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REPRESENTATIONS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC
James Webster, Cornell University, Chair

C. P. E. BACH’S PARAGRAPH ON MODULATION: A DEFENSE
OF IMPROVISATIONAL STYLE
David Ferris
Amherst College

C. P. E. Bach has long been renowned for his radical compositional style but, because of his lifelong association with his father’s conservative followers and his avoidance of the theoretical disputes in which they were involved, the originality of Bach’s ideas about compositional theory has never been acknowledged. In the last decade of his life he added a lengthy paragraph to his “Free Fantasy” chapter which documents his break with the theoretical consensus of his day. In this paragraph Bach cites passages from his own works violating the rules of composition appearing in contemporary treatises.

In his original chapter Bach argues that a performer can modulate more freely in improvising a fantasy than a composer can in writing a formal piece. By the time he wrote the added paragraph, this distinction between improvisation and composition was no longer so clear, as is evident from the free use that Bach makes of modulation in many of the pieces published during his Hamburg years. I believe that Bach’s paragraph must be seen within the context of his desire to defend his increasingly eccentric style. This is demonstrated by comparing the paragraph to contemporary reviews of his music and contrasting it with Kirnberger’s influential treatise.

FANTASTICAL LANDSCAPES: C. P. E. BACH’S FREE FANTASIAS
AND THE MUSICAL PICTURESQUE
Annette Richards
Cornell University

The musical fantasia and the visual picturesque are both vital to an understanding of late 18th-century aesthetic thought, although both have been consistently devalued in most recent academic criticism. In the late 18th century the fantasia represented the epitome of musical genius, while the picturesque was an aesthetic category as important as both the sublime and the beautiful. Given the many parallels between the discourse of the fantasia and the contemporary notion of the visual picturesque, I propose to consider a new critical category, that of the musical picturesque.

In discussions of fantasy, contemporaries of C. P. E. Bach invoked the landscape garden, either by direct reference or through metaphor. The aesthetics of the “English” garden, codified at the end of the 18th century as the picturesque, mirror those of the free fantasia in the deliberate confusion between the natural and the artificial, the predilection for irregularity, freedom, and ambiguous borders. Fundamentally dialectical and unstable, the picturesque allows—even encourages—the contradictions inherent in the fantasia.

My discussion focuses on the free fantasias of C. P. E. Bach and the contemporary criticism of C. F. Cramer. I show both how these pieces reflect the picturesque aesthetic internally, and how they were figured by contemporary critics as picturesque landscapes. This paper suggests that the picturesque offers a new way of looking at the complexities of the fantasia, and allows for a re-evaluation of the disordered and fantastical in music of the late 18th century.
DECORUM AND DISILLUSIONMENT:
THE CONSEQUENCES OF MOZART’S ORIENTALISM
Matthew Head
University of Southampton, England

If, as Solomon states, Mozart's music "is our civilization's sign for the beautiful," then the composer's "Turkish music" is a Trojan horse that admits into this sphere of beauty a host of aesthetic and metaphysical contradictions. These arise from the nature of "Turkish music" as an Orientalist representation, that is, a representation of Turkish music (and ultimately the Orient as a whole) for Europe and on European terms. First, as a farcical representation "Turkish music" complicates Enlightenment claims to a knowledge of universal humanity and "tolerance" of cultural difference. Second, "Turkish music" arises not from any communion with a Turkish source (which might confer authenticity, an identity, a paternity) but rather a range of characteristics imputed to the original: noisiness, primitivism, antiquity, harshness, military aggressiveness. These characteristics circulated like gossip in both written sources and the network of musical representations in which Mozart's "Turkish music" is embedded. Third, "Turkish music" arises from a re-encoding of topics of European music—march, battaglia, contredanse—and thus it collapses the distinction between self and other it seeks to construct. Metaphorically configured, it is a form of disguise or masking, and can be situated among the play elements in culture. The status of "Turkish music" as a fashionable and frankly commercial element in later 18th-century music was emphasized by contemporary critics. Nonetheless, its consequences can be more radically and critically read.

Opposed to the decorum of Viennese Classicism through a carnivalesque inversion, "Turkish music" has the potential to make decorum seem restrictive and stifling. The final return of the refined minuet refrain of the finale of the Fifth Violin Concerto sounds—as part of the fiction or content of the piece—somewhat passionless after the "Turkish" episode it frames. A similar trajectory informs the entire course of the Sonata in A, K. 331. The decorum of the opening Andante grazioso is first heard in something like the original sense of that word, a Platonic limit or measure, a point of ethical and moral perfection. But after the intoxicating offense to these standards provided by the Alla Turca finale, the first movement is retrospectively tinged with repression. "Turkish music," as a locus of transgression within Viennese Classical Style, manifests the impulse away from Classicism narrowly defined that is met in many of Mozart's works from the late 1770s onwards. And yet the sense of transgression it evokes is fanciful: as an Orientalist representation "Turkish music" is constructed from, and contained by, the same stylistic materials and formal boundaries it is fancifully felt to transgress.

PROGRAMMATIC MUSIC AND THE LATER EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LISTENER
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The way in which later 18th-century listeners comprehended programmatic works offers a model for understanding how they made sense of all instrumental music. As comments by J. F. Reichardt, J. T. Hermes, and others make clear, listening to programmatic works meant interpreting musical sounds in terms of a program that had been read and reflected on before the performance. This paper argues that listening to non-programmatic instrumental works meant something similar. In an
era that tied music inextricably to language, listeners would have heard all musical works against a background of subjects recognized as amenable to musical treatment. These subjects made up a culturally-determined “program” that functioned analogously to and also closely resembled actual programs; when non-programmatic works (e.g., Haydn’s symphonies) were programatically interpreted or given descriptive titles, they were linked to substantially the same subjects as those used in actual programmatic works.

These issues go to the heart of current musicological debate. Numerous scholars have challenged 19th- and 20th-century beliefs that instrumental music can transcend language, and “absolute” instrumental works have increasingly been interpreted in terms of literary, biographical, and other subjects. How listeners recognize such subjects, however, remains a point of contention. Later 18th-century programmatic works can suggest which subjects listeners of that period would most often have associated with instrumental music, what musical signs they would have heard as referring to those subjects, and what process they would have followed in recognizing and incorporating those subjects into their understanding of instrumental works.

PUTTING THE SCORE IN ITS PLACE: SATIE, CAGE, AND THE MUSICAL

Jann C. Pasler, University of California, San Diego, Chair

COMPOSERS OF LESS THAN COMPOSITIONS/SONGWRITERS
OF MORE THAN SONGS: PROBLEMS OF AUTHORSHIP
IN THE MUSIC OF THE MUSICAL

E. Larry Stempel
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Only recently in the history of studies of the Broadway musical have musicologists begun to address the music of the genre, and even (as if to redress the imbalances of earlier text-based studies) to privilege it. Yet Broadway musicals characteristically are collaborative ventures in which music at times retreats to the background or even disappears for stretches—the result of negotiations between multidisciplinary artistic processes of which music is but one, and not necessarily the most important. Despite implications in the name, “musicals” cannot justifiably be regarded simply as musical compositions.

