack.⁶⁰⁴

Even when French movies required symphonic music, the French national orchestras were not competitive enough to be hired. The French silent film *The Artist* (2011) directed by Michel Hazanavicius stood out as a symptomatic case. As a silent movie, it featured symphonic music and this could have provided a perfect opportunity for the French symphony orchestras. French orchestras indeed organised live music screenings after the release of the movie such as in September 2012 by the OPS, April 2016 by the ONL and in June 2017 by the OL. *The Artist* was among the most often played soundtracks in France during the 2010s. However, even if *The Artist* was produced by a French movie company with French actors, the music was recorded by the Brussels Philharmonic. Other cases exist, for example, the London Philharmonia recorded the soundtracks of the French movies *Les Aiguilles rouges* (2006) and *La Glace et le Ciel* (2015), probably as a less expensive alternative to the local French orchestras.⁶⁰⁵

Administrative and legal issues add up to financial and aesthetical considerations, as French orchestras are often public institutions administered by the city councils. Moreover, France has specific copyright laws called ‘droits voisins’ (neighbouring rights), part of the *Intellectual Property Code*. The French

⁶⁰¹ Lewis, Hannah (2018) *French Musical Culture and the Coming of Sound Cinema*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 4.

⁶⁰² Ibid. p. 7, quoting Arnoux, Alexandre (1928) ‘J’ai vu enfin, à Londres un film parlant’, *Pour vous*, no. 1, 22nd November.

⁶⁰³ Leloup, Jean-Yves (2015) op. cit.

⁶⁰⁴ Chion, Michel (2008) op. cit. p. 65.

⁶⁰⁵ Philharmonia (2019) *Soundtracks* [Online: <http://www.philharmonia.co.uk/orchestra/history/soundtracks>] Last accessed 4th February 2019.

copyright laws protect the creations of authors: the author of a work has an 'exclusive incorporeal property right, opposable to all, that a lending contract cannot affect.'⁶⁰⁶ This author has the exclusive right to use their work for any purpose and financial gain. This right is passed on to the author's heirs for the next seventy years after the death of the author.⁶⁰⁷ For symphonic music, the author is understood to be the composer.

The 'droit voisins' are added to the copyright of performers and musicians. The copyright for performers lasts fifty years after the interpretation of the piece.⁶⁰⁸ Performers of any musical work keep the copyrights of the music they record and will legally have to be consulted for any new broadcast. For example, if John Williams was to record a film score with the OP, he would have to ask the orchestra for permission for any new use of the soundtrack. This system was initially conceived to protect the rights of the musicians and performers and is applicable to all previously mentioned repertoires. However, this law had a greater impact on the recordings of film music. The film companies have tight budgets and schedules and French copyright laws make their administrative work considerably heavier. Therefore, symphonic film music was almost systematically delocalised, making French orchestras far less involved in the film music industry than their British colleagues.

However, some French national orchestras have taken initiatives towards reversing this trend. For example, the Orchestre national d'Île-de-France (Isle of France National Orchestra) is offering a new 'cinema package' with recording sessions at competitive prices and a clearer contract about copyright. Designed with the Union of Film Music Composers (UCMF), this new offer was presented at the Cannes Festival in 2015 and aims to facilitate the use of French orchestras

⁶⁰⁶ Etat Français (2018) 'Article L111-1' *Code de la propriété intellectuelle* [Online: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006069414>] Last accessed 4th February 2019: 'L'auteur d'une oeuvre de l'esprit jouit sur cette oeuvre, du seul fait de sa création, d'un droit de propriété incorporelle exclusif et opposable à tous. [...] L'existence ou la conclusion d'un contrat de louage d'ouvrage ou de service par l'auteur d'une oeuvre de l'esprit n'emporte pas dérogation à la jouissance du droit reconnu par le premier alinéa, sous réserve des exceptions prévues par le présent code.'

⁶⁰⁷ Etat Français (2018) 'Article L123-1', *Code de la propriété intellectuelle* [Online: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006069414>] Last accessed 4th February 2019.

⁶⁰⁸ Etat Français (2018) 'Article L211-4', *Code de la propriété intellectuelle* [Online: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006069414>] Last accessed 4th February 2019.

for the recordings of soundtrack.⁶⁰⁹ President of the UCMF Patrick Sigwalt sees that new package as a revolution: the copyright system, even if protective for the artists, had become expensive and dissuaded professionals. With this package, there would be no legal obligation to negotiate copyrights for each new diffusion of the movie such as a television broadcast or a DVD release.⁶¹⁰

Recent productions suggested that the French film music industry is being partially relocalised. For example, Alexandre Desplat recorded his score for Luc Besson's *Valérian et la Cité des mille planètes* (2017) with the ONF and the Chorus of Radio France in February 2017 in the Maison de la Radio, where no film music had been recorded since 1984.⁶¹¹

France remains a late-comer in regulations to facilitate the relocalisation of its film music industry. The few recent regulations cannot yet overcome the effect of eighty years of collaboration between the British orchestras and the international film companies.

As discussed in the introduction, these characteristics of the French economic system do not necessarily stand as only the causes of the state of French symphony orchestras as part of the cultural system. According to Pryor's study, the cultural system influenced economic features. The French orchestras happened to be not competitive enough but all the laws which impacted on the interaction between French orchestras and the film industry can be seen as a cultural answer to a preceding cultural state. From the beginnings, the national French orchestras were not seen as candidates to record soundtracks partly because of their cultural capital and high-end performing standard. The state of the French orchestral recording industry and concert programmes of the last fifty years showed that national symphony orchestras were not considered to identify with the performance of film music.

⁶⁰⁹ Anastasio, Sofia (2015) 'L'orchestre national d'Île de France propose ses services au cinéma' in France Musique [Online: <https://www.francemusique.fr/emissions/le-dossier-du-jour/l-orchestre-national-d-ile-de-france-propose-ses-services-au-cinema-14710>] Last accessed 10th May 2017.

⁶¹⁰ Revenu, Nathalie (2015) op. cit.

⁶¹¹ Talabot, Jean (2017) 'Valérian: la bande originale d'Alexandre Desplat enregistrée à la Maison de la Radio', *Le Figaro* 22nd February [Online: <http://www.lefigaro.fr/musique/2017/02/22/03006-20170222ARTFIG00176--valerian-la-bande-originale-d-alexandre-desplat-enregistree-a-la-maison-de-la-radio.php>] Last accessed 10th May 2017.

Contextual investigation: cultural capital and the fields of cultural production

Comparing histories and societal contexts of the French and British orchestras suggests that film music does not share the same symbolic status in France and in Britain. More than a repertoire, many British orchestras claimed that playing film music was part of their musical identity.⁶¹² By contrast, performing film music remained only an occasional practice for the French orchestras. Applying Bourdieu's framework of cultural and symbolic capital helps explaining this difference. In *The Field of Cultural Production*, Bourdieu explained:

The more autonomous the field becomes the more favourable the symbolic power balance is to the most autonomous producers and the more clearcut is the division between the field of restricted production, in which the producers produce for other producers, and the field of "mass-audience" production (*la grande production*) which is *symbolically* excluded and discredited (this symbolically dominant definition is the one that the historians of art and literature *unconsciously* adopt when they exclude from their object of study, writers and artists who produced for the market and have often fallen into oblivion).⁶¹³

In my case, the producers are the symphony orchestras, performing symphonic music. In concert halls, the cultural production of symphony orchestras could theoretically be considered as reaching a mass audience. In fact, the audience of the canonical classical concerts is constituted by a very unrepresentative section of the population, including a significant part: amateur musicians, amateur music historians, critics, generally people with either a strong interest for classical music or canonical art and humanities in general.⁶¹⁴ In a concert hall, the symphony orchestras are therefore generally mostly performing for other producers, of a smaller scale, often in other fields.

Based on the history of symphony orchestras and the film industry, I argue that the interplay between the 'field of restricted production' of concert hall

⁶¹² LSO (2019) *LSO and Film Music* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/lso-and-film-music.html>] Last accessed 18th February 2019.

⁶¹³ Bourdieu, Pierre (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 320.

