



**Max Planck Research Group**

Felt Communities? Emotions in  
European Music Performances

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The **Max Planck Research Group "Felt Communities? Emotions in European Music Performances"** (Head: Sven Oliver Müller) investigates the historical development of the emotions triggered by music in the 19th and 20th centuries. Focusing on emotions as a public form of communication, the Research Group aims to decipher the emotional structure of communities: What role did and does music play in the development and cohesion of communities? The focus is less on the physiological effects of music than on how they are appropriated by groups. Musical performances have the power to connect diverse individuals within a community—or to create social and political enemies. The Research Group aims to analyze the historical patterns and contexts of these effects. The Research Group began its work in 2010.



### Research Team 2011–2013

**Sven Oliver Müller**, Sarah Zalfen

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## Introductory Overview

Does music create *felt communities*—and if so, how? This is the basic question of the research group. The Max Planck Research Group “Felt Communities? Emotions in European Music Performances” analyses the historical development of the emotions in musical life in the 19th and 20th centuries. In November 2010, a team of researchers, postdoctoral fellows, and PhD students began its work. This group now consists of 10 historians, musicologists, political scientists, and ethnologists who discussed social and cultural issues from various perspectives. What role music plays as a performative practice for the cohesion of social groups in various historical contexts was analyzed, and examinations focused not only on single musical pieces but on Western music as a performance. Music production, reception, and the social formation of taste were also investigated. No distinction between “serious” and “popular” and “classical” and “modern” music was made. The field of relevant problems and approaches ranges from music-sociological inspired analyses of musical work to social historical research on the audiences of so-called classical music to the point of studies about sounds and noise in the most different contexts.

This research group works with the assumption that emotional communities are not communities of their own—but an aspect of every social group. Focusing on emotions as a public form of communication, the aim is to decipher the emotional structure of communities: What role did and does music as an emotional mode play in the development and cohesion of communities? The concept is a history of social and cultural relations in musical life. Instead of defining boundaries between the three categories that are being investigated, the relationship and the interaction between music, emotions, and communities are being examined. In recent years’ research, every single project was guided by the hypotheses that emotions vary over time and place and are historically, culturally, and socially contingent. Not only emotional expressions, such as culturally diverging gestures of grief or happiness, are subject to change but also emotional experiences. Consequently, the relation between music and emotions is considered as deeply socially structured and therefore dependent on the historical and cultural context. Four guiding assumptions and fields of this research are presented in the following: (1) reception, (2) performances and audiences, (3) negotiation by cultural practices, and (4) transfers in Europe. (5) Subsequently, the conferences, colloquia, and cooperations demonstrated the validity of the research assumptions. (6) Finally, promising perspectives about how to write

on the history of emotions in musical life by analyzing parallel changes and similarities are presented.

### Reception

We are pursuing a change of perspective, moving away from the study of musical works to an investigation of actual participant practices. An important guiding assumption was that the meaning of music is the result of interpretational processes on the audience’s part. The same piece of music could evoke different public reactions at different concerts in relation to different contexts of the performances. The emotions evoked by music cannot be expressed as those felt and vented by composers. These phenomena require an altered research focus: Not the musical piece itself, but the dispositions of listeners should be the central object of analysis. History in its form as a modern social science might be a promising approach in order to examine the public handling of musical performances in different contexts and times.

We are pursuing a change of perspective, moving away from the study of musical works to an investigation of actual participant practices. This research group substitutes a *works-based* with an *event-based* approach. By utilizing these considerations, our research is not only an interdisciplinary approach of explaining the emotional and community-related dimension of music and its relation to emotions. It is also a promis-

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## Key References

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Müller, S. O., & Osterhammel, J. (Eds.). (2012b). Musikalische Kommunikation [Themenheft]. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 38(1). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.



ing perspective on cultural learning and human development. It was found that the behavior of listeners' and audiences' actions sometimes depended on the movement they heard in music. The progress of this motion is experienced as possessing a pattern of tension and relaxation.

## Performances and Audiences

We assume that the practices of musical performances structured public communication and, in this way, frequently created new relations in societies. Communication in musical life develops between various actors, and their relationship could be defined as a chain of communication where the composer and the artist influence the listener and the listener decodes the message. Especially public performances in musical culture can be regarded as specific patterns of communication. The point is to demonstrate how public performances trigger the formation of communities. The performative nature of music makes it a perfect vehicle for music consumers to place themselves in an imagined community. The musical performance conjures up collective memories with an intensity rarely matched by any other social activity. Music's potential as a medium of imagining communities is twofold, however. It can both induce submersion into the mainstream or can construct spaces of difference. Music performances create elements of exchange and demarcation simultaneously. If and how performances reflected, or even created, social, cultural, and political relations was investigated. To call music a performing art is not only to say that performances are being analyzed, it is to say that music performs meaning. As a category, audiences became crucial for this research. Up to now, only small case studies shed light upon the question of whether music enhances or decreases communication between and inside groups. Audiences were as much social objects as subjects of emotional assessments. Learning to enjoy a certain musical taste meant, therefore, observing social, political, and cultural ideals of others. This reveals the development of public behavior and actions of social and cultural groups.

The concept was to analyze the connection between different expressions of emotions, on the one hand, and the coincidence of simultaneous expressions of two or more emotions at the same time. The point was to examine the priority of certain emotions to analyze how one feeling gains or loses importance in audience behavior.

## Negotiations by Cultural Practices

The group regards the public consumption of music as a cultural practice that shapes the behavior of a social group. Music should be therefore reintegrated into history as a cultural practice. There is a significant amount of habitualized behavior among concert audiences that indicates the relevance of debates, fashion and star admiration as cultural practices. Through complex interconnections and repetitions of practices, audiences established their specific lifestyles. Taste, practically displayed, served as a mean of distinction in order to maintain and sustain borders and distances within society and in order to label oneself as an individual or a social group. Hence, it is important to connect the social challenges in modern Europe with the feeling rules of musical audiences. Negotiation processes of the public's different taste and contrasting emotional preferences were observed. There was a negotiation between people in favor of expressing their emotions loudly (e. g., workers) and the educated middle class and entrepreneurs fighting against audible emotional expressions. The mutual perception in the auditorium triggered feelings of pride and honor within one group—in contrast to the "wrong" or negative emotions of other people, such as distress, anger, and anxiety. In fact, different social groups started to learn habitualized forms of behavior; they formed around current emotions, around certain preferences and dislikes. The history of emotions can be read as an excellent case study of an interaction between "elite" and "popular" manners. Everybody who did not follow the expected aesthetic parameters of musical communication was easily identified and excluded. When people talk about "our music," they mean that this music is not so much owned

as shared. "Our music" derives its social power from its ability to instantiate community, polity, and history. Listeners have the potential to hear different things in the same music, but the fact that many of them do not is an indication of the degree to which groups of listeners share a common environment and experience common perceptual learning and adaptation.

### Mobility in Europe

Music-generated emotions meant exchange and imitation as well as resistance and exclusion. Participating in musical performances or criticizing them not only reflected existing political and cultural values but also generated them. The rise of the increasing similarity of the repertoire of music consumption, and of the aesthetic preferences in European musical life since the late 19th century, meant that a supposedly specific national phenomenon could also increasingly be read as a commonly shared European convention. This conflict of cultural transfers was not at all limited to classical music, the impact of a certain musical genre, or the rise of new audiences.

