

Geudens, Thomas; De Baets, Thomas

'From chanting to rapping'. (Creative) Music making in catholic schools in 20th century flanders

Buchborn, Thade [Hrsg.]; Gall, Marina [Hrsg.]; Hennessy, Sarah [Hrsg.]; Stumpfögger, Margret [Hrsg.]: Liberty - Equity - Creativity. Innovating and inventing music in the classroom. Rum/Innsbruck : HELBLING 2025, S. 61-76. - (European perspectives on music education; 13)



Quellenangabe/ Reference:

Geudens, Thomas; De Baets, Thomas: 'From chanting to rapping'. (Creative) Music making in catholic schools in 20th century flanders - In: Buchborn, Thade [Hrsg.]; Gall, Marina [Hrsg.]; Hennessy, Sarah [Hrsg.]; Stumpfögger, Margret [Hrsg.]: Liberty - Equity - Creativity. Innovating and inventing music in the classroom. Rum/Innsbruck : HELBLING 2025, S. 61-76 - URN: urn:nbn:de:0111-pedocs-352625 - DOI: 10.25656/01:35262

<https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0111-pedocs-352625>

<https://doi.org/10.25656/01:35262>

in Kooperation mit / in cooperation with:



<https://www.helbling.com>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Dieses Dokument steht unter folgender Creative Commons-Lizenz: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.de> - Sie dürfen das Werk bzw. den Inhalt vervielfältigen, verbreiten und öffentlich zugänglich machen sowie Abwandlungen und Bearbeitungen des Werkes bzw. Inhaltes anfertigen, solange Sie den Namen des Autors/Rechteinhabers in der von ihm festgelegten Weise nennen.

Mit der Verwendung dieses Dokuments erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen an.

Terms of use

This document is published under following Creative Commons-License: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.en> - You may copy, distribute and render this document accessible, make adaptations of this work or its contents accessible to the public as long as you attribute the work in the manner specified by the author or licensor.

By using this particular document, you accept the above-stated conditions of use.



Kontakt / Contact:

peDOCS
DIPF | Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation
Informationszentrum (IZ) Bildung
E-Mail: pedocs@dipt.de
Internet: www.pedocs.de

Table of Contents

Margret Stumpfögger, Thade Buchborn, Marina Gall & Sarah Hennessy Introduction	5
---	---

I. PERSPECTIVES ON CREATIVITY

Gert Biesta (Ireland and United Kingdom) Democratic Music Education between Creativity and Sensitivity An Interview with Gert Biesta by Philip Winter	15
---	----

Heidi Westerlund (Finland) Why Should Children Compose? From an Ego-Logical to Relational Eco-Logical Rationality	29
---	----

Elissavet Perakaki (Greece) Musical Bridges to Inclusion The Educational Journey of an Autistic Student through Composition and Music Technology	43
---	----

Thomas Geudens & Thomas De Baets (Belgium) 'From Chanting to Rapping' (Creative) Music Making in Catholic Schools in 20 th Century Flanders	61
---	----

Johannes Trefß, Elisabeth Theisohn & Thade Buchborn (Germany) How Can Teachers Initiate and Support Creative Processes? Design Principles for Group Composing and Improvising in the Music Classroom	77
---	----

II. YOUNG PEOPLE COMPOSING

Laetitia Pansanel-Garric (France) The Creative Process: Between Composition and Transmission Composing Music, Starting from a Diversity of Musical Practices in a Pedagogical Context, in Order to Create a Shared Performance – a Composer's Point of View	101
---	-----

Vít Novotný (Czech Republic) & Teryl L. Dobbs (United States of America) Fostering Children's Creativity and Artistic Freedom through the <i>Terezín Relay Project</i>	123
Daniela Taylor & Jiřina Jiříčková (Czech Republic) A Creative Musical Meeting with Leoš Janáček	135
Verena Bons (Germany) Songwriting with Ukuleles How the 'Fairground Concept' Can Foster Children's Creativity	153
Verena Weidner, Katharina Hermann & Marc Godau (Germany) 'We Had the Ideas and He then Implemented Them.' Songwriting in School as Networking	169
III. TECHNOLOGY ENABLING COMPOSITION AND PRODUCTION	
Philipp Ahner (Germany), Michael Ahlers (Germany), Wilfried Aigner (Austria), Sabine Chatelain (Switzerland), Sandrine Desmurs (France), Daniel Hug (Switzerland), Peter Mall (Germany) & Benno Spieker (The Netherlands) From Sheet to Beat Creativity and Composition as Useful Content for (Digital) Lifelong Learning	189
Yannis Mygdanis (Greece) Little Music Makers & Producers Designing and Integrating Technological-Musical Educational Scenarios for Musical Creativity Development in an Elementary School in Greece	207
Phillip Feneberg (Austria/Germany) Creating Music in VR A Study on Virtual Reality Apps for Creating Music	221
Anna Houmann, Joakim Barfalk, Erik Lundahl & Per Berlin Englund (Sweden) The Digital Student Challenges and Opportunities Using EDI in Swedish Music Education	243
The Editors	261
The Authors	263

Thomas Geudens & Thomas De Baets

‘From Chanting to Rapping’

(Creative) Music Making in Catholic Schools in 20th Century Flanders

Introduction

In the course of the 20th century there has been a strong evolution in music making during music lessons in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking region in the north of Belgium. Little has been published about the history of music at school in Flanders and sources are scarce. In this contribution, we aim to describe a century of music making in Flemish schools through the interaction between the Lemmens Institute and music education practice in schools. We will not elaborate on the developments in music schools and conservatoires in detail, but will be guided by the developments in compulsory education, more specifically those within Catholic schools, the largest school network in Flanders.¹ Steered by central curricula and, until the 1990s, by one music teacher education institution, the Lemmens Institute,² many music educational developments in Flanders can be understood through the writings of several key figures connected to this teacher education institution. We pay specific attention to the international influences, and to the role of musical creativity. Although the multi-faceted nature of musical creativities is acknowledged today (e.g. Burnard, 2012), we refer to creativity in this text in the singular or tentative ways it was conceptualised by music educators in their time.