⁶¹⁴ Baker, Tim (1990) *Stop Re-inventing The Wheel: a guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music* [Online: <https://www.culturehive.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Stop-Reinventing-the-Wheel-Guide-to-Classical-Music-Audiences.pdf>] Last accessed 11th December 2019.

performances and the ‘field of mass-production’ of symphonic film music performances and recordings does not reach the same degree in France and in Britain. In France, the restricted production, i.e. concert hall performance, are very much separated from the field of mass-production, where symphony orchestras record for mass-audiences. Therefore, following Bourdieu’s framework, the symbolic division between the programming practices of orchestras and film music is greater in France than in Britain.

The concert venues for French film music performances support the application of Bourdieu’s framework to the integration of film music in the repertoire of symphony orchestras. French orchestras mostly excluded film music from their concert halls. Concert schedules showed that French orchestras mostly performed film music in other contexts. For example, the OPS performed both *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2014) and Disney’s soundtracks in the Strasbourg Zenith, a venue for popular music concerts instead of their usual venue.⁶¹⁵ Conversely, the RSNO performed its ‘RSNO at the movies’ concert series in the same venue as their classical music concerts.

The websites and publications of British orchestras confirmed that the division between winter season as the ‘restricted field of production’ and their film music recording or performing activities is less clear-cut than in France. For example, the extensive film recording activities of the RSNO and the LSO confirmed that the two fields highly depended on each other. Therefore, the symbolic power imbalance was moderate between the two fields, and performing film music became not only a budgeting strategy for British orchestras but is now part of the traditional British orchestral performance practices.

Far from being an isolated phenomenon on a few websites of orchestras, a great part of the British symphony orchestras, especially in London but also in other parts of Britain, advertised film music as part of their identity. The LSO, recording soundtracks since 1935, advertised on its website the accolade ‘the

⁶¹⁵ Szenik (2014) *Pirates des Caraïbes Orchestre Philharmonique de Strasbourg* [Online: <https://www.szenik.eu/fr/event/pirates-des-caraibes>] Last accessed 7th April 2020. Concert named ‘Contrebande originale’. Zénith (2020) *Disney en concert: Magical music from the movies* [Online: <https://www.zenith-strasbourg.fr/uk/disney-en-concert-magical-music-from-the-movies-strasbourg-zenith-europe-19-12-2020>] Last accessed 7th April 2020.

perfect film orchestra' by the musical director Muir Mathieson. Philharmonia, playing for the industry since 1946, attested to have a 'proud history of recording soundtracks for film and television'. The RSNO advertised its 'worldwide reputation for the quality of its film music performances' with 'an amazing back-catalogue of soundtrack recordings - including *Alien*, *The Great Escape*, *Jaws*, *Superman*, *Psycho*, *Out of Africa*, *Star Wars: Shadows of the Empire*, *Vertigo* and many more'.⁶¹⁶

Beyond advertising their expertise to record soundtracks, the British orchestras transferred this cultural capital to their regular seasons. For example, the RSNO performed a yearly concert series 'RSNO at the Movies' interacting with Hollywood and the British film industry. The RSNO justified the value of this series based on their close relationship with the film industry. In 2019, the series presented a Danny Elfman gala concert including Britain premiere of Elfman's *Eleven Eleven Violin Concerto* in the presence of the composer.⁶¹⁷ The previous summer the orchestra toured in Hollywood with the same repertoire. Bill Chandler, concert planner of the RSNO, confirmed that the orchestra intended to provide quality content for the specific audience of film music instead of trying to convert this audience to the canonical concerts of the season.

A recent phenomenon, the rise of film music concerts in France crucially suggests a major difference in the canonisation processes of film music in France and in Britain. Very recent concert programmes suggest the slow integration of film music into the French orchestral performing canons. In Britain, the integration of film music in the orchestral repertoires started with the film industry and then reached concert halls. In France, considering the lack of interaction between orchestras and the film industry, the canonisation of soundtracks went straight to orchestral repertoires without a preliminary recording tradition. The chronology of film music performances in the French programmes showed that integrating film music first came with an educative purpose for younger audiences and then was only very recently enlarged to film

⁶¹⁶ RSNO (2020) *RSNO at the movies* [Online: <https://www.rsno.org.uk/film/>] Last accessed 7th April 2020.

⁶¹⁷ RSNO conducted by John Mauceri: Elfman's *Serenada Schizophrana*, Violin Concerto *Eleven Eleven* (British Premiere), *Batman Suite*, *Alice in Wonderland Suite*, *Edward Scissorhands* (November 2019). RSNO (2020) *Concert* [Online: https://www.rsno.org.uk/concert/?c_id=969&action=Read+More] Last accessed 7th April 2020.

music shows. Film music in the British programmes predominantly came from the pre-existing relation with the film industry whereas in France, film music concerts were more a response to the market competition.

Conclusion

The canonisation of film music in Britain shows the impact of the interaction of cultural and economic systems on the orchestral repertoires. The French economic system did not facilitate the joint development of French symphony orchestras and the French film industry. The employment and copyright laws induced engrained social dumping practices for several decades. By contrast, the relationship between British orchestras and their local film industry was partly favoured by the British economic system. The concert database shows that the interaction between symphony orchestras and the film industry impacted the canonisation of film music in concert programmes. The cases of the London orchestras confirmed that a transfer of repertoire occurred between recording studios and concert halls.

Recently, a more regular integration of film music in French programmes shows a major cultural difference in the canonisation process of film music within the repertoire of symphony orchestras. In Britain, the introduction and canonisation of film music came through the tight commercial and cultural interactions with the film industry. In France, the introduction of film music into concert halls came as an audience-based strategy. As a result, film music is part of the British orchestral canons and the identity of many British orchestras, as their online communication shows. In France, film music remains a marginal repertoire, probably on its way to be marginally canonised as the last five years of film music performances suggest.

The interactions between the cultural and economic systems partly explain this difference between the French and British orchestral canons. However, in the case of France, the reluctant and slow integration of film music in concert halls induces another deeper societal opposition. Applying Bourdieu's framework of autonomy between the field of restricted production and the field of mass production to symphony orchestras helps further unravel the canonical differences between the French and British concert. Another field of mass-production, video game music, provides another strong example of this division and so this will be elaborated in the next case study.

Case study 10: video games in concert halls, the opposition of high-culture and mass entertainment

The case of video game music highlights the canonical differences between the French and British symphony orchestras. The tension between high-culture and mass entertainment and their respective values can help to demonstrate the roles of orchestras within their societies. Applying the concept of distinction, based on Bourdieu's work, will help expose why video game music hold different statuses in the French and British orchestral repertoires. Applying the sociological field theory to these results is a second step towards explaining the canonical situation of screen music in France and in Britain.

Musicology has only recently started to consider video game music as a research topic. The studies mainly focus on this repertoire as a specific genre, its history and composition practices. Such references include *Understanding Video Game Music* (2016) by Summers and Hannigan and *Emotion in Video Game Soundtracking* (2018) by Williams and Newton. Despite the recent rise of publications on video game music, the research on its integration in orchestral seasons remained relatively sparse. *Unlimited Replays: Video Games and Classical Music* by Gibbons is the main, if not the only study on the matter.

In his chapter 11, 'Classifying Game Music' (in opposition to chapter 10 'Gamifying Classical Music'), Gibbons presented the necessary background but did not take any national canonical variations into consideration.⁶¹⁸ His case studies explored how symphony orchestras are including video game music in their seasons and the resulting tension from the encounter with two different audiences: conservative concert-goers and newly-arriving gamers. However, Gibbons did not differentiate the examples of video game concerts and symphonic shows from Japan, Germany (*Symphonische Spielmusikkonzerte* featuring the WDR Radio Orchestra) and the US (*Dear Friends: Music from Final Fantasy*, *Video Game Live* and *Play! A Video Game Symphony*).

As Gibbons pointed out, classical symphony orchestras took part in these musical performances based on video game soundtracks. Therefore, this repertoire

⁶¹⁸ Gibbons, Williams (2018) *Unlimited Replays: Video Games and Classical Music*. New York: Oxford University Press.

started to make its way into some orchestral repertoires and concert halls. Indeed, some agents of the classical performing scene experimented with ways to integrate video game music into their canons. However, the previous chapters of this thesis demonstrated that national programming practices cannot be simply transferred from a country to another. Therefore, the US and Japanese models of performing video game music cannot be generalised for other national orchestras.

