Abstracts
of papers read
at the
Fifty-Seventh
Annual Meeting
of the
American Musicological Society
6–10 November 1991
Chicago, Illinois

The Palmer House
Edited by
Margaret Murata
Chair, 1991 AMS Program Committee
A-R Editions, Inc.
Madison, Wisconsin
1991
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MEDIEVAL SONG
Anna Maria Busse Berger (University of California, Davis), Chair

INTERPRETING VARIANTS
IN FRENCH AND OCCITAN MEDIEVAL SECULAR MONOPHONY
Elizabeth Aubrey
The University of Iowa

The typical melody of a troubadour or trouvère comprehends one or more repeated phrases or motives, often involving some variation; such variants might be called internal. There is also a staggering number of melodies that survive in more than one version with some differences, or external variants. Some of these external and internal variants are substantial, while others are less significant; some appear to have been deliberate, while others evidently were inadvertent.

It is possible to discern among these variants what kinds of changes might have occurred during different stages in the lives of the melodies. Composers manipulated motives, articulated the structure with open and closed cadences, transposed phrases, and shifted the modal orientation. Other variants can be seen as conscious or unconscious alterations made by performers, including ornaments, chromatic inflections, and passing tones. Still other variants appear to have resulted from scribal editing or error, such as regularization of form, realignment of notes with syllables, and improper clef placement.

Examples of changes made in the course of composition, performance, and writing can be drawn from a catalog of all of the external and internal variants. While no claim is made that every variant can be assigned unequivocally to a single category, a systematic examination of the nature and possible origins of each variant helps elucidate the continuing discussions of the interaction between oral and written transmission, and provides a glimpse of the distinct roles that composers, performers, and scribes had in the development and transmission of these secular monophonies.

TURNING FORTUNE'S WHEEL: MUSICAL AND TEXTUAL DESIGN
IN GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT'S CANONIC LAIS
Virginia Newes
Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Unlike fourteenth-century chansons whose poetic texts determined their formal musical structures from the start, canonic melodies had a structure of their own, independent of and often in conflict with the form of the text. They had to be divisible into periods of regularly recurring length, and each of these sections had to harmonize with one or more of the succeeding sections.

Guillaume de Machaut's canonic lais stand alone in their unique and experimental application of a specialized polyphonic technique to an older monophonic tradition. In a detailed study of the intersecting structures of text, melody, and canonic segmentation, this paper assesses Machaut's skill at adapting the lai's highly irregular poetic form and traditionally declamatory style of delivery to the recurring periodicity of canonic melody. Comparison of canonic with non-canonic settings demonstrates the kinds of rhythmic and harmonic planning involved in the shaping of canonic melodies and the resulting distortion of the lai's metrical surface.
As a metaphorical illustration of poetic imagery linked to iconographic traditions of the Trinity, the fountain, and the Wheel of Fortune, the device of canonic imitation paradoxically led to a loosening of the ties between music and text. In some canonic stanzas, however, Machaut established formal links between text and music that transcend concerns with declamation to reflect the more complex and virtuosic aspects of the lai’s metrical structure. In their play with the traditional boundaries of musical and poetic genres, the canonic lais can be related to other late works of Machaut that are characterized by a self-consciously virtuosic mingling of disparate compositional traditions.

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RENAISSANCE CHOIRBOOKS
Christopher A. Reynolds (University of California, Davis), Chair

ANONYMOUS MASSES BASED ON SONGS IN THE TRENT CODICES:
THE AUSTRIAN CONNECTION
Adelyn Peck Leverett
Harvard University

The richly varied group of mass settings in the later Trent Codices (90, 88, 89, and 91) whose unifying elements came from polyphonic secular songs is in some respects a forbidding subject for historical study, because about two-thirds of the masses are anonymous. These works are difficult to place, whether chronologically or stylistically, in the larger context of fifteenth-century developments.

In the light of a new assessment of the Trent masses based on songs, anonymous and attributed alike, the paper addresses the problem of the origins of the anonymous cycles. The provenance of the pre-existing materials used in a given work from this group has up to now played a decisive if not exclusive role in assigning a provenance to any mass itself. Thus those cycles built on identifiable Germanic Tenorlieder have been accepted as compositions possibly created within the Holy Roman Empire; masses on western songs, however, have been presumed to be western works. The paper challenges this assumption through close analysis of the constructive methods underlying a number of anonymous masses on probably western models. Certain techniques common to many cycles in the collection will be shown to take on, in these works, distinctively Austrian inflections—infections traceable also, that is, in masses on Germanic material: two of the pieces discussed are the Missa Quand ce viendra (claimed by some writers for Busnoys) and the Missa Gentil madonna mia. These cycles and others from the Trent collection represent a vigorous tradition of mass-writing based in Austria, a tradition that contributed to western developments even as it drew upon them.

THE JENA CHOIRBOOKS AS IMITATION OF IMPERIAL PRACTICES
Kathryn Pohlmann Duffy
The University of Chicago

The years surrounding 1500 witnessed the emergence of collections of polyphonic liturgical propers. Although the Jena Choirbooks with their nearly 600 pieces of music figure among the largest sources of sixteenth-century liturgical music, relatively little attention has been paid to them, especially with regard to two questions: why did collections of polyphonic liturgical propers appear, and why are polyphonic liturgical propers apparently unique to German-speaking areas?

Close study of the choirbooks shows that Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, commissioned these sources as a symbol of his rank within the Holy Roman Empire.
With these choirbooks, Frederick demonstrated his desire to emulate the imperial court's use of polyphonic liturgical music, thereby making the worship practices at the Castle Church in Wittenberg comparable to those at the imperial court.

The conclusions of this paper are based first on a comparison of the Jena Choirbooks with contemporary liturgical books and secondly on the statutes of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. The liturgical sources include missals and graduals of the usage of Brandenburg, Magdeburg, Mainz, Meissen, Passau, Alzelle, Rome and Würzburg. Careful reading of the sources reveals that the Jena Choirbooks do not correspond exactly with any one diocese in particular, but form a liturgical pastiche, drawing from a variety of dioceses. This diversity implies the deliberate selection of liturgical texts for Frederick rather than the passive adoption of the liturgical practices of any one diocese.

THE WINDS OF FORTUNE: A NEW VIEW OF THE PROVENANCE AND DATE OF CAPPELLA SISTINA MANUSCRIPTS 14 AND 51
Flynn Warmington
Somerville, Massachusetts

Among the treasures of the Vatican Library, the manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14 and 51, a matched pair of choirbooks with a large collection of Franco-Flemish masses, have long held the distinction of being the earliest volumes of polyphony from the papal chapel. The last mass, a later addition, displays the coat of arms of Innocent VIII, pope from 1484 to 1492. Haberl placed the main body of the manuscripts at the papal chapel soon after 1481. In his 1982 dissertation, however, Adalbert Roth showed that the watermarks and scribes of the main corpus do not match those of other Vatican manuscripts. He identified crowned heads in the decoration as somewhat joking dedicatory images of King Ferrante I of Naples, and he arrived at a date of ca.1474, by interpreting an emblem—a goddess riding on a dolphin—as a political allegory.

The present study rejects the idea of a Neapolitan provenance. It presents evidence against identifying the crowned heads with Ferrante. It shows that the style of illumination is North Italian. It traces the history of the image of the dolphin-riding goddess and shows that its origin and early popularity were in Florence. The study further offers evidence linking the choirbooks to the church of Santissima Annunziata, and it proposes a date of ca.1478–84, which can probably be narrowed to ca.1481–84.

RESPONSE: Adalbert Roth, Cappella Sistina Research Project

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BAROQUE MUSIC IN ENGLAND
Katherine T. Rohrer (Princeton University), Chair

ORNAMENTS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH KEYBOARD MUSIC: BENJAMIN COSYN AS SCRIBE AND EXPOSITOR
Orhan Memed
Magdalen College, Oxford University

Scholars and performers have been faced with the problem of interpreting ornament signs in English keyboard music of the first half of the seventeenth century. Editors of modern editions have speculated as to their meaning and "correct" execution, but on the whole an incomplete picture is often presented. The task of identifying clues to the interpretation of ornaments has been made difficult
by the contrariety in usage of the single, double, and triple stroke. In addition, the analogy of these signs to later ornament tables (Edward Bevin in GB-Lbl Add. ms. 31403, ca.1635 and Matthew Locke’s Melothesia, 1673, for example) is not necessarily reliable: these tables are singular in application as they relate to ornaments in specific manuscript and printed sources, and they represent a time of rapid evolution in keyboard ornamentation from just before the Commonwealth to after the Restoration.

Two keyboard manuscripts in the hand of Benjamin Cosyn are dated 1620 and 1652 and record most of Cosyn’s keyboard music along with music of, among others, John Bull and Orlando Gibbons. An examination of the use of ornaments in these manuscripts reveals striking consistencies in Cosyn’s employment of these signs. Three ornament symbols and their musical context are considered in an attempt to uncover any unwritten conventions in their application. The result suggests that the meaning of these ornaments is far from ambiguous, and the study of them casts light on their interpretation and enables the development of keyboard ornamentation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England to be traced.

KATHERINE PHILIPS'S FRIENDSHIP POETRY
IN HENRY LAWES'S SECOND BOOK OF AYRES AND DIALOGUES:
A MUSICAL MISREADING?
Lydia Hamessley
Hamilton College

Henry Lawes maintained relationships with numerous Cavalier poets, several of whom comprised a literary circle that came together in his Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues (1655). Katherine Philips was an equal partner in this musical/poetic relationship, contributing an encomiastic poem to Lawes and the poem “Friendship’s Mystery, To My Dearest Lucasia,” which Lawes set to music.

When Philip’s poetry was collected and published in 1667, three years after her death, she was dubbed “The English Sappho” in the book’s preface. This sobriquet paid homage to her skill as a poet and also referred to the content of her poetry. Indeed her best poetry chronicles her passionate relationships with women in a style described by literary critic Harriette Andreadis as “infused with the passionate intensity and rhetoric of heterosexual love as it was understood by seventeenth-century male poets.”

This paper examines two settings of poems Lawes included in his Second Book of Ayres, one by Philips, the other by John Berkenhead. Both poems address Lucasia, the woman with whom Philips was most passionately and intimately involved. I will argue that the disjunction between the poetic and the musical styles of these settings is a result of the seventeenth-century’s attitudes regarding female friendship and love between women. Lawes adorned Philips’s elevated, metaphysical verse with music that embodied refinement, charm, tentativeness, and gentleness, rather than with music that articulated her appropriation of a heterosexual male poetic discourse. Instead of matching Philips’s impassioned verses with a strong and dramatic musical discourse, Lawes captured musically what seventeenth-century men imagined female friendship and love between women to be.

PURCELL ALLA PALESTRINA
Robert Shay
Arkansas College

Charles Burney described several of Henry Purcell’s compositions as having been written alla Palestrina, bestowing on Purcell a specific consciousness of the past
not usually credited to him. Investigation of the works Burney discussed and others related to them reveals that Purcell indeed practiced a variant of the stile antico. Moreover, Purcell's activities in this vein provide a window into his generation's seldom-explored interest in the musical past.

Purcell left evidence of his interest in older music in his autograph manuscript Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus.ms.88. This includes scored copies of polyphonic anthems by Tallis, Byrd, and Gibbons, among others, and by Purcell. Through copying older works, Purcell absorbed contrapuntal techniques which he subsequently employed in his newly created anthems. Examination of this manuscript leads me to conclude that Purcell intended it primarily as a historical document: a retrospective of old music and music in the old style. Given his better-known modernistic inclinations, these activities appear anachronistic; related sources show, however, that Purcell's interest in the past reflects the extensive maintenance of older works in the sacred repertory of his time. These sources—primarily performance materials from sacred music establishments—show the careful preservation of a core of old polyphonic pieces. In pursuing an interest in the music of the past, Purcell is creating himself a place in a still-vital stream of musical practice.

A revised approach to Purcell's oeuvre is in order, placing greater emphasis on his awareness of past styles. Purcell reveals his ability to create music alla Palestrina not only in a few peculiar anthems, but even in some of his most famous works for the stage. Indeed this part of his stylistic environment may be equal in importance to his acknowledged awareness of the latest Continental trends.

REFUTING THE RIPIENO IN HANDEL'S ORCHESTRA
Mark W. Stahura
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In 1749 Handel entered ripieno markings into the string lines of his scores to the five oratorios he performed that season. Although these markings vary greatly from oratorio to oratorio, a great many scholars and performers have assumed that they represent a rare notated example of a usually unnotated but obligatory practice. Scholars such as W. Dean, J. Merrill Knapp and H.D. Clausen have stated that this "ripieno" practice was, to quote Dean/Knapp, "fully established" in Handel's orchestra.

This assumption is false. A careful study of the 1749 markings shows inconsistencies in ripieno use from oratorio to oratorio which belie the supposed "conventional" nature of the practice. In this paper, I will discuss these markings in some detail and will also document why other evidence marshalled in defense of ripieno use is also shaky, for example, earlier appearances of the rubric "concertino" in relation to Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno and "soli/tutti" markings in the continuo lines of Handel's early operas; also orchestra rosters and copyists' bills for parts offer no proof of concertino/tutti practice.

In sum, the markings of 1749 cannot be extrapolated beyond the pieces in which they appear. Furthermore, indirect evidence suggests that Handel's 1749 orchestra was unique in his career. By re-examining the long-held belief in the gradation of string forces, this paper should be of great interest to performers and scholars of the music of Handel and his contemporaries.
BEETHOVEN
Richard Kramer (State University of New York, Stony Brook), Chair

SKETCHES AND REVISIONS FOR FLORESTAN’S ARIA
IN BEETHOVEN’S FIDELIO (1805 AND 1806)
Michael C. Tusa
The University of Texas at Austin

Our understanding of the 1805 version of Fidelio is limited by certain difficulties in establishing its text. An especially obscure point is Florestan’s aria, for which no surviving source transmits the version performed in 1805. To shed some light on the lost 1805 version of the aria and on the composer’s understanding of the piece, the present paper turns to the so-called Leonore sketchbook of 1804–05. The earliest sketches for the aria proper witness a shift from a one-tempo conception to a three-section form, which remains in effect throughout the subsequent sketches. The drafts document changing ideas about the tonality of the introduction, as well as efforts to interrelate the component sections of the aria. They also demonstrate different compositional approaches for each of the separate sections. Sketches for the A-flat major Adagio betray fundamental uncertainty about the interpretation of the shifting moods and ironies of its text. In contrast, work on the F-minor Andante, based on poetry of more uniform emotional content, was apparently guided by more intrinsically musical concerns; however, psychological considerations also seem to have influenced compositional decisions about form, climax and closure.

The advanced 1805 sketches are then compared against a number of sources to draw tentative conclusions about the version performed in 1805 and about the nature of the 1806 revisions, which reflect the impulse to shorten, considerations for singers, the need to salvage significant poetic content, and the desire to match the start of the aria to its quotation in the overture.

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED BEETHOVEN PORTRAIT OF 1819:
THE “BEST” PORTRAIT?
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This paper discusses a pencil-drawing portrait of Beethoven signed “J. Hochenecker” and dated “1819,” discovered recently in Vienna. Scientific analysis of the paper by experts at the Albertina confirms the authenticity of the 1819 date, and the artist Josef Hochenecker (1794–1876) is identified as a sculptor in a Viennese address book of 1820. Certain details in Beethoven’s facial appearance suggest that this portrait was drawn “live,” at a sitting. In fact, it will be argued that this is the drawing of Beethoven’s face ordered by his friend Nikolaus Zmeskall in the letter “Ich kann weder für das Glück” which MacArdle/Misch date “fall of 1819” and to which no portrait has been satisfactorily assigned.

The significance of this portrait to Beethoven iconographical studies will be made clear. It was this 1819 portrait, and not Stephan Decker’s 1824 chalk drawing, that served as the model for Joseph Kriehuber’s notorious “black-tie” lithograph of Beethoven (ca. 1832). This portrait appeared as the frontispiece to Ignaz von Seyfried’s book Ludwig van Beethoven’s Studien (Vienna, 1832) and is referred to by Thayer as the “well-known” Kriehuber lithograph. It is this lithograph which is promoted as the best likeness of the composer in a long, anonymous article “Das ähnlichste Bildniss Beethoven’s” written at the request of Gottfried Fink for the
Leipzig *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 1835. (The possible author of this article will be discussed.) With the discovery of the 1819 original, Anton Schindler’s reservation that this could not be the “best” portrait because it was produced several years after Beethoven’s death is no longer valid, and this portrait becomes a highly significant eyewitness account.

**FINK, HACH, AND DWIGHT’S BEETHOVEN IN 1843**

Ora Frishberg Saloman
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The paper traces hitherto unexplored connections between the symphonic thought of Leipzig critic Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, German-born Boston editor H. Theodor Hach, and the young John Sullivan Dwight (1813–1893), widely regarded as America’s first critic of music. It presents evidence that Dwight knew both Fink’s essay “Symphonie oder Sinfonie” from Gustav Schilling’s *Universal Lexicon der Tonkunst* (1835–38) and Hach’s use of the article in his “Beethoven’s Symphonies,” published in his *Musical Magazine; or Repository of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence* (1842), before writing his own essay of 1843 entitled “Academy of Music—Beethoven’s Symphonies.”

Conceptions of “grand symphony” are considered including Fink’s unavowed references to reviews by E.T.A. Hoffmann. It is concluded that in transmitting a German symphonic framework, Dwight departed significantly from the views of Fink and of Hach in objecting to the association of defined extrinsic images with abstract instrumental music. He originated instead his own new theory of criticism applicable to the symphony, by combining emotive description, “allegorical illustration,” and musical detail.

Clarification of Dwight’s musical aesthetics and critical discourse in response to early complete orchestral performances of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony by the Boston Academy of Music illumines the history of Beethoven’s reception in America as a symphonic composer. It also suggests the importance of discovering and locating the continental sources and contexts of Dwight’s initial musical views, as a way of determining his contribution to the acquisition and dissemination of musical knowledge about the symphonic genre in America during the 1840s.

**BEETHOVEN AS ZUKUNFTSMUSIKER: TOWARD A DISCOURSE OF MUSICAL “MODERNISM” IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY**

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Though the phrase “music of the future” was dismissed by Wagner (if not by his disciples) as a piece of irresponsible critical perisilage, it derived from Wagner’s own revolutionary rhetoric and significantly betrays a new level of historical consciousness that distinguishes the “modernism” of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from previous periods of stylistic ferment.

Concurrently with debates over the “music of the future” there arose an intensive critical dialogue regarding the figure of Beethoven and the “third period” works in particular—works which were just now beginning to appear with some frequency in concert programming. Diversely tendentious publications by such authors as von Lenz, Ulybyshev, A. Serov, H.F. Chorley, F.-J. Féies, Ludwig Bischoff, Brendel, Ambros, A.B. Marx, W.H. Riehl, Liszt and his acolytes (von Bülow, Draeseke, et al.) and of course Wagner all contributed to heated debate over the status and significance of the “difficult” late works. Their belated appreciation was seen to confirm the ideology of the new avant-garde, as the works themselves
confirmed much else in its aesthetic credo: the triumph of the "characteristic" or "descriptive" over a normative aesthetic of musical beauty (hence of Romantic individuality over classical authority and formal prescription), of the unique and sublime over the conventional and pleasing. This shift of aesthetic paradigm necessitated—and validated—a revolution of technical procedure, beginning with the dissolution of generic norms (and associated formal schemes) in favor of individual solutions to musical problems, reflecting the expression of a differentiated ideal, poetic "content."

The reception and interpretation of Beethoven at mid century reveals something of the divisive aesthetic premises of this emergent musical "modernism," analogues with an incipient modernist discourse in the other arts at this time, as well as the typical need of self-proclaimed agents of progress to appeal to a figure of established cultural authority: the evolutionary model of Beethoven's own career is seen as prophetic validation of developments across the century as a whole.

5

ART MUSIC IN AMERICA
Steven J. Ledbetter (Boston Symphony Orchestra), Chair

THE INSTRUMENTAL CANON IN EUROPE AND AMERICA:
DIFFERENCES AND IMPLICATIONS
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With the expansion of instrumental concerts and the growing popularity of orchestras in early nineteenth-century Europe, a canon of instrumental works emerged, as William Weber has documented. An instrumental canon appeared soon thereafter in America, which on the surface followed the European model. The same composers were admitted into it; the same organizations—the symphony societies in particular—assumed leadership and then guardianship of it; and audiences of similar profiles supported the concerts that defined it. Yet these similarities masked marked differences in the musical worlds of Europe and America. The establishment of the canon took a different route in America than in Europe; it came via different institutions; the roles that the virtuoso and the singing societies played in its formation had no European counterpart; and its emergence was in response to different intellectual currents, principally the rhetorical nature of Puritanism.

Furthermore in America the political background was unique; it pitted the most fundamental ideas of the early republic against newer attitudes toward taste, which tended to be hierarchical, authoritarian and elitist. Early nineteenth-century advocates of the development of a musical art, including the hymnodic reformers, felt that music must have a democratic basis to develop in America. Though consistent with the republican spirit prevalent at the time, this was diametrically opposed to the spirit and the repertoire of the canon. The ensuing dilemma was broken only when the idea of the canon was rescued by arguments derived from earlier religious rhetoric. The result was a set of attitudes toward music that still strongly influence much of our society today, including patterns of patronage.