Moreover, to speak unproblematically of composers of musicals as if they were sole authors of such compositions is to overlook Broadway practice in which “composer”—even as applied only to the music of musicals—is understood in a more restrictive sense than general use of the term would imply. Perhaps because the potentially high economic stakes involved tend to override concerns for conceptual clarity, the discrepancy between general notions of a composer and the specific functions of persons officially so designated in musicals has not been consistently explored. Based on the evidence of unpublished sketches, orchestrations, and interviews with unrecognized Broadway “subcomposers,” a systematic examination of the roles various musicians played in the making of representative Broadway musicals from the heyday of the genre (ca. 1920-65) reveals generally unacknowledged normative constraints under which recognized Broadway composers worked and the extent to which scholarship stands to benefit from a more precise way of thinking about them.
ESPRIT GAULOIS: A NEW CONTEXT FOR ERIK SATIE'S
SPORTS ET DIVERTISSEMENTS
Mary E. Davis
Harvard University

In the seventy years since his death, the work of composer Erik Satie has been consistently identified as exemplifying a uniquely French aesthetic stance. This reaction is curious, since Satie's œuvre encompasses a broad range of styles, genres, and compositional approaches and, further, includes a body of literary works and visual art in addition to his musical compositions. These heterogeneous elements suggest that the qualities which mark Satie's work as "French" lie not on the stylistic surface but somewhere below. This paper elucidates these specific qualities and considers Satie's place within French cultural history using a single important work, Sports et divertissements, as a basis for broader discussion.

Sports et divertissements integrates piano music and prose texts composed by Satie with visual art by the Parisian illustrator Charles Martin. I will examine their effort to invest the work with a subtle and specifically French brand of sophistication in the years surrounding the First World War, and argue that the work delivers a serious political message within the significant but elusive tradition of the esprit gaulois: an intentional patriotism is concealed under a veneer of simplicity, elegance, and wit.

This paper illuminates the importance of musical borrowing in the work, revealing and interpreting previously unrecognized musical material incorporated into the score. Satie's texts are considered in relation to French literary traditions, and Martin's illustrations, including his little-known original etchings for the work, are examined in context. This reading enlarges the understanding of Satie's compositional aesthetic and clarifies his position in French culture.

THE PARADOX OF "NATURALNESS"
IN JOHN CAGE'S EIGHT WHISKUS
Johanne Rivest
Montréal

Eight Whiskus for violin solo (1985) was written by Cage, following suggestions from the violinist Malcolm Goldstein, as an arrangement of the same piece originally written for solo voice (1984). In the process of rewriting the piece for violin, Cage used chance operations to combine the material Goldstein suggested from his gestures, or what he calls "the physicality of generating the string to sound." In juxtaposing those gestures, by their fragmentation and with the use of the I Ching to select performance techniques, Cage did not offer the performer naturalness. Rather, there is a paradox in his method of exploiting randomness to imitate Nature in its manner of operation while confronting the performer with systematic artificial bow techniques.

This paper dialectically questions these opposed meanings of Nature. For Cage, Nature lies in the using of chance operations because there is no intention associated with the results obtained: it also lies in the I Ching itself, because of the actual number of possible hexagrams (64, as in DNA). On the other hand, something that requires discipline and practice should not be considered "natural," but is rather "artistic" in the conventional way. This could be compared to similarly opposed meanings implicit in the notion of Theater, which Cage prefers to "music" because it associates both visual and aural aspects as in Nature itself. In questioning the very notion of Nature, this paper endeavors to provide new information on the paradox of its meaning in Cage's Eight Whiskus.
PRIVILEGING THE MOMENT:
JUNG, CAGE, SYNCHRONICITY, POSTMODERNISM
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Carl Jung's foreword to the William Wilhelm translation of the I Ching "rendered into English" by Cary F. Baynes, the edition used by John Cage, deals briefly but concisely with the notion of synchronicity, which Jung develops in more detail elsewhere. According to Jung, the modern era's dependency on the "principle of causality" had been "shaken to its roots" by developments in quantum physics, with the result that "we know now that what we term natural laws are merely statistical truths." Jung argued that, rather than being concerned with "how events evolve out of one another," we should now "take the coincidence of events in space and time as meaning something more than mere chance, namely, a peculiar interdependence of objective events among themselves as well as with the subjective (psychic) states of the observer or observers."

This paper uses Jung's concept of synchronicity as the starting point for a discussion of the nature of the postmodern world and of postmodernism in the arts, emphasizing Cage's critical role in these developments through his writings and compositions of the 1940s and '50s. The focus is on the ideas underlying his use of chance operations to create "indeterminate" pieces in which the emphasis shifts from composer to performer and audience. Rather than creating "ideal objects with an immutable and unshifting 'real' meaning," to use Dahlhaus' phrase, Cage devised compositional processes which forced each performance of a piece to be a unique event, with substance and meaning determined by the "peculiar interdependence of objective events among themselves" and the "subjective states of the observer."

I conclude that Jung's notion of synchronicity exposes a critical distinction between modernism and postmodernism, that Cage's utilization of Jung's theoretical arguments in his compositions was a defining moment in the history of postmodernism, and that Cage's historical position is best understood when he is seen as an early postmodernist rather than an avant-gardist.

CHANT AND MEDIEVAL THEORY
Thomas F. Kelly, Harvard University, Chair

READINGS AND RESPONSORIES: THE EIGHTH-CENTURY NIGHT OFFICE LECTIONARY AND THE RESPONSORIAE PROLIXA
Brad Maiani
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In 1936, liturgical scholar Pio Alfonzo published a monograph on the Roman responsories of Matins which remains the only study dedicated to the texts and, more specifically, the origins of the genre. His thesis was bold: Alfonzo suggested that the repertory as preserved in the earliest Office sources took its basic shape in tandem with an eighth-century revision of the Night Office Lectionary. In response to this revision, he argued, an earlier Roman core of psalmic responsories was supplemented with items taken from the prose narratives of the Old Testament, and he claimed that these additions were introduced by Benedictine monks working at Roman basilicas. To date, this work seems to have been largely ignored. Helmut Hucke liberally consulted Alfonzo in a 1972 article,
but he is an exception; to my knowledge no other musicological studies have critically reviewed Alfonzo's study (favorably or otherwise) since its publication over sixty years ago. It is even absent from the bibliography accompanying the New Grove "Responsory" entry.

The present paper argues that there is musical evidence to support a portion of Alfonzo's claim, and those features of his study which merit support may have important consequences for an understanding of the responsories' development as a distinct genre of liturgical chant. While subsequent research has overturned a number of steps in Alfonzo's argument, what remains sound is his basic chronology. There is good reason to believe that a revision of the Matins Lectionary took place in the first half of the eighth century, and that a number of responsories may have entered the Roman repertory to accommodate that revision just decades before the cantus romanus was taken over by the Franks in the year 754. This thesis is explored by way of the psalmic responsories for the post-Epiphany weeks and the historiae cycles following Pentecost.

