



MUSICAL JOURNEYS

PERFORMING MIGRATION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC

FLORIAN SCHEDING

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Professor Vanessa Agnew, University of Duisburg-Essen,
Department of Anglophone Studies, R12 S04 H,
Universitätsstr. 12, 45141 Essen, Germany
email: vanessa.agnew@uni-due.de

Professor Katharine Ellis, Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge,
11 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP, UK
email: kje32@cam.ac.uk

Professor Jonathan Glixon, School of Music, 105 Fine Arts Building,
University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506-0022, USA
email: jonathan.glixon@uky.edu

Professor David Gramit, Department of Music, University of Alberta,
3-82 Fine Arts Building, Edmonton, Alberta, T6G 2C9, Canada
email: dgramit@ualberta.ca

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IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC

FLORIAN SCHEDING

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This book is the result of a fairly longstanding interest, which began when I was a student at Hamburg University in Germany. This interest in music and migration was first awoken, and has continuously been nurtured, by Peter Petersen. Later, at Royal Holloway University of London, Erik Levi made an equally huge impression on me and has been invaluable. I am immensely grateful to both of you and have written this book very much with the two of you in mind. The specific prompt to actually sit down and put it all into shape is due to Katharine Ellis, who gave me much-needed encouragement when, in a memorable meeting over coffee, she put my PhD thesis on the table, and told me what sections could be altered in which way in order to form a backbone of a book. Katharine's generosity kickstarted the writing of the book proper. Come to think of it, a lot of discussions and conversations I had about this book project seem to have happened in cafés. I think especially of a lengthy and fateful Berlin breakfast during which Andrea Bohlman suggested that we might do something together on Hanns Eisler. Working with Andrea has made a huge impact on me and many of the ideas in this book are rooted in this collaboration.

Having received the tremendously helpful comments by the anonymous reviewers and series editors, I changed, perhaps overzealously, my initial book plan almost beyond recognition. A University Research Fellowship, awarded by my institution, the University of Bristol, allowed me to rethink and, I hope, improve my ideas and mould them into shape. Throughout the work that followed, Michael Middeke, the wonderful commissioning editor of Boydell, was continuously there for me, providing effective and much-needed encouragement. Once in production, Fiona Little did an amazing job proofreading the manuscript, and the team at Boydell, especially Megan Milan and Emily Champion, was wonderful in guiding me through the various processes that are part of publishing a book.

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More than anything else, I'm grateful to my closest friends and my family. My friend Christopher Vanja gave me perhaps the nicest feedback of anyone after reading the proofs that he'd seen lying around, and Sebastian Kaempf was so happy for me that he promoted the book on social media well before it was out. Mama and Hermann are always there for me and Emma has been a rock, reading everything, listening to everything, helping with everything. My beautiful boys, Felix and Leopold, remind me every day that it's worth writing a book, and that there are so many things which are so much more important.

Introduction:

Mobility between Margin and Centre

IN the summer of 1941, Hanns Eisler was busy composing in the small town of Woodbury, Connecticut. Eisler had decided to stay there with friends, fellow migrants Sylvia and Joachim Schumacher, in no small part for financial reasons, to escape expensive rent and urban life in New York. His wife, Louise, meanwhile, was earning money as a governess in Vermont. The Schumachers organised a room with an out-of-tune piano, rented from a gardener, who got on well with Eisler and enjoyed the composer's renditions of American folk-songs.¹ The peace and quiet of the countryside, alongside stimulating conversations with the Schumachers, resulted in a productive spell of compositions, which included the *Woodbury Songbook*, the film music to *A Child Went Forth*, and work on *Fourteen Ways to Describe Rain*. Eisler also wrote a set of piano variations there, which, as Christoph Keller has noted, he composed without a specific reason such as a commission or performance, unlike the other three works.² Instead, it seems that the impulse for the work, written for Eisler's own instrument, the piano, can be located nearer to home, so to speak, in Eisler's biography.