This study examines the emergence of the canon in America and its implications for cultural life today, through the study of early nineteenth-century documents such as newspapers, published and unpublished writings and lectures, and records of musical organizations.
AMERICAN MUSIC STUDENTS IN GERMANY, 1850–1900
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The importance of German musical training for nineteenth-century America has long been acknowledged, but the extent of the trend and the specific nature of the training have not been thoroughly examined. An extensive study of the archival records of German conservatories shows that approximately 5,000 Americans studied in Germany during this period, primarily in Leipzig, Berlin, and Stuttgart. This trend was significant for Germany as well as for America: in the Leipzig Conservatory in 1890, for instance, over half the student body came from outside Germany, while in the Stuttgart Conservatory there were English-language theory classes to accommodate British and American students.

This paper will give an overview of the phenomenon, examining such areas as admission requirements, curricula, testing procedures, financial considerations, concert life, and the language barrier. In addition to school records, the paper will draw on diaries and letters from William Mason, Horatio Parker, George Chadwick, Edgar Stillman Kelley, and other American students. Nearly all of America’s musical leaders of this period studied in Germany, and the nature of their experience is crucial to an understanding of musical culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

STRAUSS PLAYS WANAMAKER’S: MUSIC, COMMERCE, AND THE AMERICAN DEPARTMENT STORE, 1880–1930
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Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey

During his United States tour with the Wetzler Symphony Orchestra in 1904, Richard Strauss conducted two concerts of his own works in the piano sales room of Wanamaker’s department store in New York. Thousands of invited customers crowded into the makeshift concert hall to hear several of the composer’s tone poems, songs, and an excerpt from Feuersnot. But Strauss was not the first or last noted musician to perform in a department store. The musical life of the stores in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a surprisingly rich one. Merchants invested lavish amounts of money to provide background music on the shopping floor, to stage daily or semi-weekly concerts in their own auditoriums, and occasionally to produce dazzling musical spectacles. Indeed, the musical fare offered by the stores often rivalled that available in traditional concert halls.

But this was more than a good show. Music in the stores was part of a new and wider phenomenon in American culture: it was art in the service of consumption—art appropriated for and subjected to the interests of commerce. In this paper, the Strauss concerts and the stir they evoked in the press are set within a broader narrative and interpretive framework: explored as a case study in how music was used in the stores, the concerts demonstrate the increasing commercialization of music in American culture. The Strauss concerts and other experiments in musical merchandising reveal music’s growing entanglement in the emergent culture of consumption.

MEN, WOMEN, SYMPHONIES AND PROGRESSIVISM:
THE PEOPLE’S ORCHESTRA OF LOS ANGELES
Catherine Parsons Smith
University of Nevada, Reno

Development of the arts, including music, proceeded in close association with the growth of political progressivism as the population of Los Angeles tripled in the
decade 1900–1910. A discernible though never clearly stated local Progressive political agenda for the arts emerged. The city’s growth in the decades after 1885, when the flood of European-American immigration to southern California began in earnest, paralleled the development of the progressive reform movement in the United States. By 1900 or even earlier, Los Angeles was the center of progressivism in California. Moreover, women played a major role in achieving the political and social reforms that were enacted locally starting in 1902 and statewide between 1910 and 1914, as they did in the growth of the arts.

In November of 1912, at the peak of the Progressive political tide, a new People’s Orchestra of Los Angeles began to offer weekly Sunday concerts. (The Los Angeles Symphony [1897–1920] and the Women’s Symphony [1893–1950s] had scarcely expanded their seasons since their founding, despite the city’s growth.) The stormy fourteen-month career of the new orchestra resulted in substantial achievements and left a strong but unacknowledged mark on the later orchestral history of the city.

Like other People’s orchestras of the same period, the Los Angeles group took a unique shape in response to local artistic, social, and political circumstances. This case study should enrich our perspective on the emergence of that puzzling cluster of concepts, “American music,” in the early years of the twentieth century.

6

MEDIEVAL TREATISES IN TEXTUAL CONTEXT
Anna Maria Busse Berger, Chair

A "NEW PHILOLOGY" FOR MEDIEVAL THEORY
Sandra Pinegar
Columbia University

Most current scholarship has accepted textual critical methods that are appropriate for many kinds of texts, but that are not wholly satisfactory for dealing with the theoretical treatises of the thirteenth century. The textual boundaries for these treatises, especially for those that date before the 1270s, are not necessarily defined by individual exemplars or by individual treatises.

Before the 1270s, the theory of musica mensurabilis was based on modus, and many elements in theoretical and practical sources of this period remained undefined in writing. There are good reasons to suspect that both theory and practice were largely transmitted orally. From about 1275, the theory of musica mensurabilis became established in a written tradition, now based on figura. Measure in music became a topic of intellectual endeavor beyond its practical importance and function. No longer the domain of cantors or of scribes specializing in its notation, it became a topic appropriate to philosophy and "science." Logic, rhetoric, grammar, poetry, philosophy, theology, and the sciences of the quadrivium were drawn upon to justify or explain measure in music and how it might be notated.

This paper explores the textuality of theoretical treatises on musica mensurabilis of the thirteenth century, comparing the vocabulary and structure of those that date before the 1270s with those of the 1270s and later. It focuses upon precise criteria for evaluating authorship, chronology, transmission, and relationships among treatises, which include prose formulas, poetic discourse, inaccuracy in quotation, textual variance, scribal error, editorial revisions, abbreviation, rubrication, and glossing. It distinguishes textual types, such as commentary, teaching manual, compilatio, originales, and abbreviatio.
A QUESTION OF TIME AND PROLATION: THE SCIENTIFIC CONTEXT
OF PHILIPPE DE VITRY AND JOHANNES DE MURIS
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The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

The earliest descriptions of the *ars nova notandi* by Philippe de Vitry and
Johannes de Muris have been a primary focus of scholars of fourteenth-century
music, but most of their attention has been exclusively musical. Both Vitry and
Muris were respected in their time as musical theorists and as authorities on other
scientific subjects.

It has recently been shown that much earlier music theory relied heavily for its
technical vocabulary on terminology derived from grammar and rhetorical teach-
ings common at the time. And though the basic concepts of the measurement of
musical time were initially developed in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries,
their meaning within the context of the *ars nova notandi* is more clearly delineated
when the basic terminology used by Vitry and Muris is compared to its use in other
contemporary scientific works.

Arguably the most influential scientific writer in fourteenth-century France was
Nicole Oresme (ca.1320/25–1382). Though younger than Vitry or Muris, he
worked in the same environments, at the College of Navarre, at the court of Charles
V, and finally as Bishop of Lisieux. In fact, the preface to Oresme's *Algorismus
proportionum* (between 1351 and 1361) requests Philippe de Vitry to correct his
work, and in other treatises he refers to works by Johannes de Muris.

Among Oresme's extensive works on natural philosophy, two in particular
provide explicit contexts for the understanding of *ars nova* terminology: the
*Tractatus de configurationibus qualitatum et motuum* (between 1351 and 1355) and the
*Tractatus de commensurabilitate vel incommensurabilitate motuum celci* (possibly between
1351 and 1362). In these works the use of terms such as *tempus* and *prolatio* helps to
clarify the connotations of these terms in the fourteenth century. When examined
in this light, it is possible to see the *ars nova notandi* as not only part of a musical
revolution but also as reflecting a radically new conception of time itself.
MUTATIONS
Lawrence F. Bernstein (University of Pennsylvania), Chair

THE ORIGINS OF THE HEXACHORD MASS
Lester D. Brothers
University of North Texas

While the origins of most Mass traditions are hopelessly obscure, that of the hexachord mass—based on the six-note scale ut re mi fa sol la—is susceptible of some definition. The emergence of the hexachord mass toward the end of the fifteenth century is marked by the confluence of three tributaries: the hexachord in theoretical polemics (Hothby, Ramos, Burtius, Spataro, Gafurius), in counterpoint instruction (Nicolas of Capua, Hothby, Paumann, Ornithoparcius, Aron), and in motet composition (Josquin, Compère).

In the Marian motets Virgo caelestis by Compère and Ut Phoebi radiis by Josquin, the scale signifies contemplative devotion (as in the scale of virtue and the ladder of meditation in contemporary literature). The two serve as the foundation for the first application of the scale to the Mass, namely Josquin's structurally hybrid Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales, which with the motet Ut Phoebi can be associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. The first true hexachord masses were printed by Petrucci in 1503: Ghiselin's Missa De les armes and Brumel's Missa Ut re mi fa sol la. The first adopts the scale—at times exceeding the hexachord—as a cantus firmus. Brumel's work confines its cantus firmus to the six-note scale and becomes the model for subsequent examples.

This paper suggests that these works should not be regarded as merely expanded school-boy exercises, but as works laden with deeper meaning, the essence of which has never before been appreciated. The hexachord mass tradition, which embraces some thirty-three examples extending chronologically up to the end of the eighteenth century by composers such as Josquin, Morales, Palestrina, Carissimi, and Benevoli, takes its origins from a milieu richer than has hitherto been suspected. The hexachord had a special symbolic meaning for Josquin and his contemporaries quite aside from its contrapuntal challenge.

THE CHANSON OF LOYSET COMPÈRE:
A MODEL FOR A CHANGING AESTHETIC
Amanda Zuckerman Wesner
Harvard University

The last decade of the fifteenth century saw the hegemony of three-voice settings of formes-fixes poems—rondeaux, virelais (or the shorter bergerettes), ballades—gradually give way to that of a “new” four-voice style. Loyset Compère, a master of the forme-fixe chanson à 3 and one of the primary innovators in the nascent four-voice repertory, contributed significantly to this change. This transition can be explained only in the context of a broader evolution of musical style, for which Compère's works provide an ideal, perhaps the only, model. Indeed, his chansons serve as a microcosm of the changing aesthetic.

In this paper I shall explore the full stylistic evolution of Compère's three and four-voice repertories over more than thirty years. My paper will primarily focus on
imitation and voice roles to elucidate the changing aesthetic, but I shall refer to other topics to support my argument. In discussing Compère's songs, I shall also describe the roots of his early style and also the groundwork he laid for the generation that followed him.

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MEDIEVAL LITURGICAL SOURCES
Charles M. Atkinson (The Ohio State University), Chair

THE EARLIEST MANUSCRIPT OF OLD ROMAN CHANT:
AN EIGHTH-CENTURY ITALIAN FRAGMENT NOW IN HUNGARY
Peter Jeffery
Center for Literary and Cultural Studies, Harvard University and
University of Delaware

This paper is the first accurate presentation of a very important fragment, dated to eighth-century Italy and one of the oldest surviving sources of Latin chant. It may be our best witness to the usage of Rome itself during the eighth century. Its archaic script confirms that, at the very least, it was copied not from any Carolingian exemplar but from an older Italian source representing a conservative, pre-Carolingian tradition.

In general the text and repertory agree with the well-known notated manuscripts of Old Roman chant; the fragment belongs with the other unnotated early Old Roman sources collected by Michel Huglo in 1954. It confirms evidence I have presented elsewhere showing that the earliest manuscripts preserve a variety of related but distinct chant traditions, including the two we call "Old Roman" and "Gregorian," which circulated independently both in Italy and north of the Alps.

The fragment provides new evidence bearing on many old questions: for example, the lack of Old Roman melodies for Holy Saturday and the presence of Greek alleluias in the Old Roman Easter Week. The fact that a second, eighth-century hand has added incipits of some Gregorian chants in the margin shows that even at this early date there was some sort of contact between these two distinct chant traditions. It can no longer be maintained that Old Roman chant developed more recently than Gregorian, or that Old Roman is simply the Roman tradition and Gregorian chant simply the "Frankish" one. The Carolingian adoption and dissemination of the Gregorian tradition was not the source of the split, for both traditions already existed in eighth-century Italy.

THE SEARCH FOR THE EARLY CARMELITE LITURGY:
A TEMPLAR MANUSCRIPT REASSESSED
James John Boyce, O. Carm.
Fordham University

The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds lat. 10478 is a fully noted thirteenth-century breviary which, according to Victor Leroquais, comes from the Temple in Jerusalem, that is, from the Church entrusted to the care of the Knights Templar in the Latin kingdom. Leroquais's remarks rely heavily on an extensive discussion within the manuscript itself, written by a Carmelite of the convent of Piacenza where the manuscript resided in 1756.

Since nothing is known of the liturgical tradition of the Knights Templar, it is virtually impossible to discuss the manuscript within that tradition, but a comparison of the manuscript with later Carmelite sources, as well as with the standard
Ordinal of Sibert de Beka of 1312, confirms a close relationship between this codex and the Carmelite rite. Although ms. 10478 is not totally identical to later Carmelite manuscripts, the ordering of chants for selected feasts and the ordering of the feasts themselves are sufficient evidence to establish this "Templar" manuscript as a proto-Carmelite source. Moreover, the full musical notation for the chants allows us to determine the musical uniformity of chant style within the Carmelite rite. A full century earlier than any other extant Carmelite manuscript, as a complete notated source, ms. 10478 is of paramount importance in understanding the liturgical music of the early Carmelites.

THE HOLY VIRGINS OF BEAUPRÉ AND THE CELESTIAL LITURGY
JoAnn Udovich
Fairfield, Pennsylvania and Lutherville, Maryland

Chant intended for medieval convents has been little studied, despite the overwhelming participation of women in the monastic enthusiasm of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Beaupré Antiphonary, an extraordinary, large-format, three-volume codex with musical notation (Walters Art Gallery, W.759–761), survives from this milieu. Both the date (1290) and the original ownership (the convent of St. Mary's of Beaupré) are known; the volumes include fifty-one historiated initials of exceptional quality; and the first volume opens with Holy Saturday and the illustration of the Harrowing of Hell, rather than with the Advent season. Women saints, musical instruments, and the way to heaven are shown to constitute three related emphases in the artistic program. The musical instruments serve as representations of the heavenly liturgy, and the opening illustration of the Harrowing of Hell (with instruments) functions as a frontispiece to the artistic themes. The musical content of the antiphonal, despite its unusual ordering, is consistent with Cistercian chant reform, although a number of technical features contradict Cistercian theory. In the Beaupré Antiphonary, the illumination serves to express the unique identity of the house as a women's establishment and to communicate the purpose of its work or liturgy. As emphasized by the artistic program, the choir of virgins in raising their voices in unison lifted the terrestrial liturgy of the church as close as humanly possible to the celestial liturgy of angels.

A FRESH LOOK AT THE LITURGICAL SETTINGS
IN MANUSCRIPT IVREA, BIBL. CAP. 115
Karl Kuegle
New York University

Current views of fourteenth-century settings for the Mass from France are grounded in the work of Heinrich Bessler and Hanna Stäblein-Harder. There, three basic paradigms for the composition of liturgical music were posited (conductus, motet, and cantilena style), and the available repertory classified in accordance with these stylistic criteria.

Recent evidence, stemming from the codicological re-examination of Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare ms. 115 and the discovery of new source materials, suggests that a re-evaluation of the liturgical repertory of the Ars Nova is called for. First, the evidence of ms. 115 suggests that a corpus of monophonic melodies in mensural notation, newly composed for the embellishment of the Mass, emanated from France during the fourteenth century along with purely polyphonic settings. Secondly, copying details in ms. 115, as well as drastically differing elaborations of individual pieces from one source to another, suggest re-working of at least certain
compositions to an extent that we were previously unaware of. Finally, the model of the Vitriacan motet, while no doubt applicable to a small, technically ambitious group of settings which do employ isorhythmic procedures, fails to hold up to scrutiny, if applied to non-isorhythmic compositions currently subsumed under the so-called “motet style.” Compositional paradigms for these pieces are perhaps better sought among non-isorhythmic settings of the Ivrea manuscript, as well as in other segments of the Ars Nova repertory.

The stylistic range and the array of compositional techniques evident in settings for the Mass support the notion of a highly pragmatic repertory governed by aesthetics that were born from wellsprings radically different from those liable for the development of the Vitriacan motet and the *forme fixe* chanson, not the milieu of clerical intellectuals employed as the counselors of princes, but the world of the cantor responsible for the daily embellishment of the Divine Service.

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**SCHUBERT I**

Alice M. Hanson (St. Olaf College), Chair

*BIEDEMEIER WAHRHEIT, BIEDEMEIER DICHTUNG:
THE PRE-HISTORY OF DIE SCHÖNE MÜLLERIN*

Greg Vitercik
Middlebury College

In 1818, five years before Schubert wrote his cycle of songs to poems from Wilhelm Müller's *Die schöne Müllerin*, the Berlin composer Ludwig Berger published his *Gesänge aus einem gesellschaftlichen Liederspiel “Die Schöne Müllerin.”* Berger's cycle represents an intermediary version of a work we know almost exclusively through Schubert's cycle: the texts of only five of Berger's songs are by Müller, the others are by members of his youthful Berlin literary and artistic circle.

The *Liederspiel* from which these texts were taken seems to have been derived from several interrelated sources: Paisielo's 1789 opera *La molinara o L'amor contrastato*, known in Germany as *Die schöne Müllerin*; Goethe's problematic “Müllerin” ballads; Reichardt's setting of Goethe's poems; and an attempt by Archim von Arnim to fashion a *Liederspiel* around Reichardt's settings.

The dramatic dialogic framework that shapes each of these earlier works can help orient us toward the interdiscursive forces that remain, elusive and disguised, beneath the intense lyric concentration of what Müller pointedly identified in his final version as a monodrama. The traces of multiplicity in this covert juxtaposition of voices offer valuable markers to help us explore, rather than simply explain away, the narrative strategies through which those divisive forces resonate within the “subjectively complete world” spun out by the ostensibly—even blatantly—uncomplicated lyric voice of Müller's young, blond miller-boy.

At the same time, Berger's settings, written with Müller's assistance, encapsulate issues fundamental to the song cycle, providing another vantage point from which to survey Müller's final design.

**SCHUBERT IN CONTEXT:**

*LIEDER COMPOSITION IN VIENNA IN THE 1820s*

Ewan West
Mansfield College, Oxford University

Readers of Schubertiana published in the past decade will search in vain for any significant mention of Schubert's song-writing contemporaries, let alone any sus-
tained or detailed examination of their work. Following, however, the publication of
the first collection of German song in Vienna in 1778 (the first part of Joseph Anton
Steffan’s *Sammlung deutscher Lieder*), growing attention was paid to the new genre.
Although Vienna never matched Berlin, Leipzig, or Hamburg in the quantity of its
song composition, the important local influence of Italian *opera seria* and German
*Singspiel* resulted in a richer musical style and a rather different approach to the
selection of texts, as well as to the manner in which they were set.

Compilation of an extensive bibliographical catalogue of Viennese song publi-
cation for the period 1778–1828 has contributed to a more precise picture of the
song tradition in Schubert’s native city. Two particular aspects receive special
attention: the choices of poets and poetry and the quantitative relationship between
song composition and its publication; (the relative prolificity of Schubert’s publish-
ing activities is vividly demonstrated). Detailed comparison of examples by Viennese
composers such as Assmayr, Weisse, and Mosel with Schubert reveals parallel
approaches, especially the use of tonality for expressive purposes and the creation
of new musical structures. The local Viennese tradition had a greater impact upon
Schubert’s development than has hitherto been acknowledged.

**REWORKINGS AS RECEPTION: THE CASE OF SCHUBERT’S ERLKÖNIG**

Christopher H. Gibbs
Columbia University

The cultural, historical, and musical importance of reworkings has been lost in
our time—in the age of the mechanical reproduction of music by recordings. This
paper examines the issue of reworkings through a case study of Schubert’s *Erlikönig.*
I have identified over one-hundred nineteenth-century reworkings of the song.
Anselm Hüttenbrenner’s affectionate *Erlikönig Walser* (which was previously
thought to be lost), Liszt’s brilliant keyboard transcription, the powerful Berlioz
orchestration, and H.W. Ernst’s fiercely difficult reworking for solo violin are
among the finest examples musically, but the success of Schubert’s most popular
work guaranteed that for the rest of the century mediocre composers and arrangers
would use *Erlikönig* to manufacture trivial marches and waltzes, gallops and fantasies,
operettas, and virtuoso showpieces.

Liszt’s piano transcription best represents the historical and musical significance
of reworkings. Liszt’s arrangements, more than any other single factor, spread
Schubert’s name beyond Vienna during the 1840s. (Paradoxically, the central
performer in Schubert *Lied* reception was not a singer, but a pianist.) Interpretily,
Liszt’s reworkings reflect his reception of Schubert; they are musical music criticism.

This astounding range and quality of material permits us to study the impact of
reworkings on Schubert’s reception, the hermeneutic insights they manifest, and
their relevance for an aesthetics of reworkings. Reception studies have tended to
focus on verbal evidence. Reworkings offer another, more musical, approach.

**CONSTRUCTING A VICTORIAN SCHUBERT:**
**MUSIC BIOGRAPHY AND CULTURAL VALUES**

David Gramit
University of Alberta

Studies of the entrance of composers into the musical canon often trace
emerging recognition of currently perceived greatness. If, however, instead of
recording evolutionary progress we investigate values implicit in changing eval-
uations, we can detect the influence of cultural ideologies on musical taste. Schubert’s
reputation in Victorian England offers an example.
Schubert's status as a "great master" was established in England between the 1860s and the 1880s, when George Grove's dictionary article became the standard English biography. Schubert's status in England was problematic, first because he was known primarily as a songwriter; English memoirs and etiquette manuals confirm that song was widely viewed as domestic and feminine, and therefore devalued. Biographical accounts reveal little awareness of the social and intellectual traditions that allowed Germans to value Schubert as a songwriter. Secondly, Schubert's reputation for writing through inspiration and without revision suggested unfavorable comparisons to Beethoven, who had a reputation as a painstaking craftsman.