The trend toward cultural convergence triggered demarcation. It is, therefore, quite misleading to write about the history of relations between societies and cultures along the allegedly separate axes of transfer, on the one hand, and antagonism, on the other. The point is, however, to realize that cultural convergence and divergence did not constitute antithetical poles of modern European history. Conflicts and concurrence in musical culture can also be regarded as specific patterns of communication. An important task remains, therefore, to investigate the relation of exchange and demarcation, of processes of Europeanization and Nationalization in musical life.

### Conferences, Colloquia, and Cooperation

The topics of the group's conferences demonstrate how their research is a result of a fruitful scientific exchange with many colleagues inside and outside the Institute. The weekly research group meeting, also giving presentations and holding debates with distinguished

national and international scholars, is an important medium for academic communication. The variety of conferences, workshops, and cooperation projects reveals the outcome of these research activities among the disciplines of history, musicology, political sciences, and ethnology.

The first conference on *Hegemonic Structures of Music Politics of Occupation, Emotions and Their Transfer: Europe of Two World Wars, 1914–1949* took place in March 2011, and was organized by Sarah Zalfen and Sven Oliver Müller. The purpose was to draw attention to the political dimensions of apparently purely cultural practices. The aim was to show if and how contacts in music constituted a highly contested field of emotional exchange during the two World Wars. Cultural interactions and transfers did not run in parallel with the military antagonism, but were its "harmonious" counterpart. Contacts in "popular" and "serious" music, therefore, fostered processes of emotional understanding that helped to stabilize politics.

A fruitful result of the cooperation between this research group and the Leibnizpreis-Forschungsstelle "Global Processes" in Konstanz was the international conference *Ambiguities of Communication. Musical Life and the Emergence and Fragmentation of Social Relations in the Twentieth Century*, conceptualized by Jürgen Osterhammel and Sven Oliver Müller in January 2013. The project brought together leading scholars in cultural history and musicology, including Celia Applegate, Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, Detlef Siegfried, and William Weber. The assumption was that the practices of musical performances structured public communication and, in this way, frequently created new relations in societies. Musical places and topics that are so important that they allow for a historical generalization were investigated, where the focus lies on comparable cultural performances at different cultural places.

Yael Sela-Teichler initiated a project pertaining to the music and poetics of memory in German Jewish experience in modernity. This project examines questions about the mechanisms where music's emotional imports have served to delineate, negotiate, or

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undermine boundaries of identity, participation, and distinction. The first result of this project was the international symposium *Music, Memory, and Emotions in the German Jewish Experience of Modernity* that was co-organized with Philip V. Bohlman (University of Chicago) in Berlin-Wannsee in March 2013. The symposium—a cooperation between this research group and the American Academy in Berlin; The Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Chicago; Universität Hildesheim; and the Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien, Hanover—brought together leading scholars in cultural history, musicology, and Jewish thought, including Paul Mendes-Flohr, Leora Auslander, Michael P. Steinberg, and Ruth HaCohen. The speakers addressed the role of music as a practice and as a literary figure in the construction and deconstruction of memory and Jewish subjectivities, forms of musical commemoration, and the experience of exile in the 20th and 21st centuries. In 2013, the research group, led by Sarah Zalfen and Iris Törmer, developed the summer school *Emotions\_Learning\_Music*. With a faculty of renowned international and interdisciplinary scholars and practitioners (among them were Ian Cross, Eckart Altenmüller, Adam Ockelford, and Dietmar Wiesner), the summer school provided a framework where PhD students from the history of emotions, musicology and sociology, psychology and neuroscience, as well as young musicians and music educationists worked together on the question of what is exactly learned “through music.” This question linked themes such as the improved processing of information in the brain while being “supported” by music to those of the acquisition of values and appreciation via musical practices or to the tracing of historical emotional states by interpreting music. Hereby, the summer school opened new perspectives on the interrelation of music, education, and emotions to the young researchers. Luis-Manuel Garcia organized the truly pluralistic and interdisciplinary conference *Resonances: Music, Affect and the City*, about the feeling of urban life. This collaboration with Harvard’s Sawyer Seminar *Hearing Modernity* explored the ways in which emotional,

embodied experience intersects with sound and the urban landscape. Ingrid Monson was the symposium’s keynote speaker. Although this conference placed a special emphasis on Berlin’s local music scenes, scholarly presentations ranged as widely as devotional music in India, indigenous music in Canadian public schools, and European jazz festivals. Using “music,” “affect,” and “the city” as keywords, this conference created and captured resonances between a diverse, international array of scholars and music-industry professionals. In addition to scholarly presentations, this event featured roundtable discussions with professionals from Berlin’s local music scenes. The research group became a member of the roundtable *Music Research and Education in Berlin* and participated in initiating a new project together with the Berlin Music Council: *Jugend forscht Musik*. This invites pupils and teachers to cooperate with research institutions in the field of music. Professional researchers help the students to conceptualize and conduct a one-school-year-long research project on a music-related topic. The research group is the contact partner for projects on music and emotions, youth culture, and politics. Additionally, the group also participates with the *Jour fixe Musikwissenschaft* in order to increase the scientific cooperation between the many researchers and students working on music in different Berlin institutions. Since this group was created, close research contacts have been established in international research partnerships. The Society for the Promotion of Science sponsored a transnational research project with various Japanese universities. This project, led by Naoko Morita (Tokyo), aims to examine the impact of emotions in modern German history. External collaborations often resulted in building contacts with important scholars, such as the musicologists and psychologists at the conference *Music & Emotion* in Jyväskylä, Finland, in June 2013. The symposium *In Search for Emotional Orders—Music and Emotions in History* was presented to strengthen the historical dimension of the relation between music and emotions. By looking at practices and discourses closely

related to emotions in different historical situations of music production and reception in the 19th and 20th centuries, the researchers as well as the PhD students in this group elaborated patterns of different emotional orders in European music life.

### Changes and Similarities in History— New Perspectives

The research focus lies on the *historic* development of emotions in musical life from the 19th to the 20th centuries. Musical movement and the paradigm of space and times are crucial for this research. We assume that the emotional side of the production and reception of music has changed over time as much as the music and its practices of performance and perception. By analyzing emotions as a mode of social communication in different music productions, it is helpful to use one key term: *change*. Music is about changes: It takes place in time. These feelings are not only transitory per se; they are also transitory in the historical sense and there are feelings that have nowadays become largely foreign to us, but which held significance for audiences, for example, in the 1950s. We investigated the feeling rules of middle-class audiences in symphonic concerts in the 1840s and of fans of Beat music in the 1960s to explain why and how they changed their public behavior. But the other important objective and a fruitful perspective for future research is not only to observe the changes and the differences but to investigate the similarities of the audiences' feeling rules and the parallels of the cultural practices. Although different people perceive the same event in different ways, it is important to question if individual differences are the specific manifestations of the same general principles of perception.

