Music in Transnational Transfers and International Competitions

Germany, Britain, and the US in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

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The film *Fitzcarraldo* (dir. Werner Herzog, 1982) tells the story of Brian Sweeney "Fitzcarraldo" Fitzgerald (Klaus Kinski), an Irish entrepreneur who, in the early twentieth century, dreams about building an opera house in the Peruvian Andes. He hopes to finance his vision with profits from the rubber boom. With money from his brothel-operating girlfriend (Claudia Cardinale), he acquires a claim that the other rubber barons believe to be inaccessible. Fitzcarraldo's daring plan is to avoid the rapids of the river Pongo by steering a ship up on a second river to a point where the two streams are only separated by a narrow ridge, and then transport his vessel over land to the Pongo to reach the rubber trees downstream. To get to this ridge, however, he needs to cross an area that is populated by indigenous people who are known to be extremely hostile to intruders. When his crew realizes what they are in for, most of them abandon ship. But as he is left behind by his hired hands, Fitzcarraldo establishes contact with the natives who seem strangely fascinated by this man in a white suit playing arias on his phonograph, the horn directed at the jungle.

For mysterious reasons, the natives help Fitzcarraldo haul the massive steamer over the hill. A drunken celebration follows, and while the crew is asleep on board, the natives sever the ropes that hold the ship in place. As the steamer tumbles through the rapids and Fitzcarraldo desperately tries to stop it, the natives on board reveal that they believe the vessel had been sent to them by the gods to sail into a better future. With a dozen beaming Indios on board his battered ship, Fitzcarraldo returns to the point of his departure. To fulfill his opera dream at least in part, he sells the steamer and hires an ensemble that

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performs Vincenzo Bellini's *I Puritani* on board the heeling ship, to jubilant Peruvians lining the shore.

Fitzcarraldo lends itself as a metaphor for cultural transfers. Defiance against incredible obstacles illustrates the effort required to transport culture across borders. The fact that Fitzcarraldo plays his arias to people who remain inscrutable even as they come into touching distance reveals the openness of first encounters for productive misunderstandings. As Fitzcarraldo's opera treat is ultimately financed by profits from prostitution, the film also shows that money is essential to art and may come from less respectable sources. In addition, the film's soundtrack blends various cultures, cumulating in an Italian opera about Scottish Puritans performed by a European cast in Peru. Non-diegetic music by the German rock band PopolVuh (a Guatemalan term) counters Caruso's opera recordings.

In the last twenty-five years, historians have become increasingly interested in such cultural transfers. They have explored them mostly in view of transatlantic encounters and the possible Americanization of Western Europe. Focused on the political economy of mass media and the allure of consumer culture, some authors propose that the American senders effectively shaped European culture to a large extent (De Grazia; Malchow). While these studies look at Fitzcarraldo's record player and the seemingly mesmerizing effect of his broadcasts, a revisionist position shifts the view to the natives, pointing out that they productively "misinterpreted" arias and incorporated them into their own culture. These studies argue that European consumers of culture (often described as marginalized and hostile, similar to Fitzcarraldo's Indios) appropriated American popular culture, including jazz, rock 'n' roll, hip-hop, and Hollywood movies, to their own needs (Maase; Poiger; Jackson). The debate between cultural imperialism and creative appropriation is echoed in more recent research on musical diplomacy. Again, the focus is mostly on the transatlantic relationship, and interpretations are centrally concerned with the question of the political efficacy of the cultural message. Such studies take music as a reflection of international relations and countries' political aspirations and now commonly dismiss the notion of cultural imperialism in favor of "pull factors" and the agency of audiences (Gienow-Hecht, *Sonic History*; Eschen; Fosler-Lussier).

All this research usually takes a transnational perspective and perceives musical transfer as a dyadic relationship between a more or less powerful sender and more or less active recipients abroad. The following chapter suggests a different approach. Drawing on sociologist Tobias Werron's concept of global competitions for "soft" goods (Werron), it assumes that musical diplomacy—defined here as the promotion of music across state borders in the name of a

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nation, sometimes administered, but rarely initiated by government agencies—was essentially a form of participation in an international prestige competition, comparable to sending a soccer team to the World Cup competition. This assumption brackets the concern whether music managed to win hearts and minds abroad and leads to the question of how the musical tournament came to be established in the first place. It substitutes the dyadic model of communication with the triadic structure of competition, thus highlighting the genuinely international dimension of musical diplomacy.