Keller speculates that discussions with the Schumachers about Beethoven's variation technique, prompted by Sylvia Schumacher's practising of Beethoven's C minor Variations, may have inspired Eisler to write his own set of variations. Indeed, Keller points out that the work follows compositional principles, which Eisler had discovered in Beethoven's variations.³ But the composition is not merely an exercise in invoking Beethoven. Instead, Eisler's commitment to the dodecaphonic technique of his erstwhile teacher, Schoenberg, is a hallmark of the work, while the recurrent first theme is itself based on the quintet from the first act of Mozart's *Magic Flute*, in which Papageno cannot speak because of a padlock that has been placed over his mouth. The compositional history of

¹ See Joachim Schumacher, 'Erinnerungen an Hanns Eisler', *Musik und Gesellschaft* 27 (1977), 538–41.

² Christoph Keller, 'Introduction', trans. Chris Walton, in *Hanns Eisler Complete Edition*, Series IV, vol. 10: *Piano Music I – Sonatas and Variations*, ed. J. C. Gall and C. Keller (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2015), xxv–xxxix.

³ Eisler explained these several years later, in a series of interviews in 1958, published by Nathan Notowicz as *Gespräche mit Hanns Eisler und Gerhard Eisler: Wir reden hier nicht von Napoleon. Wir reden von Ihnen!*, ed. Jürgen Elsner (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1971), 61–163.

the work, too, is less than straightforward, and maps out how the musical-historical reference points intermingle with personal semantic layers. Later in the same year, 1941, Eisler added a second coda, later renamed the first finale, as a funeral music for his friend Grete Steffin, who had died in Moscow on 4 June while fleeing the Nazis. Following the premiere performance by a fellow migrant, Eduard Steuermann, on 8 May 1941 at the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) festival in New York, the composer added two further finales, possibly composed in 1947, and the work was only premiered in this guise on 18 December 1956 in East Berlin, and first published in Leipzig in 1959, though with an incorrect composition date of 1940.

For a migration scholar like myself, such stories are as fascinating as they are evocative. That a migrant composer reflects on his own displacement by quoting a voiceless fictional superstar of the operatic stage might perhaps seem an obvious gesture. In invoking Papageno, Eisler reminds us that, as a refugee, he is disempowered, even silenced, as he escapes fascist persecution. Even so, like Papageno, he is not voiceless, retaining the ability to sound his predicament, and, more so, intent on turning it into a performative act full of agency and expressiveness. What is more, Eisler does not provide a direct quotation from Mozart's *Magic Flute* and avoids drawing an all-too-neat parallel analogy between himself and Tamino's bird-hunting companion. Instead, he obscures the reference, which does not readily reveal itself to the listener.⁴ While referencing Papageno's predicament, then, Eisler invokes a historical trajectory, even a *longue durée*, of silencing, while at the same time acknowledging the specificity of individual voices and diverse historical contexts. (Papageno and Eisler are both on journeys, but the former is silenced for his lies while fascist forces seek to silence the latter for speaking antifascist truths.) Similarly, the references to Beethoven and Schoenberg do not describe Eisler as an epigone, but rather are reflections on a continued Austro-German musical heritage in which Eisler participates, and which he sustains even as he finds himself in rural Connecticut. Austro-German culture, as it manifests itself in the piano variations, is now presented as migratory. The compositional and performance histories of the piano variations themselves are mobile, spanning across continents and extending to several decades. Beyond the conceptual, this migratory aspect manifests itself more profanely. Eisler the migrant posits the idiom of a fellow migrant, Schoenberg, as the latest development of Austro-German musical culture in a piece grown out of a summer spent with fellow migrants, the Schumachers, dedicated in part to a fellow migrant, Steffin, and premiered by another fellow migrant, Steuermann, at an event organised by an institution

⁴ The first scholar to point out the Papageno link was Manfred Grabs in 1974, some three decades after the composition. See Grabs, 'Über Berührungspunkte zwischen der Vokal- und der Instrumentalmusik Hanns Eislers', in *Hanns Eisler heute: Berichte – Probleme – Beobachtungen*, ed. Manfred Grabs (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1974), 114–29.

committed to internationalism, the ISCM. The migratory aesthetics, then, link and grow with a tangible migratory community.

