Musical Modernism and the Émigré Experience in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Music of Priaulx Rainier, Mátyás Seiber, and Erika Fox

by

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Defense Date: March 28, 2025

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Music in The Graduate School of Duke University
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

During the mid to late twentieth century, the British musical scene was increasingly populated by émigré composers. Coming from all parts of Europe and beyond, they participated in and shaped the nature and direction of musical life. At the same time, the process of migration influenced their work. This project interrogates the relationship between music and migration in the lives and work of a small group of composers who emigrated to Britain between 1920 and 1939. And it contributes to musicological efforts to theorize and analyze music in migration, to understand the role and function of musical networks (both social and professional), and to tell the stories of émigré composers.

This study makes two interventions in the field of music and migration studies. Central to my project is the comparative study of émigré composers from diverse national backgrounds who emigrated at different times and at different ages. Further, the focus on women broadens musicological studies of migration, whose subjects are most often male. My subjects are Priaulx Rainier (1903–1986) who emigrated from South Africa as a teenager in 1920, Mátyás Seiber (1905–1960) who emigrated from Hungary as an adult in 1935, and Erika Fox (b. 1936) who was brought to Britain from Austria as a small child in 1939.

In studies of each composer's life and music, the project employs archival research conducted in the UK, musical analyses, and biographical contributions. The ensuing readings of pieces such as Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* (1950), Seiber's *Ulysses* (1947), and Fox's *Café. Warsaw 1944* (2005) offer a perspective on the

composers' situations in a post-colonial moment, as the British empire waned. Recent musicological contributions to studies of migration, gender, and networks frame this work. The concept of cultural translation serves as a metaphor for the movement and transformation of art, aesthetics, and ideas between cultures. And the notion of a "migratory aesthetic," a term used to theorize a mode of creation marked by characteristics of migration (e.g., mobility, multi-temporality, and memory), helps to relate compositional practice to migratory experiences.

From the historical, cultural, and musical analyses that structure this study, what emerges is music and careers that elude neat categorization of present place and personal background. Though hybrid artistic expressions are a collective response to migration, each individual moves between cultures in their own way. Their work contributes to a picture of mid- to late-twentieth-century British musical life that was itself increasingly hybrid.

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Arriving at this point in my studies would be impossible without the music teachers who have invested their time and energy into me. My thanks go to Katie Kerr, Clint Williams, Kelly Johnson, and Sanna Pederson. Most especially, I thank my advisor, Phil Rupprecht, for the hours of meetings and enthusiastic support of me and my work. I also thank my committee—Nick Stoia, Jacqueline Waeber, and Yun Emily Wang—for their time reading my work and their generous feedback.

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Chapter 1: Introduction:
Musical Migration and the British Scene

The story of the twentieth century is in large part the story of global migration. One cannot talk about modern music or modern art without also discussing the social, political, cultural, and creative migratory experiences of artists that are so central to modern times. While news images allow us to see its agents, the aural experience of migration is more elusive. What does it mean to hear migration in modern music? This study explores the lives and music of three composers who emigrated to Britain between 1920 and 1939. My research interrogates both the individual expressions of these émigré composers and their collective role in mid-century Britain. The fabric of British musical life in the twentieth century unravels if we attempt to weave the story without immigrant experiences. My project is then two-fold. First, it explores how composers who migrated to Britain relate to and engage with music from their respective national, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. And second, it asks how they form and interact with social and professional networks in their new countries, including relationships with cultural institutions.

I conceive of the music written by émigré composers as an aesthetic category that involves the translation of past experiences into the cultural environment of the adopted nation. What Mieke Bal and other scholars in the visual arts have recently termed a "migratory aesthetic" of music reveals composers, whose agency is often suppressed by oppressive regimes in their country of origin and who are subject to discriminatory

practices and attitudes in their adopted one, positioning themselves in relation to both and articulating their own identity.[1]

To this end, my subjects come from different parts of the periphery of Europe and Britain—geographic, imperial, religious—a decision influenced by Roberto Dainotto's idea that the periphery not only affects the center (British musical culture), but constitutes it.[2] My subjects are Priaulx Rainier (1903–1986) from South Africa; Mátyás Seiber (1905–1960) from Hungary; and Erika Fox (b. 1939) from Vienna and born to Romanian/Hungarian Chasidic Jewish parents. Their heterogeneous origins, lives, and careers invite inquiries into broader questions about career and stylistic trajectories, as well as émigré composers' engagement with music from their respective national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.

I address two main gaps in existing scholarship about musical émigrés. First, studies from the last thirty years ignore composers who are women almost entirely, replicating the discrimination and dismissals they experienced in the twentieth century. Second, the anglophone literature tends to focus either on a single figure (as in writings on Seiber) or a group of people with similar backgrounds (e.g. composers fleeing the Third Reich).[3] Focusing on individual experiences of composers foregrounds their

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[1] Mieke Bal, "Heteronomy in the Act: The Migratory Politics of Time," 211-238, in *Art and visibility in Migratory Culture: Conflict, Resistance, and Agency*, edited by Mieke Bal and Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011). Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). The concept has also been taken up in literary studies. See: Glenda R. Carpio, *Migrant Aesthetics: Contemporary Fiction, Global Migration, and the Limits of Empathy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023.)

[2] Roberto Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*, (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[3] Major studies of individual composers, musicians, and critics include Alison Garnham and Susi Woodhouse, *Hans Keller 1919–1985: A Musician in Dialogue with His Times*, (London: Routledge, 2018). Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Other volumes broaden the biographical scope to include consideration of multiple subjects alongside one another. Florian Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019). Reinhold Brinkman and Christoph Wolff, eds., *Driven into*

agency and putting them in dialogue with one another reveals commonalities in stylistic trajectory, career development, and political engagement. My work asks how attention to music affects the way migration is understood, and how understanding migration and mobility can affect how we hear and study music.

British Migration, 1905 to 1975

Where is one to begin a story of musical migration to Britain? The migration part runs straight back to Roman times, with prominent musicians landing and passing through consistently.[4] The twentieth century, especially the second half, however, ushered in a new era of immigration to the island, and with it a new era of immigration control and restriction in the form of government and institutional policies.[5] These policies, shown in Table 1.1, represent the political and bureaucratic environment in which immigrants arrived, adjusted, lived, and created. Just as, or more, significant than the implications of the policies themselves are the subtexts surrounding them. What prompted a new immigration act at these specific moments? Which populations were they aimed at? The policies tended to be reactive, responding to changing trends in migration patterns, international relations, and attitudes about immigration.[6] The

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Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Brigid Cohen, *Musical Migration and Imperial New York: Early Cold War Scenes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022). Erik Levi ed., *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music. (*Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014). Erik Levi and Florian Scheding, eds., *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010). Volumes about other kinds of artists also contribute to this discourse. An example is: Stephanie Barron, ed., *Exiles+Emigrés: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997).

[4] Panikos Panayi, *Migrant City: A New History of London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), xvii, 2.

[5] Panayi, *Migrant City*, 23.

[6] Roger Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens: A Guide to Sources on UK Immigration and Citizenship* (Kew: Public Records Office, 2000), 12–14. Arthur Marwick, *British Society Since 1945* (London: Penguin Books, 1982), 132–133.

language used in immigration policy was in flux across the century. Aliens, immigrants, refugees, Commonwealth immigrants all meant essentially the same: foreign and, sometimes, unwelcome or potentially dangerous. Yet any hostility represents only one strand of the country's immigration history. Positive changes have occurred, and society has embraced a more multi-cultural identity.[7]

Table 1.1. Timeline of British Immigration Policies and Political Events, 1905–1973. *(*Roger Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 10.)

Year	Act	Changes
1905	The Aliens Act	Home security assumes responsibility for immigration
1914	The Aliens Registration Act	Foreigners ages 16+ had to register with the police
1914	British Nationality and Status Act	Immigrants had to be of good character and speak proficient English
1948	The British Nationality Act	Provisions for British subjects
1960	The UK joins the European Free Trade Association (EFTA)	An alternative to the EEC
1962	The Commonwealth Immigrants Act	Employment vouchers and work permits limited entry
1968	The Commonwealth Immigrants Act	Tightened controls; proof of British birth of self, parent, or grandparent
1971	The Immigration Act	Must secure employer to go; EU citizens do not need work permits; Commonwealth citizens now treated like all other foreigners
1973	The UK joins the European Communities (EC)	The 1971 Immigration Act goes into effect this year as well.

During the twentieth century, London served as an "arrival city" for migrants from across the globe. Mass migration patterns in the first half of the century decentralized artistic hubs like Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, and artists from many backgrounds gathered in cities like Bombay (now Mumbai), Buenos Aires, London, New

[7] Panayi, *Migrant City*, 26.

York, and Shanghai.[8] "Not only do cities constitute themselves through migration and are unthinkable without it, but migration itself is also visible in the present primarily as a movement into the cities."[9] These "arrival cities" were "hubs of artistic activities and transcultural contact zones where ideas circulated, collaborations emerged and concepts developed."[10] This is certainly true of London, which was the center of artistic migration during the twentieth century. Panayi argues that "the history of modern London and the history of immigration into the city have become the same."[11] In the same vein, the history of modern music and the role of émigré composers in its creation, interpretation, and discourse are also one and the same.

The years between the beginning of World War I and Hitler's rise to power in Germany resulted in immigration to Britain from all corners of Europe: war refugees, Jewish people fearing the coming horrors of the Third Reich, people fleeing pogroms in post-Revolution Russia. Only in 1905, with the passage of The Aliens Act, had Britain begun to take major steps toward restricting, rather than just controlling or monitoring, entry to the country. Two new policies in 1914 put preemptive strictures on the migratory moments that accompany war and persecution. The Aliens Registration Act required that any immigrant aged sixteen or older register with the police upon arrival, and the British Nationality and Status Act further required that these immigrants meet nebulous standards of good character and English language skills.[12]

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[8] Burcu Dogramaci, et al., eds., *Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020), 10.
[9] Dogramaci, *Arrival* Cities, 9.
[10] Dogramaci, *Arrival Cities*, 11.
[11] Panayi, *Migrant City*, xviii.
[12] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 10.

The migratory moment explored in this study is marked in British history by both mass migration into the country and the end of empire. Britain's colonial and imperial power waned in these decades, especially after the end of World War II, and the nation's role as the center of empire ceased.[13] Several major events marked a shift in Britain's imperial position. After World War II, Britain was in a poor financial situation. India, a long-held center of British imperialism, gained independence in 1948, cutting off a center of both power and capital. And this was a catalyst for other independence movements as India acted as a "beacon for nationalists in other parts of the Empire, as they strove for freedom and for new national identities."[14]

The history of German/Austrian-Jewish migration to the UK and US is significant and well-documented. Strictures in Germany escalated following Hitler's rise to power in January 1933, leading to the subsequent firing of Jewish professionals across Germany a few months later, and the initial exodus from the country. From 1933, Jewish people in Germany were banned from working in many professions including as composers, musicians, and teachers. Seiber, who was working at the *Hoch Konservatorium* was fired in 1933.[15] Hans Gál, who later emigrated to Britain and worked in Scotland, lost his job as the director of the Mainz Conservatory.[16] Schoenberg was fired from the *Akademie der*

[13] WM Roger Louis, "Introduction," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith Brown and WM Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1.

[14] Brown, "India," 422.

[15] "'An Animated Quest for Freedom': Mátyás Seiber's Score for *The Magic Canvas*," in *Destination London: German-Speaking Emigres and British Cinema, 1925–1950*, edited by Tim Bergfelder and Christian Cargnelli (Brooklyn: Berghahn Books, 2008), 232.

[16] Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 173,207, 212, 253.

Künste in Berlin.[17] And the list goes on and on. After the dismissal of many Jewish people from their jobs in March 1933, there was an initial rise of arrivals in Britain. In 1934, however, the fear subsided, and many German nationals returned home with the hope that Hitler's campaign against German citizens of Jewish heritage would end sooner rather than later.[18]

1933 is also marked by the Reichstag fire in Berlin, after which Hitler enacted emergency measures that suspended many civil liberties in Germany. Another moment that marked this period is the annexation of Austria in 1938, Kristallnacht, and the formal beginning of World War II in 1939. Britain entered the war days after it began in 1939. Compared to the large numbers of European Jews who were killed and displaced, only a small fraction were admitted to the UK and US. Between 1933 and 1945, around 100,000 refugees, exiles, and émigrés arrived in Britain from Nazi-occupied Europe.[19] Until 1938, arrivals from Germany and other parts of Central and Eastern Europe stayed relatively low, and only after the *Anschluss* did Britain encounter the huge numbers of refugees so often associated with this decade.[20] After 1938, a visa system was set up for refugees from Austria and Germany to "stem the possible flow that might overwhelm voluntary organizations and create public resentment."[21] And after 1939, these refugees and émigrés were classified as "enemy aliens" and it became nearly impossible to gain entry to the UK.

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[17] Walter Frisch, ed., *Schoenberg and His World* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 10.

[18] Florian Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," in *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 249–250.

[19] Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Educated Limited, 2010), 40

[20] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens.*

[21] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 27.

In 1940, under mounting pressure from the public, and amidst fear of a German invasion, the British government interned more than 25,000 men, and some women, as "enemy aliens" in Britain, Canada, and Australia.[22] The conditions varied, but were generally poor, cramped, and lacking in basic provisions.[23] These men, some of them Jewish refugees, were interned for anywhere from a few months to several years. While most internees were released by the end of 1942, last remained interned until 1945.[24] With the war underway and large numbers of musicians searching for work, Britain enacted employment bans on certain musical occupations, especially performance. Florian Scheding, a leading scholar on music and migration in Britain, argues that the bans had both immediate and long-lasting effects on the careers of composers, and also on the genres and styles of music they wrote, a claim I will explore later.[25] Many turned away from the avant-garde styles that they had pursued in the 1920s and early 1930s, which had garnered bad reviews and exclusion from concert programs, toward light music, film scores, and music for cabaret, which proved lucrative paths for making a living.[26]

Wartime London presented specific challenges for musicians and composers. Many people evacuated the city and moved temporarily to other parts of the country. And

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[22] For an account of one musical experience in an Australian internment camp, see: Albrecht Dümling, "Vom Kitchener Camp in australische Wüstenlager: Der Weg jüdischer Exil-Musiker über Großbritannien nach Down Under," in *Music and Exile: From 1933 to the Present Day*, edited by Malcolm Miller and Jutta Raab Hansen (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 53–74.

[23] A few of those interned include critic and writer Hans Keller, composer Franz Reizenstein, conductor and composer Peter Gellhorn, pianist Paul Hamburger, and the founding members of the Amadeus String Quartet, who met in the Mooragh Internment Camp on the Isle of Man. Christopher Wintle, "Hans Keller (1919–1985): An Introduction to His Life and Works," *Music Analysis* 5, nos. 2–3 (1986): 345. Norbert Meyn, "Enemy Aliens: Music in Internment," Singing a Song in a foreign Land, accessed October 1, 2022, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/stories/enemyaliensmusicininternment/.

[24] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 36.

[25] Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 247–72.

[26] Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 247–72.

those who stayed were often occupied with wartime work. Food was rationed and air raid alarms sounded. During the Blitz (September 1940 to May 1941), London, as well as a number of other British cities, was the target of mass air attacks by the German military. For musicians this also meant that concert halls closed, performances were less likely, and arts budgets were cut. Many of their careers were, understandably, paused until 1945. Despite this, Seiber and Rainier found opportunities during these years. In 1942 Seiber began working at Morley College and Rainier received a position at the Royal Academy of Music (RAM).

The postwar era prompted reflection: questions were raised about whether the British government could or should have done more. The state of the economy, still recovering from the expenses and losses of wartime, and prejudices against foreign nationals resulted in British citizens and institutions opposing the influx of refugees and immigrants, fearing further unemployment and an unwanted cultural presence.[27] For this study, it is important that this is the migratory moment that Rainier, Seiber, and Fox lived and/or worked through in post-war London. At this time, Rainier and Seiber were adults, working and composing, while Fox, born in 1936, was brought as a small child, just shy of three years old, and had not yet begun her musical education. For Rainier and Seiber, this period put a hold on many opportunities for performances, commissions, and other opportunities. And for Seiber especially, his status as an immigrant subjected him to extra scrutiny. Their situations differed in that Rainier had arrived in the country as a student in 1920, completing her education and beginning her career there. Seiber arrived as an adult

[27] Panayi, *Migrant City*, 20.

in 1935, already thirty years old, who had already established a career and reputation in Europe.

After World War II, there were more migrants from eyond Europe.[28] Much of the policy changes after this point seem to respond to this changing pattern. The 1948 British Nationality and Status Act, which restricted immigration, but allowed some provisions for citizens of Commonwealth nations, coincided with the need for a foreign labor force. Nearly 100,000 workers came to Britain in this period, most from a lower socio-economic background than the immigrants who arrived in the first half of the century, many from the West Indies.[29] Other post-war populations who migrated in large numbers to Britain include 160,000 Polish citizens who arrived in Britain before 1950, many of whom lived in exile and chose not to return to the Stalin-influenced state.[30] And there were over 20,000 Hungarian citizens who fled following the Hungarian uprising in 1956.[31]

The relationship between Britain and the Commonwealth nations also appears in migratory trends and policies following the end of World War II. The Commonwealth refers to an association of independent nations, many of them former colonies or territories of the British empire. Its roots can be traced back to the Imperial Conference of 1926, where prime ministers of the dominions of the British Empire met and produced the Balfour Report, a document which adopted the term Commonwealth to refer to the

[28] Panayi, *Migrant City*, xvii.
[29] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 12.
[30] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 11.
[31] Panayi, *Migrant City*, 41.

equal status of all dominions.[32] Since 1945, the Commonwealth was, in a way, an answer to the decline of the empire and the feeling of loss it engendered—for the public, government, and especially the monarchy.[33]

Rainier, who arrived in 1920, has an emigration story quite different from the others as her parents were English and had emigrated to South Africa around 1900. However, she moved to London alone to study with the help of a scholarship called the University of South Africa Overseas Scholarship.[34] In the postwar years, immigration from commonwealth nations increased. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 allowed people living in former and current colonized nations to come to Britain when seeking employment.[35] Due in part to the anticipation of the 1962 Act, in 1961, there were 113,000 immigrants from India, Pakistan, and the West Indies who arrived in Britain.[36]

The so-called Windrush Generation, named for the 1948 arrival of the Windrush ship carrying nearly five hundred migrants from the Carribean, represents one well-known moment of the immigration, in which large numbers of people from the Caribbean came to the UK.[37] Among those who went to Britain during these years are a number of artists, musicians, and writers. Composer Eleanor Alberga (b. 1949) came to Britain from

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[32] Philip Murphy, *Monarchy and the End of Empire: The House of Windsor, the British Government, and the Post-war Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.

[33] Krishnan Srinivasan, *The Rise, Decline, and Future of the British Commonwealth* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 99–100. Murphy, *Monarchy and the End of Empire*, 10.

[34] June Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars Singing": Priaulx: A Pictorial Biography* (Cornwall: Alison Hodge Publishers, 1988), 16.

[35] Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens*, 10.

[36] Marwick, *British Society since 1945*, 132.

[37] Trevor Phillips, "2048: Europe one hundred years on from Windrush," in *Windrush (1948) and Rivers of Blood (1968): Legacy and Assessment*, edited by Trevor Harris (London: Routledge, 2019), 3.

Jamaica in 1970, funded by a scholarship meant to bring students from the West Indies to study at Britain's universities.[38] Another composer, Errolyn Wallen (b. 1958) was brought by her family to the UK from Belize as a child in 1960.[39] And British cultural theorist Stuart Hall came to Britain from Jamaica in 1950, an early Windrush arrival, after winning a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford. In musicological scholarship about migration, these stories from the periphery of Britain and beyond are often overlooked.

Many influential musicians and composers, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe, arrived in Britain after 1933. Within the span of less than a decade, the British musical scene included the significant presence of émigré artists. Other composers include Alexander Goehr (1932–2024), Hans Gál (1890–1987), Egon Wellesz (1885–1974), Peter Gellhorn (1912–2004), Franz Reizenstein (1911–1968), Joseph Horovitz (1926–2022), Roberto Gerhard (1896–1970), Berthold Goldschmidt (1903–1996), Francis Chagrin (1905–1972), and Leopold Spinner (1906–1980).[40] There were also a number of critics and musicologists: Hans Redlich (1903–1968), Erwin Stein (1885–1958), Georg Knepler (1906–2003), and Otto Erich Deutsch (1883–1967). Critic Hans Keller came in 1938.[41] Three of the founding members of the Amadeus Quartet met in an internment camp in Britain, shortly after arriving.[42] Many of these individuals were adults who came to Britain with educations, reputations, and experiences. They, therefore, had in some ways to rebuild what had been lost. Like Fox, however, Alexander

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[38] About Eleanor," *Eleanoralberga.com*, accessed December 26, 2024, https://www.eleanoralberga.com/about. "Eleanor Alberga," *Contemporary Music Review* 11 (1994): 5–6.

[39] For information about her life and work, see: Errollyn Wallen, *Becoming a Composer* (London" Faber & Faber Limited, 2023).

[40] Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 260. Haas, *Forbidden Music.*

[41] Garnham and Woodhouse, *Hans Keller 1919 – 1985*, 1.

[42] The members of the Amadeus Quartet who were interned were: Norbert Brainin, Siegmund Nissel, and Peter Schidloff.

Goehr was brought to Britain as a small child, raised in a home of émigrés, and educated in Britain.

Many of the émigré composers wo arrived from Central and Eastern Europe were writing modernist, avant-garde music. In Britain, attitudes toward avant-garde were generally conservative, putting the newly arrived artists at odds with the cultural world in which they sought to work.[43] Though there were British composers who participated in these trends, for many the "continental" style was at odds with the development of specifically English and British styles. British apprehensions about avant-garde music were in the minds of migrants from Central Europe. In the Free German League of Culture, an organization of Austrian and German refugees in the UK founded in 1938, Scheding argues that a lack of representation of avant-garde music was due in part to a desire by the organization to avoid alienating British conservatives.[44] This was seen as contrary to the goal of integrating into society. The paradox is that this unwritten policy alienated German and Austrian composers, many of them Jewish, who were working in progressive and avant-garde styles.

After 1938 an influx of trained and successful musicians and composers from central Europe threatened a national tradition that had felt the weight of German music

[43] See: Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 266. Annika Forkert, "'Always a European': Edward Clark's Musical Work," *The Musical Times* 159, no. 1943 (2018): 56, 74. Erik Levi, "Egon Wellesz: British or Austrian Symphonist?" in *'Who is British Music?' Placing Migrants in National Music History*, convened by Florian Scheding. *Twentieth-Century Music* 15, no. 3 (2018): 464–466. Philip Rupprecht, *British Musical Modernism: The Manchester Group and their Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 45.

[44] Florian Scheding, "'A State of Crass Ideological Confusion': Avant-Garde Music and Antisemitism in the Free German League of Culture," in *Music and Exile: From 1933 to the Present Day*, edited by Malcolm Miller and Jutta Raab Hansen. (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 94.

since the nineteenth century. As will be discussed in chapter two, the rhetoric around avant-garde music categorized it as otherwise: European, continental, and foreign.

There was worry that the still developing culture of British music would not be able to stand up against the more established Austro-Germanic traditions. The sentiment is famously epitomized in a statement by Ralph Vaughan Williams: "The great thing which frightens me in the late peaceful invasion of this country by Austria is that it will entirely devour the tender little flower of our English culture."[45] Yet here lies a common paradox. Vaughan Williams was a consistent and strong advocate for the very composers who he feared might jeopardize the state of English music. He helped many to secure work and aided in the release of interned musicians from 1940.[46] The BBC, a vital institution in the stories of this project's subjects, also had a nationalist stance that sought a degree of distance from "foreign" music.[47] In its efforts in "bordering the nation in sound,"[48] the BBC made decisions and statements about what it meant to be British and who and what could wear that label.

Migration Studies

In the last thirty years, migration studies has emerged as a more and more popular research field across the humanities, addressing theoretical ideas about migration and art

[45] Vaughan Williams to Rauter, 16 August [1942], in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, ed. Hugh Cobbe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 344–45.

[46] Alison Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment: The Development of an Émigré Musician 1938–48* (London: Plumbago Books, 2011), 115–16.

[47] Garnham and Woodhouse, *Hans Keller 1919*–1985, 19. For further information about the BBC, see: Christina L. Baade, *Victory through Harmony: the BBC and Popular Music in World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Alison Garnham, *Hans Keller and the BBC: The Musical Conscience of British Broadcasting, 1959–79* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). For information about the BBC and modern music during the interwar period, see: Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922–1936*.

[48] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 10.

and efforts to recover stories and work lost due to the effects of migration. This is prompted partly by an increase in the recognition of the role of the movement of people and ideas in life and art and by the contemporary global patterns of migration that dominate political and cultural experiences and discourse. To study modern history is to study migration. As Corina Stan and Charlotte Sussman, contributors in a recent symposium, argue, "every major event of the past century and a half…was connected to migration."[49]

Pertinent here is literature from multiple fields, but it can be separated into three main categories: musical migration scholarship, including both biographical and analytical studies; cultural and theoretical studies; and literature from across the humanities, especially in art and literature studies. Despite the growing body of musicological scholarship that is engaged with migration, there are some gaps. First are gendered biases, which often exclude women as well as people of color. The story of twentieth-century musical migration—indeed, music history in general—is incomplete when its characters are largely white men. My project intervenes by focusing primarily on composers who are women. There were comparatively few women working in music in general, but especially among migrants whose lives were interrupted and whose priorities often shifted in the process of displacement. However, though their numbers were few, some émigré women did play a prominent role in British musical life, especially performers.[50]

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[49] Corina Stan and Charlotte Sussman, "Introduction," in *Palgrave Handbook of European Migration in Literature and Culture* , edited by Corina Stan and Charlotte Sussman (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2023): 3.

[50] These performers include: pianist Líza Fuchsová (1913–1977, em. 1939), singer Ilse Wolf (1921–1999, em. 1939 from Germany), violinist Maria Lidka (1914–2013, em. 1934 from Germany), pianist Edith

A second limitation is that much of the scholarship on migration is about individual musical émigrés, especially those emigrating to the United States.[51] Less work has been done about groups or networks of composers.[52] Most examples tend to focus on composers who come from the same national or ethnic background, e.g. German, Spanish, Jewish, etc. This is especially true of Britain, which is often viewed as a stopover point for émigrés wishing to cross to the United States.[53] Though Britain, and especially London, was a hub of émigré composers, few scholars have taken on the work of telling these equally vital stories.

Migration studies within musicology has been shaped by several seminal publications. One of the first major volumes in English devoted solely to music and migration, edited by Reinhold Brinkman and Christoph Wolff, has a clear geographical trajectory as its focus: Germany to the United States.[54] Among the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are topics of identity, acculturation, and methodology for music

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Vogel (1912–1992, em. 1938 from Austria, singer Helene Isepp (1899–1968, em. 1938 from Austria), and pianist Margaret Kitchin (914–2008, em. 1949 from Switzerland). There were also notable artists from other disciplines. Artist Milein Cosman (1921–2017), wife of music critic Hans Keller, emigrated from Germany, after two years in Switzerland, in 1939. And the dancer Pola Nirenska, a close friend of Rainier, emigrated from Poland in 1935. See a list of musicians compiled by a research team at the RCM in London: https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/featuredmusicians/. For information about Nirenska, see: Anna Kisselgoff, "The Dance: By Pola Nirenska," *The New York Times* (March 11, 1982): 32.

[51] Scholarship about individual composers and musicians is extensive. This list is by no means exhaustive, but represents the breadth of work. Cepin Benser, *Egon Wellesz (1885–1974)*; Hirsch, "Korngold and Jewish Identity in Concert;" Paddison, "Adorno and Exile;" Goehr, "Music and Musicians in Exile;" Neff, "Cadence after Thirty-Three Years;" Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* and *Musical Migration and Imperial New York*; Bohlman and Scheding, "Hanns Eisler on the Move;" Scheding, "'An Animated Quest for Freedom;'" and Beckerman, "Ježek, Zeisl, and Améry, and the Exile in the Middle."

[52] Some noteworthy examples include: Florian Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019). Haas, *Forbidden* Music. Eva Moreda Rodriguez, *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2016).

[53] Those who had stopovers in Britain include composers Hanns Eisler, Ernst Krenek, Karol Rathaus, Ernst Toch, and Kurt Weill, as well as writer Theodor Adorno. Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 260.

[54] Brinkmann and Wolff, *Driven into Paradise.* Other composers studied include Schoenberg, Krenek, Hindemith, and Wolpe.

analysis The composers and intellectual engaged with music who are included are among the most elite émigré musicians in the United States. Brigid Cohen's writing about the German-Israeli-American composer Stefan Wolpe (1902–1972) argues that artistic modernism has been in large part the work of émigré and exile artists. [55]

And Lydia Goehr presents the concept of "doubleness" in the life of émigrés, taking as her case study conductor Walter Goehr, who was her paternal grandfather. The double quality is found in the existence of two languages, two musical idioms, and several binary states: adaptation vs. resistance, insider vs. outsider positions, home vs. estrangement, and romantic vs. modernist theories. Goehr pushes back against two claims prevalent in exile theory. The first is a rigid, Wagnerian belief that exile means a lack of creativity. The second is a diminishing approach, promoted by Edward Said, in which exiled people live in a "median state" between the old and new. What she offers instead is a kind of dialectical synthesis between the assumed opposites. Goehr's focus is largely on how composers reacted, and how they imagined their reactions, to exile, and she sees similarities between the experiences of insider vs. outsider of an émigré and the same of musicians and artists in general. Therefore, the study of artistic migration is necessarily different from simply the study of migration.

More recent work expands the geographical space beyond the path from Germany to the United States. Contributions from both British and American scholars aim to consider displacement broadly, as both positive and negative, personal and theoretical,

[55] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*.

local and international.[56] Though authors generally conceive of Europe as the center of the study, they do extend it to other parts of the world, emphasizing that Europe serves as a critical space more than as a geographical and political entity. One analytical approach is Michael Beckerman's suggestion to begin the analysis deep in the music, offering readings that begin in the literal middle of compositions by émigré composers.[57] And a recent volume, born of an earlier conference and devoted to the effects of Nazism on music and musical life, contains a wide range of topics and approaches, from biographical and institutional contributions to location-specific and theoretical enquiries.[58] The contributors, who take as their subjects a wide range of individuals, creative works, and institutions, approach the topic from an equally wide range of perspectives, including psychological inquiries about memory and internal exile, national music scenes, and post-war decisions about re-migration. What all of these books share is an emphasis on male, Jewish émigrés out of Central Europe. One focus of my study is an exploration of how these methods might be expanded when women and people from outside of Europe are included.

In a 2018 forum, convened by Scheding and gathering scholars writing about migration and Britain, contributors reconceive who and what defines British music.[59] The publication—with contributions from both musicologists and ethnomusicologists—

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[56] Erik Levi and Florian Scheding, eds., *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2010). Other topics studied include Adorno and exile, Uri Caine and jazz, and locations from North Africa to the Balkans.

[57] Michael Beckerman, "Ježek, Zeisl, Améry, and the Exile in the Middle," in *Music and* Displacement, 43–54.

[58] Erik Levi, ed., *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014). Composers studied include Eisler, Viktor Ullman, Karl Weigl, Hans Gál, Korngold, Weill, and others.

[59] Florian Scheding, convener, "'Who Is British Music?' Placing Migrants in National Music History," *Twentieth-Century Music* 15, no. 3 (2018): 439–492. Topics studied include émigré composer Egon Wellesz, rap, jazz, and "aural borders."

includes discussions of popular and classical idioms, and the subjects come from diverse national backgrounds. Scheding's article, which is about three composers—Istvan Anhalt, Mátyás Seiber, and Hanns Eisler—focuses on their periods of arrival in Canada and Great Britain, respectively.[60] Scheding's writing about the life and music of Seiber in particular is vast and vital, and will be discussed more fully in the second chapter of this project.[61]

Alison Garnham's work on the Austrian-British music critic Hans Keller (1919–1985) provides both an illuminating study of a musician who was a contemporary to my subjects and a crucial context for migration in the 1930s.[62] Keller, who fled Vienna in 1938, when he was nineteen years old, arrived in the UK unestablished, building a career for himself first as a violinist, and later as a critic, writer, and broadcaster, most notably with the BBC.[63] In 1940, Keller was interned, first at Huyton (a town near Liverpool in West England), and then on the Isle of Man.[64] In his letters, which are quoted at length in Garnham's book, he reveals a vast array of musical experiences in the camps, including lectures, performances, and other kinds of informal lessons and mentorships.[65] Keller was

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[60] Scheding, *Musical Journeys.* Scheding writes about Anhalt's migration to Canada from Hungary in 1949 and Seiber's to Britain, also from Hungary, in 1935. Though Eisler eventually went to the United States in 1938, from Germany, Scheding writes only about the time he spent in Britain. After 1933, he had traveled widely in Europe.

[61] Scheding's writing about Seiber includes: "'An Animated Quest for Freedom': Mátyás Seiber's Score for *The Magic Canvas*." "'I Only Need the Good Old Budapest': Hungarian Cabaret in Wartime London," in *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, ed. Pauline Fairclough (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 211–230. *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019). "'Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," in *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music (*Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 247–72.

[62] Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment*; Garnham, *Hans Keller and the BBC*; Garnham and Woodhouse, *Hans Keller 1919–1985*.

[63] Garnham, *Hans Keller and the BBC.*

[64] Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment*, 46, 107. Wintle, "Hans Keller (1919–1985)," 345.

[65] Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment*, 52. One of these performances was the premier of fellow internee Peter Gellhorn's string quartet. Wintle, "Hans Keller (1919–1985)," 345.

young when he left for Britain and had yet to attend university or begin a career. Garnham argues that Keller received this kind of education through his relationships with other intellectual emigres, esp. those he met in the internment camps.[66] It was Vaughan Williams who helped to secure his release from the Isle of Man.[67]

A recent edited collection about music and exile focuses on the topics of identity, institutions, and how to approach the work of individual musicians from biological, methodological, and analytical standpoints. The contributors argue that there was a "mutual give and take" between refugee musicians from the Third Reich and their adopted homes—Britain, the USA, China, Australia, and beyond.[68] Place then plays a role in the included chapters. In my own study, the role of both home and adopted locations are key to understanding the artistic, political, and social aspects of each composer's life. To acknowledge the diverse experiences of the composers, the contributors use a broad and inclusive range of terminology. People might be referred to as émigrés, exiles, or refugees. And experiences of movement can be emigration, immigration, displacement, migration or forced migration, or exile.[69] Similarly, my project embraces varied terminology. Refugee might be appropriate in the months and years after fleeing, such as in the case of Fox. While migrant or immigrant is more appropriate in the case of Rainier, who came to Britain to study.

The composers included in this study have received varying degrees of attention from music scholars. A substantial body of literature about Seiber, who studied with

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[66] Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment*, 108, 165.
[67] Wintle, "Hans Keller (1919–1985)," 345.
[68] Malcolm Miller and Jutta Raab Hansen, eds., *Music and Exile: From 1933 to the Present Day* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 1.
[69] Miller and Hansen, *Music and Exile*, 1–2.

Kodály in Budapest and worked in Germany before emigrating to the UK, and his music exists. There are also a handful of dissertations about his life and music, especially his songs and symphonic works.[70] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Scheding has written numerous articles and chapters about Seiber's music, and he recently included the composer in a monograph about migration. During Seiber's life, dozens of articles about him and his music appeared in publications such as *The Musical Times*, *Tempo*, and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Fox and Rainier have received relatively less scholarly attention Seiber, which presents challenges, as well as opportunities, in constructing accurate life histories and situating the analyses in this study within musicological discourse.[71]

Migration in Theory

What does it mean to hear migration? This is the main challenge of creating an analytical framework for music in migration. Novel approaches to artistic practices, methods, and styles are inherent to the creative choices of migrants. "The circumstances of their lives strain against the conventional parameters of representation, leading them into linguistic, formal, and visual experimentations."[72] Translation is a particularly

[70] Florian Scheding's 2008 dissertation *Mátyás Seiber: Composition in Exile* has fed into much of the other work of his that I reference. There is also a briefer biographical dissertation from 1975 by Michael Franklin Varro.

[71] Extant sources about Rainier include recorded interviews, an interview I conducted in 2022, various journalistic articles online (most following the release of her 2019 album), and an article by Nicola Losseff ("Erika Fox," *Contemporary Music Review*, 1994). Sources about Rainier include a pictorial biography by June Opie (1988), biographical information found in Michael Tippett's autobiography (*Those Twentieth Century Blues: An Autobiography*, 1992) and Oliver Soden's book *Michael Tippett: The Biography* (2019), and extensive archival materials (BBC Written Archives Center, RAM, and British Library).

[72] Stan and Sussman, "Introduction," in *Palgrave Handbook of European Migration*, 11.

productive cultural and conceptual metaphor for the ways in which a composer's work in their adopted country engages with and is informed by their past. Art historian Esra Akcan explores the concept of translation through an account of German residential architecture designs for Turkish housing development in the 1920s and 1930s.[73] German modernist concepts were applied to the ornamented traditions of the former Ottoman Empire, as Turkish urban planners imagined modern cities, inspired by Western ideas that were flowing into the country via reciprocal migration. This was not simply a case of copied designs, but rather hybrid built spaces exhibiting elements of both styles. Cultural translation is not only about transforming past experiences, but gaining agency over one's story and articulating identity.

As in architecture, music in migration cannot be reduced to copies or quotations of local music, but instead music infused with sonic memories of home and the past, that is: a translation. However, the influences and results are harder to "see," harder to pin down and name. The influences might range from the use of folk songs to the compositional methods of a notable teacher to national traditions or trends. In my study, the resulting expressions lie somewhere between the presence of two cultural traditions, representing both simultaneously.

One musicological application of the concept of cultural translation that also informs my study is that which shapes the theoretical framework of Cohen's work.[74]

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[73] Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

[74] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*. Brigid Cohen, "Boundary Situations: Translation and Agency in Wolpe's Modernism," *Contemporary Music Review* 27, no. 3 (2008): 323–341. Another application of cultural translation to the work of a migrant is Samuel Llano, "Exile, Music, and Cultural Translation: Gerhard's Transnational Chronotypes," in *Roberto Gerhard: Re-Appraising a Musical Visionary in Exile*, edited by Monty Adkins and Rachel E. Mann (Oxford: The British Academy, 2022), 113–129.

Cohen also turns to the metaphorical power of translation in her book about Wolpe. She defines cultural translation as "the borderline exchange of meanings both partial and transformative," and stresses its importance because it "recognizes dilemmas of cultural plurality."[75] That is, the translation of languages is always concerned with translating cultural elements, as well as words.

Throughout this study, the concept of a "migratory aesthetic" is used to analyze the relationship between musical expression and migration. The term, coined by Mieke Bal, comes from the visual arts, with special attention to video art.[76] It serves as both a critique and extension of postcolonial theory. Unlike other theories, it is more dynamic than just hybrid objects or cross- cultural exchanges. Bal defines the superimposed terms—migratory and aesthetics—separately, as well as together. Aesthetics refers to "an experience of sensorial binding, a connectivity based on the senses, and the -s at the end of the word is meant to indicate the plural form."[77] Her use of the word migratory does not mean to account for the lived experiences of migrants, but rather "the traces, equally sensorial, of the movements of migration that characterize contemporary culture."[78] The terms relate to one another in two ways. We can think of "migration in terms of aesthetic practice" or "aesthetics as a category of the migratory."[79]

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[75] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, 19.

[76] For Bal's theorization of migratory aesthetics, see: "Documenting What? Auto-Thery and Migratory Aesthetics," in *A Companion to Contemporary Documentary Film*, ed. Alexandra Juhasz and Alisa Lebow (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 124–144. "Heteronomy in the Act: The Migratory Politics of Time," in *Art and visibility in Migratory Culture: Conflict, Resistance, and Agency*, edited by Mieke Bal and Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 211–238. "Migratory Aesthetics: Double Movement," *EXIT*, no. 32 (2008): 150–161. Mieke Bal and Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, "Introduction," *Thamyris/Intersecting*, no. 23 (2011): 9–20.

[77] Bal, "Migratory Aesthetics: Double Movement," 152.

[78] Bal, "Migratory Aesthetics," 152.

[79] Sam Durrant and Catherine M. Lord, "Introduction: Essays in Migratory Aesthetics: Cultural Practices Between Migration and Art-making," *Thamyris/Intersecting*, no. 17 (2007): 11.

According to Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, a migratory aesthetic has five primary traits: memory, mobility, multi-temporality, everyday life, and the politics of affect.[80] Bal reiterates the importance of mobility and everyday life:

> This project examines the positive impact on the everyday that comes with migration, the now-common state of hybridity (where speaking of origins becomes almost forced and often impossible) and the small yet significant aspects of everyday culture and thought that are 'foreign' in origin but are no longer 'foreign.' In a sense these aspects are beyond identity but carry traces of foreignness.

The idea of "traces" appears again and again in not only discussions of "migratory aesthetics," but more generally in discussions of cultural expressions by migrants. Pieces of the past appear in new, wholly particular forms. Scheding also speaks of traces in his musical application of the concept: "migratory aesthetics does not conceive of migration as all-encompassing. Rather, traces of migration form aspects or components of the works I discuss."[81]

In artworks, a migratory aesthetic is exhibited in three main manners: they remember past places and times, they bear the trace of passage between cultures and places, and they empower creators to recover agency after oppression and discrimination. It is a mode of both creation and critique, the "presence of the past in the present."[82] Scheding employs the concept to examine migratory traces in the work of Eisler, Seiber, and Anhalt, who both immigrated from Hungary (to Britain and Canada, respectively).[83] He writes that for each composer there was a destabilization of their "commitment to the

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[80] Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[81] Scheding, Musical Journeys, 11.

[82] Mieke Bal, "Heteronomy in the Act: The Migratory Politics of Time," in *Art and visibility in Migratory Culture: Conflict, Resistance, and Agency*, edited by Mieke Bal and Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 225.

[83] Scheding, *Musical Journeys.*

musical heritage" of their home country.[84] Aesthetic choices are also about agency, which many migrants lack due to forced movement and outsider status in the adopted nation. A migratory aesthetic then also fosters a mode of listening that acknowledges a composer's agency in how they represent their own past and present.[85]

Prevailing narratives of musical modernism are most often nation-centered, relegating to the margins artists who lived their lives between multiple nations. Multi-national lives are an increasingly common reality. Two main theories seek to offer alternatives to nation-centered work: post colonialism and cosmopolitanism. The question of individualism vs. pluralism is contended with in debates about both theoretical approaches. Are postcolonialism and cosmopolitanism all-encompassing terms? Does each individual experience represent a unique expression of them? What role does migration play? For Cohen, this national focus is rectified in part through engagement with post-colonial studies, even though its writers do not engage with Nazi-era Europe directly. "Given the entrenchment of modernist exile studies within strongly national narratives, dialogue with post-colonial studies is precisely what is needed to open new perspectives."[86]

In musicological studies of migration, several theoretical approaches are often called on first. They can be sorted into three conceptual categories: movement (of both

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[84] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 11.

[85] Edward Said, whose work feeds into this concept, argues for a similar understanding of aesthetic practices in migration, bestowing upon migration an inherently aesthetic quality. See: Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). Sudeep Dasgupta speaks of a similar "aesthetic of displacement," which affects both the form of an artwork and the way it is received by audiences and critics. Sudeep Dasgupta, "The Aesthetics of Displacement and the Performance of Migration," in *Art and Visibility in Migratory Culture: Conflict, Resistance, and Agency* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 91–105.

[86] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, 23.

people and ideas), difference, and hybridity. [87] Migration can involve varying types of movement: intellectual, physical, and psychological. The earliest generation of postcolonial theorists, who worked in the 1970s and 1980s and wrote about post-imperialist realities in South Asia and elsewhere, include Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Homi K. Bhabha. The next generation have expanded the conversation in two ways: reimagining Europe's history as a transnational one and responding to globalization and decolonization.[88]

Applications of postcolonial theory in musicology most often begin with Homi Bhabha and his 1994 book *The Location of Culture*.[89] Of the concepts presented and analyzed in the book, hybridity and the idea of a Third Space are perhaps the most ubiquitous in the study of music.[90] They refer to the unique expressions that emerge from the meeting of two cultures. Bhabha's early writing about postcolonialism focus in part on the hybrid expressions that spring from migration. The Third Space is the new, unique area between two cultures. And hybridity refers to the process of combining two or more cultures or cultural elements into a new one. This new expression has an identity separate from the contributing influences. Each instance of hybridity s then an individual case, characterized by the particular experiences of the creator. Two composers from the same country, emigrating to the same place, would create distinct hybrid styles; what is

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[87] Brigid Cohen, a musicologist whose research focuses on migration, modernism, and the Stefan Wolpe, grounds these postcolonial writings first in the work of critical theorists Adorno, Arendt, and Benjamin, and emphasizes the way that postcolonial theory allows one to speak of hybrid identities that exist are born in migration. Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*.

[88] Pramod K. Nayar, "Introduction," in *Postcolonial Studies: An Anthology* (Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons, 2016), 2.

[89] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

[90] For significant applications of post-colonial studies to work on music and migration, see: Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* and *Musical Migration and Imperial New York*; Scheding, *Musical Journeys*.

important is the shared experience of hybridity. For Bhabha, hybridity functions as a counter-narrative, challenging and subverting colonial ideas about purity and dominant cultures. In his words, "it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal."[91] Hybridity in Bhabha's estimation includes, but does not resolve, the tension that exists between two cultures.

Cohen's work engages significantly with post-colonial theory, especially as it relates to ideas about cosmopolitanism, or the idea that all people, no matter their origins or backgrounds, are part of one community. Her purpose in this book is then twofold: to theorize the music and life of Wolpe and to reconsider the study of musical modernism, questioning both the category itself and the false binaries often associated with it. She draws on the ability of cosmopolitanism to de-center the role of the nation in migration studies, drawing particularly on the work of Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, and Bruce Robbins.[92] To focus not on the nation means to also de-center the imperialistic power of the nations that so often attract (and continue to attract) migrants.[93]

Social and professional networks are vital to the career of any musician, but especially those who arrive in a new country with few contacts. In this study, multiple and overlapping networks of actors populate the world of my subjects. How the networks arise, function, and influence is, therefore, of central importance. Social and professional connections have far-reaching effects, helping an artist to build a reputation, gain employment, secure performances, and meet new colleagues and collaborators. In music

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[91] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 159.

[92] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, 22.

[93] See Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* and Bruce Robbins, "Cosmopolitanism: New and Newer," *Boundary* 2, no. 34 (2007): 47–60.

studies, two scholars have theorized the functioning of networks in a musical context, expanding ideas about how networks function and who and what can serve as actors. Michael Gallope critiques and expands Richard Taruskin's causal arguments about agency, as presented in the *Oxford History of Western Music*, which also exclude anything but human agency. [94] Gallope argues that "ideas, teleologies, and romantic attachments to style" may also have their place in studying why cold-war era composers wrote avant-garde music.[95] In my study, preconceived attitudes about immigration and migrants, as well as avant-garde music, also had a kind of agency in the experiences of these composers.

Similarly, Benjamin Piekut has argued for the relevance of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to the study of music history, writing that it is best used not as a theory, but as a methodology for the study of three historical concerns: influence, genre, and context. Further, his use of ANT makes room for musical objects like scores, performances, and recordings.[96] This view, as opposed to one which only considers biographical agency, is of particular importance for my study because of the experiences of those on the periphery—women, people of color, migrants—for whom agency is a complicated matter. Anyone who has ever walked up to a door and known that the knob will not turn for them knows that agency, in its fullest sense, belongs to those in power.[97] As I consider

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[94] Michael Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable? On A Critical Explanation of the Avant-Garde Author(s)," *The Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 2 (2014): 199–230.

[95] Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable?," 229.

[96] Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 191–215.

[97] Michael Gallope critiques and expands Richard Taruskin's causal arguments about agency, which also exclude anything but human agency. Gallope argues that "ideas, teleologies, and romantic attachments to style" may also have their place in studying why cold-war era composers wrote avant-garde music. See Michael Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable? On A Critical Explanation of the Avant-Garde Author(s)," *The Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 2 (2014): 199–230.

the role of networks in my work, I have several questions in mind. How were these composers, and other émigré musicians and artists, connected both directly and indirectly? What role did institutions play? Within this critical framework, I discuss specific events, networks, and musical compositions, employing the work of these scholars to articulate the interactions between music and migration.

Individual vs. Collective

Central to this project is the bringing together of subjects whose backgrounds, lives, and careers are varied. The heterogeneous lives and migratory experiences of my subjects prompt meaningful comparison. Both individual and collective stories emerge. These stories involve migratory paths, stylistic trajectories, employment, relationships with institutions and networks, as well as gendered experiences in life and work. Places side by side, the commonalities and differences begin to reveal something about the nature of migration and the role of art and artists.

Peter Hallward, in his work on postcolonialism, begin with the same dichotomy, which he calls the singular vs. specific. The former describes instance or individuals that are one and the same with a larger whole (e.g. the proletariat), and the latter refers to those that are understood by their relationship to others and their environment.[98] Migration might easily be treated as a singularity—each person an instance of migration or a member of a diaspora. However, balancing that with the specificity of each migrant's experiences and expressions is important.

[98] Peter Hallward, *Absolutely Postcolonial: Writing Between the Singular and the Specific* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

The most obvious difference between the three composers is that they come from three different countries. Rainier was born to English parents in Natal [now Kwa-Zulu Natal], South Africa. Seiber came from Budapest, Hungary and had lived and worked in Germany for five years, prior to settling in Britain. And Fox was born in Vienna, Austria to parents with Romanian and Hungarian roots. They also came different ages, and therefore different stages of their education and careers. Seiber was the most established upon arrival. At thirty years old, he had completed his education in Budapest and had been employed by the *Hoch Konservatorium* in Frankfurt from 1928 to 1933. When he arrived in Britain, he had a few contacts, as well as a job at music publisher Schott's London office.[99] Rainier went to Britain in 1920 to study at the Royal College of Music at age seventeen. And she ended up staying for the rest of her life, beginning, establishing, and maintaining her career entirely in Britain in 1939. Fox was a small child when her family came to Britain. Her entire life and all of her education and career have taken place there.

In addition, this grouping represents differing gendered experiences. The literature of music and migration studies tends to focus on men. Including women gives a fuller, truer story of the experiences of musical migrants in Britain. Though Fox and Rainier had different trajectories and were born decades apart, both of their experiences were in some way gendered. As a queer woman, Rainier faced the scrutiny of a society that was suspicious of those who did not adhere to the norm. And Fox, who grew up in a

[99] Florian Scheding, "Mátyás Seiber." In *Komponisten der Gegenwart*, edited by Hanns-Werner Heister and Walter Wolfgang Sparrer (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2006), 1.

conservative Jewish family, was expected to marry and raise a family, putting her career aside.

Each of the subjects experienced foreignness in a different way. Rainier was not a refugee. While Seiber and Fox migrated due to persecution, Rainier came for education and better opportunities. Rainier's foreignness was different. She migrated from an English-speaking nation that was part of the British Commonwealth. And she arrived comparatively early, 1920, before the mass migration of the proceeding decades that colored British attitudes toward migration and migrants. While both Fox and Seiber are Jewish, Fox has been, especially as a child, more marked as such, speaking Yiddish at home and feeling at school that her appearance made her obviously different.[100] Seiber was the only non-native English speaker and was therefore marked as foreign by his accent.

Despite their individual origins and paths, commonalities among the composers' experiences emerge. Each composer's music can be categorized as avant-garde. Like many composers in the twentieth century, they experimented to varying degrees with dodecaphonic methods. For migrants in particular, their relationship with avant-garde music was influenced by their previous experiences with it, acting as a connection with their past. "Displacement meant for many composers a re-examination of their commitment to a modernist project and a revisitation of the tools and devices they had confidently used thus far to develop it."[101] For each composer, the equation between

[100] "I mean I was dying to be part of everything around me. But I was not. I was definitely a foreigner. I looked different. I dressed differently. I spoke differently." Tom Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage," *Music Matters*, BBC Radio 3, June 29, 2019.\https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m0006ffr.

[101] Moreda Rodriguez, "Musical Modernism and Exile," 211.

avant-garde music and foreignness also marked their reception, as will be shown in their respective chapters. Critics often cling to markers of difference, affecting the reputation of migrant composers and artists.

One exception is Seiber's large body of light music and music for radio broadcasts and films.[102] Yet it would be false to consider this work as separate or less important that his more "serious" compositions. Moreda Rodriguez argues that far from being forced to take on work they did not desire—or would not have taken at home—"the different activities exiles were engaged in fed off each other."[103] This is particularly true of Seiber, for whom the scope of work broadened after arriving in the UK. Often his work was difficult to categorize, fitting into both modernist and "light" music categories at the BBC and beyond.[104] Far from being a concession, this work seems to have suited Seiber well, for not all émigré composers did similar work. Indeed, Rainer, who also had a long and consistent relationship with the BBC, did not take on any work writing light or popular music.