In this chapter, I take a long-term view of both classical music and popular genres to show that musical diplomacy has followed a recurring pattern since the early nineteenth century: Against a backdrop of commercial, transnationally traded music, interested groups in one country began to mark a particular style of music as both intrinsically "valuable" and representative for their nation. This initiative was subsequently taken up in other countries by intermediaries and what we may call "prestige entrepreneurs" who pursued their own, not always musical aims. The adoption of the idea that a certain kind of music is a form of art led to the global proliferation of similar institutions and aesthetic standards. Conservatories, concert halls, awards, and music journalism in turn created an international structure for the comparison of musical achievements of nations, and musical "experts," such as critics and musicologists, have acted as referees in the prestige competition.

This chapter traces the establishment of international tournaments in music in two parts. The first section looks at the rise of classical music as the standard for musical excellence during the nineteenth century, a development that originated in Germany and was adopted in different ways in England and the US. The second part moves on to the twentieth century, when America and Britain took the lead in transforming first jazz and then rock into art, while Germany went through the options available to a late-comer. The conclusion will return to the question of music's efficacy in transnational relations, addressing it against the backdrop of the prestige competitions. While I agree in principle that music can afford social transformation, I regard this potency to be limited in the case of musical diplomacy. I argue that music which is acknowledged as "valuable" by experts and bureaucrats shapes listeners' responses in that it forecloses the openness of those first encounters in which ships may be carried over mountains.

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NATIONALISM AND ARTISTIC EXCELLENCE: THE ORIGINS OF AN INTERNATIONAL MUSICAL COMPETITION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Seen from today's perspective, the musical landscape around 1800 lacks clear contours. To be sure, the terrain had been cultivated by the standards of tonality, tuning, and tempi; fenced in by a system of notation as well as conventions about instrumentation and genre. But concerts still featured heterogeneous repertoires, and musical taste was thought to be rooted in the general public rather than monopolized by expert critics (Weber). Operas were creolized to be marketed to diverse audiences in different countries (Sorba). Distinctions of artistic merit were still largely absent, and philosophers regarded music as inferior to other symbolic expressions such as literature. Musicians on the whole had a relatively low social status, and the few who received handsome returns and were adulated as stars—like castrati or violin virtuosos—stood outside the system of occupational and social hierarchies.

One hundred years later, the overall picture had changed dramatically, and the musical landscape of the "civilized world" was fully mapped. It had a distinct topography of "serious" summits and "popular" lowlands and was segmented along national boundaries. It was populated by sharply defined figures like critics, composers and conductors, professionals, amateurs, and knowledgeable listeners. These figures moved in and out of concert halls and conservatoires, read music journals, studied musicology and formed musical societies. Such institutions gave music a history, permanence, and media for evaluation (Blanning; Osterhammel).

Concomitant to the transformation of music's meaning and value, music turned into a medium for an international prestige competition. Two interrelated developments made this possible: Firstly, music became intrinsically valuable, thus generating prestige (and the fear of losing it) as an incentive to compete. Secondly, music became associated with the nation.

These two developments started first in the German territories, where musical nationalism was initially promoted by musicians, who at the start of the nineteenth century faced a collapse of their labor market. The sharp decline in the number of courts and the financial problems of towns under French occupation reduced job opportunities for musicians and forced them to find paid work elsewhere. Few were able to sustain themselves only with concerts and compositions. Aggravating the situation, the commercial bourgeoisie, a class that patronized the arts in other countries, was relatively poor in Germany and less inclined to invest in culture. As alternative income streams were narrow, forward-looking

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musicians were turning to the state as their potential paymaster (Applegate, "German"; *Bach in Berlin*).

To this end, musicians sought to rub shoulders with bureaucrats and tried to convince them of the spiritual value of music. Taking the lead of writers, who were already acknowledged as artists, musicians insisted on artistic autonomy to include music into the canon of the arts. They stressed "good" music's "seriousness" by drawing a sharp line against music written "merely" for popular appeal, and they claimed that "serious" music had educational value and an integrative effect on the community. In this way, they made music compatible with the visions and aims of "the university-going, state-serving, journal-writing, association-joining mostly men of the educated stream [who] were at the same time the makers and shapers of German-ness" (Applegate, "German" 287).