We reconstructed the evolutions in the Lemmens Institute and music in Flemish schools by means of document analysis and literature study. Notable sources were a large number of historical curricula, and articles in the periodical *Musica Sacra* (from 1969

¹ This dominant position of Catholic schools was maintained from the 19th century until today, Catholic schools now covering about 70 % of K-12 schools in Flanders (Department of Education, 2021).

² Both authors work at the Lemmens Institute, currently a campus of LUCA School of Arts (Belgium), which facilitated access to the relevant coursework and library archives.

onwards: *Adem*), which was published by the Lemmens Institute until 2013. Our historical sources are contextualised and presented as a small 'chronicle', covering approximately one hundred years of music in Catholic schools. In four paragraphs we highlight what we believe are the four major chapters, from the end of the 19th century to the end of the 20th century. By opening up this piece of history, we aim at enabling reflection on current developments in music education from a deeper awareness of time and space, and historical understanding.

Church Music as a Starting Point: No Room for Creativity

Some evolutions in the last decades of the 19th century are crucial to provide a background for 20th century developments. One is the so-called *schoolstrijd* (school battle, 1878–1884) between Catholics and Liberals. As a reaction to two new laws of the Liberal government of Prime Minister Frère-Orban (10 July 1879 and 11 June 1881), which restricted the influence of the Catholic Church on state education, the Catholic Church established hundreds of new Catholic schools. It was the start of a struggle for 'the soul of the child', which gave the Catholic Party a dominant position in the educational landscape and the parliament until the First World War. This period marks the start of the so-called 'pillarisation' of Belgian society, a political segregation of the society into Liberals, Catholics, and later Socialists, that still exists to some extent today. In the following decades, the Catholic pillar no longer focused on convincing nonbelievers, but on strengthening institutions for their own community (Claes et al., 2020).

Catholic church music is at that moment strongly influenced by Caecilianism. This movement, which originated in Germany, is also gaining ground elsewhere in Europe. It is based on the idea that serene choral music and Gregorian chant should reclaim a central place in church, and that church music should resist the influences of secular music (Gmeinwieser, 2001). In Belgium, Caecilianism led to the founding of an *École de musique religieuse* (school for religious music, later called Lemmens Institute) in Mechelen in 1879. This school was led by Jaak Nikolaas Lemmens (1823–1881), who on 28 September 1880 also founded the *Association de Saint-Grégoire* (Society of Saint Gregory) (Van Damme, 1881). In an analysis of the first volumes of the association's periodical *Musica Sacra*, Haspeslagh (2004a) summarises the musical ideals of the association: dignified, serene and well-sung Gregorian and choral music. It opposes what is 'trivial', 'not pure' or 'sentimental'.

The curricula for primary education include a total of one hour of singing each week, probably as a kind of liturgical rehearsal time (Haspeslagh, 2004a). The music of the Catholic Church is the 'alpha' and 'omega' of music lessons in Catholic schools, or as the Canon Maton from Tournai states:

The child likes to sing, we must not deny him this satisfaction, all the more so because singing now makes him learn and is an excellent way of upbringing. Music, the most popular of all arts, also occupies the first place in public worship. In the school, the singers must be cultivated for the church. Thus shall we bring the people to the point where they participate in church singing again, as they did in the past. (Van Damme, 1882, p. 10)³

In addition to one- and multipart chants, solfège and dictation played an important role in these lessons (Management of Primary Education, 1897; Ministry of Public Education, 1880). French influences are obvious: solfège is taught according to the French fixed-do system, although since the 1880s the number notation from Galin-Paris-Chevé is also in use (but abandoned halfway the twentieth century) (Haspeslagh, 2004a, 2004b). In light of the evolutions above, it is not surprising that curricula in those days did not yet refer to the creation of music or music creativity at all.

A New Wind from Germany: Integrating Creative Activities

At the turn of the 20th century progressive education makes its appearance in Western Europe. Various pedagogues (such as Ovide Decroly, Maria Montessori and Rudolf Steiner) oppose the intellectual, authoritarian and morality-oriented education of the nineteenth century. They promote a child-oriented, active school based on a scientific observation of the child's needs and interests (Depaepe, 1998). Meanwhile, a major development in music education takes place in Germany, strikingly enough, outside school. Around the turn of the century, several *Wandervogel* societies were founded. Inspired by romanticism, this youth movement wanted children from the urban bourgeoisie to go out into nature and experience the value of group bonding and folk culture. Folk dance and singing occupied an important place in their activities. Spurred on by, among others, Fritz Jöde, who published several periodicals with sheet music and theoretical contributions, the *Jugendmusikbewegung* (musical youth movement) took off after the First World War (Gruhn, 1993).

Progressive education and musical youth movements inspired the ideal of *musische Erziehung* (artistic upbringing), which was firmly anchored in German schools by Leo Kestenberg (Gruhn, 1993). The music pedagogue Georg Götsch (1934) describes this *musische Erziehung* as a general *Musikalisierung* ('musicalisation') of life, with the following characteristics: unity of music, speech and movement; the elimination of the contrast

³ Author's translation of "Het kind zingt geern, wij mogen hem die voldoening niet weigeren, zooveel te meer, omdat de zang hem nu bijbrengt en een voortreffelijk opvoedingsmiddel is. De muziek, de populairste aller kunsten, bekleedt ook de eerste plaats in den openbaren eeredienst. In de school moeten de zangers aangekweekt worden voor de kerk. Aldus zullen wij het volk zoover brengen dat het wederom, gelijk eertijds, deelneemt aan den kerkzang."

between folk and art music; and singing as the starting point of music. An important figure in this period is Carl Orff, who, together with Gunild Keetman, developed the Orff-Schulwerk from 1924 onwards. They applied the principles of artistic upbringing both vocally and instrumentally to music in schools (contributing to the development of what we still know as elemental music education) (De Baets, 2005), with an experiential approach that includes 'creative' music activities.