JEWSH INFLUENCE ON EARLY CHRISTIAN CHANT: A NEW MODEL
Thomas H. Connolly
University of Pennsylvania

Recent scholarship has seriously questioned the long-entertained and plausible presumption that early Christian chant derived in some way from Jewish chant. While agreeing that the direct evidence advanced for such derivation is insufficient, this paper will suggest that the comparative studies on which the opposing views have been based assume a faulty model, one in which Christian churches and Jewish synagogues are seen as separate establishments. I propose instead that we must think in terms of Jewish-Christian communities whose places of worship shared features of church and synagogue at the same time.

The intriguing hypothesis advanced in 1953 by N. M.-Denis Boulet that such establishments were found among the early Roman tituli has recently been proven in the case of St. Cecilia in Trastevere. This paper suggests that another ancient Roman church, St. Prisca, also began as a church-synagogue, and that such Jewish-Christian communities endured beyond the Constantinian settlement. In thus finding actual evidence for the theory, I discard the idea that Christian communities had to look outside themselves, to Jewish synagogue practice, for singing models, and will show that some of the early Mass-chants may have been established in communities with a centuries-old tradition of Jewish chant. There must be a strong presumption that such practice, rather than non-Jewish practice, either secular or religious, formed the foundation of Christian liturgical singing.

KATHERINE COLLAUDEMUS:
MEDIEVAL MODES OF VENERATING ST. CATHERINE
Susan A. Kidwell
University of Texas, Austin

St. Catherine of Alexandria was the highest ranking virgin—other than the Virgin Mary—at Notre Dame of Paris in the 13th century. This may seem somewhat surprising, for Catherine, unlike other virgins worshipped at Notre Dame, spent no time in Paris during her life, had no prominent male patron, and had no history of ceremonial distinction prior to the early 13th century.

This paper explores the factors that may have stimulated French interest in Catherine: her role in helping the French defeat the English and Germans in battle, her acceptance by King Louis, and her association with philosophy. Turning to
liturgical modes of veneration, the paper examines the imagery and ceremonial practices associated with Catherine-worship throughout Paris. While she received a new Office, which tells the story of her life and martyrdom, most of the chants for Catherine's Mass are drawn from the Common of Virgins and therefore emphasize standard themes of virginity, physical beauty, and suitability for marriage. Only the sequence *Vox sonora* distinguishes Catherine from the generic others of her class. A close examination of this sequence points out the way in which its language and music project images of strength and action—unusual for female saints.

The Victoline *Alleluia Hodie beata Katherina*, used as the basis for liturgical polyphony, provides a link to the secular realm of Catherine worship. The *Agmina* tenor from this chant served as the foundation for a family of motets that juxtapose sacred, courtly, and even vulgar descriptions of feminine beauty. Despite their disparate origins, these motets convey a common message also related to liturgical themes concerning Catherine: virgins—whether sacred or secular—are beautiful as long as they remain chaste objects of desire.

**TOWARD A NEW CHRONOLOGY OF THE ENCHIRIADIS CANON AND THE PSEUDO-HUCBALDIAN DE HARMONICA INSTITUTIONE**

Paul Anthony Luke Boncella
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At least five important treatises expounding the theory and practice of Frankish-Gregorian liturgical chant are generally thought to have been written sometime between the dates of *Musica disciplina* of Aurelianus Reomensis (from the 840s, perhaps even the 820s) and *Epistola de harmonica* institutione of Regino Prumiensis (*ca.* 901). All five of the discourses under consideration here have been ascribed (at one time or another) to Hucbald, but today only one of them retains an attribution to the famous monk of St. Amandus (*De harmonica institutione*). The other four treatises—constituting a group that has long enjoyed the status of a canon—are now usually regarded as works by anonymous musicians (*Musica enchiriadis, Scholica enchiriadis, Alia musica*, and *Commemoratio brevis*).

The current view of the dating and authorship of these treatises is in need of revision; this will be shown in part through a comparison of *De harmonica institutione* and *Musica enchiriadis*. In fact, one of these two works clearly represents an attempt to remedy manifest shortcomings of the other; it is possible, thus, to establish the order in which they were written. Also, recent discoveries elucidating the genesis of Occidental modality indicate that these two discourses must have been written well after the beginning of the 10th century. Finally, Hucbald could not have written either of these works; indeed, it is unlikely that he ever composed a treatise on music.

**SCHOENBERG**

Thomas Warburton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair

**THOUGHTS ON THE ESSAY "KOMPOSITION MIT ZWÖLF TÖNEN" (1923)**

Arved Ashby
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When Boulez referred to "the Viennese discovery" in his 1968 essay "Directions in Recent Music," he reduced the Schoenberg circle to discovery of the series and all but reduced that discovery to a premise for pan-serialism. This perspective, more
symptom than instigation of institutionalized influence and Hegelian ideas of history, has largely determined both historical estimations and the terminology with which we now discuss and analyze twelve-tone music.

An anonymous 13-page typescript on twelve-tone composition, found among Berg's papers and now catalogued at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, suggests that Boulez's view of "the Viennese discovery" differed from that held by the Viennese themselves in the 1920s. Apart from Erwin Stein's "Neue Formprinzipien," this essay represents the most far-reaching exposition on twelve-tone music of the 1920s. As such, it is particularly valuable for its discrepancies with common Darmstadt-influenced conceptions of twelve-tone music, discrepancies that are doubly interesting because details of the manuscript and the ideas expressed therein suggest that Schoenberg was responsible for its content.

The essay introduces twelve-tone composition in unusually practical terms. It does not pose historical imperatives but maintains a perspective characteristic of Schoenberg's early compositional aesthetic: the view that intuition constitutes the composer's first and last resort. Accordingly, the author also refutes any possible "purity of style," a conceit that would seem to be inextricable from Schoenberg's later description of dodecaphonic composition as a method of composing with "twelve tones related only to one another."

THE SCHOENBERG CIRCLE'S UTOPIAN PERFORMANCE PRACTICE
Alfred W. Cramer
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Although it is recognized that Schoenberg, Webern, and their associates—Edward Steuermann, Rudolf Kolisch, and others—developed a sophisticated performance practice, the implications of that practice have been neglected. Musicologists tend to isolate compositional structures that are frozen on the page in considering whether (to mention a few recent views) the conduits for atonal meaning involve interval-sets or old-fashioned tonal tendencies and lyrical melodies. Most performers present little beyond what is written or else interpret atonal music with "Romantic" expressivity.

All are looking for musical meaning where it was not intended. Schoenbergian performance practice reminds us that the Schoenberg Circle distinguished sharply between compositional procedures and musical expression. Their words and recordings testify to a performance practice that put expression beyond the performer's immediate intentional control in bringing out sonic features latent in the score. Thus they emphasized the pedal and other instrumental mechanisms; they used equal temperament instead of "expressive intonation"; and they used rubato only to demarcate formal sections. Resulting performances seem strange, fluid, and often opposed to the letter of the score.