Historian Celia Applegate presents Carl Friedrich Zelter as an example of a master mason who changed his trade for the insecurity of a musician's life. As a first step to forge a career, he participated in and then led the Singakademie (an amateur choir), where he made contacts with Berlin's bureaucratic elite. Subsequently, he befriended Goethe, who was interested in Zelter possibly because he thought he should be in touch with a practitioner of music, this upstart art form. In any case, Goethe's friendship bestowed prestige on Zelter and, by extension, his music. Goethe also endorsed Zelter's proposal to incorporate music in the Prussian Academy of Arts, a bold suggestion by a non-member. In subsequent years, Zelter's efforts to promote the cause of "serious" music in the name of the German community bore fruit. He became an honorary member of the Academy and the first professor of music at the Humboldt University in Berlin; he was supported in setting up institutions such as music schools and a choral society (Liedertafel) that provided the model for similar amateur choirs throughout Germany (Applegate, "German" 289-95).

Musicians' calls for acknowledgement found resonance not least because they were amplified by a new music press that took music seriously. Financed by music publisher Gottfried Christoph Härtel and edited by musician-turned-writer Friedrich Rochlitz, the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (*AMZ*, General Musical Newspaper) was launched in 1798 and became the flagship of music criticism in Germany during its fifty years of existence. While older journals covered concerts as society events, the *AMZ* promoted informed judgement about the music itself. It demanded for music a place among the established arts and promised to educate its readers about its value. Publishing articles from Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, and other cities, the *AMZ* gave evidence of a coherent and lively musical nation. It ensured its widely dispersed readers that anonymous others were concerned with the same issues, offering them a sense of being part of an "imag-

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ined community," as Applegate explains in reference to Benedict Anderson (Applegate, *Bach in Berlin* 86-104).

The claim to produce art in the service of the nation was at first aimed at the domestic elite. However, given the transnational connections of the music trade and music journalism, by the second half of the nineteenth century the initiative showed effects in other countries. As German musicians formulated their claim to "seriousness" in opposition to the commercially successful Italian and French repertoire, they disregarded its popularity as superficial and demanded that music be judged by its artistic and spiritual value. For musicians in smaller European nations, the German example offered a model of how to establish their own successful traditions of national music. Composers like Norwegian-born Edvard Grieg or Czech-born Antonín Dvořák who went to Germany for education returned home with the cachet of having been to "the land of music."

The transfer in both directions made use of an existing infrastructure of cultural exchange that became increasingly dense and effective from the mid-century on. The music press of numerous countries took notice of musical activities abroad. Correspondents reported home and articles were culled from foreign publications to be translated for domestic readers. Transfer routes could also be circuitous. The readers of London's *Musical World*, for instance, got much of their information about German music from *Dwight's Journal of Music*, published in Boston between 1852 and 1881. Dwight in turn received his information from German texts that he translated for his American readers (Cohen). European music publishers also expanded their operations across borders by opening branch offices or collaborating with publishers abroad. Copyright reforms and new technologies of printing facilitated this expansion, as did the growing demand from choral movements and amateur pianists (Boorman et al. 370). From mid-century onwards, the cultural capital generated by German musicians and critics became convertible into economic capital, and German music rose to dominate the market for orchestral works.

The increasing integration of the transnational music trade and music journalism transformed musical nationalism into an international prestige tournament. Many small and emerging European nations were eager to take part in it, but the entry of England and the US into this tournament is particularly revealing. It hints at a different motivation than the expectation to win the hearts and minds of a global audience.

With Scotland and Wales priding themselves on their own musical traditions, it was up to England alone to join the fray of competitors. England participated in the prestige tournament by announcing a Musical Renaissance that took until the 1880s to gestate. The main reason why the country was late to show interest

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in musical nationalism was the fact that it had, with London, the most developed market for music, which made it less likely for musicians to turn to the state for recognition or support. Tellingly, the most prominent propagators of the Musical Renaissance were not musicians but self-appointed prestige entrepreneurs who gained recognition by making their country's participation in the musical tournament a matter of national pride. The project to create an English national music developed from the 1851 World Exhibition and was first conducted by Henry Cole, a civil servant and former railway administrator. After that, the metaphorical baton was taken up by George Grove, a gifted proselytizer, but not a musical practitioner (Stradling and Hughes). The basic claim of the Musical Renaissance was that music, while neglected in modern England, had had an important place in Elizabethan times. This implied that English musical excellence actually preceded the blossom of German music and provided a historical reference point for a present generation of English composers. Grove worked hard to win the support of music critics, some of them of German origin, for this argument (Hughes).