I find seemingly little stories such as this one fascinating. Set against the dominant narratives of twentieth-century Western art musics, Eisler's piano variations would barely seem to matter much. To my knowledge, the piece is not discussed in any of the main textbooks, encyclopaedias, or anthologies of Western art music, and barely gets a mention even in the Eisler literature. And yet, the little story with which I start my book is multi-layered and rich in ambiguities, inviting readings that embrace the paradoxical and encourage dialectical approaches, opening up a world of questions and intellectual opportunities. I find myself returning time and again to the words of Jim Samson. Referencing Jacques Derrida's attack on triumphalist neo-conservatism, Samson encourages us to foreground little stories, so rich in ambiguities. For him,

they have a way of constantly taking detours from the simple characterizations offered by grand narratives. ... They allow us to see around the edges of the grand narratives, lighting them up in various ways; they can instantiate them, critique them, revise them.⁵

The potential of migrant stories to delexicalise the foreign, as Gayatri Spivak has termed it, lies at the heart of many texts that address migration and mobility.⁶ This ranges from influential calls by authors such as Hannah Arendt and Edward Said to centralise marginalised migrant voices to suggestions to realise the importance of mobility and movement as socio-historic factors, amongst others.⁷

It would be easy to point to the fact that much of mainstream music studies has struggled to include migrant voices. I used to open a paper I gave in various guises and on various occasions with an attack on my discipline, highlighting the extent to which we tend to displace displacement from our narratives. Most major textbooks on twentieth-century Western art music end their discussions of individual composers with their migrations in the 1930s and give scant attention to post-migration works. If included at all, migrant stories are frequently marginalised as historical accidents. In his standard *Twentieth Century Music*, Robert P. Morgan, for example, claims that figures such as 'Stravinsky,

⁵ Jim Samson, 'Little Stories from the Balkans', in *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, ed. Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 192.

⁶ See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Dialogue: World Systems & the Creole', *Narrative* 14:1 (2006), 102–12.

⁷ See Hannah Arendt, 'We Refugees', *Menorah Journal* 31 (1943), 69–77; Edward W. Said, 'Reflections on Exile', in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 173–86; Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A* 38:2 (2006), 207–26.

Schoenberg, Bartók, Hindemith, Weill, and Milhaud [were] significantly re-aligning the cultural map and giving America a vastly more prominent position within the international musical configuration.’⁸ Yet, instead of exemplifying his position, Morgan moves directly from the interwar to the postwar period and fails to analyse any of the migrants’ activities or the extent of their impact on musical life in the United States or elsewhere. Even the compositions of the most prominent figures are often ignored after their migration (Schoenberg), seen through the lens of a biographical swansong (Bartók), or narrated as a tale of aesthetic decline (Weill). Taruskin does talk about migrants, but files them away in their own subchapter, as though music history otherwise were unaffected.⁹

Behind the little stories that make up this book, then, I could have constructed a fundamental critique of music historiography. I might have highlighted that displacement has affected humanity since the dawn of time and contrasted this with musicology’s unwillingness to investigate the impact of migration on Western art music. One could view musicology’s relative silence of discourse regarding displacement as a political act and relate it to the aim to narrate the history of the avant-garde as largely homogeneous and progressivist and the frequent urge to construct places as fixed, as though there existed no mobilities between them. I would not have been the first to draw up this line of argument. Authors such as Nina Glick Schiller and Andreas Wimmer have pointed out the extent to which static notions of the nation and society underpin scholarly research, an assumption they term methodological nationalism.¹⁰ As a consequence, stasis is methodologically conceived of as normal, while movement is relegated as out of the norm. Such approaches, of course, clash with migration’s heterogeneous spaces of mobility and the migrants’ mobile and sometimes unpredictable engagements with nationalist discourses.