This systematic depersonalization of performance practice was heuristic, not anti-expressive. Schoenbergians sought to avoid ways of thinking and feeling that would seem primitive in the affective Utopia of the future. They believed future perceptions would discern expression not in the score but in the expressive process it represented, which for them could only be realized when a performance expressively transcended the performer's (and composer's) limited vision.
SCHOENBERG AS PERFORMER OF HIS OWN WORK
Roland Jackson
Performance Practice Review

Five recordings of Schoenberg conducting his own music (1928–40) are preserved: Verklärte Nacht, Lied der Waldtaube, Pierrot Lunaire, Suite Op. 29, and Von Heute auf Morgen. They show significant departures from the published scores in their pervasive rubato, freedom of tempo, and detailed articulative nuances. Unmarked ritards are associated with terminations; accelerations, with climaxes. Slower tempi occur in nine (of the 21) pieces in Pierrot (each at about 2/3) and in six sections of Von Heute (at about 1/2). Subsidiary themes, too, are often accorded differing tempi, for example themes two (at 2/3) and three (at 1/2) in the Gigue (Suite). Added nuances bring out certain of the thematic ideas, e.g. accents of the opening notes in Verklärte Nacht, and sliding from pitches to emphasize certain syllables in Pierrot—both unmarked in the scores.

Schoenberg apparently had firm convictions concerning his interpretations (“are there not also author’s rights”). On the other hand, he declined to give them any ultimate status (“of a definitive interpretation, I should see no advantage”). From this it seems unlikely that he would have welcomed a slavish adherence to his own readings.

Even so, the recordings are a valuable resource, revealing in many ways what Schoenberg felt to be musically meaningful. His performances were not only more intense but also more exaggerated than those of later conductors—e.g., Craft, Atherton, or Karajan (whose versions are compared)—and afford us an indispensable guide to a more informed Schoenberg performance.

SCHOENBERG’S HISTORICISM IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT
Steven Joel Cahn
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I argue that an understanding of Schoenberg’s view of music history and his place in it is fundamentally incomplete if it neglects the seminal event in the intellectual history of German-Jewish emancipation, viz. the emergence of historical consciousness in modern Judaism. How this emergence influenced Schoenberg’s upbringing and, consequently, both his historical consciousness and aesthetics is my chief focus. By considering three principal ramifications (Bildung, regeneration, and Wissenschaft), I first show how Schoenberg re-enacts the turn to history and assumes the task of the historian where it meets that of the artist. I then discuss two of Schoenberg’s works which evince a blending of historical and aesthetic consciousness.

Two luminaries whose thought shaped the Viennese-Jewish subculture of Schoenberg’s youth are Wilhelm von Humboldt and Heinrich Graetz. Humboldt’s educational program of Bildung became a Jewish secular religion indicating not only the path to self-formation and citizenship, but also to assimilation. Graetz exerted a countervailing influence through his Volkstäumliche Geschichte der Juden. Both, however, cultivated a philosophy of history reverberant in Schoenberg: Graetz emphasizing historical continuity, and Humboldt individuality. Moreover Graetz, following Humboldt, proffered a non-teleological view of “inner necessity,” a cornerstone of Schoenberg’s aesthetics.

Humboldt wrote: “[The historian] has to seek the truth of an event in a way similar to the artist’s seeking the truth of form.” I conclude by discussing Vorgefühl,
Op. 22, #4 and A Survivor From Warsaw, Op. 46, works which synthesize Humboldt’s ideas by epitomizing the concordance of historical consciousness and aesthetics.

LASSUS AND MONTEVERDI
Jessie Ann Owens, Brandeis University, Chair

WHO WROTE LASSUS’ MOST FAMOUS PIECE?
Daniel R. Melamed
Yale University

Orlande de Lassus’ most famous composition is probably his charming four-voice setting of Marot’s Mon coeur se recommande à vous. Together with Bon jour, mon coeur, and Matona, mia cara, all in the influential The a cappella singer (1935), it paints a limited but widely circulated portrait of the composer.

But the attribution to Lassus (who did set Marot’s text as a completely different kind of chanson) presents serious problems. A closer look reveals blatant parallel octaves and fifths, as well as details of melodic construction, phrase structure, harmonic language, and text treatment that make a 16th-century origin essentially impossible. The work is not to be found in the air de cour repertory of the late 16th and 17th centuries, nor in late 17th- or early 18th-century French songbooks.

A search for sources reveals that the four-part setting originated in an anthology published in London in 1899, and is an arrangement of a setting for voice and piano published in 1853 by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin (1821–1910). A study of Weckerlin’s sources and of his early-music activities sheds some light on the origins of the chanson, but does nothing to support the Lassus attribution.

We increasingly appreciate the importance of reception history in defining a piece of music, but the sources show that this most famous “Lassus” chanson is all reception and no history. The work’s survival in the face of technical and stylistic impossibilities illustrates the gulf that can arise between a composer’s image and the music he actually wrote.

COMPOSERS’ INTENTIONS: LITURGICAL UNITY
AND MONTEVERDI’S VESPERS
Stephen Self
Mount Vernon Nazarene College

Scholars have long scrutinized Monteverdi’s Vespers for clues regarding the composer’s intentions. Did Monteverdi conceive the work as a liturgical unity, or did he compile it as a collection of independent components? Examination of previously unconsidered aspects—liturgical function, wording in original prints, formal design of movements, tonal and modal cohesion, and instrumental styling—yields six critical conclusions: (1) three sections—the opening Domine ad adiutandum, the hymn Ave maris stella, and the six-voice Magnificat—were created prior to the remaining movements and Monteverdi’s decision to compile a Vespers; (2) the five psalms were created as a set and intended for performance as such; (3) the antiphon substitutes could be omitted, used as a group, or used individually; (4) the Sonata was not another antiphon substitute, but was intended to provide a substitute for the Suffrage of the Saints; (5) Ave maris stella represents two compositional stages, with some choral portions dating from much later than the remainder; (6) the a7 Magnificat, not simply an amplification of its a6 counterpart, was created precisely for its inclusion in the Vespers and borrows only occasionally from the smaller work.
Thursday afternoon, 7 November

In sum, Monteverdi created certain portions—the psalms, antiphon substitutes, Sonata, and larger Magnificat—as complete sections expressly for the 1610 collection; other elements are earlier in conception. Moreover, there is little interconnection between the individual components. As a result, while portions are individually unified, the Vespers as a whole does not create a comprehensive unity.

MUSIC, TEXTS, AND CONTEXTS
IN THE COUNTER-REFORMATION
Don Harrán, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Chair

MOTETS, SERMONS, AND THE INQUISITION: MUSICAL REPRESENTATION OF FAITH IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN
Todd Michael Borgerding
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

A unique tradition of motet cycles for the Sundays of Septuagesima and Lent emerged in Spain during the second half of the 16th century, whose texts, drawn from the Gospel lessons, correspond to those addressed in contemporaneous Spanish homilarios and other scriptural commentaries. The functional similarity between motet and sermon suggested by this textual agreement is supported by new archival evidence from Seville that places motet performance in highly visible and public contexts, including the Elevation and processions, where elements of ritual enhanced the music's rhetorical and affective properties. Thus a picture emerges of the motet, like the sermon, as a vehicle for scriptural exegesis and as a persuasive voice in Counter-Reformation discourse.