Grove's ultimately dominant image of Schubert projected these problems onto a recurrent Victorian concern: gender definition. Citing Schumann's analogy of Beethoven to Schubert as man to woman, Grove consistently aligned Schubert with feminine images and values, accounting not only for Schubert's large output of songs but also for his supposed naïveté and impulsive compositional practices. The resulting androgynous figure embodies characteristics literary critics have noted in Victorian attempts to redefine male gender roles. H.H. Statham's critique of Grove's Schubert (1883) confirms this gender-conscious reading, citing Grove's account as evidence of Schubert's lack of "manly" qualities and of his low-class standing.

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TRANSATLANTIC COMPOSERS
Glenn E. Watkins (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), Chair

EDGAR VARESE’S "PROGRESSIVE" NATIONALISM:
AMÉRIQUES MEETS AMÉRICANISME
Olivia Mattis
Stanford University

Histories of French music claim Varese as a French composer. American music histories hail him as an American. Varese himself espoused a unique blend of rabid nationalism—first French, later American—and a quest for "all that is human, from the primitive to the farthest reaches of science." Varese struggled throughout his career to reconcile these conflicting aims.

During and after the Great War, Varese was a fervent French patriot, echoing Poincaré's call for l'union sacrée against the Germans by collaborating with Jean Cocteau in patriotic theater and promoting French music. Once Varese came to America in 1915, his goal in the New World was to promote l'art français, his first success being a performance of the Berlioz Requiem. While his generation of French artists looked to industrialized America as the last refuge for an endangered avant-garde (for example, Duchamp or Gleizes; Varese with his fire sirens and "skyscraper chords"), the French preserved their privileged position of outside observer. The French title of his 1921 composition Amériques makes this clear.

But when he returned to France for five years in 1928, Varese arrived as an American citizen and as director of the Pan-American Association of Composers, whose concerts of that period were responsible for introducing European audiences to America's most non-European, "progressive" music. He delivered lectures on Ives, Ruggles, and Cowell and declared that "American music must speak its own language, and not be the result of a certain mummified European formula." This paper probes Varese's evolving sense of national identity, as revealed in his
unpublished letters, in order to arrive at an anatomy of his musical nationalism, based neither on folk materials nor on a neo-classical return, that strove at once to be inclusive of “all that is human.”

RESPONDENT: Richard James, Bowling Green University

AARON COPLAND’S HEAR YE! HEAR YE!
BALLET MUSIC ON THE PERIPHERY
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Aaron Copland’s first staged ballet *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* had its premiere in Chicago on 30 November 1934. This paper will explore *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* as a transitional composition both reminiscent of Copland’s earlier strident works and suggestive of his trio of Americana ballets that later earned him widespread fame. Although an initial step towards Copland’s Americana genre in its use of indigenous musical material, *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* also shows the strong influence of Russian choreographic music premiered during the years of Copland’s study in Paris from 1921 to 1924. *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*, which is largely ignored in the Copland oeuvre because of its incidental nature, was commissioned by the then well-known dancer/choreographer and ballet director of the Chicago Opera Company, Ruth Page. Although considered on the periphery of the New York-centered dance community, Page’s commissions of contemporary American scores for her Americana scenarios influenced the development of an indigenous compositional style. Musical examples taken from the unpublished score and historical details drawn from Page’s archives in the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library will illuminate *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* as an important predecessor of Copland’s successive ballets on which much of his legacy now rests.

COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS IN LADY IN THE DARK
bruce d. mcclung
Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

When *Lady in the Dark* (1941) previewed, Kurt Weill claimed, “Even ‘The Three Groschen Opera’ which Bert Brecht and I adapted from John Gay’s ‘The Beggar’s Opera’ eight [sic] years ago was not as ambitious as this.” No doubt it was an ambitious undertaking for the composer, but for the American musical theater this collaborative effort of Moss Hart, Ira Gerswin, and Kurt Weill was revolutionary. Instead of a typical book show with songs interspersed, it used music to articulate the unconscious in three through-composed sequences in which the protagonist discloses her dreams to a psychiatrist. Her neurosis stems from abusive childhood experiences related to a bedtime song that she is trying to remember, a key musical thread which is revealed in its entirety only at the work’s climax. Thus, conceptually music lay both at the center of the plot and at the base of the dramatic structure. Nearly two-hundred pages of musical sketches and drafts, an early typescript of the play, and over a hundred pages of lyric drafts allow us to unmask the psychoanalytic antecedents for Hart’s drama, unravel the working relationship of the composer and lyricist, and understand the process of composition and revision of this play with music. Although many of his posthumous critics consider *Lady in the Dark* to be the work in which Weill squandered his European musical birthright for adoptive status in Shubert Alley, a study of the musical sketches and drafts permits a deeper reading of the Broadway text.

RESPONDENT: Susan C. Cook, University of Wisconsin, Madison
PRODUCING OPERA
Harris S. Saunders, Jr. (University of California, Los Angeles), Chair

MARCO FAUSTINI AND VENETIAN OPERA PRODUCTION
IN THE 1650s: RECENT ARCHIVAL DISCOVERIES
Beth L. Glixon, Lexington, Kentucky
Jonathan E. Glixon, University of Kentucky

Opera achieved its first commercial success in seventeenth-century Venice. The Venetian impresario most well-known to us, Marco Faustini, gained his entree into the field through his brother, the librettist Giovanni Faustini, and went on to run successively three different theaters for most of the 1650s and 1660s. Marco Faustini’s participation in opera has been known to scholars for over a century through two buste in the State Archives in Venice; these include most importantly contracts and letters from singers, composers, and talent scouts (primarily from the 1660s), as well as one account book for the 1658–59 season at Teatro San Cassiano.

Recent discoveries in the Archive have brought to light three further account books that document four seasons (1651–52, 1654–55, 1655–56 all at Teatro S. Aponal, and 1657–58 at S. Cassiano) during which Faustini produced three operas by Francesco Cavalli and two by Pietro Andrea Ziani. The books record payments for scenery and machines, costumes, composers, singers, dancers, and instrumentalists; they also indicate the numbers and dates of performances and the nightly attendance, making possible for the first time a comparison of productions over several seasons. The earliest book shows that Marco Faustini was involved in the opera trade even before the death of his brother in 1651. The 1654–55 book demonstrates that the diva Anna Renzi had returned to the Venetian stage earlier than had been thought. Other new documents shed additional light on Faustini’s impresarial career and reveal more fully the methods of this key figure in the history of opera in Venice.

THE QUEEN AS KING:
THE REFASHIONING OF SEMIRAMI FOR SEICENTO VENICE
Wendy Heller
Brandeis University

The rifacimento of an opera for a different locale has long been recognized as a common practice. Less attention has been directed at the ways in which the transformed work reflects the cultural circumstances of the society for which it was adapted. These considerations are critical during the seventeenth century when the ruling classes often used operas and other cultural products to persuade their audiences to preserve the prevailing social systems. When we invoke “local taste” to explain these revisions, we limit our understanding of the mechanisms of Seicento opera and the objectives of the societies that produced it.

The cultural implications are particularly striking in the reworking of Moniglia and Cesti’s Semirami (Vienna, 1667) by Matteo Noris and Pietro Ziani for the Teatro San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in 1671. The Semiramis legend challenges some of society’s most fundamental assumptions. The Assyrian queen excels in the masculine realms of war and politics. She is also corrupt and sexually dangerous—even to her own son. For Vienna, Cesti and Moniglia tamed the queen, creating a comic allegory in praise of the monarchy. Yet despite a heavy dependence on the text of
the original, the Venetian Semiramide is an anti-heroic opera, one that challenges the principles extolled in the Viennese version: the heroism of the upper classes, the nobility of the monarchy, and the inevitability of patriarchal rule. This paper will discuss these revisions in terms of the circumstances of Seicento Venice and their implications for our understanding of the anti-heroic in Venetian opera.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OPERAS IN PRODUCTION: A KEY TO UNDERSTANDING THE SURVIVING SOURCES
Jennifer Williams Brown
Louisiana State University

In the second half of the seventeenth century, operas typically underwent many revisions during their years on stage. Charting the process of change and pinpointing what versions were performed when is vital to understanding the creation and historical influence of these works. The sources available for such a study, however, are problematic in many respects. For one thing, most surviving libretti and scores were prepared for the consumers, not the performers and creators, of opera. Their very neatness conceals the changes the works may have undergone. For another, attempts to untangle the relations between the sources of individual operas are hampered by bizarre errors, corrupt passages, and widespread “contamination,” especially between literary and musical sources.

This paper attempts to resolve such problems by examining four rare “production scores” in the Biblioteca Estense. These manuscripts preserve many layers of revision made during Modenese revivals of the 1680s: M.A. Ziani’s Alceibade, Pallavicino’s Vespasiano and Bassiano, and Freschi’s Helena rapita. After establishing the sequence of additions, substitutions, and deletions, this paper summarizes the way the readings in these manuscripts relate to those in the “public” sources of the same works. It concludes by formulating a set of working hypotheses about the compilation and dissemination of opera sources. With a detailed knowledge of how revisions were recorded, how copying errors arose, and what type of information “public” libretti and scores preserve, we can begin to interpret the surviving sources of many operas whose performing materials have been lost.

ROMANTIC TOPICS AND EMBLEMS
Kofi Agawu (Cornell University), Chair

REZEPTIONSGESCHICHTE AND TOPOS ANALYSIS:
LISZT’S SYMPHONIC POEMS
Keith T. Johns
Australian Catholic University

One of the first examinations of the hermeneutic layer in Liszt’s program music appeared as a review of a performance of Liszt’s symphonic poems in the Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrtien Sachen in December 1855. Although embryonic in character, this examination presented what amounted to an analysis of musical topoi and a critique of topoi in musical programmism. Many critics of Liszt’s music have since presented similar (although sometimes unwitting) analyses of individual works, and issues associated with topoi and programmism have also been examined by musicologists such as Constantin Floros, Hermann Jung and Paul Mies.

The use of topos analysis has come under attack from scholars who consider a reductionist application of its principles as fruitless or pointless. But the reception
of Liszt's music, especially his symphonic poems, cannot be understood without applying some of its principles not only to individual works, but also to critical evaluations of those works published during the 1850s and 1860s. Thematic transformation and archetypal structural patterns in *Les Préludes*, *Tasso*, *Orpheus*, and other symphonic poems were to a considerable extent accepted or rejected by Leipzig, Berlin, and Breslau critics, according to whether they embraced topos as suitable "reference points" in programmatic situations.

An examination of more than a dozen representative reviews by German critics of the 1850s and 1860s reveals that topos analysis was one of the most important tools used to attack or defend the programmism associated with the Zukunftsmusik movement, and that *Liszt-Rezeptionsgeschichte* was—indeed, still is—the history of topos analysis.

**ABSTRACTIONS OF DESIRE IN SKRYABIN'S FIFTH SONATA**

Mitchell Morris
University of California, Berkeley

The evocation of sexual desire and the representation of eroticism were important strands of Alexander Skryabin's work from about 1900 until his death in 1915. From the *Tristan*-inspired Third Symphony (1902–04), Skryabin developed an erotic musical style most fully displayed in the "Poem of Ecstasy" (1905–08). This style depends on linking together musical figures associated with eroticism within a tonal context that continually presses for resolution. The desire for resolution is thus projected within the space of the music as a sexual desire. As Skryabin's philosophical and mystical concerns grew more pressing, however, his music became less dependent upon resolution for its effects: the composer began disposing his favorite sonorities symmetrically, removing the sense of forward progression from his music. As a result, the figures formerly connected to sexual desire became abstracted, more emblems of erotic experience than agents of it.

This paper will explore the semiotics of musical desire and eroticism in Skryabin's Fifth Sonata. As a companion piece to the "Poem of Ecstasy," the Fifth Sonata contains many musical figures aimed at representing eroticism in tonal contexts that evoke desire. The patterns of their occurrence, however, seem to indicate that these figures should be heard in an increasingly dispassionate manner as the work progresses. In the course of the sonata, the musical figures that begin as agents of desire become emblems of that desire. This process of abstraction suggests that we view the "Poem of Ecstasy" as a kind of limit-text for Skryabin's representation of eroticism and the Fifth Sonata as the model for an important direction in Skryabin's later music.

**CONCERT PROGRAMS AND THEIR NARRATIVES**

**AS EMBLEMS OF IDEOLOGY**

Jann Pasler
University of California, San Diego

Important and provocative source material that has been virtually ignored by scholars of reception history are concert programs and their program notes. Besides preserving what the composer wished to communicate about new works, these documents record how the public was presented old masters as well as contemporaries. They tell the history of musical taste.

This paper examines the programs of the two most important orchestral organizations in Paris from 1890 to 1910, the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne, as well as those of a number of smaller series, including the
Société Nationale, the Société Musicale Indépendante, the Société des Grandes Auditions and the private salon, La Trompette. Three kinds of information ensued: (1) the hierarchies embedded not only in the choice of works (particularly Berlioz's Damnation of Faust and the great religious scene from Parsifal which were played regularly), but also hierarchies in the order pieces were played, the genres preferred, performers used, the concert durations, and the various typefaces of the titles; (2) from the ads and instructions on proper concert behavior, a sense of the public for these groups; and (3) from the program notes, the manner in which the French were told to understand, among other things, beauty, the relation between music and nationalism, patriotism, and heroism. (Wagner, for example, was sold as fundamentally French, for the Tristan and Parsifal legends came from Brittany.) By studying these programs of concert series over time, one arrives at a clearer sense of what various music meant to French audiences at the time.

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BEYOND VENICE

Giulio M. Ongaro (University of Southern California), Chair

AD LECTURINUM OR IN PODOIUM:
PERFORMANCE PRACTICE, CORI SPEZZATI, AND MUSICAL STYLE

Gary Towne
University of North Dakota

The myth that music for cori spezzati began at San Marco in Venice has obscured the performance practice at its true origins. One of these is Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo; its Renaissance chantbooks, its choirbooks with early music for cori spezzati, a student's organ antiphoner, and contemporary documents all survive, as do Lorenzo Lotto's intarsiate choir stalls that held a low podium for the music lectern. The choir's twenty-six adult chaplains included the chaplain on the lectern side; thirty-odd clerici and scolares sat concentrically within the chaplains' stalls. All these sang chant; from them came six to twelve adult and two to twelve boy polyphonists. There were two to five "horn-players" and one organist. Separate payments to Hieronymus, piper, horn-player and organist, placed the winds ad lecturnum, where they probably doubled polyphony. The organ, which played chant antiphons, was on a podiolum or balcony, probably high on the east walls of the transepts, outside the choir.

The chant singers' single book faced them and the nave. Choirbooks for the cori spezzati on the lectern's other faces obliged them to sing diagonally towards the other chaplains. Winds reinforced polyphony, and the awkwardly-located organ assisted with chant. The textural contrast of small, closely-spaced polyphonic choirs of voices and instruments opposed by four times as many singers of chant and a distant organ contrasts with the traditional Venetian model in ways that elucidate the role of intricate polyphony in the stylistic genesis of polychoral music as well as its repudiation in the genre's later evolution.

MERULO AND THE VENETIAN TOCCATA

Robert Judd
California State University, Fresno

This paper presents the fruits of research into the "Venetian School" of organist-composers, focusing primarily on the toccatas of Merulo and his non-
Venetian activities, and leads to a significant revision of the theory of such a school: it was limited in influence and had essentially died out in its home city by about 1584. Analysis of Merulo's manuscript and printed toccatas reveals a clear stylistic change that took place after Merulo moved to Parma in 1584. Additionally, archival research has revealed Merulo's lengthy sojourns in Rome in the 1590s; and the presence in Parma of two virtuoso lutenists, Santino Garsi and Fabrizio Dentice, suggests that impetus for stylistic growth came from that medium.

A close examination of composers commonly associated with the Venetian School (Bertoldo, Padovano, Diruta, G. Gabrieli and H.L. Hassler) reveals tenuous connections and a number of problems. By addressing these concerns, it becomes apparent that developments in the toccata depended less on a Venetian confluence and correspondingly more on individuals outside of Venice, particularly the work of Merulo in Parma.

The findings presented here strengthen the relationship between Merulo's works and Frescobaldi's and enable the refinement or revision of several formal paradigms for the toccata (Bradshaw 1972; Fadini 1986; Newcomb 1984/85; Newcomb 1986). The result is a more complex and varied, but more internally coherent, system of compositional design than those now current, significant both in its own right and for considering later developments in the genre.

RESPONDENT: Rebecca A. Edwards, Santa Clara, California

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SCHUBERT II
Martin Chusid (New York University), Chair

SCHUBERT, FREEDOM, AND THE STYLE HONGROIS
Jonathan Bellman
University of Richmond

A number of Schubert's works reflect the performance style and musical accent of the Hungarian gypsies. While acknowledged, this idiom has not been examined in terms of possible causes and significance. The so-called Hungarian Style made its appearance in the late eighteenth century, but did not begin to achieve real popularity until the 1830s, after Schubert's death. Further, Schubert uses it less as mere exoticism than as a powerful rhetorical device, writing complete sections and movements in this musical dialect. Because such pieces evoked the gypsies' popular image and catered to emerging popular taste, the associations listeners had with the gypsies are of crucial significance.

Travelogues of Schubert's time betray a deep mistrust and fear of the gypsies. Paradoxically, the gypsies were also envied from afar: their supposed freedom from all societal rules and constraints, their reputedly passionate and earthy lives and their wanderlust were deeply attractive to a Europe used to traditional modes of behavior. Their music-making was held to be similar: full of passion, melancholy, wild despair, and frenetic rejoicing. The intensity of their emotions was something the average European bourgeois feared but coveted.

Recent scholarship has examined Schubert's homosexuality, his resulting separation from mainstream Viennese society, and his periodic depressions and bouts with venereal disease. A chronology of the compositions with pronounced gypsy influences shows them to correspond to Schubert's most psychologically alienated moods and painful convalescences. The result was a two-level reference to the pathos and separation on one hand, and the wild pleasure-seeking abandon on the other, shared by both Schubert's lifestyle and the gypsies of popular imagination.
MEIN TRAUM AND THE “UNFINISHED” SYMPHONY:
A REINTERPRETATION
John Suydam
Washington University

In 1939 Arnold Schering attempted to demonstrate that the autograph Schubert document known as Mein Traum had served as the program for the “Unfinished” Symphony. The categorical denials of any relationship between Mein Traum and the symphony which Schering’s work evoked have discouraged serious investigation of possible connections between the document and the music. Yet a psychobiographical reading of Mein Traum, combined with a study of borrowings and self-borrowings in the B-minor Symphony, suggests many links between the text and the score.

The first half of Mein Traum can be shown to chronicle memories from Schubert’s boyhood unmentioned in previous discussions of the text or the Schubert literature in general. The G-major theme of the first movement of the B-minor Symphony is traced to an early Schubert work whose relationships to the “Unfinished” and to Mein Traum have been overlooked. Schubert’s first, provisional response to his memories (a response implicit in the first half of Mein Traum) is symbolically expressed in the same movement through references to one of his favorite operas, Don Giovanni. The second half of Mein Traum contains telling evidence of the nature of Schubert’s later and more far-reaching reaction, musically expressed through frequent allusions to a scene from Goethe’s Faust in the second movement of the symphony.

The interpretation offered in this paper bears directly upon what John Reed considers the chief mystery surrounding Schubert’s “Unfinished” Symphony, namely “his attitude to his own masterpiece.” Since there is reason to believe that Anselm Hüttenbrenner (to whom Schubert gave the autograph score) was aware of the symphony’s subtext, I suggest that Hüttenbrenner’s concealment of the score for some forty years be reconsidered as well.

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POPULAR IMAGES AND MUSIC
Scott DeVeaux (University of Virginia), Chair

THE IDIOM OF SIMON AND IMAGE OF DYLAN:
WHEN DO STARS CAST SHADOWS?
Craig H. Russell
California Polytechnic State University

More than any other artist of the 1960s, Bob Dylan was the one elevated above the status of mere musician; he was to become both myth and model for a generation of pop musicians active in an increasingly politicized folk movement.

Initially, Paul Simon and his partner Art Garfunkel recorded soft-pop or “teeny-bopper” songs. Around 1964, however, Simon did an about-face and began to compose songs with serious social or political content. The first song in this new direction was Simon’s “He Was My Brother,” which Simon has claimed was inspired by the assassination of three freedom riders in Mississippi in the summer of 1964, one of whom was his college friend Andrew Goodman. Through inconsistencies and anachronisms in accounts, this paper will attempt to refute the claim that Goodman’s murder was the impetus for the composition. The song was written in all likelihood by an aspiring Simon composing in the shadow of an idealized Dylan.
Dylan left his mark on other Simon endeavors. "Peggy-O," from Dylan's first album, was included on Simon and Garfunkel's *Wednesday Morning, 3AM*. That same album has a cover of Dylan's ubiquitous "The Times They Are A-Changin'". Another nod to the folk hero is Simon's sympathetic spoof of Dylan's style in "A Simple Desultory Philippic," first recorded for the British solo album *A Paul Simon Songbook* and later radically revised for its inclusion on *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme*. In both versions there are direct quotations and musical snippets that pay homage albeit perfunctorily to Dylan's most recent albums.