Crucial relationships—or the lack thereof—with musical and cultural institutions figure largely in the development of each composer's career.[105] From the BBC to educational institutions to smaller organizations like the Society for the Promotion of New Music (SPNM), the composers participate in British musical, seeking out spaces that support their work. For Seiber this involved a longstanding relationship with the

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[102] Eva Moreda Rodriguez, "Musical Modernism and Exile: Cliché as Hermeneutic Tool," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, edited by Björn Heile and Charles Wilson (London: Routledge, 2019), 204–206.

[103] Moreda Rodriguez, "Musical Modernism and Exile," 204.

[104] See Chapter 3, especially the story of Seiber's cantata *Ulysses*.

[105] Joseph Henri Jupille and James A. Caporaso, *Theories of Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

BBC, a position at Morley College, and the founding of the SPNM, alongside fellow émigré Francis Chagrin.[106] Rainier and Fox's stories both begin with an education at major British conservatories as young people, experiences at the foundation of their careers. Like many composers, teaching is an important activity for each of these subjects, both as a source of employment and a way of passing on knowledge and leaving a legacy. Seiber taught at Morley College.[107] Rainier taught at the Royal Academy of Music.[108] And Fox has held several teaching positions at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama and the Centre for Young Musicians in Pimlico.[109] At these well-known institutions, the composers influenced the next generation and furthered their reputations as artists and teachers.

One of the most important institutions for all three of my subjects was the BBC, and its role in the careers of composers during the years of this study cannot be underestimated. Indeed, Garnham refers to the BBC as "twentieth-century Britain's most powerful institution."[110] And Scheding refers to it as the "gatekeeper of musical dissemination in mid-century Britain."[111] Of the employees in the music division during the postwar years, William Glock (1908–2000) was perhaps the most influential. From

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[106] Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 267. Chagrin (1905–1972) was a composer who was born in Romania, studied engineering in Zurich, studied and worked in Paris from 1928 to 1936, and then emigrated to Britain in 1936. He is perhaps best known for his film and television scores, of which he wrote over two hundred. For biographical information about Chagrin, see: Frankel, "Francis Chagrin" and Routh, *Contemporary British Music*, 152, 357, 364–65. For information about Chagrin and the founding and running of the SPNM, see Routh, *Contemporary British Music*, 364–365.

[107] Scheding, "'Problematic Tendencies,'" 257.

[108] *"Come and Listen to the Stars Singing."* 25.

[109] Erika Fox and Norbert Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn," YouTube Video, 1:29:26. January 13, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2tnM5r_-jA&t=942s., Nicola Losseff, "Fox, Erika," in *Contemporary Composers*, edited by Brian Morton and Pamela Collins (Chicago: St. James Press, 1992), 304. Erika Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer." *Erikafox.co.uk*, accessed August 13, 2024, http://www.erikafox.co.uk.

[110] Garnham, *Hans Keller and the BBC*, 1.

[111] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 10.

1959 to 1972, he was the BBC Controller of Music.[112] He was also instrumental in the increased presence of contemporary composers at the annual BBC Proms, and was generally an advocate for new music.[113] Having a piece performed at one of these concerts was a major accomplishment, especially for less-represented groups such as women and migrants. Seiber's relationship with the BBC began in 1941, six years after he arrived in Britain. This early work involved arrangements, scripts, and work for overseas services. After the end of the war, he was represented more and more as a composer on broadcasts, and by the time of his death in 1960, his music was consistently played. Rainier's music was first performed on a BBC broadcast in 1949, and has continued to be heard even decades after her death.[114] This study relies heavily on unpublished personal and institutional archival documents, including internal memos and correspondence at the BBC.[115] These materials present a granular view of the nature of Seiber's and Rainier's relationships with the institution, as will be show in subsequent chapters. During the 1970s to the early 1990s, Fox's music was broadcast consistently on the BBC. After a lull in appearances, she has regained this attention since the release of her first album in 2019.

Networks of those within and around British musical life—both social and professional—play a vital role in the development of a composer's career. This is especially true for émigré composers who often have fewer connections due to their

[112] Philip Rupprecht, "'Something Slightly Indecent': British Composers, the European Avant-Garde, and National Stereotypes in the 1950s," *The Musical Quarterly* 91, nos. 3–4 (2008): 289.

[113] Rupprecht, "'Something Slightly Indecent,'" 314.

[114] For a detailed catalogue of all broadcasts of Rainier's music on the BBC, see: https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?order=first&q=priaulx+rainier.

[115] Documents consulted are housed at the BBC Written Archives Center (WAC) in Reading, UK.

migratory experiences. Colleagues, teachers, students, friends, and performers all act as important contacts for gaining opportunities for broadcasts, commissions, performances, and jobs. Networks also created and strengthened relationships with musical and cultural institutions. Seiber's network in Britain began with his relationship with the German philosopher and critic Theodor Adorno, a job at Schott, and early work with the BBC Radio (beginning in 1941).[116] Eventually his connection to Michael Tippett led to a job teaching composition and conducting ensembles at Morley College.[117] As will be demonstrated in chapter four, these networks also have a lot of power and influence to subvert dominant institutional structures. Early in her career, Rainier's extra-institutional relationships helped her to gain support and performances as she established herself (see Chapter 5).

Layout of This Study

This project begins with an introductory chapter that gives an historical account of the social, political, bureaucratic, and artistic environments in which the stories of my subjects unfold. Against the backdrop of shifting migration patterns, policies, and attitudes, my subjects arrived in Britain and built their careers and lives there. The next three chapters are formed around explorations of each composer's relationship to the music of their respective national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Though the music and their engagement with it differs, important commonalities are revealed. Each person engages with the music from their respective background and spoke about this

[116] Nick Chadwick, "Mátyás Seiber's Collaboration in Adorno's Jazz Project, 1936," *The British Library Journal* 21, no. 2 (1995): 261–263.
[117] Scheding, "Problematic Tendencies," 257.

engagement at some point in their lives. And critics tend to latch on to that element of their work, leading to stereotypes and pigeon-holing. For all three composers, the tension between their work and the way it has been interpreted and represented by media and institutions is indicative of the hybrid, in-between work of migrants.

Chapter two explores Rainier's engagement with the music of her native South Africa. She grew up in Natal and recalls hearing singing by native musicians.[118] At the same time, the chapter confronts the way that critics foregrounded this connection in the language they used to talk about her work. It is centered on her 1950 *Barbaric Dance Suite*, for piano, which takes as its middle movement a song she had written two years earlier, *Ubunzima*. The title means "misfortune," and the text, a translated version of a Zulu poem, describes the arrival and fading of a dark and shadowy event.[119] Why use an abstracted version of this song in a piece labeled barbaric? I interrogate the term and contemporary understanding of it.

Chapter three begins with a question: why was Seiber, an émigré from Hungary, considered an expert of multi-national folk music in Britain? Especially at the BBC, he was cast as a kind of cultural chameleon, capable of understanding and representing folk music from many nations simply because it was folk music. Like many stereotypes, it contained a seed of truth. Seiber had studied with Kodály, known for collecting folk songs, and had engaged with a few folk songs in his work. The exaggerated understanding, however, highlights Seiber's role in British musical life as always slightly

[118] Rainier describes "the far-off liquid calls of Zulus in the hills." As quoted in the program notes: "A Concert in Celebration of the Life and Work of Priaulx Rainier (1903–1986)," Wigmore Hall, March 28, 1987.

[119] Priaulx Rainier, *Ubunzima* (London: Schott, 1948).

outside of it. At the BBC, he was often asked to speak about Britain to international audiences and about the rest of the world to British audiences. A paradox is revealed: He was foreign in Britain and British abroad. This chapter reassesses Seiber's engagement with folk music. I argue that a review of his activities and interactions with institutions reveals Seiber as both politically engaged and skillfully eclectic in his musical expressions.

Chapter four explores Fox's relationship to the Jewish liturgical music that dominated the aural world of her early life. This relationship, while certainly present, has dominated recent statements about her work from journalists and critics. At the same, her work is solidly situated within British trends of music theater and instrumental drama of the 1960s and 1970s. Bringing together these two, often overlapping, influences, the final section of the chapter analyzes two of her instrumental works for chamber ensemble: *Café. Warsaw 1994* (2005) and *Paths Where the Mourners Tread* (1980).

Chapter five focuses on the role of networks in the formation of a career. Networks are important in the stories of all three composers, but Rainier's female network is of particular interest. Though she moved in multiple, overlapping networks of artists, dancers, composers, and musicians, in this chapter I zoom in on the female members. I argue that this female network helped Rainier to develop a career that subverted the largely masculine infrastructure of musical life and musical institutions in mid-to-late twentieth-century Britain. The network includes artists, mentors, performers, and friends who provided physical, artistic, and professional support at pivotal moments in her career. She exchanged ideas and collaborated with artist Barbara Hepworth, even living with her for a short time in St. Ives, England. She took a few months of lessons

with Nadia Boulanger and maintained a lifelong correspondence. And countless performers brought her music to life, especially early in her career, but also later as she established herself.

Chapter 2:
Translation in Priaulx Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* (1950)

South African born British composer Priaulx Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* (1950), for piano, contains in its middle movement a near exact transcription of her 1948 song *Ubunzima*, which sets a text in Zulu for tenor and guitar.[1] The song, written in the year that Apartheid was formally institutionalized, adheres strictly to the inflection of the voice and the declamation of the text. And aside from a 1947 song, *Dance of the Rain*, that uses an Afrikaans text, Rainier never set texts from South Africa again. What does it mean for a white South African-born composer to include a piano transcription of *Ubunzima* in a work marked as "barbaric?" What is the work's relationship to Rainier's home country of South Africa? Is it appropriation? Celebration? Turning to translation as a conceptual metaphor for the interaction between two places, cultures, or traditions, I argue that Rainier's past and present interacted in a more nuanced mode of creation than reviews, which separate the "African" rhythms from the melodically and harmonically driven European style, might suggest. What truths and misconceptions are contained in this characterization? My inquiry here is as much about Rainier's work as it is the discourse surrounding it. The vagueness of critics' claims is evidence of the ambiguous nature of art in migration: Any attempt to pin it down and name it as one thing inevitably falls short.

In this chapter, I first situate the *Barbaric Dance Suite* in its time and place,

[1] The translation of the title is "Misfortune," which is given on the score.

exploring popular understandings of African music and the term *barbaric*. I then complicate the simplistic and reductive reviews of Rainier's work that characterize it as "African," without evidence or qualification, and offer an analysis that examines these claims in the music, focusing on the rhythmic and formal character of the work and how Rainier translated the sounds of South Africa in post-war Britain. I also contextualize the work by putting it in dialogue with a small group of other works that she wrote during the same period, 1937–1954.

Biography

Rainier was born on February 3, 1903 in Natal, South Africa (today Kwa-Zulu Natal), a region on the country's east coast, and recalls hearing the Zulu language and music as a girl.[2] At age ten, her family moved to Cape Town where she was enrolled in The South African College of Music to study violin. In 1919, she received a scholarship to study at the RAM in London, and she entered the school in 1920, at age seventeen. After a visit home in her school years, it would be decades before she returned to South Africa.[3] In 1925, having completing her studies, she took a position teaching violin and aural training at the Badminton School in Bristol. However, an injury in 1935 halted her

[2] In this study, I rely on the following biographical sources: June Opie's 1988 biographical volume *"Come and Listen to the Stars Singing:" Priaulx Rainier: A Pictorial Biography* (Cornwall: Alison Hodge Publishers, 1988), the Grove entry written by Ian Kemp and Hubert Van der Spuy, "Rainier (Ivy Priaulx)," *Grove Music Online*. Oliver Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2019). Oliver Soden, "Priaulx Rainier: Fearless and Pioneering Composer," *Engelsberg Ideas*. John Amis, "Priaulx Rainier," *The Musical Times* 96, no. 1349 (1955): 354–357. Michael Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1991). Francis Routh, *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-Five Years from 1945–1970* (London: Macdonald and Company, 1972). H. H. Van der Spuy, *The Compositions of Priaulx Rainier: An Annotated Catalogue*, Doctoral dissertation (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1988). "Priaulx Rainier." *Schott Music*. Accessed April 1, 2022. "Priaulx Rainier." London: Schott, 1983.

[3] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 20.

performance career. She spent the rest of her life in Britain, living primarily in London and later living in St. Ives, a quiet town on England's Cornish coast, where she owned a cottage near the home of Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson, close friends of hers.[4] The area was a kind of artists' community, retrospectively referred to as the St. Ives' School, where from the 1950s artists interested in abstraction went for the distinctive landscapes and special quality of light of the coastal area. It had previously become a popular place for artists to retreat during World War II.[5]

Aside from two months of study with Nadia Boulanger in the Autumn of 1937, Rainier was a self-taught composer, working slowly on the tedious process of writing down what she heard in her head. During her time with Boulanger, Rainier did not write any new pieces, but instead woke each day and wrote something brand new, which she would then present to her teacher in the afternoon. This was a process she found frustrating and difficult, wishing to think longer before writing things down. However, she saw these weeks "an intense period of great value and stimulus, and turning up the exercises forty years later…was surprised at what she had written."[6]

In 1943, she received a position as a professor of composition at the Royal Academy of Music, where she remained until 1961.[7] Her students recall an honest, thoughtful, and dedicated approach to helping them find and refine their own voices. Her musical and artistic circle was wide, each segment influencing her musical processes in its own way. In the 1940s, she met and befriended the music critic William Glock and

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[4] Hepworth was a sculptor and Nicholson a painter. They were married from 1938 to 1951.
[5] "St Ives School," *Tate*, accessed April 19, 2022.
[6] June Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars Singing": Priaulx: A Pictorial Biography* (Cornwall: Alison Hodge Publishers, 1988): 24.
[7] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 25.

composer Michael Tippett, as well as artists Barbara Hepworth and Lucian Freud.[8] Her relationship with Tippett, both personal and professional, was close. They even considered a marriage of convenience at one point.[9] They were always aware of the music the other was working on. And Tippett, the more well-known of the two, was Rainier's most staunch advocate. In 1947, while working for Morley College, a left-leaning adult education center known for its music program, Tippett commissioned a piece from Rainier, which resulted in the *Sinfonia da Camera*.[10] Tippett praised Rainier's solo vocal music, writing in a letter that she had found the answer to "a technical problem of unaccompanied song that I hadn't seen how to. I shall have to imitate you!."[11] At the time, Rainier was at work on her *Cycle for Declamation* (1954), an unaccompanied song cycle, dedicated to and premiered by Peter Pears, that sets three short texts by John Donne.[12]

He also spoke highly of her as a composition teacher, sending promising students to her door. One of these students, the Australian composer Nigel Butterley, requested lessons from Tippett, who suggested Rainier as he was not taking new students at the time. Butterley recalled her equal commitments to composing music and guiding students:

> Michael Tippett recommended Priaulx Rainier to me, describing her as the best teacher in his opinion in London. Certainly for me Priaulx was exactly right. She helped me to think and listen with a more enquiring mind, to be wary of what came easily. She expounded no special technique or theory, and rode no hobby-horse. As she wrote herself some twenty years later, 'It was a moment in your work which was crucial and I happened to be the listening ear…this is how things

[8] "Priaulx Rainier." London: Schott, 1983.
[9] Oliver Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2019): 398.
[10] Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography,* 396.
[11] Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography,* 445. Letter to Rainier dated 1953.
[12] Priaulx Rainier, *Cycle for Declamation* (London: Schott, 1954).

> come about.' She was a constant guiding force—most especially because of her absolute single-minded commitment to being a composer. There was no time for turning out pot boilers or insignificant trifles. One's work had to be of the highest quality and value, and therefore had the highest place in one's life. This was never stated in so many words, but is probably the most important thing I learned from her.[13]

Upon the publication of her biography, two years after her death, he even wrote a piece inspired by the book.[14]

Though concert life was halted by the war, Rainier's life remained rich in art and music. She met artists of every kind and her music was performed in small halls and private homes while larger venues were shut. During the war years, a period she noted as rich in time spent with friends (as professional life had slowed), her circle included, among others, artists John Craxton, Lucian Freud, and Henry Moore; writers Arthur Waley and Jan Karski; violinist Orrea Pernel; and the dancer Pola Nirenska (who was married to Karski).[15] This list represents not only her sociable nature, but also her attraction to every kind of art. It was typical of Rainier to become completely absorbed in the work of her friends, and in turn to absorb it into her own.

At the end of the war, her first meeting, and subsequent friendship, with Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson became centrally important to her life and work. After staying with them in St. Ives, Cornwall for a time, she bought a cottage of her own and, for the rest of her working life, split her time between the Cornish coast and London.[16]

Alongside teaching, Rainier enjoyed success as a composer during her life,

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[13] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 75. As quoted in Opie's biography.
[14] Michael Barkl, "Butterley, Nigel," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed April 1, 2022. The piece is titled *From Sorrowing Earth* (1991).
[15] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing.*"*
[16] Opie *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 37.

especially after her String Quartet (1939) received critical acclaim, and lasting until her death in 1986. Her music, which will be discussed in more depth in this chapter, is of a post-Stravinskian, mostly atonal style. She received numerous commissions from such figures as BBC Controller of Music (1959–72) William Glock, violinist Yehudi Menuhin, and a joint commission from oboist Janet Craxton and clarinetist Thea King.[17] In the years after her composition career took off, from the 1940s forward, her music was broadcast dozens of times on the BBC. The *Barbaric Dance Suite* is not often performed today, though the songs from the same period have gained renewed attention in Britain and North America, often programmed with reference to the facets of Rainier's identity that will be discussed in this chapter. Her experience as an immigrant from a formerly colonized nation is inseparable from her experiences as a woman and a queer person, which required her to live with a kind of open secret in British society.[18]

Ubunzima, *Dance of the Rain*, *Barbaric Dance Suite* (1947–1950)

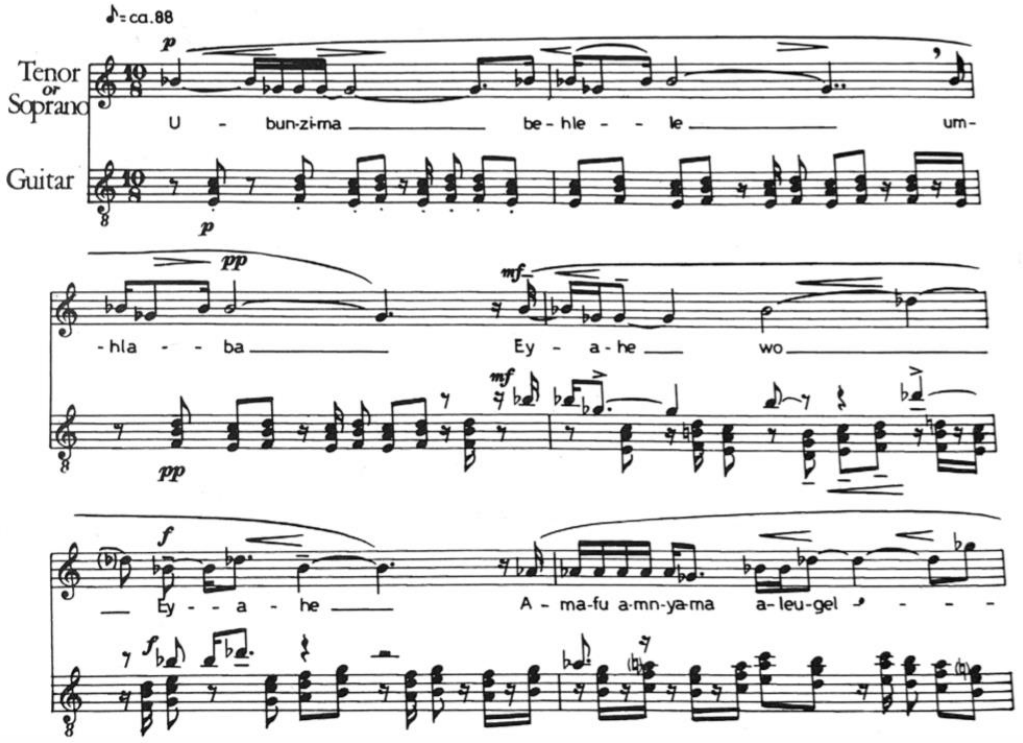
Ubunzima, a song for guitar and tenor, dedicated to the Polish modern dancer Pola Nirenska (1910–1992), takes its text from a verse given to Rainier by a Zulu man whom she met in London in the 1940s.[19] The choice of a guitar and voice pairing is illuminated by a childhood memory of another South African-British composer named Kevin Volans (b. 1949): "I had no contact with African music at all except that I used to walk home

[17] William Glock commissioned two pieces by Rainier while he worked for the BBC, both to be performed at the Proms: Cello Concerto (1964) and *Plöermal* (1973). The concerto was premiered by Jacqueline du Pré. Menuhin commissioned and premiered the *Due canti e finale* (1977). And Craxton and King commissioned and premiered the Concertante for Two Winds and Orchestra (1957).

[18] South Africa became a sovereign state in 1934.

[19] H. H. Van der Spuy, *The Compositions of Priaulx Rainier: An Annotated Catalogue*, Doctoral dissertation (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1988): 194.

from school every day and hear Zulu guitar music and people singing and sitting on the streets. I'd walk past these people playing African music and go home and play Chopin."[20] Rainier's own childhood in Zulu land, though four decades earlier, was similar. Her family encouraged a rigorous Western music education, but on the streets she heard what Volans describes. These voices are emphasized in her syllabic setting, which pays careful attention to the declamation of the text (see Example 2.1).

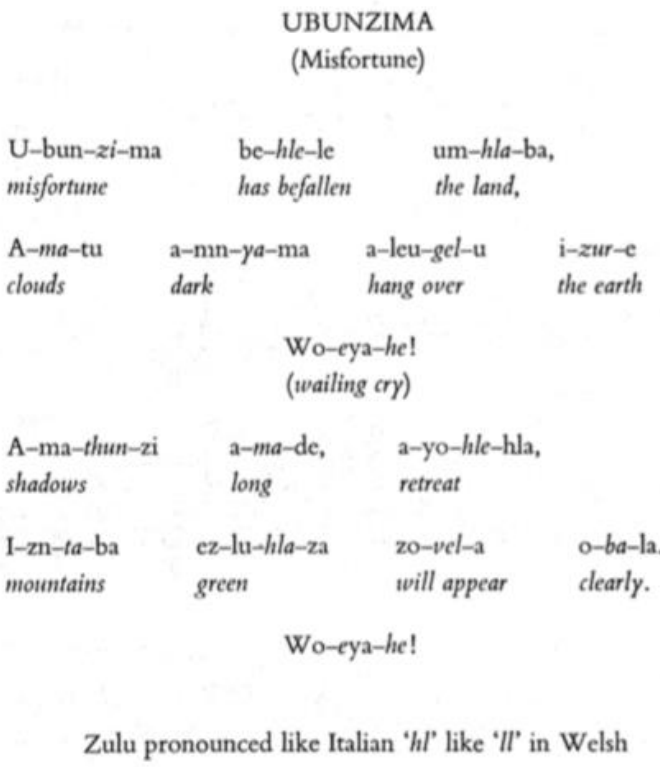


Example 2.1. Rainier, *Ubunzima,* mm. 1–16.

The text, which briefly describes the arrival and disappearance of misfortune (presumably in Zulu land in Natal), is shown in Zulu with English translation below (Ex.

[20] Timothy Taylor, "When We Think About Music and Politics: The Case of Kevin Volans," *Perspectives of New Music* 33, nos. 1–2 (1995).

2.2). [21] Syllables are separated by dashes and stressed syllables marked in italics. In the score, the longer lines of text are periodically interrupted by cries of "wo-eya-he!"[22]



UBUNZIMA
(Misfortune)

U–bun–*zi*–ma be–*hle*–le um–*hla*–ba,
misfortune *has befallen* *the land,*

A–*ma*–tu a–mn–*ya*–ma a–leu–*gel*–u i–*zur*–e
clouds *dark* *hang over* *the earth*

Wo–eya–*he*!
(*wailing cry*)

A–ma–*thun*–zi a–*ma*–de, a–yo–*hle*–hla,
shadows *long* *retreat*

I–zn–*ta*–ba ez–lu–*hla*–za zo–*vel*–a o–*ba*–la.
mountains *green* *will appear* *clearly.*

Wo–eya–*he*!

Zulu pronounced like Italian '*hl*' like '*ll*' in Welsh

Example 2.2. Rainier, *Ubunzima,* text.

Another song, *Dance of the Rain* (1947), shares the same tenor voice and guitar scoring as *Ubunzima*, with the addition of a tambourine. The text is an English translation of an Afrikaans text by Eugène Marais. It depicts a woman moving across a mountain as nature stops to watch in wonder as she prepares to dance, lends itself to the recitative-like setting Rainier crafted. The first stanza reads:

[21] In future archival research, it will be interesting to see if Rainier made any mention of the political situation in South Africa during these years, perhaps in correspondence or an interview. I can find no public statements.

[22] I suspect that the man from whom she got the text is also responsible for the English translation, but that information does not appear on the score, where the Zulu/English texts are printed.

O the dance of our sister!
First she peeps furtively over the mountain top
And her movements are fugitive and her eyes shy and she laughs softly.
Next, poised on the earth's clear rim she stands motionless
And her arms that are so brown, so still, folded over firm small breasts more beautiful by far than cobras coiled in sleep.
Then, with one hand, she beckons from afar, Her bracelets are a glitter and her beads gleam.
Her eyes are gentle, her glance caresses.
Softly she calls, And in still enchanted voice, leaning against the broad white shoulder of the wind, she whispers of her happiness, her bliss, the dance
And she invites him to the feast for her domain is spacious and it will be a festival of joy and wonder![23]

The text is narrative-like and is, at first, divided into clear sections, demarcated by sequential adverbs: "First," "Next," and "Then." The tenor line is characterized by long streams of repeated pitches; any leap larger than a third sticks out from the texture. Like in *Ubunzima*, Rainier chose a syllabic setting that adheres closely to the declamation of the text. The uneven rhythmic units gain momentum as the woman "invites," "beckons," and "whispers" to others, and as her "bangles jingle," foreshadowing her imminent dance. And the tambourine seems to mimic the sounds of her abundant jewelry that punctuate the text. The song ends in a hushed *meno mosso* coda as the Earth calms for her performance. Widely spaced ninth chords in the guitar punctuate the texture, often as a new line of text begins, emphasizing the procession-like imagery of the traveling woman. The tambourine beats steady fragments of eighth notes sporadically, ornamenting the melodic line. It's metallic jingling mimics the descriptions of moving jewelry that punctuate the text.

[23] Priaulx Rainier, *Ubunzima* (London: Schott, 1948).

A piece for tenor, guitar, and tambourine—if it has ever appeared elsewhere—is rare. The tambourine seems to serve a text-painting role at times, but the broader significance of the instrument is worth attention. With what kinds of music did Rainier associate the tambourine? Was it a form of exoticization of the South Africa, and its representative dancer in the text? Often associated with the folk music of both European countries and the Middle East, the metallic sound of the tambourine (as well as the triangle and cymbals) has been used to paint exotic scenes in Western classical music (e.g. Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in 1782, Stravinsky's *Petrushka* in 1911, and even a tambourine imitation in Bartók's *Nine Little Pieces* in 1926).

That Rainier chose South African texts twice in two years—and never again—speaks to the importance of this moment for her. *Ubunzima* uses the Zulu language and in *Dance of the Rain*, though the text is translated into English, it retains some Afrikaans words, a choice Rainier had to make, even if they were included in the translation she received. If she had returned to South African texts later in her career, we might assume a broader interest in them. But this isolated use carries a political statement. At the moment that South Africa's people were being betrayed by their government, Rainier was listening to and promoting their voices. In May 1948, the radical Herenigde Nasionale Party, and new Prime Minister Daniel François Malan, won the election, and segregation, apartheid, and increasingly outspoken racism followed.[24] Rainier took the position of the oppressed, taking on their voices.

The *Barbaric Dance Suite* premiered two years after these songs, on November 29, 1950 in London, performed at a concert of the London School of Economics (LSE)

[24] Saul Dubow, *Apartheid 1948–1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

Music Society.[25] The abstracted version of *Ubunzima* in the second movement—it has no title or instructions except for "II."—is in disguise. Its subject, misfortune and renewal, acts as a kind of hidden text within an instrumental work. This tendency toward abstraction is surely related to the circle of abstract artists with whom she spent her time in both London and St. Ives: Hepworth, Nicholson, Moore, and others. Rainier is not shy about admitting the inspiration she drew from African music, sharing in an interview that "the rhythmic elements in these dances, though without factual imitation or conscious use of any known African patterns, has certain characteristics which could not be there without deep impression of African music I had in early childhood."[26] At this point in her career, Rainier had gained enough recognition in Britain and Europe that she was not speaking into the void. Her music had an audience. Rainier wrote the song *Ubunzima* in 1948, just as Apartheid was formally institutionalized. To return to the song so soon (two years later, in 1950) suggests a renewed emphasis on the voice of the marginalized and oppressed, as well as a kind of reconciliation between South Africa and Europe.[27]

A Note on Networks

Rainier's music and career were always influenced by the social and artistic circle that surrounded her, first in London and later in St. Ives. Texts for her songs were nearly all either written by people she knew or shown to her by others (as is the case with

[25] It was also broadcast on BBC Radio 3 at least twice in proceeding decades, once in 1966, and again in 1982 on a program titled "20th century Piano Music."

[26] As quoted in Esthea Kruger, "An Analysis of Priaulx Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* for Piano" (University of Stellenbosch, Dissertation, 2008): 20. The quote is undated and held in archival papers relating to Rainier in Cape Town.

[27] A similar kind of discourse arises around jazz in the mid-twentieth century. It would be interesting to compare the two discussions.

Ubunzima). Commissions from performers and concert organizers she knew catalyzed her career. And her close relationships with composers like Michael Tippett and artists such as Barbara Hepworth became centrally important to how she thought about art and music. Many scholars and writers emphasize the role of place in migration studies. In *Arrival Cities*, the authors introduce their project about the cities that attract migrants by arguing that "the close interdependence of migration and the city should be considered in both directions.[28] Cities are built by migrants just as much as they act as "identity-forming" entities for them.[29] Rainier arrived in London as a student, and the city helped to build her network. Part of Rainier's artistic identity came from the networks—social and institutional—of which she was part.

Benjamin Piekut takes this one step further, by also emphasizing the role of non-human actors, such as performances, texts, and journals. These non-human actors, not just things, are vital to creating and maintaining connections between the human ones.[30] With this in mind, the places where Rainier's music was heard and talked about, not just the people who did the performing and writing, are also essential to the story. Reputations of journals and circulation of texts are just some examples of the power of non-human actors with agency.

Rainier never wrote or spoke about her music, at least not in a public-facing manner, as was common for many of her contemporaries. Contemporary composers

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[28] Burcu Dogramaci, Mareike Hetschold, Laura Karp Lugo, Rachel Lee, and Helene Roth, eds., *Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020), 9.

[29] Dogramaci, et al., *Arrival Cities*, 9.

[30] Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 212.

Michael Tippett, Mátyás Seiber, and Roberto Gerhard, the latter two also having immigrated to Britain, among others, all spoke or wrote about their compositional methods. These examples, all of them men, suggest that gender was likely part of the reason. A woman would have been less likely to be asked to present such writing, and perhaps also less likely to imagine an audience for it. But her notoriously slow process and relatively small output might also mean that she simply never reached the point of committing a specific method philosophy of composition to paper. Butterley's comment that she "expounded no special technique or theory" suggests that her lack of evangelizing was also intentional, was integral to her personal philosophy of music.

Her conversations on art with Hepworth and Tippett resulted in the inaugural ten-day St. Ives Festival for Music and the Arts in June 1953. The festival, though organized in a somewhat erratic manner, featured Shakespeare plays, a Peter Pears recital, premiers of new musical works, and visual art displays, and had as its mission "to commemorate the two Elizabethan ages."[31] The festival took place in the same year and month as the coronation, and indeed they received permission for the program to be "under the patronage of H.M. The Queen."[32] All of these relationships are vital to understanding Rainier's own work, as she was always supremely invested in what her friends were thinking about and creating.

[31] Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography,* 401.
[32] Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography,* 400.

Translation and Migration

Though the *Barbaric Dance Suite* has received little scholarly attention, a handful of articles reveal two approaches to understanding it. First, articles and reviews from the 1950s, of this piece and Rainier's other works, focus on the "African rhythms" in the music, but never ask questions about how or why they are deployed and offer little to no concrete analytical evidence. These reviews will be explored later in this chapter. A 2008 thesis by Esthea Kruger begins to interrogate such claims by focusing on overlooked pitch relations through the use of analysis according to pitch class sets.[33] Extant literature does not consider the crucial moment in which *Ubunzima* and the *Barbaric Dance Suite* were written, just after the formal institutionalization of Apartheid in her home country in 1948, and the deadly protests by Africans in the subsequent months and years. Nor does it give appropriate attention to the trends in Western art music in which Rainier was entrenched.

To embrace and explore the nuances of the interaction between Rainier's home and adopted countries/ cultures I turn to translation as a conceptual metaphor for the "process of transformation during the act of transportation."[34] It is an active concept, focused on processes, rather than products; I am just as interested in the *decision* to transcribe a song with Zulu words in a dance suite as the dance suite itself. Translation as a cultural process has many precedents, beginning with its linguistic ones. It is defined as "to express the sense of words or text in another language" or, more generally, to movement of something from one "place or condition to another." The first qualification

[33] Kruger, "An Analysis of Priaulx Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* for Piano."
[34] Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

for a linguistic translator is competency in both languages. In a similar vein, migrants gain cultural competency in the languages, art, and ways of being in two or more places. They are then positioned to translate between the two in a manner inaccessible to those with experience in only one culture. In my analysis, both the linguistic and the cultural theoretical angles aim to illuminate a richer understanding of Rainier's music and the discourse surrounding it.

Walter Benjamin's oft-read essay on the topic, "The task of the Translator," provides initial links between literal and cultural, metaphorical translation. Translation, according to Benjamin, is a "mode" of work, or creation, rather than a product.[35] Key to understanding the task in front of the translator is the recognition of its active nature. For Benjamin, the information in the text is the inessential element of translation. Instead, the task of the translator is to express the relationship between the two languages at hand, the "central kinship" between them.[36] With this idea of relatedness in mind, translation can easily move to the metaphorical in analyses of other kinds of cultural work.

In his discussion of the kinship between languages, Benjamin writes that "brot" means to a German person something different than "pain" for a French person. Though their "mode[s] of intention differ" and the two "seek to exclude one another," they signify the same thing.[37] Benjamin concludes that "While the modes of intention in these two words are in conflict, intention and object of intention complement each of the two languages from which they are derived."[38] Music created in migration acts similarly:

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[35] Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2019 [1923]), 12.
[36] Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," 14.
[37] Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," 17.
[38] Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," 17.

depending on your cultural perspective, the same aspect of a composition seems to come from a different place. Rainier's rhythmic focus is South African for the critics searching for an African influence and Stravinskian when considered from the angle of avant-garde art music. Rainier's aesthetic and stylistic referents similarly "complement" one another.

Postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha devotes considerable attention to "cultural translation," which he defines as a discursive strategy that takes place in literature, media, and other forms of knowledge production.[39] Bhabha is chiefly concerned with how migrants and their children from post-colonial places live within a majority culture, like Britain, that has a history of oppression. The process of cultural translation reveals contradictions and creates new frameworks within dominant discourses. The migrant takes the majority discourse, like the dance suite, and fashions something more particular to their own experiences and identities. The space that opens up is the "Third Space" that Bhabha refers to in his work. Building on the work of Fanon, Bhabha argues that "social contradiction and cultural difference" are part of the fabric of modernity itself. This same sense of contradictory thought is central to his conceptions of fetishizing or stereotyping as well, in which we name difference and disavow it in the same breath.[40] Contradiction are a powerful form of enunciation, for it is in these contradictory spaces that cultural systems are created.[41]

In the visual arts, cultural translation has found broad application as both a mode or process of creation and as an analytical category. Scholars have been drawn to translation as an alternative way of discussing artistic influence, which has hierarchical

[39] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
[40] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* 75.
[41] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* 37.

connotations. Esra Akcan, an architectural historian, applies the term translation to the movement of modern residential architecture styles from Germany to Turkey in the twentieth century, arguing that the exchange of ideas and practices was a process of translation rather than an ironic adoption of Western models in the establishment of a nationalist architectural aesthetic, a view which discounts and overlooks the agency of actors. Translation is not neutral. However, Akcan argues that translation reveals both sides of a cross-cultural exchange more evenly than nationalist approaches that place more emphasis on the wealthier, Western location.[42]

In studies of migration and music, an art often at odds with linguistic description, the concept of translation has received little attention. However, scholars in the field use related theories and methodologies that inform my own study. Florian Scheding looks at common trends in the work of three émigré composers—Hanns Eisler (1898–1962), Istvan Anhalt (1919–2012), and Mátyás Seiber (1905–60)—to identify a "migratory aesthetic."[43] The stylistic trends that they share, namely composing light music and the late adoption of serialism, are, he argues, in opposition to national trends and nationalism. Scheding emphasizes that a migratory aesthetic is not a particular musical style, but instead about stylistic choices and relationships to styles, as well as expressions of doubleness.[44] The composers he writes about made specific choices in their music, such as writing light music, taking on film projects, or adopting serial techniques relatively

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[42] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation,* 4.

[43] Florian Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019).

[44] Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music*. The idea of musical doubleness and migration is introduced in several contributions to *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkman and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

late, that he ties to their migratory experiences.

Rainier's work is illuminated by theories of migratory aesthetics, a term coined in the visual arts, but increasingly finding application in music.[45] Though not an aesthetic category per se, migratory aesthetics provides a useful vocabulary for discussing the artistic works of migrants, and for thinking about them in relation to other artists. Miguel Á Hernández Navarro distills five key features of a migratory aesthetic: "everyday life, mobility, multi-temporality, memory, and the politics of affect."[46] This mode of thinking about art in migration opens up our understanding of Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* as art born of her own migratory experience. First, she brings to the surface her own memories of Zulu singing and dancing, revealing the often-slippery mobility of sound on the move. Second, the instrumental adaptation of a song two years after its completion prompts a consideration of the multi-temporality of its meaning. And lastly, her interaction with South African referents at such a vital political moment points to both her capacity to be affected and her inclination toward engaging with the current moment.

Brigid Cohen's study of Stefan Wolpe (1902–1972) argues that migration is central to understanding modernism, musical and otherwise. The theoretical framework that undergirds Cohen's entire project stems from her belief that the study of migration and the lives and work of migrants should not be executed using nation-centered theories.

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[45] In the visual arts, a series of exhibitions and edited volumes of essays explore the concept from many angles. Sam Durrant, and Catherine M. Lord, *Essays in Migratory Aesthetics: Cultural Practices between Migration and Art-Making* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007). And a recent volume by Florian Scheding—*Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019)—applies the term to the aural.

[46] Miguel Á Hernández Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, ed. Michael Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). The politics of affect is the least clear of these, but refers to an artist's sensitivity to the events happening around them and their tendency to deal with them in a substantial way in their work.

As her argument about migration and modernism unfolds, it is supported by the theoretical writings of philosophers, critical theorists, and post-colonial theorists—Edward Said, Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin, Theodor Adorno, Hannah Arendt, Homi Bhabha, and Bruce Robbins—some of whom were contemporary with Wolpe. Recent scholarship has considered the place of migrants in the conception of who and what British music is.[47] Rainier's cosmopolitanism might be seen as what Kwame Appiah calls a "rooted cosmopolitanism," the idea that the cosmopolitan need not be devoid of attachment or rootedness, and that it is common for them to exist.[48] Other scholars have approached music and migration through the common experiences of composers displaced by specific crises and mass migratory movements, focusing on internal and psychological experiences of memory and internal exile, or external ones of censorship and propaganda.[49]

Terminology: "African" Rhythm and "Barbaric" Sounds

The title of and discourse surrounding the *Barbaric Dance Suite* require a cultural and historical contextualization. "African rhythm," which has long been understood by scholars and listeners as the essential characteristic of African music, is, according to Kofi Agawu, an "invention."[50] Its pervasiveness in descriptions of Rainier's music is evidence of the broader impulse to name the difference between Africa and the West,

[47] Florian Scheding, convener, "'Who Is British Music?' Placing Migrants in National Music History," *Twentieth-Century Music* 15, no. 3 (2018): 439–492.

[48] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006).

[49] Erik Levi, ed., *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014.

[50] Kofi Agawu, "The Invention of 'African Rhythm,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 3 (1995): 380–95.

them and us. And the term barbaric, used in the title of her piece, was linked to this perceived primacy of rhythm. Its connotations of simple, uncivilized, and less sophisticated are, of course, more pronounced and more widely questioned in the twenty-first century, but in scholarly and artistic circles, the term "barbaric" appeared often in the early- to mid-twentieth century. Barbaric also references the Barbary (or Berber) Coast of Northern Africa, a designation that was mostly out of use by the twentieth century, but still known. Barbaric and Africa were likely linked in the minds of British people.

With what images and sounds did Rainier associate the term? Some examples illustrate the use of the term in the decades before she wrote the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, revealing an Orientalist and imperialist point of view. The act of calling one group "barbaric" implies that the speaker imagines themselves as something else. A 1913 drawing by Picasso titled *The Barbaric Dance (Before Salome and Herod)* shows an assemblage of entertainers, all with exaggerated corporal characteristics, in a circle around the lounging Salome and Herod.[51] A child is held beneath a bow, like a fiddle, and the movement of the others suggest music. The orientalizing image is deemed "barbaric."[52] A now forgotten piano piece by Julian Rutt, *Zululand: A Barbaric Dance* (1919), also equates music with barbarism. And the term was aimed at works like Borodin's "Polovtsian Dances" in *Prince Igor* (1890) and Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* (1913).

In a 1945 review of Rainier's Quartet for Strings (1939), an instrumental work

[51] It is worth noting that Rainier was familiar enough with Picasso that she visited his home studio in 1937, where she took a photograph of *Guernica*. The photo is listed amongst her papers at the Royal Academy of Music, which I will view in Summer 2022.

[52] Picasso's drawing is now housed at the National Gallery of art, and can be seen here: https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.109895.html.

written before the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, Glock applies the term barbaric to what he perceives as a musical expression of her African background.

> I do not know whether Miss Rainier rounds off the work as meaningfully as she might have done, or whether, indeed music can fulfill the function she seems to ask of it in this finale, The parallel it suggests is that of an author who, having devoted three-quarters of his book to a profound criticism of life, then gives us his credentials, as it were: his background. With Miss Rainier the background is Africa; and whatever conclusion one may reach over this haunting, barbaric movement, it has countless touches that leave no doubt as to the talent that created it."[53]

"Barbaric" and "talent" are placed opposite one another, suggesting that their reconciliation is in question. The movement he references, the finale of her Quartet for Strings, is a short presto characterized by brief staccato motives in each voice. Its harmonic language emphasizes slowly changing tonal centers through pedal tones and the interval of a minor second is played with from the first beat to the last. Glock criticizes Rainier, here and elsewhere, for not blending the two cultures sufficiently. The above review suggests that he hears in this finale something distinctly South African, a less than elegant admission of her "background," though what that musical element might be is unclear. Indeed the percussive rhythms, dissonant intervals, and repetitive lines appear again and again across her output.

In another instance, Glock writes that the Zulu music she heard as a child "may be seen…in its [her music's] rhythms, its melodic outlines, its constant evocation of the sound of drums, and its preoccupation with the tritone which probably came from hearing the native reed-flute ensembles whose scales were often characterized by that interval."[54] To suggest that Rainier used a tritone solely because of the music she heard as a child is

[53] William Glock, "String Quartet," *The Observer* (February 18, 1940).
[54] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 38. As quoted in Opie's biography.

to ignore what the music actually has to tell us. It stops short. Decades later, liner notes written by British composer and author Francis Routh for a 1992 CD of Rainier's music express the same kind of claim about the suite: "One can see the bringing together of the African folk-source of Rainier's music and a tonal European idiom in her piano piece *Barbaric Dance Suite* (1949)."[55] Violinist and conductor Yehudi Menuhin (1916–1999) similarly hears the "sounds of Africa" and European form in her work, writing on the occasion of her 80th birthday that:

> From the materials of nature—the scherzo of the concerto she wrote for me […] is a veritable ornothological aviary—to the sounds of Africa and Africans, to Indians and last, but not least, to a very solid, European grounding, to giving structure and form such rich and varied sources, from the first I was intensely fascinated by this great and sweet lady.[56]

What these quotes reveal is that Rainier's background was the first stop for critics trying to name the particularity of her music. Stylistic difference in music is equated with foreignness in biography.

One key to understanding Rainier's positionality is South Africa's relationship to Britain in the mid-twentieth century. At the time, Britain was chiefly concerned with its place in Europe and the West at this moment, as its status as center of Europe slipped away. At the same moment, the British government passed the British Nationality Act of 1948. The act was the first immigration legislation in which Britain addressed citizens of colonized nations specifically, rather than populations in crisis, as during the wars. This act provided some provisions for colonial citizens to immigrate to Britain, but the process was still difficult and limited to those with financial and social resources, like family

[55] Francis Routh, "Priaulx Rainer (1903–1986)," in *Music by Priaulx Rainier*, CD (London: Redcliffe Recordings, 1992).

[56] "Priaulx Rainier." (London: Schott, 1983).

support and offers of employment. [57]

So what perceptions did British scholars, critics, and audiences have of South Africa at this time? For most, it was a distant land of which they knew little of its history or people, much less its music, and then only as it related to the empire. Though this piece was written at the moment of Apartheid, the image of South Africa in the minds of most British citizens was likely from the second Boer War several decades earlier, as many men had fought and returned to share stories with family and friends. Rainier, however, possesses and demonstrates an understanding of South Africa that most British citizens did not have. Rainier was considered British in many instances, but the constant emphasis on her African background reveals that she was in some ways on the periphery of that identity.

Taking Roberto Dainotto's lead, I argue that voices from the periphery not only affect the center, but constitute it. In his work about the theorization of Europe, Dainotto argues that objectification was a central process. The process of objectification moved not only from west to east away from Europe, but also from north to south, center to periphery within Europe.[58] And I would argue outward as well, toward colonized and formerly colonized nations, many of whom were gaining independence during this time. South Africa is then on the European periphery, despite its geographic distance and political independence.

One source that musicians and academics would have had access to is a book by A.M. Jones, *African Music in Northern Rhodesia and Some Other Places*, published in

[57] Roger Kershaw, *Immigrants and Aliens: A Guide to Sources on UK Immigration and Citizenship* (Kew: Public Records Office, 2000).
[58] Roberto Dainotto, *Europe (In Theory,)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

1948 by the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in present-day Zambia. Jones had spent time in what was then Northern Rhodesia, listening to and transcribing the music performed by the people who lived there. In his book, Jones' transcription process proceeds from rhythms drawn on a line, through the addition of standard Western rhythmic notation, to final examples with bar lines and time signatures.

Not all composers who immigrated from South Africa to Britain engaged with their native country's music as Rainier did. Indeed, there are as many expressions as there are individuals. The degree to which Rainier interacted with her South African past lies on a spectrum with other South African composers in Britain. Early in his career, John Joubert (1927–2019) made several explicit references to South Africa, but later in life distances himself from its music. But Kevin Volans (b. 1949) was very vocal about working toward a kind of musical reconciliation between the two countries and cultures. Later in his career, however, he engaged with indigenous South African music less frequently. Both of these composers belong to different generations and are men, which surely affects their positionality when compared to Rainier. Rainier's positionality in relation to her career raises important considerations. Was her decision to reference South Africa—in titles and in musical content—part of her path to differentiate herself and find success as a composer? Was it expected by audiences or encouraged by peers, mentors, and gate-keeping organizations like the BBC?

Gender and Dance

As a queer woman in a profoundly conservative time and place, Rainier's choice to engage with Zulu music, dance, and storytelling is significant. Depictions of Zulu

music and dance are primarily gendered male and painted as violent and aggressive. Louise Meintjes, writing about the ngoma musical practice (one that includes drums), writes that this violence is inscribed in performance practice of Zulu men in Kwa-Zulu Natal, largely due to the ethnic nationalism and warrior status prompted by Apartheid, which was in its initial moments when Rainier chose her Zulu text and named her dances barbaric. Singing and dancing, together, are the main "performative features of Zulu warriordom."[59] Rainier's "barbaric" music, however, is refracted through the mind and body of a queer woman and is dedicated to a professional female dancer and choreographer, Pola Nirenska. Barbaric, for Rainier, is then understood and expressed via the subversion of gender, and all of its accompanying norms and expectations, in the mid-twentieth century.

Nirenska was a well-known performer of modern dance and also an immigrant, who had success in the 1930s in Austria, Germany, Italy, and her native Poland, before fleeing the continent in 1935. She was in Britain for fourteen years (1935–49) before settling in the United States in 1949, where she became one of Washington DC's leading choreographers.[60] Nirenska's choreography was influenced by German expressionism and often contemplated the Holocaust and her own past. Her pedagogical philosophy emphasized dance's place in historical, musical, and artistic contexts.[61] She and Rainier were friends for many of those Britain years, and the Suite's dedication came just after Nirenska left. Her approach to dance was surely part of Rainier's imagination as she

[59] Louise Meintjes, *Dust of the Zulu: Ngoma Aesthetics After Apartheid* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 1.
[60] "Pola Nirenska Collection: Biographical Sketch." *Library of Congress*.
[61] "Pola Nirenska Collection: Biographical Sketch." *Library of Congress*.

wrote this piece.

One style of Zulu singing is particularly pertinent in this discussion: isicathamiya. The term is derived from the root -cathama, which means "to stalk like a cat."[62] This style of singing, which has origins in the late nineteenth century and took off in the early twentieth, is inseparable from the light-footed dance choreography that moves beneath a capella voices. Isicathamiya has roots in Western musical styles and genres such as hymns, Ragtime, and minstrelsy. Vaudeville troops from the US toured in South Africa as early as the 1890s.[63] Post-World War I migrant workers in Natal, where Rainier grew up, sang in their hostels as a kind of competitive entertainment. The songs they performed feature four-part harmonies, with prominent bass lines and a tenor soloist, who acts as a leader. The dancing is full of well-placed skipping motions beneath repetitive melodies. The groups who perform it are traditionally male, such as the Grammy award winning Ladysmith Black Mambazo, who appear in Paul Simon's Graceland album.[64] Though isicathamiya is a male-dominated practice, it is gentler than some singing styles, like mbube. One scholar argues that isicathamiya performance practice is a site of "soft masculinity," as opposed to the violent masculinity of South African social order.[65] A reinterpretation of that social order is then already present when Rainier writes her dances. Through this lens, Rainier's music is a veiled political reference to the music of black Zulu men, migrants themselves, as they were increasingly discriminated against

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[62] Janet Topp Fargion, "Isicathamiya," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 1, 2022.

[63] Angela Impey, "Songs of the Night: Isicathamiya Choral Music from KwaZulu Natal," *1997 Festival of American Folklife Program Book*, 1997.

[64] See Steven Feld's article about this collaboration and the appropriation of African music. Steven Feld, "A sweet Lullaby for World Music," *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 145–171.

[65] Gunner, Liz. "Soft Masculinities, *Isicathamiya* and Radio." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 2 (2014): 343–60.

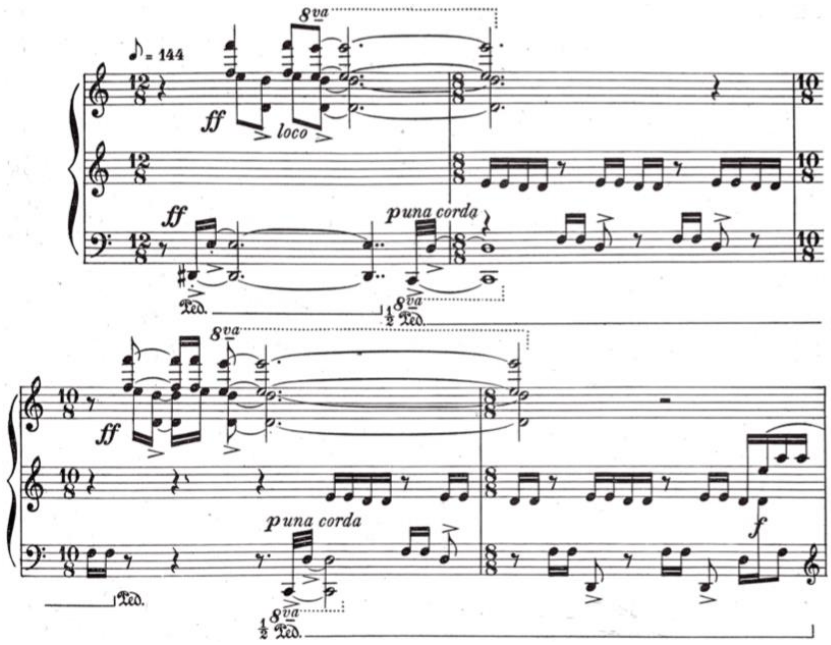
and oppressed during the formal installation of Apartheid.