A close reading of Clamabat autem mulier settings for Lent II from the Cathedral of Seville shows how these motets expressed culturally-specific notions of religiosity. The 16th-century exegetical tradition portrays this narrative as a parable teaching Christians to reject their heresies and confess faith in the true church, a religious ideal that lay at the heart of the rituals and legal process of the Inquisition. Since the Inquisition in Seville played a highly visible role in cathedral ritual on the second Sunday of Lent, the musical strategies employed in these motets, particularly that of Seville's maestro de capilla, Francisco Guerrero, must be understood as expressions of local Inquisitorial authority. And when performed at the Elevation, these motets ritually melded local religiosity and authority with universal Counter-Reformation ideology.

REFORMING THE MARY MAGDALENS:
TEXTUAL INSpirations OF THE METABOLIC STYLE
IN THE MUSIC OF DOMENICO MAZZOCCHI
Susan Shimp
Yale University

One of the most popular icons of the aesthetically stormy Counter-Reformation is Mary Magdalen. A conflation of characters, this provocative biblical woman embodied the three Gospel Marys: the penitent harlot, the contemplative sister of Lazarus and Martha, and the woman exorcised of seven devils by Christ, who proclaimed his resurrection to the disciples. In the wake of the Council of Trent, when the writings of theologians and physicians portrayed women as lustful, soulless creatures, legitimate images of the female sex required the appropriate symbolism. But of Mary Magdalen's conflicting attributes, those most popularly conveyed in
art and poetry were her weeping and nudity. Both sensuous sinner and chaste convert, she was the 17th century’s penitential pin-up, with an image too well-established in the popular imagination and Catholic dogma to be discarded for the sake of decorum.

Mazzocchi’s awareness of this ironic sacred protocol is evident in his three treatments of the Mary Magdalens. Madalene errante and La Madeleina ricorre alle lagrime (Dialoghi e sonetti, 1638) demonstrate the *stylus metabolicus*, which highlights musically the images of weeping and conversion. The more prudent use of this musical device in the Dialogo della Maddalena (Sacre concertationes, 1664) is unsurprising, as its biblical text is without the sensual language of the two “magdaliades.” These compositions invoke the full continuum of the saint’s colorful moral history, but still illustrate Mazzocchi’s sensitivity to the post-Tridentine environment. The results are a musico-poetic balance that explored Mary Magdalen in all her guises, yet escaped ecclesiastical censorship.

**SPECIAL EVENING SESSION**

**“WHAT’S UP, DOC?”: FILM AS MUSICOLOGY**

Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Harvard University, Chair
Ellen Harris, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Jeffrey Kallberg, University of Pennsylvania
Lewis Lockwood, Harvard University
Robert Marshall, Brandeis University

Portrayals of famous musicians in commercial films have proliferated, raising an array of textual and contextual issues worthy of serious discussion by musicologists. This informal panel will look closely at four films; each film will be addressed by a colleague with particular expertise on the musician or subject treated. The participants and films include the following:

Robert Marshall  
*Amadeus*

Ellen Harris  
*Farinelli*

Lewis Lockwood  
*Immortal Beloved*

Jeffrey Kallberg  
*Impromptu*

The session begins with four ten-minute position papers, each illustrated by relevant film clips. Among the issues explored in the position papers are: (1) the appropriation, (mis)representation, and dissemination of great musicians’ lives and music by and through a medium of popular culture; (2) the dramatic and/or symbolic use of music and musical performance in the selected films; (3) the manner in which the films reflect, stereotype, and otherwise shape perceptions of musicians and musicologists for the world outside the movie house. The position papers will be followed by a general discussion between panelists and audience. It is hoped that the panel will provide a forum in which to explore the increasingly important relationship between film, musical biography, and musical scholarship.
Friday morning, 8 November

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS OF ROMANTIC SONG
Richard Kramer, State University of New York, Stony Brook, Chair

PATRIK PEALE’S ERLKÖNIG
Vivian S. Ramalingam
Roseville, Minnesota

Among the 54 settings of Goethe’s Erlkönig, Franz Schubert’s is regarded as unique for its dramatic quality and subtle musical characterization of the four “speakers”: Narrator, Father, Child, and the Erlking. Schubert may have been influenced in his treatment of this text by a particular description of how it ought to be declaimed. Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff’s comprehensive treatise on oral recitation, Vorlesungen über Deklamation und Mimik, appeared at about the same time that Schubert was thought to have written the song.

Seckendorff, who had taken the stage-name “Patrik Peale” during his first visit to America, was a proponent of heightened speech-melody, a forerunner of Sprechstimme, in lyric declamation. He borrowed from the terminology of music to describe a number of speech effects. The heightened style of declamation was used in the Burgtheater for more than a hundred years.

Seckendorff was the first German elocutionist to discuss readings based on the sense of the words, rather than according to pre-determined patterns governed by grammatical category alone. Seckendorff’s instructions for the manner of reciting Erlkönig depart from earlier prescriptions regarding the reciting or setting of ballad texts, in that the traditional neutral vantage point of the Narrator is replaced by the affective vantage point of the Child. It is this very feature that separates Schubert’s setting from all the others.

WANDERING AS TOPIC AND TROPE IN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN CULTURE
David L. Mosley
Goshen College

This presentation will argue that the act of wandering in Nature, as aesthetically expressed in Schmidt von Lubeck’s poem Der Unglückliche (1808/1815), Schubert’s lied Der Wanderer (D. 489, of 1816), and Friedrich’s painting Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer (1818), represents a subversion of essential 18th-century assumptions about epistemology, teleology, and psychology. As a romantic topic, wandering in Nature replaces the topic of the “journey of exploration.” The journey of exploration is typified by a taxonomic mode of thinking in which experiences and phenomena are understood by means of comparison, contrast, and categorization, while wandering in Nature is characterized by a metonymic way of thinking in which the part may be substituted for the whole, one in which any individual experience or characteristic feature is capable of standing for the thing in question.

As a romantic trope, wandering in Nature redirects the individual’s attention away from transparent distinctions between one’s self and the world, between subject and object required by taxonomic thinking, and toward the existence of an undifferentiated web of interrelations that constitute both ourselves and our world. This topological replacement and tropological redirection in the early 19th century involved a significant redefinition of what kind of space Nature was and what one was to learn from time spent in it. This paper presents analyses of the three works mentioned above and concludes with the placement of the act of wandering in
Nature and the collapse of the distinction between subject and object it implies in the proper historical and philosophical contexts.