**AFTER DADDY TAKES THE T-BIRD AWAY**

Paul S. Machlin
Colby College

In many respects the changing contours of rock music in the 1960s were shaped by the same forces eroding the social, political, and cultural landscape of North America during that eruptive decade. These transformations can be traced in music as well as in the increasingly potent texts, but the phenomenon was particularly evident in songs that focused on a woman's role in relationships. Indeed in some mid-decade songs about courtship, we can even discern an intriguing and substantive relationship between music and text. Two contemporaneous examples serve to illustrate this relationship with remarkable subtlety. The Beach Boys' "Fun, Fun, Fun" (2/64) begins as a narrative documenting the escape fantasy of an adolescent in her father's car, but concludes as a cautionary morality fable. In contrast, "(Love Is Like A) Heat Wave" by Martha and the Vandellas (8/63) constitutes a soliloquy that explores a young woman's awakening sexual desire in vivid and candid terms. In these songs, the music either amplifies the sense of the lyrics ("Heat Wave") or undercuts them, providing an ironic counterpoint to the song's ostensible message ("Fun, Fun, Fun").

Critics of popular (i.e., hit parade) rock of the 1960s occasionally disparage it as simplistic and materialistic, in contrast to the more complex instrumental genres that flourished at the end of the decade. But a close reading of this repertoire reveals that sophisticated relationships between text and music can occasionally exist. These relationships, once deciphered, significantly enrich our understanding of a song's message.

**SEXUAL SIGNIFYIN(G): CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE JAZZ TRUMPET**

Krin Gabbard
State University of New York, Stony Brook

The jazz trumpet has traditionally expressed masculine sexuality, especially for African-American artists. Dizzy Gillespie, who has frequently spoken of the "virility" of black jazz, has even emphasized the phallic nature of his instrument by bending the bell upwards as if to simulate an erection. Nevertheless, when jazz trumpeters have appeared in American films, they are usually played by white leading men; and if black, they are inevitably "castrated," as when Louis Armstrong sang a love song to a horse in *Going Places* (1938). Armstrong was in fact one of the first in a long line of black jazz musicians to establish his dominance with high notes, speed and emotional intensity, although he always mixed these elements with lyricism, drama and pathos.

With Miles Davis in the 1950s, the jazz trumpet came to signify emotional depth and introspection along with phallic bravado. Ever since, many of the critically acclaimed black trumpeters have been ironists and introverts rather than domina-
tors and extroverts. Wynton Marsalis and his many young followers have adopted an understated, "classical" style rooted in Davis's innovations. If the sounds of most pre-modern and bop trumpeters connote intense masculinity, the style of Marsalis and his imitators might be labeled "post-phallic." Terence Blanchard, who dubbed in the trumpet solos for Denzel Washington in Spike Lee's 1990 film Mo' Better Blues, is stylistically closest to Marsalis but moves even farther away from the codes of masculinity established by earlier jazz trumpet players. There is an unresolved tension in Mo' Better Blues between the film's traditional sexual attitudes and the much more complex music that appears to emerge from the horn of Bleek Gilliam (Washington).

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MOTET
Edward H. Roesner (New York University), Chair

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MOTET
AND THE ROLE OF MANUSCRIPT MAKERS IN DEFINING A GENRE
Rebecca A. Baltzer
The University of Texas at Austin

How did the thirteenth-century motet come to be perceived as a type of composition different from the genres of organum and conductus, the principal categories of polyphony which surrounded its birth? And what difficulties did the copying of manuscripts of polyphony cause for scribes and artists trained in the production of manuscripts containing only text and/or monophonic music? Differences in manuscript presentation or format are essential to the differentiation of musical genres, and understanding these differences is necessary to prepare easily legible musical manuscripts.

Thirteenth-century manuscript makers, however, were not always equal to their task. Uncertainties about format on the part of the scribes and initial-painters are evident in most sources of thirteenth-century polyphony. Careful study of their misunderstandings and copying errors allows us to infer certain characteristics of their vanished exemplars as well as the kinds of editorial judgment they exercised. We can also determine to some extent what external and internal developments prompted continued experimentation to discover the best performance format for motets.

As a new genre, the motet required more than half a century to separate itself from other related genres and to achieve stylistic independence. The steps will be traced with slides from manuscripts beginning with W1 (ca. 1230), in which the few early motets come disguised as conductus, and ending with those major sources from the latter part of the century, the Montpellier and Bamberg manuscripts, in which the motet as a genre receives virtually all of the editor/scribe's attention and available space.

THE ORIGINS OF ARS NOVA
Daniel Leech-Wilkinson
University of Southampton

We seem to know less than ever about the origins of ars nova or about the role played by Vitry in its development. It is clear that major changes in style, technique and notation occurred between the latest works in the Montpellier codex and the standardization of the new style in the isorhythmic motets of the 1320s. The Fauvel
motets are crucially placed within this period of change. So far, through the powerful influence of the supposed *Ars nova* treatise, these motets have been considered largely as examples of notational change. Less effort has been made to trace in detail changes in counterpoint and construction.

An investigation of the musical language of the Fauvel motets suggests that the main period of change was surprisingly narrow, from about 1315 to 1318. Only after that was the notation system brought up to date with developments in style. Once the new style had crystallized, and at a more leisurely pace, it was defined and codified as a contrapuntal practice in order to make it available beyond the circle of Paris-trained experts in which it was first used. The extent and initial speed of change lends support to the hypothesis that *ars nova* was developed under the guidance of a single powerful mind or, at most, a very close circle of influential composers. There is still significant reason to place this circle around Philippe de Vitry.

RESPONDENT: Sarah Fuller, State University of New York, Stony Brook

THE MOTETS OF PHILIPPE DE VITRY
AND THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY RENAISSANCE
Andrew Wathey
Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London

Philippe de Vitry is widely and conventionally known as the author of the Latin poetry that he set in his motets. This view is supported by the high degree of adherence between the motets' musical and poetic structures, whose full extent has been revealed only recently, in a series of analyses by Margaret Bent and David Howlett. It is also favored by the fact of de Vitry's links with Petrarch, who was both the composer's regular correspondent and his most vivid eulogist. What is less well known is the extent to which de Vitry's Latin verse was taken up by the new literary movement of which Petrarch was the preeminent representative.

This paper explores the hitherto unrecognized and widespread circulation of de Vitry's motet texts, independent of their music, as part of a growing humanist tradition that was particularly strong in the Germanic lands but also embraced, for example, the copying of de Vitry's poetry at Pavia in the early fifteenth century. This tradition moreover reveals the implantation of motet texts in new moralistic and didactic programs that in turn throws important light on the contemporary function of de Vitry's compositions. It also discloses upwards of a dozen new concordances for the texts of de Vitry's motets, new evidence for their dating and attribution, and the existence of versions of de Vitry's music now lost.

ISORHYTHMIC MOTETS OF THE 1430s
J. Michael Allsen
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Nearly two dozen isorhythmic motets are dateable to the period after 1430, and many of these late works reflect a continuing exploration of the genre's musical possibilities. This paper deals with additions to the isorhythmic form during this period—non-isorhythmic *introitus*, postludes, and interludes—and changes in the form itself.

In an isorhythmic motet, an introitus is a passage sung before the first tenor period. A related feature, talea introduction, involves beginning each period of the motet in reduced voicing by means of a lengthy rest in the lower voices at the beginning of each talea. Introitus sections in this late motet repertory retain their earlier texture and textual function. At the same time, talea introductions became
more prominent in the structure of individual motets. This feature is derived from earlier English motet styles. The addition of a non-isorhythmic postlude is almost exclusively seen in motets after 1430. These sections are set in a variety of forms, ranging from a simple series of several chords to the elaborate multi-sectional postlude of Dufay's *Supremum est mortalibus*.

In the 1430s, Dufay and others added new formal elements to the isorhythmic motet, while retaining its basic compositional framework. Most of the motets of this late period also share elements of a cosmopolitan motet style that owes a great deal to English isorhythmic composition of the preceding decades.

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*Special Session in Collaboration with the Società Italiana di Musicologia*

*Agostino Ziino, President*

**MUSIC PUBLISHING IN ITALY, CA. 1500–1830**

*Philip Gossett (The University of Chicago), Chair*

Introductory Remarks and Report on the *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani*

*Agostino Ziino, University of Naples*

**THE DIFFUSION OF ITALIAN VOCAL MUSIC**

**IN PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT TABLATURE SOURCES**

**IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES**

*Dinko Fabris*

*Institute for Renaissance Studies, Ferrara*

Numerous studies have been made of the vast repertory of vocal music published in Italy during the age of the madrigal (1530–1630). But scant attention has been given to a phenomenon closely connected to the diffusion of this music in practice, through which it is possible to analyze the means, typology, duration and geographic distribution of its reception. This is the reduction—or better, the re-writing—of vocal compositions into tablature for various instruments, whether the pieces were polyphonic (madrigals, chansons, motets) or monodic (arias). The preferred instrument for such transcriptions is the lute, but there are numerous tablature sources for keyboard, for cedra, and above all, for guitar, throughout the Seicento.

Preliminary results of a database research project for RISM demonstrate on one hand a distinct difference between manuscript and printed sources in terms of contents, artistic level, and choices of repertory; and on the other hand, a perfect correspondence in the choice of repertory for different instruments, for example, in tablatures for lute, cedra, and keyboard for the same period. This investigation is comprehensive for printed and manuscript sources for lute; less so for other kinds of sources, which being chiefly in manuscript have been excluded from most compilations of specific repertories that have hitherto been made.

(trans. M. Murata)

**GARDANO'S MOTETTI DEL FRUTTO OF 1538–39:**

**A PRINTER ASSEMBLES A REPERTORY**

*Mary S. Lewis*

*University of Pittsburgh*

In the first two years of his career in Venice, Antonio Gardano published three books of motets—for four, five, and six voices respectively—each bearing the title
Motetti del Frutto. Nearly two-thirds of the sixty-one Frutto motets have no surviving earlier concordances. Among these, the motets of Gombert, Phinot, and Lupi are most prominent. Those with earlier concordances include a group overlapping the repertories in some Roman and Florentine manuscripts.

Starting from the premise that every printed and manuscript anthology represents someone's repertory, this paper looks at the Frutto volumes from several standpoints: (1) the possibility that these collections represent the taste and preferences of the printer himself; (2) the existence of sub-repertories within the collections, representing particular locales and different times; (3) the whereabouts in the mid 1530s of the composers represented; (4) the lines of transmission of the music in these anthologies; (5) the difference between the central repertory of the prints and those pieces added as "filler" to complete the volumes; (6) the differences and similarities between the repertory in the Frutto volumes and that in Gardano's Fior de' Motteti of the same period; (7) comparisons between the new repertory and those pieces that have survived in earlier sources; and (8) the musical and stylistic profiles of the Frutto repertory.

This study makes use of concordance patterns, comparative readings, contextual, biographical and internal evidence, and style criticism to investigate the contents and history of the Motetti del Frutto. It also gives special emphasis (1) to the possibility of Gardano's having connections to musical life within the orbit of Florence, Rome, and Lyons, and (2) to the repertory he printed before he began to rely more heavily on Venetian-based works in the 1540s.

LOOKING AT PRINTED EDITIONS AS IF THEY WERE MANUSCRIPTS
Stanley Boorman
New York University

We are accustomed to examining the paleographical and codicological details of a musical manuscript with a view to discovering its structure and copying history. Through this process, we hope to learn more about different stages in the manuscript's preparation, as well as possible changes in its plan or the various layers of accretion of its repertoire. Printed sources, on the other hand, are regularly seen as if planned as single units from the beginning and as if changes in that plan did not take place.

This paper will examine a number of Italian printed sources from different periods in the sixteenth century as if they were manuscripts. It will produce evidence for changes in plan, as well as for miscalculations on the part of the compilers, and evidence showing different stages in the planning of the contents of a volume. The sixteenth-century printer did not share the view of his purchasers held by the copyists of Renaissance music manuscripts. The present paper will show that he sometimes went about collecting and preparing the material for his volumes in very similar ways.

COPY SHOPS AND PUBLISHING HOUSES OF MUSIC:
THE DIFFUSION OF MUSIC IN ITALY BETWEEN 1770 AND 1830
Bianca Maria Antolini
Francesco Morlacchi Conservatory, Perugia

The diffusion of musical scores in Italy ca. 1770–1830 is marked by the interconnection of the interests and activities of music copyists and publishers. The repertory disseminated by new, late Settecento publishers in Venice (Marescalchi and Canobbio, Alessandri and Scattaglia, Zatta), in Florence (Ranieri del Vivo, Pagni and Bardi), and in Naples (Marescalchi) was predominantly instrumental.
Operatic music circulated mostly in manuscript excerpts that theater copyists received permission to sell in exchange for their services to a theater.

In the Napoleonic era, except for Ricordi in Milan, there are no music publishers with continuous and significant activity. Short-lived attempts at copper engraving were undertaken by some theatrical copyists. By refusing permission to publish complete works, impresarios took measures to defend themselves from piracy.

With the earliest years of the Restoration, a series of more permanent editorial firms arose from the activities of theatrical copy shops. They initially produced operatic excerpts in both print and manuscript, but then turned to publishing arrangements for the most varied ensembles and for the amateur market, reserving complete manuscript scores for rental use in theaters (Ricordi, Lucca, and Artaria in Milan; Lorenzi in Florence; Ratti and Cencetti in Rome; Girard and Fabbricatore in Naples, etc.). The relation between the complete operas acquired by copyists/editors and the number of published extracts in varying arrangements documents and clarifies the reception of opera in these years.

Furthermore for the entire period, shops selling music performed a considerable role, disseminating both manuscript copies and prints. Especially interesting are the cases of A.G. Pagani in Florence at the end of the Settecento and of G. Benzon in Venice in the 1820s.

*(abbrev. and trans. M.Murata)*

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**18**

**VIENNESE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC**

Jane R. Stevens (University of California, San Diego), Chair

**NEW LIGHT ON C.P.E. BACH AND JOSEPH HAYDN**

Ulrich Leisinger

Freiburg, Germany

Early biographies of Haydn (e.g., Griesinger 1810. Dies 1810) and other contemporary reports (e.g., Cramer 1785, Burney 1789) leave no doubt that C.P.E. Bach's keyboard works made a great impression on Joseph Haydn. But, with the exception of some vague melodic reminiscences and a quite general similarity of "mood" and "expression," it was not possible to show Bach's influence on Haydn as a keyboard composer. A re-examination of musical and literary sources makes clear that prejudices such as over-accentuation of formal aspects or attention limited to Bach's keyboard fantasies and early sonatas have misled modern scholars. A wrong opus number in an influential report added further confusion (op.13 [Hob. XVI:21–26] instead of op. 14 [Hob. XVI:27–32] in EMLR 1784).

Of special importance are Bach's *Sonatas with Varied Reprisals* (Wq. 50, 1760), which have so far been underrated, but which were easily accessible in Vienna from ca. 1767. Relations to Haydn's keyboard compositions of the late 1760s and early 1770s can be found in piano technique, compositional procedures such as modulation and manner of variation, and in articulation. At least two movements by Haydn seem to be exactly modelled on C.P.E. Bach's "Reprisen" sonatas (Hob. XVI:44ii based on Wq. 50.6 and Hob. XVI:18ii on Wq. 50.5iii). A discussion of correspondences and characteristic differences may help to understand how Haydn created a new style, the "classical" style, during the 1770s, using and combining progressive traits in keyboard works of both his Viennese and (North) German predecessors.
SESSION 18

FUNCTION, STYLE, AND VALUE
IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIENNESE CONCERTO
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University of Southern California

The brilliance of Mozart’s concertos has tended to blind scholars and critics to the musical, social, and intellectual contexts in which the works were created. With the Viennese context largely unexplored, previous discussions of the historical background of Mozart’s concertos have rested on myth, guesswork, and thinly supported claims of influence.

The present study summarizes an investigation of several hundred Viennese concertos composed between 1740 and 1791, reviews documented performances and contemporary criticism, and places the whole within its wider Viennese cultural and intellectual context. Contrary to prevailing stereotypes, the Viennese concerto was not simply or even primarily a vehicle for bravura display. It served instead a variety of functions, depending on the occasion of its composition and the venues in which it was performed. Concertos were performed not only in large-scale public and private concerts but also (and probably more often) in intimate Hauskonzerte, in church services, during theatrical entr’actes, and as background music during court festivities. Within these contexts, the concerto served variously to project social accomplishment, enlightened values, devotion, pomp, or simply variety.

Interpreted in this light, it is clear that the Viennese concerto was not necessarily orchestral and did not necessarily strive to portray competition between individual and ensemble. Instead, concertos were often performed as chamber works, and as such they attempted to project contrasts of style, texture, and affect. Thus many Viennese concertos can be shown to be eminently successful works on their own terms, a point which will be demonstrated with excerpts from such composers as Wagenseil, Steffan, Joseph Haydn, and Förster. Against this background, Mozart’s innovations and accomplishments in the genre can be more accurately assessed.

"UNEXPECTEDNESS" AND "INEVITABILITY"
IN MOZART’S PIANO CONCERTOS
David Rosen
Cornell University

In the first movement of K. 459 the soloist initiates the recapitulation, one of only two instances in Mozart’s original piano concertos (the other being K. 271, of which more later). This unusual feature can be explained by another unusual feature, the structure of the opening theme: had Mozart followed his standard procedure, the orchestra would have opened the recapitulation with the quiet first statement of the theme, and the soloist would repeat it forte, more emphatically. But the fortepiano was not very good at that.

It is doubtful that the audience at the premiere were surprised by either of these unusual features—and doubtful that Mozart expected them to be. Modern audiences are far better informed than Mozart’s contemporaries about his procedures. Rather than futilely trying to suppress this information, we may appropriately invest it with aesthetic significance and incorporate it into our hearings of these works. So on one level we should be surprised when the piano initiates the recapitulation of K. 459, but on another we should recognize in retrospect that the opening theme was responsible for this deviation. Or perhaps even better, if we recognize at the outset that the opening theme is unusual, then the soloist’s initiation of the recapitulation will be less a surprise than a satisfying resolution to both the development and a compositional problem.

Unlike the case of K. 459, with the recapitulation of K. 271 Mozart probably did intend his audience to be surprised. But we may experience the surprise even more
vividly than they, for, in addition to the expectations set up internally, we know that Mozart normally initiates his recapitulations with the orchestra. The most engrossing hearings of these works build upon the interaction, even the tension, between our sense of what Mozart's immediate audience might have perceived and our own "historically informed" perceptions.

A PROCESSIVE MODEL
OF THE SYMPHONIC SONATA-FORM EXPOSITION
AND MOZART'S "HAFFNER" SYMPHONY
Scott L. Balthazar
West Chester University

Although recent "textbook" descriptions of sonata form have taken into account eighteenth-century theoretical formulations by stressing the structural role of harmony, they still reflect anachronistic notions of bi-thematicism by dividing the exposition into polarized tonic and dominant subsections, by distinguishing the functions of stable, regularly periodic, "principal" themes which establish the tonic and signal the arrival on the dominant from those of other "transitional" and "closing" themes, and by giving those principal themes analytical priority. Consequently, they account inadequately for Mozart's and Haydn's extended symphonic expositions, failing to explain the wealth of themes found in their transitions and closing sections and ignoring typical functional similarities between the "second" theme and other themes occurring in those sections.

An analysis of Mozart's Symphony No. 35 in D, K. 385 ("Haffner") illustrates an alternative, "egalitarian" approach which gives all themes equivalent analytic attention and characterizes the specific functions of all themes in articulating motion from tonic to dominant. In this view, the exposition of the Haffner Symphony presents a continuous process of transition in which the tonic key and initial theme are gradually phased out and the dominant key and new themes are gradually phased in, with thematic shifts marking steps in the modulation at a local level.

This "processive" model of the exposition explains features which the traditional model cannot as easily accommodate: "monothematicism," lyrical themes other than the "second theme" (sometimes within the transition), aborted transitions followed by returns of first themes, multiple structural half-cadences, and references to the tonic within the transition. Further application of this model to the expositions of symphonies, string quartets, keyboard sonatas, and arias indicates that Mozart and Haydn adhered to the processive model proposed here in their longer movements, while their shorter ones contain more abrupt transitions and come closer to the traditional "polarized" version of the form.

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INFLUENCES ON THE MODERN MUSIKTHEATER
Susan C. Cook (University of Wisconsin, Madison), Chair
Stephen Hinton (Yale University), Respondent

THE DRAMATIC CONCEPTION OF BERG'S LULU
AND ITS SOURCES IN THEATER OF THE 1920s
Bryan R. Simms
University of Southern California

Alban Berg's operatic version of Wedekind's Lulu plays has long been praised for its originality and theatrical effectiveness. It has generally been assumed that
Berg's departures from Wedekind's text and dramatic conception stemmed from his own imagination. In opting to use a conflation of *Earth Spirit* and *Pandora's Box*, Berg did not follow Wedekind's own largely unsuccessful five-act conflation of 1906, but instead chose to retain material from all seven acts of the two plays. A very significant addition is Berg's linking of certain characters, such as Dr. Schön and Jack the Ripper, by giving them common musical materials and by assigning their roles to the same singer. These pairings are not explicit in Wedekind's plays and are usually credited to Berg's own dramatic insight. Other embellishing dramaturgical touches introduced by Berg include the use of a film sequence to summarize events in the story, the quotation of the melody of a Wedekind ballad, and the use of a ragtime orchestra.

Far from being original with Berg, all of these deviations from Wedekind's texts had been used by régisseurs of the 1920s in spoken performances of the *Lulu* plays. The stagings of Erich Engel in Berlin in 1926 and by Otto Falckenberg in Munich in 1928 were especially influential upon Berg's conception, and Falckenberg's version, which appeared just at the time that Berg decided upon *Lulu* as the subject for an opera, was praised throughout the European press for its dramatic effectiveness and originality.