The second key term is *similarity*. An attempt will be made to find the similarities of emotions and feeling rules in musical life. The point of this difficult task is to state the limits of a purely constructivist approach and accept the methodological deficits of focusing only at different receptions of emotions in musical life. The assumption that most of the artists and listeners recognize the possibility of a teleological movement of the

music played can give guidance. It should be queried if these judgments are intersubjective and not purely personal reflections, even if they are neither universal nor independent of a familiarity with the musical conventions governing musical receptions. Thus, within the framework of social and cultural conventions, it is a promising approach for analyzing common emotional evaluations of music beyond the differences. It would be too easy to avoid any experiment in future research from this observation. An attempt will be made to find the similarities of emotions in musical life and observe the common feeling rules present during a dance festival, a jam session, or a visit to the opera house. It is possible to concentrate on six or eight time slots in musical life in the 19th and 20th centuries.

This research group has to contemplate the impact of a general perceptual history of emotions in musical life. The first guiding assumption comes from the fact that people need time to consume the flow of the music itself. The search for common emotional styles in music could be made by analyzing the perception of harmonic tension, rhythm, melodic process, tonality, and the awareness of surplus aesthetic impulses. Discovering more about the duration of a sound that is required for audiences to identify different musical styles would be helpful. It might be interesting to compare the expressive properties of the performance building of, and reinterpreting of, a great deal of previous work that has been carried out within different conceptual frameworks. We are happy to welcome two musicologists in our group, Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild and



Figure 1. Fans at a rock concert.

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Lena van der Hoven (as of 03/2014), whose experiences in 19th-century music give us a surplus methodological impulse.

The second guiding assumption is to connect the infinite varieties of musical amenities with the characteristic, maybe even unique, reception of music in the public sphere. There are similarities not only in structure and movement of the compositions but also in the groups' and individuals' communication about music. The findings on the impact of this communication process might help to detect the similarities in the cultural practices and common patterns of negotiation. The point is to investigate how cultural transfers between time, places, and people can become social modes and frame conditions for societies. We have to analyze the evolution of the settings of emotions.

Our third guiding assumption is the sensibility of the peculiarities of music life in Western Europe. In order to write a history of common emotional perceptions in musical life in modern Europe, it is crucial to consider that the peculiarities of Western music tradition (division of musical labor, e. g., specialist performers, entrepreneurs, and listeners) are promising tools to compare classical and popular music performances, and the choir at wedding ceremonies with the fan chorus in a football stadium. This approach could be tackled empirically by interpreting the emotional reception of music as an integral part of human development. The hypothesis is that, because musical expressiveness depends on such patterns, people from different social contexts and cultural backgrounds might develop common emotional skills to identify



Figure 2. Single records from the 1970s.

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the expressive character of the performance in order to maintain and sustain borders and to acquire chances within society.

### **In Search of Musical Politics—Emotions in the Reception of Richard Wagner in Modern Germany**

Up to the present, Richard Wagner is the only German composer still provoking dispute in Germany's society. Wagner's reception is a history about his appropriation as a cultural mean of German politics. Wagner has been adapted in an interplay between affirmative reenactments and controversial new creations. The Wagner myth could be easily retold and adapted to cultural and political changes within the alterations of German society. The numerous publications about Wagner usually focus on facets of his biography or his compositions only, but rarely and less differentiated on his impact on German society beyond the period of National Socialism. This project opened up new perspectives on the aftermath and myth of Richard Wagner as a part of German history in the "long" 20th century (1883–2013). In the latest book

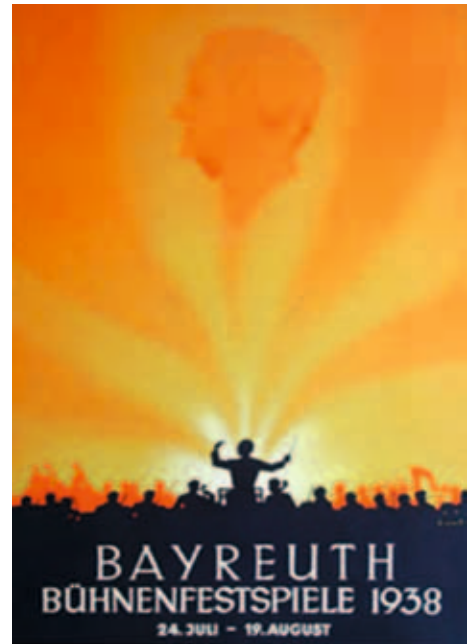


Figure 3. Jupp Wiertz Bayreuth Festival Poster.

Source. *Das Dritte Reich und die Musik*, ed. by the Stiftung Schloss Neuhardenberg in cooperation with the Cité de la Musique, Berlin 2006, p. 58.

*Richard Wagner und die Deutschen* the ideals of his admirers and enemies from Imperial Germany to the Federal Republic were analyzed. The following topics are especially relevant: the political meaning of Wagner's music at state and national ceremonies, the representational function of the Bayreuth festival and the Wagner family, the social function of associations and monuments, the commercial function of recordings and fanmerchandise, the meaning of (new) media in textbooks, films and press.

The cult of the genius is an indicator of the great importance of music as an emotional practice. Its success is caused by the availability of the genius as a projection of emotions. Wagner's reception happened within a public space in which contested emotions could be communicated and emotional orders negotiated. Wagner's style of interminable compositions and his silent, dark, ordered conception of the musical event controlled the emotional experiences and expressions of the audience, which were gradually inscribed into the minds and bodies of the bourgeois habitus. One important result was to demonstrate how the interpretations of his musical works and philosophical concepts changed more than the public presence of Richard Wagner in the period between 1883 and 2013, with its huge political, social, cultural, and economic upheavals. The history of Wagner was a history of emotional controversies and nationalistic politics. Preparations are under way for the presentation of this analysis to become a small part of the new exhibition of the Wahnfried Villa in Bayreuth.

### The Power of Audiences—Musical Reception in Berlin, London, and Vienna in the 19th Century

Concerts of symphonic music and opera performances were an integral part of the leisure time of the European aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in 19th-century Europe. Unlike any other kind of high culture, the opera houses and the great concert halls are the ideal places to analyze the social practices and cultural values of the European elite. This research project concentrated on the social influence, cultural practice, and political



Figure 4. Satirical painting "The Boxes" from Thomas Rowlandson.

Source. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum number: S. 4724–2009.

significance of leading musical productions in Berlin, London, and Vienna. In a transnational perspective, it compared the development of common cultural practices and forms of public representation in three major European capitals of music. The point was to reveal the primarily social and political function of those forms of entertainment by analyzing the behavior of audiences, rather than by looking at the music itself. What do the conditions of participation, for example, dress codes, tell us about the values of the audience? How did a more or less inattentive audience turn into "listeners" during the second quarter of the 19th century?

To answer the question why the behavior of audiences changed dramatically and people disciplined their behavior in the course of the 19th century, one has to look at the emotional habits of listeners. Educated patrons in concert halls and opera houses started to debate over what is allowed to feel and what not. The task of educated middle classes was to decide about appropriate ways of expressing emotions in public. One could observe a negotiation between groups of people in favor of expressing their emotions loudly and the educated middle classes and entrepreneurs condemning audible expressions of emotions. In fact, different social groups started to learn habitualized forms of behavior; they formed around

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### Researcher

Sven Oliver Müller

current emotions, around certain preferences and distastes.