ILLUSORY VOICES AND SCHUMANN’S HEINE SONG
AM LEUCHTENDEN SOMMERMORGEN
Richard Kurth
University of British Columbia

When composed music is conjoined with poetry, the binarism which traditionally sanctions the speaking voice as a mark of presence over writing as a mark of absence is complicated by the addition of a singing voice supported by and integrated with musical accompaniment. Paradoxically, such a singing voice may sometimes become a sounding absence rather than an authentic presence. These notions reverberate in Am leuchtenden Sommernogen (Dichterliebe XII). In the poem Heine’s narrator asserts his own muteness (“Ich aber wandle stumm”) and ends the poem by quoting words purportedly addressed to him by garden flowers (“‘Sei unsrer Schwester nicht bøse, du trauriger, blasser Mann!’”). The poem thus presents, with Heine’s characteristic irony, a complex relation between voice, illusory voice, and the act of writing. This paper examines how Heine’s poem is in turn addressed by Schumann’s musical writing, including the vocal acts it stipulates.

Critiquing the notion that a song is (merely) a setting or interpretation of a poem, I assert instead a “supplementary counterpoint” which engages both musical writing and poetic writing, along with their connections to various notions of “voice” and “presence.” A semiotic involving several enharmonic spellings in the musical writing and associated words and concepts in the poetic writing will be elaborated and evaluated. This paper briefly engages Derrida’s notions of arche-writing, of erasure, and of the supplement, and ends by assessing the possibilities for a supplementary musical “voice” in a song in which the poetic voices are already illusory.

SCHUBERT’S KOSEGARTEN SETTINGS OF 1815: A NEWLY DISCOVERED SONG CYCLE
Morten Solvik
Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Vienna

Though long neglected in musical scholarship, Franz Schubert’s 1815 lieder to texts by Gotthard Ludwig Kosegarten occupy a crucial position in the composer’s output. These 20 songs have been considered independent and unrelated works, yet a newly undertaken investigation reveals that they were intended as a large-scale, unified collection, probably the first of its kind in Schubert’s oeuvre. The arrangement of the lieder, the changes Schubert made to certain scores in preparing the fair copies, and the interrelatedness of the textual and musical complex all support the notion of a carefully planned work.

A close analysis of manuscript sources provided the first clues that led to this discovery. These documents contain marginal notes added after Schubert’s death that clearly classified the Kosegarten lieder as a unique group and that allow us to reconstruct their original order. Once so arranged, the set reveals a lucid plot and numerous recurring motivic and harmonic details strongly suggestive of a large-scale musical structure.

Assessing the implications of this finding poses many questions. If the songs constitute a cycle, how do we account for the three characters who speak through the texts? Does this confusion of genre and voice explain why Schubert never published the set? Why did he not write any collections of lieder on this scale
until Die schöne Müllerin (1823)? In raising such issues, the Kosegarten lieder cast Schubert’s approach to the lied cycle in a new light and force us to revise our understanding of this art form.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC AND POLITICS
Richard Crawford, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Chair

OF POLITICS AND STYLE:
COPLAND’S QUARTET FOR PIANO AND STRINGS
Jennifer DeLapp
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

In 1950 Aaron Copland used dodecaphony for the first time in his Quartet for Piano and Strings, despite earlier comments indicating his lack of affinity for that “tradition-drenched” technique. Though Copland made no secret of his growing admiration for Boulez, who used serialism in a non-Germanic way, and for Webern, whom Thomson called “an Austrian cousin of Debussy,” Copland’s aesthetic development tells just part of the story.

In 1953, Copland’s Lincoln Portrait was pulled from the Eisenhower inaugural concert when Congressman Fred Busbey accused Copland of communist affiliations. The allegations were not a complete surprise. Many in Copland’s circles had been involved directly or indirectly with communism in earlier decades. By the late 1940s, anti-Communist rhetoric had essentially equated leftist or populist activities with political subversion. The 1947 Hollywood Ten hearings and negative press surrounding the March 1949 Peace Conference, of which Copland was a sponsor, made him aware of the personal and professional harm anti-Communist accusations could wreak, and he was conscious of his own vulnerability.

When Arnold Schoenberg linked Copland with Stalin in a radio address later in 1949, Copland’s immediate response revealed the urgency he felt to refute an implied political accusation. In 1950, as anti-Communism gained momentum, stylistic distance from populist works such as Fanfare for the Common Man may have seemed wise to Copland. Using correspondence, government documents, newspaper accounts, and anti-Communist literature, this paper details a chronology that suggests political considerations were a factor in Copland’s turn to dodecaphony.

TWO WORLDS OF MUSIC IN THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, 1927–1937
Lawrence Schenbeck
Spelman College

The Chicago Defender’s musical reportage between the world wars included regular notice of both popular and classical music and musicians. But the differing treatment accorded these two genres reveals a constellation of underlying distinctions between them in the community. Such distinctions tended to segregate music not only by genre but also by class and gender. Popular-music correspondents were male, and in most cases they addressed an implicitly male readership, one hustling for the next gig. The major “classical” correspondent was female; her weekly columns focused on music-making largely organized and supported by bourgeois clubwomen, whose relatively higher economic and social status was explicitly identified. The cultivation of classical music by certain women in the African-American community, however, was more than a simple means of acquiring and displaying status. Through music, Black clubwomen sought to deny racist assumptions about their intelligence and morality and to model genteel behaviors
for the less fortunate. The Defender's routine coverage of such stars as Marian Anderson illustrates that usage. Conversely, its coverage of pivotal events like the June 15, 1933 concert of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra betrays the limitations of that usage. Faced with an undeniable milestone—the premiere of a Florence Price symphony and the debut of pianist Margaret Bonds—the Defender sought to reimpose male hegemony even as it reported this triumph. Mrs. George's review was cut, and in its place writer Nahum Brascher placed the concert in an historical context emphasizing the contributions and abilities of a host of talented Black men.

BLACK MUSIC AND THE POLITICS OF INTERPRETATION
Ronald Radano
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Musicology’s new engagement with cultural theory carries serious implications for the study of Black music. By revealing the social/discursive constitution of musical meaning, these recent investigations have contributed greatly to the dismantling of outmoded, essentialist visions of culture. Too often, however, their insights become politically suspect when they conflict with the beliefs of actual performers and listeners. The obstacles grow increasingly complex when the scholar-to-culture dialogue crosses racial and national boundaries.

This paper will outline some of the challenges for scholars of Black music in light of musicology’s theoretical turn. Providing a point of focus will be the idea of “Black rhythm,” which has recently undergone an insightful critique by Kofi Agawu. Whereas Agawu sees rhythm as an enduring figure in Western imaginings of Africa, I will argue that the modern construct developed above all in response to African-American music. Rhythm’s construct took shape at a key moment in American social history (ca. 1870–1900), when discourses of African colonization, blackface minstrelsy, and social Darwinism accompanied black music’s emergence into public culture. African Americans, in turn, quickly embraced the myth to signify a discernibly “black” identity.

More than a mere invention, then, “African rhythm” has played a crucial role in American perceptions of blackness. When elevated to the status of orthodoxy, however, it collapses—as Agawu rightly argues—under the weight of its own essentialism. This contradiction underscores the need for new critical practices that work through the disparity between theory’s displacements of subjectivity and insiders’ desires to construct myths of musical coherence.