The concert database of the LSO, RSNO, OP and OPS as well as additional concerts from other French and British orchestras suggest that video game music is not as popular in France as it is in Britain. The concert programmes show that British orchestras partly follow their American colleagues who perform video-game music on a regular basis. By contrast, there is no evidence in French programmes for the stable integration of video game music within the French orchestral repertoires and concert halls.

To the best of my knowledge, no comparative study on the integration of video game music in the programmes of symphony orchestras from different countries has yet been published. The literature about video game music in concert halls treated international examples as the same study material, despite their different national and cultural contexts. This universalistic vision of video game music suggests that all national orchestras share the same unified canon and culture. I argue that, as for the other cases of this thesis, national canonical variations exist and significantly shape the Western canon, including video game music.

This case aims to demonstrate how the different status of video game music in the French and British orchestral canons partly resulted from sociological characteristics of both countries. The distance between the video game as a mass entertainment and the orchestras as the epitome of high culture varies between countries and influences performing practices.

Contextual investigation: values and practices from screen music to concert music

Video game music, as indeed do other types of soundtracks, needs to be adapted to fit the practices of symphonic concerts. Programming screen music requires

an aesthetic shift. A tension lies between film music as ‘applied music’, part of a greater work of art combining music and image and concert music, ‘absolute music, composed for a stand-alone listening experience’.⁶¹⁹ Concert music and soundtracks diverge as ‘in concert music the weight of the experience is carried by the music alone’ whereas ‘film music has a much more particularized function, always within a dramatic context’.⁶²⁰ Detaching the plot from any type of acted music could minimise the interest of the soundtrack. For example, journalist Michael Church worried about Gergiev’s performance of the complete ballet *Cinderella* with the LSO for the 2012 London Proms. For him, ‘one had to wonder whether - at 105 minutes and without a visual component - [Prokofiev’s ballet score from *Cinderella*] might be over-long’.⁶²¹

However, no evidence suggested that the arduous process of adapting or recomposing non-concert music impeded the integration of soundtracks into concert programmes. For example, Lehman provided a framework of the performance practice of film music, detailing ten types of compositions for ‘film-as-concert’ music.⁶²² Some early concert film music was already part of the concert canon such as Prokofiev’s *Lieutenant Kijé Suite* and the cantata *Alexander Nevsky* based on the soundtracks of eponymous Soviet movies. Moreover, other types of soundtracks have previously made their way into the orchestral concert canons. For example, opera, ballet and stage music were integrated earlier in the history of symphonic concerts and now constitute a noticeable part of the repertoire.

The concert programmes showed the canonisation of instrumental episodes of operas such as overtures (e.g. Wagner’s overture *Die Meistersinger*), interludes (e.g. Wagner’s ‘Prelude and Liebestod’ from *Tristan and Isolde*) and orchestral suites based on ballets and operatic themes, arranged by composers themselves (e.g. Tchaikovsky’s *Swan Lake Suites*, Bizet’s *Carmen Suites*). Even complete operas in concert versions, without the acting and staging aspects, stand as a minor, but recurring, performance practice for French and British orchestras.

⁶¹⁹ Audissino, Emilio (2014) op. cit. p. 25.

⁶²⁰ Burt, George (1994) *The Art of Film Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, p. 5.

⁶²¹ Church, Michael (2012) ‘Proms 52: LSO Gergiev’, *The Independent*, 23rd August.

⁶²² Lehman, Frank (2018) ‘Film-as-concert music and the formal implication of ‘cinematic listening’’, *Musical Analysis*, vol. 1, no. 37, p. 9.

For example, the BBCSSO performed Berlioz's *Lélio* in concert version in Glasgow (February 2019).

The history of symphony orchestras demonstrated their ability to accommodate soundtracks in their programmes. Therefore, other factors must explain the slow integration of video game music into concert halls. The symbolic distance between video games as mass entertainment and symphony orchestras as epitomes of high culture partly explains the status of video game music in Europe.

Database analysis: video game music in France and Britain, symbolic capital and distinction

The divergences between the results of the US-based research of Gibbons and my database of the concerts of French and British symphony orchestras suggest that a cultural difference can explain the American and European performance practices for video game music. The database of French and British orchestral seasons partly contradicts some of the US-based research of Gibbons. According to Gibbons, 'orchestral game music concerts have quickly become a staple of ensembles ranging from local community orchestras to elite professional ensembles'.⁶²³ However, the concert programmes showed that French and British symphony orchestras very rarely programmed any video game music in their main seasons.

A bias is introduced by the fact that the concerts of video game music are rarely advertised as part of the main orchestral seasons. However, there is no evidence that this bias is the only cause of the discrepancies between the American and European video game concerts. The season brochures show that the American symphony orchestras rarely advertised the video game music shows they performed. For example, the Phoenix Symphony Orchestra and the Houston Symphony Orchestra both played in the show 'rePLAY, a Video Game Symphony of Heroes' including music from *Final Fantasy*, *The Elder Scrolls*, *Portal*, *Journey* and *Halo* without advertising it in their season 2013-2014. Likewise, the symphonic show *Video Games Live* started in 2005 was not mentioned in the

⁶²³ Gibbons, Williams (2018) op. cit. p. 158.

seasons of Nashville Symphony Orchestra, Dallas Symphony Orchestra, National Symphony Orchestra (Washington) and Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra.⁶²⁴

Similarly, most of the French and British symphony orchestras did not include their video game concerts in the communication of their main winter season.

Beyond the differences between the American and European orchestras, the French and British orchestras present different approaches to video game music for their self-produced concerts. Concert data shows that British orchestras started to advertise video game music in their main season, whereas French orchestras almost never programmed this genre. For example, in 2013, the LSO performed Uematsu's music for *Final Fantasy* including the canonically rewritten pieces *Fantasy Overture*, *Final Fantasy VI Symphonic Poem*, *Final Fantasy X Piano Concerto* and *Final Fantasy VII Symphony*. The LSO programmed a series of similar repeated concerts in 2015, at the Barbican Centre and on tour in Japan. Despite these events, programming video game concerts remained relatively rare in British programmes. For example, no other occurrence of Uematsu, Yuzo Koshiro, Masato Nakamura, Koji Kondo, Jeremy Soule, James Hannigan, Jesper Kyd, Jason Graves and Steve Jablonsky could be found in the programmes of the LSO.

The performance of symphonic video game music by national symphony orchestras was even rarer in France, and no evidence of video game concerts was to be found in the concert brochures of the major French orchestras. The brochures of the OP and OPS did not include video game music concerts to the extent of my database. Several specialised ensembles such as L'Orchestre de Jeux Vidéo and Pixelophonia did however perform video game music in France.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁴ Video Games Live (2019) *Video Games Lives* [Online: <http://www.videogameslive.com>] Last accessed 30th April 2019.

⁶²⁵ The orchestra Pixelophonia was created by students within the epitomic French high musical establishment, Paris National Conservatoire. In 2012, composition classmates decided to found the Société des Ecrivains Gamers Arrangeurs (Arranger Gamer Composers Society). 'Ecriture' is a specific class in French conservatoires that has no British equivalent. It lies between composition and music theory. Students learn to write in styles of composers, to compose pastiches from early baroque to modern days. Lamy, Corentin (2017) 'L'orchestre Pixelophonia s'empare des musiques de jeux vidéo', *Le Monde*, 18th September [Online: https://www.lemonde.fr/festival/article/2017/09/18/l-orchestre-pixelophonia-s-empare-des-musiques-de-jeux-video_5187341_4415198.html] Last accessed 30th April 2019.