I do still believe that the influence of migration on a wide range of musics in the twentieth century has long been downplayed in musicology. And yet, beyond the lacunae in textbooks, engagements with migrations and mobilities

⁸ Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth Century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America* (New York: Norton, 1991), 326.

⁹ Richard Taruskin, ‘Varieties of Emigration’ and ‘Shades of Gray’, in *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 5: *Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 765–74. Strikingly, one of his two examples is Karl Amadeus Hartmann, who was not, in fact, a migrant, and stands out as a remarkably immobile musician, spending his entire life in Munich in Germany. I’m not the first to notice that Taruskin sidesteps migration. Karl Kügle has done so, too. See his review ‘Past Perfect: Richard Taruskin and Music Historiography in the Early Twenty-First Century’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 1 (2008), 81–2.

¹⁰ See, for example, Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, ‘Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology’, *International Migration Review* 37:3 (2003), 576–610.

are thriving in music studies, and they are rich and highly diverse. For example, a considerable body of work exists on the lives and works of individual musicians and composers who, from the 1930s onwards, fled European fascism to the United States and elsewhere. Following an edited volume that has become a cornerstone in this field, Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff's *Driven into Paradise*, several authors have contributed insightful and influential biographical studies on elite individuals, amongst them Brigid Cohen on Stefan Wolpe and Sabine Feisst on Arnold Schoenberg, to name only two.¹¹ A few years earlier, in 1993, the volume *Musik im Exil*, co-edited by Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer-Zenk, and Peter Petersen, had set a benchmark for German-language academia.¹² Beyond such historical approaches, numerous authors have adopted ethnographic lenses, often focused on specific diasporic communities, that offer fascinating insights into music's potential, unique in each case, to engage with diasporic identities.¹³ To some extent, volumes such as Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck's *Migrating Music* and also Erik Levi's and my volume *Music and Displacement* have sought to bridge the gap between historical and ethnographic approaches, while still placing music's movements centre stage.¹⁴ Ethnomusicologists have increasingly reminded musicologists of the importance of place, just as musicology continues to remind ethnomusicologists of the importance of history. And if Božidar Jezernik is right that 'there is no history without a place, and no place without a history', migrations and displacements may serve as a connective of history and place, the

¹¹ Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, eds, *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹² Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer-Zenk, and Peter Petersen, eds, *Musik im Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1993).

¹³ Examples are Roberto Avant-Mier, *Rock the Nation: Latin/o Identities and the Latin Rock Diaspora* (New York: Continuum, 2010); John Baily, *War, Exile and the Music of Afghanistan: The Ethnographer's Tale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015); Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Sanjay Sharma, John Hutnyk, and Ashwani Sharma, eds, *Dis-Orienting Rhythms: The Politics of the New Asian Dance Music* (London: Zed Books, 1996); Alejandro L. Madrid, ed., *Transnational Encounters: Music and Performance at the U.S.–Mexico Border* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Matthew B. Karush, *Musicians in Transit: Argentina and the Globalization of Popular Music* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

¹⁴ Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck, eds, *Migrating Music* (London: Routledge, 2011); Levi and Scheduling, eds, *Music and Displacement*.

characteristic concerns of historians and ethnomusicologists.¹⁵ The breadth of engagement in music studies can perhaps best be illustrated by the fact that the emphasis on exile, refuge, displacement, and migration is practically absent in Sumanth Gopinath and Jason Stanyek's two-volume *Oxford Handbook of Mobile Music Studies*, which focuses, instead, on theories and technologies related to the mobility of sound.¹⁶