Barbaric Dance Suite, II: Analysis

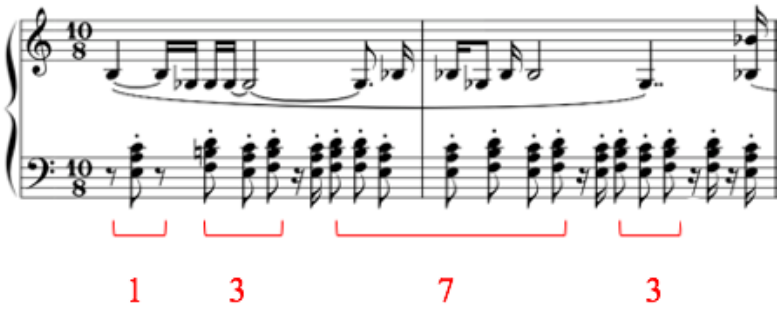
As I consider the score of the *Barbaric Dance Suite* more closely, I will first talk generally about the character of the piece before discussing evidence of cultural translation and the question of appropriation, focusing on the middle movement. I will then situate the piece's musical character in relation to a small group of other works, both instrumental and vocal, that Rainier wrote during the same period, from the late 1930s to the mid-1950s.

The *Barbaric Dance Suite* is in three movements; the first and third move quickly, contrasted by the moderate-paced *Ubunzima* transcription in the middle. Despite this texted allusion, the movements are titled with only roman numerals and the score contains very few instructions for performers: they are preceded by tempo markings, but not expressive ones. She is not always so sparse with score instructions, but she tends to limit them to a few carefully chosen words. Each movement is propelled by a different rhythmic motive, is primarily through-composed, and has as its central melodic motive a single interval, which is typical of Rainier's music, that unites it. In the first movement, oscillating whole tones in a kind of nervous ostinato open out into bold leaps and octave shifts (Example 2.3). Such ostinati appear often in her instrumental writing. In the second movement major and minor thirds define both a repetitive, slurred melodic line and an unpredictable pizzicato accompaniment (Example 2.4). And in the final movement, passages of alternating seconds appear repeatedly, interrupted by blocks of harsh leaps (Example 2.5). Despite their particularities, the rhythmic characters of each movement

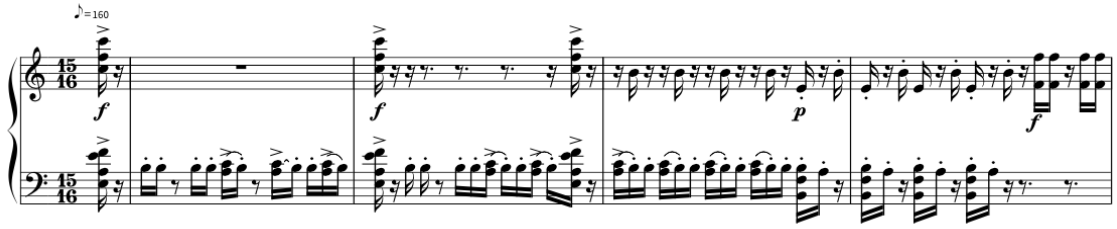
blend, smoothing the transitions between movements and provide aural continuity amidst the constantly shifting meters of the dances.



Example 2.3. Rainier, *Barbaric Dance Suite*, I, mm. 1–2.



Example 2.4. Rainier, *Barbaric Dance Suite,* II, mm. 1–4.



Example 2.5. Rainier, *Barbaric Dance Suite,* III, mm. 1–4.

The first thing to note about the second movement is the contrast between the slurred melody and the angular, repetitive accompaniment. Rainier's music is often characterized by slow, static, distinct layers of music, defined in turns by harmony, voices/timbre, articulation, and register. She plays with these layers, sometimes intermingling them, asking the audience to listen closely. The right hand, marked *una corda*, plays alternating melodic thirds under a long slur, while the left hand, marked *senza pedale*, plays staccato 6/4 triads. The rhythmic character of the movement, though only two voices, is characteristically intricate for Rainier. The two lines, despite having different rhythmic characters, merge due to consistent voice crossings. The right and left hands must cross from the first bar forward. Because of these differentiated characters, several moments when the left hand's articulation changes stand out. The first is at m. 3, when three beats of tenuto notes interrupt the bouncy procession. This happens again at m. 8, this time for eight beats. Another moment is at mm. 17–18, when the strings of staccato chords are suddenly slurred. Both instances act as pauses in the constant, uneven oscillation of staccato chords. The two voices are also separated harmonically: the left hand plays only white notes and the right hand only black.

Though triadic, the harmonic motion in the left hand is bound by alternating stepwise motion, rather than functional harmonic development. The staccato chords in the left hand, shown in Example 2.4, move in parallel motion beneath the slurred vocal gestures in the right hand. The stepwise harmonic motion continues, but expands in range as the movement progresses. By the end of the 1950s, Rainier would abandon the triad entirely, using them for the last time in her *Requiem* (1956), a work for solo tenor and choir that sets a poem by David Gascoyne written between 1938 and 1940 as a preemptive requiem for the victims of World War II. After this, her harmonic language became more strictly atonal, often dissonant.

Arithmetic patterns also feature prominently in Rainier's music. A brief additive procedure, shown in red brackets in Example 2.4, governs the accompanimental left hand, moving through prime numbered groupings of eighth notes, sometimes with a preceding upbeat. From the first measure of this movement (and also the third movement), this small additive procedures, propels the stylized dances. These procedures are not all-encompassing and resemble the asymmetric patterns found in the music of other composers writing near this time, namely Bartók, Stravinsky, and Tippett. The arch-like shape of these additive rhythms creates some phrasing when the melody's circular repetition evades it. And because of the close relationship between Rainier and Michael Tippett, and evidence of their correspondence about their music, his influence on her musical style is not only likely, but almost inevitable.[66]

Though I have not found any reflections on her brief study with Boulanger, it would be revealing to know what aspect of Rainier's style she particularly encouraged.

[66] Oliver Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography*.

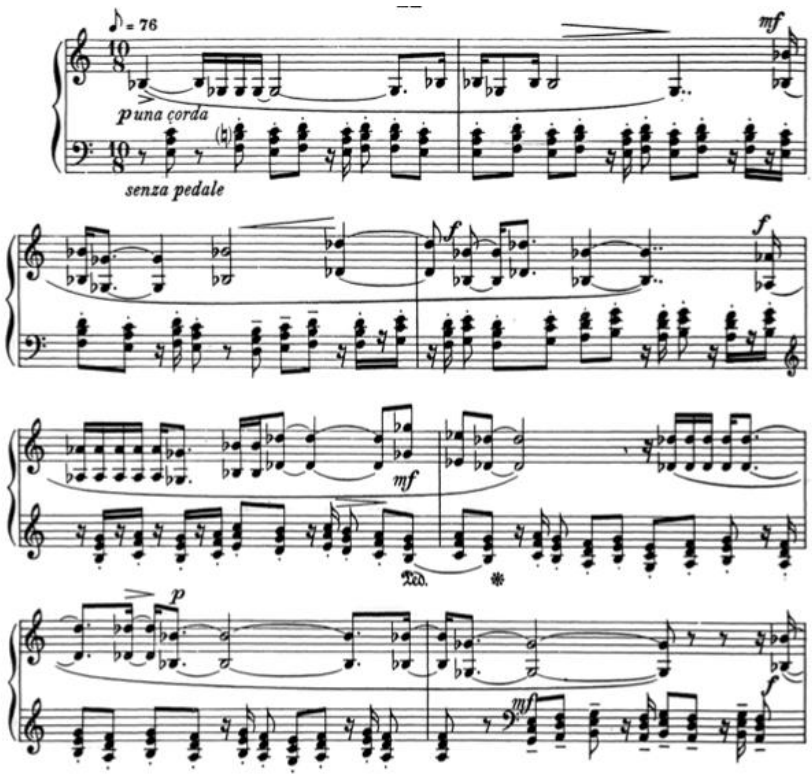
Part of Boulanger's success a s a pedagogue was encouraging young composers to dig into the particularities of their own voices, and perhaps for Rainier this was the rhythmic focus, or some level of engagement with her home country. Rhythm as the primary parameter was common for composers of Rainier's generation and the one following.

She fits the movement into a 10/8 meter that at first glance seems ill-fitting. However, a closer look reveals a structure based largely on two-bar phrases, which, halfway through the movement, expand and contract, subverting the written meter. The slurs help define a flexible series of two-bar phrases in the right hand (See Example 2.6). The rhythmic units are elastic, pushing and pulling within and across phrases. This moment coincides with passages punctuated by large melodic leaps in the right hand. And in the text of the song, "clouds dark" and "shadows" enter and retreat before the ultimately hopeful conclusion. Though the right hand consists, at first, of two bar phrases, the left hand accompaniment dances right through these demarcations, weakening the sense of periodicity. Despite these semi-regular two-bar phrases, the rhythmic units, which are unequal, deny performers and listeners a consistent tactus.

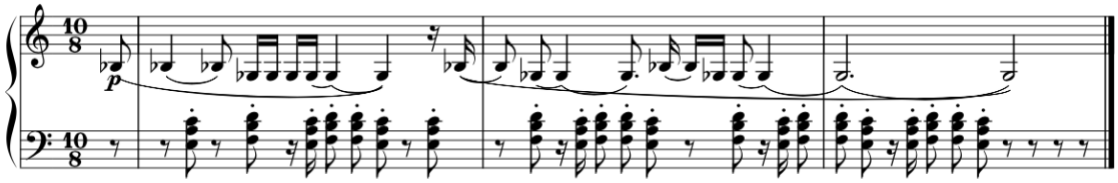
One recurring rhythmic motive defines the left-hand accompaniment. The gesture, in Ex. 2.3, periodically interrupts the strings of eighths and rests with a grace-note like pick up, which seems to skip beneath the longer durations in the top voice. It is reminiscent of a dancer who must skip to land on the other foot. Performances of isicathamiya show nimble dancers making such quick changes. Rainier's repetition of the motive is elastic. This recurring rhythmic unit is accented, as it were. The listener's ears come to expect it, but can never be sure when. Its final iteration, as the last statement at the end of the movement, evades any sense of closure. And the right hand ends with a

low B-flat to G-flat motion, the same interval with which it began. As this restatement fades out, one gets the sense that the music might continue if it were not for the necessity of the suite's final movement. The return has poetic relevance as well. The hopeful final line of *Ubunzima*'s text, "Mountains green will appear clearly," mirrors its dark opening, "Misfortune has befallen the land."

Across the movement, a subtle arch shape emerges, first with a brief return to the opening statement in the final three bars of the movement. But the sense of return is felt across several musical parameters. The dynamics emphasize this shape, building from piano to forte before returning to piano in that restatement of the opening. And the melodic leaps in the right hand, initially moving only in thirds, expand toward the middle and contract toward the end. It is the rhythmic character of the movement that remains consistent. The right-hand rhythmic figures in mm. 22–24 (Example 2.7) show a similar, but contracted version of those in mm. 1–4 (Example 2.3)



Example 2.6. Rainier, *Barbaric Dance Suite,* II, mm. 1–8, 2-bar phrases.



Example 2.7. Rainier, *Barbaric Dance Suite,* II, mm. 22–24.

Contradictions

The first instance of cultural translation reveals a contradiction, one of the signs of translation that Bhabha emphasizes. It lies in the impulse to define the piece by its "African rhythms," while ignoring the vocal origins of the second movement. No contemporary reviews or programs mention this. Another look at the text of *Ubunzima*

illuminates subsequent hearings of the piano transcription. Rainier's setting follows the syllabic emphases of the text closely, moving in mostly stepwise and triadic motion and avoiding large leaps. Francis Routh writes that the *Barbaric Dance Suite* uses a "percussive piano texture," based on the "sound of African marimbas."[67] One reviewer does focus on the singing rather than the rhythms in *Ubunzima*, writing that the song has "singable Zulu words" and "a fascinating interplay of polytonality between voice and instruments."[68] Indeed, other settings of (mostly English) poems—*Cycle for Declamation* (1954, John Donne), *Requiem* (1956, David Gascoyne), and *The Bee Oracles* (1963, Edith Sitwell)—exhibit a similar approach to vocal lines and text. The settings tend to adhere to the declamation of the text, accompanimental lines are clearly defined layers that often intertwine with melodic ones, and the melodies are built from small intervallic units like seconds and thirds.

Though she never drew a link between her own work and the South African singing style of isicathamiya, and only made one trip back to South Africa during the years between her arrival and the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, Rainier's works, both the songs and the suite, share some characteristics of this style.[69] *Ubunzima* and *Dance of the Rain*, the two songs based on texts from South Africa, both feature tenor soloists, as do many of her later vocal works which were often written for and/or sung by Peter Pears. The tightly packed rhythmic motion in the accompanimental parts resemble the light, swift movements of the dancers' feet, which seem to stay on their toes. This makes the

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[67] Francis Routh, *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-Five Years from 1945–1970* (London: Macdonald and Company, 1972): 346.

[68] Elizabeth Poston, "Sad Fountains," *The Musical Times* 110, no. 1514 (1969): 416.

[69] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 20. Her trip back to South Africa was in the early 1920s, while she was a student, but the exact date is uncertain.

inclusion of a Zulu-texted song in a dance suite even more meaningful. First, singing and dance are linked. Though *Ubunzima* is a song, Zulu singing styles like isicathamiya reveal that dance is inseparable from song. Second, the style of *Ubunzima*, which seems to mimic that of isicathamiya, bleeds into the newly-composed outer movements of the *Barbaric Dance Suite*. And finally, the traditionally male ensembles further the element of subversion in Rainier's dances, composed by and dedicated to a woman.

A second contradiction also involves the contemporary comments from critics. Nearly unanimously, they connect Rainier's music to Africa, but the elements to which they refer are also indicative of trends in avant-garde Western music of the mid-century. The trends include: the use of rhythm as the dominant musical parameter, the inclusion of folk references, uneven phrase units, and symmetrical and additive rhythmic procedures. In other words, these two cultural worlds become inextricable, much like in a translation. The English translation of a French novel retains something of its Frenchness.

This cultural meeting point is an example of a "contact zone," the site of cultural encounters that Akcan argues is established by translation, allowing two locations to interact. The contact zone "not only makes cultural exchanges possible, but also reveals the tensions and conflicts created by the perceived inequalities between places."[70] It is a place of understanding, of hearing more clearly, and of thinking more critically about the two cultures—their sounds and musical practices and how we think about and compare them. The fascinating and difficult thing about attempts to understand art in migration is that there are two answers to every question. In Rainier's "contact zone," one can hear and see her efforts to bring some part of South African music and culture into her work,

[70] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation,* 4.

in the form of titles, texts, and a dance-like rhythmic emphasis. But one can as easily hear the ambiguities that arise.

The rhythmic and structural characteristics of Rainier's work call to mind the work of other Western classical composers who referred to the folk music of their own countries, namely Stravinsky and Bartók. Unlike these composers, Rainier is not using any kind of stylized folk melody, but she does use pentatonicism in brief melodic lines, a common marker of the folk. In particular, her piece bears some resemblance to the dance-like *Allegro barbaro* (1911) by Bartók, in both title and content, as well as his middle string quartets. Even in the 1950s, a critic compared her work to the "barbaric Bartók," but referred to Zulu music in the same sentence, commenting that in her music "Africa speaks."[71] Bartók's *Allegro barbaro*, a single movement for solo piano, begins with jagged alternating chords, the registers of the two hands moving closer together until the two lines merge (Example 2.8). The piano music here is not beautiful. The octave harmonies are not lush and the melodies do not sing. He treats the piano like a percussion instrument, utilizing various styles of attacks. Open octaves and droning pitches define the harmonic landscape, something seen in Rainier's music as well, and despite a tonal center, the dominant never fully asserts itself.

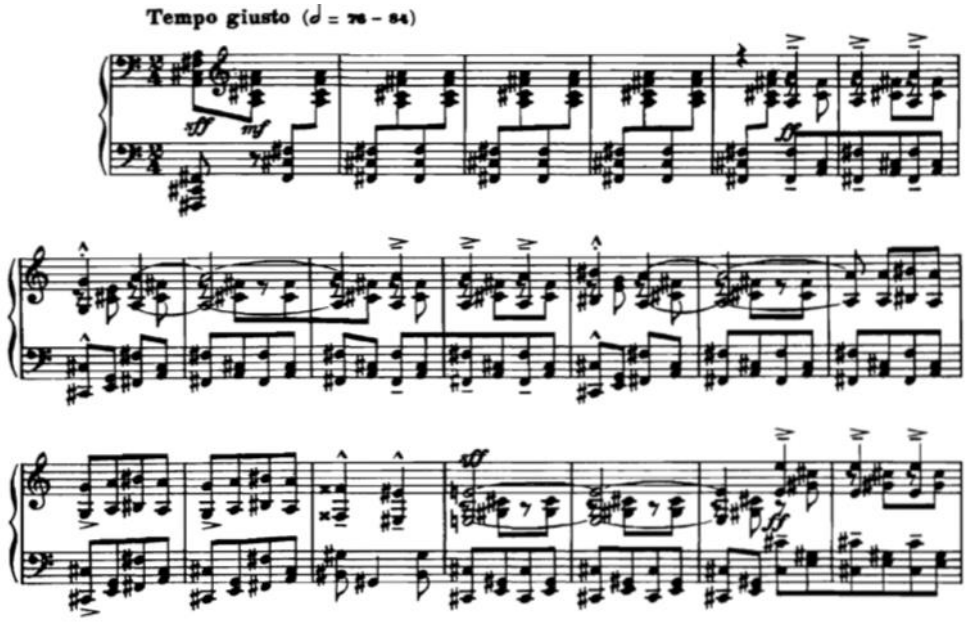
Rainier's repetitive, chordal ostinato accompaniments and pervasive voice crossings bear the mark of Bartók's dance. This mark extends also to some harmonic aspects of the piece. Characteristic of Rainier's is the use of small intervals as the melodic foundation of a piece, namely whole tones and minor thirds, which are the building blocks of the pentatonic scale. Bartók used this scale extensively, as it is

[71] John Amis, "Priaulx Rainier," *The Musical Times* 96, no. 1349 (1955): 354.

common in folk music of Eastern Europe and beyond. However, where he implies a key through a repeated, pounding F# minor chord, Rainier's harmonies are, from the start, not part of traditional harmonic progressions. Further, the genesis of Bartók's *Dance Suite* (1923), whose piano arrangement premiered in 1945, was a national and political, as well as musical one: it was written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the union of Buda and Pest. Rainier's piece then has both a musical and political affinity with Bartók.

The short, uneven rhythmic units of Stravinsky's music also come to mind. One is reminded of *The Rite of Spring*'s unpredictable rhythmic passages, but without the intensity, something common across her works that include instruments. Indeed, she met Stravinsky in 1956, with Michael Tippett, following the London premier of *Canticum Sacrum*. "At the table Priaulx demonstrated to Stravinsky the clicks of the Zulu she had picked up as a child, and he delightedly tried to imitate them."[72] The shared fascination with these sounds further connects Rainer to a Stravinskian style of writing. Rainier sustains herself as part of an avant-garde tradition, even as she finds her voice as a composer connected to her home country.

[72] Soden, *Michael Tippett: The Biography,* 445.



Example 2.8. Bartók, *Allegro barbaro*, mm. 1–20.

The *Barbaric Dance Suite* in Context

To consider this piece's musical language more thoroughly, it is helpful to contextualize it within Rainier's other works from the same period. Four pieces in particular demonstrate commonalities that reveal common threads in Rainier's style and push back against reductive analyses. The pieces are: *Three Greek Epigrams* (1937), Quartet for Strings (1939), *Suite for Clarinet and Piano* (1943), and *Requiem* (1956). These pieces reflect Rainier's varied interests as well as parts of her biography, including, but not limited to, her migration. Further, elements of each of these pieces reveal that the parts of the *Barbaric Dance Suite* that were labeled as "African" in some way (e.g. rhythm, instrumentation, vocal character) are present throughout Rainier's career and work.

Three Greek Epigrams (1937)

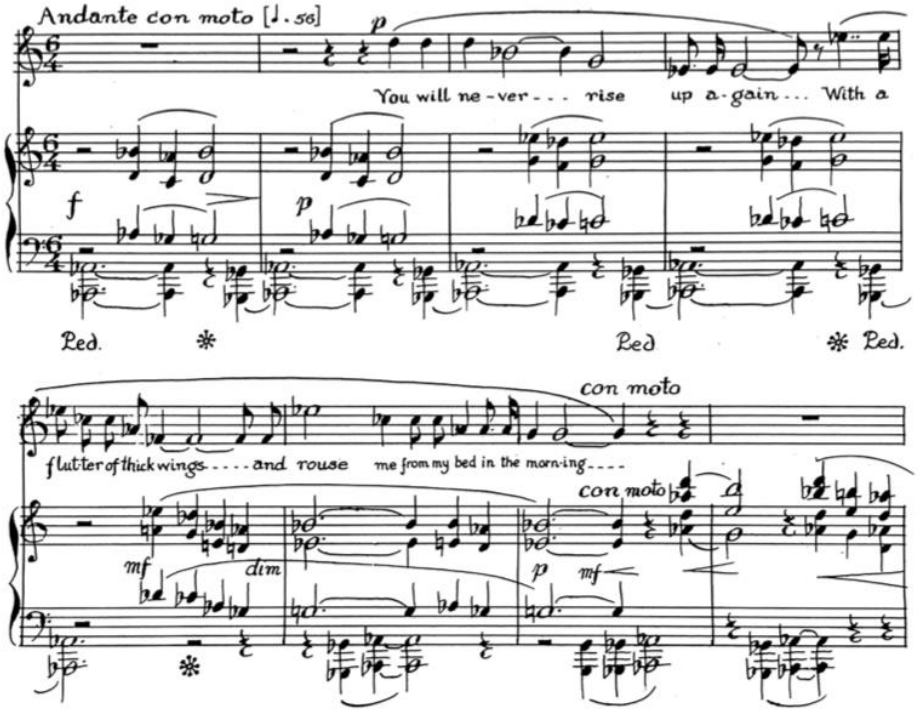
Rainier's *Three Greek Epigrams*, for soprano voice and piano, sets three short texts by Anyte of Tegea, translated from the Greek by Richard Adlington (see Appendix A).[73] Dedicated to Nadia Boulanger, it is often considered her first serious work as she worked on it while studying with Boulanger in the Autumn of 1937. The movements—"A Bird," "For a Fountain," and "A Dolphin"—are, on the surface, written with reference to the nineteenth century Lied. Short piano introductions open up to expressive melodic lines. And tumultuous scenes of death and despair, which could be plucked from the Romantic lieder of the previous century, dominate the outer movements, but they are separated by the respite of a peaceful, natural scene in "For a Fountain." The texts of the outer movements in a mostly syllabic manner, emphasizing the declamation of each word. But "For a Fountain" is more melismatic, lingering frequently on the opening words of each phrase. Her characteristic oscillating accompanimental lines flow beneath images of fluttering birdwings ("A Bird") and calm seas ("A Dolphin"). And more expansive scalar passages accompany the wanderer in "For a Fountain" as they encounter breezes that "murmur" and a flowing spring.

Alternating pedal tones (A-flat and G-flat in octaves) in the opening of "A Bird" (Example 2.9) are reminiscent of the ones in the *Barbaric Dance Suite* and in Bartók's *Allegro barbaro*. Once again, it is the step-wise motion between pitches that dominates the harmonic character of the accompanimental part. And the final bars never quite

[73] The precise date of *Three Greek Epigrams* is hard to pin down. It was published in 1951, but Opie writes that she worked on it prior to her lessons with Boulanger. It was likely finished after the Autumn of 1937.

resolve the oscillation: the movement ends with an uncertain bass motion from A-flat to G-flat. The text of this movement reads:

> You will never rise up again
> With a flutter of thick wings
> And rouse me from my bed in the morning
> For a thief came
> Silently upon you and killed you
> Pressing his finger into your throat.



Example 2.9. Rainier, *Three Greek Epigrams*, I, mm. 1–8.

The looming question in relation to her other vocal works is: why did a South African-British choose to set a Greek text in Paris? One possibility is that, as is often the case with her texts, she was inspired by a suggestion from someone in her social/artistic circle. Another is gender. Musical settings of poems by women are rare enough for it to

be noteworthy. But a closer look at musical and artistic trends of the time offer a rich array of connections.

Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* (1926), based on Sophocles' tragedy, had premiered a decade earlier. Her outspoken affinity with Stravinsky suggests that she was familiar with the work. Barbara Hepworth, who Rainier had not yet met, had an interest in Greek subjects as well, suggesting that Rainier was perhaps influenced by the visual arts as well. Both were also interested in the work of Rainier Maria Rilke, in whose poems Greek figures stood tall and appeared often. New translations of his work in the 1930s, published by Hogarth Press, were likely on both of their bookshelves. On her final trip to France in 1986, Rainier took with her some in-progress settings of Rilke's *Sonnets to Orpheus*, which remained unfinished following her death.[74] Hepworth's Orpheus sculptures from the 1950s were surely also connected.

Upon her arrival in Britain, Rainier was taken on a grand tour of Europe, where she saw "processions of ancient Greeks caught in sculpted friezes in their celebrations of war, their sacrifices, their gods."[75] This slightly romanticized image of the young musician in European museums nonetheless reveals what was likely an important experience for a student from South Africa, and the beginning of her lifelong interest in the visual arts.

It is also significant also that Rainier chose a woman poet from ancient Greece. Anyte (active around 300 B.C.) was most likely from Tegea in Arcadia.[76] However, at the

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[74] "Catalogue Description: The Papers of Priaulx Rainier," *The National Archives*, accessed April 1, 2022.

[75] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 17.

[76] Sylvia Barnard, "Hellenistic Women Poets." *The Classical Journal* 73, no. 3 (1978): 204.

time that Rainier was setting her poetry, many scholars thought that she was from Lesbos, probably in an effort to link her to Sappho, and subsequently a sparse repertoire of lesbian literature available in the early twentieth century.[77] Her poems are full of natural scenes, seen in the texts Rainier set, and the everyday lives of women.

Quartet for Strings (1939)

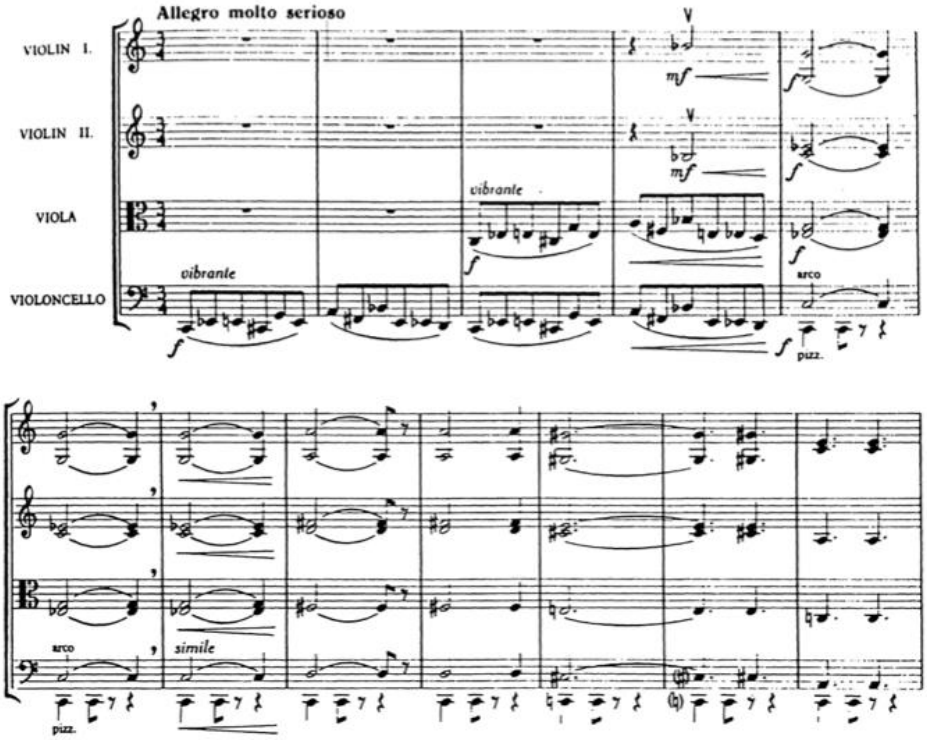
Rainier's Quartet for Strings was her first real triumph, receiving critical acclaim and later a commercial recording for Decca performed by the Amadeus Quartet. As in the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, Rainier plays with meter inside of a phrase structure that generally adheres to the time signature, here 3/4 (see Example 2.10). Flexible groupings and uneven phrase units and lengths mean that the meter sometimes sounds more like 6/8, and occasionally evades the bar lines altogether. Fluid chromatic lines and abrupt movement between unrelated chords (e.g. C minor to D major in mm. 7–8) define the harmonic character of the first movement.

As is typical of Rainier's music, the score gives little information in the form of peritext. The movements are numbered and given brief expressive directions, here allegro molto serioso, as well as a few instructions for vibrato and bowing. In the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, she provides even less, giving only movement numbers and tempo markings.

In a 1968 radio broadcast, Rainier reflects on the piece, calling to mind the 1945 review by William Glock quoted earlier in this chapter ("With Miss Rainier the

[77] I. M. Plant, ed., *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004): 56

background is Africa"). Rainier says: "A summer spent in Finland [1936] affected me deeply…Looking back at this Quartet, I see in it now the rhythmic dancing fierceness of Africa and the melancholy lyricism of the far north. At the time of writing the work, however, these were entirely subconscious sources underlying the music."[78] One might ask whether her hearing was influenced by comments like Glock's. Was this a kind of auto-exoticization, a self-stereotyping move to embrace a perceived difference? The truth is undoubtedly between the two extremes: an earnest engagement and a self-marketing strategy.



Example 2.10. Rainier, *Quartet for Strings*, I, mm. 1–12.

[78] Transcript located at RAM IPR 5/4/6. As quoted by Chris Beckett in "Three Musical Lives and Their Archival Traces: Jenny Lind, Priaulx Rainier and David Munrow." *Brio* 43, no. 1 (2006): 44.

Dance runs through her music, even when it lacks explicit reference. Her Quartet for Strings became the catalyst for a ballet in 1951, shortly after Decca released a recording by the Amadeus Quartet. The ballet, *Night Spell*, was choreographed by Doris Humphrey and performed by the José Limón Dance Company of New York both in the United States and, later, in London, at the Sadler's Wells Theatre in 1957.[79] A review in the Dance Observer describes it as "an eloquent dance of conflict and contrast," performed with "dramatic movement" and "strident and staccato gestures."[80] The theme of the ballet is revealed both in its title and in an epigraph on the program: "The one asleep cries out: 'What is in me, dark—illumine.'"[81] Though the review does not say much about the specifics of the dancing style, it is overwhelmingly positive, declaring the ballet "the hit of the season."[82]

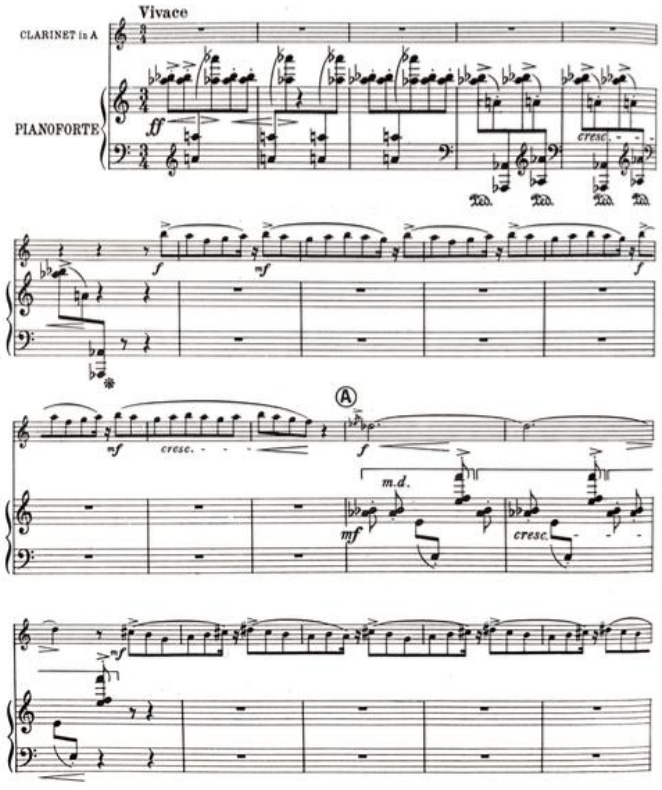
***Suite for Clarinet and Piano* (1943)**

The *Suite for Clarinet and Piano* is written in a style remarkably similar to the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, and hence *Ubunzima* as well. The first movement progresses slowly. Like the two voices in the second movement of the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, the right hand of the piano begins with only black notes and the left hand with only white ones (Example 2.11). However, this separation is short-lived. By m. 4, the harmonies

[79] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 41.
[80] N.K., "Reviews of the Summer: American Dance Festival," *Dance Observer* 18, no. 7 (1951):104.
[81] N.K., "Reviews of the Summer: American Dance Festival," 104.
[82] N.K., "Reviews of the Summer: American Dance Festival," 104.

become more dense and chromatic, seen at a glance in the increased accidentals spread across both hands.

This suite also contains similar instances of arithmetic patterning and metrical play. Initial groups of four eighths in the piano morph into groups of three. The clarinet enters alone, alternating groups of five and seven. Example 2.11 shows these groupings, which tend to occur linearly, that is, Rainier rarely has vertical grouping dissonances in her compositions that utilize regular groupings.[83] Here, the metrical process unfolds slowly, sliding between closely-related groupings in an amoeba-like fashion.



Example 2.11. Rainier, *Suite for Clarinet and Piano*, I, mm. 1–20.

[83] "Grouping dissonance" is a term borrowed from Harald Krebs in his book *Fantasy Pieces: Metrical Dissonance in the Music of Robert Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Rainier's program notes for the piece cite specific sounds and impressions of South Africa.

> The Suite for clarinet and piano followed the String Quartet, first played in 1939 before the Second World War. The holocaust which followed made thoughts turn to the peace of early years spent in South Africa's vast silent spaces—sounds coming from great distances with an 'aura' of resonances in the crystal air—the night skies of brilliant stars—the far-off liquid calls of Zulus in the hills, and their wild dances… Thoughts upon that time brought back impressions of these, out of which the use of the keyboard became related to African keyboard instruments, and the clarinet to the sounds and the long-drawn-out calls of voices from the echoing hills below. None of the movements uses African rhythms or melodies.[84]

Even in an abstract instrumental work, the human experience of war and oppression seem to guide her thoughts. Rainier's memories of her South African antidote are an antidote to the pain of the present. Her final decisive statement that no African melodies and rhythms are used seems pointed at the reviewers were sure to make such assumptions. A 1950 review from *The Music Review* mimics much of the discourse around Rainier's music that we have already encountered:

> Priaulx Rainier's *Suite* of five alternately quick and slow movements is written in that peculiar style of motoric pattern-weaving once championed by Bartók and Hindemith, but now becoming as hackneyed as the chord of the diminished seventh in the days of the Romantics. Obstinate reiteration of ejaculatory motifs—some exuding the barbaric flavour of melodic fragments modelled after Stravinsky's unforgettable *Pribaoutki* cycle—tends to numb the ear when the piano is treated exclusively as a percussion instrument. Clarinet players will have some tough nuts to crack, especially in the runs and skips of No. 5. The most original section seems to me No. 4 (*Lento e tranquillo*) with its plaintive scale motif in the clarinet, against the bell-like background of the piano.[85]

[84] As quoted in the program notes for the following concert: "A Concert in Celebration of the Life and Work of Priaulx Rainier (1903–1986)," Wigmore Hall, March 28, 1987.

[85] "Chamber Music," *The Music Review* 11 (1950): 330–331.

Two of the reviewers comments are of particular importance in my discussion. First is the comparison between Rainier and Bartók and Stravinsky, one which is explored in this chapter. Second is the use of the word "barbaric," which is tied to Stravinsky as well. Did the reviewer really hear something "barbaric" in the *Suite for Clarinet and Piano*? Was the term simply in his mind after the *Barbaric Dance Suite*?

Requiem **(1956)**

Rainier's *Requiem* (1956) departs from the typical model of requiem writing; though she composed the music after World War II, British poet David Gascoyne wrote the poem between 1937 and 1940 as a reflection on the future victims of the war. Rainier describes the poem as "a requiem for all that would be lost in the holocaust to come, with an appeal to the mysterious, unknown force for strength and guidance."[86] The *Requiem* then lives in three temporal zones: immediately before World War II (1937) when the text was written, during the war as Rainier contemplated the setting, and the post-war decades when it was completed and subsequently performed at the 1972 Proms. In Gascoyne's poem and in Rainier's setting, past, present, and future coincide, winding their way around and into one another. One can see once again Rainier's sensitivity to oppression.

Rainier and Gascoyne began discussing their collaboration in October 1937 when they were both in Paris. Gascoyne had spent some years of his youth as a chorister at Salisbury Cathedral, and was supremely interested in crafting a poetic text for Rainier molded to the needs of music, especially its vocal lines, in both structure and content.[87]

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[86] Priaulx Rainier, "Priaulx Rainier Writes about Her Setting of David Gascoyne's 'Requiem,'" *The Listener* 88, no. 2263 (August 10, 1972): 185.

[87] Rainier, "Priaulx Rainier Writes about Her Setting of David Gascoyne's 'Requiem,'" 185.

The resulting text, which he completed in 1940, proved inspirational for Rainier's musical setting (see Appendix A for text excerpt). The piece was premiered on April 15, 1956 at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The tenor part was sung by Peter Pears, a friend and lifelong collaborator with Rainier, with the Purcell Singers, conducted by Imogen Holst, who commissioned the work. The first section of Gascoyne's text begins:

> O hidden Face! O gaze fixed on us from afar
> And that we cannot meet: Grant us, who wait
> In the great park of crumbling monuments that is
> The World, that we may meet at last those eyes
> In which black fires burn back to white,
> With perfect clearness, and not blurred by fever's heat
> Nor in the sudden spasm of disintegrating fear
> That rends the breast of beasts and blinds
> The blind and undefines: And O instruct
> Us how to ripen unto Thee.

In the years between her Paris months and the commission from The Purcell Singers that prompted Rainier to complete this piece, life changed repeatedly and constantly in the world and for Rainier personally. The autumn of 1937 was a period of waiting—for war and all of its unknown effects—in what Tony Judt calls a "twilight zone between the afterlife of one war and the looming anticipation of another."[88] Rainier writes that "Paris was overflowing with refugees from the Nazis, first anxious and then despairing as the international situation worsened."[89] The work is a reflection on migration—not Rainier's own, or not only her own, but rather that of the *Requiem*'s subjects. And the two overarching themes of the work, multi-temporality and memory, are also defining features of a "migratory aesthetic," a mode of creation and analysis emerging in the visual arts, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.[90]

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[88] Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005): 4.
[89] Rainier, "Priaulx Rainier Writes about Her Setting of David Gascoyne's 'Requiem,'" 185.
[90] Hernández Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."

By 1956, when the *Requiem* premiered, Rainier knew a radically different Britain. Refugees had been interned during the war, immigrants arrived from all parts of Europe as well as southern Asia and the West Indies, the racial demographics shifting quickly in the 1950s. The 1948 British Nationality and Status Act, which restricted immigration, but allowed some provisions for citizens of Commonwealth nations, coincided with the need for a foreign labor force. Nearly 100,000 workers came to Britain in this period, most from a lower socio-economic background than the immigrants who arrived in the first half of the century. For my study, it is important that this is the migratory moment that Rainier lived in post-war London.

Rainier's *Requiem* is scored for tenor soloist and SATB choir, as well as an optional organ part is included in the score. It is in three parts, with nineteen numbered sections, shown in Table 2.1, that correspond to divisions in the text that Gascoyne wrote for the purpose of a musical setting. The vocal lines, especially that of the soloist, adhere strictly to the declamation of the text, and variation comes instead from contrasts in texture, dynamics, and measured/free sections. The chorus sings in homophonic texture for nearly the entire piece, especially when all voices are used. In sections where only a partial chorus sings, staggered entrances and imitative passages add variety.

Rainier's setting is Janus-faced, at once looking backward to early British music and gazing assuredly in the direction of the future of musical abstraction and her own development as a composer. The texture of the work contains contrapuntal elements but is not bound its rules. A review of the premier emphasizes the contrapuntal ingenuity of the work, describing the style as "a more developed counterpoint, not such as would find its way into any textbook as strict or free, but a simultaneous and overlapping movement

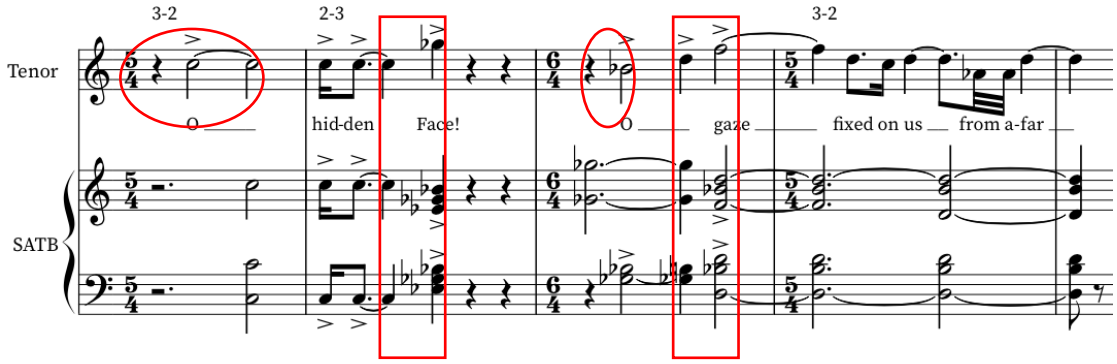
of free, often rather florid and coherently, if sometimes tenuously related, melodic lines."[91] As her final work that contains extensive use of the triad, the piece also looks forward to increased musical abstraction and a looser relationship with tonality.

The first section of the *Requiem* illustrates well the harmonic language of the whole. It begins with the tenor voice, followed two beats later by a unison choral entrance. Though not wholly bound to traditional harmonic progressions, the piece is still tonal and triadic. They sing "O hidden Face!" on a unison C and cadence on beat 3 of m. 2 on an E-flat minor chord, shown in Example 2.12. The first and second cadences are this E-flat minor chord and a B-flat major chord, seemingly tonic to dominant, an uncharacteristically tonal choice for Rainier (see boxed chords in Example 2.12). But this stability is quickly evaded by subsequent cadences in D-flat major and F-sharp major, in which she moves via the enharmonic equivalence between D-flat and C-sharp. This richly chromatic progression of chords is followed by a solo passage (mm. 8–10) that consists only of white notes, recalling the layering of voices seen in the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, II and the Suite for Clarinet and Piano. The section continues with these alternating passages, the tenor's solo lines becoming increasingly chromatic.

[91] Colin Mason, "New Choral Work in London: Requiem by Priaulx Rainier," *The Manchester Guardian* (April 16, 1956).

Table 2.1. Rainier, *Requiem,* structure.

Part	Section	Measures	Texture
I.	1	1–24	Chorus/solo alternating
	2	25–35	Chorus
	3	36–42	Solo
	4	43–60	Solo and chorus
II.	5	61–72	Solo and chorus
	6	73–79	Chorus
	7	79–83	Solo and chorus
	8	84–87	Chorus
	9	88–101	Solo and partial chorus
III.	10	102–128	Chorus
	11	129	Solo
	12	130–164	Partial chorus
	13	165	Solo
	14	166–184	Chorus
	15	185	Solo
	16	186–195	Chorus
	17	196–205	Solo and chorus interjections
	18*[92]	206–209	Solo
	19	210–219	Chorus; solo ends



Example 2.12. Rainier, *Requiem*, mm. 1–4.

Within the overall declamatory, arioso-like style, variation comes from other musical contrasts, primarily in texture, but also in rhythm, dynamics, vocal entrances, and tempo. Contrasts in the text—between light and dark, growth and destruction, grief and

[92] No. 18 is not marked in the score but is referenced in the liner notes of a CD recording.

vanity—find full and nuanced expression in Rainier's setting. The changing textures, shifting between solo and chorus or full and partial chorus present different perspectives on the text. Partial chorus, quieter correspond to more abstract sections of text. A review from *The Times* praises the subtlety of the musical setting. The critic is especially fond of the "effect of distance and of changing perspectives" that she emphasizes in the music.[93] Examples from the third section of the piece, which is full of constantly shifting textures, illustrate these contrasts.

Part III consists of alternating short, cadenza-like excurses and longer, measured sections. These alternating textures can also emphasize parallel structures in the text. The cadenza-like sections are sung by the soloist only, and nos. 11, 13, and 15 begin with the same text: "the seed is…" The section begins with a full chorus that then shifts every few bars between groups of 2–4 voices, often contrasting high and low voices. It transitions to solo tenor in No. 11. The voice enters softly on the line "The seed is buried in us like a memory." The soft solo asks the listener to pay close attention, and indeed this line recurs throughout the section as the "buried" seed is "nurtured" before springing into flower. A thinned choral texture in No. 12 accompanies the abstract image of "darkness that burns like light black light and essence of all." No. 16 contains what Rainier deems the "moment of greatest significance."[94] Here the text reads: "The hour is unknown:/ The hour endures:/ The hour strikes every hour." These three lines are a microcosm of the intertwined temporal spaces that the work inhabits. The "unknown" hour is the future, the past "endures," and the hour that "strikes every hour" grounds us in the present.

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[93] "Priaulx Rainier Requiem: Setting of Modern Poem," *The Times* (April 17, 1956): 3.
[94] Rainier, "Priaulx Rainier Writes about Her Setting of David Gascoyne's 'Requiem,'" 185.

The human voice—its registers and rhythms—is central to Rainier's work, and she emphasizes it through homophonic textures and a declamatory style of singing that ensure each word is clearly heard.[95] The *Requiem* received largely positive reviews at both its 1956 premier and its 1972 Proms revival. Critics who question the work's integrity condemn her extreme adherence to the text, accusing her of restricting the voices (Mitchell) or lacking imagination (Cole).[96] But it seems purposeful to me, to give through the words the dignity of the body to the speaker, who remembers those denied their existence. Indeed, Rainier writes that "the words are set with particular care, following and stressing verbal rhythms for clear diction, so that the listener can apprehend the full meaning of the text."[97] Remembrance and understanding are so key to the work that she crafted the piece around them.

What this cluster of compositions reveals is that whatever critics heard as "African" in pieces with titles that more explicitly reference South Africa (*Barbaric Dance Suite*, *Ubunzima*, *Dance of the Rain*) is present across her output. The focus on rhythm, declamatory vocal writing, and sparse, percussive textures were as much a mark of her own style and European avant-garde music and art as they were the sounds of South Africa. Anything that might be tied to her South African roots has been so absorbed into her musical imagination that it pervades all of her works, not just those with titles or

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[95] Other works memorializing World War II also emphasize the human voice through various methods. Luigi Nono's *Il canto sospeso (The Suspended Song)*, also written in 1955–56, uses a similar technique. He used farewell letters written to people captured by European resistance fighters as its text, and is set for solo voices, choir, and orchestra. Alternating movements are set for voices only, while the remaining ones are accompanied by the orchestra. The parallels, entirely coincidental based on their simultaneous timelines, are intriguing.

[96] Donald Mitchell, "London Concerts," *The Musical Times* 97, no. 1360 (June 1956): 316–18. Hugo Cole, "Boult and the BBC SO at the Proms," *The Guardian* (August 17, 1972): 10.

[97] Rainier, "Priaulx Rainier Writes about Her Setting of David Gascoyne's 'Requiem,'" 185.

text that point to Africa. Further, Rainier's artistic choices point to a kind of internationalism common in the work and artistic attitudes of migrants. Instead of identifying more strongly with one place or the other, she draws on sources that span time and space: Ancient Greece, medieval Europe (*Requiem*, 1956), contemporary Britain, traditional South African.

British Trends

Rainier's work insists upon a new framework for articulating the interaction between two cultures. The above analysis reveals how she inserted her own particularity into Western, European musical trends, but the piece is also in dialogue with a specifically British trend, one related to its role as former center of empire. Concert music that referenced the musical traditions of the Commonwealth were common enough to be considered retrospectively as a group. But what did composers living in Britain actually know of the music of Africa, Jamaica, etc.?[98] Malcolm Arnold's *Commonwealth Christmas Overture* was the product of a 1957 BBC commission celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the sovereign's Christmas broadcasts. The piece is characterized by a recurring fanfare theme. Following a slow passage about two-thirds of the way through the piece, Arnold writes an energetic passage that references popular music of the West Indies, especially through its instrumentation and rhythmic character. Bongo drums and shakers enter, followed by a metallic xylophone and the electric guitar, which mimics the

[98] Artistic expressions of a diverse and united Commonwealth are not limited to music. Other examples include literary collections by authors from Commonwealth nations and devoted radio programs, for both BBC's domestic and overseas services.

open sound of steel drums. And Arthur Benjamin's *Jamaican Rumba* (1938) and *2 Jamaican Street Songs* (1944) reference a Commonwealth nation to which he had no personal connection, as he was born in Australia. It is easy, and even gratifying, to attribute Rainier's African references strictly to her own past, but historical contextualization shows that her work was timely as well, in conversation with this broader trend in the former empire. However, British audiences and critics had an expectation of authority when they heard her music. It was understood as more authentic than the work of composers representing music from places they had never been.

To pair voice and guitar was also in dialogue with British trends, alongside the aforementioned connection to informal Zulu singing. However, songs accompanied by guitar also became a trend in Britain at the time, especially arrangements of songs with different original instrumentation. Mátyás Seiber's *Four French Songs* (1948) for soprano and string orchestra was later arranged for voice and guitar, with editing by British guitarist Julian Bream. The Second *Lute Song of the Earl of Essex* from Britten's *Gloriana* (1953 was arranged for voice and guitar in 1957. The examples are many, but a few other prominent works include: Peter Fricker's *O Mistress Mine*, recorded by Peter Pears and Julian Bream, William Walton's song cycle *Anon in Love*, and Michael Tippett's *Three Songs from King Priam*, arrangements from his opera. These later songs and arrangements were surely prompted in part by the successful performances of vocal and guitar performance by Peter Pears and Julian Bream, who performed many of the aforementioned works. Rainier appears at the front end of this trend, but nonetheless connected.

There is something almost subversive about then using these trends to carry a Zulu song, one tied to the particularities of the human voices that speak the words, during the installation of Apartheid and the deadly protest that followed. Rainier's music reminds, or at least offers an opportunity for, audiences to listen to the black South Africans who were being silenced by a violent majority. While this likely soared over the heads of British audiences, shortly after she finished the piece, it had a south African audience as well. However, she would not travel to her home country during these years.[99] The event was a Chamber Music Festival organized by a branch of the International Society for contemporary Music (ISCM), which included a series of concerts between September 1950 and February 1951 in Johannesburg. Some programs were devoted to the works of contemporary composers (e.g. Milhaud, Krenek, Milhaud), another to Schubert and Beethoven, and two (the third and seventh programs) to South African composers, where Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* and String Quartet (1939) were heard.[100] This reinforces the political nature of her pieces from 1947–50, showing that South African musicians and musical institutions were paying attention to the rising success of one of their own. Her inclusion on a South African program, as well as an honorary doctorate she received from the University of Cape Town in 1982, suggest a kind of reciprocal listening. Rainier was speaking to South Africa, as well as Britain, saying to the latter "Listen," and to her native country "I am listening."

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[99] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 20.

[100] Michael Blake, "South African composers on the World Stage: The ISCM in South Africa," *Fontes Artis Musicae-Journal of the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centres* 54, no. 3 (2007): 363.

Conclusion

Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* and *Ubunzima* are part of a long, complicated, and ongoing, story of global migration—the forced movement of enslaved African people to North America, the movement of African American musical styles to Africa, the migration of Zulu workers within South Africa, and their singing styles into the ears and creative imagination of a composer, herself the ancestor of French Huguenot immigrants, to Britain.