The emergence of a transnational style of cultural practices and feeling rules can be observed in 19th-century Europe. In Berlin, London, and Vienna, the productions of opera houses, the repertoires of concert halls, and first of all the audience behavior became increasingly similar. Despite severe political conflicts within and between each of the countries above, it is crucial to state that a German bourgeois and an English aristocrat at the beginning of the 20th century behaved similarly during a concert and cultivated similar aesthetic preferences. The transfer of cultural practices and social habits demonstrates the emergence of a common European culture of music.

### **The Infinite Varieties of Feelings— Conductors as Producers of Musical Meaning**

Conductors have to advise the members of an orchestra by testing the technical abilities of the musicians, on the one hand, and by demonstrating the cultural meaning of a composition for a wider public, on the other. Therefore, conductors are interested in emotions as a cultural practice. We are now starting a new project with a focus on the conveyance of music via emotions incorporated in the work of conductors. The aim is to find out how conductors are familiar with employing feelings in order to share their visions with the musicians through emotional imagery, gestures and anecdotes. We believe that conductors especially make emotions visible and tangible through music. But what exactly are emotions from the perspective of a conductor, and where do they become vital? We are asking, for instance, how conductors translate music into emotional language during practices. It is interesting to discover the metaphors, gestures and jokes, through which they manage to captivate not only the musicians but also their audience.

Our aim is to compare highly controlled forms of behaviors with highly expressive facial gestures and body movements. It will be interesting for the impact of emotions in musical life to analyze how conductors

try to model feelings during a rehearsal to produce, for example, an “ugly” sound in a certain passage in which he believed it suited the expressive meaning of the music. We hope to find out how emotionally charged art pieces acquire meaning among musicians, entrepreneurs, and audiences. We finished the first interviews with Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Christian Thielemann, several others will follow soon. It is our goal to use some of these interviews as source material for our publications and try to reach a broader audience in public discussions.

### **Musical Education in the British Empire— Feeling Rules for the Colonies Around 1900**

The triumphal procession of European music and Western aesthetic ideals since the late 19th century coincided with a growing interests of politicians, entrepreneurs, and the middle classes in foreign cultures. The elites in Britain were eager to detect the cultural and habitualized differences between the civilized rulers and the noble savages in the colonies. This very recent project shall investigate how political and social elites intended to change the “premodern” musical culture in the colonies by establishing a “proper” Western repertoire and “good” emotions among the local listeners. How certain emotional habits served as cultural strategies of communication, integration, and domination will have to be examined/explored. The mission of civilizing the colonies was by no means in direct relation to political power. But it could develop as an uneven political exchange with the imperial establishment and the British canons, habits, and tastes. The proverbial “burden” of the white man was indeed a venture which featured its own soundscape. It is important to discover the aesthetic ideals and cultural practices of white, educated men that went into the making of a colonialist society. What was the impact of the protocols of the colonial offices, articles in musical magazines, missionary’s initiatives, and instructions for military bands? It will be interesting not only to analyze the rare performances of classical music, but even more the concert reports of military bands and the songs during church service. The goal is to discover how the com-

munication about appropriate emotional tastes and habits in musical life within the British elite became the blueprints of an educational program intended to civilize “ignorant” native people in the colonies. The talk about “good” emotions in musical life and the invention of new repertoires and tastes were a superficially humanistic, but nonetheless imperial strategy. The focus lies on the concepts and values of the rulers, artists, and the consumers in London, and on the ways they perceived the reception of the population in the colonies. The “emotional imperialism” around 1900 was probably less brutal, but more coercive than former cultural strategies. One might ask if an embourgeoisement of imperialism, if the domestication of the exotic stood forth as a model, not only for the people in a certain colony, but for Great Britain itself.

### **Tuning Politics? The Formation of Emotional Communities on Party Conferences in 20th-Century Germany**

While visual and spatial strategies of political representation and display were well scrutinized in recent year’s research, their sounds remain rather inexplicit. This research project focuses on the importance of music for the consolidation of political communities, showing how these processes are associated with emotions. It examines party conferences and their role in music throughout the 20th century and throughout all parts of the political spectrum. The study questions, how joint music production and reception are becoming features of emotional communities in the political sphere. This hereby sheds new light on the processes of political will-formation, opinion building, and decision making. The long investigation period opens the topic to the perspective of a history of emotions, as it reveals the variability of the relation of music and emotion in different historic contexts (Zalfen, 2013; Zalfen & Müller, 2012). Music in this political context demands a different approach than focusing on the autonomous artistic domain divided in piece, performance, perception, and their political or emotional “impact.” Applying Turino’s differentiation between *participatory music*

and *presentational music*, music becomes something active and interactive, embedded in social norms and processes. The analysis parameters shift from aesthetic quality, interpretation, and artist–audience relation to bodily practices, performativity, and ritualized communication. On the empirical level, music is no longer only the orchestral work played for the ceremonial opening of a party conference and singer–songwriter’s performance in the intermission. It is also the joint singing of the national anthem or a party hymn, the fanfare and rataplan announcing the appearance of a party leader, or hurrah shouting and the rhythmic clapping celebrating a great speech or a newly elected person.

Emotions have been frequently seen as individual and strictly internal, whereas new research encourages focusing more on the collective factors of emotions. Therefore, in this approach, music is not seen as a language of emotions, but as a social and emotional practice. While in the first model—rooting in romantic aesthetics (Brunner & Zalfen, 2011)—music is thought of as an expression of somehow preexisting inner emotions, the latter understands music as a mode of “doing emotions” by addressing specific emotions and, at the same time, mobilizing, modulating, regulating, and communicating them. Through the practical engagement with each other through music, *shared emotions* that mark the belonging of the subject to a community can develop into *collective emotions* that are created by a group or crowd. This does, however, not mean that everybody is feeling exactly the same. Comparisons with psychological research findings in similar contexts suggest that it is one explicit quality of music that it could provide a framework for communicative interaction, giving participants the sense that their experiences are in alignment—although the individual interpretation of meaning may diverge widely. Singing together plays a particular role in this process. The active involvement of the body, the mutual synchronization within a group, and the wide range of meaning accumulated in mostly traditional hymns and songs is a widely used means of emotional community building in many political groups and parties.

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### **Researcher**

*Sarah Zalfen*

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At the same time, singing allows for the production and representation of community—it *performs* belonging and community (Zalfen, in press-b). Close collaboration with Juliane Brauer from the Center for the History of Emotions helped to build up a broad knowledge on repertoires, practices, and political contexts of collective singing in Germany.