England's established musicians had less reason to be enthusiastic about the Renaissance. It is indicative that the country's most famous composer, Arthur Sullivan, who had studied in Leipzig and was regarded as the greatest musical talent at the time, ended up outside the Renaissance movement, blamed for having wasted his gift. To be sure, Sullivan wrote "serious" music throughout his career. But he had made his name and his money with musical comedies, and that ruled him out of the competition. An obituary published in *The Times* captures both the critics' disappointment with a composer who had been groomed to carry the musical hopes of his country and the idea of the prestige competition that informed this verdict. The article bemoaned that Sullivan

> did not aim at consistently higher things, that he set himself to rival Offenbach and Lecocq instead of competing on a level of high seriousness . . . . If he had followed this path, he might have enrolled his name among the great composers of all time. He might have won a European reputation in addition to his fame at home. (qtd. in Hughes 116-17)

Apparently, commercial success gained the composer domestic popularity, but kept him out of the international pantheon. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Sullivan's versatility had become an untenable quality for a "serious" composer.

Compared with England, the US had even greater difficulties in qualifying for the musical prestige tournament, but made an effort nevertheless. The country was generally regarded as lacking in cultural refinement, and its concert scene up until World War I was dominated by German Romantic repertoire and

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German musicians. Between 1890 and 1915, over sixty percent of all music performed by symphonies in the US was of German origin (Gienow-Hecht, “Trumpeting” 599).

German music was accepted as superior by Americans who cared. Urban elites in the East had financed conservatories and symphonic orchestras since the middle of the century, but initially with the belief that art music needed to be imported from Europe and Germany. So while influential figures like music critic John Sullivan Dwight lobbied for the acknowledgement and financial support of “sacred” music, they also castigated domestic composers for lacking “seriousness” (Levine 143; Davidson). Others eventually came to see the lack of homegrown art music as a cause for national embarrassment and took an important step toward a remedy when founding the National Conservatory of Music (initially American School of Opera) in New York in 1885, modeled on the Paris Conservatory and paid for by New York’s wealthy elite (Ogasapian and Orr 73). In 1891, the conservatory hired Antonín Dvořák with a mandate to teach Americans how to create their own national music. In line with earlier initiatives by Thomas Wentworth Higginson and William Francis Allen, the Czech composer recommended that American music be based on domestic “folk” traditions, i.e. the music of native or African Americans. While there was some experimentation in that direction (Pisani), the attempt to create a national music from domestic folk styles took another half century to bear fruit, and it would not be Native American sounds that provided the basic ingredient for it.

Compared with the English Musical Renaissance, American attempts to create a national music remained a private affair; state authorities were not involved. Another difference is that commercially successful English composers had problems with the musical uplift campaign, whereas their American colleagues like George Whitfield Chadwick and Amy Marcy Cheney Beach had little to lose in terms of recognition and may have found it easier to follow the call for a national music (Ogasapian and Orr 67).

An Anglo-American comparison also reveals that in the US, white middle-class women often gained from an involvement in music. Women were not only among the prestige entrepreneurs; there were also female artist managers, indicating that the growing importance of art music in the US created career opportunities for women (Broyles 231). Finally, American women found that German concert music afforded them access to public spaces and opportunities to experiment with emotional display. The art music conventions gave female patrons the license to be overwhelmed by the passion of famed German musicians. They threw flowers with concealed personal messages on the stage and showed admiration in ways not entirely dissimilar to the behavior of later-day

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boy band fans, as historian Jessica Gienow-Hecht argues ("Trumpeting"; Newman 307-08).

The adulation from "matinee girls" was one of those forms of reception that ignored the conventions of art music and may remind us of Fitzcarraldo's transformative encounter with the Indios. Similar occurrences happened outside the Eastern cities, where touring musicians experienced audiences sometimes as mysterious, irritating, or even threatening. Familiar with minstrel troupes, provincial patrons expected European musicians to give a parade and a free open air concert and wondered why none of them painted their face black when performing. Concert-goers did not always find it necessary to dress up for the occasion, and instead of sitting silently and listen attentively as European audiences had learned to do, they stamped their feet and brought barking dogs. Listeners demanded that quiet passages be played louder so that they could be properly heard, showing no understanding for conductors who insisted on the "pianissimo" (Gienow-Hecht "Trumpeting"; *Sound Diplomacy*).