Orff and the *musische Erziehung* would heavily influence Flemish music education, but only gradually. They clearly did not impact yet the model curriculum for primary education in the 1920s, where we read what the subject 'singing' (there was no broader 'music' subject yet) meant in this period (Schollaert, 1922): the repertoire should consist of folk songs, works by great composers and contemporary songs. The teacher must pay attention to the lyrics, the students' posture, the use of the voice and many other musical parameters. The recommendations regarding notation read like a compromise: little but structured time must be spent on it, first on relative notation in groups 3 and 4 (age 8–10), followed by absolute notation groups 5 and 6 (age 10–12).

But in the 1930s, the musician and pedagogue Alfons Verbist (1888–1974), later also a member of Parliament, senator and minister (Gerard, n.d.), introduced the readers of *Musica Sacra* to the music education developments in Germany (Verbist, 1933). He advocated attention to the experience of musical beauty and to the perception of music as a whole, away from analytical methods. As an experienced academic, he formulated innovative recommendations for intonation and aural training, based on insights from developmental and Gestalt psychology (Verbist, 1935, 1936a, 1936b).

At the end of the 1930s, Lucy Gelber (1904–2001) (Kerremans, 2018) joins Verbist in a plea for a transition from musical schooling to *muzikale opvoeding* (hereafter: 'musical upbringing'; the crossdisciplinary inclination of the German word *musische* is rarely preserved in Flemish writings). Gelber's and Verbist's paradigm shifted from a reproductive to a holistic view, incorporating creative exercises like guided improvisation. The music teacher should develop the students' personality and community spirit. Gelber (1938) emphasised the ethical, aesthetic and social value of music, which is inextricably linked to the thoughts of People and State. The music lesson must therefore start from the students' musical experience and seek coherence with other subjects (Gelber, 1938, 1939).

In the model curriculum for primary schools of 1936 (Ministry of Primary Education, 1936), and the simultaneously published derivative curriculum for Catholic schools (CRKLO, 1936), the traces of progressive education are clearly noticeable (Depaepe & Van Ruyskensvelde, 2016). It shows a blend between the morality of the 19th century and more recent holistic, social or secular influences. The curriculum promoted coherence between music and movement. It even prescribed an extensive integration of virtually all 'secondary subjects' (subjects other than religion, language and mathematics) based on an observation of and love for one's own environment. It described the moral effect of singing: "[...] it refines

the souls, puts them in touch with each other, unites them" (Ministry of Public Education, 1936, p. 119)⁴. Battle and homeland songs were promoted: "Songs that sing of the glory of the region, of its landscape, of its past" (Ministry of Public Education, 1936, p. 119).⁵ Solfège should be "as enjoyable as possible" (Ministry of Public Education, 1936, p. 119)⁶, and students must develop their ear before notation and theory are to be introduced. Eurhythmic movement activities were also prescribed, presumably inspired by the work of the Swiss music educator Émile Jacques-Dalcroze. No creative goals were explicitly mentioned.

The implementation of this curriculum was particularly difficult, and many music classes remained limited to solfège and dictation, if they took place at all (Faes, 2009). Meanwhile, authors in *Musica Sacra* regretted the lamentable state of singing lessons in schools, and the many untrained teachers in Flanders (Gelber, 1936; Van Nuffel, 1930). It would take until the 1950s before Gelber and Verbist's Saturday courses in *Secretariaat voor Muziekopvoeding* (Secretariat for Musical Upbringing) and the Lemmens Institute gave defining impulses to the ideal of 'musical upbringing'.

A Face for Flemish Music Education: Promoting Creative Music Making

The rise of National Socialism in Germany and the outbreak of the Second World War halted the development of music education. Jewish pioneers Leo Kestenberg and Lucy Gelber had to flee or go into hiding (Gruhn, 1993; Kerremans, 2018). The relationship to Nazism of many other prominent advocates of the 'musical upbringing' movement was not undisputed. The movement's ideal, aimed at the promotion of the Heimat's 'collective culture', fitted in well with national-socialist ideas. After World War II, the thread of this movement was taken up again in Germany (Gruhn, 1993), and was gradually taking shape in Flanders as well.

In Flanders, Marcel Andries (1921–1965) gave a face to 'musical upbringing' with attention, among other aspects, to singing, playing, creativity, movement and the musical experience (Joosen, 1990; Wuytack, 1979). As a pioneer of the Flemish 'musical upbringing' movement, he is known as founder and first professor of the music pedagogy department of the Lemmens Institute in Mechelen. In 1950, the founding of this department was announced in *Musica Sacra* as follows:

⁴ Author's translation of "[...] ze verfijnt de zielen, brengt ze met elkaar in voelig, vereenigt ze."

⁵ Author's translation of "Liederen die den roem bezingen van de streek, van haar uitzicht, van haar verleden, die de liefde tot den geboortegrond verklanken."

⁶ Author's translation of "zoo aangenaam mogelijk."