The weekend of video game music organised by the Paris Philharmonie in 2017 exemplified both the low, if not inexistent, involvement of French national orchestras and the growing initiative of British orchestras to perform video game music. The Paris Philharmonie, residence of the OP, organised events themed on video games. Even if two of the nation-leading French ensembles, the OP and the Ensemble Intercontemporain, share a residence in the venue, foreign orchestras were invited to perform symphonic video game music, including the LSO. The Yellow Socks Orchestra played a concert named 'Retrogaming' including the music from *Mario*, *Zelda*, *Tetris* and *Street Fighter*. The LSO performed 'symphonic selections of Japanese video game music' and 'Symphonic Odysseys Hommage à Nobuo Uematsu' mostly on *Final Fantasy*'s themes. This example showed that British or more generally foreign orchestras were invited to perform video game music for events organised in France, instead of the local French orchestras.

Moreover, the programmes of the video game musical shows involving symphony orchestras showed canonical differences in French and British performance practices. For example, the show *Video Games Live* toured worldwide and generally employed local orchestras in the country of the performance. Major differences can be observed when *Video Games Live* was performed in France and in Britain. In France, foreign orchestras or specialised ensembles were hired instead of a French national symphony orchestra. For example, the Hungarian Virtuosi Orchestra performed the Parisian show on 5th November 2014 and the specialised ensemble Star Pop Orchestra on the 18th December 2008.

The shows such as *Video Games Live* suggest that video game music is not part of the French orchestral canons, or even considered as 'acceptable' repertoire for a French national orchestra yet. Most of the major French symphony orchestras placed themselves as the flagship of high culture, with an educational mission. Nearly completely state-funded, they acted as a guarantor of the preservation of the repertoire considered as heritage. The governmental policy statements implied that the French symphony orchestras have an educational purpose without an entertaining mission. The French government clearly stated the mission of its national orchestras as 'keeping alive, on the whole national territory, symphonic works from the national heritage and from the contemporary repertoire, and making them accessible to the widest

audience.’⁶²⁶ The high-cultured image that French symphony orchestras cultivated proved to be incompatible with video game music created as entertainment.

By contrast, the performances of *Video Games Live* in Britain demonstrated the possible encounter between world-leading orchestras and video game music. When the show toured in England, *Video Games Live* hired some of the British nation-leading orchestras such as Philharmonia (20th October 2007) and the RSNO (26th June 2008, 15th November 2009 and 27th March 2015). Moreover, smaller British orchestras, among some of the most prestigious ensembles on the art music scene, also performed *Video Games Live* such as the English Chamber Orchestra (24th October 2008), the Royal Northern Sinfonia based in Gateshead (25th November 2009) and the British Sinfonietta (19th and 20th March 2016). Some exceptions can be mentioned such as some performances by the Hungarian Virtuosi Orchestra in Manchester.

These concerts show that British orchestras have a different position within their society, entertainment being higher rated than merely education. For example, it is an explicit goal of the RSNO to reach the widest audience possible as a national orchestra providing quality content in several musical genres.⁶²⁷ The RSNO, as with many British orchestras, considers playing video game music an opportunity to attract a different audience. The British orchestras follow the precedent of other previously well-integrated types of soundtracks such as film and television music.

As for film music, the choice of venue for the performances of *Video Games Live* further demonstrated the different sociological situations of the French and British orchestras. In Britain, *Video Games Live* shared the same venue as classical concerts such as the Royal Concert Hall in Glasgow, the Caird Hall in Dundee, the Albert Hall in Manchester and the Royal Festival Hall in London. In

⁶²⁶ ‘Mise en œuvre aux côtés des collectivités territoriales à la fin des années 1960, la politique de l’État en faveur des orchestres à musiciens permanents permet de faire vivre, sur l’ensemble du territoire national, les œuvres symphoniques du patrimoine et du répertoire contemporain et de les rendre accessibles au plus grand nombre.’ Ministère de la Culture (2019) *Orchestres permanents en région*. [Online: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Musique/Organismes/Creation-Diffusion/Orchestres-permanents-en-region>] Last accessed 29th April 2019.

⁶²⁷ Chandler, Bill (2019) op. cit.

this respect, the show was advertised with other classical events in the programmes of the concert halls, as a special event as film music concerts could be. By contrast, in France, *Video Games Live* was played in large venues dedicated to musicals and popular music as the Grand Rex or the Palais des Congrès in Paris. The choice of French venues suggested that a video game show was inappropriate in the season of the Paris Philharmonie, home of the prestigious OP and EI.

Rather than merely being a financial opportunity, performing screen music has become part of the identities of British orchestras. The websites of the major London orchestras show their commitment in performing video game music and appearing as the market leaders of the genre.⁶²⁸ The communication material of the British orchestras showed that video game music started to follow the discourse on film music of British orchestras, detailed in the previous case study. For example, the LPO advertised its album *The Greatest Video Game Music* in the 'Hire the Orchestra' section of their website and Philharmonia had a dedicated page about recording video game music.⁶²⁹

Comparing the French and British concert programmes shows that video game music magnifies the imbalance of symbolic power between the core symphony repertoire and soundtracks. Applying Bourdieu's theory on the autonomy between the 'field of restricted production' and the 'field of mass-production' to the film music concerts explains the divergences between the French and British canons. Video game music is a more extreme illustration of the French and British canonisation practices. In France, most but not all film music concerts were performed outside of concert halls. Whilst film music performances can sometimes occur in the concert hall seasons, the concert schedules show that no video game music was performed in classical concert halls. In addition to this distinction between venues, there was a distinction in performers between national symphony orchestras and specialised orchestras.

⁶²⁸ LSO (2019) *LSO and film music* [Online: <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/history/lso-and-film-music.html>] Last accessed 4th April 2017.

⁶²⁹ LPO (2017) *Hire the LPO: in the recording studio* [Online: <https://www.lpo.org.uk/about-us/hire-the-lpo.html>] Last accessed 4th April 2017; Philharmonia Orchestra (2017) *Video Games* [Online: <http://www.philharmonia.co.uk/orchestra/history/games>] Last accessed 4th April 2017.

The canonical differences of the integration of screen music in the French and British orchestral repertoires resulted in deeper variations in the ‘distinction between core and populist programming’ that Price made in the case of British orchestras.⁶³⁰ As shown in this chapter, French orchestras rarely performed screen music, film or video game music, which is today’s basis of market-oriented programming. Therefore, this distinction of core and populist concerts within the same season of an orchestra stands as a British practice that is not shared with French orchestras, for now.

Conclusion

To conclude, the recent integration of screen music in the repertoires of symphony orchestras exposed the deep canonical variations between French and British orchestral canons. The database shows a strikingly higher frequency of performance of screen music, i.e. film and video game music, in Britain compared with France. Administrative, financial and aesthetical issues partly justify the low level of interaction between the French national orchestras and the film industry. The history of the interaction of the British orchestras with the film industry explains this difference to some extent, providing a favourable synergy between the economic and cultural systems. The concert programmes show that British orchestras succeeded in transferring their expertise in performing soundtracks for the film industry to their concert halls.

Comparing societal contexts of French and British orchestras show that screen music does not share the same symbolic and cultural status in France as in Britain. Bourdieu’s framework of autonomy between the field of restricted production and the field of mass production partly explains the canonical performing differences between French and British symphony orchestras. Both cases of film music and video game music exemplify, at different levels, the clash between high-culture and mass entertainment and their respective symbolic values. The role of orchestras within their local societies helps elucidate these variations. The French orchestras mainly focus on an educational mission prompted by governmental policies, whereas the British orchestras use

⁶³⁰ Price, Sarah M (2017) *Risk and Reward in Classical Music Concert: Attendance investigating the engagement of ‘art’ and ‘entertainment’ audiences with a regional symphony orchestra in the UK*. Doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, p. 2.

their position as entertainment companies. The introduction of screen music in concert halls directly depends on these societal differences, as it did in the case of the Second Viennese School (chapter 5).

The database shows that screen music is a marginal canonical repertoire but it is growing within programmes. Preceding chapters presented marginal areas of the classical music canon. Screen music stands as the repertoire that matches most with my definition of marginal, as orchestras can succeed without performing screen music at all.⁶³¹ Paradoxically, it is also the repertoire that matches the closest the fame of the core German canon and its claims of universality and could potentially be developed as a parallel canonical core repertoire in Britain first, and maybe later in France.