This cursory glance at the making of music into art and a marker of national identity shows that these processes resulted from local projects in which agents with different aims deployed music and its ideology as resources. In turn, different local constellations made for different power relations between musicians, critics, prestige entrepreneurs, and listeners within the respective nations. Due to the scope and integration of the transnational music trade and music journalism, national initiatives had repercussions abroad. They led to the establishment of an international framework for competition that gave small nations the chance to punch above their weight and put pressure on bigger countries to make an effort. The contest allowed contenders to excel on merit, but also created the risk of failing expectations. Finally, the rise of "serious" music stimulated the proliferation of concert halls, conservatories, and canons, creating institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell). As a consequence, critics around the world applied similar standards of excellence and encouraged composers and musicians to aspire to similar goals. Slowly but surely, audiences were guided to behave in similarly silent and predictable ways.

REVERSING DIRECTIONS, BUT STILL MOVING UP: COMPETITIONS IN JAZZ AND ROCK IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Moving on to the twentieth century, we see striking similarities between the rise of classical music and the emergence of "valuable" popular genres. As in the

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case of classical music, the development started from adverse conditions, this time on the other side of the Atlantic. Before the 1890s, the US had been a net importer of music, including popular songs. The last decade of the century saw the emergence of a domestic popular music trade producing inexpensive sheet music mainly of soppy ballads. The emerging American popular music business owed its success to the new pop publishers' innovation of integrating the printing of sheet music with its promotion on the vaudeville stages and its sale in department stores (Suisman).

The popular repertoire was stylistically heterogeneous, did not claim to have artistic value and was mainly written and traded by poor recent immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. Songs were either functional (dancing or marching) or topical (mother or disaster songs), and while part of the repertoire suggested ethnic specificity, the concept of popular music being "authentic" still had to be established. Performers were expected to be "versatile," not "real." "Negro," "Dutch," or "Chinese" acts were obviously masquerade, and no one thought of them as "fake." Just like the creolized operas of earlier years, popular music did not bind performers to a fixed identity. Neither did it make any pretension to be more than entertainment.

All this was beginning to change in the 1910s. As the makers of popular music strove for respectability, certain genres became more "valuable" than others, and the repertoire was differentiated along national and ethnic boundaries. To begin with, the recording industry introduced into commercial music what music historian Karl Hagstrom Miller calls the "folklore paradigm," matching sounds with ethnically and racially defined listeners. American and European gramophone companies had been trying to sell machines and records around the globe since the early days of the industry. Initially, they had advertised the gramophone as a serious music medium by associating it with "good" music. Like Fitzcarraldo, they were bringing art music to the musical periphery. Unlike the film character, however, they found that while classical music left their potential customers cold, these people could be interested in local music, recorded by traveling salesmen with mobile equipment. From the 1910s, American firms applied their insight from global promotion to the domestic market, pitching ethnically defined sounds to musically untrained listeners. In the process, they invented "authentic" popular music like blues or country (Miller).

Meanwhile, black musicians also capitalized on the perception that music was hardwired in ethnic identities and racialized bodies. Banned from most recording studios, shunned by musicians' unions and with only limited access to vaudeville theaters, black musicians concentrated on the labor market for dance music and used "authenticity" as an effective sales argument. In 1910, bandlead-

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er James Reese Europe founded the Clef Club of New York City as an employment agency for black musicians. The club not only provided potential customers an address to contact bands, but also showcased the skills of Clef Club members in concert, supporting the claim that black musicians had a special feel for dance rhythm. James Europe and his collaborators thereby reaffirmed the racist stereotype that African Americans were natural-born dance musicians in order to enhance their occupational status (Gilbert).

While the concept of "authenticity" got traction in popular music, songwriters strove to escape the short-termism of the song business and its relentless pressure to produce hit after hit. To this end, a number of songwriters shifted from vaudeville to Broadway theaters, which became possible as World War I halted the influx of European musical comedies and operettas. Some of these songwriters were also involved in the foundation of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) in 1914, a society that collected money from music users like radio stations and theaters and, by the late 1920s, enabled its more prominent members to bridge hit-less periods. Whereas before they had only received a one-time payment or a percentage from sheet music sales, songwriters now could receive additional performance royalties and thus consolidate their careers. This source of income became increasingly important, as sheet music sales declined and radio appeared as a new music medium. In its early years, ASCAP was fiercely attacked by music users as a monopoly. Both ASCAP's fight for legitimacy and Tin Pan Alley's move from Union Square up to Times Square reinforced the propensity of songwriters to strive for respectability (Ryan).