For example, the National Socialism regime was rife with music at almost every level. It was an integral part of propaganda, named by Goebbels as “the science of the human soul.” Thus, it is not surprising that the NSDAP party conventions, developing into the six propaganda shows of the Nuremberg Rallies between 1933 and 1938, followed a clear musical script. In a similar pattern, the six events presented a dramaturgy, where specific pieces of music were related not only to certain procedures (Hitler appearing always with the Badenweiler March, the Song of the Banner introducing the public ceremony, the Horst Wessel Song as finale) and bodily practices (marching, dancing, singing, saluting, etc.) but also to emotions. Grief over dead comrades, pride about the victory of “the national movement,” and almost randomly repeated expressions of joy were among the feelings that were addressed, motivated, and modulated by specific musical performances. Through the music, the rally was not only a show to watch,

like sport or military parades, but something to participate and to be physically and emotionally involved in, making the Nuremberg Rally an exciting emotional experience for the majority of participants. The case makes also clear that music does not somehow induce emotions into people who are exposed to it, but emotional practices were related to the trained knowledge of the participants' minds and bodies.

Further case studies in the monograph that will result, among other publications from this project, include exemplary party conferences from all historical periods and political systems in 20th-century Germany.

The research so far has built up a broad overview and database of music on party conventions throughout the 20th century. Minutes, programs, pictures, recordings, and official or press reports were scrutinized to obtain information on the kind of music performed and musical repertoires created in certain times and by diverse political camps to learn about the performative styles, including the type of participants and their individual or collective bodily activity, and to identify how this music is dealt with in speeches, writings, pictures, and videos. Finally, these sources reveal why certain music was performed and on whose direction at a party conference.

Among the preliminary results of the study, some confirm other perspectives on aesthetic and affective processes in politics and politics: Democratic parties use less music than autocratic parties, although left-wing parties have more diverse repertoires than moderate and right-wing parties. Some emotions addressed or performed through music do change over time, others do not: While dignity and national pride seem to lose their importance, fun and spontaneity but also nostalgia enters the emotional repertoire. Feelings, appropriate to collectively perform in a musical context at a party gathering, were neither the same in 1900 as in 1940 and again different in 1980, nor was their musical form of performance or expression. Yet, community-related feelings, such as solidarity and sociability, reigned supreme in the past as it does today. It becomes obvious that music is not “a mere disguise of reality,” but rather a means to shape and cre-



Figure 5. Matthias Platzeck, chairman of Germany's Social Democrats, center, sings together with a coal miners' chorus at the end of the last day of the 3-day party congress of Germany's Social Democrats in Karlsruhe, Germany, 16 November 2005.

© AP Photo/Herbert Knosowski

ate realities; musical performances of political communities can hereby create a wide range of feelings of belonging and togetherness. But the field of music shows also distinct differences: Characteristics and rules of modern political theatricality, like personalization and privatization, vicissitude, and the dependency on media attention, have been—unlike in the iconic and spatial strategies of politics—strongly declining in recent years. In further research, the collected archive will be surveyed to identify specific emotional styles and regimes in particular historical and party contexts as well as critically revise the findings in order not only to fully comprehend processes of emotional community building but also their constraints and failings.

**Minerva Fellowship**  
**Soundscapes of Emancipation: Musical Negotiations of German Jewish Modernity 1760–1829**

The role of music as cultural and discursive practice in the formation of Jewish modernity during the decades around 1800 has largely remained unexplored. Scholars of music history have tended to focus on 19th-century climactic instances in the lives and works of acknowledged Jewish musicians, such as Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy or Giacomo Meyerbeer. The 1829 performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* at Berlin's Sing-Akademie, a formative event in the rise of German nationalism that was initiated and conducted by the Jewish-born Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, has traditionally been treated as a historiographical watershed marking the admission of Jewish musicians into the public sphere of German music. Yet, the key role that Jews (and Jews by birth) played in the 1829 performance as patrons of the Sing-Akademie, as amateur musicians, or as commentators—parallel to the appearance of music for the synagogue in the German lands—raises questions about how music had become a mode of cultural participation and negotiation of modern German Jewish self-consciousness in the latter third of the 18th century. The emergence of music as cultural practice and as discourse among Jews in the German lands, particularly in Prussia, as early as the

1760s, was without precedence in the history of central European Jewry and all the more extraordinary in light of the deep-rooted "music libel" against the Jews—a medieval Christian notion that rendered Judaism and the Jews unmusical and thus immoral—that continued to color attitudes to Jews well into the modern period. Excluded from musical professions, on the one hand, and restricted by traditional rabbinic decrees, on the other, Jews' access to musical knowledge, practices, and spaces essentially demarcated as Christian was anything but straightforward. The project focuses on Berlin, where in the decades leading up to 1800 music was gradually becoming an integral part of everyday life of a newly emergent Jewish upper class, a social group that had embraced the values of the *Aufklärung* and the ethics of *Bildung* conspicuously represented by Moses Mendelssohn. The project seeks to show how in the specific ideational, religious, and sociocultural formations that marked the late German *Aufklärung* and Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*), music could become an increasingly porous "border zone" that ultimately permitted Jews to enter the European arena as participants in the negotiation and coconstitution of the soundscapes of

**Researcher**  
*Yael Sela-Teichler*  
 The Minerva Fellowship Program enables German and Israeli scientists and researchers to spend long-term research residencies at institutions in the host country.



Figure 6. Rahel Varnhagen von Ense and Markus Levin. Source. bpk/Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

## Researcher

Luis-Manuel Garcia

modernity. The fervor of the enlightened Jewish bourgeoisie and upper class for everything aesthetic must be considered within a broader context: Jews' ethical, educational, and cultural improvement was tightly linked with the public debate about Jewish civic emancipation in Prussia at least since Christian Wilhelm von Dohm's 1781 seminal essay *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, which provided a heuristic basis for the Jewish question well into the 19th century. The project explicates the intertwinements of musical practices and aesthetic discourses with the debate about Jewish civic improvement and the politics of Jewish emancipation in the decades around 1800. By engaging with 18th- and early 19th-century theories of music, aesthetics, and ethics by Christian and Jewish writers alike, men as well as women, the central role ascribed to emotions in these mutually embedded areas of thought is underscored in order to highlight the ways in which new concepts of the sentiments (*Empfindungen*) opened up hitherto unknown possibilities for Jewish participation in European culture, especially through music. Methodologically, the project draws on historical snapshots of musical encounters in public and private settings, civic and religious institutions, and through aesthetic and critical discourses. My notion of encounters is based on a concept of music both as a dividing boundary that demarcates difference and distinction and as a permeable border region in which identities and difference can be negotiated, challenged, and redefined. This notion is particularly relevant to the ontology of music in mid-18th-century Germany and the rise of new aesthetic theories that rendered music more inclusive than ever before. Through thick description of such musical encounter—from musical works to public concerts to discussions in private letters and published essays—I explore how music operated as a mode of participation and negotiation of Jewish subjectivities and Christian-Jewish relations in interreligious and cross-regional networks. The primary sources include records of the textual and material dissemination of music in Jewish circles, performances, institu-

tional memberships, and patronage. Drawing on literary and philosophical texts as well as letters and personal texts on aesthetics, ethics, emotions, and music by Jews, both men and women (in German, Jüdisch-Deutsch, and Hebrew), including the letters of Rahel Levin-Varnhagen and Dorothea Schlegel, the formulation of participatory and inclusive aesthetic regimes is analyzed. The first results of this project, which have appeared in peer-reviewed articles and will be expanded in a monograph (in preparation), bring to light a little-known cantata from 1786 in memory of Moses Mendelssohn, a singular and fascinating piece that encapsulates, as is shown, the aesthetic, cultural, and political dilemmas that ultimately shaped modern Jewish experience, constituting a rare moment of Christian-Jewish intertwinement at the outset of German modernity.