The terminological debate regarding the various facets of border-crossing reaches as far back as the discipline itself, mirroring the diverse and all-too-often conflicting self-descriptions of the migrants themselves.¹⁷ There is much potential for conflicts between concepts pertaining to globalisation, transnationalism, interculturalism, cosmopolitanism, migration, emigration, displacement, mobility, diaspora, exile, immigration, and several more. Focusing on music studies alone, usage of the terms 'exile' (Baily), 'displacement' (Levi and Scheduling), 'diaspora' (Cohen), 'journey' (Hinton), 'mobility' (Gopinath and Stanyek), 'heterotopia' (Bohlman), and 'in-betweenness' (Beckles Willson), or the avoidance of any one specific term (Feisst), might suggest disagreement at first sight.¹⁸ And yet a closer engagement suggests that the lack of a steadfast terminology does not stand in the way of much common ground as far as the actual debate is concerned. This topical and methodological richness and diversity is mirrored in migration studies more widely. Kate Elswit, whose research focuses on German-language dance and cabaret artists who left Germany during the 1930s, points out that the varied usage of terms often reflects heavily politicised contexts, in which migrants themselves and scholars seek to differentiate and, at times, instrumentalise diverse forms of migration.¹⁹ For example, while exile studies zoomed in on refugees from European fascism and

¹⁵ Božidar Jezernik, 'Europeanisation of the Balkans', in *Urban Music in the Balkans: Drop-Out Ethnic Identities or a Historical Case of Tolerance and Global Thinking?*, ed. Sokol Shupo (Tirana: Asmus, 2006), 23–31.

¹⁶ Sumanth Gopinath and Jason Stanyek, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Mobile Music Studies*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁷ See Christine Brooke-Rose, 'Exsul', in *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travellers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*, ed. Susan Suleiman (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 9–24, and my text "'The Splinter in your Eye": Uncomfortable Legacies and German Exile Studies', in *Music and Displacement*, 119–34.

¹⁸ Baily, *War, Exile and the Music of Afghanistan*, Levi and Scheduling, eds, *Music and Displacement*; Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe*; Stephen Hinton, *Weill's Musical Theatre: Stages of Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Gopinath and Stanyek, eds, *Oxford Handbook of Mobile Music Studies*; Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Rachel Beckles Willson, *Ligeti, Kurtág, and Hungarian Music during the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*.

¹⁹ Kate Elswit, 'The Micropolitics of Exchange: Exile and Otherness after the Nation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Politics*, ed. Rebekah J. Kowal, Gerald Siegmund, and Randy Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 419–21.

had a distinct anti-fascist agenda, diaspora studies removed this geographical focus and, instead, highlighted postcolonial violence and nationalist conflict.²⁰ Pioneered by scholars such as Mimi Sheller, John Urry, and Stephen Greenblatt, mobility studies, conversely, endeavours to conceive of mobility as the norm in sociological research, as I have noted above.²¹ On one hand, such multifacedness constitutes a disadvantage. Scholarly engagements with the movements of people, objects, and ideas are so numerous that it is hard to see how anyone could have an overview. (For all my efforts to try to keep on top of developments I am frequently defeated by the speed with which important contributions appear from all disciplinary corners.) As a result of such richness, the field appears almost too fragmented to allow for some sort of disciplinary coherence. At the same time, this very resistance to disciplinary coherence is an advantage, for it prevents trends that are overbearingly dominant. Instead, diverse spaces open up, leaving room for conflicting and complementing interpretations, thus mirroring the diversity of migration itself.

In this book, I try as much as possible to communicate with some of the trends of migration studies inside and beyond music studies, drawing on exile, diaspora, migration and mobilities studies, critical theory, and postcolonial and cultural studies, amongst others. At the same time, my book cannot possibly represent or mirror such disciplinary richness and diversity. Instead, the available scholarly breadth of focus, methodology, and disciplinary background allows me to be a magpie, picking and choosing ideas and concepts according to their potential to enrich the little stories I present conceptually. My opening story might suggest that this book is an Eisler biography. Instead, I offer vignettes by concentrating on individual works and migratory moments of three composers. In addition to Eisler, these are the less-well known Mátyás Seiber and István Anhalt. This, then, is a humble and, in some ways, unambitious book that tells little stories and works outwards from them, linking them with wider themes. The perhaps fanciful thoughts prompted by Eisler's piano variations encapsulate several of the core themes of this book. While the overall trajectory is roughly chronological, the chapters are primarily organised thematically, and each takes one or two of the three case studies as starting points and main examples. I mainly engage with Hanns Eisler's work in the first two chapters; Mátyás Seiber takes centre stage in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, and István Anhalt moves into focus in Chapters 4 and 5.