Irving Berlin exemplifies the upward mobility of the American music business. With impeccable timing, he wrote his first musical comedy in 1914 and was among the figureheads of ASCAP. The former singing waiter from the Lower East Side became part of the Algonquin circle of intellectuals and married the daughter of a wealthy industrialist. In 1925, Berlin's journalist friend Alexander Woolcott published the first biography of the songwriter, confirming the impression that Berlin, who never learned to play the piano in more than one key, needed to be taken seriously (Woolcott). At the same time, Berlin was also hailed as one of several "kings" of jazz, a musical genre whose practitioners tried to leave its lowly and tumultuous ragtime origins behind (Wald).

As popular musicians aspired to respectability, they also associated their product with the American nation. Irving Berlin, who received American citizenship and was drafted into the army in early 1918, made good use of his time with the military by producing the patriotic revue *Yip Yip Yaphank* (Magee 69-82). The affiliation of popular music with the nation also helped to wrestle

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syncopated dance music out of the hands of black musicians, because it substituted ethnic "roots" with American modernism. This future-oriented tradition provided the white denizens of Tin Pan Alley, many of them with a background of recent immigration, low-status occupation, and poverty, with an entry ticket into the American middle class.

While by the mid-1920s jazz had gained respectability, it was not yet considered art. As in the case of classical music in Germany, it took the blessing of music criticism to achieve that transformation. White proselytizers of "symphonic syncopation" like bandleader Paul Whiteman found radio and sound film a profitable environment while the music remained squarely commercial. Music journalists writing for new jazz periodicals like *Down Beat* took over the leadership of the musical uplift campaign in the 1930s and 1940s. They fought over the credibility of jazz, both in terms of its artistic value and its social ownership. A consensus was formulated in the 1950s by literary professor and jazz scholar Marshall Stearns, who skillfully navigated the threat of McCarthyism and the notoriety of substance-abusing be-boppers (Dunkel, "Marshall Winslow Stearns"). To further the status of jazz as art, he offered his services to the State Department, who in turn appointed him as a special consultant to accompany Dizzy Gillespie's band on a tour that the US government hoped would enhance America's image around the world (Eschen 33).

Long before state-sponsored bands won sympathies for themselves and, possibly, for the US, the transfer of jazz abroad after World War I had had transnational repercussions by stimulating its institutionalization outside the US. Initially, the term "jazz" was taken up rather freely in Continental Europe. In Germany, early adopters of the American moniker embellished their performance of frantic dance music with all sorts of gimmicks and stunts to capitalize on an existing expectation that American entertainment offered something spectacular and improvised that German musicians who rigorously stuck to their play lists could not muster. Just as American musicians in the nineteenth century had acquired German pseudonyms and honed German accents, German "jazz" musicians crafted their stage personas on a largely imaginary American model. Their bluff was called by the German musical establishment the moment the first American bands came to Germany in the mid-1920s. As Paul Whiteman and Sam Wooding introduced symphonic syncopation to Germany, the sophisticated style was embraced by those German musicians who had been upstaged by "fakers" and were now glad to see that "truly" American jazz required the skills of formally trained instrumentalists (Nathaus).

The transformation of jazz from cabaret to conservatory made rapid progress in Germany. Already in 1928, Hoch's Conservatory in Frankfurt offered a class

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in jazz. The further institutionalization was interrupted by Nazi authorities who pushed this allegedly "degenerate" music underground, including its critical reception (Kater). After World War II, jazz made a quick return, as dedicated jazz bandleaders and instrumentalists staffed the ensembles in the West German regional broadcasting stations (Scharlau and Witting-Nöthen). Music journalists with a penchant for jazz were given opportunities to promote their favored music, not least over the airwaves. Dietrich Schulz-Köhn ("Dr. Jazz") featured jazz music in his broadcasts for the NDR (North German Broadcasting) and the WDR (West German Broadcasting). In Munich, the Bayrischer Rundfunk (Bavarian Broadcasting) employed Hans Ger Huber, Jimmy Jungermann, and Werner Götze who aired jazz music and were, like Schulz-Köhn, active in the organization of local jazz clubs and the German Jazz Federation. The most prominent jazz critic was "jazz pope" Joachim-Ernst Berendt, who wrote and presented radio and television programs for the SWF (South-West Broadcasting) in Baden-Baden. He also published his influential *Jazzbuch* in 1952 and organized jazz concerts in Germany as well as abroad (Wright Hurley).