## "Can You Feel It, Too?": Music, Affect, and Intimacy in Contemporary Urban Electronic Dance Music Scenes

In 1988, as Chicago's postdisco "house music" was just beginning to reach European audiences, Larry Heard released a track under the moniker Fingers Inc. entitled *Can You Feel It?* (Jack Trax JTX-20, vinyl EP). This track features a vocal performance by Robert Owens, using the declamatory style of an African-American preacher to describe house music and its corresponding dance floors as a utopia of universal belonging, mediated through the corporeal, affective experience of the music itself. Interspersed with this speech is a sample of a concert performance of the soul group The Jacksons, where someone yells *Can you feel it?* and the crowd answers in roaring, euphoric cheering. Repeatedly and through multiple channels, this house-music anthem staged a utopian fantasy of affective belonging for an emergent, international audience of listener-dancers in the late 1980s. On the dance floors of nightclubs, loft parties, and raves, partygoers engage in forms of stranger intimacy that short-circuit conventional narratives of intimacy and transgress normal, "daylight" decorum. This stranger intimacy taps into the sort of bond that theorists from Georg Simmel to Gemma

Seltzer imagine binding mass society; but the face-to-face and erotic aspects of this dance floor encounter alter the strangeness of strangerhood, too, finding new meaning in Simmel's play of distance and proximity. But how does such intense stranger intimacy arise and endure? In what registers is it felt and articulated?

The project addresses these questions through an intertwining of: ethnographic research in the electronic dance music scenes of Paris, Chicago, and Berlin; the analysis of these scenes' musical aesthetics; and an engagement with current scholarship on themes of affect, touch, and intimacy. This multisited project is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted across three cities and between the years of 2006 and 2010.

The project aims to impact the fields of music and dance studies, anthropology, popular culture/cultural studies, sexuality studies, and critical geography—particularly those subfields that take interest in music scenes and live events. Publication goals include a monograph (provisional title: *Together, Somehow: Music, Affect, and Intimacy on the Dancefloor*) as well as two articles drawing from the monograph's materials.

Most partygoers seem to want fluid and capacious forms of belonging that are loosely held together by musical affinities and by the dance floor's affective intensities, but they must contend with the contradictions inherent in embedding such imagined worlds in one that is already striated with exclusions. They want distinction without discrimination—belonging beyond the categorical exclusions of identity—and they sustain the fragile *sense* of such a utopian world through a sort of socially operative vagueness, routed through aesthetics and affect rather than identity. But these fluid practices of vague belonging are not entirely buoyant: Beneath these utopian fantasies of open belonging, the testimony of participants as well as fieldwork observations reveal fissures, inequities, and exclusions that often go unexamined. This project is dedicated to exploring how such scenes can support transient but real world-making projects by striking an ambivalent bargain with vagueness, which both enables

these worlds to *feel* imminently possible and provides cover for their underlying contradictions. By focusing on contemporary dance events, this project also brings spatiality and corporeal copresence to the fore, reconceptualizing stranger intimacy through relays between space, affect, and music. It engages with current research in urban studies and critical geography that theorize the connections between stranger sociability, affect, and built environment.

Although writing about electronic dance music has been growing steadily for the past decade, most scholarly monographs have been dedicated to writing the history of its scenes and genres, profiling prominent artists, and analyzing musical practice. Some ethnomusical and anthropological literature—particularly on ritual—has traced the connection between group musical activity and collective belonging, but this has largely been studied in the context of ethnic, national, or kinship communities. Recent theoretical work on nonidentitarian forms of belonging have primarily been elaborated out of archives of cultural texts and political movements. This project, by contrast, builds upon ethnographic fieldwork to study the emergence of stranger intimacy and musical-affective collectivity outside of solid identity forms. Furthermore, it does so by focusing on the experiences of "ordinary" partygoers and highlighting themes rarely explored in electronic dance music

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Figure 7. Audience at a music event.

© Luis-Manuel Garcia



studies: intimacy, touch, and affect. In the process, it develops new concepts and models to describe how these themes intertwine on the dance floor.

This project aims to produce and publish research that traces the links between musical aesthetics and social forms, that seriously takes the political stakes of “fun,” and that is alive to the affective dimensions of contemporary music, dance, and nightlife. With regard to social and cultural theory, it offers a range of new concepts while contributing to current ethnographic research. For example, the primary focus here is on nonconventional, primarily tactile forms of stranger intimacy; touch remains under researched in music studies (as well as in most other disciplines), and there is even less research that focuses on tactility between strangers. This project’s findings on the importance of vaguely defined, fluid relationships offer a substantial contribution to this scholarship. Results from this research show that the complexities and contradictions of modern collective belonging are both lubricated and mystified by an appeal to feelings and emotions: For these actors, the feeling of shared musical experience comes to stand in for collectivity—especially when such belonging is incoherent or fragile. Furthermore, these utopian fantasies of belonging are often indexed affectively both in the aesthetics of the music itself as well as in the experience of collective dancing. This project is thus one of the few that closely traces the connections between musical aesthetics, affective experience, and the sense of sociability between strangers. Also, the eyewitness accounts of inclusion and exclusion collected from scene participants provide a detailed and textured model of how a nominally open affinity group (such as Maffesoli’s “neo-tribe” or Hitzler and Niederbacher’s “post-traditional community”) actually creates obstacles to membership while presenting a self-image of diversity and inclusion. This project intertwines with a second, newer research project that is currently in the data-collection/fieldwork stage. This postdoctoral research project, entitled *The Techno Jetset: Mobility, Tourism, and the Creative Class in Berlin’s Electronic Dance Music Scenes*, examines the recent emergence of

“techno tourism” in Berlin as both a cultural and commercial phenomenon as well as its entanglement with various forms of spatial and social mobility. The first year of fieldwork has already revealed that many “techno tourists” also make the decision to move to Berlin for longer stays, thus expanding this project’s scope to consider not only tourism but also migration, which in turn raises issues concerning the economic and working conditions of “creative class” industries as well as the impact of gentrification on urban music scenes. Of particular relevance to this research group’s theme is the role that feelings and emotions play in grounding both tourists’ and migrants’ sense of belonging to their adopted city; in particular, music plays a central role in creating affective points of connection between those invested in these musical genres, which helps them sustain a sense of musical community as well as of belonging to a local, spatially grounded music scene.