THE WORK OF CULTURE: ALTON ADAMS
AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS MARCH
Mark Clague
University of Chicago

Any critical social history of music must endeavor to elucidate the relationship between music and context not as a single vector, but as the reciprocal interaction of both context upon text and text upon context. Adorno’s sociology of music, for example, exhibits this doubleness by allowing music to reflect and to create simultaneously. Adorno’s music criticism is thus suspended in an essential tension between the romantic nostalgia for an individual subjectivity capable of autonomous artistic creation and the socially potent “work” of art at once determined by and likewise creating history. Adorno’s theory is illustrated by practice in the music of Alton Augustus Adams, the first Black bandmaster of the United States Navy.

Supported by previously unexamined autobiographical sources from the archives of the Center for Black Music Research, this paper will explore the range of Adams’
social activism in three successive versions of his first well-known composition, The Virgin Islands March. Originally composed as an expression of gratitude for Captain William White, United States Navy, this march soon became internationally prominent and functioned successively as a catalyst for local identity, as an advertisement to encourage tourism and trade, as a source for Black American pride during the Harlem Renaissance, and most recently as the official anthem of the Virgin Islands rewritten to nourish Adams' own patriotic embrace of American society and fuel his resistance to the virulent strains of American racial politics. Operating at the periphery of American culture, Adams' music provides a unique critical perspective on the totalizing process of Americanization.

**OPERA BUFFA: SENTIMENTAL AND ANTI-SENTIMENTAL**
Daniel Heartz, Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley, Chair
Thomas Bauman, Northwestern University, Session Respondent

**THE VIRTUOUS STAGE: SENTIMENTALISM**
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OPERA BUFFA
Edmund J. Goehringer
University of Georgia, Athens

Sentimentalism is a concept central to a range of 18th-century disciplines. Although best known as a literary movement, sentimentalism also had a strong influence on the musical stage, where it inspired some of the most successful, influential *opere buffe* of the century. This paper considers the sentimental presence in this operatic repertory and how it shapes structure, language, and dramaturgy.

The most transparent features of sentimental literature—protagonists who raise feeling to a value, nostalgic depictions of the lower classes, and exceedingly optimistic views of human nature—merge easily with opera. But the sympathetic portrayal of virtue in distress has wider implications for the structure of these works, in which events appear not under the guidance of a controlling authorial voice, but as spontaneous depictions of the life of the protagonist. Opera could not replicate the epistolary mode that sought to efface the voice of the author, but it could reproduce its intended emotional immediacy, most successfully through recourse to a special sub-genre of sentimental aria.

Although undeniably popular, sentimentalism was not the only model available to composers, and this paper concludes by looking at *Cosi fan tutte*—a supremely anti-sentimental work—to highlight the boundaries of the phenomenon and to reconsider the range of its influence on the 18th-century stage. *Cosi* puts sentimentalism on trial, parodying its language and refuting its optimistic judgment of human nature. Most of all, by circumscribing its activity within an artificial, highly controlled structure, *Cosi* exposes the sentimental pretense of spontaneity and realism.

**VIRTUE REWARDED: TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SENTIMENTAL HEROINE IN OPERA BUFFA**
Jessica Waldoff
College of the Holy Cross

Following the unprecedented success of Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, both in England and on the continent, Italian operas based loosely on this sentimental novel held the stage from Piccinni’s *La buona figliuola* (1760) through Mozart’s *La finta giardiniera* (1775) to Paisiello’s *Nina* (1790). The figure of
the sentimental heroine poses a question of identity central to the social, economic, and ideological concerns of the age of sensibility: what is the measure of nobility? True to contemporary values, these operas center on the moral worth rather than social status of the individual and represent, in the words of Mary Hunter, “the virtue of constancy and its eventual reward,” which constitutes the moral core of all Pamela operas.

La vera costanza (1779) is Haydn’s most compelling treatment of the familiar sentimental heroine and marks an important turning point in the operatic development of the Pamela character. In the early Pamela operas, the heroine’s virtue is usually established by the discovery of her true identity; inner nobility is thus confirmed by birthright. But Haydn’s Rosina was born a fisherwoman; her nobility is confirmed by her moral character alone. The sentimental heroine of Haydn’s opera, Paisiello’s Nina, and other contemporary operas, undergoes a significant transformation that reflects a change in the way identity is perceived. As the age of sensibility increasingly values individual feeling, virtue, and internal achievement over external measures of social worth, inner nobility becomes its own reward.

SENTIMENTAL AND ANTI-SENTIMENTAL IN DA PONTE’S AND MOZART’S LE NOZZE DI FIGARO

Stefano Castelvecchi
University of Chicago

The expressive depth of Le nozze di Figaro has been read as the ultimate operatic fruit of 18th-century theatrical currents, notably in a bourgeois and sentimental direction (Diderot, Lessing). Yet it can be argued that Figaro stems from a programmatically anti-sentimental trend.

Beaumarchais epitomizes the perplexing interplay of sentimental and anti-sentimental drives in 18th-century Europe: he initially championed, in precept and example, the sentimental and bourgeois theater of Diderot’s “serious drama.” After his second drame, however, Beaumarchais turned to comedy (Le Barbier de Séville, Le Mariage de Figaro), and attacked the serious genre as explicitly as he had earlier defended it. In this light, his two celebrated comedies can be read as programmatically anti-sentimental works: they often play with (and overturn) the recognizable conventions of the recent sentimental genres, literary and theatrical.

Within this context, Le nozze di Figaro can be understood to embody a similar tension between sentimental and anti-sentimental elements. This opera inherits many of its source’s cynical traits—including the explicit parody of sentimental topoi—but in other ways questions that stance. More often than Da Ponte’s words, Mozart’s music seems to resist the anti-sentimental drives by adopting more frankly sentimental modes (the style of Barbarina’s aria, for instance, is redolent of Piccinni’s La buona figliuola).

The dissonance Joseph Kerman hears between the libretto and the music of Figaro may be due to this interplay of sentimentalism and anti-sentimentalism, but that tension is to be found within the libretto and within the music as well.
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TOPICS
Alejandro E. Planchart, University of California, Santa Barbara, Chair

THE MYTH OF TEMPUS PERFECTUM DIMINUTUM
Margaret Bent
All Souls College, Oxford

We have come to understand φ as signifying duple proportion or double speed, as indeed it must when used simultaneously with an uncut signature, or as causing some other precise or imprecise acceleration; these indeed came to be its primary meanings by the later 15th century. However, in a recent article (“The early use of the sign φ,” Early Music, May 1996), I argued that its earliest appearances affecting all parts in a texture (ca. 1430) are not necessarily directives to sing faster. The sign may carry other meanings, as corroborated by synonymous notations in different manuscripts. O is a mensuration sign and may be restated in order to accommodate a stroke; but the stroke through it may be treated separately as a multi-purpose indicator, like the signum congruentiae with which it is occasionally interchangeable, and as such it sometimes functions as a toggle switch. In addition to its better-known proportional meaning, it sometimes indicates, inter alia, repeats, coordination, alternatim performance, and changes of vocal scoring, all without any directive for tempo or proportional change.