State-employed, politically-minded, and scholarly critics like Berendt and Stearns distinguished jazz from German schlager and rock 'n' roll, the commercially popular genres of the day. In this way, they opened up alternative sources of funding that allowed jazz to develop outside the marketplace. They helped define jazz as a universal musical language, a living tradition that grew from African American roots in all directions where it found liberal, tolerant, and democratic conditions. On that conceptual basis, the West German government eventually sent its own jazz representatives abroad (Dunkel "Jazz—Made in Germany").

Like in classical music, the transnational proliferation of promotional publications by jazz critics and the founding of conservatories and festivals made jazz canonic and academic. Again, we see the emergence of an international critical consensus that provided a framework for competition where late-coming nations could punch above their weight and pioneers could be challenged. The institutionalization of jazz did not lead to a homogenization of the music itself, as the stylistic diversity of jazz was constantly advanced by musicians. But it stabilized the rules of its reception and, by separating the expert from the indiscriminate listener, primarily addressed an educated middle-class (DeVeaux). Like classical music, artistic jazz silenced the audience, or, to be more precise, made it whoop and clap in the right moments.

The transformation of rock from rock 'n' roll into art followed the pattern set by the institutionalization of classical music and jazz. Before rock 'n' roll resonated with critics who established conventions and a canon, the initiative

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was first taken by musicians who prepared the ground for an international prestige competition. To cut a long story short (see Wald), the Beatles pioneered this uplift campaign as they used the leverage of their unexpected fame to forge a career that diverted from the usual pop band trajectory. They recorded their own material and took time to experiment with new studio technology. Like other early rock bands that followed them quickly, they left their cuddly appearance behind for uncompromising public personas that communicated artistic ingenuity. Rock bands experimented with longer and more complex songs, unusual instruments, new sounds, and meaningful lyrics, culminating in the progressive rock of Genesis and others in the late 1960s. In the course of this experimentation, musicians found allies in other, more established branches of the arts. Just like Zelter benefited from his friendship with Goethe and Irving Berlin from his involvement with New York intellectuals, rock bands substantiated their artistic aspirations by cultivating contacts with the art scene (Braun).

Most importantly, a music press in search of a new readership turned their attention to the beat bands soon after the Beatles' breakthrough in 1963/64. Among the first, Britain's *Melody Maker*, a jazz magazine with a dwindling circulation, covered the aspirational sounds on musical terms. It found aesthetic categories to assess emerging rock bands' achievements and separate the artistic wheat from the commercial chaff. Further journals followed, then books, so that by the end of the 1960s one could seriously study the genre (Lindberg et al.).

As in the case of classical music and jazz, rock proliferated not only as sound and performance but also as ideology. Music writers and journalists took care of the latter and used it to further their own professional and political goals. In West Germany, rock ideology was imported by young writers who based their status on their knowledge about the Anglo-American rock scene. A growing number of German publications on leading bands, canonical albums, and the history of the genre catered to an audience of better-educated, politically-minded, university-going, mostly male readers who went on to become the shapers of a new liberal-democratic Germany (Rumpf).

The position of German rock critics was stronger than that of domestic bands who, by conceptual default, lacked the "authenticity" of Anglo-American originals. This was beginning to change as British and American critics looking for something different and unique took notice of rock music coming from peripheral countries like Germany. Their discovery of so-called krautrock bands shows that national specificity was not exclusive, but compatible with rock as a universal institution. Occupying a privileged position, tastemaker-critics in the UK and the US opened up the field for contributions from outside the Anglo-American core (Simmeth). Journalists in countries at the periphery of rock music

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like Germany continued to reserve "authenticity" for British and American bands as it bolstered their authority. Krautrock bands had to negotiate this tension and found it advantageous to frame their contribution to the international rock repertoire in national terms. Kraftwerk's Ralf Hütter, for instance, clad his music in German clichés, especially when talking to foreign critics. In 1975, he told American music journalist Lester Bangs:

> We cannot deny we are from Germany, because the German mentality, which is more advanced, will always be part of our behavior. We create out of the German language, the mother language, which is very mechanical, we use as the basic structure for our music. Also the machines, from the industries of Germany. (qtd. in Adelt 396)

Hütter's positioning of krautrock as the product of a German mentality presupposed an international critical institution, a "third party" that acknowledged national specificity in a global repertoire of rock. The fact that such statements were printed and taken seriously shows that this international institution was firmly in place by the mid-1970s.