## Researcher

Tim Biermann

## Emotion and Music Reception as Indicators of Change Within Societies: Germany and Great Britain From 1950–1970

The 1950s and 1960s brought significant change to the popular musical landscape. This project examines the emotional phenomena in musical communities that coincided with these changes. Outbursts of violence at Rock ‘n’ Roll concerts, the liberating bodily movements of twist in the early 1960s, the screaming fans at Beatles concerts, and the rise of club culture: when Rock ‘n’ Roll and Beat music surged into the realm of public attention, they were much more than simply new forms of entertainment. Bands and artists like Bill Haley, Elvis Presley, The Beatles, or the Rolling Stones helped to reshape the musical world. New technologies made music more accessible, and the emergence of media like music magazines, radio, and TV distributed knowledge regarding latest trends amongst readers, listeners, and viewers of a growing mass market. These factors helped to establish a new youth culture that questioned the paradigms of social order associated with their parent generation. Surprisingly, the findings also reveal that seemingly conservative music genres like the German *Schlager*

were incorporated in this culture. Accordingly, new ways of expressing and coping with emotions for both fans and bands alike were developed, creating new musical communities in the process while established practices coexisted without resulting in contradictions in youth identity constructions. These new youth cultures became increasingly influential; their emergence and development coincided with various forms of social change during these times—this is hardly coincidental. The key assumption is that—despite the temporal and cultural duality of new and established emotional and musical practices in the realm of Beat and youth culture—the emergence of Beat- or Rock 'n' Roll-based communities with mixed sets of common and new practices pushed the boundaries of what could be nonetheless said, done, and felt, thus changing society in the process. These practices shaped emotional styles that were an important part of these communities and fostered new forms of identity construction. The project aims at the identification of these emotional styles in musical communities in Germany and Great Britain. But, sources also show that the new musical styles were subject to change themselves. They were picked up by other artists and fans, challenged by conservatives, and integrated into the musical mainstream, thus influencing the very same social formations by which they were coined and influenced themselves. These communities enacted emotions like joy, passion, and “feeling alive,” but also anger in specific ways. This played a vital role in changing processes, and thus this project examines emotions as relevant indicators of social change, showing how they were connected to the specific style of musical communities: Rock 'n' Roll made “the whole mixed up world [seem] to be put right, alive and new” (*New Musical Express*, 1956) as one fan claimed.

Regarding its analytical framework, this project draws heavily on the methodological concept of emotional styles that are influenced by and allocated in cultural spaces. Findings indicate that these emotional styles are used by fans and bands to express their identity and social distinction. Thus,



Figure 8. Outside Buckingham Palace when the Beatles received their MBEs, London, 26 October 1965.

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they became an important part of community building, enabling the creation of “felt communities.” Emotional styles manifest themselves in various forms in the sources examined for this project: They can be found in interviews, recordings, lyrics, and concerts, but also in newspapers, magazines, and TV shows about musical phenomena. The analysis of these sources does not only grant insight into the emotional practices of bands and listeners but also into how they were developed and distributed. Emotional styles as analytic categories are particularly useful in the context of this project because they help to acquire a new perspective upon the youth cultures of the 1950s and 1960s, which explains the social conflicts and changes of the period without disregarding or ignoring the coexistence of new and established emotional and social practices in the same cultural space and timeframe. The juxtaposition of German and English cultural phenomena and sources allows, on the one hand, for a broader image of the 1950s' and 1960s' youth culture, outlining to which extent the English and the German varieties of youth culture shared common features but, on the other hand, also enable the project to highlight and reveal national complexities and differences—especially with regard to the German *Schlager* music for which the English music market lacked a fitting counterpart.

## Researcher

Anabelle Spallek

### "Lisztomania" in the Musical Life of 19th-Century Europe: Emotions and Community in the Reception of Liszt as a Genius

"Lisztomania"—the enthusiasm for the piano virtuoso Franz Liszt (1811–1886) was characterized in the 19th century. From 1838 until 1847, Liszt went on his famous concert tours throughout Europe. The former *wunderkind* became a well-known star: The audiences adored him as a genius and the press reported excessively about Liszt and the behavior of his admirers.

The interest in this project is the connection between emotions, music, and subject formation in the historical context of prerevolutionary Europe before 1848. This period—called the age of the virtuoso in music history—was also a transitional phase for music culture. Musical life was transforming into a professionalized and differentiated musical market. Liszt invented the romantic piano virtuoso and the piano recital in the 1830s and 1840s. According to the aesthetics of feeling, developed in the age of sensibility and romanticism, music was understood as an authentic expression of emotions, created and conveyed

by the subjectivity of the musical genius. In the concert, the audience saw emotions embodied in Liszt's performing style, heard and felt emotions listening to him playing, and observed emotions expressed in the behavior of the other listeners. Emotions are thus the key for understanding the Liszt reception.

This research has shown how the listener became a feeling subject in a Liszt concert. This is analyzed in three levels, informed by a cultural-historical and praxeological approach: emotional epistemologies, emotional spaces, emotional practices. Written and visual sources, such as concert reviews and caricatures, are used for the analysis.

First, the emotional epistemologies are analyzed in regard to how emotions, in relation to music and subjectivity, were conceptualized and how ideas of emotions were negotiated in the Liszt reception. Second, the Liszt concert is analyzed as an emotional space showing how Liszt and the audience produced feelings in a concert. Third, the emotional practices based on emotional epistemologies are examined on how the listener experienced feelings in a Liszt concert.

Liszt wanted to move the audience emotionally. Therefore, he developed his own unique performing style. This analysis has revealed how Liszt produced a new emotional space by reinventing the virtuoso concert. Liszt transformed the relationship between the virtuoso and the audience in a concert and thereby transformed the emotional experience of the listener. He accomplished this effect with different means. Liszt made use of the developments in piano construction to produce new sound effects. In order to concentrate the audience's whole attention entirely on himself, he was the first musician to give solo concerts and positioned the piano in a new way so that the audience could see his face when he played. Liszt called this new type of concert *recital*. In the concert, the listener had to appropriate Liszt's new emotional space concept. The impact on the audience while Liszt was playing was described with powerful metaphors in concert reviews and letters. Especially Liszt's body language and facial expression impressed the spectators. In the concert, the audience expressed their



Figure 9. Liszt in the concert hall, 1842. Drawing by Theodor Hosemann.

Source. Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

feelings with applause and bravos. Some even collected objects that Liszt had touched to keep as devotional items. Liszt's performing style and his admirers' behavior were ridiculed in caricatures.

These findings show how the listener experienced the concert as a hierarchical emotional community. In this community, Liszt was imagined at the top, controlling the feelings of the audience. Some imagined Liszt as a musical high priest leading the audience through a catharsis, and some imagined him as a military leader subduing the piano and the audience. Although music critics acknowledged Liszt's playing technique, some criticized his habitus as well as the behavior of his admirers according to middle-class ethics of gender and nation.

Music was an important medium for emotional socialization: that is becoming a feeling subject in the 19th century when music became "the language of feeling." By analyzing and contextualizing the emotional epistemologies, emotional spaces, and emotional practices in the Liszt reception, this approach reveals new insights into the modern Western history of subjectivity and social groups by focusing on the interface between the history of the self and cultural and social history.

### Angry Communities—Emotions and Community Building in Recent Music Culture From Punk to Grunge

With the emergence of punk music and punk culture in the mid-1970s, a new phenomenon can be observed in modern popular music culture: publicly displayed and intensely acted out anger. Indeed, already in the 1960s, some rock group performances exhibited a rather angry habitus, but with the advent of punk music a qualitative and quantitative turn took place in the performative expression and the musical (re-)presentation of emotions, such as anger, rage, or wrath.