THE INFLUENCE OF FILM ON GERMAN OPERA IN THE 1920s

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In the early years of the Weimar Republic—during the transition from *Hofopera* to *Staatsoper*—the present and future of opera was far from clear. Reduced budgets and worries about declining ticket sales created enough problems for opera producers; the steadily increasing popularity of film and its potential to draw away opera audiences only added to their concerns. Indeed by the mid to late 1920s, Germany's film industry had grown to be one of the largest in Europe. Would this burgeoning medium prove to be a formidable rival to opera; would it ultimately render this older genre obsolete? These questions surfaced and resurfaced throughout the decade following World War I.

On the other hand, a number of composers, directors, and stage designers perceived great potential in the new medium; they recognized the possibility for film or cinematic techniques to inform their own operatic undertakings. Even before the end of the first World War, during the early stages of *Intermezzo*, Richard Strauss envisioned the opera as a series of "cinematic pictures." After the war, film would serve as a compelling example of *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Not surprisingly, film influenced the *Zeittheater* productions of Erwin Piscator as well as the *Zeitopern* of Hindemith, Krenek, and Weill. This paper assesses the influence of cinema on German opera in the 1920s both in terms of the methods in which film footage was used as part of the operatic staging and of the ways in which cinematic techniques were incorporated as part of the dramaturgy.

THE BAYREUTH SINGING STYLE AROUND 1900: A RE-EVALUATION

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Few performance styles have been more roundly denounced than the singing style encouraged at Bayreuth during Cosima Wagner's tenure as leader of the festival (1886–1906). Called ugly and unvocal by connoisseurs of fine singing at the time, the Bayreuth style was commonly associated with brittle, exaggerated conso-
nants and unresonant vowels, and on this basis has continued to live in infamy as a musical counterpart to Cosima’s reactionary, rigid, studied production methods. Comprehensive exposure to recordings made by turn-of-the-century Bayreuth singers, however, shows that received opinion concerning their style and artistic achievements is unjust. Bayreuth singers are, for example, far from consistent in the clarity with which they project the text. For a few of them, however, detailed diction represents a fundamental prerequisite and potent ally in attempting to achieve expressive musical declamation, and it is these singers who seem to generate a distinct and valid musical style which, it can be argued, represents the real aim of the Bayreuth singing style.

Their recordings reveal an uncommonly wide range and impulsive volatility of dynamics, tonal qualities, enunciatory emphases, and expressive affects within relatively brief spans. Surprisingly, the essence of the style rests on a musical spontaneity suggesting that the vocal line is but a natural extension of an imaginatively detailed recitation of the text. At its infrequent best the Bayreuth style achieved an unparalleled richness of declamatory eloquence, thereby realizing Cosima’s compelling vision of what Wagner singing could be, even though her much-publicized and heavy-handed insistence on distinct enunciation of the text prevented many singers and observers from glimpsing it.

SINGING BRECHT vs. BRECHT SINGING:
PERFORMANCE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE
Kim H. Kowalke
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No German poet or playwright since Goethe has been as influential for music, especially musical performance, as Bertolt Brecht. The label “Brechtian” was widely applied in the 1920s and 1930s not just to matters of dramaturgy, theatrical production, and acting, but also to styles of musical composition, techniques of singing, and modes of performance. In theory and practice, Brecht set out to redress a perceived imbalance: “In most encounters between poetry and music, poetry can become the more powerful of the two only by intentional acquiescence or the unintentional incompetence of the composer.” He developed a theory of performance practice to ensure that the performer, not the composer, was the ultimate mediator between poet and audience. “Gestus” was but one of several strategies to dictate readings of his texts. This new relationship between text, music, and presentation required a new manner of delivery, new genres, reformed performing institutions, and singers outside the “classical” tradition. “Brechtian” quickly came to denote any unsentimental, repertorial, “sachlich” presentation (closely allied with the directness of popular singers and cabaret performers) as opposed to the espressivo, “artificial” production of the cultivated voice. It also distanced the performer from the performed: singers should “not only sing but . . . show a man who is singing.” This study assesses “Brechtian” performance practice in the Weimar Republic—and its often distorted reverberations today. “Brechtian” has come to mean something very different from that which was originally envisioned and practiced, and this has important ramifications for reconstructing “authentic” performance practice of a wide repertory of music from the period.
WEBERN
Anne C. Shreffler (The University of Chicago), Chair

ANTON WEBERN'S STRING QUARTET
IN A MINOR, M. 121 (CA. 1907)
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Spokane Falls Community College

Webern's unpublished String Quartet in A minor (ca. 1907), M. 121, has survived in fair-copy performance parts for violin II and cello and in twenty-six pages of sketches. On the basis of these autograph sources (now at the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basle), I have recently reconstructed the violin I and viola parts and a score. Sketches are missing for about one-third of the violin I part and for about one-fourth of the viola part; for some other sections of the quartet, the surviving sketches leave Webern's intentions unclear. In reconstructing sections for which sketches are missing or unclear, I have relied on implications drawn from the immediate context or from analogous sections.

This intensely expressive composition contains extended sections in which tonality is suspended, and it exhibits great motivic concentration and a richly contrapuntal texture. With 269 measures, it is one of Webern's most extensive movements. Corrections and annotations written in pencil on the two surviving fair-copy parts suggest that the quartet was played under Webern's direction, although no record of a performance has been found.

This paper (1) describes the autograph sources and relates what they indicate about Webern's creative process; (2) discusses the procedures I employed in the reconstruction; (3) describes the style of the quartet; and (4) reveals features which suggest that this quartet was directly influenced by Schoenberg's Kammersymphonie, op. 9. Recorded excerpts from the quartet illustrate some points of the paper.

"ICH UND DU UND ALLE": HILDEGARD JONE, FERDINAND EBNER,
AND ANTON WEBERN'S DREI GESÄNGE, op. 23
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The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Despite the commonplace characterization of Webern as a lyric composer and of the centrality of texted works to all phases of his oeuvre, the significance of poetry to Webern's twelve-tone language—in particular of the verse of Hildegard Jone—has received little attention. Apart from the little known about Jone and the generally negative response to her work, this results from an analytical bias favoring musical issues of row structure, pitch, and form. Such analyses imply that the structural nature of the twelve-tone method yields a comparably structured musical language which is somehow incompatible with a poetic text. The present paper challenges this view, proposing instead that Webern's settings have direct links to the language and aesthetics of Jone's poems. These links are explored in an analysis of Webern's Drei Gesänge, op. 23.

The paper offers a fresh evaluation of Jone's poetic and aesthetic writings. Largely unpublished, these sources reveal that her thought is heavily informed by the philosophy of Ferdinand Ebner, notably his theology of language based on the dialogue relationship "Ich-Du" outlined in Das Wort und die geistigen Realitäten
Jone's appropriation of the dialogue model and her own peculiar amalgamation of biblical, cultural and literary references are considered in a discussion of the op. 23 texts.

The first in a series of Jone settings, the texts of op. 23 are drawn from her *Viae inviae*, an extended elegy commemorating Ebner's death. Webern's settings form, in fact, a type of dramatic solo cantata based on a central passage of Jone's text. Drawing on Webern's sketches, fair copies, and the published score, the analysis identifies various levels on which Jone's poetry and Webern's music interact and considers the ways in which these correspondences developed during the process of composition. The paper addresses the larger question of Webern's mediation between textual, musical, and specifically twelve-tone concerns and suggests the role Jone's poems may have played in Webern's choices.
BACH
Christoph Wolff (Harvard University), Chair

COMPOSITION AND IMPROVISATION IN THE SCHOOL OF J.S. BACH
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Considerable material survives to shed light on how Bach and his students conceptualized the crafts of composition and improvisation. This presentation seeks to identify and evaluate the relevant material, which includes writings by Bach's students and associates, analytical indications in students' copies of Bach works, and manuscript extracts from writings by F.E. Niedt. Works by Böhm and Reinken transmitted in the Bach circle, as well as a few of Sebastian's own early compositions (e.g. BWV 833), embody principles set forth in these writings, of which several later works (BWV 855a/855, 988) may have been intended as pedagogic exempla. Some pieces of uncertain status (BWV 738a, 907–8) might have served as exercises in improvisation; others may be products of studies in composition (BWV 691a, 1038, 1020 and 1031, Kast's Incerta 68). Several works ("cadenza" of BWV 1050, fugue of 902) may illustrate strategies employed in improvisatory playing, but others (in particular the ricercars of BWV 1079) probably represent ideal, not actual, improvisations.

The material is concerned chiefly with inventio through the composing out of a harmonic skeleton; tonal design sometimes appears to be an additional concern. While the inventions and other avowedly pedagogic contrapuntal works may have served as models for Bach's advanced composition students, most of the latter's surviving efforts (e.g., fugues by Kirnberger and C.P.E. Bach) are weak and retrospective in style. On the other hand, a few pieces (BWV 903/1, 923; H. 348) imply the existence of a free, proto-empfindsamer improvising tradition already during Bach's lifetime.

ON THE UNFINISHED STATE OF BACH’S MASS IN B MINOR
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Although the Art of the Fugue holds the place of honor as Bach's incomplete masterpiece, the B-minor Mass must also stand as unfinished, in its own way. For when Bach wrote for ensemble, he normally carried out his task in two stages. First, he fashioned a full score, which contained the musical text and, here and there, performance indications. Secondly, he supervised the production of performance parts, which brought further refinement through the inclusion of more explicit performing instructions, clarification of instrumentation, and, on occasion, substantial revision of the musical text.

The sole surviving source for the complete Mass—the autograph score P 180—suggests that Bach did not take the work beyond the first stage. Supporting sources can fill in the picture for certain sections of the Mass: the Dresden performance parts of 1733 for the Kyrie and Gloria and the Leipzig performance parts of 1724-ca.1748 for the Sanctus. It is no secret that Friedrich Smend gravely undervalued these sources in the Neue Bach-Ausgabe and that they must now be
given full consideration. But for other sections of the Mass, too, it is possible to “flesh out” the musical text, by drawing from the Leipzig parts for the extant parody models and, with caution, from the parts for C.P.E. Bach’s oft-mentioned but largely unscreened 1786 Hamburg performance of the Credo.

These supplementary materials show refinements that Bach undoubtedly would have made if he had lived to bring his “grosse catholische Messe” to performance. The findings help to clarify details of articulation, tempo, embellishment, and continuo practice. More importantly, they shed light on larger matters, such as the size of Bach’s forces, the use of *colla parte* instrumentation in the Symbolum Nicenum, and even the very purpose of the Mass itself.

QUANTZ AND THE SONATA IN E-FLAT MAJOR FOR FLUTE AND CEMBALO, BWV 1031

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Of all the chamber works attributed to J.S. Bach, the Sonata in E-flat major for transverse flute and obbligato cembalo, BWV 1031, presents one of the most perplexing enigmas. The style of the work has led a number of scholars to question its authenticity, and the piece has been excluded from the volume of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* containing Bach’s chamber works with flute. Robert Marshall, however, has supported the work’s authenticity, citing its two allegedly independent attributions to Sebastian Bach, and the work is catalogued among the works of unquestioned authenticity in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.*

The question of the work’s authorship is far from settled. In this paper, I demonstrate that BWV 1031 is closely modelled on a trio sonata in the same key by Johann Joachim Quantz (QV2:18 in Horst Aucksbach’s catalogue), composed in Dresden around 1730. The outer movements of BWV 1031 and QV2:18 are nearly identical in construction. This is especially striking in the two first movements, composed in the form of an Italian concerto, where it is evident that BWV 1031 relies upon QV2:18 for its formal structure on a quite detailed level, as well as for some of its thematic material.

The close relationship between BWV 1031 and QV2:18 suggests two possibilities: that Quantz composed both pieces or that Bach composed BWV 1031 using QV2:18 as a model. The two principal sources for BWV 1031 derive from a single Leipzig source. Since this lost manuscript clearly came from Bach’s household, it is not prudent to discount him altogether as the composer, despite the work’s anomalous style.

RESPONDENT: Robert L. Marshall, Brandeis University

SCHOENBERG’S THOUGHT

Robert P. Morgan (Yale University), Chair

SCHOENBERG’S CONCEPTS OF *KOMPOSITIONSLEHRE* (1904–1911) AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN TRADITION

Ulrich Krämer
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This paper attempts to reconstruct Schoenberg’s concepts of *Kompositionslehre* between 1904 and 1911 on the basis of the study materials and student compositions from the Berg estate in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Schoenberg’s later
textbooks, essays and book fragments as well as those documents that reflect the beginning of Berg’s own teaching will serve as a basis of reference. Upon his sudden move to Berlin in 1911, Schoenberg had recommended Berg as a teacher to several of his students, stating that Berg was teaching exactly according to his method. On these grounds an attempt will be made to place Schoenberg’s approach to composition in the context of the nineteenth-century German tradition. Schoenberg not only drew on S. Sechter, H. Bellermann and A.B. Marx, but also on minor figures such as L. Bussler and R. Stöhr.

In 1911 Schoenberg’s earlier concept of Kompositionslehre changed considerably. Whereas the five-year course of Berg’s studies was divided into three traditional disciplines, Schoenberg’s draft of Das Komponieren mit selbständigen Stimmen of 1911 shows an entirely different approach: the infusion of counterpoint with basic elements of Formenlehre as well as some aspects of harmony aims at an all-embracing Kompositionslehre under the primacy of the vertical arrangement of melodically conceived lines. This concept also influenced Berg, whose course in harmony and counterpoint began with the discussion of terms originally related to Formenlehre. Berg may have learned about Schoenberg’s new concept in 1910/1911 when Schoenberg was permitted to teach theoretical subjects at the Viennese academy.

THE SOURCES OF SCHOENBERG’S “AESTHETIC THEOLOGY”
John R. Covach
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In a 1984 essay, Carl Dahlhaus discusses Schoenberg’s ideas about what great art should do. Dahlhaus calls Schoenberg’s complex of sometimes contradictory ideas his “aesthetic theology.” While Dahlhaus traces a line of influence from Tieck through Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche to Schoenberg, his brief discussion remains more suggestive than illustrative. This paper will explore the sources of influence in Schoenberg’s thought. The principal elements in Schoenberg’s writings are developing variation and Grundgestalt and the way in which those structural features permit the expression of the musikalische Gedanke, a concept central to an understanding of Schoenberg’s thought and the focal point of this investigation.

There are three sources of influence: Goethe’s scientific writings (the Farbenlehre especially); Schopenhauer’s aesthetics of music; and Swedenborg’s theology. While each of these sources has been cited by other scholars, this paper will explore the interaction of these seemingly contrasting and even contradictory thought systems as they arise both in Schoenberg’s thought and in the intellectual milieu of fin-de-siècle Vienna generally. (Goethe’s scientific writings, for example, were mostly understood in terms of Rudolf Steiner’s interpretation of them.) The perspective gained by this unfolding of sources of influence provides the necessary context for understanding Schoenberg’s “aesthetic theology,” and the paper concludes by offering an interpretation of it grounded in this newly won context.

SCHOENBERG AND THE VIENNESE INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT, 1905–1910: ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR HIS CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERIOD OF “ATONALISM”
Lewis Wickes
Berlin

It is generally accepted that during the first decade of the present century Schoenberg oriented his thinking primarily along lines set by progressive intellectual circles in Vienna, in particular as reflected in the intellectual and cultural concerns of Karl Kraus’s Die Fackel. Whereas the influence of Kraus, Adolf Loos,
Otto Weininger and August Strindberg as also, later, of Henri Bergson has often been commented upon (although in most cases, never really clearly explained), the important influence of the Viennese physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach and to a lesser extent of the language theorist Fritz Mauthner has—until now—been virtually overlooked. Mach’s at the time highly influential theory of the sensations (in which the human psyche is reduced to being a medium for the mere registration of momentary sensory impressions) and Mauthner’s theory of language (in which the whole communicative structure of conventional forms of language are called decisively into question) are of immediate significance for Schoenberg’s thinking at the time of his abandonment of both tonality and conventional forms of structural and thematic coherence in music, in and after 1908.

The important interrelationship between Mach’s and Mauthner’s ideas and Schoenberg’s innovations will be discussed in detail. It will also be shown how Schoenberg came into contact with the ideas of Mach and Mauthner, and further his knowledge of their respective ideas will be placed in relation to the ideas of those other intellectual influences such as Kraus, Loos, Weininger and Strindberg. Finally, it will be indicated how the advent of the ideas of Bergson represents an initial but important change in Schoenberg’s thinking, pointing on to the intellectual and spiritual re-orientation to occur in the years after 1912.

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RENAISSANCE COMPOSITIONAL METHODS
Quentin W. Quereau (Case Western Reserve University), Chair

THE CONTRAPUNTISTS’ HAND
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Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The term “la mano de l’contrapuncto” was given by Johannes Franciscus de Preottonis (ca. 1465–1477) and its Latin equivalent “palmae contrapunctorum” appeared in De preceptis artis musice of Guilielmus Monachus (ca. 1480). The Contrapunctists’ Hand applies the “palm” of the Guidonian Hand to counterpoint, extending hexachordal solmisation to polyphony. The Contrapunctists’ Hand consists of seven contrapuntal “palms” or patterns of syllables within each hexachord. The “palms” identify consonances, control dissonances in florid counterpoint, and preserve the precepts of counterpoint as Ugolino of Orvieto noted. This method of teaching counterpoint dates from at least the late fourteenth century and flourished during the fifteenth century in sources centered around northern Italy.

In most sources the “palms” appear in relation to a tenor cantus firmus. That relation was called the grado or “degree” of counterpoint. The gradi occur at the allowable intervals formed between adjacent hexachords in the gamut. The integrity of individual hexachords is emphasized and mutations between the gradi illustrate counterpoints of wider ranges.

Sources for the Contrapunctists’ Hand date at least from the Berkeley theory manuscript of 1375 and continue in the writings of Ugolino of Orvieto (ca. 1430–1440), the ms. Flor Redi 71 (ante 1450), and in counterpoint tracts by John Hothby, Guilielmus Monachus, and Guillaume Guerson whose Utilissime musicales regule was the first and most widely circulated counterpoint manual printed in France (ca. 1500–1518).

Through solmisation, the Contrapunctists’ Hand enables even novices to create artful counterpoint swiftly and accurately, without training in music theory.
Mastering this method is crucial for appraising improvised polyphony and may help refine the teaching of modal counterpoint today.

FESTA'S GRADUS AD PARNASSUM
Richard J. Agee
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In 1538 Constanzo Festa, then a papal singer in Rome, petitioned the Venetian Senate for a printing privilege on his compositions, including his “basses [and] counterpoints.” According to Zacconi (1622), Festa had composed 120 pieces on a single cantus firmus, rumored to be of great value and beauty. The collection was presumed lost, but manuscript copies of compositions by the Roman composer Giovanni Maria Nanino may have preserved it. Festa certainly did not write the cantus firmus of Nanino’s 157 Counterpoints, as implied by the manuscript’s title, since by Festa’s time the cantus firmus, an old basse danse tune, was already more than a century old. Most had assumed that Nanino had merely modelled his 157 counterpoints on a similar, now lost, series of works by Festa.

An examination of Nanino’s 157 Counterpoints suggests that Festa may have written the first 125 compositions. Musical quotations and biographical references tend to place the composition of these pieces within Festa’s lifetime rather than in Nanino’s. The nearly symmetrical arrangement of the first 125 compositions by number of voices clearly separates this first and most substantial portion of the collection from the final three and five voice canons. The latter are the only pieces from the set that Nanino actually published under his own name. Stylistic features reinforce the notion that the first 125 counterpoints may well have been composed by Festa in the 1530s. Festa’s contrapuntal studies appear particularly significant in the context of the works of the later Roman School that served as the model for Fux’s classic counterpoint text, Gradus ad Parnassum.

BORROWING PROCEDURES
IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY IMITATION MASSES
AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS
FOR OUR VIEW OF “PARODY” OR IMITATIO
Veronica Mary Franke
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The present paper proposes that a new idiom concerning polyphonic derivation as a compositional method evolves in the latter half of the sixteenth century in the late imitation masses of Palestrina and his contemporaries. It has been overlooked because late sixteenth-century imitation masses have not been examined in sufficient detail, or analysis has not been directed toward looking for new procedures; and because too much emphasis has been placed upon contrapuntal imitation as a structural procedure. Changing attitudes toward textural organization in the late sixteenth century had a significant effect upon borrowing procedures.

Whereas earlier imitation masses manipulate motivic complexes derived from the model, later imitation masses refashion sonorities governed by the bass; their borrowing tends to be less tangible. The outer voices are borrowed more extensively, especially the lowest-sounding voice. Furthermore, composers explore permutations of the vertical intervallc structure of the model, becoming preoccupied with vocal orchestration, tonal contrasts and shadings of harmonic color in the course of borrowing. The interest in chord spacing and vertical dispositions, rather than individual lines and intricate motivic combinations, anticipates the polarization of the “melody and bass” in the Baroque.
The paper concludes that it is necessary to adopt a broad and flexible definition of the term "parody" and to regard structural imitatio as "elaboration upon a known polyphonic source." Three broad categories of Renaissance imitation mass emerge: (1) imitation masses with a cantus firmus; (2) imitation masses based on points of imitation; and (5) imitation masses emphasizing vertical structure, governed by a structural bass. Such classification provides further insight into the processes of polyphonic elaboration in Renaissance masses.