In the interest of the musical education of the youth, the board of the Lemmens Institute proceeded to found a music pedagogical department. It aims at the education of young music teachers for general musical education. As professor at this music pedagogical department – the first in our country – was appointed Mr Marcel ANDRIES, laureate of the Lemmens Institute and licentiate in pedagogy at the University of Leuven. (the Lemmens Institute, 1950, p. 188)⁷

Andries became the great promoter of the ideas of ‘musical upbringing’ (Andries, 1954). In 1954 he founded *Musica Domestica*, a Belgian version of Jöde’s *Musikantengilde* association, which was renamed *Musicerende Jeugd* (Music-Making Youth) in 1957. This organisation included several youth music schools (later on called youth music ateliers) and a Flemish version of the German periodical *Singende Jahr*, namely the *Musicerende Jeugd* song sheets. Andries published the first Dutch translations of the *Orff-Schulwerk* publications by Orff and Keetman and other handbooks. He was also active outside the Lemmens Institute: he organised music education courses in many places, including the conservatories of Antwerp and Tilburg. His innovative pedagogical ideas were often opposed by his contemporaries.

After the untimely death of Marcel Andries in 1965, Jos Wuytack (b.1935) took over. His intensive cooperation with Paul Schollaert (1940) was of great importance for the further shaping of musical upbringing contents and methods. They also established the recorder and ‘Orff’ instruments in Flanders, both inside and outside schools (Haspeslagh, 2004c, 2010; Schollaert, 1969; Wuytack, 1968, 1969a, 1969b). Music educators at this time considered creativity to be naturally present in all children, it should be allowed to emerge spontaneously (Wuytack, 1968). The concept of creativity was usually approached with rather vague definitions and interpretations, but on the other hand addressed in very demarcated exercises (e.g. Andries & Ghesquire, 1959).

Schollaert’s and Wuytack’s attention to ‘active’ music listening resulted in the conception and publication of many so-called musicograms (see Fig. 1 for an example). These were widely distributed and used in music lessons in Flanders and, later on, elsewhere. A musicogram is a visual representation in which the score is simplified, allowing the teacher to introduce the various musical themes and elements in an ‘active’, ‘creative’ and isolated manner (playing, singing ...), so that they can easily be recognised by students.

⁷ Author’s translation of “In het belang van de muzikale opleiding der jeugd werd door de directie van het Lemmensinstituut overgegaan tot het oprichten van een Muziek-paedagogische afdeling. Deze beoogt de vorming van jonge muziekleraars in het kader van het algemeen muzikaal leerprogramma. Tot professor aan deze muziek-paedagogische afdeling – de eerste in ons land – werd benoemd: dhr Marcel ANDRIES, laureaat van het Lemmensinstituut en doctorandus in de paedagogische wetenschap van de Leuvense Universiteit.”

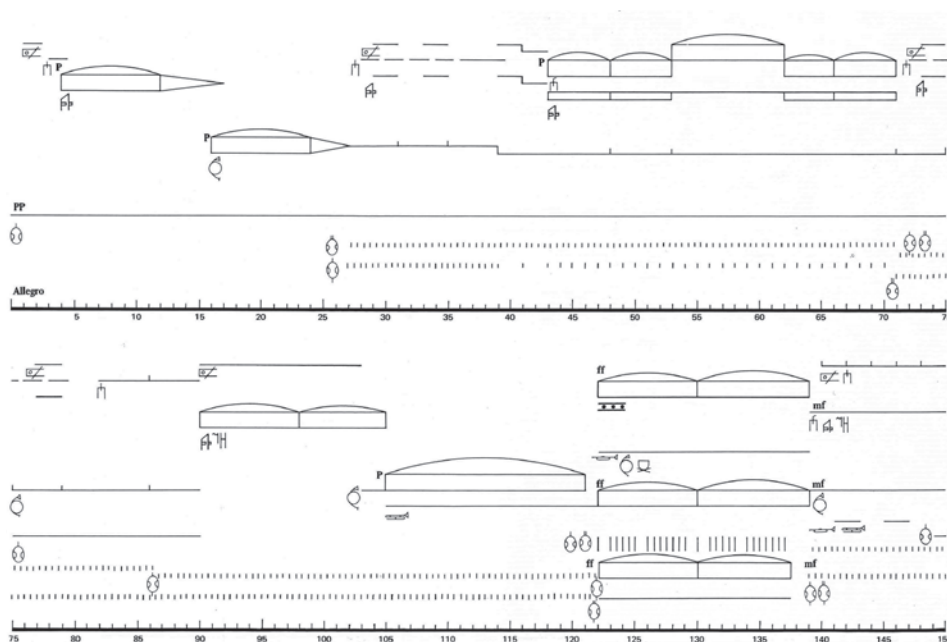


Fig. 1: Fragment from the musicogram of 'In the Steppes of Central Asia' by A. Borodin (Wuytack & Schollaert, 1973, pp. 16–18)

The 'musical upbringing' development was introduced through the first four grades of secondary schools, in which one weekly hour of music lessons was the norm. After the introduction of music listening from 1953 on (NVKMO, 1953), active (instrumental) music-making through the use of rhythmic percussion, Orff (melodic percussion) instruments, recorders or fiddles were added to the curriculum in 1961 (NVKMO, 1961). In the curricula of Renewed Secondary Education from 1970 onwards, the principles of 'musical upbringing' prevailed.⁸ The new curriculum focused on music as a holistic experience and strongly advocated active and creative methods, but did not stipulate any details about the pedagogical approach. Music theory and singing technique were only given a supporting role. The repertoire of Gregorian chant and religious hymns was definitively abandoned in favour of secular songbooks. In group 3 (age 14) music education was replaced by fine arts education, and in group 4 (age 15) it becomes optional (KNO, 1971, 1972).

In the curricula for primary education after World War II, teaching practice initially remained focused on several short rehearsal moments per week in which students mainly

⁸ Belgian Renewed Secondary Education (Vernieuwd Secundair Onderwijs, VSO) was introduced in 1970. This comprehensive school system postponed tracking to the age of 14 instead of 12, although several amendments after the introduction made this aim less strict. Many Catholic schools never adopted VSO at all, but continued to work with the 'old' curricula until a new unified structure was introduced in 1989 (Claes et al., 2020).

sing religious and folk songs. The role of solfège diminished further (CRKLO, 1954; Ministry of Public Education, 1957). In the following decades musical principles were introduced in primary education as well, with the music education curriculum of 1983 as a culmination point (CRKLO, 1983).