From that point on, a whole variety of music styles evolved that established an aesthetic field centrally organized around the performance and the extroverted acting out of dismissive, accusatory, or rebellious emotions. Following this, a variety of new communities came into existence, forming new music-centered scenes, subcultures, and movements, for example, punk, hardcore punk, grunge, and parts of the heavy metal scenes. The main task of this dissertation project is to examine these processes of community building, the decisive characteristics of the different scenes, and the role that emotions, especially anger, and music played for their establishment and consistency. Geographically, the main focus is on

### Researcher

Henning Wellmann

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Figure 10. Sid Vicious at a concert of the Sex Pistols in 1978.

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Figure 11. Henry Rollins at a concert of Black Flag in 1981.

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Germany and the United Kingdom, allowing a comparative approach.

Methodically, the project concentrates on identifying and analyzing discourses and social practices circulating among the aforementioned scenes that suggest, promote, or object to, and thereby shape, certain kinds of self-relations and relations to others. The central assumption here is that the scenes develop specific models of subjectivity that include the promotion of certain understandings and ways of interpreting and thereby shape subjective emotions, modes of their expression and their experience, as well as varying forms of community building.

The empirical basis for this project is primarily composed of three different kinds of sources: (1) texts and materials produced by the communities/artists themselves (e.g., fanzines, interviews, musical performances, lyrics, music or concert reviews), (2) materials produced to document or describe these communities/artists (e.g., movies, documentaries, pictures, concert broadcasts, interviews, popular secondary literature), (3) scientific publications concerning relevant issues, mainly works on youth or subcultures. Focusing not only on written but also on acoustic and visual materials, the combination of these sources provide a comprehensive insight into the different emotional discourses and practices of the scenes.

As an exemplary illustration, there are two photographs above that show famous and influential punk/hardcore punk musicians. The first photograph, taken at a concert in 1978, shows Sid Vicious, the bassist of The Sex Pistols, one of the most important bands in the formation phase of the punk scene. The second photograph, taken at a concert around 1982, shows Henry Rollins, singer of the band Black Flag, a very influential band since the first years of hardcore punk.

What can be observed here is a change in the way the body is presented and treated as well as in the facial expressions and the bodily gestures.

In the early years of the punk movements, an image of the body prevailed in which it was staged as a rather fragile entity that could and should embody the rage, anger, and protest directed at the mainstream culture and

society as well as at the self. A more or less self-destructive or auto-aggressive attitude toward the own body, as shown by the cuts and blood in Figure 10, was fairly widespread. In contrast, the hardcore punk scenes, as exemplified here in Figure 11, tended to dissolve this tensed relation between the inward and outward directedness of their anger and rage in favor of directing it more and more to the outside. This change coincides with the staging of the body as a strong, muscular, ready-to-fight instrument to be placed as a symbol of the readiness to struggle for a cause.

Considering the results of this research, including an inquiry of the manifold shifts between punk and hardcore punk, it is possible to interpret these photographs as displays of a change in the repertoire of emotional expressions and experiences between these two styles. Whereas in the early punk movement anger could and should be directed at the self as well as at the outside world, hardcore punk established a far more aggressive and outward-directed form of anger, considering the whole life as a fight against wrong and unjust circumstances. Further findings suggest that similar transformative and mutually influencing processes can also be observed in the interplay of the other scenes researched here, although the impacts on emotional repertoires differ from case to case.

### **Riots, Rock, and Moral Panics: Youth and Pop Culture After 1945 From a Transnational Perspective**

After the World War II, new musical styles, which were predominantly developed in the United States and Great Britain, became a global phenomenon. Rooted in African-American culture and especially jazz, rock and beat music were adopted by young people worldwide. After a series of incidents at concerts that became notorious as so-called Rock 'n' Roll riots, an intense debate began in which musical styles became the target of conservative cultural pessimists from both the political right and left. At the center of these debates were not only sexually explicit song lyrics but emotional and bodily practices as expressed in new dances, hair and fashion styles, as well as on-stage musical performances—all of which had judicial,

#### **Researcher**

*Bodo Mrozek*

political, and legislative consequences. Nevertheless, an international youth-pop culture was gradually established which involved new media, new spaces, and new practices. Whilst pop culture is one of the more obvious fields of globalization, most of the scholarly work focuses on national models of explanation such as "Americanization" or the underlying political conflict of the Cold War. These explanations do indeed apply to German society, but this work focuses on the emergence of a specific German youth culture from a transnational perspective. Case studies were examined from Great Britain, France, the United States, and both East and West Germany in the "uneven decade" from 1956 to 1966. Bringing together models from cultural studies such as the analysis of "moral panics" (Stanley Cohen) and historiographical source analysis, this work also uses approaches that have been applied in the history of emotions. Media reports, audio-visual sources, and documents from the archives such as police reports and records from cultural departments and youth authorities were analyzed. During tenure at the Institute, concentration was on the interrelations between "emotional practices" and musical technics. Throughout history, performing and listening to music has always shaped these specific bodily practices in expressing and creating emotions (Figure 12). Both emotions and the body are not static and absolute terms, but products of social discourse, communication, and therefore historical processes. They can be studied through the analysis of conflicts that arose from the historical change in emotional practices such as those that were part of "Beatlemania." This catchphrase was coined in 1963 when new practices again became the target of a "moral panic." Five years after the so-called Rock 'n' Roll riots that linked music and the juvenile delinquency of male youths, girls were now at the center of the debates. Reports of young girls crying, screaming, and fainting dead away peppered the newspaper headlines in that year. Disturbing reports about wet seats after concerts led to a new debate regarding the correlation between popular music, sexual intensity, and public morality. Music like that of The Beatles was seen as an emotional stim-

ulus which was in clear conflict with accepted forms of established emotional practices in concert halls. The unexpected success of dance music in concerts had already begun with jazz in the 1920s and continued through the 1950s. Unable to cope with crowds that desired to dance and otherwise move around in concert halls, ushers as well as managers and finally the police tried to maintain established ideas of emotionally controlled crowd behavior by using physical force.

The emotional expressions during the Beatlemania were linked to accusations of mass hysteria that were rooted in older concepts of gendered disease-mongering. The term Beatlemania itself had its origins in other manias (most prominently in the "Lisztomania" of the early 19th century) but also referred to the phenomenon of female "hysteria." Psychologists, criminologists, and musicologists contributed to the scientific underpinning of a phenomenon that was originally coined by mass media. As a consequence, ideas as to what were suitable emotional practices were shaped and debated and had transnational effects. After disturbances at a Rolling Stones' concert in Berlin's Waldbühne, the GDR placed restrictions on and even banned certain guitar bands. By analyzing the underlying values and beliefs that were expressed in these discourses about the "correct way" of performing and consuming music, changes in the ideas of accepted emotional and bodily practices emerge as historically specific in their various political and cultural contexts. The work shows how "emotional performances" were slowly established and transnationally spread, also shaping youth into an internationally more coherent group which developed their own practices in contrast to the traditional emotional regimes of the older generation. The work thereby integrates concepts of the history of emotions into the history of a transnational pop culture.



Figure 12. Fan mania.

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