By transcribing a song that is built from the particularities of the Zulu language, Rainier places South African music on an equal footing with Western, European art music. The appropriated elements are placed alongside, rather than subordinate to, the Western style. It was perhaps appropriation, but not plundering. As we saw earlier, Rainier did not hide the presence of her past in her music. Though subtle, I argue that in this moment, 1948–1950, Rainier's references to the Zulu language, dance, and music were political, whether it was her intention or not. In the *Barbaric Dance Suite*, Rainier translates her cultural experiences in, and ongoing ties to, South Africa into a British context. In this piece, and across her output, Rainier challenges listeners and critics to consider the rhythmic, linguistic, and musical sounds of her home country within the context of an avant-garde Western tradition.

Chapter 3: The Politics of Folk Music in Mid-twentieth Century Britain: Mátyás Seiber at the BBC and Beyond

After arriving in Britain in 1935, much of Hungarian-British composer Mátyás Seiber's (1905–1960) early work called on his knowledge of folk music. Having studied with Zoltán Kodály in Budapest, he was well-positioned for some of this work—teaching accordion, arranging Hungarian folk songs. But at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), he arranged and spoke about the folk music of an astonishing number of countries and cultures: Hungary, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Germany, as well as more ambiguous categories like "Arabian" and "Asiatic." Cast as a kind of cultural chameleon, his knowledge of the folk music of his native Hungary was read by BBC officials and critics as a qualification for understanding the folk music of huge swaths of Europe and Asia. Yet, at the same time that he received job opportunities related to folk music, broadly construed, he was passed over for opportunities to establish himself as an avant-garde composer. This contradiction highlights the tension between the image he dictated through his actions and words and the one constructed by the institutions that had the power to shape his career.

This imposed image colors how Seiber was remembered following his untimely death in 1960. A period of intense, sprawling folkloric work (beginning in 1935 and waning in the post-war years) is front and center in the memorial musings of Seiber's contemporaries—friends, students, and colleagues. Embedded in obituaries, essays, and secondary literature are assumptions about his relationship to folk music that seem fed by his early reputation in Britain. These recollections, as they pen (and pin) him down in a

page or two remember Seiber for an "abiding interest" in folk.[1] His work at the BBC contributed to an outsized perception of the relationship between Seiber's folk interest and the compositional work he chose to do. But most urgently it misinterprets the level of agency that he had during these years. Composer Hugh Wood—a close friend and one-time pupil—who attributed to Seiber the "abiding interest" above, continues: "this interest embraced the folk song of many countries from France to Turkey and beyond."[2] Wood certainly meant no malice, or even dismissal. As evidenced by the rest of the memorial piece, his admiration for Seiber, as teacher and composer, was sincere. Nonetheless, the misinterpretation is evident.

In 1972, just over a decade after Seiber's death, English composer and author Francis Routh included him in his book *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-five Years from 1945 to 1970*. In his assessment of Seiber's music, Routh reiterates the folk-heavy image: "His interest in light music, and the folk music of many countries, usually found an outlet in the commercial world of films, radio, or television, which was his chief source of income."[3] He mentions financial reasons, but brushes them off as a result of Seiber following his innate interests, rather than a cause of the prominence of folk themes in his work. In the same chapter, Routh does draw nearer to the complex, particularized reality: "He was a remarkably susceptible musician, and wished to discover for himself the multifarious strands that made up the fabric of European music between the wars. These strands, some of them naturally incompatible, were chiefly folk music, early

[1] Hugh Wood, "The Music of Mátyás Seiber," *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1531 (1970): 888.
[2] Wood, "The Music of Mátyás Seiber," 888.
[3] Francis Routh, *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-Five Years from 1945 to 1970* (London: Macdonald, 1972), 153.

music, jazz, popular and light music, serialism."[4] This chapter will take up the simultaneity of these various strands later.

The authors seem to connect Seiber's work with folk music to a desire to do that work, assuming that the interest in "the folk music of many countries" preceded his work in Britain about that music. But this work was done out of necessity more than desire. He did have some light music broadcast under a *nom de plume*, George S. Mathis.[5] The assumed name, which he used primarily for "functional and educational compositions" suggests that light music was, in his mind, separate from the more serious work of composing art music. [6]

Like any stereotyped image, part of the discomfort lies in the split between truth and reduction. What comes across is a nebulous interest, like a half-interested stamp collector arranging colorful squares into albums. It is a simplistic surmise that begs to be unsettled.

But the discourse about Seiber is ambiguously split. Others who knew him well painted a fuller picture, acknowledging folk music as one piece of Seiber's musical imagination. In the program for a memorial concert given at Wigmore Hall on November 19, 1960, Michael Tippett commented on Seiber's diverse musical interests: "He ranged from a phenomenal knowledge of all traditional music to mastery of all most up-to-date

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[4] Routh, *Contemporary British Music*, 152.

[5] In a letter to BBC employee George Phillips on September 4, 1941, he reminds Phillips of this fact, Seiber to Phillips, September 4, 1941, WAC RCONT 1 Seiber Composer File 1: 1941–1962.

[6] Florian Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), 108. Seiber was already using this name in Germany, which suggests that his separation of "light" and "serious" music predates his migration. The name appears on a program for his Frankfurt ensemble, dated March 3, 1929 (here shortened to Geo S Mathis). The program is in the private collection of Julia Seiber Boyd and appears in Beth Snyder, "Mátyás Seiber: Traveller Between Worlds," *Music, Migration and Mobility Stories*, Royal College of Music, accessed November 1, 2023, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/stories/matyasseiber-travellerbetweenworlds/.

techniques. Nor did he despise the popular. He knew as much about jazz as many a much younger fan. All these techniques he put at the disposal of any who came to study with him."[7] And Hans Keller, a fellow émigré, notes Seiber's proximity to folk music, but focuses on his agency and skill in its deployment: "Seiber was not altogether un-acquainted with the seven notes of the diatonic scale, and with what his predecessors did with them; if he tried five instead, it was not just because Kodaly or other Hungarians or folk music did so, but rather for the same reason which urged other composers into some kind of modalism—the need for new restrictions."[8]

With the advantage of historical and critical distance, the Seiber scholar Florian Scheding has more recently painted a different picture:

> The first years in exile were marked by the struggle for economic survival and a creative crisis. Instead of continuing with the composition of serious music, Seiber accepted commissions for film and radio scores as well as arrangements of light and popular music for accordion ensembles and salon orchestras. Conversely, the mid-1940s witnessed a sudden reappearance of serious compositions, all of which are serial in technique and markedly interwar-expressionist in style.[9]

Though Seiber wrote less progressive and more light and incidental music immediately after emigrating, he did not do so strictly because of any compositional ambition.

This chapter explores Seiber's relationship to folk music from four angles. First, it examines his projects at the BBC that were related to the folk music of a variety of locations. Second, it explores his interests in folk music as a form of political

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[7] Michael Tippett on Seiber, November 19, 1960, BL, MS MUS 1696, f. 125v.

[8] Hans Keller, "Mátyás Seiber," *The Musical Times*, 96, no. 1353 (1955): 581.

[9] Florian Scheding, "Which Displacement? Placing Exile in the Post-War Compositions of István Anhalt and Mátyás Seiber," in *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág and Sándor Veress*, edited by Friedemann Sallis, Robin Elliot, and Kenneth DeLong (Waterloo: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 2011), 114.

engagement. Third, the chapter situates folk music as an aspect of the eclecticism that defined Seiber's musical interests and output. A discussion of his relationship to jazz music reveals similarities between the role of both idioms in his musical imagination. And finally, it considers the role of historiography in shaping and perpetuating his reputation. Seiber, remembered as a skilled composer and generous teacher, is also characterized as an expert in folk music on the global scale. And that expertise, gained primarily through work done out of necessity, was assumed to confirm an ardent, lifelong interest. Two questions guide my work. Why was Seiber typecast as a folk music expert in his early years in Britain? And what was the actual nature of his engagement with folk music? The chapter offers a reassessment of the nature of his engagement with folk music, arguing that looking closely reveals Seiber as both politically engaged and skillfully eclectic in his musical expressions.

Though Seiber's reputation has dwindled in the decades since his death, a growing body of scholarship, as well as performances of his music, argues for his importance, influence, and ingenuity. Florian Scheding, whose work I rely on throughout this chapter, has produced a significant scholarly output about Seiber's life, career, and music. His work, which explores Seiber's film music, Hungarian cabaret, large-scale works for orchestra and chorus, and the role of exile and displacement in his music, argues that the intersections between migration and music are productively read as stylistic and aesthetic decisions and trends. In the process, he deftly reimagines the central role of Seiber and other musical émigrés in twentieth-century British musical

life.[10]

Writing about migration always confronts the methodological issue of the individual vs. the collective. How can the first stand for the second without sacrificing a crucial piece of context? Seiber's relationship to the BBC is but one story, yet, in the words of Scheding, he "belonged to a large group of migrants whose abilities as musicologists, musicians, composers, and conductors were well-respected and influenced the BBC's broadcasts during the war, particularly in the overseas services."[11]

Scheding locates Seiber's folk interest originally in his education with Kodály, claiming that it is a largely pre-1930 impulse for the composer. After this, folk becomes too closely associated with a virulent and false nationalism with which Seiber does not wish to align himself. Like Bartók, Seiber used some actual folk melodies as a young composer, but steered away from this practice quickly in favor of abstracted folk elements (i.e., harmony, rhythm).[12] He quotes Seiber at the end of his life: a "preoccupation with folk material can have a narrowing influence on a composer's outlook and range."[13] So too can a projected preoccupation from commentators (critics, contemporaries, peers) who emphasize aspects of foreignness at the expense of a full picture. Seiber's career and music, wide-ranging and always in flux, is receiving renewed

[10] Scheding's writing about Seiber includes two articles about his film music: "'An Animated Quest for Freedom': Mátyás Seiber's Score for *The Magic Canvas*" and "Charley and the NHS." And another about cabaret: "'I Only Need the Good Old Budapest': Hungarian Cabaret in Wartime London." He has authored two biographical sketches: "Mátyás Seiber," in *Komponisten der Gegenwart* and "Mátyás Seiber," in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*. Seiber figures largely in Scheding's writing about migration: *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music*, "'Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," and "Which Displacement? Placing Exile in the Post-War Compositions of István Anhalt and Mátyás Seiber."

[11] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 88.

[12] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 50.

[13] As quoted in Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 69. Original quote from Mátyás Seiber, "Folk Music and the Contemporary Composer," *Recorded Folk Music* 2, no. 4 (1959): 9.

attention for its expansiveness in genre and influence in the work of Scheding mentioned above. And there is still room for more.

My work is also informed by scholars writing about music, migration, and modernism. In particular, Brigid Cohen's call to de-center the nation in accounts of migration invites methodological approaches that embrace the contradictions between movement and rootedness. In response to, and in affirmation of her argument that "accounts of musical modernism in migration should recognize those forms of belonging that arise through emergent affiliations rather than simply reaffirming pre-given national identities," this chapter focuses on Seiber's international notion of musical belonging, rather than only his national identities.[14]

In mid-century Britain, musical institutions were the primary avenue of professional integration and legitimization for émigré composers trying to (re)build careers. Established educational institutions and well-respected cultural ones, alongside new and smaller organizations offered possibilities for employment, exposure, and building social and professional networks. But they had an equal ability to hinder those activities or to limit the path of a composer's career. In the first part of this chapter, I explore the ways in which Mátyás Seiber was stereotyped and typecast based on his engagement with the folk music of his home country from the 1930s to 1945. Archival documents reveal an image of Seiber as a kind of cultural chameleon, easily shifting to work with the folk music of nations and cultures with which he had little or no familiarity.

[14] Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 24.

The institutions considered in this chapter fall into four main categories: educational, national-cultural, those promoting and supporting new music, and newspapers and journals. As Seiber never taught at a university or conservatory in Britain, the primary educational institution considered in this chapter is Morley College, a left-leaning adult education center where he taught composition and conducted. The BBC provided sought-after exposure and legitimization. Performance opportunities through the Society for the Promotion of New Music (SPNM), which Seiber co-founded, and a handful of other organizations supported new music that might not otherwise be heard.[15] A final category is print media, where critics contribute significantly to the discourse around a composer and their work.

I am interested in not only which institutions are at work, but how and why they engage in this work. Where previous scholarship focuses largely on single institutions or single actors, I consider the simultaneous work of different institutions. Sometimes they do the same kind of work or exhibit the same kind of values. And other times they contradict one another. The authors of *Theories of Institutions*, Joseph Henri Jupille and James A. Caporaso, define institutions as "intertemporal social arrangements" whose work expresses certain values.[16] They are intertemporal because they exist across time periods, social because humans build them, and they inherently support certain values—that is, they cannot exist value-free.[17] For composers of western art music, institutions act as sites of legitimization, professionalization, exposure, and networking. But in effect,

[15] For information on the founding, functioning, and legacy of the SPNM, see: Hugh Wood, "SPNM 20," *The Musical Times* 104, no. 1448 (1963): 708–710.

[16] Joseph Henri Jupille and James A. Caporaso, *Theories of Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 3.

[17] Jupille and Caporaso, *Theories of Institutions*, 3–6.

institutions have a "dual nature": they are both "objects of human creation or choice and sources of human constraint."[18] This condition creates an inherent hierarchy between those who do the creating and those who wish to enter. Balancing these two, the relationship between émigré composers and British musical institutions—sometimes helpful, other times exclusionary—is revealing of the wider role of migrant musicians in the shape of musical culture in Britain after 1935.

Home and Abroad: A Biographical Sketch

Movement played a central role throughout Seiber's life, from the time he finished his education. He was born in 1905 in Budapest, Hungary (then the Austro-Hungarian Empire).[19] The family home was a musical one: his mother was an accomplished pianist and his first music teacher. He studied piano from an early age and added the cello when he was ten. His formal musical education took place at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest, which he entered in 1918, studying cello and composition. Between 1922 and 1925, when he exited the conservatory, his composition

[18] Jupille and Caporaso, *Theories of Institutions*, 15.

[19] For biographical information, I rely first on the website of the Mátyás Seiber Trust, whose founders include his daughter Julia Seiber Boyd, former pupils Hugh Wood and Alan Gibbs, as well as performers and researchers interested in maintaining his legacy. "Mátyás Seiber Biography," *Mátyás Seiber Trust*, accessed January 1, 2023, https://seibermusic.org.uk/biography/. Biographies from the Royal College of Music's (RCM) *Music, Migration and Mobility* project provide more details. RCM general biography: "Mátyás Seiber: Biography," *Music Migration and Mobility*, Royal College of Music, accessed November 1, 2023, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/featuredmusicianscategory3/matyasseiber/. RCM article by Beth Snyder: "Mátyás Seiber: Traveller Between Worlds," *Music, Migration and Mobility Stories*, Royal College of Music, accessed November 1, 2023, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/stories/matyasseiber-travellerbetweenworlds/.

studies were with Zoltán Kodály (1882–1965), who placed a lot of hope for the future of Hungarian music in Seiber and his classmates.[20]

Though Hungary was home, Seiber would have experienced and witnessed overt anti-Semitism in the early twentieth century, when Hungarian Jews lived as outsiders in their own cities. Antisemitism, especially in the form of social, labor, and governmental exclusion, was part of the everyday lives of Hungarian Jewry. [21] Perhaps this contributed to his international aspirations, for in 1925, upon finishing his studies, he worked as a cellist on board a cruise ship bound for North and South America.

In 1928, he returned to Europe, but this time to Frankfurt, Germany, where he was hired by Bernhard Sekles, Director of the *Hoch Konservatorium*, to lead the new program in jazz. Despite the ubiquity of jazz in Weimar-era Germany, the new course sparked immediate controversy.[22] His activities, explored in more detail later in this chapter, included developing a curriculum, teaching jazz theory, leading an ensemble, and arranging and composing music. His position ended abruptly in Spring 1933, after Hitler

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[20] Zoltán Kodály, "Thirteen Young Hungarian Composers," in *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, ed. Ferenc Bónis and Zenemükiadó, trans. Lili Halápy and Fred Macnicol (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1974), 70–4.

[21] However, the 1919 election of Béla Kun as communist leader of Hungary inaugurated a short-lived shift. He was Jewish and a high proportion of his ministers were as well. The situation for Hungarian Jewry was better. Jobs opened up and laws began to change. But a "sharp antisemitic turn" took place in the mid-1930s. [György Haraszti, "Hungary from 1918 to 1945," in *The Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*.] Between 1919 and 1921, antisemitic and political violence accompanied a counter-revolutionary reaction to the new Communist leader. [Béla Bodó, *The White Terror: Antisemitic and Political Violence in Hungary, 1919–1921* (New York: Routledge, 2019).] By the mid-1930s, the relationship between Hungarian Jews and Hungary took on a new character. Patai argues that Hungarian Jews had a particular psychological relationship to the nation. Prior to World War II, they were patriotic and saw themselves as only separate from Catholic and Protestant Hungarians by denomination. This changed with the Holocaust and they began to align with broader European Jewry more closely. [Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, Psychology* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996).]

[22] Details about reactions in academia and in the press can be found in Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 57–58.

came to power and Jewish professionals were fired all over the country and in every field for being non-Aryan.[23]

Existing biographies gloss over the transitional years between 1933 and 1935, sometimes skipping them altogether, and moving Seiber directly from Germany to London. This is due in part to the murky details available about his departure from Frankfurt, return to Budapest, and time spent in the Soviet Union.[24]

In 1935, he arrived in London, in part with the aid of the publisher Schott, for whom he worked in his early days in England.[25] After arriving, he lived initially with Ernst Schoen, who was the director of the *Südwestdeutscher Rundfunk* [Southwest German Radio] in Frankfurt until 1933.[26] These first years were precarious, as they were for many refugees and émigrés. Besides his work in the Schott office, Seiber also briefly assisted Theodor Adorno (in 1936), when the thinker was studying in Oxford in the hope of establishing himself as an academic in England.[27] Seiber, always an outspoken self-advocate, pieced together enough work to make a living, and he continued to write music, completing numerous chamber and orchestral works during his early years, including his String Quartet No. 2 (1935), two string fantasies, collections of folk songs, and two Baroque-style suites (1940 and 1942) that use themes by the composer Jean-Baptiste

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[23] "Mátyás Seiber Biography," *Mátyás Seiber Trust*.

[24] Several of the biographies I reference mention that Seiber spent time in the Soviet Union, but none specify exactly when or for how long. Tamás Várkonyi writes that he spent "one to two-year interludes in Budapest and the Soviet Union." The RCM articles do not mention time in the Soviet Union. And neither does the biography on the website of the Mátyás Seiber Trust. Scheding does mention it in one chapter: "'An Animated Quest for Freedom': Mátyás Seiber's Score for *The Magic Canvas*," in *Destination London: German-Speaking Emigres and British Cinema, 1925–1950*, edited by Tim Bergfelder and Christian Cargnelli (Brooklyn: Berghahn Books, 2008), 232.

[25] "Mátyás Seiber: Biography," *Music Migration and Mobility*, Royal College of Music, accessed November 1, 2023, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/featuredmusicianscategory3/matyasseiber/.

[26] Nick Chadwick, "Mátyás Seiber's Collaboration in Adorno's Jazz Project, 1936," *The British Library Journal* 21, no. 2 (1995): 261.

[27] "Mátyás Seiber: Biography," *Music Migration and Mobility*, Royal College of Music.

Besard (1567–1625).[28]

In 1942, at the recommendation of Michael Tippett, Seiber was hired to teach composition at Morley College in London. He taught group lessons and assisted as a conductor there for the rest of his life. Michael Tippett served as the musical director of Morley College between 1940 and 1951. During these years, Seiber's circle, which was centered partly around the institution, included a number of notable composers, both émigré and British-born. The syllabi of the college show who was teaching the different music courses. Tippett led the choir. Walter Goehr led the orchestra and sometimes the choir. Anthony Milner taught harmony. Peter Racine Fricker assisted with the choir and orchestra beginning around 1951. And Seiber, whose activities were the most diverse, taught composition, orchestra, and a course called "Approach to Music."[29] This circle is full of figures who went on to become major players in the British music scene, and Seiber's early connection to them meant he had a network of contacts as he continued to establish himself. In 1945, he founded his own choir, the Dorian Singers, also based at Morley.[30] Seiber married Lilla Bauer, a Hungarian dancer and lecturer at Goldsmith's College, in 1946. Following the birth of their daughter, the family moved out of London in 1949 to Caterham, Surrey.[31]

During the last decade of his life, Seiber gained a significant reputation as both composer and teacher in the British musical world. He wrote concert pieces, chamber music, film scores, incidental music for plays and newsreels, radio broadcasts, and other

[28] "Index of Complete Works," *Mátyás Seiber Trust*, accessed January 1, 2023, seibermusic.org.uk.
[29] MCP, Syllabi from 1946 to 1952, IV/224/3/1/24–29.
[30] "Mátyás Seiber Biography," *Mátyás Seiber Trust*.
[31] "Mátyás Seiber Biography," *Mátyás Seiber Trust*.

one-off projects that often defy neat categorization. Perhaps his greatest legacy is as a teacher: many of the students he taught went on to have active and productive careers of their own.[32] He died in 1960 in South Africa while visiting for the purpose of a concert and conducting tour.

The BBC Paradox

Seiber's relationship with the BBC begins formally in 1941. Founded in 1922, by this point the BBC was functioning as a kind of cultural gatekeeper, and association with its broadcasts could be career-changing, even making.[33] Christina Baade cites three reasons why the institution was so central to British life: most British people listened, it employed more musicians than any other organization, and the fees paid by the BBC were a major source of income for musicians.[34] 1941 is then a turning point for Seiber. Airtime on the BBC, with an expansive home service and branches throughout the world, was a sign of success. Securing a place for one's music was a rigorous process for all, but especially for émigrés whose names, music, and accents bore the mark of their foreignness. The BBC had a particular set of values, namely promoting British culture and educating the public, in Britain and abroad. Seiber—here and later in his career—seems to live ambiguously between statuses of insider and outsider.

[32] Seiber's students included: Hugh Wood, Don Banks, Peter Racine Fricker, Anthony Gilbert, Anthony Milner, among others.

[33] Alison Garnham calls the BBC "twentieth-century Britain's most powerful musical institution." *Hans Keller and the BBC: The Musical Conscience of British Broadcasting, 1959–79* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 1.

[34] Christina L. Baade, *Victory through Harmony: the BBC and Popular Music in World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3

Though his career in Germany had been off to a strong start, when Seiber arrived in Britain, at just thirty years old, he was unestablished as a composer and teacher. The range of projects he was part of at the BBC began at the margins—arranger, accordion player, script writer—and became more centralized as he established himself in his adopted country as a composer and speaker.[35]

His early years at the BBC (1941–1946) illustrate the disconnect between who was allowed to speak about music and whose music could be heard on BBC broadcasts. Scheding notes that during the war years, Seiber was invited repeatedly to speak about Eastern European music and Schoenberg on BBC broadcasts, but his own music never made it onto any programs.[36] At the same time that he was encouraged to engage with folk music representing a broad range of geographies, he was essentially forbidden from establishing himself as a composer outside of this category.[37]

In 1940, the BBC had blacklisted a large number of foreign-born composers whose music was copyrighted in Germany or Austria. Seiber was never on this list, but Scheding argues that there was a "practice of tacit and selective blacklisting, which scheduled his works for broadcasts to foreign listeners but prevented them from reaching British audiences."[38] And he was not the only émigré composer to have such an experience.

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[35] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 89.

[36] Florian Scheding, "'I Only Need the Good Old Budapest': Hungarian Cabaret in Wartime London," in *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, ed. Pauline Fairclough (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 225.

[37] Seiber's contacts at the BBC between 1936 and 1945 include: K. A. Wright (Overseas Music Director), Edward Clark, Donald Stephenson (Director of Eastern Services), Frederick Thurston, Leonard Isaacs, and Arthur Bliss.

[38] Scheding, Musical Journeys, 97.

Scheding also argues that although the work he did as an arranger, lecturer, and program note writer at the BBC "provided welcome music-related income and networking opportunities, it marginalized him as a composer."[39] And his folk music projects further marginalized him by pigeonholing him into a specific category based on his status as an émigré.

The context of wartime further complicated employment opportunities. Seiber did not become a British citizen until after the war.[40] Employment bans and company restrictions limited the jobs for which he might be hired and paid. Archival documents reveal that hiring foreign artists required leaping bureaucratic hurdles. A letter from the Ministry of Labour and National Service to the BBC dated December 30, 1943 grants permission to employ Seiber, a "foreign national," for a broadcasting engagement the following year.[41] From just two weeks prior, correspondence between Seiber and Kenneth Anthony Wright, member of the music department at BBC, reveals that he was already actively pursuing naturalization. He wrote to Wright, with whom he had worked and corresponded since 1935/6, asking him to serve as a reference for his application. Wright refuses, stating that he does not know Seiber well enough and that he fears he would be implicitly speaking on behalf of the BBC.[42] Perhaps he thought the BBC would not approve or that his own position might be compromised. The decision of a single actor is here motivated by something harder to pin down: the political environment of war-time Britain and the institution's ambiguous attitude toward foreigners.

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[39] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 90.
[40] Scheding, "Problematic Tendencies," 253.
[41] BBC Written Archives Center (hereafter WAC) RCONT 1 Seiber Composer File 1: 1941–1951.
[42] Letter from KA Wright to Seiber, December 12, 1943, WAC RCONT 1 Seiber Composer File 1: 1941–1962.

Further, shrinking budgets made the recording process—copying, rehearsals, and recording—an expensive venture. Seiber's music, often deemed difficult to play by review committees, was likely unattractive in the midst of war. The administration of British music, as well as budget restrictions, are also exemplified in the establishment of The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA). The organization was founded in 1940, and initially headed by economist and philosopher John Maynard Keynes, to promote cultural ventures in Great Britain. The name of the council, a government-funded organization, was changed to the Arts Council of Great Britain and now functions as a group of three organizations in England, Scotland, and Wales.[43] Headed by an economist and facing post-war budget cuts, the parallel histories of this organization and the BBC reflect the broader attitudes toward the arts in government and cultural sectors: nationalist and focused on numbers.

Seiber's music was also at odds with a national tradition that many felt was threatened by the influx of highly trained, successful European composers. Ralph Vaughan Williams's quote (mentioned in Chapter 1) bears repeating here: "The great thing which frightens me in the late peaceful invasion this country by Austria is that it will entirely devour the tender little flower of our English culture."[44] Though, it is important to note, Vaughan Williams was a consistent and loyal source of support for many émigré composers.[45] Few English composers had international reputations and anxiety about the oversized German influence on music had weighed on the minds of

[43] "History," *Arts Council England*, accessed June 14, 2023, https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/our-organisation/our-history#t-in-page-nav-1.

[44] Vaughan Williams to Rauter, 16 August [1942], in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, ed. Hugh Cobbe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 344–45.

[45] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 87.

British musicians since the nineteenth century. In public, however, Vaughan Williams was a staunch advocate for émigré composers and musicians, helping many to secure work and, during the mass internments in 1940, secure release from wartime internment camps.[46]

A similar attitude was realized in the decisions of institutions as well. Alison Garnham and Susi Woodhouse write that the BBC's pre-war cosmopolitanism was replaced by "conflict between its vision of music as an 'international language' and its duty to musical Britishness."[47] In a 1942 draft of its music policy, Basil Nicolls emphasizes the importance of "a strong sense of pride in British music" as a way to "rid music of its status as a foreign art."[48] This is perhaps part of the reason why Seiber was only offered jobs for the BBC's foreign service during these years. The corporation maintained a half-hearted international outlook, while the home service remained insular.

In the press, this attitude appeared again in regard to a particular institution: Morley College, a left-leaning adult education center known for its music program and welcoming attitude toward immigrants. From the late 1930s, it attracted émigré composers and musicians as students, teachers, and performers who struggled to find opportunities elsewhere. Fleeing authoritarian regimes, many had lost jobs or interrupted studies. The established institution, which inhabited an ambiguous space between amateur music-making and the university or conservatory, offered a refuge. However, the

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[46] Alison Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment: The Development of an Émigré Musician 1938–48* (London: Plumbago Books, 2011), 115–16.

[47] Alison Garnham and Susi Woodhouse, *Hans Keller 1919–1985: A Musician in Dialogue with His Times* (London: Routledge, 2018), 19.

[48] Basil Nicolls, "BBC Music Policy," draft paper, 1 April 1942, WAC G28/42; as quoted in Garnham and Woodhouse, *Hans Keller 1919 –1985*, 19.

space opened for émigrés by Morley and other cultural and educational institutions was rife with contradiction, and the anxieties about amateurism and the alliances between "Continental" and "native" composers infiltrated the discourse about even seemingly welcoming organizations.

In a 1942 review of a concert series at Morley College in the *New Statesman and Nation*, an unnamed critic, after a review of Stravinsky's *Dumbarton Oaks*, wrote:

> Two other new works were heard. Matyas Seiber, a pupil of Kodaly, is an accomplished musician, and his Pastorale and Burlesque for flute and strings is effective. The flute flashes against persistent rhythms, it leaps and dances, or it is tender and cajoling. But all this might have been done by one of a dozen radio or film composers. There was more fantasy in a movement from Michael Tippett's Double Concerto for Strings opening with an arresting theme, not far removed from Tchaikovsky, which, however, soon becomes painfully locked up in itself. Tippett, in fact, lacks just that facility which Seiber has in excess. These concerts at Morley College seem to be establishing an alliance between a number of Continental artists settled in this country, and a certain group of native artists whose approach to music is, in a better sense of the word, amateur.[49]

With terms like *alliance*, *Continental*, *native*, and *amateur* the reviewer speaks to the fraught relationship between émigré composers and musicians, institutions, and British nationalism. Seiber began working at Morley in 1942—the same year the above review was written—at the invitation of Michael Tippett. At different times, he taught composition, an introductory course, and choir, as well as delivering lectures about a variety of musical topics.[50]

Anxieties and biases surrounding these terms and their implications were central to the experiences of émigré composers from Europe and beyond, not just during

[49] The author's name is not given, but Edward Sackville-West wrote most music reviews for the 1942 volume, so it is possible he wrote this one as well. "Morley College Concert," *New Statesman and Nation* 24, no. 616 (December 12, 1942): 380.

[50] Morley College Syllabi, 1937 and 1947–1951, Morley College Papers (MCP), Lambeth Archive, London (hereafter MCP0, Files IV/224/3/1/23–29.

wartime, but in the decades after as well. The process of categorization is explicit. Us and them. Professional and amateur. British nationalist and allied with Europe. The author calls implicitly upon a binary common amid the influx of émigré musicians: European professional vs. British amateur. Many émigré composers and musicians who arrived in Britain during the 1930s were highly trained professionals who brought a mastery of their crafts. The composers had studied with the most prominent teachers—Schoenberg, Hindemith, Boulanger—and went on to teach the next generation of British composers.[51] It is a complicated categorization; indeed, the author's comments about Seiber are complimentary. In the end, this critic's frustration seems to lie in what they see as improper integration. Seiber, and other émigrés lumped into the category of "Continental artists" are working in the wrong space and with the wrong people, but it is a rare space in which they are welcome. Indeed, the alliances the author writes of existed. But Tippett's inclusive attitude was exceptional and seemed to lure native British musicians and composers to the institution, rather than further marginalizing recently arrived émigrés.[52]

In stark contradiction to his struggle to get his music programmed, Seiber's String Quartet No. 2 was chosen as one of three British entries, alongside Britten's *Les Illuminations*, for tenor and string orchestra [text: Artur Rimbaud] and William Alwyn's *Divertimento*, for solo flute, at the 1941 International Society for Contemporary Music

[51] Franz Reizenstein studied with Hindemith. Francis Chagrin and Joseph Horovitz studied with Boulanger. And Schoenberg's students included Egon Wellesz, Walter Goehr, Roberto Gerhard, Erwin Stein, and Karl Rankl. Other composers who studied with notable teachers include Seiber, who studied with Kodály, Leopold Spinner, who studied with Webern, and Peter Gellhorn and Berthold Goldschmidt, who both studied with Franz Schreker. *Continental Britons: The Émigré Composers*, recorded January 1, 2004, Nimbus, 2004, CD.

[52] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 111.

(ISCM) festival in New York City. How was Seiber chosen as a British representative for one organization and cast as completely and utterly foreign for another? The answer has much to do with the balance between the goals of individuals versus the overall attitude of an institutional body. The selection of Seiber's piece can be partially explained by looking at specific people involved in the organization. The ISCM valued an international perspective that transcended national categories, part of which seems in 1941 to be a concerted acceptance of refugee and émigré composers. Indeed, several of the United States' representatives were recent émigrés, including Stefan Wolpe (1902–1972), Artur Schnabel (1882–1951), and Paul Dessau (1894–1979).[53] Around this time, Edward Clark was heavily involved with the ISCM.[54] Clark, who had studied with Schoenberg and worked for the BBC, was also an ardent advocate of the European avant garde. Annika Forkert writes that very early he realized that "contemporary European music was a good companion to and influence on British music."[55] Even with decision-making diffused across multiple actors (e.g., selection committee and ISCM board), such attitudes stick.

Archival materials relating to Seiber's work at the BBC show another layer of complexity. During these years, Seiber often spoke about European/Continental music to British audiences, acting as a kind of cultural middleman who could share his expertise. In overseas broadcasts, he faced the opposite direction and shared his insider knowledge

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[53] "1941 New York," *International Society for Contemporary Music*, accessed January 13, 2023, https://iscm.org/wnmd/1941-new-york/.

[54] For a study of the meaning of contemporary in relation to the ISCM, ca. 1920–1940, see: Sarah Collins, "The New, the Modern and the Contemporary in the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM)," in T*he Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, edited by Björn Heile and Charles Wilson (London: Routledge, 2019), 56–85. See also: chapter five in Alexander Goehr, *Finding the Key: Selected Writings of Alexander Goehr* (London, Faber and Faber), 1998.

[55] Annika Forkert, "'Always a European': Edward Clark's Musical Work," *The Musical Times* 159, no. 1943 (2018): 80

about British music with an international audience. His ability to articulate two different musical cultures provided at once access to work and limitations on topics. He was European in Britain and British in Europe. Two examples illustrate the divide. He was hired to talk about Eastern European art music composers, namely Bartók and Kodály, in 1945, in a talk that was aired in the "German Features" section.[56] And in the same year, in a program for Hungarian audiences, the "Hungarian News Talk," Seiber spoke about Benjamin Britten.[57] Again he is both insider and outsider, split ambiguously between belonging and always being marked foreign.

Folk Music Projects

Many of Seiber's BBC commissions were either for features about folk music or for music to accompany broadcasts about international topics, for which producers desired "folk music." Coupled with his known interest in jazz music, he was quickly pigeonholed as the folk music expert upon whom the BBC could call for some level of authenticity. Being placed in this box was limiting, of course, but it also provided much needed work. This typecasting as a cultural chameleon, who had access to knowledge of all otherness because of his own outsider status, conjures the anti-Semitic trope of the wanderer, of belonging to no state, including the one where he lives.

Two examples from the early 1940s illustrate the kind of work he did. In 1942, the BBC contracted Seiber to transcribe four "Arabian tunes" for a series of programs for

[56] Music Booking Requisition, October 8, 1945, WAC RCONT1 Matyas Seiber Composer File 1: 1941–1962.

[57] Talks Booking Requisition July 13, 1945, WAC RCONT1 Matyas Seiber Composer File 1: 1941–1962.

the Overseas Music Unit. The stated goal of the transcriptions—for accordion, two guitars, violin, cello, flute, and percussion—was "the construction of pieces on the four Arabian tunes submitted in such a way that it can be played by Western players and yet sufficiently convincing to the Arabians that they take it as a compliment."[58] Folk music acts as a marker of otherness, and Seiber's expertise in the music of his native Hungary qualified him to work with the music of other nations. Indeed, a BBC employee suggested that in rehearsals—also led by Seiber—he should play some records of Arabic music for the players who would otherwise be unable to understand the music. Because of his own cultural otherness, Seiber acted as a mediator between Britain and other regions of the world, primarily Eastern Europe and Arabic-speaking lands.

Another BBC commission found Seiber engaging with the folk music of an unlikely location: Germany. In 1941, Seiber arranged a few songs for the German News Period, which were requested for a programme titled "German Soldiers Songs in the Last War."[59] An internal BBC memo shows that the songs were recorded on December 2, 1941 at a Maida Vale studio and aired on December 3, 1941.[60] The songs, of which I can find no other traces, were for voice and accordion.[61] The context for the songs is unknown, but a possibility is that they were commissioned as incidental music to be played during a news segment about the German army. Seiber was hired for many such projects during the early 1940s.[62]

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[58] Letter from K.A. Wright, October 5, 1942, WAC Composer File R27/466 Seiber, Matyas 1942–1946.
[59] WAC, Letter to Seiber, December 8, 1941, File 1: 1941–1962.
[60] WAC, File 1: 1941–1962.
[61] WAC, Letter to Seiber, December 8, 1941, File 1: 1941–1942.
[62] Examples of his incidental music include the radio play Faust, the orchestral salon piece *Transylvanian Rhapsody*, and around thirty other compositions. Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 99–100, 101–102.

This BBC commission is related to the others mentioned in this chapter, but with an uncomfortable twist. Why hire a Jewish, Hungarian émigré, who lost his job in Germany and subsequently fled, to engage with the military music of the regime that wished him dead? Military music, because of its national attachments, has something in common with folk music. This explains why it might have fallen under the domain of Seiber's assumed universal mastery of the category. But there is also a thinly veiled anti-Semitism in the gesture. This was not the last, and likely not the first, time anti-Semitic attitudes were shared at the BBC. The aforementioned blacklist of foreign-born composers whose music was copyrighted in Austria and Germany included a number of Jewish composers, despite the list existing out of fear of Nazi infiltration.[63] And in the 1950s, after Seiber began to finally hear his music broadcast, a congratulatory note from Herbert Murrill, the Head of Music at the BBC from 1950, wrote: "You are a very energetic salesman!"[64]

Archival documents reveal another, less obvious, kind of work for which Seiber was commissioned at the BBC. Several times in the 1940s, he was engaged to write scripts for Third Programme broadcasts that would be read by a separate host. A 1945 project for the BBC's Hindustani Service to India asked Seiber to write scripts, rather than music. The series of programs, titled "Folk Songs of Europe," featured four countries: Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Seiber's short scripts—translated and read in the local language of the broadcast location—were interspersed in fifteen-

[63] Blacklisted composers included Kurt Weill, Ernst Toch, Wolfgang Korngold, Hanns Eisler, Paul Hindemith, Arnold Schoenberg, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Egon Wellesz, and Berthold Goldschmidt. Scheding notes that 25% of the list were refugees, many Jewish and/or included in Nazi "degenerate music" lists. Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 94.

[64] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 104.

minute programs alongside representative recordings of folk music from each nation.[65] In this instance, the BBC turns to Seiber as a voice of authority and a bearer of knowledge.

But what led to the pervasive association of Seiber with folk music? As a student of Kodály in Budapest, Seiber had written several pieces based on Hungarian folk music as a young composer. These works are mostly piano pieces and songs (for both solo voice and chorus). Indeed, Kodály was committed to nurturing the national in his students. In 1925, he wrote: "we have to bring up not only European but at the same time Hungarian musicians . . . Only by the fusion of European and Hungarian traditions can we arrive at anything that will mean something to Hungary too."[66] For Seiber, then, folk music likely always carried political significance. And he seems to have taken his BBC work seriously. His notes (from manuscripts) on folk tunes from various countries show that he engaged fully with the music for his various projects. Often, this meant dissecting one parameter of the music at a time: melody, rhythm, form, etc.[67]

The "dual nature" of institutions articulated by Jupille and Caporaso is on full display. In his early years in Britain, his proximity to folk music was a way to make a living, while continuing to work in music. Yet, the pigeonholed spaces opened to him limited his advancement as a composer. Other work included teaching accordion and writing a self-guided course for learning the instrument, published in 1939.[68] After he began taking on these projects at the BBC, published works followed. That is, following

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[65] Dec. 20, 1945, WAC Composer File R27/466 Seiber, Matyas 1942–1946.

[66] From Kodaly's 1925 article "Thirteen Young Composers," as quoted in Janos Breuer, "Some Senior Composers," *Tempo* no. 88 (1969): 33–38.

[67] BL, Add MS 62817.

[68] Mátyás Seiber, *The Mathis Method of Piano Accordion Playing in Ten Lessons* (London: Hohner Concessionaires Ltd., 1939).

arrangements of Greek, Yugoslav, or French folk songs, he published short collections of each, usually with Boosey & Hawkes. They were also Britten's publisher, and published his folk songs, as well as those of contemporaries.

These eclectic folk assignments can also be explained by contemporary attitudes toward people from Eastern Europe. Seiber's status as not-quite-Western, despite a career in Germany, likely led institutions to project onto him a knowledge of the East more broadly. Seiber never shed his reputation as an expert in folk music, but he also returned to it a number of times later in his career, after he had established himself more solidly as a composer in Britain.

Later, in the 1950s, Seiber, in collaboration with Australian-born composer Don Banks, was asked by Cassell & Co., a British publishing house, to contribute a set of one hundred piano arrangements to their new edition of Alan Lomax's *The Folk songs of North America* (1960).[69] Just as the BBC had given folk-related projects to Seiber in the 1940s, he was again asked to offer an undefined expertise to a repertoire with which he was not familiar. It is not clear how or why Seiber was asked to work on this project about North American folk songs, but by the 1950s, it is likely that his BBC work had garnered him a reputation as not only an expert on folk music writ large, but also a skilled and efficient arranger.

The process of fixing Seiber into a particular image or identity is repeated again and again. But at the same time, his interests and expertise expanded and diversified,

[69] "Mátyás Seiber Biography," *Mátyás Seiber Trust.* Banks was one of Seiber's composition students and had an early and strong interest in jazz, as well as contemporary and electronic music. He later studied with Milton Babbitt, Luigi Nono, and Luigi Dallapiccola. "Don Banks (1923–1980)," *Australian Music Centre*, https://www.australianmusiccentre.com.au/artist/banks-don.

never sacrificing depth over breadth. Though primarily labeled as a folk music expert, Seiber presents himself simultaneously as an expert on the avant garde. What attracts institutions to this kind of fixity? At its core, it is a way of "knowing" something or someone unfamiliar. Homi Bhabha identifies such fixity as a defining feature of stereotyping, which he defines as "knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place,' already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated."[70] In the post-colonial context of mid-century Britain, as its role as the center of empire disappeared, such colonialist discourse was often applied to migrants, placing them into static, knowable categories. Bhabha writes that "An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness."[71] It also provided a way of naming an émigré's role in musical life, by slotting them into a gap in an institution's abilities or expertise.

Four Greek Folk Songs (1942)

In the 1940s, Seiber published several collections of folksongs (mostly his own melodies)—Greek, Russian, Hungarian, Yugoslav, and medieval French—as well as some one-off English, Scottish, and Irish tune arrangements. One of the earliest of these collections is the *Four Greek Folk Songs*. The songs, written for soprano and string orchestra (arranged for guitar in the present edition), were completed in 1942, three years before his "Folk Songs of Europe" at the BBC. Though there is nothing particularly

[70] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 66.
[71] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 66.

Greek-sounding about the songs, the BBC presumably took their publication as a level of expertise that qualified Seiber to provide commentary about actual Greek folk music.

This composition fits comfortably into British trends in songwriting at the time. The back of the score, published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1947, has two lists that provide some context. Contemporary "Popular Songs and Ballads" and "Vocal Albums" include compositions by Britten and Vaughan Williams, as well as collections of British and folk songs.[72]

To be published and earn a living are important motivating factors that must be considered. Aligning himself with the trend of attractive and technically accessible folk collections balanced interest a more sure path to publication than his other instrumental music. Each of the five songs has a particular style, together constituting a fourteen-minute microcosm of Seiber's much-discussed stylistic flexibility. The very flexibility that made him so good at what he did at the BBC is present throughout his oeuvre. However, one is left wondering what it is that makes these songs Greek, aside from their texts.

Seiber showed great sensitivity to the texts in his settings. In each song, Seiber makes dramatic use of key areas. That is, he uses movement between key areas as musical means to dramatic ends. Seiber embraces the atmosphere of some texts through the use of structural half cadences, beginning in one key area and ending in the dominant. The second song, "Have Pity on Me," begins in G major and ends in D major. An unfulfilled love causes both excitement and dread in the narrator's mind, and the song ends with that uncertainty about whether or not they should act, a tension mirrored by the

[72] Mátyás Seiber, *Four Greek Folk Songs* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1947), 15–16.

dominant ending. The third song, "Each Time, My Love, You Say Farewell," begins with a focus on F and ends in B major, the subdominant. Hope and uncertainty intermingle. When he does begin and end in the same key (area), it lends a strong sense of closure to the text.

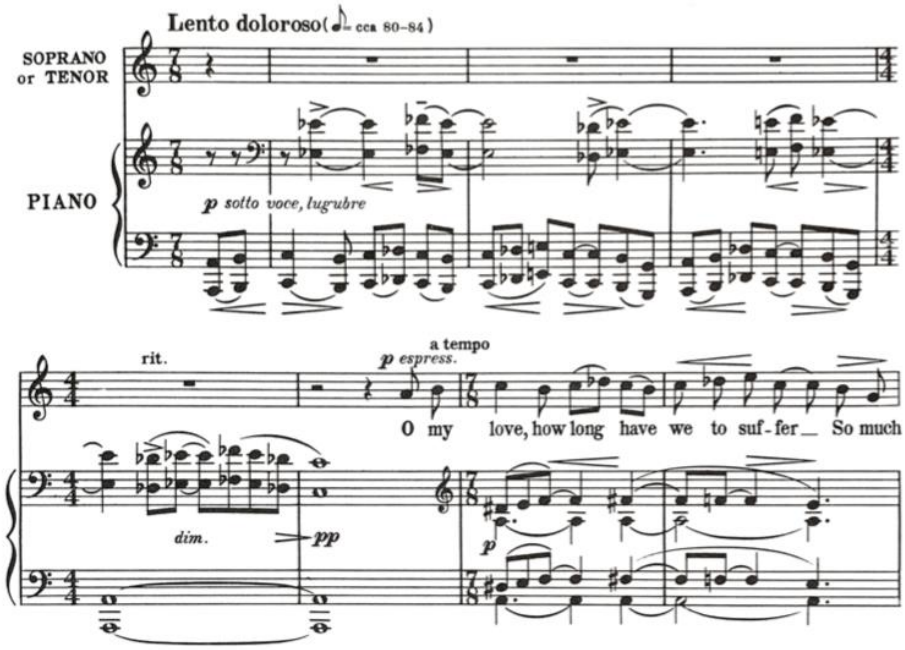
A closer look at one of these songs aids in understanding how he worked with text inside of the folk/song genre. Each of the texts is suffused with images of memory, farewells, and longing, but nowhere do these themes swirl so compellingly as in the first song: "O My Love, How Long." The text reads:

> O my love, how long have we to suffer
> So much grief and sorrow, so much pain?
> When will all these hours of torment varnish?
> Do I pray to heaven all in vain?[73]

The text is short, repeating once in full, and ending with a final statement of the first two lines. The key is a modal expression of A, sometimes major and sometimes minor. It is a modal folk-like melody in a chromatic context. The first statement ends over a D# pedal, the second over F#, and the final, partial statement returns to the tonic, ending on an open fifth. The statement is repeated from multiple angles—first unsettled by the augmented fourth, then with the lingering tension of the leading tone, and finally the uncertainty of the question is answered by the return of the tonic (A). Perhaps this uncertainty is accepted, or perhaps one might imagine the process of questioning beginning again, returning to square one, the space from whence we have come. The compound meter, 7/8, feeds the uncertainty. Time tilts.

[73] Seiber, *Four Greek Folk Songs*.

The melody, first sung in m. 6, is foreshadowed in the left hand's opening passage, which is written in octaves, focusing the listener's attention on the melody. So, upon the entrance of the voice, the melody is already a remembered thing. The narrator asks: "How long have we to suffer?," and the listener understands that this future suffering is not new. It extends into the past as well. Seiber's setting complements this existential pairing of memory and longing. The melody is characterized by a motive that rises a minor third, stepwise, and descends by one step. Two of these gestures overlap in the first seven pitches (see Example 3.1). Motives often play a strong role in Seiber's music.



Example 3.1. Seiber, *Four Greek Folk Songs*, I, mm. 1–7.

The choice of Greek songs has two possible explanations. First, the popularity of folk song settings in Britain meant that this was a surer avenue to publishing and performances. Second is Seiber's political awareness and engagement. A dense

chronology of events in 1941 and 1942 would have put Greece in London headlines and Seiber's thoughts. Historians Mark Mazower argues that the crisis of a homegrown dictatorship was compounded by foreign invasion: "In Greece, the memory of an unpopular dictatorship (1936–41) was fresh in people's minds when the Germans and Italians arrived."[74] Watching as other nations were occupied, the Greek military had pushed back an Italian invasion in Winter 1940–41, and news of this victory was known throughout Europe.[75] But the hope was short-lived. Axis powers occupied mainland Greece in April 1941 and a devastating famine ensued, lasting until 1944 and killing 300,000 people, 150,000 of them in 1941 alone.[76] The peak of the famine occurred in the winter of 1941–42.[77] Mass internal and external migration followed. At the same time, the first murmurings of the coming Civil War (1946–49) began to bubble up. Seiber's own experience as an émigré from the Nazi regime perhaps gave him access to a heightened sense of connection to these events.

Of particular relevance for the present study, British involvement in the region was also significant. As the arrival of Axis forces became inevitable, British troops, along with other Allied troops, retreated.[78] By the end of World War II, the Jewish population of Greece, numbering over 70,000, was reduced to around 10,000.[79] Whether or not these events prompted Seiber's choice to set Greek songs, their existence in the midst of World War II warrants a political reading. Seiber seems to strike a balance between choosing a

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[74] Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The experience of Occupation, 1941–44* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), xiii.

[75] Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece*, 1.

[76] Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses, eds., *The Holocaust in Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2.

[77] Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece*, 44–46.

[78] Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece*, 1.

[79] Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses, eds., *The Holocaust in Greece*, 1.

style (cabaret-esque, accessible folk songs) that was desired in British musical life, a geographic origin of his own choosing (recently-occupied Greece), and an eclectic compositional approach that appears throughout his oeuvre.

Folk Music as Political Engagement

Though Seiber had engaged with folk music while living in Hungary and Germany, an uptick in folk music-related projects came after emigrating to Britain in 1935. He had previously been focused more on jazz alongside dodecaphonic methods. When he did engage with folk music, it had been mostly that of his native Hungary. The changing circumstances of the world—war, migration, and the waning imperial power of Great Britain—and his place in it, seems to have connected him to international movements (artistic and political) at the same time that he carved out a space for his music and career in Britain. His work exhibits an international modernism that, far from shunning national attachments, grappled with them as he moved and settled and found his place.

From 1935, Seiber returned consistently to the idiom for solidarity, community building, and personal expression. He was an active participant in the cultural and political activities of London's Hungarian émigré community. In the early 1940s, Seiber collaborated with Hungarian-British writer and humorist György Mikes on a pair of stage works—part operetta, part cabaret—for Hungarian cabaret audiences in London. The works sung in Hungarian, commented on, and Scheding argues even contributed to, the

political discourse of the émigré community during World War II.[80] The works were performed at the Londoni Pódium, a Hungarian cabaret theater whose name was a nod to a prominent cabaret in Budapest with which all involved would have been familiar.[81] Much like his early Hungarian folk-inspired music, the musical numbers Seiber wrote are tonal and pair syllabic, repetitive vocal lines with light, easy-to-play piano accompaniments.[82]

Alongside his knowledge of Hungarian folk music and the publication of the *Four Greek Folksongs*, there was other precedent for the "Folk Songs of Europe" project. In 1942, he had also written *Six Yugoslav Folk Songs* for unaccompanied mixed choir. An expressed interest in folk music was perhaps a kind of self-marketing strategy, branding himself as capable of offering something new and different to insular British institutions. It is likely that Kodály had exposed the young Seiber to folk music from many regions, but there is no evidence that Seiber had traveled to the former Yugoslavia or had any direct experience with its people or music. The country had only declared the name Yugoslavia in 1929 and was invaded by National Socialist forces in 1941. Seiber's decision then is decidedly political, acknowledging a country's name and sovereignty while the Axis Powers took over. In 1945, when he was asked to speak about it for the BBC, Yugoslavia had become a communist nation, whose president would rule until 1980.