⁶³¹ German orchestras almost never perform film music. See Bols, Ingrid (2016) op. cit.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I proposed to answer two research questions on the impact of national culture on the programmes of symphony orchestras in France and in Britain, predominantly based on the seasons of the LSO, RSNO, OP and OPS from the late 1960s until the present day. It demonstrated the amplitude of the national differences in the French and British orchestral canons based on the study of a new concert database and the analysis of contextual archival material.

The main aim of this thesis was to address the lack of research evidence on the contemporary programming practices of orchestras. This research expands our understanding of contemporary concert canons. Whereas most of the literature explored late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century concert programmes, I provide a contemporary vision of programming choices. The first major practical contribution of this thesis is to provide the analysis of a concert database. The recent concert seasons benefited from very little research, especially the seasons of the OP and the OPS. This thesis challenges the international approach of orchestral concert canons.

How different are national symphonic concert canons?

The canons of symphony orchestras are mostly similar, yet a significant proportion of the repertoire presents canonical differences between France and Britain. These differences can be found in the numbers of performances and in the status and significance of some pieces in orchestral seasons. Three main results answer this first research question:

- 1) a moderate part of the repertoire presents national differences and these differences mainly impact marginal repertoire,
- 2) the frequency of performance of specific repertoires stands as a manifestation of national canonical differences,
- 3) beyond numbers, some repertoires share the same frequency of performance but not the same canonical status.

These findings were illustrated by the ten case studies of this thesis.

Firstly, a core canon of shared repertoire constitutes a greater proportion of the music performed by orchestras than the repertoire impacted by the national canonical differences. The analysis of my database shows that canonical differences are less visible for core repertoire than for marginal repertoire, which I defined as the music which an orchestra does not need to perform to achieve national and international recognition. This difference was made visible with the study of the French repertoire, for example: the core canonical pieces of Ravel, Berlioz and Debussy presented less national variations than Messiaen. Moreover, the difference between the tonal and atonal works of Schoenberg demonstrated how the pieces considered as closer to the core canon present less national particularities in performance. This marginal repertoire adds up to a lower, yet significant proportion of the pieces played by the orchestras I studied. Based on the examples presented in this research, the performances of Elgar, Walton, Vaughan Williams, Debussy, Messiaen, Sibelius, Nielsen, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Schoenberg, Berg and Webern represented between 10% and 20% of the repertoire played by the LSO, RSNO, OP and OPS.

Secondly, canonical differences in this marginal repertoire appear in the frequency of performance of specific pieces, following the canonisation processes which most often have their roots earlier in the reception of these pieces. Unsurprisingly, some parts of the national repertoire present different frequencies of performance. For example, British music is more frequently performed in Britain, as is Messiaen in France. However, the different frequencies of performance of foreign repertoire are the more unexpected findings. For example, British orchestras generally perform Russian music more often than their French counterparts, especially twentieth-century works. This difference can be explained by the earlier reception history and societal phenomena such as the integration of exiled Soviet musicians into the British musical scene.

Thirdly, the database analysis shows that the canonisation of a certain repertoire does not only rely on the frequency of performance. Beyond numbers, the orchestral canons differ in the status of certain repertoires in their programmes. A similar frequency of performance does not necessarily signify a similar canonical status. For example, the concert database of the LSO and OP shows that the Second Viennese School is performed in similar proportion.

However, this repertoire is canonical for the OP, whereas it is marginal repertoire for the LSO, only performed by a few specialised conductors, such as Boulez. The greater variety of conductors performing this repertoire with the OP shows a deeper integration of the Second Viennese School into the French orchestral canons.

To what extent do nation-making dynamics influenced the canonisation of local and foreign music in the repertoires of national orchestras

I have demonstrated how nation-making processes, such as governmental policies and societal trends, influenced orchestral canons in a number of ways. The case studies of this thesis led to three main findings to answer this question:

- 1) as can be expected, the nation-making processes partly determined the extent to which national music is present in programmes and the ways in which it is presented,
- 2) a more unexpected finding is that the nation-making processes also determined how foreign repertoires are integrated into national variations of the orchestral canons,
- 3) the role of orchestras within their own societies impacted the integration of more diverse music genres.

These findings were supported with various examples in the ten case studies of this thesis.

Firstly, nation-making dynamics do have a visible impact on the proportion of national music which is played and the way it is presented. For example, the thought-to-be close alignment between British music and its society partly explained the great development of this repertoire in the British canons and its lack of diffusion abroad. The analysis of the British orchestral canons shows that the prevalent place of landscape in British national identity resulted in the adoption of local music such as Vaughan Williams. The nation-making dynamics within countries also impacted the canonisation of local repertoires. For example, the significantly lower proportion of English music in the programmes of the RSNO compared with the English orchestras can be seen as a manifestation of cultural factors of nation building. In France, national policies

impacted the development of thematic seasons such as the celebration of Debussy's centenary. The significant amount of French music played in Britain demonstrated that to speak of national preference remains a great simplification and does not accurately represent orchestral the canons.

Secondly, the canonisation processes of foreign music are also partly influenced by nation-making dynamics. The prevalent place of landscape in the British national identity not only impacted the local repertoires but also the reception of foreign music. For example, the integration of Nordic music in the British canons exemplified the significance of constructed visions of national identity through the ideas of landscape and countryside. This trend also shows in the British programming practices even for shared canonical pieces such as pairing Debussy with programmatic music, within sea-themed concerts for example.

Thirdly, the role of orchestras within their local societies, partly shaped by governmental policies, visibly impacted the musical canons. For example, the French government gave an educational mission to the national orchestras; therefore, the entertainment aspect of film music does not fit as well in the French orchestral canons as in the British ones. The case of film music in the French and British orchestral seasons demonstrated that a favourable synergy between the economic and cultural systems amplified the canonisation of film music in Britain. Moreover, several cases show the importance of symbolic capital, differently interpreted by the French and British societal models, in the canonisation of specific repertoires. For example, the exiled Soviet musicians grew symbolic capital during the Cold War and built a stronger power of influence to integrate Shostakovich and Prokofiev into the British programmes.

As mentioned in my answer to the first research question, marginal repertoire is more variable in general and is indeed more affected by these nation-making dynamics. The significance of the core canon to establish the national and international fame of an orchestra minimises the effect of national specificities. Moreover, the nation-making dynamics are far from being the only influencing factors behind the programming choices of orchestras. These trends are put into tension with the increasingly global profile of conductors, soloists and concert managers. However, the examples of Rostropovich and Boulez show that individual programming choices do not entirely overcome national specificities.

Limitations and continuation

The research started in this thesis can be continued by 1) completing the sample of composers within existing chapters, 2) adding case studies based on other repertoires, 3) extending the idea of nation-making policies to the relation between the national orchestral canons and the national market segmentation, and 4) developing the available data.

Firstly, far more examples could be added to the composers studied here and this could enlarge the proportion of the repertoire holding a different canonical status in the programmes of French and British orchestras. For example, more recent British music such as Benjamin Britten, Frederick Delius and Herbert Howells could be studied as part of national music. Moreover, the national variations within countries could be explored with the addition of Scottish composers such as Sally Beamish and Thea Musgrave. For French music, Maurice Ravel and Hector Berlioz could be added to Debussy and André Jolivet, Henri Dutilleux and Pierre Boulez (among others) could complement the case of the performances of Messiaen's orchestral music. Contemporary Nordic music such as Einojuhani Rautavaara and Magnus Linberg could provide a continuation to twentieth-century Sibelius and Nielsen. Many other Soviet musicians could be considered as influential figures for the introduction of modern Russian music, such as Emil Gilels, Alexander Lazarev and Yevgeny Svetlanov. Finally, exploring the integration of Igor Stravinsky, Béla Bartók and Leoš Janáček in the orchestral canons would provide other examples of the reception of avant-garde music.

Secondly, during this research, I came across other cases of major differences in programming choices within marginal repertoires. This includes Christmas music and large choral works in France and in Britain for example. Beyond marginal repertoire, it would be illuminating to attempt to identify less visible trends in the core canon. Some concerts seemed to suggest that the canonisation practices around the performances of Beethoven, Mahler, Mendelssohn, Bruckner and Tchaikovsky vary between orchestras and these variations could be expanded to a national level. The celebrations of Beethoven in 2020 provide an

excellent case to start investigating these differences.⁶³² These added cases would significantly raise the proportion of variable repertoires within orchestral canons.