Migration is a mass phenomenon which has fundamentally shaped our history and our thinking. This fundamental belief in the centrality and importance of migration, shared by influential thinkers like Edward Said and Hannah Arendt, clashes with the often-marginalised status of migrant voices.²² Arendt

²⁰ For a discussion of exile studies, see Scheduling, "The Splinter in your Eye".

²¹ Sheller and Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', and Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²² See Hannah Arendt, 'We Refugees', and Said, 'Reflections on Exile'.

and Said both recognise a basic methodological problem at the core of thinking about migration, the paradox between the collective and the individual. How does one square the fact that migration is a mass phenomenon of modernity on the one hand with the diversity of individual migrant stories, all of them unique, on the other? How can one make plausible assessments about migratory culture and aesthetics while at the same time envoicing individual migrant identities? And to what extent does the grouping of highly diverse individuals into a migrant community unwittingly essentialise and disempower these individuals? The issue of place, too, matters here. While migrations and mobilities necessarily happen in between places, en route, migrants are still in specific places at any one time. Jacques Derrida has pointed out how the uneasy relationship between the universal and the particular regarding people and places has shaped debates about cosmopolitanism into postcolonial assumptions of universal identity on the one hand and hard projections of otherness on the other. Translated as 'universal city', 'cosmopolitanism' invokes an anyplace. And yet even the most superficial assessment of migration will recognise that the difference of places and cities matters to migrant stories. Derrida invites us to consider a strategy of hospitality that goes beyond viewing identity and difference as mutually exclusive.²³

Taking on board such prompts, I tackle the conundrum of the collective versus the individual, the specific versus the particular throughout this book, focusing on specific migratory musical moments against broader backgrounds. In the first chapter, I exemplify my strategy to combine a specific focus within a wider migratory context. My chronological focus concentrates on 1937 Paris. Hanns Eisler was highly mobile that year, travelling almost frantically across Europe, before eventually migrating to the United States. Paris, too, was among these locations, hosting the ISCM festival that year. I charter the importance of Paris as a location in Eisler's long migration through an examination of the emerging *Deutsche Sinfonie*, which develops as a work marked by the dichotomy of places and displacements. Beyond this focus, I view Eisler's music in a wider context of migratory culture in mid- to late 1930s Paris, in which the composer played a prominent, if transitory role, mixing with other refugees from Hitler's Germany like Lion Feuchtwanger, who modelled Sepp Trautwein, the protagonist of the novel *Exil*, on Eisler. I draw attention to contemporaneous novels, such as Klaus Mann's *Vulkan* and Lion Feuchtwanger's *Exil*, as well as Walter Benjamin's philosophical writing. While alert to their distinctive qualities and differences, I foreground common themes, all of which are treated dialectically, such as breadth and fragmentation, specificity and namelessness, place and space, and an engagement with Jewish concepts and thought. The engagement with utopia and dystopia emerges as the most persistent feature. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopian spaces, I explore the

²³ Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes (London: Routledge, 2001).

extent to which Mann, Eisler, Feuchtwanger, and Benjamin conjure up a migratory heterotopia in their works.²⁴ Despite conjuring up tentative suggestions for intertextual commonalities and the rich nexus of migrant connections, the migratory culture of my named community is not homogeneous. Instead, it is an aesthetic that speaks profoundly of migration and mobility as heterotopian spaces of engagement, envoiement, and empowerment.

Rather than covering the extremely varied arenas of migrant culture superficially, or alternatively focusing only on one area (such as London) or one institution (such as the BBC) in detail while ignoring others, my strategy to employ vignettes from three selected case studies allows for a balance between inclusiveness on the one hand and in-depth investigation on the other. Zooming in on specific musical migratory moments enables a stringent and coherent focus and prevents the narrative from becoming shallow. For example, Mátyás Seiber may today be a lesser-known figure. Nonetheless, of the numerous composers and musicians who migrated to Britain during the 1930s and 1940s, few engaged in as many activities and few were as productive as Seiber. Further, it is exactly an exploration of the less well-known protagonists of history and the power of their 'little stories' that afford insight into the everyday experience of migration. A focus on Seiber, paradoxical though this might sound, therefore allows for a broader exploration of issues that are also pertinent to many other migrant composers in mid-twentieth-century Britain who feature throughout because of the wide connections Seiber had within the migrant community and London's wider musical circles.