While we see in the history of jazz and rock an older pattern of musical uplift reoccurring, musical diplomacy at the end of the twentieth century took a different turn. When in 2000 Germany hosted the World Exhibition "Expo," the government did not ask Kraftwerk, or a band with similar artistic standing, but rather the Scorpions to represent the country to the world. The band received official confirmation of the title "ambassadors of rock," which MTV had bestowed on them in the 1980s. Opening the event, they shared the stage with the Berlin Philharmonic and Jon Bon Jovi, members of the aristocracy of classical music and a US superstar of global pop-rock. The Scorpions' Expo performance can be regarded as indicative for a larger trend in which musicians became musical diplomats not because of their artistic reputation, but their world-wide popularity (see Bayles in this volume; Cooper). Apparently, there has been a shift in popular music diplomacy from art to celebrity at the end of the twentieth century, which would be worthwile studying further at another occasion.

THE POWER OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCES AND INSTITUTIONS: A CONCLUSION

Looking at the history of classical music, jazz, and rock in Germany, Britain, and the US, this chapter has tried to show how these musical genres became arenas where nations competed for prestige. It has identified critics and prestige entre-

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preneurs as key actors in this development and the fear of inferiority as its major impulse. Moreover, it has pointed to the importance of musical institutions like conservatoires, critical journals, and aesthetic standards for the global prestige tournament.

As sociologist Motti Regev argues in view to pop-rock music and as this chapter confirms, these musical institutions amounted neither to cultural imperialism nor were they rendered ineffective through their creative appropriation by recipients in the countries into which culture was imported. Instead, their proliferation resulted in "expressive isomorphism," which Regev defines as "the process through which expressive cultural uniqueness is constructed by adopting, adapting, adjusting, incorporating, and legitimating creative technologies, stylistic elements, genres, and forms of art derived from world models" (Regev 11). This process can be illustrated with our Amazonian metaphor: At first, the imperialist Fitzcarraldo fails to economically and culturally colonize the natives, as the Indios incorporate his technology seamlessly into their own mythology. But the story does not end with the Indios having the last laugh, because the steamer really does transport them into the future, for better or worse. They arrive in Iquitos, the bridgehead of the Western colonizers, where they look skeptically at the champagne offered to them by a rubber baron. Continuing the fictional story of *Fitzcarraldo* with factual events, the Indios seem to have adapted quickly to their new environment. By 1938, the Peruvian National Symphony Orchestra premiered at the Teatro Municipal de Lima, conducted by the Austrian Theodor Buchwald. The ensemble performed European classics, but also promoted the work of domestic composers, constructing, as Regev put it, "cultural uniqueness with elements from world models." For both Fitzcarraldo and the Indios, stepping on the ship and cutting it loose was fateful. It bound them to the same institutions, making them produce uniqueness and compete in the same tournament.

This view on musical institutionalization implies an answer to the question of musical diplomacy's efficacy. Sociologist Tia DeNora usefully describes music as an "affordance structure" that enables performers and listeners to "get things done" (DeNora 44). In this view, the transformative potency of music is not to be found in "the music itself," but in the framing of its performance. Under certain circumstances, music can afford people to do extraordinary things. In the present chapter, we saw American "matinee girls" using music to expand the boundaries of their social world as they took license to get emotionally carried away. Faux Americans were jazzing the cabarets in early 1920s Germany. Four Liverpuddlians were taking the world by storm. Such deployment of music was made possible by an incongruousness of expectations among performers and

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audiences that rendered encounters open and unpredictable. The ossification of conventions in the course of music genres' institutionalization made these transformative moments less likely. One could argue that it is this very predictability rather than the transformative potential that made certain music attractive to musical diplomats, whose profession requires them to minimize as much as possible any imponderables when orchestrating international dialogue. But one may also regard it a pity that classical music, jazz, and rock so seldom now lend themselves to taming river demons and reaching a better future.

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