However, a point of concern remained that many students after primary school seemed to lack a basis for musical education. This persisting observation led to a plea for a specialist teacher in music alongside the generalist classroom teacher (KNO, 1971). Such a change was never realised in primary schools, but in Catholic secondary schools the graduates of the music pedagogy department at the Lemmens Institute were gradually replacing the insufficiently qualified teachers. The Lemmens Institute acquired a *de facto* monopoly on teacher education in music, certainly as far as music in secondary schools was concerned.

A Creative Shift

In the 1960s the strong economic and scientific rise after World War II led to shifts in pedagogy. The memory of the war horror also led to a strong anti-authoritarian movement, and power relations were questioned in the fields of upbringing and education as well. The postmodern paradigm shift promoted the emancipation of the independently thinking individual, and in education a critical attitude towards social structures was promoted. In learning psychology, new insights led to the cognitive approach, which, in contrast to behaviourism, did not emphasise observable behaviour, but the mental processes involved in the acquisition, storage and use of information (Depaepe, 1998).

By now, the timeline of German and Flemish music education were notably diverging. In post-WWII Germany, the orientation of music education had been swiftly steered away from the *musische* ideals to a critical and intellectual approach (e.g. Adorno, 1954; Alt, 1968). In Flanders, the *musische* approach stayed dominant in classrooms until the nineties, but from the seventies on a more fundamental and polyphonic theoretical discourse was initiated, involving criticism of the ideal of ‘musical upbringing’. These discussions offered a fruitful context for a more academic approach to music education. Timmermans’ (1973, 1974, 1975) studies on the music-educational tendencies and developments in Germany impacted the Flemish (and Dutch) discourse, but did not immediately affect classroom practice. The *musische* approach was critiqued for locking creativity in ‘schoolish’ assignments and patronising step-by-step methods (e.g. Alt, 1968; Timmermans, 1974), insufficient for and even contradictory to the desired emergence of inner creativity.

Meanwhile, many future pathways of music-making in schools were explored in theoretical contributions in the periodical *Adem*, which in the meantime had succeeded *Musica Sacra*. Attention shifted from music as such to ‘dealing’ with music, and to the

musical perception of students, both on an emotional-affective and a cognitive-analytical level (Haspeslagh, 1988; Timmermans, 1974). There was a greater focus on listening to music and on music aesthetics, certainly in the higher years of secondary education. Pop music and music technology entered the discourse as well (e.g. Van Reeth, 1971, 1977). The teaching practice in that period remained, however, inspired by 'musical upbringing', with an emphasis on singing and the use of the Orff instruments, both in primary (CRKLO, 1983) and secondary (NVKSO, 1989) schools.

Creative activities started to play a significant role in curricula only from the 1990s onwards. The curricula opened up to genres other than church, classical, folk or 'school' music (Regelski, 2009). The integration of these 'new' genres (such as pop, rock or jazz) definitely played a key role in developing teaching strategies addressing and unlocking children's creative potential. With the embedding of these *popular music pedagogies* (Clauhs, Powell & Clements, 2021) or *genre-informed teaching practices* (Verneert & De Baets, 2022), improvisation, songwriting and composition activities enter the classrooms alongside popular genres. Instead of an elusive individual quality allowed to emerge during teacher-led music making, creativity in the classroom is now explicitly addressed, often as a collaborative activity in group assignments.

In addition to the more polyphonic academic discourse among Flemish music educators, the open curricula since the 1990s also give substantial freedom to music teachers. Therefore, it becomes increasingly hard to capture music education practices in the entire region in one comprehensive picture. Around this time, the monopoly of the Lemmens Institute was breached by several other teacher education institutions, which are more sensitive to Anglo-Saxon practices and embrace popular music more eagerly (Vanesser, 2014). This evolution opens a new chapter, in which a diverse landscape of institutes and teacher educators rather than the relatively central incitement of one institution will form the engine for developments in music making in schools.

In 1989, Mark Reybrouck (°1952) published the white paper *More culture at school* (Reybrouck, 1989) and subsequently became an important player in the further embedding of the (Leuven) music pedagogy in a research context (e.g. Reybrouck, 1989, 1995). It is important to note that the conceptualisation of creativity even more drastically changed in the nineties, when it became widely acclaimed as a so-called twenty-first century skill. During the first decades of the twenty-first century, the allegedly transversal nature of creative competences heavily influences Flemish (and international) educational policy. This leads to the promoting of the integration of arts courses in other subjects (known as arts integration or STEAM), and of the integration of arts subjects themselves into cross-disciplinary artistic or cultural subjects (Geudens & Overmeer, 2023).

‘From Chanting to Rapping’: Lessons Learned?

The shifts during these more than one hundred years of history can be summarised as a development from a lesson in solfeggio to a lesson in group singing, followed by an incorporation of listening, playing with instruments (inspired by the musical upbringing movement), attention to other activities such as improvising and creating, and including music genres other than classical, religious, folk, or ‘school’ music. In the course of the twentieth century, the curriculum of Catholic (music) education was gradually secularised. A group-oriented starting point made way for the experiential world of the individual student. At the same time, the education and professional development of the specialist music teacher gradually received more attention.

In other words, we see an evolution, so to speak, ‘from chanting to rapping’, whereby creativity has become progressively more prominent. Together with new genres, new creative activities have entered the classroom as well. Both the notion and pedagogical approach of creativity shifted: from creativity as a delimited and ‘controlled’ musical learning activity in the course of a music lesson, to creativity development as a central goal of music education, with broader and more open creative assignments.