Thirdly, the film music chapter highlighted a possible correlation between the segmentation of the market of live music performance and the orchestral canons. Exploring the performances of baroque music, contemporary music and chamber orchestral music by non-specialised ensembles could provide additional elements to understand the programming choices of national orchestras. For example, it would be interesting to study the reaction in programming choices of major orchestras to the emergence of many more early music ensembles. Some events in my limited sample seemed to suggest that the French orchestras might have a more segmented approach towards repertoire than their British colleagues, performing less works considered as requiring a more specialised ensemble, such as Bach's orchestral works.

Fourthly, the sample of orchestras I chose limited the results of this research. Adding other symphony orchestras would surely provide additional insights on the impact of nation-making dynamics on programming choices. Other national orchestras could be added such as the HO in Manchester, which keeps a well-documented archive, the ONL and OL. Comparing the concerts of the national radio symphony orchestras such as the BBCSO, BBCSSO, ONF and OPRF adds another possible extension.

I suspect that the completion of a wider database is necessary to spot differences in the core repertoire. Combining a sociological and historical approach with statistical analysis of a much larger amount of data would possibly allow the generalisation of some of the findings of this research. A greater database treated with statistical tools could bring another perspective on the results of this thesis. In addition to the above mentioned orchestras, a national sample could be constituted by some of the members of the Association of British Orchestras and the members of the French Association of Orchestras

⁶³² Despite the cancellation of most March-June concerts in France and Britain because of the 2020 pandemic, these seasons were published and programming choices of orchestras can still be analysed.

(Association Française des Orchestres).⁶³³ However, the entire sample will complexify the interpretation of the data as previous studies have highlighted the differences of programming between smaller and larger orchestras.⁶³⁴ Keeping orchestras of an equivalent national size seems to appear as the most effective way to extend the database.

This research could be extended by adding other countries in the comparison of national orchestral canons. For example, adding the German orchestras into the national comparison could provide illuminating results, as it already appeared as a fruitful comparison in my study of the 2014-2015 season of sixteen German, French and British orchestras.⁶³⁵ The geographical proximity of these countries can help the securing an accurate context of confronting data. For example, Austria and Denmark could be potentially added to the sample with the same reasoning.

An ideal projection of this research would be the completion of an extremely large database of most major national orchestras in the world. Such a situation would allow balancing the local and national practices with the continental practices. The advent of new symphony orchestras outside Europe and North America, such as in Asia and South America, might be redefining the programming practices of orchestras. This thesis, with addition to other European and North American studies, could stand as a reference to compare the programmes of these new orchestras and identify to which extent their seasons are influenced by nation-making dynamics. The completion of this database undoubtedly remains a fictional situation and would require a

⁶³³ Members of the ABO excluding specialised ensembles include the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, Bath Philharmonia, BBC Concert Orchestra, BBCSO, BBCSO, Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra, Brighton Philharmonic Orchestra, CBSO, City of London Sinfonia, English Symphony Orchestra, HO, LPO, London Sinfonietta, National Symphony Orchestra, Oxford Philharmonic Orchestra, Philharmonia Orchestra, Royal Liverpool Philharmonic, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, SCO, Southbank Sinfonia and Ulster Orchestra. Members of the French Association of Orchestras that could be possibly integrated in the sample, excluding specialised ensembles and opera orchestras, include Orchestre National Bordeaux Aquitaine, Orchestre national d'Auvergne, OL, Orchestre national de Metz, Orchestre National des Pays de la Loire, ONL, ONF, ONIF, OCT, Orchestre de Picardie, Orchestre Victor Hugo Franche-Comté, Orchestre Régional de Normandie, Orchestre de Cannes Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur, Orchestre des Pays de Savoie, Orchestre Dijon Bourgogne, Orchestre Philharmonique de Marseille, OSM, OPRF, Orchestre de Pau Pays de Béarn, Orchestre symphonique de Bretagne, Orchestre Symphonique Région Centre-Val de Loire Tours.

⁶³⁴ Kremp, Pierre-Antoine (2010) op. cit.

⁶³⁵ Bols, Ingrid (2015) op. cit.

significant international research team. More realistically, some case studies could be the starting point of this larger vision, such as the programming choices of the Simón Bolívar Symphony Orchestra from Venezuela and the very recent Kinshasa Kimbanguiste Symphony Orchestra from Congo.

The relevance of the canons

The idea of the canon comes with crucial inherent limitations. Recent musicological research and debates focused on the concept of rehabilitating the canon. Tyack's thesis 'Rehabilitating the canon: a history of Handel's Messiah in performance' provided a prime example of this research strand.⁶³⁶ Moreover, the rehabilitation of the work of female composers in the musical canons was intensely researched and discussed, including the significant work of Citron.⁶³⁷

The very last years of my database, from 2019 onwards, confirmed that the idea of decolonising the canon will stand as a core research trend in the years to come. The Institute for Composer Diversity, operating within the State University of New York, and the London Chineke! Orchestra are practical examples of the support of the 'music created by composers from historically underrepresented groups'.⁶³⁸ For example, Black composers were more than 'underrepresented' within the concerts of the LSO but almost completely ignored. From 1904 to 2015, the LSO archive did not include any performance of the music of Joseph Bologne, Francis Johnson, Edmund Jenkins, Harry Lawrence Freeman, William Grant Still, Clarence Cameron White, Robert Nathaniel Dett, Florence Price, William Dawson, Undine Smith Moore, Howard Swanson, Margaret Bonds, Ulysses Kay, George Walker, Julia Perry, Hale Smith, T.J. Anderson, Noel DaCosta, Fredrick Tillis, David Baker, Alvin Singleton, Talib Hakim, Wendell Logan, Adolphus Hailstork, Tania Leon, Eleanor Alberga, Anthony Davis, Donal Fox, Lettie Beckon Alston, Jeffrey Mumford, Errollyn Wallen, Nkeiru Okoye, Hannah Kendall and Philip Herbert. Daniel Kidane's *Fused* was performed during a LSO contemporary music festival in 2015. The most

⁶³⁶ Tyack, Richard Jonathan (2007) *Rehabilitating the Canon: a History of Handel's Messiah in Performance*, PhD thesis. London: Royal Holloway University.

⁶³⁷ Citron, Marcia J. (1990) 'Gender professionalism and the Musical Canon', *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 102-117; Citron, Marcia J. (2000) *Gender and the Musical Canon*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press; Citron, Marcia J. (2007) 'Women and the Western Art Canon: Where Are We Now?', *Notes*, vol. 64, no. 2, pp. 209-215.

⁶³⁸ Institute for Composer Diversity (2021) *Institute for Composer Diversity* [Online: <https://www.composerdiversity.com/>] Last Accessed 2nd February 2021.

famous Black British composer Samuel Coleridge Taylor was performed 13 times between 1905 and 1964 and not heard since. As a comparison, Bantock was performed 21 times, Elgar more than 800 times and Beethoven more than 2900 times by the LSO.

A shift towards more diversity is discretely starting to happen in recent concert programmes. The musical seasons from 2019 onwards could be the dawn of the wide-ranging canonisation processes of the music of Black composers. For example, the leader of the RSNO Sharon Roffman opened the presentation of the 2019-2020 season with Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson's *Louisiana Blues Strut* for violin solo.⁶³⁹ The RSNO digital season of 2020-2021 included Joseph Bologne's Violin Concerto no. 1, Errollyn Wallen's *Mighty River*, Jessie Montgomery's *Sturm*, Florence Price's Violin Concerto no. 2 and George Walker's *Lyric for Strings*.

The case studies of this thesis traced the trajectories of certain repertoires within the orchestral canons and demonstrated their inherent flexibility. Kerman wrote 'a canon is an idea; a repertory is a program of action'. The case studies of this thesis show that the canonisation processes are the result of a combination of constant individual actions, especially of performers, on a significant period of time. The idea of the canon as a rigid and passéist idea, an immobile construction of past music critics can be balanced by the multiple and dynamic forces behind the canonisation processes. Rather than an oppressive idea, the orchestral canons are the reflection of combined practical actions.