Seiber also had some connections, though perhaps loose, to the Soviet Union and

[80] Scheding, "'I Only Need the Good Old Budapest,'" 222–23.
[81] Scheding, "'I Only Need the Good Old Budapest,'" 223.
[82] The scores of Seiber's operettas are unpublished, but I viewed them in his papers at the British Library. BL, Add MS 58126.

Marxist organizations in Britain. As previously mentioned, during the period of nearly two years between leaving Germany (1933) and arriving in England (1935), he spent time both in Budapest and in the Soviet Union. And in the late 1930s, he contributed arrangements of songs to both a British-Soviet Friendly Society and the Workers' Music Association. For the British-Soviet Friendly Society, he arranged a set of Polish songs.[83]

And his *Twelve Russian Folk Songs for Children* was published in 1949 by the Workers' Music Association, an organization founded in 1936 by British composer Alan Bush.[84] Bush was himself a committed communist, having joined the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1935.[85] The slim set of scores, with simple piano accompaniments and solfege syllables indicated above the notes, are well-designed to educate. A woodcut image of peasants dancing in front of a field and barn adorns the cover, and accompanying most songs is a short text, written by A.L. Lloyd, teaching about celebrations, particular regions, and the history of the Russian-speaking world. And several describe the character of a population. For example, the text beneath the "Tartar Song" reads, in part: "The Tartars in Russia are descendants of the old Mongol conquerors of the Middle Ages…To this day their songs still show their Asiatic origin. Once they were the fiercest and most brutal fighters in the world. Now they are loyal, peaceful and industrious folk. But their fine fighting record in this war shows they have lost none of their old bravery."[86] Seiber's arrangements are then tied up in the work of

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[83] "Songs from abroad," *Working Class Music Library*, accessed June 18, 2023, https://www.wcml.org.uk/our-collections/creativity-and-culture/music/songs-and-songbooks/songs-from-abroad/.

[84] Mátyás Seiber, *Twelve Russian folk Songs for Children* (London: Workers' Music Association, 1949).

[85] Rachel O'Higgins, "Profile of Alan Bush," *Alan Bush Trust*, accessed June 15, 2023, http://www.alanbushtrust.org.uk/profile.asp?room=Profile.

[86] A.L. Lloyd, texts in *Twelve Russian folk Songs for Children* (London: Workers' Music Association, 1949).

teaching about the national character—heroic and hardworking—of Soviet workers. Folk music became part of how Seiber imagined himself as an international artist, tied as much to the whole world as the place where he lived, the place he came from, or the places he passed through.

Jazz

Seiber's engagement with folk music is also indicative of the eclecticism that defined his compositional voice. Unlike at the BBC, where folk music was relegated to marginal and overseas broadcasts, Seiber imagined an equality of all kinds of music. Another musical idiom with which he engaged in depth was jazz. Comparing his approach to each reveals much about his musical imagination.

In 1928, Seiber joined the faculty of the Frankfurt Conservatory, where he led the first jazz course in Germany. The classes—jazz ensemble, instrumentation, and piano—and performances became popular quickly, with both students and interested audiences.[87] In the 1950s, he spoke about his time in Frankfurt: "Because when I lived in Germany, about 25 to 30 years ago, my name was mostly connected with jazz, through the Frankfurt 'Jazz Class' that I led at the conservatory and which had aroused some interest among the public and the press."[88] Jazz became, early on, a major part of his musical identity. Before joining the conservatory faculty, Seiber had a job teaching at a private

[87] Information about the specific Jazz courses Seiber taught comes from a "Verzeichnis der Lehrkräfte [Directory of Teachers]" in Peter Cahn, *Das Hoch'sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt am Main (1878–1978*) (Frankfurt am Main: Dr. Waldemar Kramer, 1979): 292–293.

[88] "Denn als ich, vor etwa 25 bis 30 Jahren, in Deutschland lebte, war mein Namen hauptsächlich mit Jazz verbunden, durch die Frankfurter "Jazz-Klasse" am Konservatorium die ich leitete und bei dem Publikum und Presse einiges Interesse erweckt hatte." Seiber, "Von Jazz zu Joyce," BL, Add MS 62878, f. 55.

school in Frankfurt, which is likely how he became known to Bernhard Sekles, the director of the institution.[89] Though the details of this job are unknown, his training with Kodály might have led him to the teaching profession. Seiber's interest in improvisation, undoubtedly linked to his interest in jazz, is also a key aspect of Kodály's pedagogical methods, still used by teachers of young children all over the world.

The nature of his relationship to jazz has received some scholarly attention, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Two aspects have garnered focus: Seiber's pedagogical activities and the influence of jazz on his chamber and concert music. This section first explores the three avenues in which Seiber engaged with jazz: pedagogy, scholarship, and composition. He taught the first academic jazz course in Germany (decades before it was given broader pedagogical prominence), wrote articles about pedagogy and analysis, and incorporated jazz elements into his own compositions. His interest in jazz is then unpacked and situated within the context of Germany, where he lived between 1925 and 1933, during the Weimar Republic, including a collaboration with his Frankfurt colleague Theodor Adorno. And finally, drawing on examples of Seiber's work and his own comments, a connection between jazz and folk music reveals his desire for new sonic possibilities, no matter their origin.

But what led Seiber, a twenty-five-year-old European Jewish man, to lead a course about a distinctly American idiom? His only qualification, aside from interest and study, was his time spent aboard a cruise ship that sailed up and down the Atlantic coast of the Americas. Between 1922 and 1925, Seiber traveled widely, often aboard a ship

[89] Kathryn Smith Bowers, "East Meets West: Contributions of Mátyás Seiber to Jazz in Germany," in *Jazz and the Germans*, ed. Michael J. Budds (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 121.

from the Hamburg America line, where he played cello in a string quartet that entertained first class passengers.[90] On land, and perhaps on the ship as well, he potentially heard jazz and Latin American music. No matter where and when he first encountered this music, he was excited by the possibility it offered for an entirely new way of thinking about music.

Jazz was also directly connected to folk music in Seiber's mind. Kathryn Smith Bowers argues that "he perceived this exotic new music [jazz] through the filter of his own extensive knowledge of folk and cultivated musics in Europe."[91] Indeed, Seiber tied jazz to folk music outright in a 1945 article. In his article, Seiber compares jazz rhythms to Eastern European music's rhythms, noting quite shockingly the superior complexity of the latter. Though he denigrates jazz, he likely still had a skewed sense of what jazz was.[92] What this comment does reveal, however, is that, in Seiber's mind, the connection between the styles is rhythmic. An even more explicit reference to the folk character of jazz is found in the text of a lecture he gave at the London Philosophy Club in 1942 about the origins of jazz: "Jazz has, undoubtedly, a core of genuine traditional folk-music as its basis. Many of the symptoms we know today as 'jazzy' originate in an entirely un-selfconscious way in musical activities of American Negro communities. Some basic elements may be found even in the inflections of their speech."[93]

Indeed, two of his last works demonstrate the ongoing influence of jazz on his musical imagination. A 1959 collaboration with British jazz composer, saxophonist, and

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[90] "Mátyás Seiber Biography," *Mátyás Seiber Trust.*
[91] Smith Bowers, "East Meets West," 120.
[92] Smith Bowers, "East Meets West," 139.
[93] Typed, unlabeled essay about jazz [likely a lecture given at the London Philosophy club on May 17, 1943], BL, Add MS 62886, p. 3.

clarinetist John Dankworth (1927–2010), the *Improvisations* for jazz band and orchestra, reveal not only his continued interest, but also his reputation as a knowledgeable musician.[94] The Dankworth collaboration premiered on 2 June 1959 in a concert by the London Philharmonic Orchestra titled "Music of the Twentieth Century."[95] *Improvisations* was, according to critics, a well-crafted, if not entirely effective, merger.[96] His 1960 Violin Sonata, completed months before his death, is punctuated by improvisatory passages that are certainly a sign of how he absorbed jazz music during his entire career.

Seiber also reflected on the technical aspects of jazz in German periodicals. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, he published four essays and a percussion tutorial about jazz, followed at a distance by another article in 1945 (in England).[97] The articles, at first pedagogical and then more theoretical, were published in journals like *Melos* and *Musikecho*. *Melos*, published by the Schott brothers, had a decidedly modernist slant and often featured articles about jazz in the 1920s and early 1930s.[98] And *Musikecho* was an early jazz periodical, published in Berlin beginning in 1931.[99] Seiber's writings show a particular interest in the rhythmic character of jazz: how to define it and how to teach it.

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[94] John Dankworth was born in Essex and entered the British jazz scene as a clarinetist and saxophonist after graduating from the Royal Academy of Music. He also played both instruments in the Royal Air Force during World War II. He formed a small ensemble in 1950 and his big band in 1953. Throughout his career he performed at prestigious jazz venues and festivals and played with such musicians as Charlie Parker, Sidney Bechet, Dizzy Gillespie, and Louis Armstrong. Biographical source: John Fordham, "Sir John Dankworth Obituary," *The Times*, 7 February 2010.

[95] On the second half of the program was Rolf Liebermann's *Concerto for Jazz and Orchestra*. Smith Bowers, "East Meets West," 137.

[96] One such critic was: Wilfrid Mellers, "Collaboration?," *The Musical Times* 103, no. 1432 (1962): 401.

[97] A full list of his prose writing about both jazz and folk music can be found in Appendix A.

[98] Susan Cook, "The Reception and Institution of American Jazz during the Weimar Republic," *American Music* 7, no. 1 (1989): 38.

[99] Elsewhere its name is listed as *Musik-echo: Zeitschrift für Melodie und Rhythmus*. "Introduction," *ripmJazz*, accessed January 15, 2023, https://ripmjazz.org/introduction/.

And in his music, like the *Jazzolettes*, one might observe Seiber exploring how to use it. He also spoke about jazz; for example, in 1944, as part of the "Music of Our Time" lecture series at Morley College, he gave a talk titled "Modern Music and Jazz."[100]

Jazz in the Weimar Republic

While it is impossible to know exactly what Seiber knew of jazz, understanding the cultural role it had during Germany's Weimar Republic (1918–1933) gives some clues. Accompanying perceptual images of Berlin cabarets, free women in short dresses, and general cultural liberalism is often the sound of jazz. The temporal boundaries of the Weimar Republic coincide with two important moments in Germany's relationship with jazz: first the introduction of jazz recordings in 1920 and its attempted banishment during the rise of the National Socialist regime.[101] In between these extremes lie the first visit of an African American jazz band, the *Chocolate Kiddies*, to a major venue Berlin (*Admiralspalast*, 1925) and the subsequent rise in popularity of live jazz in the capitol and beyond.[102] It is important to note, however, that for Weimar-era listeners—Seiber included—jazz was a much broader category of dance music and popular songs than our twenty-first-century definition.

The arrival of jazz precipitated a monumental shift. In the same way that film had presented a visual shock for viewers (one thinks of the famous example of audiences

[100] The talk took place on March 7, 1944. Other speakers in the series that spring included Alan Bush on "Music and Social Conditions," Michael Tippett on "The Composer," and Frank Howes, Thomas Russell, and Reginald Jacques on various topics about contemporary music. BL, Add MS 62886, f. 50.

[101] Jazz records arrived in Germany in 1920, but two or three years earlier in other parts of Europe. Jonathan Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic: Music, Race, and American Culture in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 31.

[102] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 1.

running from a train barreling forward on screen), jazz, Jonathan Wipplinger argues, was an "aural shock" for listeners.[103] Seiber refers explicitly to the "shock" that Wipplinger theorizes, describing how different generations reacted to the arrival of jazz.

> When after the last war the first waves of Jazz swept over Europe from the New World, musicians trained in the classical tradition reacted to it in different ways: one group (mostly those of the older generation) with a violent denunciation of this new kind of music as mere noise, barbarous cacophony, etc.; the younger generation, on the other hand, swung to the other extreme and hailed it as the advent of a new musical culture which will be able to inject fresh blood into the veins of our tired old musical civilization. They saw unlimited possibilities opening up for the future of music after its rejuvenation by this new blood. As usually happens at the sudden emergence of a new quality, the shock it causes obscures the balanced judgement of those witnessing the process; it takes considerable time to get over the trauma of that catastrophic event and to arrive at a sober assessment of its value and possibilities. Now after more than two decades I think we have arrived at a vantage point from which we can survey the whole field with an impartial view.[104]

This popularity ended abruptly in 1933, at the same time that Seiber was removed from his position at Frankfurt's *Hoch Konservatorium* and began uncertain process of migration.

How does one reconcile jazz's shocking modernity on one hand and its association with folk music on the other? Leaning into the tension, it is most important to remember that both existed simultaneously, even in a single culture or mind, as they did for Weimar Germany or Seiber.

In 1925, the arrival of Sam Wooding and his band in Berlin was one of the first and most influential performances by an African American jazz band in a major hall.[105] The group performed first at *Admiralspalast* in Friedrichstraße. The show, a vaudeville-

[103] Wipplinger, "The Aural Shock of Modernity: Weimar's Experience of Jazz," 300.
[104] "Modern Music and Jazz," given at Morley college on March 7, 1944, BL, Add MS 62886, f. 50.
[105] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 1.

esque evening of skits and music capitalized on Weimar era Germany's fascination with America (*Amerikanismus*) and perceptions of African American identity and performance, such as the practice of minstrelsy.[106] Their first performance in Berlin, which was attended by both Krenek and Weill, was described by producers in the program:

> 1000 words English are hardly required of the visitors to the "Chocolate Kiddies" to understand what the following scenes, songs, and dances are about. The language of music, rhythm, and—legs is international. Beginning on the "plantation" of the American South, where the black farmers dance and sing their peaceful songs, where they pray at sunset, laugh and joke around during sunlight; from there it goes out into the world, to the north, to the city of millions that lures and draws everyone: New York. The duo of Greenlee and Drayton plays the role of tour guide through the different stations: new types of dances, comic appearances, eccentrics, lyric and religious songs, the New York Negro quarter of "Harlem" is mirrored in its life and goings on. The Symphonic Concert of the Sam Wooding Jazz Band opens act two, and the extensive program of the Negro Cabaret in the Harlem quarter forms the conclusion.[107]

They subsequently played dozens of shows in Berlin, across Germany, and on tours to France, Spain, Russia, and Argentina. In Berlin, Paris, and Barcelona, where they recorded albums with local record labels.[108]

In Britain, jazz had arrived a few years earlier for two reasons. First, at the end of World War I, there were American troops in the country who brought the music with them. And second, because Germany had lost the war and was paying reparations, its economy was in particularly bad shape. This meant that imported records, much less performing groups from abroad, arrived more slowly than in Britain.[109]

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[106] Jonathan Wipplinger, "The Aural Shock of Modernity: Weimar's Experience of Jazz," *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 82, no. 4 (2007): 300.

[107] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 63.

[108] The record labels include Vox in Berlin, Parlophone in Barcelona, and Pathé in Paris.

[109] Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 31.

Seiber demonstrated a continued interest in jazz from the 1920s until his death. His ties to jazz, initially strongly connected with the Frankfurt Conservatory, became uncoupled from institutional support. And though he continued to think about it, his knowledge became less up to date.[110] Jazz had become less of a scholarly interest but remained part of his musical world.

Jazzolettes (1929, 1932)

For Seiber, jazz was partly a pathway of expanding his own compositional vocabulary, adding new colors and textures to his work. What he seems to have primarily drawn from it are an expanded rhythmic vocabulary and new possibilities in orchestration. In 1929, after his arrival in Frankfurt, he finished the first of two *Jazzolettes* for two saxophones, trumpet, trombone, piano, and percussion, the instrumentation of the ensemble he led at the *Hochschule*.[111] He wrote a second *Jazzolette* in 1932. The short pieces, around four minutes each, call on jazz conventions like instrumentation, use of trumpet mutes, syncopation, and solos emerging from the ensemble texture. There are no improvisatory passages in this early work.

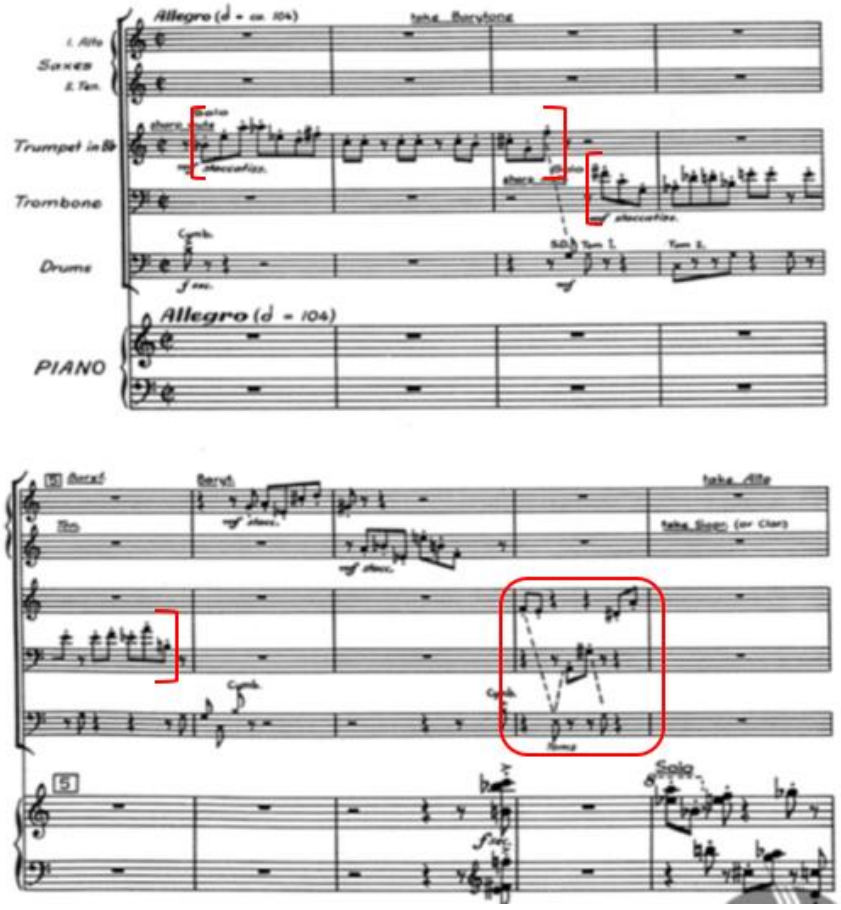
[110] This is revealed in a 1954 letter in which Seiber declines an opportunity to write about the history of jazz, writing to a Mr. King: "I am afraid I have been rather out of touch with this subject for the last 20 years or so. In the meantime a whole generation has grown up which made very extensive studies on this field and which knows a lot more about it that myself. I should feel on very weak ground vis-à-vis these people; my paper would probably have a very old-fashioned, 1930-s ring. As I only like talking on subjects I really know, I should be much happier if you would ask somebody else, better qualified for this interesting talk." Seiber to Mr. King, January 17, 1954, BL, Add MS 71060, p. 81.

[111] In a concert at Dr. Hoch's Conservatorium, his first *Jazzolette* was performed alongside Weill's *Dreigroschenoper* and Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. Concert on 20 February 1930. Program image on Matyas Seiber Trust, "Index of Complete Works," *Mátyás Seiber Trust*, accessed January 1, 2023, https://seibermusic.org.uk/appendix/.

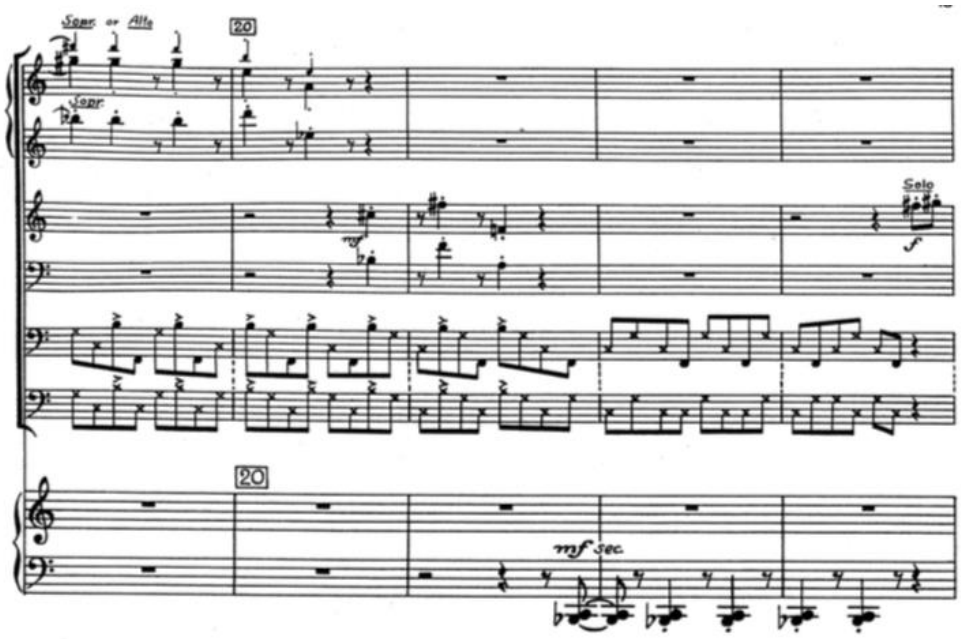
The second *Jazzolette* reveals the connection, even conflation, between jazz and avant-garde music in Seiber's imagination. The solos, a nod to his jazz model, are built from twelve-tone rows, combining "jazz timbre and serial technique."[112] A characteristically improvisatory gesture (the jazz solo) is treated to a paradoxically strict form of pitch organization. The first two solos, in the trumpet and trombone, are shown in brackets in Example 3.2. However, the short piece contains no improvisation or aleatoric element, something with which Seiber did later experiment.

Two rhythmic elements from jazz, syncopation and the interplay between voices, come up against the strict, straight, dodecaphonic, and non-improvisational melodies. In m.8, a single rhythmic gesture leaps between the trumpet, trombone, and drums (see Example 3.2). And syncopated lines characterize alternating sections of the music, as in the wind instrument and piano parts in mm. 19–23 (see Example 3.3).

[112] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 63.



Example 3.2. Seiber, *Jazzolette No. 2,* mm. 1–9.



Example 3.3. Seiber, *Jazzolette No. 2,* mm. 19–23.

One explanation for the piece is pedagogical. At the Konservatorium in Frankfurt, Seiber led a jazz ensemble made up of the same instrumentation. As his program was one of the first of its kind, he had to collect and arrange a limited repertoire of music. New compositions might have helped him to teach specific skills to his students, while also providing music for performances.[113]

Tributaries to this stream of jazz-inflected classical music in the 1920s include German-language operetta like Ernst Krenek's operetta *Jonny spielt auf* (1927) and Sam Wooding's band touring in Germany, from America. And Seiber is also part of a school of

[113] A handful of other pieces handle elements of jazz in a similar manner. The 1929 *Virginia Stomp for Jazz Ensemble* was also written for the kind of ensemble he directed in frankfurt. And in 1930, he wrote what he called a "jazz parody"on a poem by Joachim Ringelnatz called *Zwei Schweinekarbonaden* [Two Pork Cutlets] for three male voices. The music, however, is entirely reminiscent of American barbershop quartets of the period. A transcript of the talk is found in BL, Add MS 62878, "Sense and Nonsense in Music," Swedish Radio, 88.

composers who wished to bring together jazz and classical or symphonic music—Copland, Gershwin, Stravinsky, Milhaud. The *Jazzolettes* are an example, in miniature, of this impulse. For Copland and other American composers, jazz was a particularly American music. And Seiber, in the process of migration, absorbed it as part of his eclectic, international musical voice.

The Avant-Garde in/and England

Despite the ways that he was repeatedly categorized during his first decade in Britain, the image Seiber projected, especially after 1945, was strongly associated with new music, serialism, and the avant-garde. The subversive act of self-categorization and naming had a significant impact on his career, even while he was primarily associated with folk music. In this section, I offer a perspective on another side of Seiber, one interested in the avant-garde and devoted to new music.

One of these acts of self-categorization was the founding of a new organization with fellow émigré composer Francis Chagrin (Romanian, 1905–1972): the Committee for the Promotion of New Music (founded in 1943 and later renamed the Society for the Promotion of New Music, SPNM). The group, which hosted performances of new works, followed by constructive feedback, sought to promote the work of unestablished and young composers. Its first president was Ralph Vaughan Williams, and the board and participants were both British- and foreign-born musicians. The SPNM, founded by émigrés, had an entirely different set of values than a place like the BBC because the question of Britishness was personal, but not patriotic, for its founders. Though the organization has changed over the years, it served for decades as a primary place for

composers, both young and established, to hear their new works. Importantly, it was also a place where many other émigré composers were able to have new works performed. Both Priaulx Rainier and Erika Fox, two of the other subjects of this dissertation, also attended SPNM events and had their music performed there.

Seiber also turned more fully to twelve-tone composition after the end of the war, rather late in the technique's historical trajectory. He did so partly because the process of migration had interrupted his career, leading Scheding to argue that "Serialism as interpreted by Seiber…thus does reveal traces of migration and acculturation and is itself part of a narrative of displacement."[114] And in 1951, he even made a visit to Darmstadt's Summer School.[115] He was not participating or teaching, but the visit is further evidence of his desire to be aware of and involved in new musical practices, methods, and philosophies. Indeed, in 1932, he was already experimenting with serialism, but turned to other styles out of necessity during his early eyars in Britain.

Ulysses (1947)

Of Seiber's English-language text settings, undoubtedly the best known is his 1947 cantata *Ulysses*, for tenor solo, chorus, and orchestra. The genesis and performance of Ulysses demonstrates Seiber's integration into British musical institutions. The five-movement work was premiered by Peter Pears, the Morley Choir, and the Kalmar Orchestra conducted by Walter Goehr on May 27, 1949.[116] It was published by Schott in

[114] Scheding, "Which displacement?," 125.
[115] Letter cited in Chadwick, "Mátyás Seiber's Collaboration in Adorno's Jazz Project, 1936," 286.
[116] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 117.

1948 and broadcast on the BBC's still new Third Programme in 1951.[117] In this analysis, I am interested in form, the degree to which Seiber engages with the text, and intertextual references to Schoenberg's *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke* op. 19, no. 6.

After years of censorship, the first British edition of Joyce's *Ulysses* was published by Bodley Head in 1936, arriving in London just after Seiber.[118] The story of Bloom, a Jewish man living in an overwhelmingly Christian, English-speaking country, has much affinity with Seiber's. Scheding, in his analysis of the cantata, locates the topos of exile in both the subject and music. Joyce was a migrant himself and this novel was written between Trieste, Zurich, and Paris. Bloom, was othered by his peers—a kind of internal exile. And the choice of dodecaphonic writing linked him to other migrant composers who returned to the method in the post-war period.[119] Scheding concludes: "By tackling exile head on, topically, formally, and conceptually, *Ulysses* sought to attempt a musical reconciliation designed to fill the void exile had created."[120]

The cantata is a setting of a passage from the penultimate chapter of Joyce's novel. Constructed as a series of 391 questions and answers, the chapter takes place after the two protagonists, Leopold Bloom and the younger Stephen Dedalus, have completed the Odyssean journey back to Bloom's home. The omniscient Socratic questioner asks: "What spectacle confronted them when they, first the host, then the guest, emerged

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[117] The program for this broadcast can be found in the BBC Genome database. Scheding notes that the piece was initially rejected by a BBC panel (in 1949) for being "too progressive." Scheding, *Journeys* Musical, 101. The recording came from the International Society for Contemporary Music Festival at Frankfurt-am-Main. The second half of the program was Dallapiccola's opera *Il Prigioniero*. "Contemporary Music: Saturday June 30th, 1951," *BBC Programme Index*, accessed December 1, 2023, https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/e8f8125fbac445d09b6b052661acac3d.

[118] See Carmelo Medina Casado, "Sifting Through Censorship: The British Home Office 'Ulysses' Files (1922–1936)," *James Joyce Quarterly* 37, nos. ¾ (2000): 499–500, 505.

[119] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 118–120.

[120] Scheding *Musical Journeys*, 120.

silently, doubly dark, from obscurity by a passage from the rear of the house into the penumbra of the garden?" Bloom responds: "The heaventree of stars hung with humid nightblue fruit." The questions and answers continue in either direction, but even in these brief lines, the musical seduction of the text is evident: alliteration, pther kinds of inventive language use, and vivid images abound.

As in the *Jazzolettes*, Seiber mapped dodecaphonic methods onto unexpected styles: this time late-Medieval and Renaissance polyphony. Though it is not the focus of the present analysis, the harmonic nature of the piece is the foundation upon which subsequent discussion of form and text setting must sit. Tone rows shape melodic lines on top of tonal centers. Florian Scheding's analysis of Seiber's particular use of dodecaphonic methods reveals a rather strict and traditional deployment of tone rows. "All movements are based on dodecaphonic rows which are permutations of the came cell (E, G, G# and its alternation E, Ab, G) and follow the principle of symmetry."[121] The writing is not devoid of tonal triads, but their function is of secondary importance. Indeed, the rows themselves have an integral tonal element in the form of an interval of a third.[122] Scheding also traces a network of references one might expect from Seiber. The fourth movement is based on chords from Schoenberg's *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, op. 19, no. 6; he uses tonal centers in a similar fashion to Bartók (see Table 3.1); and the motives are reminiscent of *Webern's Concerto for Nine Instruments*.[123]

[121] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 122.
[122] Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 124.
[123] Scheding *Musical Journeys*, 122–126.

Table 3.1. Diagram of tonal centers in Seiber's *Ulysses*.

Movement	I	II	III	IV	V
Tonal Center	E	A	E	B	E
Key Relation	Tonic	Subdominant	Tonic	Dominant	Tonic

Like Joyce's novel, the cantata is a thoroughly modern text in a structure borrowed from the past. The designation "cantata" is even a glance backwards. This hyper-focus on form mirrors Joyce's structural impulse in two ways. First, Joyce borrowed a modified structure from Homer, setting his story in the micro-epic of a single day, and ferrying his protagonist toward home. Second, Joyce was inspired by music as form, content, and style. Perhaps the most famous formal example is Joyce's note on episode eleven ("Circe" that is labeled a *fuga per canonem*, fugue according to the rule). If the term is imprecise for musicians and scholars, it does point to the influence of fugal writing, especially counterpoint.

Seiber is setting not just Joyce's text and subject, but also his process. As Joyce took Bloom on an Odyssean journey, Seiber applies to the music some of the rigor of an isorhythmic motet.[124] Isorhythm is far from a governing principle in the cantata, but one might hear fragments of its control. Short lived ostinati and recurring motives form quasi-patterns, recognizable if not exactly like the color and talea of an isorhythmic structure.[125]

The tenor soloist and chorus occupy separate spaces in the cantata, speaking to, but rarely alongside, one another. The roles of the two parts (solo and chorus) are fluid. In

[124] Scheding makes reference to the piece's connection to an isorhythmic motet but provides no further details. He writes: "Given the centrality of the choir and the sophisticated choral writing, the work deliberately sets itself against this English tradition while, at the same time, making references to the contrapuntal writing of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly the isorhythmic motet." Scheding, *Musical Journeys*, 121.

[125] An illustrative example occurs in the second movement. A 9-bar rhythmic pattern at m. 18 is repeated at m. 27.

the first movement, the tenor poses a question and the chorus responds. But later, the tenor also chimes in during the answer. In this chapter of the novel, Joyce also plays with the identity of the speaker: readers are never sure who is asking or answering.

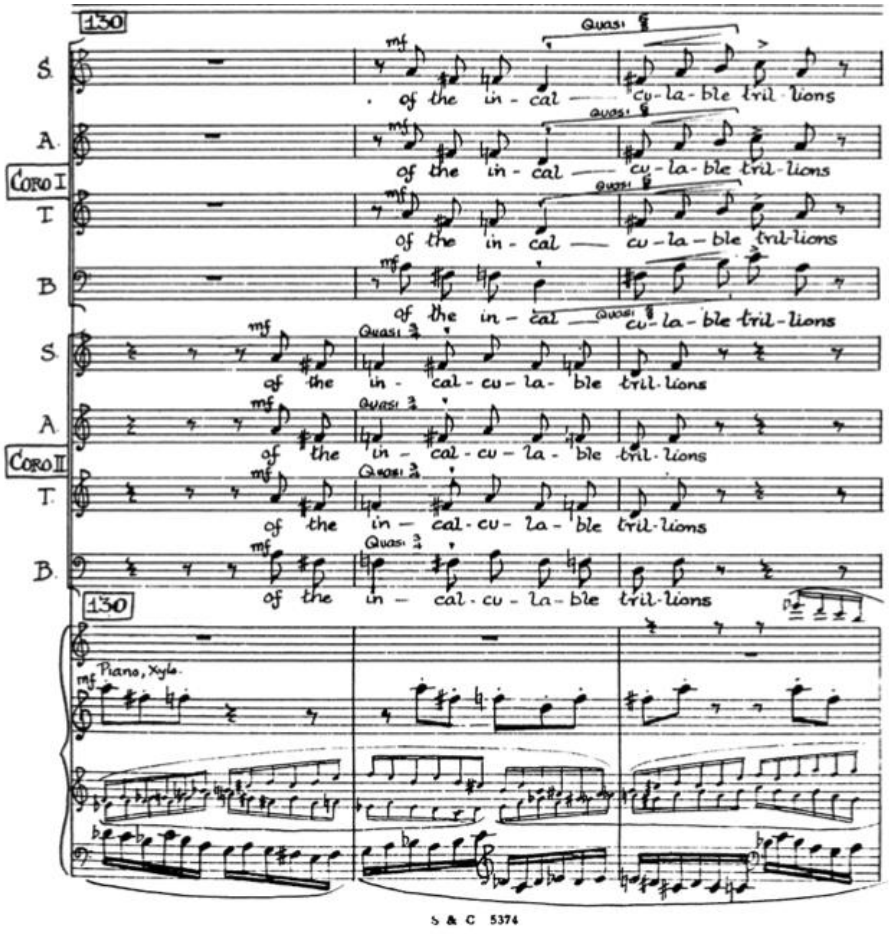
The chorus plays a central role in the piece. In the choral sections, the text setting gives more than a passing nod to the polyphonic writing of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The four-part chorus is characterized by shifting, motet-like textures: staggered entrances, paired voices, split chorus (à la cori spezzati, See Example 3.4), and contrapuntal writing. Stretto entrances recall the motet, but also the fugal references in Joyce's novel (see Example 3.5). Seiber's London-based choir, The Dorian Singers, which he founded in 1945, prepared him for sensitive and expert choral writing.

Thoughtfully deployed word painting—madrigalisms perhaps—populate the choral sections. An upward leap of an octave accompanies the word "hung" (I, mm. 65–66). On the word "vaster" (II, m. 38), pitch durations get longer, moving from recitative-like eighths to quarters. Such moments are not subtle: there is something physical about these illustrative gestures. Even a cursory glance at the score reveals the connections between text and music.

Though Seiber uses two chords from Schoenberg's op. 19, no. 6 (two trichords [025] and [027]) in the fourth movement of the piece, I argue that Schoenberg's motivic writing penetrates Seiber's entire work.[126] Like Schoenberg's short piece, Seiber's contains a cambiata motive. Seiber's cambiata motive, which he calls "a modern version of the Palestrinian 'cambiata,'" is placed prominently in the tenor solo at m. 16 (See

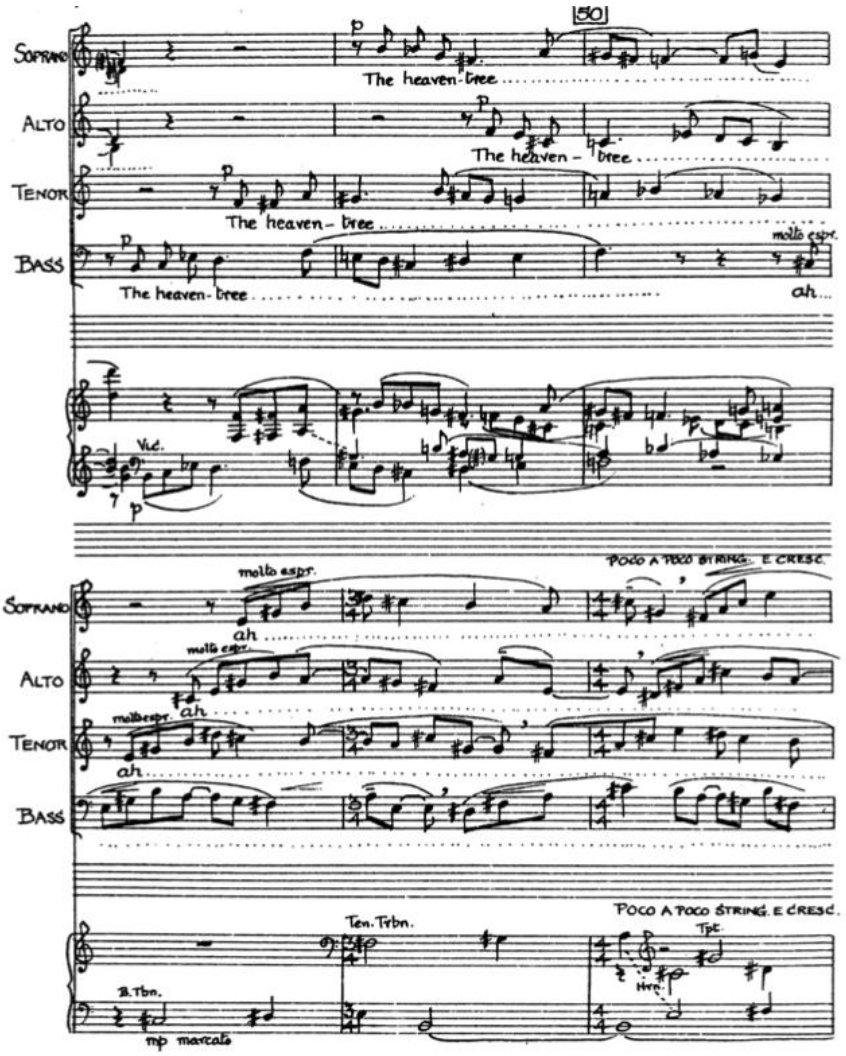
[126] Eric McKee, "On the Death of Mahler: Schoenberg's Op. 19, No. 6," *Theory and Practice* 30 (2005): 123.

Example 3.6).[127] When compared to Schoenberg's (See Example 3.7, m. 7), the similarity is evident. Schoenberg breaks his cambiata down further, working up to it from a minor second. The component parts of the cambiata motive, in m. 7 of op. 19, constitute the previous gestures: the tension of the half-step between F and F# in the opening bars and the appoggiatura (D-G#-F#) in mm. 5–6. Seiber is similarly interested in motivic cells, writing about Ulysses that the "interplay" between the major and minor third "penetrates the whole fabric of the music."[128]

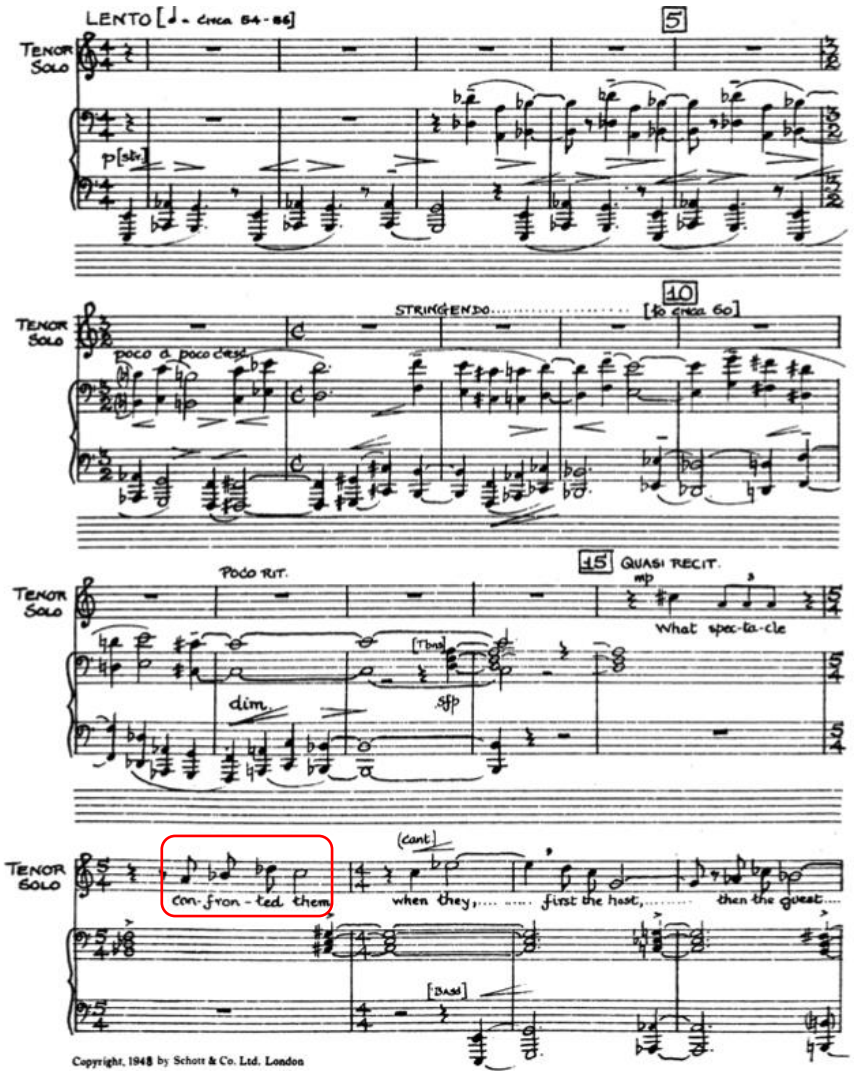


Example 3.4. Seiber, *Ulysses,* III, mm. 130–132.

[127] Mátyás Seiber, "A Note on Ulysses," *Music Survey* 3, no. 4 (1951): 265.
[128] Mátyás Seiber, "A Note on Ulysses," 264.



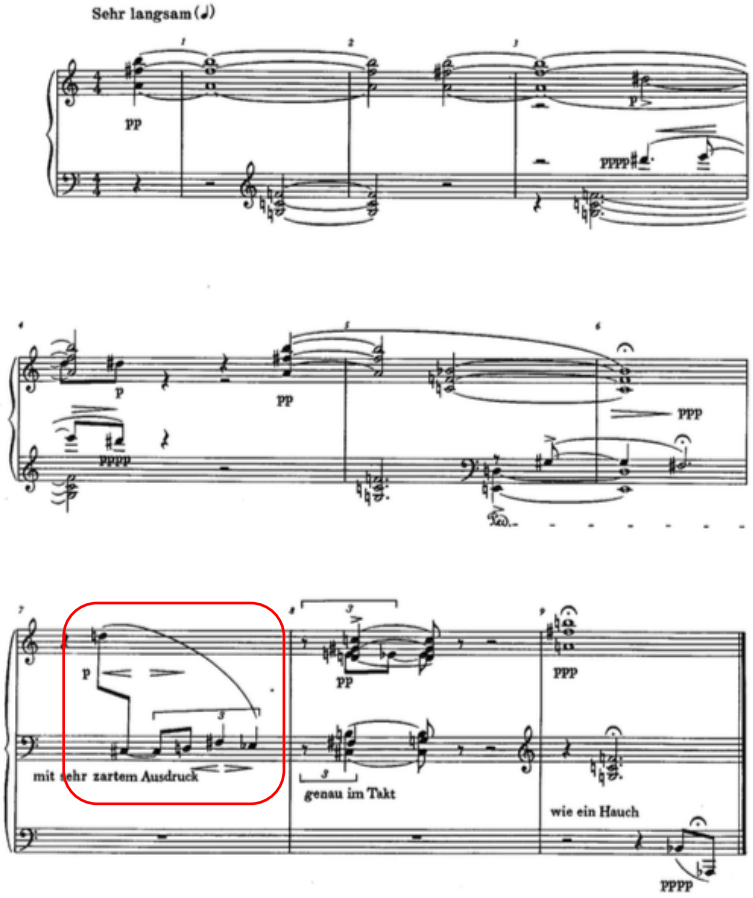
Example 3.5. Seiber, *Ulysses,* I, mm. 48–53.



Example 3.6. Seiber, *Ulysses, I, mm. 1–19.*

Schoenberg's piece is heard by scholars as a kind of homage to Mahler, another Jewish man who immigrated. By selecting these chords (the trichords mentioned above), Seiber connects himself via Schoenberg to Mahler, who lived the last years of his life largely in New York City. Mahler died in May of 1911 and Schoenberg attended the burial in Grinzing Cemetery in Vienna. Shortly after, having written the first five pieces of op. 19 in close succession, Schoenberg wrote the sixth as a kind of tombeau for

Mahler.[129] It was composed in the shadow of Mahler's death and Schoenberg's grief. Seiber's opening is likewise a kind of tombeau, or lament. Indeed, the opening chords of op. 19, no. 6, long and open, are like church bells, even a kind of "death knell."[130]



Example 3.7. Schoenberg, *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, op. 19, no.6.

Seiber takes up the classicizing projects of both Joyce and Schoenberg, their names now nearly synonymous with modernism. From the 1920s, Schoenberg was

[129] This is not given as a written dedication but is well accepted amongst Schoenberg scholars.

[130] Aligning their analysis with other scholars (e.g. David Lewin and Bryan Simms), Eric McKee argues that the functional and consistent use of bells to announce deaths, including Mahler's, make these chords recognizable as such. McKee, "On the Death of Mahler," 121–151.

perhaps the primary creative catalyst for Seiber's compositions.[131] In his work, Seiber moved through culture musically; he found his place in it this way too. His migratory journey brought him to multiple moments in which he encountered a world of new: new sounds, new texts, new ways of thinking and creating.

How does this kind of relationship with culture reshape the stereotypical image of Seiber vis-à-vis folk? In an astonishingly self-aware moment nearly a decade after *Ulysses*, Seiber crystalized this idea in a radio talk for *Südwestfunk* (Southwest German Radio) titled "Von Jazz bis zu Joyce" (1955).[132] He explains the talk's title:

> This is naturally a very nice word play, but in my case, it is also still very applicable. When I lived in Germany about 25 to 30 years ago, my name was mostly linked with jazz, through the Frankfurt "Jazz class" that I taught at the conservatory and which had aroused some interest among the public and the press. And when I returned to Germany for the first time in 1951, it was for the performance of my cantata "Ulysses" at the IGNM Festival, again in Frankfurt. The text of the cantata is, as you probably know, extracted from the novel of the same name by the Irish writer James Joyce. Well, actually I left Germany with jazz, came back with Joyce.[133]

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[131] Routh establishes this connection, writing that the "greatest scope of his musical intellect" came from Schoenberg and his 12-tone methods, particularly because they represented an international style. Routh, *Contemporary British Music*, 153. Seiber wrote about Schoenberg in *Music Survey* more than once, firt in an article about his cantata *Ulysses* and then one more generally about twelve-tone methods. Mátyás Seiber, "A Note on 'Ulysses,'" *Music Survey* 3, no. 4 (1951): 263–270. Mátyás Seiber, "Composing with Twelve Notes," *Music Survey* 4, no. 3 (1952): 472–489. Contemporary writing about Seiber also names Schoenberg as a foundational influence. E.g. Gottfried Schweizer, "Zwischen Bartók und Schönberg": Das Bild Matyas Seibers," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 116, no. 5 (1955): 269–272.

[132] BL, Add MS 62878: 1926–1963, ff. 55–57.

[133] [Das ist natürlich ein sehr hübschesn Wortspiel, aber in meinem Fall ist es ausserdem noch sehr zutreffend. Denn als ich, vor etwa 25 bis 30 Jahren, in Deutschland lebte, war mein Namen hauptsächlich mit Jazz verbunden, durch die Frankfurter "Jazz-Klasse" am Konservatorium die ich leitete und bei dem Publikum und Presse einiges Interesse erweckt hatte. Und als ich 1951 zum ersten Mal wieder nach Deutschland kam, war es um der Aufführung meiner Kantate "Ulysses" bei dem IGNM Fest, wiederum in Frankfurt, beizuwohnen. Der Text dieser Kantate ist, wie Sie vielleicht wissen, dem gleichnamigen Roman des Irischen Dichters James Joyce entnommen. Also, tatsächlich have ich Deutschland mit Jazz verlassen, mit Joyce bin ich zurückgekehrt."] BL, Add MS 62878: 1926–1963, f. 55.

This path, from jazz, through folk, to Joyce, is circular, as it were. That is, the relationship between dodecaphony and jazz is of a kind with the relationship between dodecaphony and early music, or folk music and art song.

Conclusion

Weeks after Germany's surrender, and with the formal end of World War II in sight, Seiber set out his hopes for the future of English music life. The article, published in *Tempo*, gives the perspective of three musical émigrés, outsiders of a sort in Britain: Seiber, Roberto Gerhard (1896–1970), and Egon Wellesz (1885–1974). His hopes are worth quoting at length here.

> Yet I think we must be wary not to make the mistake of believing that *everything* is happening *here*. Yes, plenty of things are happening here, but should we not presume that things are also happening elsewhere, at the moment hidden from our eyes through the artificial smoke-screen of war. It is rather easy to adopt a complacent attitude and to declare: '*We* have the best orchestras; *we* have the best soloists; *we* have the best composers; *we* have the best conductors,' etc., without really making sure by comparison that this is so. Just recently we had the opportunity to see how the re-opening of communications with one country alone suddenly revealed to us how much new talent had grown there during the years we had had no contact with each other. When the frontiers are open again and contact re-established, I think we may have quite a number of surprises, discovering new names and new talents of whom at present we know nothing. I hope, therefore, that the danger of isolationism, always inherent in an island community, will be avoided. Such an attitude, which is understandable in war-time, would be a fatal mistake in a post-war world, the greatest hope of which is international collaboration. Music is often said to be an 'international language;' let us hope that when the world is at peace again, music will play its part in helping to promote understanding between nations.[134]

[134] Roberto Gerhard, Egon Wellesz, and Matyas Seiber. "English Musical Life: A Symposium. *Tempo*, no. 11 (June 1945): 6.

By 1945, Seiber felt himself a part of English musical life, gesturing toward his integration with the pronoun "we." It is perhaps a hope for himself as well. The very isolationism that hindered his acceptance and career in the previous decade is antithetical to his imagined international future. And indeed, the end of the war signified a marked shift in his career. With a better-established reputation as a composer and teacher, Seiber devoted less time to light music and more to "serious" works. In other words, he could create more freely (e.g., his late turn to serialism mentioned above) now that his situation, financial and musical, was more certain.

Seiber's contemporary reception and substantial work at the BBC present him as a composer interested in folk music for its own sake. But the reality of his engagement with it asks us to rehear his work, the political element, the efforts to expand the rhythmic and harmonic vocabulary with which he wrote, and the place of all kinds of music in Seiber's identity as an international composer living and working in the context of post-empire Britain.

At play in this migratory moment of Seiber's career are a variety of actors: musicians, composers, institutions, governments. Yet, as Benjamin Piekut and Michael Gallope have argued, non-human actors—government policies, ideological conditions, biases, and pressures—also help to explain why and how Seiber came to be so closely associated with folk music.

This more complex reality also asks us to reconsider how émigré composers interacted with the nation. Seiber's cosmopolitanism is of the kind that Cohen describes as "grounded in experiences of extreme limitation."[135] This cosmopolitanism, she writes,

[135] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, 23.

"refers to the tangle of identifications that develop nearby and afar in compensation for national disenfranchisement or trauma."[136] In other words, it is an international outlook that is born of non-belonging. His various attachments might be best described as what Kwame Appiah calls "rooted cosmopolitanism," the idea that cosmopolitan need not be devoid of attachment or rootedness, and that it is common for them to co-exist.[137] As Seiber built a career in Great Britain, his attachment to his native country, political convictions, artistic outlook, and musical curiosities became part of how he related to his new country.

This chapter began with two questions: Why was Seiber typecast as a folk music expert in his early years in Britain? And what was the actual nature of his engagement with folk music? There is perhaps no simple, single answer. But in this exploration of the varied, ambiguous, sometimes contradictory and messy entanglements of Seiber's musical and political attachments, a career and oeuvre profoundly shaped by migration emerge. Seiber, like many other émigrés, expands the notion of what it means to be a British composer in the post-war era. In this migratory moment, Seiber looked back to home, but even more, he looked around at the world.

[136] Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*, 23.
[137] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006).

Chapter 4: Ritual and Theater in the Music of Erika Fox

Composer Erika Fox, who was born in Vienna in 1936 and fled as a child in 1939, was raised in a Hassidic Jewish family and community in London, and the sounds of that world have influenced her musical imagination. Indeed, when she recalls her own past, it is an aural, rather than physical or national place to which she refers. In past and ongoing commentary, as well as in Fox's own words about her music, the ritual of Jewish musical traditions is a recurring theme. But, as I will argue in this chapter, the central role of ritual in her music is also related to a preoccupation with the theatrical that is characteristic of both her own style and dominant trends in British music in the 1960s and 1970s. In her music, players sing, speak, and move spatially. And her varied inspirations—from poetry to ritual and theater to Jewish music—contain the seeds of the dramatic shape of her work.