THE EXCEPTION PROVES THE RULE:
PONTIO'S THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL EXEGESIS OF "PARODY"
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Pietro Pontio's rules for writing a mass have served as a touchstone for many of our ideas about parody. This study re-examines Pontio's discussion, utilizing a previously ignored source: his own masses. The result is a new reading of his argument, suggesting a broadening of our understanding of borrowing techniques and pointing to critical distinctions of genre.

Pontio's masses reveal a composer conservative in both his choice of models and their realization. His approach is less rigorous than his contemporaries', and he seems, above all, to value modification and reworking of the borrowed subject. Further refinements are seen in specific masses, by far the most interesting and challenging being his incomplete Missa de Beata Virgine. In it Pontio goes outside of the tradition of the genre by borrowing only from the Kyrie of the plainsong mass. The surviving parts show him using this material just as he would the material from a polyphonic model, transforming it into short, malleable points of imitation, and distributing this material as he proposes in the Ragionamento. The result could be described as a Missa ad imitationem on Kyrie IX.

In his theoretical exegesis, just as in his practical one, we see that for Pontio, mass composition was more nearly of a piece, that the goal of "parody" was fundamentally more an act of composition than of borrowing, and that this approach can transcend traditional boundaries of genre. In this, parody emerges as less a technique to be employed than as an aspect of musical grammar.

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OPERA: AESTHETICS AND RECEPTION
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THE SPECTATOR AT THE OPERA:
JOSEPH ADDISON'S OBSERVATIONS ON MUSIC RE-EVALUATED
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St. Mary's College

This paper will detail Joseph Addison's attitudes toward opera, examine his libretto Rosamond, and explore the impact that his ideas had on continental writers. Addison's comments on opera were not, as some have suggested, those of an untutored amateur but those of a writer who had heard operas by Lully in Paris, Pollarolo in Venice, and perhaps even Keiser in Hamburg. Addison's first perceptive thoughts on opera appeared in 1705 in his Remarks Upon Several Parts of Italy. His operatic activities reached a peak in 1707, when Thomas Clayton set his libretto Fair Rosamond to music. Although the failure of Rosamond may partially explain the negative tone in his reviews of Italian operas such as Handel's Rinaldo (1711), this
should not obscure either Addison's genuine concern about the state of English theater music or the impact made by his critical essays.

Addison's influence on continental writers has been largely ignored in modern opera history. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, Johann Mattheson, Johann Scheibe, and Johann Christoph Gottsched all used Addison's ideas in their writings on opera. The mid-century reformer Francesco Algarotti cited Addison in his *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* and credited him with being one of the first important critics to demand operatic reform. Addison's emphasis on the importance of naturalness in opera, the need for libretti of high literary quality, and for national opera independent from Italian models helped to prepare the way for the operatic revolution of Gluck.

**PASTICCIO, ELABORATION, OR MODERNIZATION:**
**MOZART AND LALIN'S VERSIONS OF HANDEL'S ACIS AND GALATEA**
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The Wichita State University

Handel's serenata *Acis and Galatea* (1718) was exported to the continent as early as the 1730s. Revivals in France and Germany were treated like pasticcios, with indiscriminate additions of music and text. But two versions of *Acis*, a translation and "modernization" done in Stockholm in 1773 by Lars Lalin with music by Hinrich Johnsen and a reorchestration by Mozart of 1788, stand out among these pasticcios. Both retain a large portion of Handel's published score intact, while modernizing its instrumentation and revising the plot to bring the work into conformance with current taste.

The Swedish version came about as the result of a need to preserve Stockholm's interest in opera, following the successful premiere of the first Gustavian opera, Francesco Utini's *Thétis och Pelée* in January 1773. Impresario Lalin allowed Johnsen to reorchestrate Handel's score and to compose new music for the many ballet insertions and for the expansion of the original story by the addition of Corinna, a love interest for the staid narrator Damon. This turns the simple pastoral narration into a play of couples. Under Lalin's direction, *Acis* took on the look of a true large-scale spectacle.

Mozart's version was part of the Handelian revivals undertaken by the Tonkünstler-Sozietät in Vienna. The work was the first of four of Handel's choral works that were played in the series. Mozart updated the orchestra, adding winds and horns, while leaving the basic structure of the work alone. His refined sense of orchestral color, evidenced in the Attwood studies, can be seen in his modernization.

Both versions represent careful efforts to preserve Handel's intentions, while making *Acis* accessible to its audiences. The success of these efforts can be seen in the fact that Lalin's version was performed over fifty-five times up till 1798, and Mozart was rewarded with the commission to reorchestrate three other Handel works.

**ITALIAN OPERA SERIA AND NEOCLASSIC IDEALS**
**AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**
Ronald Shaheen
University of California, Los Angeles

The connection to Neoclassicism has been ignored in recent musicological assessments that criticize *opera seria* of the late eighteenth century for its failure to embrace Romantic tenets. Such assessments characterize the genre as stagnant,
regressive, and laden with empty conventions. Italian writers of that period, however, consciously rejected Romanticism and whole-heartedly defended the idealism that characterized Italian aesthetic thinking throughout the secondo Settecento.

In a number of treatises published in Venice during the early 1790s, Alessandro Pepoli, Andrea Rubbi, and other Italian men of letters expressed the concern that *opera seria* was not achieving the marvelous affective power attributed to the drama and music of the ancient Greeks. They viewed serious opera as the modern version of Greek tragedy and projected upon it the lofty ancient goal of enlightening the populace. Basing their arguments on Greek dramatic and aesthetic principles, and the contemporary interpretation of those principles, these late eighteenth-century writers declare: *opera seria* to be the “greatest of all art forms” and justified its “conventional” features. In the face of nascent Romanticism, they upheld *opera seria* as the stronghold for Neoclassic ideals.

AUDIENCE AND AUTHENTICITY:
TOPLICITY IN SOME EARLY PRODUCTIONS OF *COSÌ FAN TUTTE*
Bruce Alan Brown
University of Southern California

Critics of Peter Sellars's productions of the Da Ponte/Mozart trilogy have focused on their jarringly modern settings and on the other layers of meaning, with resonance for a specific contemporary audience, that Sellars superimposed on these works. He is accused of ignoring or contradicting the authors' intentions, the assumptions being that these are valid irrespective of historical era and that audiences once enjoyed Mozart's operas unfiltered by directorial tampering.

Concentrating on *Così fan tutte* (and excluding wholesale retextings), I will attempt to describe a shift away from original production values toward a theatrical "afterlife" (to use Jonathan Miller's term). Early scores, libretti (including translations distributed for Italian-language performances), pamphlets, and other writings will be examined in order to determine the Viennese audiences' competence in grasping topical references, and the ways in which subsequent productions preserved, discarded or replaced these. Particular attention will be given to the quotations and proverbs uttered by Alfonso and Despina—and to the musical, even typographical, means by which Mozart and Da Ponte encouraged their audience to recognize them as such. It will be seen that the process of adaptation to changing (or local) audiences' competence and concerns began almost immediately after the opera's premiere and that literary allusions were preserved mostly in court settings, where many spectators had received a broad humanistic education.

The implications of this study for modern performances are ambiguous. Non-traditionalists may find comfort in such transformations as "Turchi" and "Valacchi" into "Husaren" and "Sans-culots." Purists may find lessons in the original Viennese libretto on ways to guide the listener toward a historically aware enjoyment of *Così* in all its complexity.
PROFESSIONAL, AMATEUR, PATRON: ISSUES OF GENDER AND CLASS  
Ralph P. Locke (Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester), Chair

THE PROFESSIONAL WOMAN MUSICIAN IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE: PROBLEMS OF CLASS AND GENDER  
Nancy B. Reich  
Bard College

Recent discussions of musical and societal restrictions on women have neglected the question of class, a factor that plays a large part in the history of women musicians. This paper will address the intersection of gender and class in the nineteenth century, a period in which the congruence of the French Revolution, the economic and technological changes brought by industrialization and capitalism, the growth of a prosperous middle class, and the ideologies of the Romantic movement created additional problems, strains, and conflicts for professional women musicians.

Sharp distinctions developed between the professional musician who worked in order to earn money and the equally accomplished non-professional musicians of the upper classes who did not perform or compose for fees. There was some cross-over between the groups: those professionals who joined the non-professional ranks after marriage, however, found they gained social status and respectability but relinquished independence and earning power.

Based on a study of forty musicians, the paper will focus on several points: the impact of the newly established music conservatories on the woman musician; the ways in which working professionals solved the conflicts between career and family responsibilities; and the forms taken by upper-class, non-professional women musicians to utilize their training and develop their talents.

A STYLE OF HER OWN: REFLECTIONS ON THE PATRONAGE OF ELIZABETH SPRAGUE COOLIDGE  
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The Catholic University of America

Although patronage in one form or another has existed throughout history, from antiquity to the present, the function of individual, aristocratic patronage within a democratic society raises important and timely questions. Of the various solutions demonstrated in this century, perhaps none is so innovative as that of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. This paper will examine the unique quality and diversity of Mrs. Coolidge's patronage within the context of general trends in charitable giving and will identify the specific characteristics that mark the development of her singular style. The study will explore the hitherto unknown small beneficences by which she learned the art of philanthropy, as well as her ingenious solution of the problems attending her major gift to the Library of Congress. The establishment of the Coolidge Foundation at the Library so challenged the federal government—which lacked the legal mechanism to accept the gift—that it required an act of Congress to effect the endowment.

On the basis of hitherto unstudied archival sources from here and abroad, the study will offer evidence that during her lifetime Mrs. Coolidge literally trained others in the art of philanthropic giving. The findings of the research strongly suggest that in the present era, when the arts must depend more and more upon private support, the example of Mrs. Coolidge continues to remain timely.
SOPHIE DRINKER AS MUSICAL ACTIVIST
Ruth A. Solie
Smith College

Although her social background and financial status might have suggested the conventional form of patronage for the musical amateur Sophie Drinker, her career took a different direction. She and her husband Henry, who shared her devotion to music, developed a philosophy and practice of amateur music-making in which they used their own resources to create opportunities for large numbers of people to sing and play together. Their activities were based on a shared belief in the psychological and spiritual benefits of music when used as a “normal activity” by ordinary people.

From this conviction and practice, however, Sophie Drinker went on to develop a curiosity about the absence of women from the history of Western music; nearly twenty years' research on that subject culminated in her book Music and Women. Her work on this project and others prompted Drinker to challenge the very foundations of monotheistic religion and patriarchal culture as damaging to women's artistic and spiritual well-being.

This paper—based upon research in archival collections, an unpublished family memoir which she wrote shortly before her death, and interviews with family members—explores the social and political implications of the Drinkers' musical "philosophy," embedded as it was in assumptions about class privilege and about the improving quality of high art. It also probes the rather mysterious emergence of Sophie Drinker's feminist commitment as a typical (although slightly out-of-date) manifestation of American cultural feminism.

WOMEN PATRONS AND PROMOTORS
OF NEW YORK’S MUSIC IN THE 1920s
Carol J. Oja
Brooklyn College and The Graduate School, City University of New York

The achievements of musical modernists in New York during the 1920s are well known. Facing an indifferent and often hostile musical establishment, composers such as Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Edgard Varèse defied existing traditions, composing works of unprecedented audacity and disseminating them through their own performance societies and publishing enterprises. They took matters into their own hands, so historians have concluded, independently devising a new musical environment.

This general view, while true in some respects, has failed to acknowledge a crucial component: the role of women in subsidizing and promoting composers. Viewing modernists of the twenties as independent adventurers has contributed to a cherished American mythology of pioneers, inventors, and solitary iconoclasts. Yet it has obscured the complexities of the new-music scene. Rather than working in isolation, composers took part in an intricate community where patrons such as Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Alma Morgenthau Wertheim, and Blanche Walton and promoters such as Claire Reis contributed the cash and energy for building essential support structures. By examining the activities of these women we gain important new perspectives on this critical period in American music. Social feminism and volunteerism emerge as major forces, and a striking paradox is revealed: that the newest, tradition-defying music was made possible through the money of some of America's oldest, most established families. Drawing upon unpublished correspondence, interviews, and autobiographical accounts, this paper reconstructs the contributions of these women and evaluates their significance.
MUSICO-THEORETIC CONCEPTS
Nancy K. Baker (Barrington, Rhode Island), Chair

THE CONCEPT OF AUSWEICHUNG IN MUSIC THEORY, CA. 1770−1830
Janna K. Saslaw
Columbia University

A survey of several late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German-speaking writers, including Heinrich Christoph Koch, Johann Kirnberger, Johann Sulzer, Georg Vogler, and Gottfried Weber, shows that Ausweichung (literally “digression”) is generally defined as the transition from one key to another. Careful examination, however, indicates that Ausweichung is not identical to the present-day term “modulation.” These authors have a diatonic conception of tonality. That is, a specific and limited set of pitches comprises a key. Because of this conception, even the introduction of a single chromatic pitch into a passage can produce, in their terms, a change of key. In particular, these writers do not have a sense of the present-day notion of “tonicization,” i.e., the use of secondary dominants. Thus it appears that key changes occur quite rapidly and often in their examples and analyses. In fact, Ausweichung has a broad range of meanings, only one of which approximates present-day modulation. Weber, for one, is very explicit about stating that some Ausweichungen do not disturb the sense of the previous key, to which the ear easily returns.

Weber is not the only one of the authors listed above to outline the role of the “ear” (standing for the mind’s capacity for comprehending music) in Ausweichung. Sulzer’s and Kirnberger’s writings also contain fascinating descriptions of how the ear is “attuned” to a key and how a re-attunement to a new key may be achieved.

THROUGH-COMPOSED LIEDER:
NINETEENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARIES ON A FORMAL DILEMMA
Harrison Ryker
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Late nineteenth-century descriptions of musical form are far less clear for homophonic vocal forms than they are for instrumental music. The “through-composed” category is especially problematic. Views of the through-composed Lied have not always been ambiguous. The widely circulated Formen in den Werken der Tonkunst (1885) by Leipzig theorist Salomon Jadassohn, one of Riemann’s teachers, describes it in terms of both poetic and thematic design. One “composes through” the poem in question: the music is to follow the changing sentiments of the poem, but with reappearances of the main melody as often as possible. Key relationships are to be observed carefully. Jadassohn’s description is flexible but precise; it sets the through-composed Lied within a framework of ritornello and rondo forms. The foundations of Jadassohn’s views may be seen in the work of two important precursors, A.B. Marx and Carl Czerny.

Marx (1845) shares with Jadassohn the principle of returning frequently to one main tune and also the reliance on one main key. Czerny’s addenda (1832) to Reicha’s composition treatise, however, name three distinct types: Lied, Aria and Ballade, only the latter being “through-composed.”

This study shows the existence of a continuing thread in viewpoints concerning the through-composed Lied in the fifty years up to 1885. These views were familiar
to composers and theorists both in and beyond Germany and reflect evolutionary changes in compositional style and technique during these years.

RESPONDENT: Marjorie Wing Hirsch, Silver Springs, Maryland

ANTON REICHA'S ACCOUNTS OF THE GRANDE COUPE BINAIRE
IN LIGHT OF NEOCLASSICAL DRAMATIC THEORY

Peter A. Hoyt
University of Pennsylvania

Anton Reicha's discussions of the grande coupe binaire have figured prominently in twentieth-century histories of the codifications of sonata form, being cited as a "significant missing link" between the writings of Heinrich Christoph Koch and the accounts of Czerny and Marx. Particular importance has been attached to a diagram, found in the 1826 volume of the Traité de haute composition musicale, that suggests thematic and tonal patterns corresponding to modern concepts of sonata form.

In view of this seeming correspondence, it is striking that many of the musical examples with which Reicha illustrates the grande coupe binaire are difficult—if not impossible—to reconcile with twentieth-century stereotypes of the sonata's tonal architecture. For example, both the Traité de haute composition musicale and the Traité de mélodie (1814, revised 1832) cite examples in which the exposition is followed by an immediate and extended return to the tonic key, often in combination with the primary thematic material.

Such musical examples indicate that Reicha's accounts, despite their seemingly logical position in the history of sonata form, have been substantially misunderstood. An examination of neoclassical dramatic theory, from which Reicha drew several important terms, reveals that labels such as exposition, développement, and dénouement held meanings different from those now commonly presumed. Développement and dénouement, for example, did not necessarily denote opposing processes; Czerny, in translating Reicha's texts, could apply the term Entwicklung to both sections. Reicha's accounts, especially when read in the light of contemporaneous dramatic criticism, provide insights into many of the "problematic" sonata forms of the nineteenth century.

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LITURGICAL MONOPHONY

John Boe (University of Arizona), Chair

ADÉMAR DE CHABANNES'S LITURGY
FOR THE FEAST OF ST. MARTIAL: A STUDY
IN EARLY ELEVENTH-CENTURY COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUE

James Grier
Yale University

In Limoges on 3 August 1029, Saint Martial, its first bishop, was commemorated with a new liturgy celebrating his recently acclaimed status as an apostle. The music for the newly compiled Mass and Office survives in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds latin ms. 909 (hereafter Pa), one of the celebrated tropers from Saint Martial, written in the hand of Adémar de Chabannes, a well-known literary figure from early eleventh-century Aquitaine. A good deal of Adémar's literary output contributes to the polemic surrounding the apostolicity of the Saint, and for many of the
pieces in the new, apostolic liturgy, Pa 909 is either the only or the earliest surviving source. Hence it is not unreasonable to deduce that they are newly composed by Adémar himself. These new melodies, then, furnish a unique opportunity to study a firmly dated sample of the compositional techniques used by a typical composer of the early eleventh century.

Among the new compositions are several Office antiphons and one responsory. By comparing them with other examples that are demonstrably earlier and share both modal assignment (which Adémar specifies in Pa 909) and genre, I was able to isolate matrices of formulae, specific to both mode and genre, that form the material from which these pieces were composed. At the same time each melody retains distinctive features. I shall discuss the admixture of formula and unique melodic gesture in an attempt to characterize Adémar’s compositional style and to place it in the context of contemporary musical practices.

THE GREAT ENTRANCE OF THE BISHOP:
THE LITURGICAL FUNCTION OF INTROIT TROPES AT CHARTRES
Margot Fassler
Brandeis University

Since Léon Gautier’s pioneering work in the late nineteenth century, proper tropes have commonly been thought of as a repertory created by and for monks. This paper concentrates instead upon the trope repertory of a cathedral—the cathedral of Chartres—and places the works in a different context.

Surviving sources from Chartres are unique for a northern French cathedral from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: there is not only a full complement of proper tropes (found in Provins, B.M. 12), but also an ordinal from the early twelfth century, as well as a twelfth-century pontifical. In addition, the vast lower church (begun by Bishop Fulbert in the 1020s) remains today, as do significant parts of the twelfth-century westwork.

Through study of these sources (and with reference to the architecture of the early church), it is demonstrated here that the tropes of Chartres were used exclusively on those occasions when the bishop celebrated the main Mass of the day. The introit trope repertory serves to define the personal and spiritual power of the bishop as head of the diocese. The texts and music of the tropes advance the idea of the bishop’s Mass as a celebration modelled on the pope’s Mass in Rome, and contain in some of their features reference to later Ottonian ideals of liturgical splendor.

Musical examples are based upon a forthcoming edition of the Chartrrian trope repertory as found in the Provins manuscript.

THE MELODIC GRAMMAR OF AQUITANIAN INTROIT TROPES
Hilde M. Binford-Walsh
Stanford University

This paper employs a descriptive grammar, based on diastematically notated Aquitanian introit tropes. Using musico-textual, probabilistic, and statistical analysis, this grammar describes the melodic style of the tropes.

My goals are: (1) to establish that the melodic style of the Aquitanian repertory is stable and unified, so that generalizations from the statistics can be made that reflect the entire repertory; (2) to provide an analysis of the melodic style of tropes, in comparison with their companions, the introits; (3) to illustrate that this melodic style is shared by at least one other Aquitanian chant repertory, suggesting that the melodic style is defined by geographic/temporal boundaries, and less by genre-
related boundaries; finally, (4) to explore the possibility of using the statistics generated by this study to reconstruct an introit trope from the neume shapes alone, without regard to heighting.

With chi-squared analysis, which measures variance, I establish that the repertoire of Aquitanian introit tropes is stable and consistent in terms of its melodic style. I propose that these melodies were composed within a tight framework of possibilities and that these parameters can be both defined and differentiated from other chant styles. The analysis can identify the features which contribute to the different ways the introits and tropes function. Finally, a reconstruction process exhibits that these statistics have captured the essence of the melodies and suggests a new path for reconstructing adiastematic notation.

RESPONDENT: Andrew Hughes, University of Toronto

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LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INSTITUTIONS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Rachel Wade (University of Maryland, College Park), Chair

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CLASSICAL MASS IN DRESDEN

Laurie J. Hasselmann
Yale University

This paper will draw upon manuscripts in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in order to describe the performance of masses in the Dresden cathedral near the end of the eighteenth century. Many sets of original performance parts indicate an instrumental Kapelle of more than fifty members, including a large continuo group of up to four bassoons, four 'cellos, four double basses, and organ. These numbers are corroborated by personnel lists among the court documents. The paper will compare composers' markings in the scores with parallel spots in the performance parts, showing the composers' meticulous care in orchestral scoring. Far from routine doubling, the instruments of the Dresden orchestra merged in subtle and constantly changing combinations. Dresden further boasted one of the earliest traditions of non-playing conductors. The various Kapellmeister evidently conducted their own works in the church from the 1760s, often holding a roll of paper as a baton: court contracts refer repeatedly to the weekly conducting duties of the Kapellmeister, and eyewitness accounts provide more details. Finally, the paper will assess the choir that sang in the cathedral. Although no complete rosters survive, lists of paid singers and surviving performance parts combine to illustrate with some degree of precision the composition of the choir. From mid century to 1800, for example, the cathedral choir remained steady in numbers but exchanged its high-paid Italian celebrities for more cost-efficient German singers.