⁶³⁹ Sharon Roffman played this repertoire at the opening concert of the 26th season of The Thurnauer Chamber Music Series, on 26th January 2019, with a programme entitled "A Musical Celebration of Black History Month." JCC on the Palisades (2019) *Thurnauer Chamber Music series: season opening concert* [Online: https://www.jccotp.org/JCC/Arts/Patron/Music/JCC/Arts/Patron_of_the_Arts/Patron_of_the_Arts_Music.aspx?hkey=96569f01-4561-43f7-82c5-aeb2e8d83ca1] Last Accessed 3rd February 2021.

Appendices

These tables present the number of performances of specific composers. The numbers are based on available data of the concerts of the LSO (1967-2015), the RSNO (1967-1968; 1969-1975; 1976-1977; 1978-1982; 1983-1988; 2001; 2008-2016), the OP (1967-2015) and the OPS (1973-1981; 1985-1987; 1991-1996; 1997-1998; 1999-2006; 2007-2009; 2014-2017).

Appendix 1: The performances of the symphonies of Beethoven, Mahler, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Schubert and Mendelssohn

Beethoven	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	36	5	16	5
Second Symphony	37	8	24	7
Third Symphony	88	20	78	8
Fourth Symphony	42	14	24	7
Fifth Symphony	110	15	63	5
Sixth Symphony	83	9	2(?)	14
Seventh Symphony	135	23	71	14
Eighth Symphony	53	7	38	5
Ninth Symphony	63	9	43	9
Total	647	110	367	74

Mahler	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	148	4	54	14
Second Symphony	30	2	21	6
Third Symphony	25	3	22	2
Fourth Symphony	40	10	25	12
Fifth Symphony	123	10	58	11
Sixth Symphony	37	5	17	6
Seventh Symphony	32	3	10	2
Eighth Symphony	5	1	2	1
Ninth Symphony	46	3	14	8
Tenth Symphony	27	3	11	1
Total	513	44	234	63

Brahms	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	91	22	78	8
Second Symphony	93	13	52	7
Third Symphony	27	11	34	8
Fourth Symphony	92	17	62	11
Total	303	63	226	34

Tchaikovsky	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	14	5	4	1
Second Symphony	10	6	4	2
Third Symphony	7		-	-
Fourth Symphony	102	7	46	9
Fifth Symphony	78	13	45	8
Sixth Symphony	84	12	51	11
Total	295	43	150	31

Schubert	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	-	-	1	2

Second Symphony	2	1	14	-
Third Symphony	4	4	12	4
Fourth Symphony	2	6	8	5
Fifth Symphony	19	4	5	-
Sixth Symphony	2	3	7	3
Eighth Symphony	50	11	34	16
Ninth Symphony	47	11	38	9
Total	126	40	119	39

Mendelssohn	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	1	-	2	2
Second Symphony	2	-	2	-
Third Symphony	27	3	20	3
Fourth Symphony	55	2	36	7
Fifth Symphony	11	1	6	2
Total	96	6	66	14

Appendix 2: The principal conductors of the four orchestras

LSO	RSNO
Hans Richter 1904-1911	George Henschel 1893-1895
Edward Elgar 1911-1912	Willem Kes 1895-1898
Arthur Nikisch 1912-1914	Wilhelm Bruch 1898-1900
Thomas Beecham 1915-1916	Frederic Cowen 1900-1910
Albert Coates 1919-1922	Emil Młynarski 1910-1916
Willem Mengelberg 1930-1931	Landon Ronald 1919-1923
Hamilton Harty 1932-1935	Václav Talich 1926-1927
Josef Krips 1950-1954	Vladimir Golschmann 1928-1930
Pierre Monteux 1961-1964	John Barbirolli 1933-1936
Istvan Kertesz 1965-1968	George Szell 1937-1939
Andre Previn 1968-1979	Warwick Braithwaite 1940-1946
Claudio Abbado 1979-1988	Walter Susskind 1946-1952
Michael Tilson Thomas 1988-1995	Karl Rankl 1952-1957
Colin Davis 1995-2006	Hans Swarowsky 1957-1959
Valery Gergiev 2006-2015	Alexander Gibson 1959-1984
Simon Rattle (Music Director) 2017-present	Neeme Järvi 1984-1988
	Bryden Thomson 1988-1990
	Walter Weller 1992-1997
	Alexander Lazarev 1997-2005
	Stéphane Denève 2005-2012
	Peter Oundjian 2012-2018
	Thomas Søndergård 2018-present

OPS	OP
Joseph Hasselman 1855-1870	Charles Münch 1967-1968
Franz Stockhausen 1871-1905	Herbert von Karajan 1969-197
Hans Pfitzner 1907-1917	(musical director)
Guy Ropartz 1919-1929	Georg Solti 1972-1975
Paul Bastide 1929-1939	Daniel Barenboim 1975-1989
Hans Rosbaud 1940-1945	Semyon Bychkov 1989-1998
Fritz Munch 1945-1950	Christoph von Dohnányi 1998-2000
Ernest Bour 1950-1963	(Artistic director)
Alceo Galliera 1964-1971	Christoph Eschenbach 2000-2010
Alain Lombard 1972-1982)	Paavo Järvi 2010-2016, Dalia Stasevska
Theodor Guschlbauer 1983-1997	(assistant conductor) 2014-
Jan Latham-Koenig 1997-2003	Daniel Harding 2016-2019
Marc Albrecht 2004-2011	
Marko Letonja 2012-present	

Appendix 3: The performances of selected British composers

	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
Vaughan Williams	193	22	2	1
Elgar	398	55	24	12
Britten	356	32	59	8
Holst	54	9	3	3
Finzi	15	0	0	0
Delius	48	4	0	0
Walton	230	18	6	9
Tippett	95	10	2 (4)	0
Tavener	7	0	0 (1)	1
Ades	9	2	2 (11)	0
Musgrave	7	9	0	0
MacMillan	46	7	0	0
Orr, Robin	0	6	0	0
Total	1458	174	98	34

The number in brackets mentions the programmes of the OP after 2015.

Appendix 4: The performances of selected French composers

	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
Debussy	358	32	359	41
Ravel	517	57	508	125
Berlioz	882	46	472	62
Fauré	37	8	72	20
Saint-Saens	84	20	146	46
Poulenc	23	9	67	20
Bizet	85	7	54	24
Massenet	8	1	7	2
Offenbach	22	1	31	18
Dukas	30	6	60	15
Boulez	74	1	56	0
Dutilleux	14	1	52	19
Jolivet	0	0	22	9
Messiaen	34	3	90	20
Milhaud	9	0	41	9
Gounod	12	0	21	2
Total	2189	192	2058	432

Appendix 5: The performances of Sibelius

These tables present the number of performances of certain composers within the above-mentioned database limits and the year of the first performance in brackets. The year of the first performance of the RSNO and OPS are not mentioned as these archives are incomplete.

Sibelius	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	16 (1946)	5	6 (1985)	4
Second Symphony	55 (1932)	7	18 (1983)	2
Third Symphony	16 (1945)	3	3 (1999)	0
Fourth Symphony	10 (1945)	4	4 (1999)	1
Fifth Symphony	36 (1931)	7	12 (1977)	4
Sixth Symphony	10 (1933)	4	4 (2000)	0
Seventh Symphony	33 (1946)	3	4 (2000)	3
Violin Concerto	105 (1937)	8	30 (1973)	8
Total	281	41	81	22

Appendix 6: The performances of Nielsen

Nielsen	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	2 (2011)	1	0	0
Second Symphony	4 (1974)	1	2 (2004)	0
Third Symphony	3 (1974)	1	0	0
Fourth Symphony	4 (1968)	5	6 (1968)	6
Fifth Symphony	6 (1967)	2	3 (1988)	2
Sixth Symphony	2 (2011)	1	0	0
Piano Concerto	0	0	2 (1982)	0
Total	21	11	13	8

Appendix 7: The performances of other Nordic composers

	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
Stenhammar	(1 in 1940)	1	0	0
Wirén	(1 in 1960)	0	0	0
Larsson	1 (2009)	2 (1970)	0	0
Tubin	0	1	4 (2008)	2 (2016)
Rautavaara	0	1 (2001)	2 (2000)	2 (2004)
Total	1	4	6	4