Developments in Flanders are usually and naturally embedded in international tendencies and influences. We can distinguish three phases in terms of international orientation: the French orientation in the nineteenth century, the dominant German orientation in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and the more recent Anglo-Saxon and more global orientation from the nineties on. Today, the impact of the English-language education and research field is ever growing, given the dominance of English in European higher education policy, European network organisations, and the academic community. Also notable are the divergent speeds of certain developments, and the relatively slow pace at which innovative thinking and writing influence teaching practice. For example, we still noticed a strong advance of a ‘musical upbringing’ teaching practice in the 1980s and 90s, at a point when the concepts of that movement were already outdated in Germany (see also Gruhn, 1993). The seeds of a more academic and reflective music pedagogy, which were already laid down in the 1930s, can only be felt at full strength in music education practice today, with institutionalised music education research groups.

Apart from its birds-eye perspective focussing on major evolutions, the overview above shows some additional limitations. The relation between official curricula and classroom reality can be very complex, and the reality of music lessons is probably very diverse, and certainly very poorly documented. Explicit rationale changes or unequivocal definitions of important curricular and discursive concepts (e.g. ‘creativity’ or ‘school music’) are often lacking, and typical of the passive and compromise-oriented pacification politics that are also visible in Belgian education (Huyse, 1970). Also relevant evolutions outside the Catholic network fell outside of this text’s scope. It must be noted that the differences

between Catholic and other (mostly state or community) schools became more subtle by the end of the twentieth century.

Our small chronicle, additionally, touches upon some common (and often still topical) themes in music education: the tension between content and goals of music at school, the relationship between object (music as a phenomenon) and subject (the student's perception and/or experience), and the place and formal anchoring of music at school. Over the years, all those developments have been reflected in the name of the school subject, from 'singing' via 'musical upbringing' to simply 'music.' Flemish music educators should share these insights with their students to explain the historical foundations of music curricula and music classrooms today. To international readers, the complicated interactions between Flanders and its surrounding countries, and some typical features of music education in the Flemish region, can serve as mirror for the (inter)national background of other music education traditions. In Flanders today, we notice that music is increasingly being absorbed into larger cross-disciplinary constructions. As a result, music as an autonomous school subject is in danger of disappearing from the curriculum. How this evolution will continue, might form an ardent starting question for a next chapter in this historical overview. Although insight into the past of 'school music' cannot reveal its future, we believe that this historical knowledge is essential when dealing with current issues in music education.

Acknowledgement

Our thanks go to Mr Jan Haspeslagh, retired professor of music education at the Lemmens Institute (Belgium), who introduced the history of music education as a course subject in the music pedagogy department. This contribution is based on the reader of his course (Haspeslagh, 2009). Several parts in this text are based on De Baets & Geudens (2021).

References

- Adorno, T. W. (1954). Thesen gegen die 'musikpädagogische Musik' [Theses against 'music pedagogy music']. *Junge Musik*, 1953–54, 111–113.
- Alt, M. (1968). *Didaktik der Musik: Orientierung am Kunstwerk* [Music teaching methodology: Orientation towards the work of art]. Pädagogischer Verlag Schwan.
- Andries, M. (1954). Doel en middelen der hedendaagse muziekopvoeding in de lagere school [Purpose and means of the contemporary musical upbringing in primary school]. *Vlaams Opvoedkundig Tijdschrift*, 34(4), 237–248.

- Andries, M., & Ghesquière, J. (1959). *Zingt en speelt: Handboekjes voor muziekopvoeding op de lagere school* [Sing and play: Small handbooks for musical upbringing in primary school]. Verbeke-Loys.
- Burnard, P. (2012). *Musical creativities in practice*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199583942.001.0001>
- Claes, S., Henkens, B., Simons, M., & Willems, K. (2020). Onderwijs in Vlaanderen: een bestuurlijk, historisch en juridisch kader [Education in Flanders: A political, historical, and legal framework]. In J. Elen & A. Thys (Eds.), *Leren in maatschappelijk betrokken onderwijs: basisinzichten voor leraren nu en in de toekomst* [Learning in socially engaged education: Basic insights for teachers now and in the future] (2nd ed., pp. 1–49). Acco.
- Clauhs, M., Powell, B., & Clements, A. C. (2021). *Popular music pedagogies: a practical guide for music teachers*. Routledge.
- CRKLO [Central Catholic Primary Education Board] (1936). *Leerprogramma en pedagogische richtlijnen voor de Katholieke lagere scholen* [Curriculum and pedagogical guidelines for Catholic primary schools]. Van In.
- CRKLO [Central Catholic Primary Education Board] (1954). *Leerplan voor de lagere scholen – vrij katholiek onderwijs* [Curriculum for primary schools – free Catholic education].
- CRKLO [Central Catholic Primary Education Board] (1983). *Muzische opvoeding in de basisschool: Muzikale opvoeding leerplan vrij katholiek onderwijs* ['muzische' education in primary schools: curriculum musical upbringing free Catholic education].
- De Baets, T. (2005). *Het Orff-Instituut in beweging* [The Orff Institute on the move, unpublished master's thesis]. Hogeschool voor Wetenschap en Kunst, departement Muziek, Dramatische Kunst en Onderwijs, the Lemmens Institute.
- De Baets, T., & Geudens, T. (2021). Een kleine kroniek van de 'schoolmuziek' in Vlaanderen [A small chronicle of 'school music' in Flanders]. *Cultuur+Educatie*, 20(59), 8–22.
- Depaepe, M. (1998). De pedagogisering achterna: aanzet tot een genealogie van de pedagogische mentaliteit in de voorbije 250 jaar [Following pedagogisation: An attempted genealogy of the pedagogical mentality in the past 250 years]. Acco.
- Depaepe, M., & Van Ruyskensvelde, S. (2016). De 'katholieke pedagogiek' in België: Bloei en ondergang van een normatieve benadering ['Catholic pedagogy' in Belgium: Bloom and fall of a normative approach]. In J. De Maeyer & P. Wynants (Eds.), *Katholiek onderwijs in België: Identiteiten in evolutie 19de-21ste eeuw* [Catholic education in Belgium: Identities in evolution 19th–21st century] (pp. 327–342). Halewijn.
- Department of Education (2021). *Vlaams onderwijs in cijfers: Schooljaar 2020–2021* [Flemish education in numbers: school year 2020–2021].
- Faes, M. (2009). *De invloed van het officiële leerplan van 1936 op het muziekonderwijs in de lagere school in Vlaanderen* [The influence of the official curriculum in 1936 on music education in primary schools in Flanders] [Unpublished master's thesis]. KU Leuven.