In this chapter, I first sketch the twin contexts of Fox's relationship to Jewish liturgical music, chant traditions, and ritual and the musical theatrical context of the 1960s and 1970s in Britain. Her engagement with both is rich and, as I will argue, the two often overlap. In the last section of the chapter, I move to case studies of two of her chamber ensemble works, *Paths Where Mourners Tread* (1980) and *Café. Warsaw 1944* (2005), reading them with these two musical contexts in mind. Both inspired by poetry, I also read these pieces in relation to those texts. Finally, I also contribute a more thorough

biography than is available based on the compilation of sources and my own interview with the composer.[1]

Biography

As this chapter explores biography as part of its methodology, and seeks to make biographical interventions, a thorough understanding of Fox's life history is important. I offer a more extensive biography than we have had previously because Fox's career has recently taken off, leading to interviews and articles that tell us more about her life and music. Fox was born in Vienna in 1936. Her mother came from a rabbinical family. Her grandfather, Shalom Hager, a rabbi from Stroznic, Romania had established a *shtiebel* in the city. The *shtiebel*, meaning little room or house, is a place of communal prayer, less formal than a synagogue, and often found in private homes.[2] Her father, also from a rabbinical family, came to Vienna from a Hungarian-speaking region of present-day Poland.[3] Hungarian was his mother tongue, but he also spoke German, Hebrew, some Polish, and Yiddish, which was the language in the home when Fox was a child.[4] The porous and shifting boundaries of the Habsburg Empire made such movement between countries and languages common.

In 1939, Fox and her mother flew to London as refugees.[5] At not quite three years old, her only memory of the trip is of becoming ill on the plane.[6] These early years were

[1] Erika Fox, interview by author, London, June 16, 2022.
[2] Shaul Stamper, "How and Why Did Hasidism Spread?," *Jewish History*, no. 27 (2013): 206.
[3] Erika Fox and Norbert Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn," YouTube Video, 1:29:26. January 13, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2tnM5r_-jA&t=942s.
[4] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation."
[5] The exact date of arrival is unclear. Fox has said that she was not yet three, so it was sometime before October.
[6] Erika Fox, interview by author, London, June 16, 2022.

spent almost fully in communities of other émigrés. Upon arrival, they lived with family. An uncle who had already arrived had arranged a place for them to live, in a home for Jewish refugees in London's East End. Other aunts, uncles, and her maternal grandparents also went to London. Her grandmother, the last to arrive, came in 1945, having survived the war in Romania.[7] The family later moved to a home in the Swiss Cottage area of northwest London where they established another *shtiebel*, which was named Beit Shalom, meaning House of Peace, but also bearing the name of her grandfather, its rabbi.[8] She describes the home and community she grew up in as a "totally enclosed space," where she had little outside influence until secondary school.[9] Her father had left Vienna before them, in 1938, and gone to Palestine by ship where he joined the British military when war broke out. The family was not reunited until Fox was around twelve years old.[10] Before he left, Fox's father, who spoke better German than the rest of the family, had arranged for false papers for some family and friends.[11]

Fox's childhood was full of music. Her early life was steeped in the rich musical traditions of Eastern Europe, including Hassidic music and liturgical chants. Her earliest musical exposure was at home, where the sounds of a Hassidic synagogue marked the days and weeks. Though spaces of singing and prayer were often reserved for men, Fox,

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[7] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation."

[8] Jessica Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first," *The Jewish Chronicle* (June 27, 2019), accessed August 18, 2024, https://www.thejc.com/life-and-culture/music/at-82-composer-achieves-a-first-pnoebp99. Tom Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage," *Music Matters*, BBC Radio 3, June 29, 2019.\, https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m0006ffr. Sometimes she refers to it as a synagogue, but when she spoke to Duchen for the Jewish Chronicle, she uses the term shtiebel, probably because a Jewish audience would be more familiar with the term. On the BBC, however, synagogue is a term that audiences would recognize.

[9] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."

[10] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."

[11] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."

who was close with her grandfather, recalls being allowed to stand next to him as a small child.[12] Therefore, she had unusual access to the music of prayer, more extensive than most women. Her earliest experiences of music and even her earliest understanding of melodic lines comes from hearing the men sing and chant. Fox's own creative activities began early. When the women and children were evacuated to Leeds, five-year-old Fox snuck into a sitting room to "play" the piano, making up melodies that she says must have been reminiscent of the music she heard at home.[13]

Back in London, her mother, recognizing some interest and talent in the piano, took her to the Royal College of Music (RCM), where she auditioned for music lessons.[14] The pianist and harpsichordist Millicent Silver took her on free of charge, and even helped her get into a good secondary school, South Hampstead High School.[15] Even in these early lessons, Fox recalls that she was often inclined to improvise during lessons and that these improvisations were related to the music she heard at home. Silver once remarked at a social gathering that Fox was always playing "Polish music."[16] Aside from lessons, Silver also exposed Fox to a lot of music, taking her to concerts at the National Gallery, organized by Myra Hess.[17] The concerts, which began on October 10, 1939, ended on April 10, 1946, well after the end of the war.[18] So Fox's studies with Silver began sometime before that date.

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[12] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."

[13] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation."

[14] The date of her first lesson is unclear, but most likely between 1946 and 1948.

[15] Fox shares that Silver provided free lessons because she was eager to be able to do something for Jewish refugees. Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation."

[16] Erika Fox and Kate Romano. "Erika Fox in Conversation with Kate Romano," YouTube Video, 5:28. June 26, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c9SgZjJqtww.

[17] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."

[18] For information about the first concert, see: "How the Concerts Started," The National Gallery, accessed October 2, 2024, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/history/the-myra-hess-

At the National Gallery, she would have heard predominantly standard eighteenth and nineteenth century repertoire, as well as some contemporary and avant-garde music.[19] Chamber music of Bach, Beethoven and Mozart, the most-popular offerings, were interspersed, though sparsely, with contemporary music in concerts that ran five days a week, often with Hess herself performing at the piano.[20] Hess's importance as a cultural figure, especially the war years, cannot be underestimated. In critic John Amis's words: "As a public figure, she was indeed almost an institution."[21] And so too were the concerts she organized. For Fox, whose musical world had been entirely insular until that point, concerts like this were an education in themselves. In a childhood steeped in Hasidic Jewish music and culture, the drama of theater also caught her attention. One of Fox's earliest memories of staged music are the nineteenth-century operas her father took her to when she was ten or twelve years old— she remembers *Aida*, *La Traviata*, and *Rigoletto*.[22]

The secondary school that Fox attended, South Hampstead High School, a girl's day school, was close to the family's home in Swiss Cottage. And its head teacher was a woman named Muriel Potter, who headed the school from 1927 to 1953.[23] Fox's

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concerts/how-the-concerts-started?viewPage=2. For information about the end of the concert series, see: "The End of the Concerts," *The National Gallery*, accessed October 2, 2024, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/history/the-myra-hess-concerts/the-end-of-the-concerts?viewPage=3.

[19] "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," *The National Gallery*, accessed September 16, 2024, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/history/the-myra-hess-concerts/myra-hess-s-wartime-concerts.

[20] "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," *The National Gallery.* And John Amis, "Dame Myra Hess Remembered," *The Musical Times* 131, no. 1764 (1990): 85.

[21] Amis, "Dame Myra Hess Remembered," 85.

[22] Erika Fox, interview by author, London, June 16, 2022.

[23] Fox says that the headmistress of her school was Muriel Potter. Sources that Potter was at South Hampstead from 1927–1953. Fox would have been there in the late 40s and early 50s. "History," *South Hampstead High School*, accessed September 27, 2024, https://www.shhs.gdst.net/about-us/history/. "A Resplendent Response," *South Hampstead High School*, accessed September 27, 2024, https://www.shhs.gdst.net/news/a-resplendent-response/. "Record," *archives.ucl.ac.uk*, accessed September

recollection of her school days reveals how she related to the other children, as well as how she perceived her own difference.[24] Fox says:

> Children always want to be like everybody else, don't they? They want to fit in. And as a child at school for instance—well I hardly had any schooling until I went to secondary school, but anyway—I always felt terribly out of it. I mean I was dying to be part of everything around me. But I was not. I was definitely a foreigner. I looked different. I dressed differently. I spoke differently. And in fact, until I actually went to proper school, Yiddish was our language.[25]

Though Fox had been in Britain since she was a small child, the conspicuous difference of her cultural, religious, and ethnic background made her keenly aware of her status as an immigrant, even outsider in her British school.

Her music studies progressed, and she entered the Royal College of Music (RCM) for formal college studies in 1954 at age eighteen.[26] Her focus shifted to composition and there she studied with composer Bernard Stevens (1916–1983). Stevens is perhaps best known for his communist affiliation. He was part of the Workers' Musical Association, wrote about Soviet Music, and was a member of the Communist party until the Hungarian Uprising.[27] His music is characterized generally by memorable themes and well-crafted counterpoint. It was always tonal, but he did explore twelve-tone methods (such as in his 1962 String Quartet No. 2). And later in his career, he was inspired by

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27, 2024, https://archives.ucl.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=GDS%2F15%2F3%2F63.

[24] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."

[25] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."

[26] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[27] He also studied with several prominent British figures: Edward Dent, Arthur Benjamin, Constant Lambert, and Gordon Jacob. His first success came in 1945 when he won a competition put on by the Daily Express. His winning work, *A Symphony of Liberation*, marked the beginning of his career. For biographical information about Stevens: "Under a Shadow: Bernard Stevens (1916–1983)." *BBC Radio 3*. "Obituary: Bernard Stevens," *The Musical Times* 124, no. 1681 (1983): 186. Ronald Stevenson, "Bernard Stevens," *The Musical Times* 109, no. 1504 (1968): 525–527. Calum MacDonald, "Lost Generation," *The Listener* 117, no. 3008 (1987): 32.

Eastern Mysticism and the chance operations of I Ching (such as in his 1980 *Autumn Sequence* for harpsichord and guitar).[28] Though I know little of these early lessons, it is significant that this was her first formal education in composition, and that they were with a composer who had some openness to avant-garde techniques. At the same time, she continued piano studies with Angus Morrison.[29] Morrison had been a pianist for Ballet Rambert between 1931 and 1941 and served as its music director for the 1940–41 season.[30]

The story of Fox's early musical experiences and education reveals a tension between the story presented in available sources, which focus on the insular world of Fox's childhood in a Hassidic, Yiddish-speaking family, and her early and extensive opportunities for music lessons, concerts, operas, secondary school, and an education at a major conservatory. These experiences reveal a liberalization and openness in her family that is not discussed. A kind of stereotyping occurs: the defining element of Fox's difference, her Otherness, is taken to be the only, or at least the most significant, influence on her work.

Upon finishing her studies at the RCM, Fox worked for around three years as a music teacher and as an accompanist for ballet.[31] This early experience with ballet—a world of movement and music married—foreshadows her lifelong preoccupation with music and its relationship to physical space.

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[28] MacDonald, "Lost Generation," 32.

[29] Nicola Losseff, "Fox, Erika," in *Contemporary Composers*, edited by Brian Morton and Pamela Collins, Chicago: St. James Press (1992): 304–305. Sophie Fuller, "Fox, Erika," *Grove Music Online*, accessed October 15, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.45633.

[30] "Biography: Director of Ballet Rambert 1940–41; pianist," *rambert.org.uk*, accessed October 2, 2024, https://rambert.org.uk/about-rambert/rambert-archive/performance-database/people/angus-morrison/.

[31] Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 305.

Though her family had supported her studies as a young person, she quickly faced traditional expectations of family life and motherhood in orthodox Jewish communities. She says that "It was not seen that it was an important part of my life. It was not even remotely understood. I was meant to get married and have children and make cakes."[32] After refusing an arranged marriage, Fox married a chemist on September 3, 1961, and had two children, a son and a daughter, soon after.[33]

As an adult, after some years of teaching, freelance work, and starting a family, Fox had a sort of crisis. When, in the late 1960s she ran into Michael Graubart (composer, and former classmate at the RCM) at a concert at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the desire to compose again became imperative. He asked what she was working on, and she cried and realized how unhappy she was without this work. At his recommendation, she began lessons with Jeremy Dale Roberts at Morley College in London in 1967.[34] Morley College, previously under the direction of Michael Tippett (1940–1951), had a reputation as a left-leaning institution that attracted and welcomed avant-garde and émigré musicians and composers.[35]

She calls Roberts "the most important teacher I had in my life."[36] When she began lessons with him, Roberts did not want to see Fox's college work and asked her to instead begin something new.[37] The result, her first "serious" piece from these early years, is her

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[32] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first." Nicola Losseff, "Erika Fox," *Contemporary Music Review* 11 (1994): 109.

[33] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first." Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 304.

[34] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn." Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first." Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 305.

[35] For more information about Morley College, refer to Chapter 3.

[36] Erika Fox and Kirill Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere," YouTube Video, 1:40:18, October 14, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zwwdpLYlnlc.

[37] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation."

Eight Songs from Cavafy (1968), a cycle of settings of the Greek poet C.P. Cavafy (1863–1933). The piece—for mezzo-soprano, flute, oboe, bassoon, violin, and piano—was premiered by soprano Jane Manning and the Nash Ensemble at the Purcell Room in London in 1968.[38] Roberts attended the premier and found the piece to be "inspired," a compliment that Fox, in an interview, mentions and immediately deflects by a comment about how great the poetry that literally inspired the piece is.[39] Roberts, Fox says, was the "sort of person who instinctively realized wat one was trying to say and…helps one to say it."[40] This pedagogical approach, which embraced Fox's compositional voice for its particularity, was a catalyst for some of her most creatively productive years beginning in the 1970s.

She attended Roberts' class for about a year, and alongside a few more private lessons with him, she began to seek other educational opportunities.[41] In 1970 and 1971, she attended the Dartington Summer School, where she took classes with Harrison Birtwistle and Peter Maxwell Davies.[42] Her *Directions*, for clarinet and mime, premiered at Dartington in 1970.[43] This is an unsurprising combination of performers because she had been working with Davies, who had a sustained interest in combining musicians and mime performers in his work. His *Blind Man's Bluff* (1972), *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame*

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[38] "List of Works," *Erikafox.co.uk*, accessed August 13, 2024, http://www.erikafox.co.uk/list-of-music/. And "Erika Fox," *Tetractys Publishing*, accessed August 18, 2024, https://www.tetractys.co.uk/section726143_359386.html.

[39] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[40] Fox and Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere."

[41] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[42] Hall lists her dates of attendance as 1970 and 1971, but Losseff says she attended in 1968. As her *Directions* premiered at Dartington in 1970, this is the more likely date of her attendance. Michael Hall, *Music Theatre in Britain: 1960–1975*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015) 28. Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 304–305. Losseff, "Erika Fox," 109.

[43] Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 304.

(1979), and *The No. 11 Bus* (1984) all included a mime as a central performer. Birtwistle's influence and an affinity between their two musical imaginations is both visible and audible in Fox's oeuvre, a connection explored later in this chapter. Though she had only a few lessons with him, she says that "I knew we had something in common the very first time I heard a work of his."[44] For both, theater and theatricality are front and center. But their music also shares some rhythmic and notational characteristics, which will be explored further later in this chapter. Fox wrote the Cavafy songs and found her mentors after she was thirty years old, and Nicola Losseff argues that age made it difficult for Fox to establish herself, as "most of the paths traditionally open to composers who wish to establish themselves were then closed to her."[45] That is, she did not have access to fellowships and competitions that might have supported or promoted her work.

Throughout the 1970s, Fox nevertheless became a prominent figure in modern music circles, establishing relationships with or collaborating with esteemed groups like Davies's Fires of London and the Nash Ensemble.[46] Though she had a family to care for, and later an ill mother and husband, she managed to carve away the time and space to create.[47] Occasionally, she would spend a few days in a room booked through the Rural Music Schools Association, where she could work without distraction. Fox recalls writing

[44] Fox and Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere."
[45] Losseff, "Erika Fox," 109.
[46] Some biographies claim that Fox worked with the Fires of London. However, she knew the people involved and discussed a collaboration, but they never performed her music. Erika Fox, interview by author, London, June 16, 2022.
[47] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."

an orchestral piece there in only three days.[48] She remarks "Lack of time focuses your mind on what you can't live without."[49]

In addition to her compositional achievements, Fox has been a dedicated educator, teaching at the Centre for Young Musicians in Pimlico and the Guildhall School of Music and Drama. She has delivered numerous guest lectures and taught internationally as a visiting composer and teacher at the University of Auckland in New Zealand in 1998.[50] And she spent one term coaching the orchestra of the Yehudi Menuhin School, who performed her *Litany for Strings* (1981) in concert and broadcast on the radio.[51]

Fox's career never quite took off in the way that she desired. She blames in part her lack of networking skills, and a belief that hard work and talent would speak for themselves.[52] However, due to her life circumstances, as her career was beginning, she lacked the kind of networks that Rainier and Seiber had. Nonetheless, Fox did achieve some institutional success. In 1983, her quartet *Kaleidoscope*, for flute, harp, vibraphone, and cello, won the Finzi Award, and was performed at Wigmore Hall and the Purcell Room in London.[53] Another piece from the same year, *Shir*, was broadcast on Channel 4, a mainstream success for a little-known composer.[54] Her chamber opera *The Dancer Hotoke*, commissioned by the Garden Venture scheme of the Royal Opera House, was

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[48] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."
[49] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."
[50] Fuller, "Fox, Erika," *Grove Music Online*.
[51] Fox conducted the performance at the Menuhin School. "Erika Fox," *Tetractys Publishing*. "List of Works," *Erikafox.co.uk*.
[52] Andrew Dickson, "Why the Works of Composer Erika Fox, 83, Are Finally Winning Acclaim," *Financial Times*, April 17, 2020, sec. Music, https://www.ft.com/content/e467ac30-6dc8-11ea-89df-41bea055720b.
[53] Losseff, "Erika Fox," 304. Fuller, "Fox, Erika," *Grove Music Online*. Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer." "Erika Fox," *Royal College of Music*, accessed August 18, 2024, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/oralhistorycategory1/erikafox/.
[54] Erika Fox and Kate Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*, Goldfield Ensemble, NMC, 2018, compact disc.

nominated for an Olivier Award (British theater awards).[55] Another stage work, *The Bet* (1990), a puppet opera, was performed nearly one hundred times on a tour of UK schools following its premier at the Purcell Room.[56] It was not a children's piece per se, but worked for and was popular with young audiences.[57] As mentioned above, she worked for a series of respected educational institutions. She also had commissions from the Nash Ensemble, the Leamington Festival, the Yehudi Menuhin School, the Gemini and Capricorn Ensembles, as well as individual performers Julian Jacobson (piano) and Kym Amps (soprano).[58] And her music has been performed at festivals such as the Almeida and Cheltenham and locations such as London's Barbican Centre and Southbank Centre.[59]

Fox also had three pieces performed at gatherings of the Society for the Promotion of New Music (SPNM). The organization, founded in 1945 by Seiber and Francis Chagrin, fellow émigrés from Hungary and Romania respectively, hosted weekends during which composers could have a work performed and critiqued by an audience of peers.[60] *In Memoriam Martin Luther King* was performed at a 1969 meeting of the SPNM by cellist Jennifer Ward Clarke and oboist Edwin Roxburgh.[61] In 1971, *Improvisations on 6 Notes*, for soprano, flute, and guitar, received its first performance at

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[55] "Erika Fox," *Tetractys Publishing*. Erika Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer," *Erikafox.co.uk*, accessed August 13, 2024, http://www.erikafox.co.uk. Fuller, "Fox, Erika," *Grove Music Online*.

[56] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.

[57] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[58] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn." Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first." Erika Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer," *Erikafox.co.uk*. And Losseff, "Erika Fox."

[59] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."

[60] Beth Snyder, "Mátyás Seiber: Traveller Between Worlds," *Royal College of Music*, accessed October 23, 2024, https://www.rcm.ac.uk/singingasong/stories/matyasseiber-travellerbetweenworlds/. Benjamin Wolf, "The SPNM 1943–1975: A Retrospective, *The Musical Times* 154, no. 1925 (2013): 47–48.

[61] Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer."

an SPNM weekend.[62] And *Round for 14 Solo Strings* was performed at an SPNM open rehearsal in 1972 by the Park Lane Players.[63] At these events, multiple rehearsals allowed participating composers to hear their work, make changes, and hear them again.[64]

In 1990, Fox participated in John Cage's tour of France for his *Europeras* 3 and 4.[65] On trips to Paris and Strasbourg, she helped to operate the gramophones that were at the center of the performances.[66] It is noteworthy that she was chosen to accompany Cage on this tour. Her agent at the time, Elinor Kelly, had arranged for Fox to accompany Cage.[67] Her puppet opera *The Bet*, had just been performed on a tour of schools in Britain, and had gained her some recognition, both generally and specifically as a composer of operatic works.[68] The inherently theatrical nature of the *Europeras* was an aesthetic match for Fox's own work.[69] To accompany someone like Cage on a tour of such works was a kind of legitimization for a composer writing staged works in the late twentieth century.

Fox's output is dominated by chamber music, ranging from solos and duets to chamber ensembles and orchestral works (see Appendix A). Like many composers in the

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[62] The piece was performed by Jane Manning, Judith Pearce, and Gilbert Biberian. Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer."

[63] Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer."

[64] Nicola Lefanu, "SPNM Composers' Weekend," *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1567 (1973): 895.

[65] Erika Fox, interview by author, London, June 16, 2022. Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn." In the interview with Meyn, she says that she participated in *Europeras 1 and 2*, but since it was in 1990, followed performances of *The Bet*, and she operated gramophones, it must have been *Europeras 3 and 4*.

[66] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[67] Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 304. Erika Fox, interview by author, London, June 16, 2022.

[68] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[69] Cage envisioned a kind of "antiopera." It was, in his words, a collage of sorts, of a pulverized study of European opera," in which "instead of having one opera, you'd have them all in one evening." This disconnect with Western tradition calls to mind Fox's own relationship with Western classical music. As quoted in Kenneth Silverman, *Begin Again: A Biography of John Cage* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 251–252.

twentieth century, Fox seems particularly drawn to bespoke chamber ensembles, combining instruments in non-traditional ways to achieve the sound and effect she desires. This is perhaps also for practical reasons: fewer players make it easier to arrange performances. Larger orchestral works—of which she has written few—are generally the result of commissions, the most recent being her 2021 piano concerto *David Spielt vor Saul*, which was commissioned by BBC Radio 3.[70] She has also written a substantial amount of music for voice or including a singer. Of the fifty-six pieces listed on her website, thirteen of them have at least one voice.[71]

After a period of relative obscurity beginning in the 1990s, Fox's music gained renewed attention with the release of an album of her chamber music in 2019, marking the first time her works were recorded. A rush of opportunities followed. The BBC Symphony Orchestra revived and recorded her orchestral work *Osen Shomaat* (1985) in 2020.[72] And her piano concerto *David Spielt Vor Saul* (2021), commissioned by the BBC, was premiered by the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra in January 2022.[73] The pandemic interrupted a performance of her *Hungarian Rhapsody* (1989) by the Los Angeles Philharmonic in 2021, which was to be conducted by composer, and her former student, Thomas Adès.[74] She was also invited to the 2019 Tanglewood Festival of New Music for the American premier of the same piece, as well as talks and interviews

[70] This piece was premiered by the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra in Glasgow, under the direction of Julian Jacobson. "List of Works," *Erikafox.co.uk*.

[71] "List of Works," *Erikafox.co.uk*.

[72] Dickson, "Why the Works of Composer Erika Fox, 83, Are Finally Winning Acclaim."

[73] Erika Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer," *Erikafox.co.uk*.

[74] "(Canceled) Adès Conducts," LA Phil, accessed September 15, 2024, https://www.laphil.com/events/performances/1024/2021-04-06/canceled-ades-conducts.

associated with the visit.[75]

Fox has grappled with the perception, from both herself and others, of simultaneous difference and belonging, never completely shedding some level of outsider status. A comment she made in a radio interview encapsulates this duality.

> I have never been English. I'm British of course. I'm naturalized British. And I've always been extremely grateful to this country for saving my life. And I'm kind of loyal to this country in my heart, and queued up six hours when Churchill died to pass the coffin and so on, absolutely. But, I've never felt English. I've never felt part of society here in some way. Also because I haven't been treated as part of it. I've always been somehow made to feel foreign, even though I also feel foreign myself. I don't know which it is to be honest. It's a bit of both.[76]

The simultaneity of difference and belonging mark her music as well.

Fox and Jewish Music

When Fox speaks of home, it is an aural world, rather than a nation or place that she recalls. She describes her childhood in sonic terms: male voices, chanted lines, Eastern European melodies. In her music, traces and translations of this past, this "home," are heard. The melodic and thematic character of her music reflects her deep engagement with liturgical and traditional Jewish music.

The methodological approach in this section is drawn from the work of Lily Hirsch and Howard Pollack, and it consists of four questions meant to aid in a thorough

[75] "Erika Fox USA August Events," Composer's Edition, accessed September 15, 2024, https://whatsnew.composersedition.com/erika-fox-usa-august-events/. Erika Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer," *Erikafox.co.uk*. David Noel Edwards, "Preview: Tanglewood's adventurous 2019 Festival of Contemporary Music," The Berkshire Edge (August 7, 2019), accessed September 15, 2024, https://theberkshireedge.com/preview-tanglewoods-adventurous-2019-festival-of-contemporary-music/.

[76] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."

analysis of a composer's connection to Jewish music. These questions act as a guide for the analysis of Fox's musical style.

> 1: How is the subject related to Judaism and Jewish culture?
> 2: How do others regard the subject or his or her work as Jewish?
> 3: How does the subject regard his or her person or work as Jewish?
> 4: How does the investigation regard the subject or his or her work as Jewish?[77]

This series of inquiries balances the composer's personal feeling, outward perception by critics and listeners, and the results of an historical investigation and/or musical analysis. German-American composer Stefan Wolpe reiterates this methodological issue in the opening of a 1940 lecture titled "What is Jewish Music?," saying "The question of Jewish music conceals the questioner. Who asks and who needs the answer?"[78] I will structure this section by turning first to Fox's own words—in interviews and her own writing—before moving outward to music criticism, theoretical approaches, and my own investigation. I will use these questions of personal perception and external understanding to address the topic of Fox's migratory experience, focusing on her Hassidic background, one of many potential expressions of what scholars of the visual art call a "migratory aesthetic," which refers not to specific musical styles carrying markers of migration, but instead to the movement of aesthetic choices and the employment of them by migrants.[79]

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[77] Lily Hirsch, "Korngold and Jewish Identity in Concert," In *Korngold and His World*, edited by Daniel Goldmark and Kevin C. Karnes, 89–109 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). And Howard Pollack, "Jews, Music, and Biography," paper at the American Musicological Society, co-organized by Lily Hirsch and Amy Wlodarski, Rochester, NY, November 9, 2017, and published in *Musica Judaica* as "Jewish Subjects and the Biographical Enterprise," *Music Judaica* 22 (2018–2019): 89–92.

[78] As quoted in Tina Frühauf, "Introduction: Mapping Jewish Music Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies*, edited by Tina Frühauf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 4. The entire lecture is reprinted in Clarkson, Austin. "What is Jewish Music?" *Contemporary Music Review* 27, nos. 2–3 (2008): 183.

[79] See Sam Durrant and Catherine M. Lord, eds, *Essays in Migratory Aesthetics: Cultural Practices Between Migration and Art-Making* (Leiden: BRILL, 2007), and Florian Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019). Edward Said is also influential in the development of this idea. See also: Mieke Bal, "Heteronomy in the Act: The

The concept has also been applied to studies of music and migration by Florian Scheding.[80]

I first contend with the concept itself: What is Jewish music? How does Fox define and relate to it? In an interview with the BBC host Tom Service, Fox asks "Is there such a thing as Jewish music?" Even as she locates Jewish elements in her music, she admits that she has always hesitated to say yes, sharing that only late in life did she "discover" connections between her work and the sounds of her childhood. "I discovered really that those things that I had heard as a tiny child, and grown up with completely—for many years that was all there was—it was in there. And very strongly too. And that I only thought in lines, And I didn't think harmonically. I thought of everything as being sung and being a piece of vocal line."[81] In another interview, she says that "it became apparent to me that my music…was very different and had a different origin to Western classical music."[82]

Fox lays out four main elements of her music that are connected to Jewish liturgical music, and in opposition to Western classical and tonal music. It is monophonic, as if sung by an individual cantor. It is modal. The pitch range is narrow and characterized by a great deal of embellishment. And last, it does not have the same sense of development as Western classical music. Instead, the movement, always connected to action or ritual (opening/closing the Ark, carrying/returning the Torah), does not have any

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Migratory Politics of Time," 211–238, in *Art and visibility in Migratory Culture: Conflict, Resistance, and Agency*, edited by Mieke Bal and Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011). And Miguel Á Hernández-Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[80] Scheding, *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music*.

[81] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."

[82] Fox and Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere."

kind of climax or key changes that shape it.[83] In an interview she encapsulates what is at the core of hybridity (à la Homi K. Bhabha): melisma and ornamentation, which she feels is "part of the fabric" of her music is related to Jewish ritual, but also to Chopin, a composer she admires greatly.[84] Ornamentation in her music has roots in her past and precedent in Western classical music. In Fox's words:

> My music is preoccupied largely with melody. Jewish liturgical chant and the Chassidic folk music of Eastern Europe are the main sources of my inspiration. Varied repetition and ornamentation take the place of "development." Rhythmic ostinati play a significant part in my compositions. Freely combined melodic strands produce an effect related to heterophony, rather than "harmony," as traditionally understood. I am interested in ritual, theatre and the art of "performance" per se, and much of my music reflects these interests. Although my instrumental output exceeds the vocal, I imagine everything I write as coming, in a sense from the human voice.[85]

And in an interview with Kate Romano, the clarinetist who spearheaded and performed in the recording of Fox's album, Fox says:

> Since my music owes almost nothing to Western musical tradition, and almost everything to my childhood memories of Jewish Liturgical chant and fragments of Hasidic melody, there is no harmonic development as such, rather single melodic lines, often in heterophony, held together by dint of varied repetition, and moulded, sometimes by use of percussion, to provide a ritualistic and perhaps theatrical whole.[86]

Later in this chapter, these elements will be vital to readings of Fox's music, defining the melodic and structural character of her work.

Another element of Jewish music that is important in this discussion is the improvisatory quality, which lives alongside the paradoxical fixed nature of its role in

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[83] Erika Fox, "The Moon of Moses," *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 35, no. 2 (2002): 7. Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."
[84] Service, "Music, Roots, and Heritage."
[85] Losseff, "Fox, Erika," 304–305.
[86] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.

religious life.[87] Jewish music as part of sacred practice implies some level of fixity, that is, particular chants and songs accompany specific moments in the day or calendar.

Nigunim

One category of song appears to be of particular significance. In conversations about the relationship between her music and Jewish music and ritual, Fox refers specifically to *nigunim*, which are a kind of Jewish religious melody. She says: "The earliest music I recall and which suffused my entire life was East European Chasidic liturgical chanting and *nigunim* (songs, folk-like in character) accompanied often by clapping, dancing, and phonetic sounds rather than words."[88] Fox defines *nigunim* as songs that are "mostly sung without words, instead using phonetic sounds to emphasize the rhythm of the notes. These were sung, not as an integral part of the liturgy, but as an adjunct to prayer."[89] And she distinguishes the *nigunim* from non-Jewish melodies by their "inward quality." In these melodies the pitches, rather than developing outward, "collapse in on themselves," lending the music a "feeling of ever narrowing circles."[90] She finds something "mystical" in that circularity.[91] Fox's melodies contain this circular quality in that they have a narrow pitch range, returning regularly to certain pitches.

The *nigunim* music is vocal, often characterized by repetitive sounds rather than defined lyrics. Style can vary: some *nigunim* are prayers of lament, while others are

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[87] Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 168.
[88] Fox, "The Moon of Moses," 5.
[89] Fox, "The Moon of Moses," 9. For more information about nigunim as wordless melodies, see: Frühauf, "Introduction: Mapping Jewish Music Studies," 2 and Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, 57.
[90] Fox, "The Moon of Moses," 9.
[91] Fox, "The Moon of Moses," 9.

joyous. *Nigunim* contain repetive, narrow pitch ranges. They are less likely to have the arch-shaped melodies and clear climactic points of Western classical music. They also are sung to repetitive syllables, rather than discrete, defined words. The ends of phrases, which are short, often repeat the final pitch. Their rhythmic characters can vary. They're largely improvisational and central to worship in Hassidic Judaism. The process of creation is ongoing, with some *nigunim* having origins outside of the Hasidic faith, such as Eastern European folk music.[92] The melodies are "part of the ritual celebrating the Sabbath."[93] Some element of ritual is then central to the melodies that have influenced her. She seems to hear the melodies in a theatrical, or ritualistic, manner. Her metaphors are always about movement.

Critics and scholars cite ritual as a major theme in Fox's music. Nicola Losseff writes that "Ritual is an obsessive interest for Fox."[94] The bio provided on the website of Composer's Edition, who publish her music, says that "her interest in ritual and theatre is reflected in much of her music. Players are often called upon to step outside their conventional role, for example, to sing, speak, or move spatially and her musical language is a fusion of serial techniques, other non-tonal idioms, as well as melody sometimes based on East European folk traditions and Jewish liturgical chant."[95] The comments about ritual extend to the numerous reviews and profiles written in recent years, following the release of her 2019 album. "Echoes of Chasidic music and rituals

[92] Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, 57–59, 220.
[93] Fox, "The Moon of Moses," 9.
[94] Losseff, "Erika Fox," 116.
[95] "Erika Fox," *Composer's Edition*, accessed September 11, 2024, https://composersedition.com/erikafox/.

permeate her compositions to this day."[96] Some are more specific, assigning a ritual nature to specific musical details: one can find "elements of ritual such as the shamanistic role of the percussion in many of her works."[97] Fox herself also talks about ritual in relation to her music. The biography on her website states: "Elements of ritual are common in her works and the percussion is frequently given a shamanistic role."[98] And in interviews quoted later in this chapter, ritual is a term that appears often, both from other interviewers and Fox herself.

With all of this in mind, Fox's connection to Jewish music and ritual is both undeniable and indispensable to any study of her work. In readings of *Paths Where Mourners Tread* and *Café. Warsaw 1944* later in this chapter, this connection is tied to Fox's relationship with theater and the theatrical.

Theater and Theatricality

For Fox, all theater is a kind of ritual.[99] And the two categories mix in her descriptions of her music. She is quoted in the liner notes to her album: "I have always been interested in theatre and ritual, as a means of containing human drama within boundaries."[100] In another instance, she relates ritual to puppetry, as in her works *The Bet* and *The Dancer Hotoke*. "I love puppetry because…somehow the puppets are not oneself. It happens at one remove and I'm interested in that…because…it can be seen as

[96] Duchen, "At 82, composer achieves a first."
[97] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.
[98] Erika Fox, "Erika Fox: Composer," *Erikafox.co.uk*, accessed August 13, 2024, http://www.erikafox.co.uk.
[99] Fox and Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere."
[100] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.

a kind of ritual, as can all theater of course."[101] The boundary-setting of both ritual and theater offer frames for her work, shaping the drama that unfolds.

Theater is perhaps Fox's greatest creative passion. Fox writes that though she always knew her music was theatrical in a way, she not "recognise that this interest was triggered by Jewish ritual, nor was I aware of any specifically Jewish element in the music itself."[102] And in interviews she talks about ritual and the theater, stating that:

> If I had had [a] like proper career it would have been in opera. I think I've always, you know all my life, I've been a theater goer…I used to go to theaters much more than to concerts. I used to go a lot, and I used to as a child even I used to read plays…I loved reading plays and I loved drama and I like ritual. And I would have written opera as my main life. Really I never had a chance to do that.[103]

Others also note the inherent theatricality of her entire oeuvre. Kate Romano writes that "almost all of them [her pieces] are theatrical in some way."[104] The connection is argued for most significantly in Nicola Losseff's 1994 article about the music theater in Fox's music for *Contemporary Music*, the only scholarly contribution devoted just to Fox.[105] Here she explores the spatial and theatrical elements of Fox's music, arguing first and foremost for the importance and relevance of Fox's music, as well as the central role of movement and space in all of her work, theatrical and otherwise.[106]

As a preface to my readings of Fox's music, I first paint a picture of the musical-theatrical contexts in which Fox and her music are situated. The first is new music theater of the 1960s and 1970s, which integrated music and action in new and experimental

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[101] Fox and Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere."
[102] Fox, "Moon of Moses," 4.
[103] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."
[104] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.
[105] Losseff, "Erika Fox."
[106] Losseff, "Erika Fox."

ways.[107] This often meant combining traditional genres—opera, spoken theater, ballet—in new ways, and at the same time being formed in opposition to them.[108] In this period, new music theater works "explore the relationship between sound, movement, mind and body."[109] The second is "instrumental drama" or "instrumental theater."[110] The exploration in new music theater bled into instrumental music in interesting ways. Through the use of actors, mimes, physical movement, assigned character roles, and other dramatic and theatrical elements and devices, composers played with agency in instrumental music, blurring the lines between staged and non-staged genres. David Beard writes that "increased notational complexity and the introduction of aleatory techniques in the 1950s redefined the performer in radical ways, whilst inadvertently highlighting the inherent theatricality of all music performance."[111] In concert music, borrowed theatrical elements defamiliarize the very act of performance.

In defining new music theater, Anthony Sheppard argues that the term is broader and more inclusive than a genre, and it demonstrates "an aspiration toward discovering some novel form of theatrical-musical performance."[112] Again theater and ritual mingle: music theater, he says, is a "form of ritual performance."[113] He lays out three categories

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[107] Michael Hall, *Music Theatre in Britain: 1960–1975*. David Beard, "Reconceptualising the performer in new music theatre: collaborations with actors, mimes and musicians," in *New Music theatre In Europe: Transformations Between 1955–1975*, edited by Robert Adlington, (London: Routledge, 2019), 227–254. W. Anthony Sheppard, *Revealing Masks: Exotic Influences and Ritualized Performance in Modernist Music Theater*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[108] Sheppard, *Revealing Mask*, 4.

[109] Beard, "Reconceptualising the performer," 227.

[110] Philip Rupprecht, "Agency Effects in the Instrumental Drama of Musgrave and Birtwistle," in *Music and Narrative since 1900*, edited by Michael L. Klein and Nicholas Reyland, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2012). Arnold Whittall, "Michael Finnissy's instrumental music drama," The Musical Times 155, no. 1928 (2014): 71–91. Jonathan Cross, *Harrison Birtwistle: Man, Mind, Music*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000. Hall, *Music Theatre in Britain: 1960–1975*.

[111] Beard, "Reconceptualising the performer," 227.

[112] Sheppard, *Revealing Masks*, 4.

[113] Sheppard, *Revealing Masks*, 15.

of ritual. The social encompasses loosely organized, everyday experiences. The religious includes many kinds of rites and celebrations. And the final, aesthetic ritual, is where theater lies.[114] Of note in Fox's biography is the way in which each of these three categories played a role in her life from a young age, and I argue, appear intermingled in her work.

Michael Hall defines "instrumental theater as a work that "includes a meaningful visual dimension and involves actions that go beyond those normally needed to produce music."[115] This might include changing positions on a stage, dancing, or other kinds of physical movement. For composers like Harrison Birtwistle, Peter Maxwell Davies, or Thea Musgrave, it could also include roles for mimes and actors in otherwise instrumental music. Beard states that "through the use of mime and collaborations with actors, new music theatre reconceptualized performance by encouraging performers to think outside established performance practice traditions, bringing them into dialogue with artists from other performing backgrounds, and in some cases creating synergies between these forms."[116]

Experimental theater in London, which brought music and musicians into increased contact with other kinds of performing artists, was a trend with which Fox would have been familiar. Indeed, she frequented theaters more than concerts during these years.[117] It is no surprise then that someone like Fox—with operatic aspirations or inclinations—would turn to other kinds of staged work and instrumental drama. Sheppard

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[114] Sheppard, *Revealing Masks*, 16.
[115] Hall, *Music Theatre in Britain: 1960–1975*, 9.
[116] Beard, "Reconceptualising the performer," 252.
[117] Fox says "I've always been interested in the theater. There was a time I used to go to the theater much more than to concerts." Fox and Gerstein, "Erika Fox: Music from Elsewhere."

writes that in the 20th century "a good deal of compositional energy that might otherwise have been devoted to opera was redirected to the quest for new forms of theatrical-musical performance"[118]

A brief look at two of her works from the early 1990s will illustrate Fox's relationship to these trends in British music. Composing music for theater is a significant undertaking, requiring time, collaborators, commissions, and willing venues and performers. For these reasons, she has not written much theater music. However, in 1991, a great opportunity came when she received a commission for a chamber opera from the Royal Opera House's Garden Venture project, a studio opera company that commissioned new works from 1988–1994.[119] The resulting piece was *The Dancer Hotoke*, with a libretto by American-British poet Ruth Fainlight. And Fox was nominated for an Olivier Award in 1992.[120] The piece was inspired by the Japanese No theater, whose performances Fox attended three times when they were in London. She was particularly attracted to the slow speed of motion, the altered timescale of action.[121] The piece's opening lines are an incantation to Buddha:

> Buddha's incarnation
> Is earth, water, wind, fire, space—the same five elements
> From which we all are made[122]

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[118] Sheppard, *Revealing Masks*, 3.

[119] There is not much information available about this studio opera venture. A news article about the closing of the project reveals that it was closed due to lack of resources, but during its active years, it premiered 21 operas and maintained a close relationship with the Dartington Summer School. Robert Maycock, "Upbeat: Venture over," *The Independent* (January 8, 1994). Another article reviews several other works commissioned by the Garden Venture. They include: *Four Figures and a Harlequin* by Errollyn Wallen, *Arms for the Maid* by Luke Stoneham, and *Ghosts* by Graham Fitkin. Nick Kimberly, "SCARPIA/ The long and short of it: The 'Garden Venture' at Riverside Studios and the BOC Covent Garden Festival featuring 'Soundbites],'" *The Independent* (June 2, 1993).

[120] Losseff, "Erika Fox," 121.

[121] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation with Norbert Meyn."

[122] As quoted in Losseff, "Erika Fox,"119.

And in these lines Losseff argues that the work's "strong ritualistic element" begins.[123] Abstracted religious ritual catalyzes the theatrical drama to come: song, dance, the slow, deliberate movements inspired by the Japanese tradition.

The action takes place in Japan, where Hotoke, a dancer, is asked to dance before Kiyomori, a warlord, by his favorite woman at the court, Gio. The two women are at the center of the plot. Kiyomori becomes enamored of Hotoke, sparking resentment in Gio. Hotoke is reluctant to trade her life as a free artist for the privilege of favor dependency on Kiyomori, which would also hurt Gio. Hotoke never dances, as the title might suggest, but instead is accompanied on stage by a separate character, called "the dance," performed by a puppet. The disembodied dance highlights the difference between the idealized Hotoke who Kiyomori imagines and the way she sees herself.[124] Despite its success, there is little information available about the work.[125] Fainlight, in an article she wrote about her collaboration with Fox, shares that "the idea of using a dancer, mime, or puppet to represent 'the dance' was there from the beginning. We wanted to emphasise the non-naturalistic and symbolic elements of the piece."[126]

The performance notes for fox's solo cello work *The Moon of Moses* (1992) show how Fox participated in the "instrumental theater" trend in Britain.

> The Moon of Moses is a long, continuous and much embellished chant for solo cello, consisting of short, highly contrasted, and, at first, seemingly unrelated fragments. These are juxtaposed, usually without a break, and repeated many times though never exactly. One should not approach performance with the aim of 'joining' the fragments, thereby attempting to impose unity in an external, and, as it were, artificial way. On the contrary, it is essential to maintain and even

[123] Losseff, "Erika Fox," 119.
[124] Ruth Fainlight, "An Operatic Collaboration," *Women and Music* 3, no. 1 (1992): 45–46.
[125] If I am able to interview Fox again, I would ask about the work, its performances, and access to the sheet music. Some pages are available in Losseff, "Erika Fox," 120, 122.
[126] Fainlight, "An Operatic Collaboration," 46.

> emphasize the separate identity of each fragment, rather as characters in a play, by adhering strictly to contrasts in dynamics, register, timbre, etc., and most important of all, changes of tempo. To take the theatrical analogy further, whenever possible, begin each fragment with a deliberate and easily discernible movement of the bow. The visual aspects of performance are important. The work's unity should become apparent when each fragment has been heard often enough to establish structural links.[127]

The performers take on theatrical roles, moving in deliberate manners, but so do melodic fragments, which she instructs players to differentiate "as characters in a play." At the same time, she references chant in order to define the melodic character of the work. Here the language of ritual and theater work in tandem to animate the character and structure of Fox's music.

In the piece characters, are, as it were, introduced and then developed through varied repetition. The fragments differentiate themselves through changes in various musical parameters—rhythm, register, stylistic markings, string techniques, dynamics, tempo, etc. The repetition of fragments is akin to chanted lines in Jewish liturgical ritual. But the score is of a kind with other British composers' work as well. As in pieces by Birtwistle, Davies, or Musgrave, the visual component of the score is emphasized alongside the musical. Ritual and theater are at the heart of Birtwistle's thematic and dramatic choices as well. From a Roman funeral lament in *Nenia on the Death of Orpheus* to a Dionysian festival in *Tragoedia*, the narrative plot and formal structures of his music theater works enact and comment on rituals of life and performance. In his

[127] Erika fox, *The Moon of Moses* (London: Composer's Edition, 2020). The piece was commissioned by Double Image, an ensemble whose work focused on commissions and performances of music by women and little-known composers. They performed *The Moon of Moses* at the Purcell Room at the Southbank Centre in London in 1992. For the review of the Fox premier, see Nicholas Williams, "MUSIC/ Double Image- Purcell Room, South Bank Centre, London SE1," The Independent (December 15, 1992). For information about the ensembles, see "Double Image," *Divine Art Recordings Group*, https://divineartrecords.com/artist/double-image/.

1977 work music theatre work *Bow Down*, Birtwistle would draw dramatic and structural inspiration from Japanese theater as well, specifically the way in which "the actors, dancers and musicians are interchangeable."[128]

Migratory Aesthetic

These two worlds are the background against which Fox began to write music that was hybrid in nature. The simultaneous influence of Jewish liturgical music and British theatrical trends can be understood as demonstrating what scholars in the visual arts call a "migratory aesthetic."[129]

The concept is less a theory than a mode of creation and critique. Works exhibiting a "migratory aesthetic" do three main things: they remember past places and times, they bear the trace of passage between cultures and places, and they empower creators to recover agency after oppression and discrimination.[130] The defining features of migratory aesthetics, as laid out by Navarro, —"everyday life, mobility, multi-temporality, memory, and the politics of affect"—provide a framework in which to think about Fox's music in terms of her migratory experience.[131]

Movement is especially key, and Navarro describes its role as a "dialectic between movement and stability," its central role emphasized by the significant presence

[128] Hall, *Music Theatre in Britain: 1960–1975*, 94.

[129] The concept was developed first by Dutch artist and cultural theorist Mieke Bal. Miguel Á Hernández Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, ed. Michael Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). See Durrant and Lord, eds, *Essays in Migratory Aesthetics: Cultural Practices Between Migration and Art-Making*. Mieke Bal, "Migratory Aesthetics: Double Movement," *EXIT*, no. 32 (2008): 150–161.

[130] Durrant and Lord, eds, *Essays in Migratory Aesthetics*. Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."

[131] Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."

of its opposite. Indeed, he writes: "the migrant, although he or she moves, also stays and, contrary to the nomad, gives importance to place, converting it into something that is mobile, and movement into something static."[132] This dialectic operates at two levels. First, there is the presence of both a migratory past and a rooted present in Fox's life. Second, this role is realized musically in the role of juxtaposed opposite states that is so characteristic of her music.[133] Free and strictly notated, melodic and rhythmic, sparse and dense textures. In the following readings of *Café. Warsaw 1944* and *Paths Where the Mourners Tread*, I will show that Fox is inspired by poetry that calls on themes of memory, mobility, and multi-temporality. These are demonstrated in her choice of topics and themes related to war, migration, and mourning.

Ideas about and experiences of ritual and theater extend outward to include her instrumental works, as well as vocal and staged ones. The elements of Jewish music that Fox refers to (i.e. narrow range, linear construction, etc.) permeate her instrumental music. And so do theatrical influences from particularly British trends in the 1960s and 1970s. In this section, I offer readings of two pieces that exhibit the intertwined contexts of ritual and theater.

Café. Warsaw 1944. (2005)

Fox's 2005 chamber work, *Café. Warsaw 1944*, is at once brand new and inextricably linked to the time and place of the title, which comes from Polish poet Czeslaw Milosz's (1911 – 2004) poem *Café*, dated Warsaw 1944.[134] In the piece, the

[132] Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."
[133] Losseff, "Erika Fox," 109, 111–113, 120.
[134] Commissioned for the Bromsgrove Concerts and performed by the New Music Players.

influence of the poem is realized through musical gestures and techniques that are connected to Jewish liturgical music, theater, and the European avant-garde. Three lines of inquiry connect the piece to Fox's background and demonstrate a migratory aesthetic. First, the poem is theatrical in its presentation, connecting it to Fox's more overtly theatrical works. Second, the poetry and Fox's decision to mention it demonstrate three of the main tenets of a migratory aesthetic: memory, mobility, and multi-temporality. And finally, the structure and character of the melodic lines in the piece are linked to the way that Fox describes the character of Jewish liturgical chant, outlined earlier in this chapter.

The piece is in four short movements: I. Prologue, II. Lament, III. Scherzo, and IV. Lament Two and Coda. It is scored for a chamber ensemble with a surprising variety of voices, which Fox accomplishes by asking individual players to switch instruments periodically. The flautist also plays the alto flute and piccolo. The clarinetist plays clarinets in A and Eb, as well as the bass clarinet. And a single percussionist is asked to move between eleven instruments. In the following reading, I will focus on the first movement, and especially the treatment of horizontal motives and melodic lines.

Here, and in a handful of her other compositions, poetry serves as a profound inspiration for Fox's musical expression.[135] In the poem that inspired *Café. Warsaw 1944*, Milosz's narrator remembers a formerly lively café whose patrons, his friends and fellow

[135] The poetic sources call to mind Birtwistle's *Secret Theatre* (1984) for chamber ensemble, whose poetic reference is Robert Graves' poem of the same name. Birtwistle refers to his method as "instrumental role-playing," in which he does not "write an actual piece and then add a number of instruments – it is more like a play with persons that way, how they sound and what they say." A seating plan and instructions for movement are essential to the score, with movement articulating "physically the changing musical relationships between distinct groups of players." Harrison Birtwistle, *Secret Theatre* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1991). "Birtwistle - Secret Theatre for chamber ensemble," *Universaledition.com,* accessed September 1, 2024, https://www.universaledition.com/en/Works/Secret-Theatre/P0032957. Jonathan Cross, *Harrison Birtwistle: Man, Mind, Music* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 91.

writers and artists, have all died. The long, grim poem tells of his solitary contemplation on a walk through the now-empty café as he imagines the experiences of his departed friends.[136] And Fox's music follows his path. The café is sometimes lively and sometimes still. Images of chilly stillness seem to prompt the narrator's contemplative movement, a juxtaposition that has much affinity with Fox's compositional style.

> Of those at the table in the café
> where on winter noons a garden of frost glittered on windowpanes
> I alone survived.
> I could go in there if I wanted to
> and drumming my fingers in a chilly void
> convoke shadows.
>
> With disbelief I touched the cold marble,
> with disbelief I touch my own hand,
> It-is, and I-am in ever novel becoming,
> while they are locked forever and ever
> in their last world, their last glance,
> and as remote as Emperor Valentinian
> or the chiefs of the Massagets, about whom I know nothing,
> though hardly one year has passed, or two or three.
>
> I may still cut trees in the woods of the far north,
> I may speak from a platform or shoot a film
> using techniques they never heard of.
> I may learn the taste of fruits from ocean islands
> and be photographed in attire from the second half of the century.
> But they are forever like busts in frock coats and jabots
> in some monstrous encyclopedia.
>
> Sometimes when the evening aurora paints the roofs in a poor street
> and I contemplate the sky, I see in the white clouds
> a table wobbling. The waiter whirls with his tray
> and they look at me with a burst of laughter
> for I still don't know what it is to die at the hand of man,
> they know—they know it well.[137]

[136] Fox, Notes on *Café. Warsaw 1944*.
[137] Czeslaw Milosz, *The Collected Poems: 1931–1987* (New York: Ecco Press, 1988), 62–63.