Appendix 8: The number of performances of twentieth-century Russian music by the LSO

LSO	Total	Prokofiev	Shostakovich	Schnittke
1967	6	3	3	0
1968	13	12	1	0
1969	12	6	6	0
1970	11	10	1	0
1971	12	8	4	0
1972	10	8	2	0
1973	23	5	18	0
1974	36	34	2	0
1975	29	25	4	0
1976	20	16	4	0
1977	15	12	3	0
1978	17	13	4	0
1979	15	8	7	0
1980	10	5	5	0
1981	12	6	6	0
1982	13	10	3	0
1983	5	5	0	0
1984	12	12	0	0
1985	10	8	2	0
1986	19	11	8	0
1987	38	25	13	0
1988	26	5	20	1
1989	17	9	8	0
1990	27	10	14	3
1991	57	52	5	0
1992	23	19	4	0
1993	14	3	10	1
1994	27	6	11	10
1995	7	1	4	2
1996	26	14	12	0

1997	18	7	10	1
1998	48	4	44	0
1999	6	6	0	0
2000	16	10	6	0
2001	25	11	14	0
2002	27	11	16	0
2003	16	13	3	0
2004	32	18	14	0
2005	32	6	26	0
2006	33	8	24	1
2007	28	24	4	0
2008	107	92	15	0
2009	85	71	14	0
2010	21	12	9	0
2011	34	14	20	0
2012	37	29	8	0
2013	21	4	17	0
2014	46	37	9	0
2015	35	12	23	0

Appendix 9: The performances of Shostakovich

Shostakovich	LSO	RSNO	OP	OPS
First Symphony	16	5	9	2
Second Symphony	3	0	0	0
Third Symphony	3	0	0	0
Fourth Symphony	11	0	8	2
Fifth Symphony	79	10	29	7
Sixth Symphony	19	3	3	5
Seventh Symphony	12	4	5	0
Eighth Symphony	41	3	9	2
Ninth Symphony	3	2	0	1
Tenth Symphony	42	3	21	8
Eleventh Symphony	14	4	7	2
Twelveth Symphony	2	0	2	1
Thirteenth Symphony	7	0	5	0
Fourteenth Symphony	5	1	2	0
Fifteenth Symphony	23	4	10	3
Total	280	39	110	33

Appendix 10: The number of the performances conducted by Rostropovich and Gergiev with the LSO

LSO	Rostropovich	Gergiev
Russian music	248	551
- Prokofiev	59	202
- Shostakovich	115	75
- Tchaikovsky	40	-
German music	20	87
- Mahler	-	48
Others	50	282
- Britten	23	-

Appendix 11: The performances of the Second Viennese School

Number of performances	LSO	OP	RSNO	OPS
Schoenberg	75 (32%)	101 (46%)	4	9
Berg	92 (39%)	71 (33%)	8	10
Webern	69 (29%)	43 (21%)	3	6
Total	236 (100%)	207 (100%)	16	25

Appendix 12: The performances of Webern

Webern	LSO	OP	RSNO	OPS
Number of performances	69	43	3	6
Number of conductors	14	14	3	5
Performances of the top two conductors	55 (80%)	17 (40%)	n/a	n/a
Performances of P. Boulez	35 (51%)	9 (21%)	n/a	n/a
Performances of C. Abbado	20 (29%)	0	n/a	n/a
Performances of D. Barenboim	0	8 (19%)	n/a	n/a

The conductors of Webern

LSO: Pierre Boulez (35), Claudio Abbado (20), Charles Groves (2), James Judd (2), Zubin Mehta (1), Carlo Maria Giulini (1), Andrew Davis (1), Ion Marin (1), Rob Dunk (1), Richard McNicol (1), George Benjamin (1), François-Xavier Roth (1), Simon Rattle (1), David Afkham (1).

OP: Pierre Boulez (9), Daniel Barenboim (8), Günther Herbig (5), Zubin Mehta (3), Christoph Eschenbach (3), Carlo Maria Giulini (2), Christoph von Dohnányi (2), Bertrand de Billy (2), Paavo Järvi (2), François-Xavier Roth (2), Matthias Bamert (1), Jean-Claude Casadesus (1), Jeffrey Tate (1), Jean Deroyer (1), Fabien Gabel (1).

RSNO: Alexander Gibson, Matthias Bamert, Peter Oundjian.

OPS: Eliahu Inbal, Maurice Leroux, Jan Latham-Koenig, Matthias Pintscher, Justin Brown.

Appendix 13: The performances of Berg

Berg	LSO	OP	RSNO	OPS
Number of performances	92	71	9	10
Number of conductors	15	16	5	7
Performances of the top three conductors	75 (82%)	39 (55%)	n/a	n/a
Performances of P. Boulez	38 (41%)	15 (22%)	n/a	n/a
Performances of C. Abbado	19 (21%)	0	n/a	n/a
Performances of D. Barenboim	0	20 (29%)	n/a	n/a
Performances of M. Tison	18 (20%)	n/a	n/a	n/a
Thomas				

The conductors of Berg

LSO: Pierre Boulez (38), Claudio Abbado (19), Michael Tilson Thomas (18), Kurt Masur (3), Daniel Harding (3), Mstislav Rostropovich (2), Edo de Waart (1), Bernhard Klee (1), Kent Nagano (1), Gustav Kuhn (1), Hugo Rignold (1), Kristjan Jarvi (1), Gianandrea Noseda (1), Semyon Bychkov (1), Simon Rattle (1).

OP: Daniel Barenboim (20), Pierre Boulez (15), Paul Klecki (4), Georg Solti (4), Jacques Delacote (4), Christoph Eschenbach (4), Paavo Järvi (4), Daniel Harding (3), Jean Fournet (2), Guennadi Rozhdestvensky (2), Stanislav Skrowaczewski (2), Heinz Holliger (2), David Robertson (2), Claude Bardou (1), Myung-Whun Chung (1), Markus Stenz (1).

RSNO: Gary Bertini, Alexander Gibson, Lawrence Forster, Matthias Bamert, James Loughran.

OPS: Charles Dutoit, Maximiano Valdes, James Judd, Stefan Anton Reck, Matthias Pintscher, Heinz Holliger, Marc Albrecht.

Appendix 14: The performances of Schoenberg

Schoenberg	LSO	OP	RSNO	OPS
Number of performances	75	101	4	9
Number of conductors	15	16	3	3
Performances of the top two conductors	49 (64%)	58 (57%)	n/a	n/a
Performances of P. Boulez	41	40	n/a	n/a
Performances of C. Abbado	8	0	n/a	n/a
Performances of D. Barenboim	0	18	n/a	n/a

The conductors of Schoenberg

LSO: Pierre Boulez (41), Claudio Abbado (8), Michael Tilson Thomas (6), Frederik Prausnitz (3), Riccardo Chailly (3), Valery Gergiev (3), Antonio Pappano (2), Roman Simovic (2), Jascha Horenstein (1), Bruno Maderna (1), André Previn (1), Wyn Morris (1), Zubin Mehta (1), Loris Tjeknavorian (1), Yuri Simonov (1).

OP: Boulez (40), Daniel Barenboim (18), Christoph Eschenbach (9), Serge Baudo (5), Christoph von Dohnányi (5), Georg Solti (4), Zubin Mehta (2), Semyon Bychkov (2), Theodor Guschlbauer (2), Gilbert Varga (2), Jukka-Pekka Saraste (2), Daniel Harding (2), James Conlon (2), Matthias Bamert (1), Myung-Whun Chung (1), Esa-Pekka Salonen (1), Jonathan Nott (1), Alexander Briger (1), Matthias Pintscher (1).

RSNO: Gary Bertini, David Atherton, Matthias Bamert.

OPS: Theodor Guschlbauer, Moshe Atzmon, Jan Latham-Koenig.

Appendix 15: The performances of the atonal music of Schoenberg

Schoenberg	LSO	OP
Number of performances	78	105
Performances of atonal music	24 (30%)	29 (28%)
Number of conductors	4	5
Atonal music conducted by P. Boulez	20 (83%)	19 (66%)

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