C.P.E. BACH'S SYSTEM OF PATRONAGE IN HAMBURG

Stephen L. Clark
Skidmore College

C.P.E. Bach's move from Berlin to Hamburg in 1768 signalled a significant change in the way he made a living as a composer. In Berlin, his income had been determined by the whim of his royal patron, Frederick the Great. In Hamburg, he received a regular salary from his job as music director of the five main churches,
which he supplemented with steady sales of printed editions of his works. He marketed these editions aggressively, in effect creating a system of patronage for himself.

This paper explores Bach’s activity as a promoter of his own music during the last twenty years of his life. His letters, especially those to his publisher Breitkopf in Leipzig, provide a revealing record of the careful way Bach went about designing, advertising, and selling his editions. He was concerned with the contents and appearance of the prints and, perhaps more importantly, with the timing of their release. He even stopped the presses on one occasion because he thought he might lose money on an edition of an oratorio. The letters are complemented by notices in the Hamburg press, the *Hamburgische unparteiische Correspondent* in particular, which is full of reviews of the music (often written by Bach himself) and announcements of forthcoming publications. Subscription lists, usually attached to the editions, show that the largest demand for Bach’s music came from northern parts of Europe, although he did try to open other markets, especially Vienna. Bach’s success in selling his music can be attributed to his own industriousness, to an economic climate in Hamburg that supported his entrepreneurial spirit, and to a growing middle-class market for printed music towards the end of the eighteenth century.

“PRODIGIES OF NATURE”:
MOZART AND THE “MUSICAL CHILDREN” OF LONDON
Alyson McLamore
California Polytechnic State University

In any discussion of juvenile musical prodigies, Mozart is invariably cited as the exemplar of the species, yet Mozart and his sister Nannerl were by no means the first children to appear in front of London concert audiences. The daily papers advertised a steady stream of “Musical Phenomena,” which catered to a growing concert public avid for novelty and diversion. The calibre of these youthful performers seems to have been fairly impressive, for Mozart’s appearances excited little more than the typical reaction.

This paper explores the significant role of the child prodigy in the London musical world during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The young musicians came from widely diverse backgrounds and social classes and appeared in a variety of circumstances. Children could be found performing in taverns and in the leading concert halls. They appeared between the acts of operas and oratorios. Some were even featured in their own concert series; a notable example was an eight-year series organized by the Wesleys. The prodigies composed and published music as well. Moreover, this milieu was one of the few in which success could be achieved by either sex. Some of the children—both male and female—continued to be active as musicians all through their adult lives (for example William Crotch and Elizabeth Weichsell Billington), while others vanished from view after one or two performances. Mozart’s shadow, however, has long obscured these many other youthful participants in London’s burgeoning public concert life.
THE SECONDA PRATICA
Susan McClary (University of Minnesota), Chair

COMING TO TERMS WITH MONTEVERDI'S GENERA
Barbara Russano Hanning
City College and The Graduate School, City University of New York

In the preface to his Eighth Book of Madrigals (*Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi*, 1638), Monteverdi articulated his interest in music's ability to imitate the emotions in three broad categories of human expression: soft or tender (*molle*), restrained or temperate (*temperato*), and agitated or excited (*concitato*). Monteverdi suggests that these three characteristic musical genera are suitable for imitating, respectively, the affections of humility or supplication, moderation or calm, and anger or agitation. He proceeds to spell out his "rediscovery" of the *concitato* genre and his creation of a musical equivalent for it, which was subsequently widely praised and imitated. On the other hand, Monteverdi does not elaborate at all on his descriptions of the other two *genera* (*molle* and *temperato*) and these, unlike the *stile concitato*, have received no attention in recent Monteverdi literature.

This paper traces the sources of Monteverdi's threefold stylistic classification to the sylustalic, hysychastic, and diastallic musical styles of antiquity transmitted by Cleonides and others, and to the affections theories espoused by Girolamo Mei and Torquato Tasso, among Monteverdi's contemporaries. It also identifies the relationship between Monteverdi's three *genera* and their corresponding musical projections in some of the madrigals of Book VIII. In so doing, it clarifies Monteverdi's own role in pioneering the essentially mimetic qualities of Baroque style.

THE PLATONIC AGENDA OF MONTEVERDI'S SECONDA PRATICA:
A CASE STUDY FROM THE EIGHTH BOOK OF MADRIGALS
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The madrigal "Or che 'l cielo," like others in Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals (1638), is often regarded as a puzzlingly fragmented work. A detailed analysis, however, shows that it is carefully constructed according to structural principles which had been established by Monteverdi decades before. The madrigal was conceived also to demonstrate the musical strategies recommended by Plato in *Republic* 398–400 for purifying the ideal State; these strategies are achieved through means that had been suggested sixty years earlier by Giovanni Bardi (and later by others) on the basis of Girolamo Mei's studies of ancient music. Among a number of specific correspondences with Plato's prescriptions, the composition does not merely contrast "warlike" pyrrhic and "supplicatory" spondaic rhythms, but it also represents a clear demonstration of the ancient Greek Dorian and Phrygian *harmoniai* called for by Plato, as they were understood in the early seventeenth century. Since the composition is, moreover, one of Monteverdi's maturest, it is particularly well suited to illuminate the potential, as well as the limitations, of the humanistic desire to revive ancient musical practice, and to balance our knowledge of humanist theory with its exemplification in practice.

The paper explores the ways in which Monteverdi reconciles the "classicizing" techniques mentioned above with his own earlier style, and in particular the techniques through which the *harmoniai* are assimilated to late Renaissance tonal
types, within the framework of contrasting affections which he praised as the ideal of music. The madrigal thus supplies an opportunity to reassess Monteverdi’s conception of the seconda pratica as a whole. By the 1630s at least, he may have thought the dissonance technique, usually singled out as its essential component, as less important than the esoteric, Platonic—and thus politically emblematic—techniques designed to flatter his noble patron.

GENDERING MODERN MUSIC:
THOUGHTS ON THE MONTEVERDI-ARTUSI CONTROVERSY
Suzanne G. Cusick
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In her classic essay “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” Joan Scott argues that gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. This paper is an effort to apply Scott’s notion of gender as a signifier of power to the history of musical style, by examining the presence of gender in one of the most celebrated moments of contestation over style, the Monteverdi-Artusi controversy. I will examine (1) the literal and metaphorical representations of sexuality and gender with which the theoretical arguments on both sides were made; (2) the representations of gender, sexuality, and power which constitute the oratione Monteverdi asserted had governed the two most discussed works, his “Cruda Amarilli” and “O Mirtillo;” and (3) the resulting representations of resistance to patriarchal authority in the armonia of both works.

I will conclude that focus on these two works by both parties to the controversy irresistibly sexualizes “modern music” and feminizes its sonorous traits by associating them with images of the body rather than the anima; and that the Monteverdi brothers’ defense of the seconda pratica is a rhetorical effort to legitimate it as an alternative patriarchy (by providing it with forefathers who ruled a domestic hierarchy of padrona and serva) in which l’armonia takes the role of a sexually submissive ancella. Furthermore these gender messages became inextricable from the style they were used to defend, making of “modern music” both a field for contestation over the control of pleasure and a part of the larger system of meaning which reinforced contemporary gender codes.

TRANPOSITION AS A METHOD OF TONAL ORGANIZATION
IN THE MUSIC OF GIACOMO CARISSIMI
Beverly Stein
Brandeis University

One of the most striking features of Carissimi’s music is his frequent and consistent use of phrase transpositions. Much has been written about the rhetorical functions of these “repetition figures”: Günther Massenkeil, for example, describes them as having primarily an emphatic function and links Carissimi’s practice with the emphasis on rhetoric that permeated the period as a whole. Yet despite the fact that most transpositions occur at the levels of the fourth and fifth, no one to date has attempted to examine the obvious tonal implications.

This paper investigates the central role that transposition plays in Carissimi’s tonal and formal organization. Two important concepts carried over from traditional theory govern the tonal structure of Carissimi’s music: mode and hexachord. The first part of the paper introduces two complementary theories about mode and hexachord (originally developed by Carl Dahlhaus, Eric Chafe, and Susan McClary for the music of Monteverdi) which shed light on the question of transposition. The
second part uses examples from the cantata “E che vi resta più” to show clearly how transposition functions as an essential means of delineating both mode and hexachord.

Despite the persistence of traditional concepts such as mode and hexachord, however, Carissimi’s music contains the seeds of the new late seventeenth-century tonality. The frequent transpositions create a dual-level tonality comprising two related pairs of fifths: a stable, mode-defining area versus an unstable, opposing one. Thus in the conflict between the two large tonal regions (what we might consider the dominant versus the subdominant region or the sharp versus the flat side of the hexachord), we see the first polarization of opposing tonal areas which eventually developed into the system of major-minor tonality.

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MUSIC AND IDEOLOGIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
Rose Rosengard Subotnik (Brown University), Chair

MAGAZINE MUSIC
OF THE JUGENDSTIL AND EXPRESSIONIST MOVEMENTS
Bonny H. Miller
Miami-Dade Community College

Music by composers as diverse as Hugo Wolf, Arnold Schoenberg, Otto Klemperer, and Miroslav Ponc is a little-known component of more than a dozen German-language literary and art periodicals from 1890 to 1930, essential documents of the Jugendstil and Expressionist movements in Europe.

Inclusion of music in household periodicals had been commonplace in Germany and Austria since the time of Goethe, but the idea of a periodical as a Gesamtkunstwerk of literature, music, and design was borrowed from the Arts and Crafts movement in England. Jugendstil literary periodicals such as Pan and Blätter für die Kunst offered music by men such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Conrad Ansorge, and Richard Strauss. The journal of the Vienna Sezession, Ver Sacrum, devoted an entire issue in 1901 to the aesthetic layout of eleven songs, including works by Josef Reiter, Hugo Wolf, Max von Schillings, and Ludwig Thuille. If a Jugendstil music can be said to have existed, surely the compositions published from 1890 to 1910 in these journals demonstrate its style and its representative composers.

Expressionist periodicals also aimed at a synthesis of prose, design, and illustration. Art Nouveau curves were replaced by angular woodcuts; the music reflected the revolutionary trends of atonality and quarter-tone experiments. By 1912, journals such as Der Sturm, Der Ruf, and Der Blaue Reiter had included music by Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern. During the next two decades, conductors, music teachers, artists, film composers, politicians, and actors all contributed music. The “magazine music” tradition serves as a unique mirror of the turbulent changes in musical style in Austria and Germany during a critical era, before political turmoil spelled the end for these vanguard journals.

STRAVINSKY’S MUSIC IN HITLER’S GERMANY
Joan Evans
Toronto

This paper examines the fate of Stravinsky’s music in Germany between January 1933 and the outbreak of World War II. Based largely on the unpublished three-way correspondence of the composer, his German publisher Willy Strecker,
and the conductor Hans Rosbaud, it describes the efforts made to arrange performances of Stravinsky's music, as well as to secure performing engagements for the composer.

Igor Stravinsky, as a modernist, a foreigner, and, according to persistent rumor, a Jew, was at first viewed with intense suspicion by the Nazi regime. For several years he was offered no performing engagements whatever and very little of his music was played. But the determined lobbying and careful maneuvering of Strecker and Rosbaud succeeded in breaking the unofficial boycott and in obtaining for Stravinsky's music a grudging acceptance, which was maintained until the outbreak of war. These efforts were strongly encouraged by Stravinsky himself, whose Baden-Baden appearance in 1936 was a crucial factor in his German "rehabilitation."

But opposition remained. Despite official acceptance, local authorities were occasionally reluctant to issue the necessary permission for a performance. Opposition was most obvious in the inclusion of Stravinsky's music in the now infamous Entartete Musik exhibition of 1938. The efforts of Strecker and Rosbaud ended abruptly in September 1939 when all scheduled performances of Stravinsky's music were cancelled; the official Verbot was issued 1 February 1940.

SCHOLARSHIP OR PROPAGANDA?
GERMAN HISTORICAL MUSICOLOGY AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR
Pamela M. Potter
Stanford University

In preparing his country for the annexations and invasions that would precipitate the Second World War, Adolf Hitler received much unsolicited cooperation from scholars and journalists who used their expertise to justify the idea of Lebensraum on grounds of cultural affinity. Investigations into the cultural histories of annexed and occupied territories could allegedly yield evidence of deeply-rooted Germanic characteristics that had long been disguised as indigenous culture. Musicologists contributed generously to this effort, and a survey of musicological literature from 1938 to 1945 shows a striking correspondence between developments in Hitler's foreign policy and increased output of studies on the history of German music in those areas.

In 1938, during the Sudeten campaign and the Anschluss, the new interest in Sudeten German music and Austria's contribution to German music history inspired studies from a number of noted scholars. After the outbreak of the war, the musicological literature reflected the new military developments in two ways: (1) it traced the influence of Germany upon the musical culture of surrounding countries at the time of their occupation by German troops (Poland, Danzig, Bohemia-Moravia, Belgium, Holland, and Norway); and (2) it stressed the cultural cooperation between Germany and the other members of the Axis (Italy and Japan) and demonstrated the inferiority of the musical cultures of Germany's enemies (England, United States, Soviet Union).

"DR. LIVINGSTONE, I PRESUME":
THE MEETING OF EUROPE AND AFRICA
IN THE MUSIC OF KEVIN VOLANS
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Kevin Volans (b. 1949) is a white South African composer. In the early 1970s he left South Africa to study in Germany with Karlheinz Stockhausen and has since remained in Europe. On several trips home in the mid 1970s he discovered
traditional African music, music to which he had never paid much attention before. This confrontation of the European-trained composer with an indigenous music outside that tradition proved to be the most powerful stimulus on his work. Volans now incorporates traditional African musics in his own music, and does so in such a way that it is clear that he is making an overt political statement: Volans wants to reconcile blacks and whites, just as their musics are reconciled in his pieces.

In this paper I examine Volans's background, the formation of his musical views, and the changes in his compositional aesthetic wrought by his move from South Africa to Europe. His second string quartet, Hunting: Gathering (1987), provides a good overview of his style, and helps raise the political and aesthetic issues central to his recent work. Volans's desire to create a music by and for all Africans has resulted in an avoidance of the older European models of cross-cultural musical borrowing, in which colonialism is often re-enacted, the borrowed music subordinated to the western European music. In his conscious undermining of the colonial metanarrative, as well as the pervasiveness of other musics and the resulting presentation of different points of view, Volans's music can also be seen as postmodern.

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ROMANTIC OPERA
Hugh Macdonald (Washington University), Chair

UNDINE (1814) AND DER FREISCHÜTZ (1821),
HIGH ROMANTICISM AND BIEDERMEIER:
A REAPPRAISAL OF EARLY GERMAN ROMANTIC OPERA
Mark Doerner
California State University, Fullerton

German Romanticism originated primarily as a literary and philosophical movement; opera was a genre which held relatively little interest for the Romantics, both in the arenas of creative production and theoretical discourse. Therefore, to view so-called German Romantic opera diachronically without reference to the concentrated center of high Romantic thought and production, as has generally been done in the past, inevitably gives rise to misconceptions about its historical position and meaning. Foremost among these misconceptions is that Der Freischütz (1821) represents the epitome of early German Romantic opera, with Hoffmann's and Fouqué's Undine (1814) a distant second. This belief is based on the assumption that opera somehow lagged behind high Romanticism in literature (which began to dissipate around 1815) and that Freischütz is therefore as essentially Romantic as the works of Novalis, Tieck, Hoffman, and the Schlegel brothers: it just occurred at a later time and in a different medium. This paper proposes an alternative to that view in showing that Der Freischütz is closely allied to a later, diffuse phase of Romanticism known as Biedermeier, whereas Undine, though not as dramatically powerful as Freischütz, actually embodies the ideals of Romanticism in its most concentrated and potent form.

SAINT-SAËNS AND DELILAH AND US:
REFLECTIONS ON ORIENTALISM IN OPERA
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Many operas represent some corner of what was loosely called the "Orient." This representation may be signalled by occasional allusions to musical practices of the
region. I would like to posit a more comprehensive approach to these operas, treating them as works influenced by a view of the non-Western world known in the fields of political science, literary criticism, and art history as “Orientalism.” I take as a point of departure recent writings on Orientalism, notably the basic and much-debated thought of Edward Said.

The present paper focuses on Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*, ignoring largely its obviously exotic ballets in order to explore more central aspects: the contrasting religions of the Hebrews and the Philistines, the ambiguous portrayal of Delilah, and the opera’s attribution of such traits as racism, violence, and cowardice to the various male Philistines. What, in short, are the attitudes toward Delilah and her people that Saint-Saëns evokes from “us,” and how does he evoke them? To what extent do the Hebrews, in contrast, stand for the West, for “us”?

After briefly drawing some parallels to other relevant operas (e.g., *Entführung, L’Africaine, Aida, Butterfly*), I will close with some reflections that go beyond the conceptual models proposed by Said. To what extent was the Eastern setting a transparent fiction, permitting treatment of issues (such as female carnality) that tended to be repressed in the quasi-official high culture of the day? The answer may affect our view of productions employing updated settings.

BELASCO AND PUCCINI: “OLD DOG TRAY” AND THE ZUNI INDIANS

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Shortly after the curtain goes up on Act I of *La fanciulla del West*, the minstrel Jake Wallace sings the haunting (some have said banal) “Che faranno i vecchi miei.” For decades now, the Puccini literature has identified Jake’s song with what it has presumed to be a “folksong” called “Old Dog Tray,” sung by the Jake Wallace of Belasco’s *The Girl of the Golden West*, which serves as the basis of *La fanciulla* and which Puccini saw in New York during the winter of 1906–1907.

The literature, however, is wrong! There is no musical relationship between “Che faranno” and the “Old Dog Tray” of Belasco’s play, the music for which can be reconstructed from the effects of William Furst, Belasco’s music director. Nor are the songs sung by either minstrel—Puccini’s or Belasco’s—related to the “Old Dog Tray” by Stephen Foster (which Belasco and Furst at least thought of using in—but ultimately rejected for—*The Girl*).

The model for Puccini’s “Che faranno i vecchi miei” can, however, be identified. Puccini lifted Jake’s song—note-for-note—from a Zuni Indian song as set by the German-American composer Carlos Troyer. The setting is entitled “The Festive Sun Dance” and was published in 1904 as part of *Traditional Songs of the Zunis* in a volume of Arthur Farwell’s Wa-Wan Press. And this accords well with Puccini’s letter of 22 July 1907 to Sybil Seligman: “Thank you for the Indian songs you have sent me.”
LIVING TRADITIONS
Kay K. Shelemay (Wesleyan University), Chair and Discussant

AN ORAL TRADITION IN PROCESS:
HYMNS OF THE OLD COLONY MENNONITES AND MEDIEVAL CHANT
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University of Alberta

In the last two decades the relationship between written versions of medieval
chant and the oral tradition on which the written repertory was based has been the
subject of considerable inquiry, conjecture, and debate. Research into the congre-
gational music of the Old Colony Mennonites has revealed an oral tradition that
may shed some light on the transmission and performance of chant. The Old
Colonial Mennonites sing chorale tunes that have been passed from generation to
generation over the past two hundred years. Because the elaborate melismatic
melodies of the present are based on syllabic chorale melodies, it is possible to
examine the way in which melodic ornamentation has been incorporated into the
melody as remembered by singers over the decades.

The men responsible for leading the singing have also tried to notate the
melodies from time to time. Several versions of such books of notated melodies
exist. They originate from different countries and decades but have a common
source and can be compared with recorded examples and transcriptions from
different singers, as well as transcriptions made in the early 1950s by a researcher
working in Mexico.

The ability of song leaders to remember a large number of complex melodies
can be tested. Transcriptions of recorded examples show that in a number of
melodies the singers have reverted to the use of modal scales. The rhythmic
patterns found in the transcriptions and the tone quality and singing style of the
song leaders are also of great interest.

MUSIC, MAGIC, AND PERFORMANCE:
A CASE STUDY OF A HAITIAN FOLKLORE ENSEMBLE IN NEW YORK
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The ghetto of Belair in the city of Port-au-Prince, Haiti was a haven for runaway
slaves during the French colonial period. After the successful slave uprising of 1791,
priests established Vodoun temples, some of which are still active today. In the
1970s, a group of young dancers and musicians called La Troupe Makandal
organized in Belair. Having learned to drum, dance, and sing in local Vodoun
houses, they adapted their repertoire for the stage. In 1981, the troupe migrated to
New York and took up residence in the Haitian community there.

Prominent in the repertoire of Makandal were two dances of Belair called Petro
and Banda. Petro, associated with revolution and magic, is violent, its rhythm
unbalanced. Musically similar to Petro, but associated with the spirits of the dead,
Banda is overtly sexual. Within three years after its arrival in New York, however,
the troupe underwent a radical transformation that included the elimination of
Banda and Petro from its repertoire.
This paper is an inquiry into why these changes in the company's repertoire took place. It examines the nature of the dances, the drum patterns, and the performance practices that accompany them. Interviews and journal entries are figured into the data provided by sound and movement. Findings indicate that Haitians in New York, under the pressure of American hegemony, de-emphasize those aspects of their origins that blatantly suggest slavery and what is seen as black magic. The gradual eradication of Banda and Petro from Makandal's repertoire was a statement of how Haitians in New York see themselves, and how they want others to see them.