In Chapter 3, I situate Seiber's musical activities in the complex and sometimes confusing setting of wartime Britain. Throughout the chapter, I continuously zoom out to include numerous contemporaneous migrant musicians. Rather than offering in-depth analyses of any migrant compositions at this stage, the chapter investigates three questions, which all locate migrant milieu and culture in mid-century London. First, which institutions (radio stations, concert halls, publishing houses, and organisations) did migrants like Seiber participate in, and which were they were admitted to (and in which capacities) or excluded from? Second, how were the voices and works of the immigrant composers heard, and what were the circumstances of such performances? The works of immigrant composers that were not performed, for example, can hardly have made an impact upon British musical life, however much or little they speak of migration or exile. In combination, the scale of institutional involvement and related performance opportunities inform assessments regarding the extent to which the immigrants managed to integrate into musical life. Third, what factors contributed towards the relative silence of the avant-garde? A common feature of the work catalogues of numerous migrant

²⁴ Michel Foucault, 'Different Spaces', in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, vol. 2, ed. James Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley and others (London: Penguin, 2000), 175–85.

composers is that they turned to lighter musical idioms after their migrations to Britain. Several pertinent musical institutions, too, displayed little support for the musical avant-garde, including those erected by the migrants themselves.

A particular focus here is Seiber's fractious involvement with the BBC, which acted as the most influential gatekeeper of musical dissemination in mid-century Britain. The BBC's role was highly ambiguous as it negotiated its own strategies of bordering the nation in sound. On the one hand, it acted as an employer of large numbers of migrant musicians, who held crucial positions in the provision of overseas services. On the other, the BBC to some extent prevented migrant voices being heard on the Home Service. Chartering this paradox through Seiber's example, I emphasise the extent to which institutions such as the BBC had real impact on migrant musicians, a point that resurfaces in my discussion in Chapter 5 of István Anhalt's struggle to seek performance for his recently completed *Tikkun* in 1990s Canada.

The dialectics of macro- and micro-historical contexts framed the migratory journey of all my musical migrants, much as they did that of countless other composers – some now part of the canon of Western art music, others all but forgotten – that formed the musical fabric of the twentieth century. As they travelled for personal and career reasons, broader political changes continuously affected their movements, placements, and displacements. In the 'age of the refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration', to use Edward Said's words, the personal and the political are continuously and inseparably intertwined.²⁵ And if there exists a tension between specific locations and cities on the one hand and the anyplace of cosmopolitanism on the other, it follows that, perhaps paradoxically, migration might cross borders, but it does not transcend confrontation with the national. From the moment of border-crossing, migrants continuously encounter the nation as part of their everyday experience. Migration therefore engenders confrontation with the national.

Few twentieth-century musicians were affected by outbursts of nationalist politics as directly as those displaced by the century's extremist regimes. The particular ways in which my three migrant musicians engaged with the nation permeates all chapters but moves into particular focus in Chapter 2. Focusing on Eisler and Seiber, I detail how their responses to the nation and the national evolved. My story unfolds in Budapest, Frankfurt, Berlin, London, and elsewhere, against varied socio-political contexts ranging from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy via proto-fascist Hungary and fascist Germany to postwar Britain and socialist East Germany. At times, the conceptual and musical engagement of Seiber and Eisler with the national sat at odds with the nations which they encountered, and which often marginalised them, but their creative responses act as a prism into their migratory identities. My discussion of debates and works that charter a direct engagement with nationalism and the nation throws into focus the multitude of nationalisms at play, encompassing

²⁵ Said, 'Reflections on Exile', 174.