- Gelber, L. (1938). Muziekopvoeding [Music upbringing]. *Musica Sacra*, 45(1), 3–21.
- Gelber, L. (1939a). Muziek in de school [Music in school]. *Musica Sacra*, 46(2), 97–108.
- Gelber, L. (1939b). De Schoolmuziek-opvoeder [The school music educator]. *Musica Sacra*, 46(3), 185–190.
- Gerard, E. (n.d.). Verbist, Alfons. In *NEVB Online*. Retrieved October 30, 2022, from https://nevb.be/wiki/Verbist,_Alfons
- Geudens, T., & Overmeer, S. (2023). Kunstvakkenintegratie: zit daar muziek in? [Arts integration: How does that sound?] In T. De Baets & A. de Vugt (Eds.), *Beweging in muziekpedagogiek* [Music education on the move] (pp. 25–35). Euprint.
- Gmeinwieser, S. (2001). Cecilian movement. In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05245>
- Götsch, G. (1934). *Musische Bildung: Zeugnisse eines Weges* [Musical education: Testimonies of a path]. Mösel Verlag.
- Gruhn, W. (1993). *Geschichte der Musikerziehung: Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte vom Gesangunterricht der Aufklärungspädagogik zu ästhetisch-kultureller Bildung* [History of music education: A cultural and sociological history from the singing lessons of enlightenment education to aesthetical-cultural education]. Wolke Verlag.
- Haspeslagh, J. (1988). Algemene muziekopvoeding als auditieve waarnemingsopvoeding [General music upbringing as auditive perceptory upbringing]. *Adem*, 24(1), 31–36.
- Haspeslagh, J. (2004a). 125 jaar muziekpedagogie in Musica Sacra en Adem: deel 1 [125 years of music education in Musica Sacra and Adem: part 1]. *Adem*, 1, 24–28.
- Haspeslagh, J. (2004b). 125 jaar muziekpedagogie in Musica Sacra en Adem: deel 2 [125 years of music education in Musica Sacra and Adem: part 2]. *Adem*, 2, 72–76.
- Haspeslagh, J. (2004c). De muziekpedagogie in Adem na 1969 [Music Education in Adem after 1969]. *Adem*, 3, 131–133.
- Haspeslagh, J. (2009). *Geschiedenis van de muziekopvoeding* [History of music education; coursework]. The Lemmens Institute.
- Haspeslagh, J. (2010). Paul Schollaert als muziekpedagoog [Paul Schollaert as a music educator]. *Adem* [Liber amicorum], 23–24.
- Huyse, L. (1970). *Passiviteit, pacificatie en verzuiling in de Belgische politiek: Een sociologische studie* [Passivity, pacification and pillarisation in Belgian politics: a sociological study]. Standaard.
- Javal, L. E. (1886). Le chant dans les écoles [Singing in schools]. *Musica Sacra*, 5(7), 54–55.
- Joosen, W. (1971). Hulde aan de vernieuwer van de muziekpedagogie in Vlaanderen Marcel Andries [Tribute to the innovator of music education in Flanders Marcel Andries]. *Adem*, 7(5), 215–225.
- Kerremans, I. (2018). Ondergedoken archieven [Hidden archives]. *Het Angelus: Nieuwsbrief Cultureel Erfgoed Annunciaten Heverlee*, 10, 12–14.

- KNO [National Catholic Education] (1971). *Vernieuwd secundair onderwijs observatiegraad: Leerplan 1971–1972 proefactiviteit artistieke vormgeving – muzikale opvoeding* [Renewed secondary education observation grade: Curriculum 1971–1972 exploratory activity artistic design].
- KNO [National Catholic Education] (1972). *Vernieuwd secundair onderwijs: Experimentele leerplannen voor de observatie- en oriëntatiegraad – vak muzikale opvoeding – oriëntatiegraad doorstroming* [Renewed secondary education: experimental curricula for the observation and orientation grade – subject musical upbringing – orientation grade continuation option].
- Lemmens Institute (1950). [Announcement of the establishment of the Music Educational Department]. *Musica Sacra*, 51(4), 188.
- Management of Primary Education (1897). *Model-reglement en model-programma der lagere gemeentescholen* [Model regulations and curriculum of municipal primary schools]. Jan Cuypers.
- Ministry of Public Education (1880). *Programma van het onderwijs der lagere gemeentescholen en der oefenscholen aan de normaalscholen en normale sectiën toegevoegd* [Curriculum of municipal primary schools and of primary teaching education]. Jan Cuypers.
- Ministry of Public Education (1936). *Leerplan en leidraad voor de eerste drie graden der lagere scholen en der oefenklassen toegevoegd aan de normaalscholen en voor de voorbereidende afdelingen der middelbare scholen* [Curriculum and guidebook for the first three grades of primary schools and primary teaching education and preparatory departments of secondary schools]. Moniteur Belge.
- Ministry of Public Education (1957). *Leerplan en leidraad voor de eerste drie graden der lagere scholen en der oefenklassen toegevoegd aan de normaalscholen en voor de voorbereidende afdelingen der middelbare scholen* [Curriculum and guidebook for the first three grades of primary schools and primary teaching education and preparatory departments of secondary schools]. Moniteur Belge.
- NVKMO [National Catholic Secondary Education Association] (1953). *Leerplan aesthetica & muzikale opvoeding* [Curriculum for aesthetics & musical upbringing]. Van In.
- NVKMO [National Catholic Secondary Education Association] (1961). *Leerplan en richtlijnen esthetica en muzikale opvoeding* [Curriculum for aesthetics and musical upbringing]. Van In.
- NVKSO [National Catholic Secondary Education Association] (1989). *Leerplan secundair onderwijs: muzikale opvoeding eerste graad* [Curriculum of secondary education: musical upbringing grade 1]. Licap.
- Regelski, T. A. (2009). Curriculum reform: Reclaiming “music” as social praxis. *Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education*, 8(1), 66–84.