The anonymous narrator moves easily between past and present, stillness and movement, solitude and company. They grapple with experiencing life in the present while the departed are frozen in the past. The narrator watches from a temporal remove, and Fox imitates this kind of looking from even further away, in twenty-first century London. There are indeed theatrical elements to Milosz's poem: detailed descriptions of the "stage," the "actor" moving with ease between memories of the past and realizations about the present and future, a quasi-operatic pause in the third stanza to contemplate the situation. A reader can see, hear, and feel the unfolding action.

The four stanzas of the poem correspond to the four movements of Fox's piece. We might imagine the stanzas of the poem titled as the piece's movements. A prologue sets the scene, a lament remembers the past, a scherzo moves quickly between many possibilities, and a second lament slows down in a moment of contemplation. The loose structural guide of the poem is a fruitful manner of hearing Fox's music. When considered as continuations and reflections of the same story, the movements gain some unity, which, as I will show, is reinforced in Fox's music.

The location of Warsaw carries significant meaning. During World War II, the city had a violent and turbulent history, especially in and around 1944. The city had a large ghetto, which had been the largest in Europe. And in 1943, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising ended in destruction that killed 13,000 of the ghetto's residents.[138] In the summer of 1944, large-scale resistance to liberate the city from German occupation—the Warsaw Uprising—was followed by retaliation that decimated the city.[139] Images of Warsaw in

[138] Evan McGilvray, *Days of Adversity: The Warsaw Uprising 1944* (Havertown: Helion & Company, Limited, 2015), viii, 37.
[139] McGilvray, *Days of Adversity: The Warsaw Uprising 1944*, 24–34.

1944 are of ruins. Like the narrator, Fox was a survivor. The title of the piece then serves as a kind of memorialization. For her, war is a very real experience. Her earliest memories are its products: flying from Vienna to London and evacuating as a small child to Leeds during the war.[140] The title also nods, intentionally or not, toward Schoenberg's A Survivor from Warsaw, op. 46 (1947), which was written as a tribute to Holocaust victims. Fox even uses two complete twelve-tone rows in the opening line of the piece (see the flute in Example 4.1).

Milosz's poem is built around multi-temporal references, which are presented in a non-linear manner. The narrator slides easily between the distant past, recent history, present, and future. The poem begins in the present tense, as the narrator looks into the window of the café. The perspective shifts rapidly in the second stanza: from future ("ever-novel becoming") to the recent past of the café-goers ("their last world, their last glance") to the distant past of long-gone people and rulers (the ancient Iranian "Massagets" and the Roman emperor "Valentinian"). Again, in the third stanza, the narrator slides between contemplating their own future (wearing "attire from the second half of the century") to the distant past of "frock coats and jabots." The final stanza is a contemplation on the present moment that bleeds into a daydream of the past made alive once again.

Alongside the historical elements of the poem, it also deals with everyday life, one of the central themes of a migratory aesthetic. The date, 1944, is also when Milosz wrote the poem, reflecting his own contemporary experience. And the main scene, of people visiting a café is a routine, even mundane, part of everyday life. Navarro argues

[140] Fox and Meyn, "Erika Fox in Conversation."

that in these everyday moments are the site of the political in migratory works of art.[141] Though the location at hand, Warsaw, is specific, the setting of a café represents something more universal. That universality is what allows Fox to relate to Milosz and listeners to relate to them both.

Though *Café. Warsaw 1944* contains no instructions for physical movement, like Birtwistle's *Tragoedia* or *Verses for Ensemble*, it is structured with a theatrical or dramatic nod, beginning with a prologue. As is characteristic of much of her work, this piece uses a combination of strictly notated passages and free, spatial notation. Within each movement, the music alternates between notated and free (see Table 4.1). The contrasts inherent to the piece are repeated in Milosz's poem: I vs. they, frozen vs. changing, past vs. present. When one movement ends with a free passage, the next movement begins in the same way. And conversely, if one movement ends with a notated passage, the next begins this way as well. Having begun with notated rhythms, the final movement concludes with the same.

And while there are bar lines, the measures are of non-uniform lengths. There is no discernible meter. Instead, Fox gives the number of beats for each measure, often in groups of two, three, and five. Short melodic fragments emerge from the texture of the free passages, like music in the background of a noisy café. Fox describes them as "frenzied phrases moving in and out of the texture."[142] Her instructions for the piece highlight the vital role of the improvisatory elements of the piece. Fox's first instruction is that "much of this work should have an improvisatory quality, with each player being a

[141] Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."
[142] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.

'soloist.' To this end some parts are spatially notated, with a bar and numbering system." And the horizontal, vocal quality of the music is emphasized by contrasts in timbre, range, and freedom/strictness of notation. That juxtaposition—of free and strict—becomes an aesthetic choice for Fox, a topic, theme, or image she seeks out.

Table 4.1. Fox, *Café. Warsaw 1944*, structure.

Movement	Notated	Free
I.	1–25	
		26–33
	34–53	
		54–57
II.		1–12
	13–16	
		17–21
	22–26	
III.	1–9	
		10–15 (piano)
	16–20	
		21–23 (piano)
	24–42	
		43–49 (flute)
IV.		1–25
	26–33	
		34–38
	39–53	

Fox's writing is largely motivic, with traditional ideas of melody and harmony taking on a subservient role, that is, their role serves to support motivic development. An analysis of the motivic character of the piece reveals the manner in which Fox engages with poetry. It also reveals how Fox develops musical material, as well as connections between movements.

A rhythmic motive repeatedly punctuates the first movement. Its 2+2+3 construction is like a Bartókian additive rhythm. It is an aksak rhythm in miniature, "limping" only momentarily before another motive enters, but lacking the periodicity of

an aksak meter. [143] This quick change between brief fragments is typical of Fox's writing. The motive appears in four locations: mm. 2–3 and 4–5 in the flute, mm. 9–10 in the violin, and at m. 27 in the flute (see Examples 4.1 and 4.2). The third is a slightly altered version. The groups of two are placed within triplet groupings. The core of the motive is there, but not the exact rhythm. The final iteration is of particular interest because it occurs in one of the free passages, that is, a passage without notated rhythms. Instead, ties demarcate groupings of pitches.

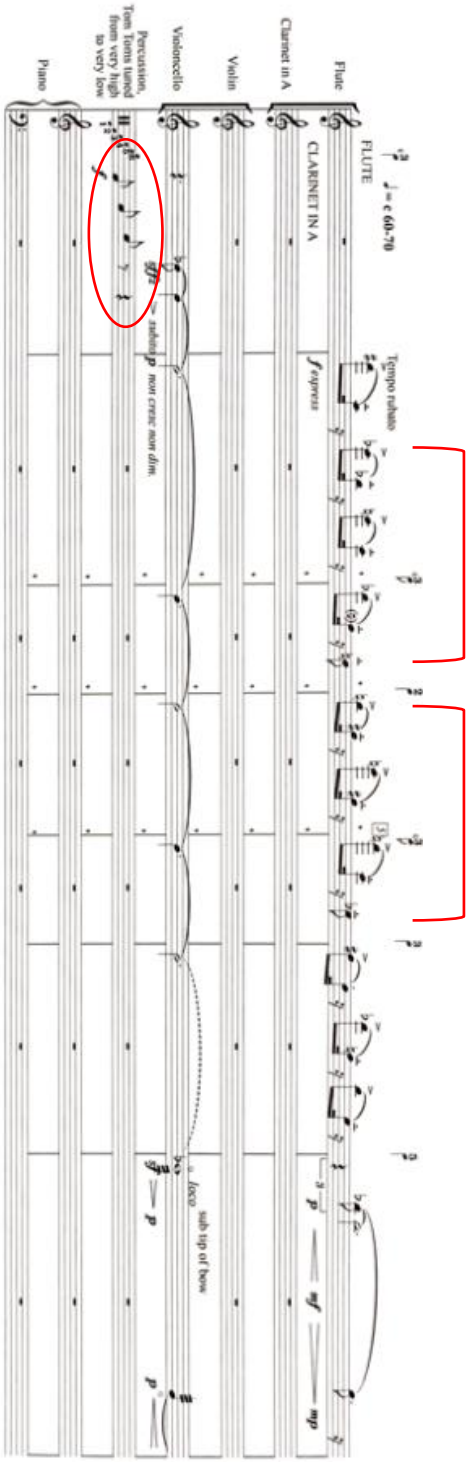
The motive in m. 1 of the first movement (see Ex. 4.2) is connected to the final motive at the end of movement III (see Ex. 4.4). The essence of the motive is the interval of a third, both major and minor. In the first instance, the tom toms play an ascending F major chord. In the second instance, the woodblocks play a major third ascending and descending (F-A-F).

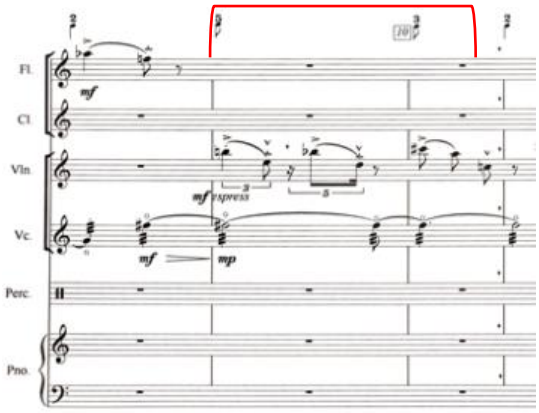
Fox herself refers to other evocative melodic and harmonic motives in the notes to the piece.

> In my work the percussion could be said to 'lead' the proceedings, as in a kind of ironic fanfare. The 'whirling' of the waiter's tray and other moments of activity are portrayed by frenzied phrases moving and out of the texture, particularly at the end of the 3rdmovement when the violin has a frantic but strictly notated passage apparently quite unrelated to the rest of the movement. Sometimes quiet unison chords portray the eerie stillness of the dead.

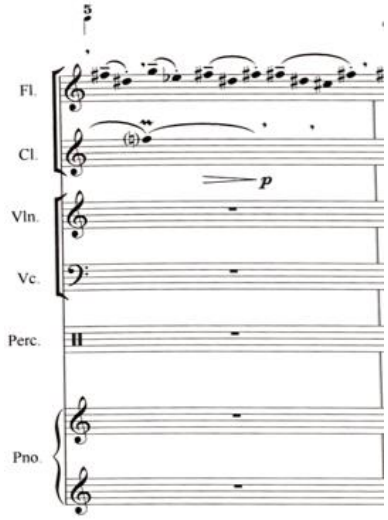
In *Café*, Fox draws from Milosz's poem in a manner that seems at first too literal—"drumming" fingers, a solitary man, the frenzied movements of the waiter. But as I have come to know of Fox's music: it is never so simple.

[143] Aleksandra Vojčić, "Beat Hierarchy and Beat Patterns—From Aksak to Composite Meter," *Current Musicology*, no. 98 (2015): 46–49.

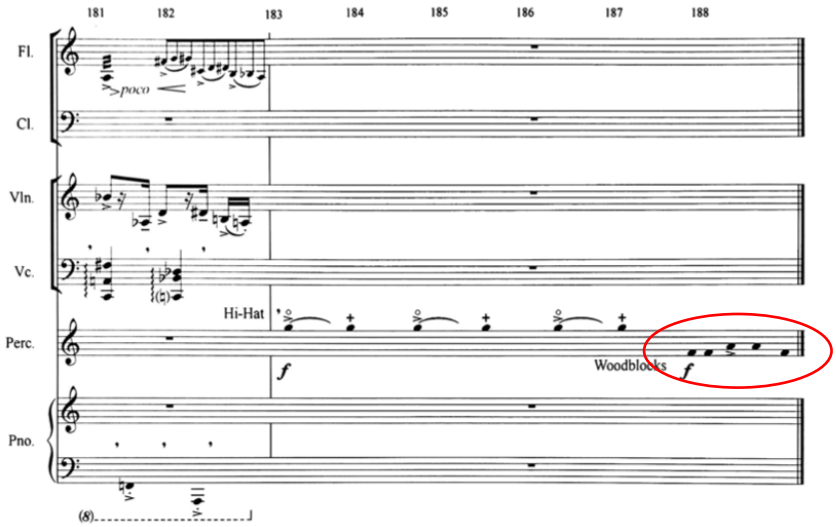

Flute
Clarinet in A
Violin
Violoncello
Percussion. Tom Toms tuned from very high to very low
Piano
FLUTE
CLARINET IN A
Tempo rubato
sub tip of bow



Example 4.1. Fox, *Café. Warsaw 1944,* I, mm. 1–10.



Example 4.2. Fox, *Café. Warsaw 1944*, I, m. 27.



Example 4.3. Fox, *Café. Warsaw 1944,* III, mm. 48–49.

Though the piece is not tonal, a recurring central pitch provides a thread between the movements. An E-flat in the cello at the end of the first movement is picked up by the violin in the second, followed by a pedal tone E-flat in the piano. By the end of the second movement, the E-flat has been transformed into its enharmonic equivalent, the D# in a G augmented chord. The persistent E-flat that permeated the first lament returns in the second (Movement IV). As the lament transitions into the coda, the E-flat dissipates, climbing to an E-natural before the piece ends on a C-C#-F# (016) pitch class set. A kind of transformation has occurred.

Café. Warsaw 1944 refers to a specific time and place, one which Fox never knew, but the music defies localization. The piece is not about Poland or a café exactly, but instead a mode of remembering that is connected to her own experience of migration. Fox's choice of poetry motions toward a time and place that no longer exists. This kind of multi-temporality—the bringing together of past and present—is one of the central

elements of migratory aesthetics, and it can be understood as expressing a non-linear relationship to time and history that is characteristic of much contemporary art created in and in response to migration.[144] Bal writes that "memory attempts to narrativize the disjunctions of both time and space to which migration gives rise."[145] And Navarro states: "Migratory movement is a double, contradictory movement, composed of stagnation and mobility. Stillness and places are central to this vision of the migratory. Space is understood as a site of encounters."[146] This kind of contradictory movement is built into the poetry that Fox chose and the music she wrote in response, both of which juxtapose opposite states.

The act of remembrance demonstrated in *Café. Warsaw 1944* is repeated in her 2003 piece, *Malinconia Militaire*. Also inspired by a poem, it was written as a commission for the Leamington Festival. The theme of the event was personal for Fox: "Vienna in Britain." The title of the piece, from Amelia Roselli's poem "Webern Opus 4," is another nod to Vienna and the Second Viennese School, specifically Webern's 1923 *Fünf Lieder*, settings of German poet Stefan George.[147] But Fox says the title—translated to "military melancholy"—also came from the fact that at the time, war was being waged in Iraq.[148] Rosselli's life, like Fox's was also marked by migration. Her family moved to France after her father and uncle were killed by the fascist regime in Italy. She later

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[144] Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."

[145] Mieke Bal and Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, "Introduction," *Thamyris/Intersecting*, no. 23 (2011): 13.

[146] Navarro, "Migratory Aesthetics."

[147] The poem begins: "military melancholy reverberates softly/ on slender walls, as the sipid music rapidly/ counterbounces against walls thicker than/ can permit the rapid brain." Amelia Rosselli, *Locomatrix: Selected Poetry and Prose of Amelia Rosselli*, Edited and translated by Jennifer Scappettone, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[148] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.

moved to the United States, and her writing reflects this in its trilingual presentation.[149] Again, multi-temporality is key and past and present are conceptualized as parallel, rather than chronological. Rosselli, who had been a student at Darmstadt, wrote incredibly musical poetry. She "wanted her poetic language to have some of the qualities and effects of atonal music."[150] In the final movement of *Malinconia Militaire*, Fox retrnasposes this musical effect by writing "in almost exact rhythmic unison with the poem."[151]

Paths Where the Mourners Tread **(1980)**

Paths Where the Mourners Tread (1980), is a single movement chamber work for alto flute, oboe, percussion, harp, and strings. The work is dedicated to two people: her father, Ezekiel Kanner, and the Australian composer Gillian Whitehead, who had forged a friendship with Kanner while staying with Fox for a time. The piece was commissioned by Lontano, and premiered at the Purcell Room at London's Southbank Center, under the direction of Odaline de la Martinez.[152] Like *Café. Warsaw 1944* and several of Fox's other works, the inspiration for *Paths* comes partly from a poem, this time a 1943–44 one by Philip Larkin, titled *"To write one song, I said*," a line from which the piece takes its title.[153] The poem is full of vivid images and movement:

> To write one song, I said,
> As sad as the sad wind
> That walks around my bed,
> Having one simple fall
> As a candle-flame swells, and is thinned,

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[149] Peter Hainsworth, "Sisters in Suffering," *The Times Literary Supplement* (June 29, 2012), 8.
[150] Hainsworth, "Sisters in Suffering," 8.
[151] Fox and Romano, Liner notes for *Paths*.
[152] Fox, Erika. "List of Works." Erikafox.co.uk. Accessed December 28, 2024. http://www.erikafox.co.uk/list-of-music/. Lontano is a contemporary music ensemble based in London.
[153] Philip Larkin, *Collected Poems* (Farrar, Straus, and Giraux, 1989), 291.

As a curtain stirs by the wall
- For this I must visit the dead.
Headstone and wet cross,
Paths where the mourners tread,
A solitary bird,
These call up the shade of loss,
Shape word to word.

That stones would shine like gold
Above each sodden grave,
This, I had not foretold,
Nor the birds' clamour, nor
The image morning gave
Of more and ever more,
As some vast seven-piled wave,
Mane-flinging, manifold,
Streams at an endless shore.

The form of the piece is clearly demarcated in the score. Twenty lettered sections are separated into three parts which are articulated by dramatic grand pauses before the second and third parts. The second and third parts are much briefer than the first, which constitutes over half of the piece. Fox writes that the last two parts are a "continuation of the material last heard."[154] That is, as the piece unfolds, it calls on the listener's memory of what came before. A core characteristic of a migratory aesthetic, memory, as both action and process, connects the poem and the music to one another. Larkin's narrator visits a gravesite, following the "paths where the mourners tread."[155] The path they tread is, like the music, built on what came before it. One of the most obvious ways that the movements build on one another is through dynamics. Each longer section increases in dynamic. The first is marked *mp*, the second includes a range from *mp* to *ff*, and the third is entirely *ff*.

[154] Erika Fox, "*Paths Where the Mourners Tread*," *Composer's Edition*, accessed December 28, 2024, https://composersedition.com/erika-fox-paths-where-the-mourners-tread/.
[155] Larkin, *Collected Poems*, 291.

The structure of the piece is built around alternations of free and notated rhythms, as well as played and hummed/sung passages.[156] The freer passages stand in stark contrast to the energetic rhythms of the notated ones. Fox writes that "the music that is not written in exact rhythmic notation should be played very freely and have a quasi-improvisatory quality."[157] The free, improvisatory passages do not correspond to the hummed/sung passages, as one might expect. Instead, the players are asked to sing something more exact. The notated passages are colored by voices and a free quality colors the played ones. The form of the piece is also built from contrasts in several musical parameters: notation, dynamics, texture, and timbre. Density of texture is another musical parameter that is subject to the contrasting alternations that structure the piece. Like Café, the piece begins with a sparse texture. The glockenspiel, alto flute, and piano enter one at a time. Sections A and C have thinner textures, with two or three voices, while sections B and D have denser textures and more rhythmic activity.

The humming, which begins in section B, is quiet and not immediately distinguishable. Fox writes that "the humming should be clearly audible but not dominant."[158] In the beginning the humming and singing sections are primarily allocated to the woodwinds and harp, who have a more naturally vocal timbre, but as the first part proceeds, the strings also take on this role.

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[156] Free sections may contain some notated portion, especially in the strings, but are primarily free. When a section is marked as both, the two kinds of notation occur more equally.

[157] Erika Fox, *Paths Where the Mourners Tread* (Composer's Edition, 1980).

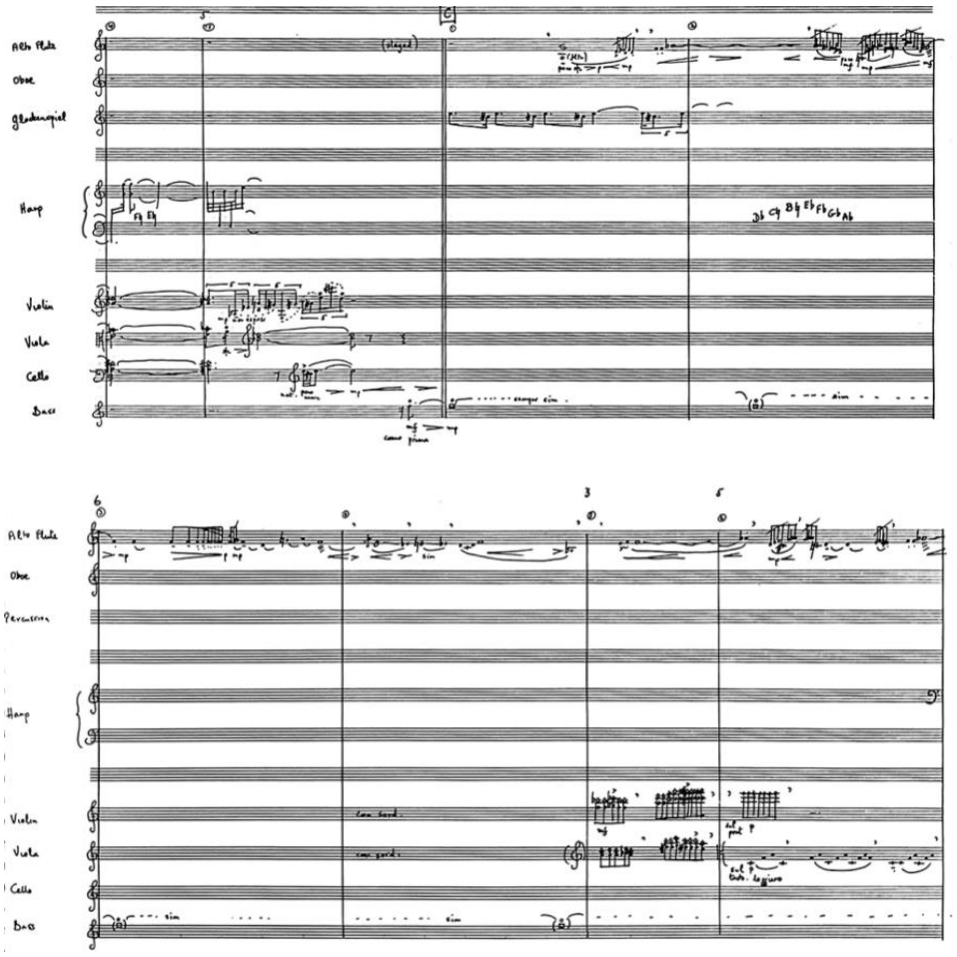
[158] Fox, *Paths Where the Mourners Tread.*

Table 4.2. Fox, *Paths Where the Mourners Tread*, structure.

Sections	Section Divisions	Free/ notated	Humming or singing?	Instruments
1	**A**	Free		
	B	Notated	Humming	Woodwinds, bass
	C	Free		
	D	Notated	Humming	Woodwinds, bass, harp
	E	Free		
	F	Notated	Singing	Woodwinds, harp
	G	Free		
	H	Notated	Humming	Woodwinds, harp, violin, viola
	I	Free		
	J	Notated	Humming	Woodwinds, harp, violin, viola, cello
	K	Free		
[Grand pause]	**L**	Free		
2	**M**	Free		
	N	Notated	Humming	All but percussion
	O	Both		
	P	Both		
[Grand pause]	**Q**	Both		
3	**R**	Notated		
	S	Both		
	T	Notated		

The frequency of the vocal sections decreases as the piece progresses, and in the last quarter of the piece, the instrumental music seems to have absorbed some of the vocal character. For example, the glissandi in the harp in the second half of the work imitate the voice's ability to move seamlessly from one pitch to another across a substantial range. By the end of Part 1, freely notated passages which had been the character of the hummed sections begin to appear in instrumental voices as well, especially in the woodwinds and harp, which had also introduced the humming at the beginning.

Just as the strict alternation between played and hummed/sung sections ends (around letter L), so does the alternation between free and notated sections. At L, several free sections are played adjacent to one another, and at O the distinction becomes less clear. Free and notated bleed into one another, sometimes sounding separately and other times simultaneously.



Example 4.4. Fox, *Paths Where the Mourners Tread,* mm. 18–25.

Returning to her own distillation of the elements of Jewish music in her music—monophonic, modal, narrow pitch range characterized ornamentation, and a non-Western

sense of development—we begin to see the presence of this musical tradition in *Paths*. Indeed, in Fox's notes on the piece, she connects ritual and rhythm. "Various repetitive devices such as simple percussive rhythms, ostinati, and humming" lend the piece a ritualistic character.[159]

There is also a theatrical character to the vocal element of this piece. *Paths* can be understood as an example of the category of instrumental theater or instrumental drama. When the players disengage with their instruments and begin to hum or sing, they take on new roles, a transformation that "redefine[s] the performer."[160] As more of the players begin to slide between these roles, the piece is, in the words of David Beard, "inadvertently highlighting the inherent theatricality of all performance."[161] Alternating between playing their instruments and using their voices, the performers roles are less defined than one might expect in instrumental music. In this piece, we can hear Fox seamlessly blending the influences of both Jewish chant traditions and contemporary British trends in theater.

In both *Café. Warsaw 1944* and *Paths Where the Mourners Tread*, multiple stories emerge from the element of solitude. The first is musical, that of Fox's childhood sound world, the inherited melodies of Eastern Europe and Hassidic chant that have informed her horizontal style of composing. The solitary voices are like soloists, and Fox highlights them by bestowing upon them a free character and juxtaposing them with a more strictly rhythmic environment. The second is a poetic kind of solitude, represented by the man in Milosz's poem and the bird in Larkin's. There are both physical and

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[159] Fox, "*Paths Where the Mourners Tread*," *Composer's Edition.*
[160] Beard, "Reconceptualising the performer," 227
[161] Beard, "Reconceptualising the performer," 227.

psychological dimensions to the lone movements of the characters that map onto the soloists of fox's music. For Fox, solitude is a floating phenomenon, imbued with a sense of freedom, but also one of difference, an experience that Fox is not shy about sharing as a major part of her own life.

In the pieces analyzed, these stylistic influences—theater and ritual—appear in the character, treatment, and development of motives and melodies, as well as in formal structures and relationships between textual influences and musical expression. For instance, the juxtaposition of opposites in each piece is related to theater, more specifically instrumental drama, as it creates roles for instruments or sections of music. Fox even discusses the direct connections of the piece to the poetic texts. At the same time, the freely-notates, quasi-improvisatory melodic lines that shape these dramatic juxtapositions are themselves connected to the Jewish chant traditions to which she was exposed as a young person.

In this chapter, a constellation of influences on Fox's music have emerged: opera, theater, Jewish liturgical chanting and singing, as well as twentieth-century British avant-garde music. While it can be easy, even tempting, to hear her music only in terms of her background as a Jewish Hasidic woman, the real story of music and migration embraces the space between or among two worlds. Hearing Fox's music within and between these two contexts gives a fuller picture of what it means for migration to play a role in her creative work.

Chapter 5: Priaulx Rainier's Female Network

Throughout her career, South-African British composer Priaulx Rainier (1903–1986) had a vast and varied network of women who supported and encouraged her work. They were artists, dancers, musicians, and composers—friends, colleagues, family, and partners. At a time when much of British musical life was unofficially off limits, these women held concerts, performed her music, gave lessons, and provided physical and emotional support. But this is not a network one might piece together from the limited existing scholarship about Rainier.[1] Obscured by historical narratives that privilege institutional success, it is revealed primarily in archival documents: correspondence, photographs, diaries, and other unpublished documents. Through close readings of these materials, the importance of her female relationships is revealed: in the decades-long correspondence with her teacher Nadia Boulanger, in a close friendship and professional collaboration with sculptor Barbara Hepworth, and in commissions and performances by musicians. These individual stories of solidarity and support gain significance when in dialogue with one another.

[1] In this chapter, I rely on the following biographical sources: June Opie's 1988 biographical volume *"Come and Listen to the Stars Singing:" Priaulx Rainier: A Pictorial Biography* (Cornwall: Alison Hodge Publishers, 1988), the Grove entry written by Ian Kemp and Hubert Van der Spuy, "Rainier (Ivy Priaulx)," *Grove Music Online*. Oliver Soden, *Michael Tippet: The Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2019). Oliver Soden, "Priaulx Rainier: Fearless and Pioneering Composer," *Engelsberg Ideas*. John Amis, "Priaulx Rainier," *The Musical Times* 96, no. 1349 (1955): 354–357. Michael Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1991). Francis Routh, *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-Five Years from 1945–1970* (London: Macdonald and Company, 1972). H. H. Van der Spuy, *The Compositions of Priaulx Rainier: An Annotated Catalogue*, Doctoral dissertation (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1988).

What can we learn about a composer's career by reading the archive along gendered lines? The category of woman is rightfully fraught. However, drawing on feminist and network theories, I argue that the shared gendered experiences and attitudes that Rainier and her female network were subject to in society created a space for gendered work. This paper builds on the work of musicologists such as Samantha Ege and Tammy Kernodle, whose research focuses on women's collective, hidden work in a narrow patriarchal musical system.[2] It also builds on recent reappraisals of how Actor-Network Theory functions in music history. Scholars such as Benjamin Piekut and Michael Gallope broaden notions of who and what might be actors, though room remains for a deeper consideration of the intricacies of gender bias in musical networks.[3] Rainier's network is then feminine, but also feminist. In this paper, I argue that the female network reveals a way of constructing a career in mid-to-late twentieth century Britain that subverted the masculine infrastructure of British musical institutions. At the same time, I hope to introduce the work of a relatively unknown composer.

Much of the groundbreaking recent scholarship about female networks and the radical and intimate stories of their careers is about (and often written by) women of color, for whom even fewer mainstream opportunities existed. Samantha Ege's work about the network of women around Florence Price explores the network that propped up in her life and career during her Chicago years. What is radical and inspiring about Ege's

[2] Other musicologists working on female networks include: Laura Seddon, *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2016). And Carol Oja, "Women Patrons and Activists for Modernist Music: New York in the 1920s," *Modernism/modernity* 4, no. 1 (1997): 129–155.

[3] Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2(2014): 191–215. Michael Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable? On A Critical Explanation of the Avant-Garde." *The Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 2 (2014): 199–230.

methodological approach is how she weaves personal, often overlooked details (e.g. where a person lived) with musical evidence, close readings of archival information, and thoughtful speculative possibilities for tying them all together.[4] Tammy Kernodle similarly recognizes the integral role of private spaces for artists, and rejects narratives that do not take seriously the emotional relationships between women that provide safe spaces for building skills and careers, as well as supporting day-to-day lives. As in Ege's work, homes are a central site of connection and work.[5] These homes—doors open for concerts, networking, and support—are themselves a kind of institution. As I will show, quasi-domestic spheres also played a role in Rainier's female network.

My methodology is three-pronged. First, I focus on relationships that represent a combination of weak and strong ties to understand how each works for Rainier's female network. Second, I examine a variety of primary resources to understand the nature of each relationship. These sources include correspondence, institutional documents, and concert programs. Third, I trace the effects of this network on Rainier's compositional output.

Music defined the path of Rainier's life from the very beginning. She was born in 1903 in Natal, South Africa (today Kwa-Zulu Natal), a region on the country's east coast. For Rainier, cross-cultural interaction began early: there she heard Zulu singing at the same time that she was studying Western classical music. When she was ten, her family moved to Cape Town where she was enrolled in The South African College of Music to

[4] Samantha Ege, "Composing a Symphonist: Florence Price and the Hand of Black Women's Fellowship," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 24 (2020): 7–27.

[5] Tammy Kernodle, "A Woman's Place: The Importance of Mary Lou Williams' Harlem Apartment," *NPR* (September 12, 2019), accessed August 28, 2023, https://www.npr.org/2019/09/12/758070439/a-womans-place-the-importance-of-mary-lou-williams-harlem-apartment.

study violin. In 1919, she received a scholarship to study at the Royal academy of Music (hereafter RAM) in London, and she entered the school in 1920, at age seventeen. After a visit home in her school years, it would be decades before she returned to South Africa.[6] In 1925, having completed her studies, she took a position teaching violin and aural training at the Badminton School in Bristol. However, an injury in 1935 halted her performance career. At the same time, she began receiving financial support from an anonymous benefactor, which allowed her to take up two months of study with Nadia Boulanger in the Autumn of 1937.[7] Aside from these brief lessons, Rainier was a self-taught composer, working slowly on the tedious process of writing down what she heard in her head. Her reputation as both composer and teacher solidified relatively quickly, however. And in 1943, she received a position as a teacher of composition at the RAM, where she taught until 1961.[8]

Rainier spent the rest of her life in Britain, splitting her time between London and St. Ives, a quiet town on England's Cornish coast. Her small, but significant oeuvre spans from solo chamber music to multi-movement orchestral and choral works. Her compositional style is dominated by lively rhythmic characters and the gradual abandonment of tonal elements. Later in her career, Rainier's music was commissioned by and performed at the BBC Proms, broadcast on the BBC's Third Programme and Radio 3, recorded by the Amadeus Quartet, and recognized with an honorary doctorate from the University of Cape Town.

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[6] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 20.
[7] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 24.
[8] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 25.

Despite these mainstream successes, Rainier, and all women in Britain's new music scene, faced extra criticism toward her work. In his autobiography, Michael Tippett, a close friend of Rainier, recalls William Walton, a fellow British composer commenting in the late 1940s on the newly commissioned *Sinfonia da camera* by Rainier: "I really think Miss Rainier must have barbed-wire underwear."[9] This mindset, certainly spoken and understood differently in its time, is nonetheless violent in its assertion that there were gendered expectations for musical style. To go against them is heard as an assault.

I define the network as including any female person with whom Rainier interacted to a significant degree about music, namely as collaborators and mentors. The figures discussed in this paper were not part of a cohesive group with shared ideologies or creative approaches. As such, analyses of primary sources and contemporary commentary are instrumental in reconstructing relationships. Archival holdings related to Rainier's life and work, which contain her personal papers, her correspondence with others, and unpublished institutional documents from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reveal several networks in which she moved throughout her career. And documents bearing evidence of her personal and professional relationships with other women permeate this archive. As I began to sort through these documents, I was surprised by the kind and amount of work they did to support and promote her work. I also found rarely documented reactions to the misogynistic, masculine world in which these women lived and worked.

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[9] Michael Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 119. The Sinfonia da camera was commissioned by Michael Tippett for performance at Morley College in London. Ian Kemp and Hubert Van der Spuy, "Rainier (Ivy Priaulx)."

Rainier was, of course, no stranger to gender bias. In private correspondence with fellow composer Elisabeth Lutyens, she expresses her frustration. In 1973, she writes to Lutyens: "Congratulations on breaking into the world of opera! That is really something which requires audacity in this world of masculine…manipulating men…mad, backbiting and… all the rest!"[10] Gendered musical life is painted vividly in Rainier's comments. The musical world, in its masculinity, is mean, even dangerous for a woman. To assert oneself in it requires bravery. But this is the kind of frustration often only shared with other women, in private. Years after Rainier began her career as a composer, establishing oneself in a world that excluded women was difficult. She had some institutional success, more and more as her career unfolded, but she also devised her own way of working alongside these spaces.

Rainier and her network, demonstrate that marginalized experiences of nation, culture, gender, and sexuality—despite, but also because of, their limitations—necessitate subversive means of creating and positioning oneself as a creator. Such means demand subversive methodologies. There are three primary reasons why I find female musical networks, and Rainier's specifically, important to study. First, the work of women artists tends to be contextualized in relation to the men they knew. One way to avoid this hierarchical model is to focus on women in relation to one another. Rainier's story subverts the grim predictability of narratives that situate a woman's success in—and only in—a man's world. That is, rather than a member of a male artist's circle, here she is the center of her own.[11] Second, Rainier's output bears the mark of this network. The women

[10] BL, Add MS 71144, letter to Elizabeth Lutyens, 20 February 1973, f. 110.

[11] None of this is to say that Rainier did not have a network of male musicians and artists as well. She did, and many of these connections were of central importance to her career. But they were also tied to

that constitute it were her friends, collaborators, and influences. Studying it might then reveal something about both her career and her music. And third, this network worked differently from others I have studied. It is interdisciplinary, including artists, writers, and dancers alongside musicians and composers. It is more intimate, often happening outside of musical institutions and within close, personal relationships. And it is obscured by traditional historical narratives that consider success in these institutions as the only, or at least the most important kind of, success.

The relationships explored in this study represent varying kinds of strong and weak ties, terminology introduced by sociologist Mark Granovetter.[12] He argues that infrequent relationships, weak ties, are more likely to have access to resources, information, and networks that an actor does not know about, and can therefore be beneficial in occupational mobility (early in her career, Rainier was trying to move from violinist to full-time composer).[13] In other words, a beneficial network is not just about who you know, but how you know them. But for Rainier, sometimes strong ties are the ones motivated to use said resources, information, and networks. This is not a small, well-defined network, but instead a sprawling one built from strong and weak ties, friends and acquaintances. It is a microcosm of how a musical network on the margins might arise and function.

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major institutions in a way that her female relationships were not. For example, she was close with William Glock, head of music at the BBC from 1959. Glock guided the Proms from 1960–1973, building a series that embraced contemporary music and its creators. These networks also were not entirely independent of one another.

[12] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380.

[13] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1371.

In a study of the relationships between women, it is easy to over-romanticize an element of "sisterhood," a slippery slope I aim to avoid. Sisterhood is generally a fiction, and feminist approaches that embrace it largely ignore the identities and experiences of women of color and queer and trans individuals. Rainier was queer and her experience as a queer person is inextricable from her experience as a woman.[14] Contemporary attitudes toward different sexualities erased the identities of queer women. And when they were subtly acknowledged, it was through the degrading label of spinster or biographical accounts that noted a woman "remained unmarried." Women had, of course, vastly different experiences of sex, gender, and their relationship to the world.

I also do not wish to romanticize any kind of defiance. Her work and her network were born of necessity. And she is surely not the only woman to turn to other women for support. There is no evidence of an activist bent in Rainier's approach to her life and career. Instead, she navigated the musical world in her own fashion, finding necessary and creative solutions to the challenge of building a career.

Finally, it is vital to acknowledge the "troublesome" nature of gendered categorization, and I seek to draw no conclusions about how Rainier, and the other subjects of this chapter, might have identified themselves. In her book *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler writes that "there is the political problem that feminism encounters in the assumption that the term *women* denotes a common identity. Rather than a stable signifier that commands the assent of those whom it purports to describe and represent, *women*,

[14] Rainier's sexuality, like many of her time, was a kind of open secret, never acknowledged in overt terms. However, in their writing, Soden and Tippett write of her queerness more freely. Soden writes that Rainier and Tippett even considered a marriage of convenience and that Sally Groves of Schott remembered her as openly lesbian. And Tippett comments on a relationship with a female dancer who lived with rainier in the 1940s. Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues*, 118. Soden, *Michael Tippett*, 397–398.

even of the plural, has become a troublesome term, a site of contest, a cause for anxiety."[15] In mid-twentieth century Britain, these women did, however, share a common experience of gendered cultural attitudes and expectations. In this network all manner of lived experiences found their place.

Butler's theory of "gender performativity" is also central to my analysis. They posit that gender is not inherent, but rather a series actions or behaviors performed by individuals that shape gender via outward signs and language. In the updated preface (1999) to *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, they compare the "performativity of gender" to a reading of Kafka's story "Before the Law" by Derrida. In his reading, the person waiting before the law feels some force, an "anticipation of an authoritative disclosure of meaning," which gives the law its authority. Similarly, Butler argues that expectation regarding gender "operates as an interior essence that might be disclosed, an expectation that ends up producing the very phenomenon it anticipates."[16] Butler concludes: "The view that gender is performative sought to show that what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body."[17] Performativity is then a repetitive act, which is achieved via "naturalization in the context of a body."[18] Their focus on subversion relates directly to my argument about the subversive methods and effects of Rainier's network.

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[15] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 3.
[16] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv.
[17] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv.
[18] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv.

I apply two main aspects of the theory, as outlined above. First is the role of societal expectation. Second is the act of creating, or "manufacturing," a "gendered stylization of the body."[19] In short, in a circular process, society creates expectations, and people perform the roles expected by themselves and others through relationships with and expressions through bodies. To form and enforce expectations, society rewards conforming. Society—in the form of organizations, families, and individuals—also performs the expectations of the category of woman. In the music world, this might include married women not working or composers not writing whatever is deemed "masculine" music in a given cultural and historical context.

The action of gender performativity can include many things, but here I focus on the ways in which it involves conforming to expectations. I am particularly interested in what failure to meet or conform to expectations might mean. Beneath the surface of the quote from William Walton, one reads that Rainier did fail, as it were—she did not fit into the gendered expectations of Walton and the musical world in which he moved.

Because gender was a topic rarely mentioned in written documents, my analysis is necessarily speculative, even suspicious. To better understand historical situations, Michael Gallope introduces the methodological concept of "critical explanations," an approach centered on a causal question (his being: Why was the music of the Cold War avant garde so desirable?), and using "speculation to question and de-sublimate ordered forms of knowledge."[20] The methodological aim of Gallope's critical explanations is to address "a composer's 'perceived,' 'ideological,' or 'unaware' conditions for action with

[19] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv.
[20] Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable?," 201.

the speculative proposal of a 'real' cause."[21]And it is a response to Richard Taruskin's methodological claim that Taruskin's that History, with a capital H, is revealed only through the "actual statements and actions of human agents ('real people')."[22] According to Gallope, "social conventions" (like gender bias, though he does not mention it) can have a kind of "regulatory power" in a historical situation.[23] A critical explanation then helps to translate "between social history and the world of ideas."[24]

Though my question is not causal, (What can we learn about a composer's career by reading the archive along gendered lines?) Gallope's suspicious approach, focusing on unaware (or hidden, obscured) conditions, informs my work.

For Rainier, her contacts were always extremely influential on her music and career. This included relationships with composers (e.g. Michael Tippett), artists (e.g. Hepworth, Henry Moore, Lucian Freud), and music critics and administrators (namely William Glock). A close reading of the relationships and collaborations between Rainier and various members of her female network—Nadia Boulanger, Barbara Hepworth, Janet Craxton, June Opie—illustrate their influence on her career. These women represent both close, personal friendships, and less frequent, professional connections.

Nadia Boulanger and Mentorship

Rainier had a decades-long relationship with Nadia Boulanger that began in the summer of 1937, when she had her first discussion lesson with the famed pedagogue.

[21] Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable?," 202.
[22] Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable?," 200.
[23] Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable?," 202.
[24] Gallope, "Why Was This Music Desirable?," 229.

Boulanger, who had received her position as the chief composition teacher at Paris's *Ecole Normale de Musique* in 1935, was a sought-after teacher, attracting students from all over Europe and the United States. Her preceding reputation would have brought her to Rainier's attention, and the recent teaching appointment, where she worked alongside Stravinsky, made her an even more attractive choice for Rainier's first formal composition study.[25]

After that introductory lesson in May of 1937, Rainier traveled to Paris for three months the following Autumn, during which time she had discussion lessons with Boulanger and attended theory classes at the Conservatoire.[26] In the lessons, Rainier, who worked at a relatively slow pace throughout her career, was asked to bring new musical material to Boulanger each day.[27] Her relationship with Boulanger falls somewhere between a strong and weak tie. The mentorship that began with a few months of lessons in 1937 led to a lifelong friendship. The two wrote letters consistently for four decades and saw each other as often as they happened to visit their respective cities (Paris and London).

In most historical accounts, Nadia Boulanger is discussed primarily in relation to her male students and colleagues: Copland's teacher, Stravinsky's friend.[28] This is due in

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[25] *The Musical Times* 76, no. 1113 (1935): 1008. At the *Ecole Normale*, she worked with Stravinsky, who served as an occasional examiner for her students' work.

[26] RAM, IPR 1/2/11. Rainier left for Paris on October 3, 1937 and had her first meeting with Boulanger on October 14. Lessons began on October 21 and continued weekly until at least mid-December.

[27] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 24.

[28] Some of the recent scholarship includes: Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Jeanice Brooks, ed. *Nadia Boulanger and Her World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020). Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).Kimberly A. Francis ed., *Nadia Boulanger and the Stravinskys: A Selected Correspondence* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2018).

part to the predominance of men in the field, but there is also a lack of scholarship about her female students.[29] A consideration of her connections to her female (and often lesser-known) students has the potential to shift or expand the way we think about Boulanger's influence.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this relationship is Boulanger's seeming benevolence. The famed pedagogue is often mentioned as having tense, even antagonistic, relationships with her female students. She is known to have told her female students that their primary roles were as wives and mothers, not composers.[30] Gendered expectations (a la Butler) shaped her vision of reality, one in which women were unlikely to devote themselves fully to their art because of family duties. Again speculation offers analytical opportunity. If she knew of Rainier's queer identity, that would explain why a certain amount of unpleasantness never passed between them. Marriage and children were off the table for Rainier.

Though little information about the lessons exists in the archives, Boulanger's correspondence with Rainier suggests that their relationship went against this gendered grain.[31] Rainier routinely sent scores and recordings of her music to Boulanger, and she

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[29] A non-exhaustive list of her students includes composers from across Europe and the United States. The following list represents the diversity and breadth of her students: Aaron Copland, Igor Stravinsky, Lennox Berkeley, Elliott Carter, virgil Thompson, Julia Perry, Astor Piazzolla, John Eliot Gardener, Philip Glass, Francis Chagrin, Peggy Glanville-Hicks, Grażina Bacewicz, Louise Talma, and Walter Piston. Each studied with her for different lengths of time, sometimes a few lessons or a course, sometimes more.

[30] Kendra Preston Leonard writes that "Firmly believing that a woman's highest calling was to be a mother, she [Boulanger] required the New York administrators to make sure that scholarships to female applicants went to young, unmarried women only, although men of any age or marital status could receive scholarships." And she continues: "She strongly believed that women could do no greater good than to bear and mother children, yet at the same time she pursued her own career with a ferocity and determination that left little time for interests outside of music. For her, then, the desire to be a good musician was an all-or-nothing proposition." Kendra Preston Leonard, "'Excellence in execution' and 'fitness for teaching:' assessments of women at the Conservatoire Americain," *Women & Music* 11 (2007): 29–50.

[31] As this is an archive of Rainier's papers, I only have access to Boulanger's responses.

responded in kind with critiques and advice, but mostly encouragement. In a letter dated 12 September 1937,[32] Boulanger writes:

> I am decidedly sure of your composing gift, of your composer's faculty, but think that what is missing is self confidence. Try to go on with the daily 'let come out' or even 'force to be black on white.' I am sure that in doing so you would soon arrive to suppress the kind of fence, of barrier, which exists between the inner and the expressed music. Technique [sic] must also be the one which provides us, gives us a vocabulary? If there is not a certain presence of sounds, organized, the strain is too big.

Rainier had always found writing a slow and challenging process. And Boulanger's mentorship expanded to include quasi-psychological advice on creative work. A letter from two years later, reiterates the encouraging message: "Useless to say how happy I am about your work. I truly know that you can accomplish something which means as much for your own life than for ours. This sounds a little too much, but I think so from the depths of my heart."[33]

Their correspondence shows a deep respect towards Rainier as an artist, but it also reveals a close friendship. They wrote to one another until Boulanger was too ill to read and write. A survey of letters from 1937 to 1945, as well as one from 1977, reveals the nature and longevity of Boulanger's mentorship and their friendship. Shortly after their first meeting, before the lessons ensued in October of 1937, Boulanger writes: "I must say what our meeting brought me too and grateful I remain of the exercises, some very significant."[34] This is high praise for rainier, who had thus far had no formal composition lessons. And a few weeks after the conclusion of the lessons, in 1938, she sends her

[32] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, 12 September 1937, from France, IPR 3/7/4.
[33] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, 21 January 1939, from Oberlin, IPR/3/7/9.
[34] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, 13 June 1937, from Paris, IPR 3/7/3.

"wishes for your music, your health, you—and I add, for me too, your coming back."[35] The start of their relationship was strong, telling a story about Boulanger that perhaps does not match what we might expect.

As the years pass, they continued to meet when possible, and Rainier kept Boulanger apprised of her work. In 1939, Boulanger says: "Shall be in Paris July the 3rd most anxious to see you! Can't write, life is truly impossible, but you are always in my mind, you, dear one!"[36] They also discuss the difficulties of living through the years of World War II. "I miss you so much—perhaps still more in these tragic circumstances—now so heavy when the spring is there, beautiful, full of colour, of perfume—and all these men suffering!"[37] Another letter in 1945 was written to Orrea Pernel (violinist), who will be mentioned later in this chapter, by way of Rainier. Pernel has asked Boulanger about a score for Rainier's Quartet for Strings (1939) for an upcoming performance. Boulanger writes to her: "How happy about Priaulx Rainier—it is so deserved—say to her how faithfully I remember—and miss her."[38] One of Boulanger's final letters to Rainier, dated 1977, reveal the enduring relationship between the two. "Your letter renders me quite impatient. I can hardly wait to hear these works. How strange is life: we are so far from each other and at the same time so close."[39] Even forty years after their first meeting, Boulanger remained a supportive and encouraging mentor and friend.

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[35] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, 11 January 1938, from Paris, IPR 3/7/5.
[36] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, May 1939, from Boston, MA, IPR 3/7/11.
[37] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, 21 April 1940, from France, IPR 3/7/14.
[38] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Pernel, 20 September 1945, from Paris, IPR 3/7/16.
[39] RAM, letter from Boulanger to Rainier, 8 November 1977, from France, IPR 3/7/29.

During Rainier's generation and the following one, Boulanger had several other female students who would go on to become prominent composers. The stories of four of these composers help tease out the significance of Rainier's lessons with Boulanger. Louise Talma (1906–1996),[40] Peggy Glanville Hicks (1912–1990),[41] Julia Perry (1924–1979),[42] and Thea Musgrave (b. 1928)[43] each traveled to Paris for varying lengths of studies with Boulanger, benefitting from her guidance, as well as the weight of her reputation.

Perhaps most obvious is the significance of having studied with Boulanger. The impact of this biographical line should not be underestimated. Within the first few lines of a Boulanger student's bio, the teacher's name appears, even for those who studied with her briefly. Her reputation, then and still today, legitimizes the training and work of composers who studied with her.

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[40] Talma was an American composer, born in France, and educated in New York at the Institute of Musical Art (1922–30) and, in Paris the summer school at Fontainebleau., as well as NYU and Columbia. She taught at Hunter College CUNY and Fontainebleau, where she was the first female member of faculty. In her early career, her style was tonal and neoclassical, but she later incorporated serial techniques and structures borrowed from natural sounds (e.g. birdsong or soundscapes of places). Kendra Preston Leonard, *Louise Talma: A Life in Composition* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 1, 127.

[41] Glanville Hicks was an Australian-American composer, critic, and concert organizer. Beginning in 1930, her education took her from the Albert Street Conservatorium in Melbourne, to London's RCM (where she studied with Vaughan Williams), to Vienna for lessons with Egon Wellesz, and finally to Paris where she studied with Boulanger in 1937. James Murdoch, *Peggy Glanville-Hicks: A Transposed Life* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 6, 8, 19, 24, 37, 45. Victoria Rogers, *The Music of Peggy Glanville-Hicks* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), vx–xvi, 1.

[42] American composer Julia Perry was educated at Akron University and Westminster Choir College, as well as Juilliard, where she studied conducting. In the summers of 1951 and 1952, she studied with Dallopiccola, as well as Boulanger in that second summer. "Julia Perry." *The Black Perspective in Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 282.

[43] Musgrave (b. 1928) is a Scottish composer born a generation after Rainier, Lutyens, and Maconchy. She studies at the University of Edinburgh with Hans Gál. In 1949, she, like Rainier, traveled to Paris to study at the Paris Conservatoire with Boulanger. She studied with Boulanger until 1954, and even won the Conservatoire's Lili Boulanger Memorial Prize. Donald L. Hixon, *Thea Musgrave: A Bio-Bibliography* (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 3–4, 7–8.

Several of their stories also involve a migratory experience. Musgrave, born in Scotland, has lived in the US since 1972. Glanville Hicks was born in Australia, studied with Egon Wellesz in Vienna, spent time in the UK, and eventually settled in the US.[44] Talma was born in France to an American mother, spent her career in the US, but made frequent trips to France between 1926 and 1939, when her studies with Boulanger ended.[45] Boulanger seems to have attracted a certain type of student, encouraging their already international experiences of or outlooks on music.