For musicology, the implications of these findings are that the fashioning of a repertoire may be a key to notions of self, that music and dance structures are sometimes chosen or rejected for ideological reasons, and finally, that cultural performances are part of the story that people wish to tell about themselves.

JAZZ IMPROVISATION AS "CONVERSATION":
INTERACTIVE MUSIC-MAKING
AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN AESTHETIC
Ingrid T. Monson
The University of Chicago

Musicians have used the analogy of "conversation" to describe the process of musical intensification during jazz improvisation. This metaphor of "conversation" is examined at three levels. At the first level is the general iconicity between the structure of conversation and the structure of improvisation with multiple parties. While composed music can be described as a text in which multiple musical parts are under the control of the composer as single author, in jazz improvisation the musical flow is controlled through the interaction of several musicians. Jazz improvisation, in this context, is structurally more similar to a group conversation than to a text. The tacit assumption of a "groove" or rhythmic context against which this group converses is explored as a means of ensemble coordination controlling the interaction.

At the second level is the notion of a culturally specific conversational and interactional aesthetic that is explored through reference to sociolinguistic literature on African-American signifying and to African-American literary theory. At a third level is the notion of "conversation" taking place over time as well as in time. Reference to musical tradition (frequently ironic in character), which occurs not only through melodic quotation, but also through rhythmic style, timbre and choice of repertoire, is considered.

A transcription of a live performance of "Bass-ment Blues" recorded in 1965 serves to illustrate these interactive improvisational relationships and to demonstrate that they are central to musical development. The disproportionate attention devoted to decontextualized solo lines in the jazz literature misses the most important musical and cultural components of the African-American musical aesthetic and needs correction.
MUSICAL POETICS
Joseph Kerman (University of California, Berkeley), Chair

ON THE ORIGINS OF MUSIC
Leslie David Blasius
Princeton University

Perhaps the most characteristic and curious musical discourse of the late-eighteenth century concerns itself with the origins of music. On the ground prepared by a skeptical re-reading of the traditionally authoritative Biblical and Classical accounts of music's beginnings, theorists such as Rousseau, Condillac, and Herder elaborate a subtle, speculative "prehistory" of music, one centering on the common genesis and subsequent divorce of music and language. This prehistory comes to constitute an accepted part of musical knowledge, uncritically recapitulated by more locally "musical" writers of the time. Yet with only occasional and fragmentary exception (such as in the work of Darwin and Herbert Spencer, and more recently in a well-known exchange between Derrida and de Man), this line of investigation vanishes abruptly in the early nineteenth century: in all truth, the notion of a temporal genesis of music is fundamentally alien to modern thought.

This essay addresses two issues. First, the account of music's origins can be shown to serve an important function within the eighteenth-century depiction of music, binding together the two major axes of Classical musical thought, axes we might term the acoustic/harmonic and the affectual/aesthetic. Secondly, it can be shown that this discourse does not truly vanish in the nineteenth century, but that in fact the origins of music are rather strikingly displaced, that the supposed genesis of music is shifted from the domain of history to that of psychology.

NARRATIVE AND LYRIC:
FUNDAMENTAL POETIC FORMS OF COMPOSITION
Karol Berger
Stanford University

The lively musicological explorations of recent years into the possible ways in which narrative theory might be adapted to the needs of music analysis and criticism prompt the question as to the essential nature of narrative as opposed to other text-types, such as description or argument. We must know what are the indispensable features of narrative and how this text-type differs from other possible text-types, if we want to decide whether the concept can be applied to music at all, and if it can, to what extent. Building on recent work in literary theory and philosophy (the work of Genette and Ricoeur, among others), this paper dissociates the concept of narrative from the Platonic distinction between the diegetic and mimetic modes of enunciation, argues that narrative is one of the two fundamental poetic forms of composition, the other one being lyric, and attempts to clarify the essential nature of the two forms. If form is taken to be an intelligible relationship between parts and whole, narrative can be understood as the temporal kind of form in which the relationship between parts is governed by probabilistic causality. Lyric, on the other hand, is the atemporal kind of form in which parts are related by mutual implication. Making use of Alpers's dichotomy between narrative and descriptive picturing, as well as of Besseler's distinction between active and passive
hearing, the paper also argues that the narrative and lyric forms, if understood in
a sufficiently general way, can be seen to operate not only in the art of literature, but
also in those of painting and music.

RESPONDENT: Lawrence Kramer, Fordham University

THE ORIGINAL AESTHETIC CONTEXT OF 4’33”

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Joan Cage’s “silent piece”—4’33”—has been viewed as the perfect expression of
Cage’s interest during the 1950s in chance, indeterminacy, and non-intention.
Although 4’33” was composed in 1952, it appears, however, that Cage first thought
of it as early as 1948. This presents a problem: while 4’33” has almost universally
been presented as a result of Cage’s interest in chance, it actually predates his first
use of chance in composition.

In this paper, I will attempt to resolve this problem by presenting a view of
Cage’s musical thought of the late 1940s that encompasses both 4’33” and his more
traditional works of that period. I will take a close reading of Cage’s article
“Forerunners of Modern Music” (1949) as the primary source for defining this
aesthetic, an “aesthetic of silence” that is at once musical and religious. Cage’s
thought at this time is based on the equation of the musical emptiness of his
duration structures and the “inner emptiness” of the Christian mystic Meister
Eckhart: the actual experience of both forms of silence are seen as necessary for the
attainment of a detachment from the self. It was through this self-detachment that
Cage was able to compose works such as his String Quartet (1950). When viewed in
this context, 4’33” is revealed as no mere avant-garde gesture or stunt, but rather as
an expression of Cage’s belief in a spiritual basis for his art.

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LAUDE AND OTHER SPIRITUAL MUSIC

Howard E. Smither (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Chair

COURT PIETY, POPULAR PIETY:

THE LAUDA IN RENAISSANCE MANTUA

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Despite their interest in Italian Renaissance patronage, music historians have
rarely emulated cultural historians by extending their inquiries beyond the circles of
the patriciate. In fact, there are obvious problems with such an attempt, since the
repertories preserved represent almost exclusively products for the cultural elite.
There is, however, one genre that seems upon occasion to represent the taste of
patrons from the popular culture: the lauda. Lay confraternities of artisans, both
laudesi and disciplinati, adopted laude for their services and frequent processions.

Mantua in the first years of the Cinquecento offers a nearly unique opportunity
to examine these laude and to compare them to those of the patriciate, since there
are two distinct native repertories. The Mantuan laude in Petrucci’s Laude, libro
secondo (1508 n.s.) are products of court piety: they were composed by court
composers for court processions and other court events, both public and private.
The laude in ms. Paris 676 (Mantua, 1502), on the other hand, are products of
popular piety: they differ strongly from the court laude in both musical style and
text. The purpose of this paper is to show that the latter laude represent works from some of the many documentable confraternities in Mantua, to place both groups stylistically within the larger repertory of the laude, and to examine the genre’s function in Mantuan culture, both courtly and popular.

“INFIAMMA IL MIO COR’”: SAVONAROLAN LAUDE FOR DOMINICAN NUNS IN FLORENCE AND PRATO
Patrick Macey
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Savonarola held a position of particular importance for nuns in Tuscany, partially explained by the special attention he devoted to the needs of women religious. He wrote the texts for approximately a dozen laude, several of which turn up consistently in manuscript anthologies owned by Dominican convents. This paper focuses on three of these convents, Santa Lucia and Santa Caterina da Siena in Florence and San Vincenzo in Prato.

Saint Catherine de’ Ricci from the San Vincenzo convent played a crucial role in the preservation of musical settings for Savonarolan laude. She herself wrote one in honor of Savonarola, and she turned her convent into a center for the cult of Savonarola in the sixteenth century. She apparently encouraged Serafino Razzi, a friar from the convent of San Marco in Florence, to collect musical settings that were then in oral circulation and to have them printed in his Libro primo delle laudi spirituali in 1563. Without this print, most of the musical settings of Tuscan laude from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries would have been lost. The book is dedicated to Catherine de’ Ricci, and it shares many concordances with manuscript collections of lauda texts that belonged to convents of Dominican nuns.

The prelates of the Counter-Reformation Church who encouraged the singing of laude do not seem to have been aware of the implicit Savonarolan content of many of the texts that were included in Razzi’s print. The manuscript anthologies of laude belonging to convents of Dominican nuns provide one of the clues to the underground activity of the cult of Savonarola in Tuscany.

MUSIC AND SPIRITUALITY IN FEDERIGO BORROMEO’S MILAN
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Since Lewis Lockwood’s pioneering research, the name “Borromeo” has primarily been associated with Carlo Borromeo’s Tridentine efforts to reform sacred music. Less familiar are the musical patronage and policy of Carlo’s cousin and successor as archbishop of Milan, Federigo, who held that office from 1595 to 1631. Federigo’s unpublished correspondence and writings, along with Milanese diocesan documents, reveal his idiosyncratic views of music. The tension between his humanistic education and Oratorian training characterizes his patronage of composers distant (Giulio Caccini, LUzzaschi) and local (B. Re, Orfeo Vecchi). Aspects of Federigo’s spirituality are also apparent in the little-known Milanese repertory of sacred concertos from the crucial first decade of the seventeenth century. A unique feature of Federigo’s musical policy was his active support and patronage of nun musicians in his diocese, including his encouragement of paraliturgical musical devotion and instrumental virtuosity in convents. Episcopal regulation of nuns’ music-making reflected the archbishop’s ideals of a specifically female spirituality. Borromeo’s pastoral prescriptions and practice provide materials for a more nuanced perspective on the legendary conservatism—musical and ecclesiastical—of
Counter-Reformation Milan. His policy and patronage highlight the co-existence of genres new and old, sacred and secular, in one important musical center of the Seicento.

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MOZART'S OPERAS
Stanley Sadie (The New Grove Dictionary of Opera), Chair

IDOMENEO AND IDOMÉNÉE: THE FRENCH DISCONNECTION
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By setting Italianized versions of French librettos, Jommelli, Traetta, and others hoped to take advantage of certain French conventions—notably the use of the chorus, the opportunities for stage spectacle, and the elision of scenes. Comparison of Varesco's libretto for Mozart's Idomeneo (1781) with its model, Danchet's libretto for Campra's Idoménée (1712), reveals that Italianization involved much more than adding Metastasian aria texts, ensembles, and a lieto fine.

Varesco apparently made changes not simply for the sake of making changes but rather to deal with perceived weaknesses or to eliminate old-fashioned French characteristics incompatible with modern Italian expectations. Thus, for instance, the general idea of a divertissement is borrowed from France, but its content and placement within the act are changed. Ironically, Varesco's decision (conscious or not) to preserve the scene elisions virtually as Danchet wrote them, despite the changes in act structure, indicates a lack of interest in their original function. Not surprisingly, Varesco and Mozart kept the grand tragic themes reminiscent of Corneille, but they had no use for complex love-chains and ceaseless interventions by deities—i.e., for the atmosphere of the French pastorale—or for the coupling of genuine pathos with "precious" love intrigues fostered by confidants.

This study examines Idomeneo from the point of view of the French conventions that Varesco discarded. It thus seeks to clarify certain differences in poetic approach between the tragédie en musique and the opera seria by exploring a situation in which the former was absorbed by the latter.

"SCHWARZE GREDEL" IN MOZART'S OPERAS:
TONAL HIERARCHY AND THE ENGENDERED MINOR MODE
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Following Rameau, Jean-Jacques Rousseau judged the minor mode as built on a weak foundation; he derived the minor triad "by analogy and inversion" from the naturally resonant major triad. Kirnberger considered the minor mode incomplete, unstable, and "appropriate for the expression of sad, doubtful sentiments, for hesitation and indecision." Joseph Riepel assigned class status as well as gender to the various keys subordinate to the master tonic: the primary, major harmonies were male, the secondary, minor ones female. In Riepel's configuration, the parallel minor tonic was the androgynous "schwarze Gredel," whose chromatic mutability was capable of weakening the major tonic's natural domain.

With a view to such characterizations, this paper investigates the minor-key arias of Mozart's operas. Mozart assigned 17 of 24 such arias to female characters, two to castrato roles, and five to male voices. In them, the minor mode destabilizes masculine/feminine dichotomies as well as the tonal order that contains them.
Mozart also uses the minor mode to invoke powerful associations with altered states of consciousness: with magic and the supernatural, with the furies of nature and human passions out of control, with delirium, fainting and death. These are hardly fragile emotions of “hesitation and indecision,” nor do they yield easily to a controlling major tonic. Rather, the minor mode can be a vehicle for often menacing forces, the expression of which threatens to exceed the bounds of the “natural.” I will suggest that late eighteenth-century views of the physiology of temperament offer a broader frame for the mutable mode and its expressive sphere.

PEACOCKS AND FOXES: WOMEN IN MOZART’S OPERAS

Betty Sue Diener
Columbia University

A study of irony in Mozart’s operas leads to new interpretations of the female characters. Because all irony involves some degree of ridicule and deception, this paper draws on depictions of women in the eighteenth century and on the figures of the peacock and the fox—also known as the alazon (boaster) and the wily eiron (ironist).

Caricatures ridiculing women abound in eighteenth-century literature and the visual arts. Mozart himself provides us with a pornographic caricature of the “Bäsle.” La Bruyère and de Staël attest to the ridicule of women, especially of those who pretend to virtue and nobility. Virtuous Fiordiligis is ridiculed in Così fan tutte when her apparently sincere noble emotions are mocked within the ironic frame of the opera. Her vocal acrobatics create a musical caricature which ironically forecasts her eventual submission to the Albanian.

Women are threatened with abuse in the context of sexual capitulation in many of Mozart’s operas, in ways that relate to pornographic satires. In Don Giovanni, the irony of Zerlina’s aria “Batti, batti” in response to Masetto’s threat to strike her is enhanced in the light of pornographic satires victimizing women and illustrating, for instance, the public spanking of women. But Zerlina gently turns Masetto’s threat to her own advantage with an ironic, sexually suggestive pun. He, the alazon, exaggerates; she, the clever eiron, understates. We find the female—a mere peasant girl—endowed with the wit of an ironist.

Le nozze di Figaro conceals the controversial aspect of Beaumarchais’s Figaro behind a mask of boastfulness and buffoonery. Susanna and the Countess are the ironists. Susanna especially demonstrates her powers of dissimulation in her aria “Deh, vieni,” when she victimizes the foolish alazon hiding in the bushes—Figaro.

THE THREE TRIALS OF DON GIOVANNI

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Three times in the course of Don Giovanni the topos of the trial is invoked. Each adheres to a common paradigm: a misdeed leads to a confrontation in a form of trial sanctioned by cultural practice for the offense in question.

Three trials are needed because Giovanni’s sins challenge three essential social structures—Family, Class, and Religion. His attempt on Donna Anna’s honor demands a trial by sword, in which he slays her father. His dealings with Zerlina and Donna Elvira, disdainful the duties and social bearing his rank imposes, require a trial by jury—the Great Sextet, in which the accused is unmasked as Leporello, confirming at once Giovanni’s guilt and his abdication of any pretense to nobility. Giovanni’s traits as blasphemer and profligate left their mark on the Graveyard
Scene and the confrontation with the Stone Guest. The verdict of this final, eschatological trial is made inevitable by Giovanni's contumacy and pride. This paper analyzes each trial for the cultural meaning it carried in Josephinian times.

Modern readings of Don Giovanni that reflect our own age's tolerance for (or even covert relishing of) the ungoverned workings of male sexual aggression undervalue or ignore the moral engagement of the opera with the increasingly complex countermovements of individual and state in the 1780s. Without a musical personality, ever manipulating the material of those around him to his own ends, a mask with nothing behind it, Giovanni is the great anomaly among the major characters in Mozart's mature operas—a central figure created without recourse to moments of moral reflection or self-examination. A concluding analysis brings the issues discussed above to bear on the single, brief window of opportunity for Giovanni to reflect, at the conclusion of his first trial in the Moonlight Trio.

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COMPOSITIONAL HISTORIES
Linda C. Roesner (Brooklyn, New York), Chair

ZISS vs. SODI: A CAUTIONARY TALE
OF COPYISTS AND EDITORS IN GLUCK'S ORFEO ED EURIDICE
Thomas A. Denny
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Recent studies of watermarks and copyists' hands in Viennese copies of Gluck's reform operas have radically altered our understanding of their chronology, provenance, and importance relative to the early prints. In the case of Orfeo ed Euridice, no fewer than three manuscript copies have now been identified that were copied by Theresa Ziss, Hoftheater copyist, and her assistants in Vienna at the time of the 1762 original performances.

Only now, armed with a firm chronology for these early sources, are we in a position to interpret the long-known divergent readings between the copies and the 1764 Paris print. The print suddenly recedes in importance. Sodi clearly did not rely exclusively on the Ziss score but instead collated score with libretto. Astonishingly, when discrepancies appeared, Sodi adjusted the score to fit the libretto. Thus, even in cases where Gluck consciously deviated from Calzabigi's text, Sodi's procedure allowed the librettist the final word in shaping the opera. Ziss, on the other hand, presumably transcribed her copies from a single Gluck-derived source, probably the autograph score.

Sodi's alterations are not trivial: he added tempo markings, scene and act divisions (the placement of which is sometimes open to debate), and even missing batti and changed the sung text and some pitches. The Orfeo sources may point to a larger lesson, suggesting that the accurate dating and close study of manuscript copies for other eighteenth-century works might reveal a previously unsuspected significance, perhaps to the detriment of the authority of early prints.

"MIT EINER EIGENEN AUSSEERORDENTLICHEN COMPOSITION": THE THEORETICAL GENESIS OF SCHUMANN'S PHANTASIE IN A MINOR
Claudia Macdonald
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Analysis of Robert Schumann's A-minor Phantasie of 1841 (which was later to become the first movement of his A-minor Piano Concerto) reveals that every
melodic gesture is derived from a single motive, the stepwise descending third of
the opening theme. What has escaped attention is the special purpose this motivic
unity serves. It is the primary means by which Schumann connects into a single
movement three different sections of a traditional concerto—the Allegro affettuoso
(mm. 1–55) for the opening movement, the Andante espressivo (mm. 156–184) for
the slow movement, and the concluding Allegro molto (mm. 458–544) for the finale.

It is not surprising that Schumann should have tried his hand at a three-
movements-in-one concerto, even if the scholarly literature has taken no note of it.
During the 1830s several other composers made attempts along similar lines,
including Liszt, whose work, however, could not have been known to Schumann at
this time. But Schumann's case is special in that he left a detailed record of his
reactions to these developments in the genre in a series of reviews for the Neue
Zeitschrift für Musik. This paper will demonstrate the direct bearing these critical
reactions had on the composition of the Phantasie. Incidentally it will show that
critical-theoretical and compositional concerns were generally inseparable in Schu-
mann's mind, a fact which has yet been insufficiently treated in studies of his
compositional process.

THE GESTATION OF BRUCKNER'S EIGHTH SYMPHONY
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Amherst College

In the mid 1880s, Bruckner, aged sixty, at last gained fame with his Symphony
No. 7 (1883). Success bore still greater fruit (if at first more sour) in the 1887 first
version of his Symphony No. 8 and his 1884 expansion of an earlier draft for the Te
Deum. (Oddly, given the prominence of all three works, no full Kritische Bericht for
any of them appears in either the Haas or Nowak "complete" editions.) Critical
attention to the Eighth is dominated by the pathetic tale of its early rejections
(Hermann Levi found it a bloated imitation of the Seventh), Bruckner's neurotic
funks in response, and his acquiescence to rescorings by the well-meaning brothers
Schalk.

Outside of comparing the two versions of the Eighth, little serious consideration
is given to the first version itself or to its gestation, especially in its aesthetic and
hermeneutic dimensions. (Dahlhaus's magisterial late essay on the work shows a
broader vision.) For this purpose I make use of voluminous primary material held
in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna and of sources from Cracow and
elsewhere. I contend, concentrating on thematic and climactic passages in the first
movement and finale, that Bruckner's primary "revisions" in fact were made
between the 1885/6 early drafts of the Eighth and the 1887 first score. They show
it evolving from a stiffly martial work in C minor to a far more fluidly dramatic,
indeed Wagnerian re-conception of the symphony.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MAHLER'S GESELLEN-LIEDER:
LITERARY AND MUSICAL EVIDENCE
Zoltan Roman
The University of Calgary

Attempts to establish a plausible chronology for the Lieder eines fahrenden
Gesellen—a pinnacle of Mahler's early maturity and a pathbreaking work in the
history of the orchestral song—have met with failure for many years. The seemingly
improbable time span between the puzzling date of 1883 on the published music
and the cycle's first performance in 1896, as much as the assumption that Mahler
“discovered” the Wunderhorn anthology only after 1887 and composed the First Symphony mostly after completing the songs have been the main reasons for this failure.

The literary evidence (derived chiefly from dated sketches for two of the poems and from the results of investigations into the exact source of Mahler’s Wunderhorn texts) enables us to fix the inception of the cycle in 1884; it also suggests an explanation for the date found on the first edition. The musical evidence (developed from source studies of the cycle and the First Symphony and from comparative analysis of Mahler’s use of progressive tonality in several “first period” works) points to a major revision of the cycle sometime after the First Symphony had been completed in 1888; it also suggests that revisions may have continued beyond the completion of the Second Symphony in 1894.

The foregoing allows us to conclude that the seemingly inordinate length of time between the inception and completion of the Wayfarer Songs was in fact the result of—and reflects—the stylistic developments in Mahler’s music during the period in question.
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