- Reybrouck, M. (1989a). Muziekpraktijk en -wetenschap: een poging tot synthese [Music practice and research: an attempted synthesis]. *Adem*, 25(4), 196–199.
- Reybrouck, M. (Ed.), (1989b). *Meer cultuur op school. Witboek voor de muzische vorming en de muziek* [More culture in school: Whitebook for artistic education and music]. Barbiaux.
- Reybrouck, M. (1995). *Spanning en ontspanning in de muziek: een semiotische benadering van de omgang met muziek* [Tension and relaxation in music: A semiotic approach to engaging with music] [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. KU Leuven.
- Schollaert, F. (1922). *Modelreglement en modelprogramma der lagere gemeentescholen* [Model regulations and curriculum of municipal primary schools]. Van In.
- Schollaert, P. (1969). Zingen, spreken, spelen, muzisch leven, eenheid van muziek en leven [Singing, speaking, playing, living musically, unity of music and life]. *Adem*, 1, 27–33.
- Timmermans, P. (1973). *Muziekpedagogische tendenzen en hun repercussie op het voortgezet onderwijs in Duitsland – West-Duitsland: bijdrage tot een vergelijkende studie* [Music educational tendencies and their repercussions on secondary education in Germany – West Germany: Contribution to a comparatory study] [Unpublished master's thesis]. KU Leuven.
- Timmermans, P. (1974). Maatschappijkritisch muziek beluisteren met Theodor W. Adorno: Een waardevol-ontoereikende vernieuwingspoging [Society-critical music listening with Theodor W. Adorno: A valuable-inadequate attempt at renewal]. *Adem*, 10(2), 79–85.
- Timmermans, P. (1975). *Recente muziekpedagogische ontwikkelingen in de BRD – met een studie over het muziekpedagogisch werk van Prof. H. Segler* [Recent music educational developments in West Germany – with a study on the music educational work of Prof. H. Segler] [Unpublished master's thesis]. KU Leuven.
- Van Damme, P.-J. (1881). Mélanges [Miscellaneous]. *Musica Sacra*, 1(1), 8.
- Van Damme, P.-J. (1882). Eerste algemeene vergadering der Belgische S. Gregoriusvereniging [First general assembly of the Belgian Association of Saint Gregory]. *Musica Sacra*, 2(1), 6–11.
- Van Nuffel, J. (1930). Muziekonderricht in de colleges [Music education in secondary schools]. *Musica Sacra*, 37(3), 153–171.
- Van Reeth, M. (1971). Pop (-muziek): modeverschijnsel of diepere realiteit? [Pop (music): fashion or deeper reality?]. *Adem*, 17(5), 209–214.
- Van Reeth, M. (1977). Elektronische muziek in de muziekles [Electronic music in music lessons]. *Adem*, 13(1), 84–91.
- Vandewal, M. (1990). *Marcel Andries – een belangrijk pionier van de Vlaamse muziekopvoeding* [Marcel Andries – An important pioneer of Flemish music education] [Unpublished master's thesis]. The Lemmens Institute.

- Vanesser, J. (2014). *Muzieklerarenopleiding anno 2014: Een opleiding voor kunsteducatoren – muzikanten?* [Music teacher education anno 2014: A programme for art educator-musicians?]. Vakdidactiek.be.
- Verbist, A. (1933). De nieuwe oriëntering der muzikale opleiding in Duitschland [The new orientation of music education in Germany]. *Musica Sacra*, 40(3), 150–153.
- Verbist, A. (1935). De doelstellingen bij het zangonderwijs [The goals of singing lessons]. *Musica Sacra*, 42(1), 14–21.
- Verbist, A. (1936a). Ontwikkeling van den zin voor rythme [Development of the sense of rhythm]. *Musica Sacra*, 43(1), 3–8.
- Verbist, A. (1936b). Muziekonderwijs en methoden [Music education and methods]. *Musica Sacra*, 43(4), 218–230.
- Verneert, F., & De Baets, T. (Eds.), (2022). *Folk (music) education: Naar een didactiek van de folk* [Towards a folk pedagogy]. Garant.
- Wuytack, J. (1968). *Kreatief musiceren* [Creative music-making]. New Sound.
- Wuytack, J. (1969a). Muziekopvoeding van kleuterschool tot universiteit [Music upbringing from kindergarten to university]. *Adem*, 1, 25–26.
- Wuytack, J. (1969b). Beginselen van de muziekdidactiek [Principles of music teaching methodology]. *Adem*, 1, 34–37.
- Wuytack, J. (1979). Muziekpedagogische opvattingen van Marcel Andries [Music educational views of Marcel Andries]. *Adem*, 15(4), 243–244.
- Wuytack, J., & Schollaert, P. (1973). *Musicograms. Aktief Muziekbeluisteren: Leerlingenboek* [Musicograms, active music listening: Student book]. De Monte.