It was not unusual for Boulanger's relationships with her students, both male and female, to be intense and close. In further study, the letters from Boulanger to Rainier would be read productively in the context of the former's relationship with these other composers. For instance, Talma in particular also had a very close relationship with her teacher, whose influence marks much of her life and career during the period of her studies.[46] Other students seem to have gone home from their Paris studies and not maintained the same kind of relationship.

With Boulanger's guidance, these students began their careers with strong compositions, already suffused with their respective characteristic styles. For Rainier, it was her 1939 Quartet for Strings. After these lessons and the premier of her Quartet, her career as a composer began in earnest. The piece is already representative of the style that pervades her entire output. The work, published by Schott in 1947, recorded by the

[44] Murdoch, *Peggy Glanville-Hicks*, 19, 24, 37.
[45] Preston Leonard, *Louise Talma*, 1.
[46] Preston Leonard, *Louise Talma*, 1. In future work, I would like to access their correspondence to compare it to the letters from Boulanger to Rainier.

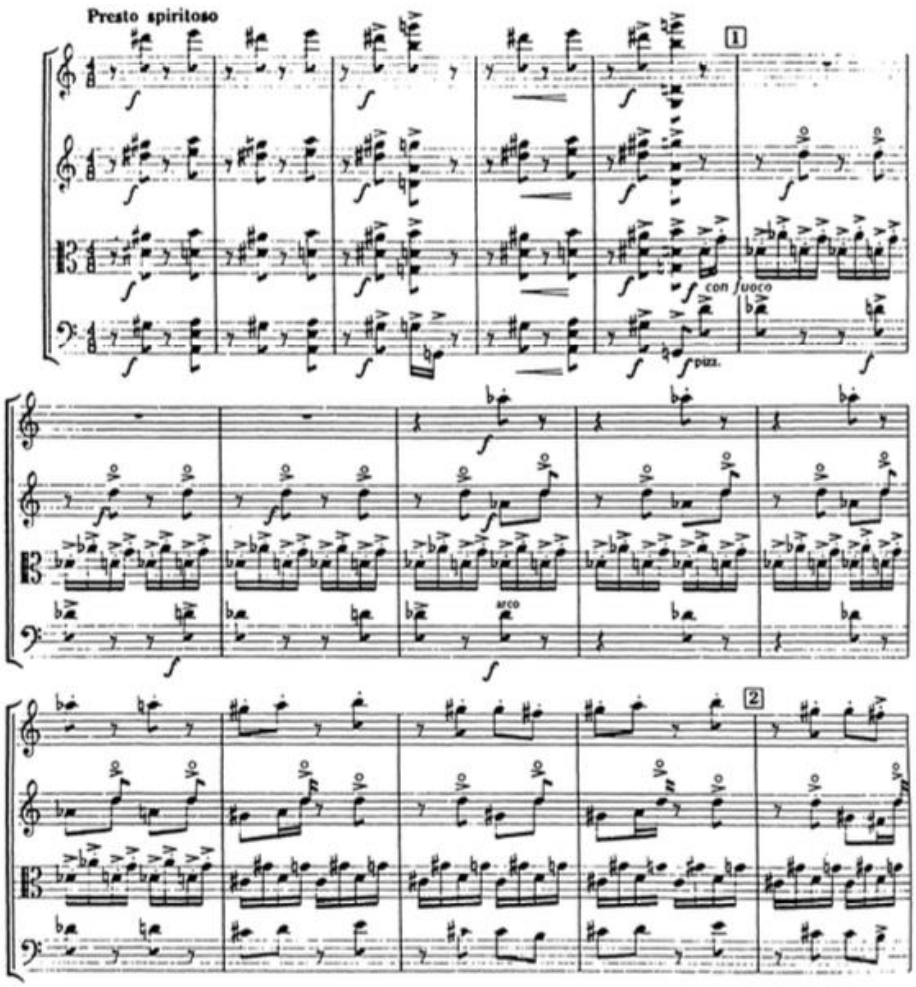
Amadeus Quartet in 1951, and broadcast numerous times on the BBC, was her first, and perhaps most successful and well-received work.

Before 1939, Rainier had written only some student works and a set of songs Three Greek Epigrams (1935). Her decision to write a string quartet was a declaration of her start as a full-time composer and a chance to put her studies with Boulanger to work. In Britain at the time, it was typical to write a string quartet early in one's composition career. Many of her contemporaries—Elisabeth Lutyens, Michael Tippett, Elizabeth Maconchy—count among their first mature works a piece in the same genre. Her models then occupy two spaces. On the one hand are 18th and 19th century quartet composers—Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven—whose music she played as a student and young professional. And on the other hand, are the early 20th century British and European composers whose music she heard in London concerts and on the radio (the BBC began in 1922): Bartok, Hindemith, Webern, and her aforementioned British contemporaries. Her quartet falls somewhere in between: all the clarity and lightness of a Haydn quartet, and the chromaticism and rhythmic focus of Bartok and Stravinsky.

The Quartet for Strings, a four-movement work lasting fifteen minutes, is characterized by its dense chromaticism, rhythmic ingenuity, and unconventional form (see Chapter 2). A brief look at the fourth movement helps to situate the work further. The witty finale, marked presto spiritoso, begins with vertical collections of stacked fifths alternating via horizontal motion by semi-tone. These off-beat staccato chords (in red boxes on the score) alternate between open fifths on G# and A (then D-flat and D-natural). It is characterized by brief staccato motives in each voice. The jagged figuration gives way to a dance-like dialogue of accented beats among the four voices. And precise

bowing instructions, the predominant form of peritext in Rainier's string scores, spring from a keen sense of what she wants, but also her knowledge and skill as a violinist.

The movement's harmonic language emphasizes slowly changing tonal centers through pedal tones and the interval of a minor second is played with from the first beat to the last. Typical of Rainier's writing, tonal chords move based on half-step patterns in the bass (see the adjacent roots in Example 5.1), rather than traditional harmonic progression. Half-steps structure, not just the cello, but other voices as well. In m. 1, the violin moves from D# to E, and in mm. 1–2, the violin 2 from G# to A to G-natural. Indeed, by the late 1950s, Rainier would abandon tonal chords altogether.



Example 5.1. Rainier, Quartet for Strings, IV, mm. 1–16.

For Rainier, rhythm is nearly always the dominant musical parameter at work. Jagged figures, repetitive patterns, and the block-like juxtaposition of ideas evade bar lines and subvert expectations. From the beginning, critics attached to her music a broadly African influence, primarily projecting drum sounds onto its rhythms, an aspect of her reception I explore in detail in my dissertation. Instead, her music bears evidence of her affinity for, and with, Stravinsky, whose music was a lifelong interest and inspiration for Rainier, and who she met through Boulanger. It has the rhythmic drive of the early ballets, the structural ostinati of his neo-classical period, the daring orchestration

of his late works, and perhaps most significantly the block-like forms that define much of his music. These juxtaposed blocks of rhythmic ideas, rather than traditional forms. This is a concept I borrow from Peter van den Toorn, who defines the structure as a "framework" in which "two or more blocks of relatively heterogenous content are repeatedly and often abruptly juxtaposed."[47] Here the first block is characterized by jagged, loud, accented figurations and alternating harmonic motion. And the second is softer, slurred, and more static. The affinity with Stravinsky's music is clear and unsurprising. Rainier's output has much affinity with his music and Boulanger was his longtime friend and supporter.

This piece was the catalyst for her entrance into the musical world as a composer and became a thread that runs throughout her career. In 1940, the Quartet for Strings was premiered privately due to air raids and hall closures, and in 1944 it finally received its public premier at London's Wigmore Hall. In 1951, the work was recorded by the Amadeus Quartet. And in the same year even staged as a ballet by the American Jose Limon Ballet Company in New York City and London, again demonstrating the influence of Rainier's female network. Her close friend and successful interpreter of modern dance, Pola Nirenska, immigrated to the United States with her husband in 1949.[48] The Quartet was dedicated to Nirenska, who was a close acquaintance of the ballet's choreographer, Doris Humphreys, perhaps even the one who shared the piece with her originally.[49]

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[47] Peter Van den Toorn, *Stravinsky and the Rite of Spring: The Beginnings of a Musical Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 97.

[48] Anna Kisselgoff, "The Dance: By Pola Nirenska," *The New York Times* (March 11, 1982): 32.

[49] See: https://ramsayburt.wordpress.com/2022/06/06/pola-nirenska-1910-1992-timeline/.

Rainier even lived with Nirenska for a time, working closely with her on her dance projects and attending many of her rehearsals.[50] The two also likely had a romantic relationship for some time. Michael Tippett refers to the relationship without naming Nirenska: "She was living in a self-contained flat in London with a woman dancer, but this relationship broke down when the dancer went to the USA. Priaulx returned to her own place in Notting Hill, in which she often accommodated conscientious objectors and others needing help."[51] Here, again, a strong and intimate tie led to a significant career opportunity.

The quartet went on to be repeatedly and consistently broadcast on the BBC during her life. And critics lauded its craft and emotional power for her entire career. The Bartok-tinged quartet garnered enthusiastic support from William Glock, who was then a music critic at *The Observer*. He would go on to have an influential role at the BBC and become a close friend of Rainier. He said: "I cannot recommend this work too strongly…had Miss Rainier written nothing but the first movement, she would still be one of our best composers." Twenty years later, as head of the BBC Proms, he would commission a new work from Rainier, at a time when women rarely appeared on the program.[52] This first major work after her studies with Boulanger formed the basis of her reputation for the rest of her career.

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[50] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 27.

[51] Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues*, 118.

[52] The BBC provides an archive of Proms performances back to 1895. In the mid-twentieth century, women rarely appear on the program as composers, and even more rarely as commissioned composers. *BBC Proms Performance Archive*, accessed March 15, 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/events/by/date/2023.

Barbara Hepworth and Interdisciplinary Collaboration

A second figure, and perhaps Rainier's closest friend, is British sculptor Barbara Hepworth (1903–1975). Rainier and Hepworth met in 1949, after moving in overlapping circles of artists and writers for many years.[53] And in 1950, Rainier lived for a short time at the home of Hepworth and then husband Ben Nicholson, a painter, in St. Ives Cornwall. Later she owned a cottage near their home. The area was a kind of artists' community, retrospectively referred to as the St. Ives' School, where, from the 1950s, artists interested in abstraction went for the distinctive landscapes and special quality of light of the coastal area. It had previously been a popular place for artists to retreat to during World War II.[54] Hepworth's sculptures were mostly abstract, many characterized by central negative space and rounded forms.

Physical support like housing from other women was a subversive kind of support, queering the established domestic realm, and challenging the heteronormative path to artistic success and financial stability. Rainier's relationship with Hepworth was intense and close. And the two were in constant contact, sometimes writing daily letters when not in the same city.[55] A letter from Hepworth to Rainier (who was in France at the time) in April 1950 demonstrates the way in which they interacted with and supported one another's work: "Each day I play [the] Quartet, and it means more to me every time I play it. Friends, 5 or 6 of them, who have heard it exclaim at its beauty and have used the word I used—"fullness." Please tell me if recordings of other works are available?"[56]

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[53] She also spent time with British studio potter Bernard Leach (1887–1979) in St. Ives. Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues*, 119.

[54] "St Ives School," *Tate*, accessed April 19, 2022.

[55] Letters held at the RAM, IPR 3/36/1.

[56] RAM, letter from Hepworth to Rainier, 19 April 1950, from St. Ives, Cornwall, IPR 3/36/1/6.

Here we can see Rainier's network expanding in real time. Her music reached new audiences via her connection with Hepworth. And another letter dated the following day reads: "Our lives touching at this point seems to have helped me in a miraculous sort of way."[57] These near-daily letters were common for several years, and Hepworth writes to Rainier about her work, children, marriage, and aspirations. They worked on their respective artistic endeavors in tandem, and had a lifelong dialogue about art, music, politics, and life.

In 1953, Rainier collaborated with Hepworth on a documentary about the artist's sculptures and the Cornish landscapes that inspired them. The short film, *Figures in a Landscape* (Dudley Shaw Ashton, UK, 1953), was commissioned by the British Film Institute's Experimental Film Fund. Rainier had written a short fragment she titled *Rhythms of the Stones* in response to hearing Hepworth and her assistants carving *Contrapuntal Forms*, a commission for the Festival of Britain on London's South bank. Rainier's score, an elaboration of "Rhythms of the Stones," is fed by the rhythmic sound of Hepworth's chisel. Standing ten feet tall, the sculpture was Hepworth's largest to date, requiring her to take on assistants for the first time. It consists of two semi-abstract, monumental figures, separate, but, in Hepworth's words: "blended into one carved and rhythmic form."[58]

This musical way of thinking about art, always present in Hepworth's writing, intensified during the 1950s. In her work, she responded to meeting Rainier. Many of her

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[57] RAM, letter from Hepworth to Rainier, 20 April 1950, from St. Ives, Cornwall, IPR 3/36/1/7.

[58] "Sculpture in the Garden," *The Hepworth Wakefield*, accessed December 15, 2023, https://hepworthwakefield.org/barbara-hepworth-art-and-life/barbara-hepworth-art-and-life-explore-the-exhibition/barbara-hepworth-art-and-life-garden/.

sculptures from 1950 forward have musical titles: the aforementioned *Contrapuntal Forms*, as well as Curved *Forms (Pavane)* (1956), and *Forms in Movement (Galliard)* (1956).

The music in the film is not lush, but dry, hard-edged, and clattering. The score's rhythmic gestures are not mickey-mousing, but they have something to do with the images in the film. Rather than hearing the sound of the chisel striking wood and stones, we hear Rainier's percussive music. The chattering of the seagulls, the town's constant soundtrack, float atop the persistent chiseling gestures. As the landscape comes in and out of the frame, the pointed rhythms of the music speak to the sound of Hepworth's chisel, but also the jagged, rocky landscape of the St. Ives coast.

The film's approach is certainly experimental. It is almost devoid of biographical storytelling, and instead focuses on artistic process and the relationship between art and nature. And the visual dimension is striking. The camera is constantly shifting between close-up details (of hands, tools, portions of sculptures), the artist at work, and the entire coastal landscape. The quality of light that drew artists to this region is on full display in the documentary. It is bright and harsh, highlighting every detail and casting dramatic shadows.

In images of St. Ives, the visual worlds of the geographies of their childhoods collide. The endless blue waters and lush, almost tropical flora create a quasi-Mediterranean scene, a combination of the "cold, gray North" of England where Hepworth grew up and the mountainous, coastal region of Eastern South Africa where

Rainier spent her early years. Indeed, in the garden, for which Rainier drew the design and chose the plants, many of the plants are native African species.[59]

Perhaps the most striking element of the film is the relationship between art, nature, and history suggested by the framing of Hepworth at work. In several frames we see the juxtaposition of Medieval and modern, nature and art, image and sound, raw wood and stone. Behind the sculpture in progress, the 15th century St. Ia's Church stands in the middleground, with the rocky coast beyond. As if a natural extension of the environment, modern art is connected to the rocky cliffs shaped by nature, as well as the church, still standing after centuries. The title of "Figures in a landscape" then takes on multiple meanings. The figures are at once the sculptures and churches, the trees and rocky, shore-side protrusions, the artist, and the musical figures that bring them all together. Hepworth's sculptures, susceptible to the wind, rain, and salt, are kin to the formations on the shore shaped by nature over time. And Rainier's score has been similarly shaped. Glimpses of the landscape through the characteristic negative spaces in Hepworth's sculptures suggest that looking at art is one way of seeing nature. And the score invites us to hear this relationship as well.

The connections between spatial and musical elements in the film are present in Hepworth's artistic imagination as well as in Rainier's way of thinking about and conceiving of music. Indeed, Rainier often used spatial metaphors to talk about her music. Overlapping, static fragments replace conventional motivic or harmonic development, forming what she called "honeycombs" of sound.[60] And inspired by

[59] Soden, "Priaulx Rainier: Fearless and Pioneering Composer."
[60] Soden, "Priaulx Rainier: Fearless and Pioneering Composer."

quantum theory, she also described her music (especially her oboe quartet Quanta) as "bunching together musical atoms," which could repel one another and spin freely like their physical reference.[61] Silences are precisely notated in her music, contributing shape to the phrases they connect. And the Stravinskian blocks of the Quartet for Strings return in this score, taking on a sculptural, spatial character.

Hepworth was equally committed to the rhythmic dimension of her own work. While working, and guiding her assistants, she was particular about the rhythm of the hammers and chisels, believing that it was essential to well-formed sculpture. She says: "The sound of a mallet or a hammer is music to my eyes, when either is done rhythmically."[62] There existed an inherent affinity between Hepworth's rhythmic sculptures and Rainier's sculptural rhythms—an affinity surely made more evident by their time spent together. Oliver Soden writes that "so close had the two become that their work almost intermingled, and Priaulx's notes seemed to catch the knock of chisel on metal or wood, while the smooth and almost melodic lines of Hepworth's sculptures were often strung like instruments."[63] Rainier's friendship and collaboration with Hepworth gives us a new way of listening to her music.

The film score is an anomaly in Rainier's list of works: she never wrote music for other films. And it gave her tangential access to an entirely new network. The film was collaborative at its core. It was directed by Dudley Shaw Ashton, a prominent writer and director whose filmography includes multiple films about artists and the British landscape. The script was written by the writer and archeologist Jacquetta Hawkes and

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[61] Soden, "Priaulx Rainier: Fearless and Pioneering Composer."
[62] Barbara Hepworth, *A Pictorial Autobiography* (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1972), 49.
[63] Soden, *Michael Tippett*, 400.

narrated by Cecil Day Lewis, future UK Poet Laureate (at the time he was Professor of Poetry at Oxford). And most significantly the project also gave Rainier the opportunity to work with top-notch London performers. James Blades, who was the leading percussionist in London at the time, plays the prominent and intricate percussion part. And the ensemble music is performed by the Brain Wind Ensemble, led by Britain's leading horn player in the mid-century: Dennis Brain.[64] Rainier was only on the edge of this network, but her backdoor access was facilitated by her close relationship and artistic exchange with Hepworth, whose name, already in the early 50s, attracted the attention of both public audiences and prominent figures in artistic fields. Having her name associated with Hepworth and this cast of musicians increased hard-to-win exposure for Rainier.

Though Rainier and Hepworth did not meet until the late 1940s, they came from similar places, culturally and aesthetically speaking. Paris in the 1930s was a hub of young creatives drawn to abstraction, including both Rainier and Hepworth. Hepworth's connection to Paris remained strong while in England as well. In the early-to mid-1930s, she was a member of British groups of artists (alongside Henry Moore, Ben Nicholson, John Piper, and others) that were closely associated with the Paris-based, international association of abstract artists *Abstraction-Création*.[65] She knew and visited French artists like Picasso, Mondrian, Brancusi, and Calder. And in the 1930s, she cofounded the movement called *Unit One*, a circle of modern artists in London that had similar goals

[64] Georgia Korossi, "Documenting form on film: Barbara Hepworth reimagined," *British Film Institute*, June 23, 2015.

[65] "Abstraction-Création," *Tate*, accessed March 5, 2024, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/abstraction-creation. See also: "Abstraction-Création," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 21, 2015.

and aesthetic values as *Abstraction-Création*.[66] Through and around Hepworth, as well as her own time in Paris, Rainier was also moving in a circle of artists. Indeed, Paris had been at the center of Hepworth's artistic life from the time of her student days. She made several trips with her classmates in the 1920s to visit galleries and attend life drawing classes.[67] In the 1930s, it was through husband Ben Nicholson that she met Kandinsky, Mondrian, and others, whose work she admired, and from whom she occasionally shared her own work and received feedback.[68] She even considered relocating to the city on a permanent basis, but the plan never actualized.[69]

Rainier's own time in Paris included regular meetings with surrealist poet David Gascoyne, who wrote the text for her 1956 *Requiem*. Her archives point to further engagement with the arts in Paris, including meeting others in Gascoyne's circle. Her photo album even contains a picture of the recently completed *Guernica* leaned against the wall of Picasso's apartment.[70] In London too, she moved in a circle of artists, just as much as she did with musicians.

Collaboration with Performers

Rainier also worked closely with a number of female British musicians throughout her career. Especially early in her career, but also as she became more established, these musicians were often women. Early in her career, it was female friends and acquaintances who were willing to learn and perform her music, which was often

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[66] "Abstraction-Création," *Tate*.
[67] Eleanor Clayton, *Barbara Hepworth: Art and Life* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2021), 28.
[68] Clayton, *Barbara Hepworth: Art and Life*, 75.
[69] Clayton, *Barbara Hepworth: Art and Life*, 56.
[70] RAM, photo album, IPR/7. Whether or not she took the photo, she was undoubtedly aware of, and engaged in, artistic abstraction.

deemed difficult in a British musical scene that was hesitant of, even antagonistic to, anything avant-garde or Continental. In these first ten years of her career, not only were the musicians performing her music were overwhelmingly female, but also the people facilitating performances.

In the 1930s, Rainier regularly attended musical weekends hosted by Lady Diana Massingberd at her home, Gunby Hall in Lincolnshire.[71] There Lady Massingberd, who was also a musician of some skill, arranged performances by small groups of invited players. There Rainier met violinist Orrea Pernel, who would become a friend and collaborator.[72] Indeed, one of her earliest public performances was a direct result of her friendship with Pernel. After sharing a recently completed duet for violin and piano, Pernel added it to the program for an upcoming recital she was to perform at Wigmore Hall with pianist Harriet Cohen.[73]

Her network also helped her to find willing and able performers. The first performance of her *Three Greek Epigrams*, her first work completed after her lessons with Boulanger, took place in the music room of Pernel's London flat. As the songs were difficult and Rainier relatively unknown still, securing a singer proved a challenge. Pernel showed the songs to singer Miete Muthesius, who embraced the challenge:

> No-one could be found who *dared*! So Orrea brought me the songs and asked me to try and sing them. I found them fascinating and extremely difficult, especially the second one. I agreed. I was quite petrified at first because I knew no-one, except Orrea who accompanied me. I think I was a bit wobbly at first, but it gradually got better.
>
> Priaulx was extremely nice and very grateful…She had now a good idea of what was passable, and what needed working on. She offered to coach me,

[71] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 21.
[72] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 21.
[73] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 22.

> which I was naturally only too glad to accept and this resulted in my singing the songs at various important houses.[74]

This brief recollection says a lot about how the female network functioned. First, Muthesius expresses an openness to the difficult and unfamiliar style of Rainier's music. Second, she alludes to the occurrence of private performances that are relatively unknown. Without advertisements and programs, her words are a rare account of how the events came together and functioned. And finally, first performances of new works were vital to Rainier's development as a composer.

Like many composers, Rainier had recurring collaborations with a number of performing musicians. In 1950, Margaret Kitchin, a pianist of Swiss-English heritage, premiered Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* during a concert with the LSE Orchestra in London. Kitchin had relocated to England only the year before, but with an established career behind her, she quickly made a name for herself as a passionate advocate of modern music, propelling her new career to an auspicious beginning. Earlier, on June 11, 1949, Kitchin, alongside violist Winifred Copperwheat performed Rainier's Sonata, for viola and piano on the BBC's Third Programme. For both composer and pianist, this was the first time they were heard on the BBC.[75] The performance marks the beginning of two productive careers that included long-lasting relationships with the BBC. And it is likely where the two met and hit it off, for it was only a year later that Kitchin would perform the premier of Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite*.

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[74] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars* Singing,*"* 24.

[75] Searches for Rainier and Kitchin on https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk, a website that catalogues BBC radio broadcasts, show this broadcast as the first appearance for both composer and performer.

As will also be seen in Rainier's collaboration with oboist Janet Craxton, it often happened that one way in at the BBC was a relationship with a performer contracted by the BBC who was allowed to choose the music on their program. Even if the BBC might have turned away Rainier's music, if someone like Kitchin proposed it and had already learned a piece, it had a better chance of being broadcast. The problem of difficulty of the music was overcome by performers who were already learning it. The BBC did not have to find someone willing to devote time to learning new music.

In obituaries published in British newspapers, Kitchin is remembered chiefly for her devotion to modern music, a devotion made undeniable by the repertory list in her five decades of performances.[76] Described as "keen to promote serialists,"[77] a specialist in "difficult modern works,"[78] and being "particularly associated with those adventurous composers sympathetic to continental developments who established reputations after the war,"[79] Kitchin's name was nearly synonymous with contemporary music by the time of her death. Her musical facility also made her particularly well-suited to new music: she was an excellent sight reader and her playing was characterized by "rhythmic precision and subtlety of color."[80]

Kitchin's interest in contemporary repertoire meant that she regularly interacted with and performed the music of London's émigré composers. Alongside performances of works by British-born composers like Arnold Bax, Benjamin Britten, and Michael

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[76] See a list of her known performances at: "Performances," *Remembering Margaret Kitchin*, accessed May 5, 2024, http://www.margaretkitchin.org.uk/performances.html.

[77] "Margaret Kitchin: Pianist who promoted modern piano music and premiered works by Tippett," *The Times*, no. 69375 (July 14, 2008), 51.

[78] Lewis Foreman, "Margaret Kitchin: Concert Pianist and Champion of Modern British Composers," *Independent,* 1 July 2008.

[79] "Margaret Kitchin: Pianist who promoted modern piano music and premiered works by Tippett," 51.

[80] "Margaret Kitchin: Pianist who promoted modern piano music and premiered works by Tippett," 51.

Tippett, she performed the music of Alexander Goehr, Peter Racine Fricker, Franz Reizenstein, Mátyás Seiber, and an equal number of central European émigrés to the United States.[81]

Kitchin's own network was expansive. And though she produced few albums, her performance history is a veritable who's who of the British contemporary classical music scene in the mid-to-late twentieth century. It was Rainier who introduced the pianist to Michael Tippett, with whom she would work consistently for the duration of his career.[82] Other composers with whom she worked closely, apart from the above list, included Benjamin Britten, who dedicated the cadenza of his Piano Concerto, op. 13 to Kitchin; Alan Bush, whose works she premiered several times; and Iain Hamilton, among others. Her repertoire list is packed with first performances of new works and dedications from composer to pianist.[83] To work with Kitchin was then a kind of rite of passage for contemporary composers in need of able and dedicated performers of their music. Undoubtedly, this performance of Rainier's *Barbaric Dance Suite* strengthened her own reputation in the British musical world.

Beginning in the 1950s, she worked frequently with British oboist Janet Craxton (1929–1981), dedicating works to the performer, who in turn performed them on well-known stages and BBC radio recitals. Craxton was the leading oboist in Britain this time, so a collaboration with her was significant for a composer's career. She studied oboe at the RAM and the Paris Conservatoire, and her first professional role was with Hallé

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[81] "Performances," *Remembering Margaret Kitchin*. Goehr and Fricker both also dedicated works to Kitchin.

[82] Lewis Foreman, "Margaret Kitchin: Concert Pianist and Champion of Modern British Composers," *Independent,* 1 July 2008.

[83] "Performances," *Remembering Margaret Kitchin*.

Orchestra, followed by positions with the London Mozart Players, the BBC Symphony Orchestra, the London Sinfonietta, and the Royal Opera at Covent Garden. Her quartet, the London Oboe Quartet, performed live and on the BBC numerous times.[84] Her gifts shone particularly in chamber music, and she premiered works by many contemporary composers—Vaughan Williams, Lutyens, Maconchy, and Alan Rawsthorne, among others. Toward the end of her career, she also taught at the RAM.[85]

Rainier's relationship with Craxton was a classic case of the weak ties Granovetter describes. They knew each other professionally and spoke infrequently. Their correspondence is of a professional nature, but always collaborative and supportive.[86] And it gave Rainier extra access to BBC airtime. In early 1960, Craxton sent a tape of Rainier's *Pastoral Triptych* for oboe solo to BBC Music Programme Organiser Harry Croft-Jackson. She was requesting to have the work broadcast as part of her ongoing series of performances on BBC Radio 3. At the same time, Rainier wrote to the Music Programme administrators as well as to Hans Keller, music critic, writer, and BBC employee, who could not help, but passed her letter on to the music organizer.[87]

On BBC Third Programme broadcasts that highlighted a specific musician, that person had considerable freedom to choose the music they performed. And by submitting a recording of the work, Craxton helped Rainier to bypass one of the most common hurdles she faced to broadcast appearances: that her music was deemed too difficult, and therefore never heard. Instrumentation played a role too. "Ideological conditions," to use

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[84] "Janet Craxton." *The Musical Times* 122, no. 1663 (1981): 623.
[85] John Warrack, "Craxton, Janet." *Grove Music Online*, 2001.
[86] Correspondence about and to Rainier in regards to the BBC found at: BBC WAC, File No. 1 (1941–62).
[87] Letters available at BBC WAC, various files.

Gallope's term, that discriminated against both women and modern music were bypassed. The score, for solo oboe, and more specifically written for Craxton herself, required no accompanist or ensemble to be found, hired, or paid, bypassing yet another hurdle: money. These kinds of documents do not exist for other performers with whom she later worked closely, like tenor Peter Pears or violinist Yehudi Menuhin.

The precise use of silence and free-floating melodic fragments that characterize much of Rainier's music are on full display in this solo work. The *Pastoral Triptych* seems to conjure open spaces, singing birds, and slowly changing landscapes in its three untitled movements. Rainier's apparent spatial thinking has much affinity with Hepworth's sense of space.

In 1957, Craxton and clarinetist Thea King commissioned a new work from Rainier that became the *Concertante for Two Winds and Orchestra*.[88] Craxton and King were both successful, well-respected performers, and therefore had some influence over what kind of music was performed. Craxton was the most prominent oboist in London, until her untimely death just before the premier of this work. She consistently commissioned and performed new works by both established and up-and-coming British composers.[89] King taught at the Guildhall in London and performed often with the English Chamber Orchestra and London Symphony Orchestra.[90] Alongside performances of Mozart and Weber, she devoted a lot of time to premiering and recording works by British composers: Benjamin Britten, Malcolm Arnold, and Elizabeth Maconchy, among

[88] Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Aix: A Successful Taste for Experiment," *The Sunday Times* (August 9, 1981): 31.

[89] "Janet Craxton." *The Musical Times* 122, no. 1663 (1981): 623.

[90] "Dame Thea King," *The Times*, no. 69052 (2007): 77. Michael Carter, "King of the Clarinet." *Tenafly* 27, no. 1 (2003): 28.

others.[91] This collaboration demonstrates how the commitment of a performer helps to shape a composer's output and career.

Granovetter's theorization of weak ties provides a way to discuss Rainier's peripheral access to other networks—the artists involved in making the film with Hepworth, the performers of her music in her early career, as well as artists from other disciplines. These weak ties are what he calls "bridges," which are "the only path between two points."[92] They bridge, as it were, the space between two individuas tied to the same strong tie. When there are strong ties between A & B and A & C (such as between Rainier and Hepworth), the tie between B & C is always present. The latter might be between Rainier and the musicians and filmmakers involved in Hepworth's film. These "bridges" are shorter paths and easier to form than other kinds of weak ties. Rainier's female network gave her consistent access to such ties.[93]

Rainier and her Contemporaries

The cohort of active composers in British musical life during Rainier's career included few women. Limited in number, but significant in contribution, their careers offer a revealing context for Rainier's experience. Both Elizabeth Maconchy (1907–1994) and Elisabeth Lutyens (1906–1983) were born within a few years of Rainier, making comparison meaningful. But first, some biographical information about these two composers sets the stage for such comparison.

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[91] "Dame Thea King," *The Times*, no. 69052 (2007): 77.
[92] Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1364.
[93] Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1364.

Maconchy completed formal composition studies at the RCM with Charles Wood and Ralph Vaughan Williams, and a scholarship in 1929 took her to Prague for further studies.[94] Success came early—her suite *The Land* was performed at a Proms concert in 1930, when she was just twenty-three years old. She became well-known first for her chamber works, which were performed across Britain and Europe. But it was opera, stage, and vocal works that dominated her output in later years.[95] Her thirteen string quartets, of which she was particularly proud, demonstrate a linear, motivic, rhythmically driven style.[96] Around the demands of being a parent, contracting tuberculosis, and wartime evacuation, she forged a dynamic career. And she took on leadership roles in both the Composers' Guild and the SPNM, speaking both to her reputation and the shifting gender dynamics in those institutions.[97]

Lutyens, daughter of English architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, was educated, like Rainier, in both Paris in London. Studies at the *Ecole Normal* in Paris were followed by a degree at the RCM, where she studied composition with Harold Darke and Ernest Tomlinson. Her marriage to Edward Clark, BBC program maker from 1927 to 1936, was, despite its turmoil, important for building her network amongst the British and European avant garde. He was well-connected to a large circle of British and European avant-garde composers.[98] His struggle to find sustained employment was also a factor in Lutyens decision to take on jobs in film and radio, work she did not consider as significant. Her

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[94] Rhiannon Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music: A Blest Trio of Sirens* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Pub., 2012). 28.

[95] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 36.

[96] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 94–107.

[97] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 239.

[98] Annika Forkert, *Elisabeth Lutyens and Edward Clark: The Orchestration of Progress in British Twentieth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 27–28.

style was constantly evolving. Early works demonstrate a neo-classical bent, but later she embraced dodecaphonic methods. Her mature style had more linguistic and rhythmic freedom, with more lyricism and a strong focus on stage and vocal works.[99]

All three composers—Rainier, Maconchy, and Lutyens—have several biographical points in common. Each studied at a major conservatory in London (RAM or RCM). They wrote music that was avant-garde and set them apart from many of their contemporaries. For Rainier, this often meant her music being labeled as too difficult or inaccessible, especially at the BBC where internal documents show reluctance to broadcast her music because of these reasons.

During World War II, when they were all in their late 30s, each of their careers had to change or pause due to wartime closures and evacuations from the city. None could have music performed in London. Lutyens took on more radio and television work.[100] Maconchy was in Ireland when the war began, and she remained there until 1940. Back in England, performances were canceled and she split her time between composing and domestic responsibilities.[101] Rainier, like all composers was unable to secure performances of new works, and even spent some time in the countryside contributing to mandatory wartime labor.[102]

Further, pivotal moments of institutional success bolstered their reputations and likely led to new opportunities. At first, this came in the form of formal education in conservatories. All had been educated at major institutions in London, where they had

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[99] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 65, 77, 92. Forkert, *Elisabeth Lutyens and Edward Clark*, 24, 34, 37.

[100] Forkert, *Elisabeth Lutyens and Edward Clark*, 37.

[101] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 100.

[102] Opie, *"Come and Listen to the Stars Singing,"* 27.

access to teachers, networking, and the legitimization that comes with a degree from a prestigious program. For Maconchy, this also came with her early appearance on a Proms program, an opportunity for which most had to wait, as well as positions with the Composers' Guild and the Society for the Promotion of New Music (SPNM).[103] Lutyens gained an international reputation and even had a piece performed at the 1939 ISCM Festival in Warsaw (1938 Second String Quartet)[104]

In a male-dominated field, their models were even fewer and further between. Ethel Smyth (1858–1944) was already in her seventies when Rainier was getting her start as a composer. And the story of the singular success of an exceptional woman is not necessarily an encouragement. Within this context, the significance of a female network is emphasized. As they had few models and faced the presence of social and institutional bias, the gendered subversion argued for in this chapter was a practical reality.

Conclusion

In this exploration of Rainier's female network, the categories of European, avant-garde, émigré, and woman intermingle in fascinating ways. Her status as a foreigner also made her an outsider in many ways. Especially in musical institutions and criticism, her foreignness was called on often to describe her and her music (see Chapter 2). In these less formal ties with other women, she avoided some institutional bias based on gender and cultural background. Early in her career especially, the lower stakes of weak ties outside of institutions allowed for room to experiment.

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[103] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 36, 239.
[104] Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music*, 67.

The dynamics of collaborations between women in the mid-century are necessarily different from the largely male collaborations that dominate scholarly discourse about artistic exchange. In Rainier's case, they seem more likely to blur the lines between personal and professional, strong and weak ties. But the network of people discussed in this chapter constitute one branch of the many, often overlapping, circles in which Rainier moved. Zeroing in on the female network is one method for answering questions about her stylistic and career trajectory. Questions like: How did she get her start? How did she find performers? How did certain projects come her way?

These examples demonstrate how the female network subverted power structures that were male-dominated and nation-centered by granting back-door access to institutional opportunities and cultivating ties with leading figures in musical life. When the kinds of institutional access that propelled or solidified a career as a composer were unofficially off limits, Rainier's offers a new way of understanding how a network can function and a career in migration can form. These figures are key to understanding the extra-institutional network in Rainier developed as a modernist composer.

Conclusion

This study has explored the individual and collective experiences of, and responses to, migration in the lives and work of three composers with diverse life histories and career paths. Indeed, it is that same diversity that prompted, shaped, and guided this study. As active participants in British musical life, Rainier, Seiber, and Fox have influenced, and been influenced by, not only their own backgrounds, but the evolving artistic landscape of their adopted country. I began with two topics of interrogation that defined the aim of this study. One was to understand how the shared experience of engagement with their specific backgrounds manifested in their lives and careers. And the other was to explore the role of social and professional networks in the formation of their careers.

These composers have shown shared experiences of stylistic development and trajectory, navigating careers in a new country, and confronting stereotypes about music and foreignness. Further, each of their networks played key roles in both career and artistic development. Seiber's circle at and around Morley College in the 1940s gave him access to a strong network that was, arguably, a catalyst for the rest of his career in Britain. And Rainier's overlapping networks, female and otherwise, did much the same, materializing performances, advocating for her, and supporting her work. For better or worse, each of my subjects was, in criticism and musical discourse, tied to their specific background. And often their music and interests have been heard preemptively as foreign, overshadowing their ties to British music. But, as we have seen, all three composers have also engaged with their backgrounds in different ways that belie the importance of a

methodology that balances the collective and the individual. This study has shown that factors like age, gender, religious and ethnic identity, and experiences of migration contribute to different experiences establishing oneself as a composer.

In choosing mid-century Britain as the setting for this study, I found that the music of émigré composers, who were major players in the musical scene after the 1930s, had received little attention compared to a similar context in the United States. This scene was rich and particular to its time and place. Mid-century Britain is characterized by two historical contexts. First, its power as a colonial empire was waning. And second, it was the one of last countries to evade Nazi occupation during World War II, and the fear of invasion was real and palpable. In the music scene, there was immense anxiety about the arrival of well-trained musicians from Continental Europe. And avant-garde music viewed skeptically at best, and outright rejected at worst. The traditional/modern, tonal/atonal, and domestic/foreign binaries were intertwined and provided powerful cultural myths that suffused attitudes about émigré composers' music at both individual and institutional levels.

What has emerged are complex stories of artistic development between two cultures. The process of migration destabilized the idea of national identity for many composers, and in migration they explored these national musical connections in inventive ways. From song settings to melodic and rhythmic influences, to title and text choices such as Seiber's use of English language texts). Their journeys often reflect a dynamic interplay between tradition and innovation. This is especially true for Seiber, whose work deftly spanned a wide range of genres and styles. Émigré composers, whose music was often avant-garde, represented a foreignness that was at odds with the broader

British musical scene. Often, their music is deeply abstract, and references to nation, place, and culture are spare. Fox, rather than quoting folk material, has incorporated its elements—melody in particular—into a highly personal, modernist idiom.

After 1945, with the restrictions of wartime beginning to lift, émigré composers' careers and music had the space to flourish. As teachers and composers, Seiber and Rainier established reputations, while also supporting themselves as working artists. And Fox began her formal education in music, engaging with Western art music deeply amid a childhood suffused with the sounds of traditional Jewish chant and liturgical music.

Scholarship on music and migration is expanding as I complete this study. And the breadth of this topic inspires meaningful extensions of the current project. The compositions given attention in each chapter, while reflective of the composers' work, represent only a small portion of their output. The inclusion of a broader sample of works will make a study of their music in relation to migration even richer. The focus of this study is on the influences present in each composer's life and work. But they have all influenced British music and musical life as well. As composers and teachers, their legacies continue. British music from the mid-century forward is inextricable from the variety of cultural and artistic influences brought to bear on it by composers who have migrated there.

My project involved constructing thorough biographical sketches, engaging with archival sources, situating the composers and their music in their historical, social, and artistic contexts, and listening closely to individual works with these details in mind. One of the most essential and meaningful aspects of working on this project was the time I spent doing archival research in the UK. Boxes and files of letters, photos, musical

sketches, lectures, program notes, and unpublished institutional documents not only revealed what these composers' careers looked like, but also how they were formed. And there are still hundreds of photos and pages of notes waiting on my computer.

The choice of three composers is at once limited and expansive in scope. That is, there are many parts of their careers and output that did not make it into this study. And there are many other émigré composers in Britain whose work invites meaningful contributions to my project. The range of possible studies into their lives and music have been until now only briefly realized.

So, what does it mean to hear migration in music? It means to listen closely, to learn deeply about musical traditions and historical contexts, and to abandon expectations for how composers translate their experiences. For now, my hope is that my work participates in a continued call to listen to the music of these composers.

Appendix A: List of Works: Rainier

Date	Title	Instrumentation	Publisher
1937	*3 Greek Epigrams* (Anyte of Tegea, trans. R. Aldington)	Sop, piano	Schott
1939	Quartet for Strings		Schott
1943	Suite	Cl, piano	Schott
1946	Sonata	Va, piano	Schott
1947	*Dance of the Rain* (E. Marais, trans. U. Krige)	Ten/Sop, guitar	Schott
1947	*Sinfonia da camera*	Strings	Schott
1948	*Ubunzima* [Misfortune]	Ten/Sop, guitar	Schott
1950	*Barbaric Dance Suite*	Piano	Schott
1953	*Cycle for Declamation* (J. Donne)	Ten or Sop	Schott
1955	*5 Pieces*	Keyboard inst.	Schott
1955–56	*Requiem* (D. Gascoigne)	Ten, SATB	Schott
1957	*6 Pieces*	*6 Pieces*	
1958–59	*Pastoral Triptych*	Oboe	Schott
1960	*Phalaphala*	Orchestra	Schott
1960	*Trio-Suite*	Piano trio	
1961–62	*Quanta*	Oboe, string trio	Schott
1963–64	Cello Concerto		Schott
1963–65	Suite	Cello, va	Schott
1965–66	String Trio		Schott
1966–67	*Aequora lunae*	Orchestra	Schott
1969	*The Bee Oracles* (E. Sitwell)	Ten/Bar, fl, ob, vn, cello, harpsichord	Schott
1971	*Quinque*	Harpsichord	Schott
1972	*Organ Gloriana*	Organ	
1972–73	*Ploërmel*	Winds, perc.	Schott
1973	*Vision and Prayer* (D. Thomas)	Ten, piano	
1974	*Primordial Canticles*	Organ	
1974–75	*Prayers from the Ark*	Ten, harp	
1977	*Due canti e finale*	Vn, orchestra	Schott
1980–81	*Concertante*	Oboe, clar, orchestra	Schott
1982	*Grand Duo*	Cello, piano	
1984	*Celebration*	Vn, orchestra	

Appendix B: List of Works: Seiber

Date	Title	Instrumentation	Publisher
?	*Der Song vom Bridge*		
?	*Song vom Nas Everhull*		
?	*Patapan*	Child's choir and small orchestra	
?	*Soldier's Songs*	Male chorus	
?	*12 Russian Folk Songs*	Child's choir and piano	
?	*Periódusok*		
1922	*Sarabande and Gigue*	Cello, piano	
1922–23	*Two and three part inventions*		
1922–23	*Három magyar népal* (Three Hungarian Folk Songs)		
1922–24	*Five Petöfi Songs*	Voice, piano	
1923	*Kis Szvit Gyermekeknek* (Little Suite for Children)		
1923	*Sirató Ének*		
1923	*Two Ady Songs,* revised 1943	Voice, piano	
1924	*Bábszínház* (two songs for puppet theatre)	Voice, piano	
1924	String Quartet No. 1		
1925	*Serenade*	6 wind insts.	
1925	*Sonata da Camera*	Vn, cello	
1926	*Missa Brevis*	Mixed choir	
1926–28	*Divertimento*	Cl, SQ	Schott
1927	*Three Hungarian Folk Songs*	Mixed choir	
1929	*Three Morgenstern Songs*	Voice, cl	
1929	*Virginia Stomp*	Jazz ensemble	
1929–30	*Two Madrigals*	Mixed choir	
1930	*Zwei Schweinekarbonaden* (Jaochim Ringelnatz)	3 male voices	
1931	*Four Hungarian Folk Songs*	2 vns.	
1931	Incidental music for *Leonce und Lena* (Georg Büchner)		
1931	"Kleine Suite" from *Leonce und Lena*	11 insts.	
1931	*Three Hungarian Children's Songs*	Child's voice, piano	
1931	*Three Hungarian Children's Songs*	Female voice, choir	
1932	*Leichte Tänze*	Vln	Schott
1932	*Two Jazzolettes*	Sax, tr., trmb, perc., piano	
1932	*Von Himmel Hoch*	5-part choir	

1933	*Rhythmische Studien*	Piano	Schott
1934	*Eva Spielt mit Puppen* (puppet opera)		
1935	*Anzhol én elmenyek*	Voice, piano	
1935	String Quartet No. 2		
1936	*Four Hungarian Folksongs*	Bar, vn	
1940	*Besardo Suite No. 1*	Str orchestra	
1941	*Phantasy*	Cello, piano	Schott
1941	*Transylvanian Rhapsody*		Boosey & Hawkes
1941–42	*Pastorale and Burlesque*	Fl, str orchestra	Schott
1942	*Besardo Suite No. 2*	Str orchestra	Schott
1942	*Four Greek Songs*	Sop, str orchestra	Boosey & Hawkes
1942	Six Yugoslav Folk Songs	Mixed choir	Boosey & Hawkes
1943	*A Palágyi Pékek* (comic opera in one act)		
1943	*Passo Maestoso*		
1943–44	*Fantasia Concertante*	Vn, str orchestra	Schott
1944	*Balaton*, comic opera in one act (libretto, György Mikes)		
1944	*La Gitana*		
1944	*Notturno*	Horn, str orchestra	Schott
1944	*Scherzando Capriccioso*	Piano	Schott
1945	*O Sudden Wind*	Female chorus, piano	
1945	*Májusi Dal*	Voice, piano	
1945	*Lied des Jaguars*		
1945	*Four Medieval French Songs*	Sop, viola d'amore, viola da gamba, guitar	Schott
1945	*Phantasy*	Fl, horn, str orchestra	
1946	*Le Bossu*	Voice, piano	
1946	*Mosca's song from Volpone*	Bar, guitar	
1947	*Mordvin Lullaby*	Mixed choir, piano	
1948	*Ulysses*, cantata	Ten solo, chorus, orchestra	Schott
1948	*A Dialogue between Miss Molly and her Mother about a Hoop*	Voice, piano	
1948	*Four French Folk Songs*	Sop, str orchestra	Schott
1948	*The Shaking of the Sheets*		
1949	*Andante pastorale*	Cl, piano	Schott
1949	*Choral Suite from Faust*	Sop and ten soli, chorus, orchestra	Schott
1949	*Three Hungarian Folk Songs* (English words, A. L. Lloyd)		
1949–51	*Cantata secularis*	Chorus and orchestra	Schott
1950	*Missa Brevis*	Mixed choir	
1950	*Two Arne Songs*		
1950	*Pezzo per il Clavicordo*		Schott
1950	*Old Scottish Air*	Strings, harp	
1951	*Concertino for clarinet and string orchestra*		Schott

1951	*Marching Song*	Male voices	
1951	String Quartet No. 3 (Quartetto Lirico)		
1951–53	*Elegy for viola and orchestra*		Schott
1952	*To Poetry*	High voice, piano	Schott
1953	*Four Studies*	2 vlns	
1954	*Dal*	Voice, piano	
1955	*David's Lament*	Sop, alto, chorus, harp or piano	
1955	*Eight Besardo Dances*	Guitar	
1956	*The Owl and the Pussycat*	Sop, vln, guitar	Schott
1956	*Rhythmic Development*	3 drums	
1956	*Sirmio* (words, Catullus)		
1956	*Tre Pezzi*	Cello, orchestra	Schott
1956	*Two Nonsense Songs* (words, Edward Lear)		
1956–57	*Three fragments from 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*	Speaker, chorus, inst ensemble	Schott
1957	*Improvisation for oboe and piano*		
1958	*The Famous Tay Whale*, melodrama	Speaker, orchestra	
1958	*Fantasia on Strobel* and *Geburtstagsgruss an Heinrich* Strobel		
1958	*More Nonsense*	Medium voice, 4 insts.	
1958	*Permutazioni a Cinque*	Wind quintet	Schott
1958–59	*Two old French Ballads*	Medium high voice, orchestra	
1959	*Four French Folksongs*	High voice, piano	
1959	*Three Cornered Fanfare*	3 brass bands	
1959	*Renaissance Dance Suite*	Orchestra	Schott
1959	*Improvisations,* for jazz band and orchestra, written with John Dankworth		Schott
1960	*Croydon Suite*		
1960	*The Invitation*, ballet		Schott
1960	*John Gilpin's Ride*		
1960	Violin Sonata		Schott

Appendix C: List of Works: Fox

Date	Title	Instrumentation	Publisher
1968	*Eight Songs from Cavafy*	Mezzo-sop, fl, ob, bass, vln, piano	Tetractys
1969	*In Memoriam Martin Luther King*	Ob, cello	Composer's Edition
1970	*Directions for Clarinet in A*		
1970	*Directions for Clarinet and Mime*		
1970	*Nine Lessons from Isaiah*	Bass voice, SQ	
1971	*Improvisation on 6 Notes*	Sop, fl, guitar	Composer's Edition
1971	*Serenade*	Piano, recorded tape	
1971	*In Memoriam Igor Stravinsky*	Wind quint., piano, perc.	
1972	*Round for 14 Solo Strings*	8 vln, 3 vla, 2 cellos, 1 bass	
1973	*Lamentations for Four*	2 cellos, 2 percs.	
1973	*Cocytus*	Orchestra	
1974	Exercise for Two Pianos		Composer's Edition
1975	*The Slaughterer*, chamber opera		
1976	*To Veronica*	Piano	Composer's Edition
1976	*Voices*	Voices, perc	Composer's Edition
1976	*Jeder Engel ist Schrecklich*	Voices, strings	
1977	*Octet for Two*	Cello, piano	
1978	*Omega Serenade*	4 guitars, recorded tape	Composer's Edition
1978	*The Waters of Separation*	choir	
1979	*Douganescu*	Vln, piano	
1980	*Paths Where the Mourners Tread*		Composer's Edition
1980	*Epitaph for Cathy*	Bass cl, perc	
1981	*Shhs in Perpetuum Mobile*	Chamber ens.	
1981	*Litany for Strings*		
1981	*Pas de Deux*	Vln, bass	Composer's Edition
1982	*Spirals*	bassoon	
1982	Movement for String Sextet		
1983	*Shir*	Chamber orchestra	Composer's Edition
1983	*Kaleidoscope*	Fl, harp, vibraphone, cello	
1983	*Quasi una cadenza*	Cl, bass cl, horn, piano	Composer's Edition
1984	*Nick's Lament*	Guitar	Composer's Edition
1985	*Osen Shomaat*	Small orchestra	

1986	*Silver Homage*	Tr., cello, perc, piano	
1986	*Rivka's Fiddle*	Vla	
1987	*Dreaming*	Fl, guitar	Tetractys
1988	*Frühling ist wiedergekommen*	Sop, piano	Composer's Edition
1988	*On Visiting Stravinsky's Grave at San Michele*	Piano	Composer's Edition
1989	*Hungarian Rhapsody*	Chamber ens.	Composer's Edition
1990	*The Bet*	Music theater	
1990	*Letters and Notes*	Voice, insts.	
1991	*The Dancer Hotoke*	Chamber opera	
1991	*Meditation on Sibyls*	Voice, chamber ens.	
1992	*The Moon of Moses*	Cello	Composer's Edition
1992	*Simon's Sketch*	Piano	
1994	*Singender Steiger*	Fl, sop	Tetractys
1995	*Tuned Spheres*	Cl, bass cl, tr, piano	
1997	*Davidsbündler Lied*	Fl, piano	
1999	*Davidsbündlerlieder*	Fl, piano	
1999	*Remembering the Tango*	Fl, piano	Tetractys
2000	*Sonnet*	Sop, sax. Piano	
2003	*Malinconia Militaire*	Strings, piano	Composer's Edition
2005	*Café. Warsaw 1944*	Chamber ensemble	Composer's Edition
2020	*Several Fanfares*	Trumpet	Composer's Edition
2020	*Lament 2020*	Contrabass fl, piano	
2021	*David spielt vor Saul*	Piano, large ens.	Composer's Edition

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BBC WAC BBC Written Archives Center

RAM Priaulx Rainier Archive, Royal Academy of Music

BL British Library

MCP Morley College Papers, Lambeth Archives

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