This new paper does not repeat that argument (except for a brief recapitulation), but offers a sequel to it. Whereas the first paper deals with early occurrences of the sign, this one deals with its absence where we might most expect to find it, with the constructions that rest on that absence, and with the consequences of its now weakened status as a strongly prescriptive signal of diminution. It reviews the—largely unsigned—music from the early 15th century that modern scholarship considers to be in tempus perfectum diminutum and correspondingly provides with editorial φ. Two distinct phenomena are covered: (1) compositions where a minim of major prolation in one part equates with a semibreve in another; and (2) the early 15th-century notational and stylistic transition from c to o 2.

Both these cases (and others) are musical commonplace; but neither was strongly associated with cut signatures nor construed in any straightforward way as diminution. I therefore propose that the term be dropped, together with its notation, connotations, and editorial implementation.

DU FAY THE POET? PROBLEMS OF AUTHORSHIP, TEXT, AND MEANING IN THE MOTETS
Leofranc Holford-Strevens
Oxford University Press

The majority of Du Fay’s motets set Latin (in one case Italian) texts for which no other source exists; they exhibit such variety not merely in style and meter, but in linguistic and poetic competence, that they cannot be the work of a single author, nor is it legitimate to adduce overall abnormality of text against the authenticity of any motet attributed to the composer. I assign the texts to categories according to the criteria stated above, and suggest which poems may be candidates for common authorship.

Many of these texts have been transmitted in corrupt form and inadequately understood by their editors; but some passages appear to have been faulty as they left the poet’s hand. Without pretending to have resolved all the difficulties, I present such improvements to reading and interpretation as I have been able to make; these sometimes involve emendation, as when two Saints James are conflated, sometimes
a return to the transmitted text, as when unwarranted interventions insult Du Fay's common sense and Cleophe Malatesta's chastity.

Since Salve flos/Vos munr speaks in Du Fay's name, any attempt to show that the composer was sometimes his own poet must so far as the motets are concerned begin with this work. I examine the consequence of this hypothesis for our view of Du Fay's education and Latinity.

**DUFAY AND THE THEOLOGY OF THE L'HOMME ARMÉ MASSES**
Craig Wright
Yale University

The theology of the *L'Homme armé* Masses and the meaning of the text of the tune have never been satisfactorily explained. Is the Armed Man the enemy (the evil Turk) or a savior? A careful reading of the tropes and associated chants in the Masses of Dufay, Regis, Tintorius, and the anonymous Naples set, however, suggests the proper interpretation. These tropes, including *Laudamus Christum*, and chants, including *Isti sunt agni novelli* (Paschaltide) and *Pueri hebreorum* (Palm Sunday), strongly suggest that to sing of the Armed Man was to sing of Christ.

Confirmation of this thesis can be found in an unexpected source, the remarkable presence of retrograde motion in the *Agnus Dei* of the *L'Homme armé* Mass of Dufay. Among Dufay's extant works only three use retrograde motion, and in all three the text treats the subject of the Agnus Dei—Christ, sacrificial lamb of God and victorious warrior. For Dufay, retrograde motion was a symbol for Christ the warrior-lamb. Regressive motion and spiritual renewal had long been a theme associated with the paschal lamb on Easter Vespers. At many churches in France and the Low Countries, the chanting of the antiphon *Ego sum alpha et omega . . . initium et finis* announced the Vespers procession, which went to a maze on the floor of the nave. There the clergy re-enacted Christ's harrowing in Hell, defeat of Satan, and victorious ascension as ruler of an earthly paradise at the end of time (recounted in Apocalypse, depicted in Ghent Altarpiece). As the clerics traced a course in and out of the maze, the beginning point became the end. Commencing with Dufay, this ancient religious symbolism found expression in polyphonic Masses. Josquin, Obrecht, and other composers followed suit, incorporating retrograde motion in their *Agnus Dei*. Thus the Armed Man is not the enemy, but Christ, sacrificial victim and redoubtable warrior, the first and last of Christian soldiers.

**THE RECEIPTION OF ENGLISH Masses, 1420–1460: A REVISED VIEW**
Rebecca L. Gerber
Waterville, Maine

English Mass cycles from the time of Dunstable (*ca.* 1420–40) are the impetus for the development of the Franco-Flemish Mass genre, but during the 1440s to '60s a hiatus occurred in the transmission of insular Masses to the western European regions. Franco-Flemish Masses from mid-century continue to embrace early English Mass techniques, yet the more progressive Mass constructions of the second generation of English composers (including Bedyngham and Plummer) were apparently not imitated in North France until the 1460s.

German composers, on the other hand, were immediately receptive to the new compositional strategies, showing that their cycles are not derived from a Franco-Flemish assimilation of English Mass music but directly from English archetypes. The principal difference between the two continental styles lies in the management of the pre-existent *cantus firmus* material. Until about 1460 northern composers set conventional quotations of tenor melodies without significant melodic elaboration.
In contrast, a set of anonymous German and Austrian compositions from this period shows that Germanic composers were more likely to completely transform melodic and rhythmic elements of the cantus firmus; these compositions are the precursors of the block quotation and imitation techniques of German song Masses in the late 1460s and 1470s. Despite the overall importance of Franco-Flemish music during the mid-15th century, an understanding of the interchange between the regions results in a less Franco-centric and more dynamic view of the European Mass genre.

FILM IN OPERA—OPERA IN FILM
Katherine Bergeron, University of California, Berkeley, Chair

OLD WINE, NEW BOTTLE—NON-DIEGETIC MUSIC
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY BEIJING OPERA
THE STORY OF THE RED LANTERN
Maria Chow
University of Chicago

The Story of the Red Lantern is probably the best-known revolutionary Beijing opera performed during the Cultural Revolution (1965–75). The opera is often criticized for its propagandistic nature, and its alleged popularity in official reports is usually viewed with suspicion. Yet it seems that political control may not have shaped the perception and reception of the opera as much as one might think; rather, the audience’s aesthetic orientation probably played a more significant role—different audiences responded to the opera quite differently. Based on discussions in the 1960s about changes introduced to Beijing opera, this paper examines the relationship between music and visual images in The Red Lantern, showing how the use of music in the opera could have engaged its audience’s attention in contrasting ways.

A striking feature of The Red Lantern is the presence of “background music” similar to the non-diegetic music found in today’s films. However, not all audiences of the opera appreciated this new use of music; it is likely that many were confused by the lack of “clear correspondence” between background music and stage actions, a characteristic of traditional Beijing opera. The confusion here challenges assumptions about the all-pervasive power of non-diegetic music in films as raised in recent discussions. By examining the causes of the confusion, this paper also reflects on factors which shape our perception of music and visual images in different histrionic presentations.

FANTASY AND FRAME IN FILM-OPERA:
TALES OF HOFFMANN AND PARSIFAL
Marcia J. Citron
Rice University

Two of the most imaginative film-operas ever made are Powell and Pressburger’s Tales of Hoffman (1951) and Syberberg’s Parsifal (1982). Given the respective sources, they would seem to be very different works: the former French, number opera, and entertaining; the latter Wagnerian, continuous, and spiritual. Yet both foreground fantasy and depend on framing devices to structure narrative and meaning.

This paper explores the intersection of fantasy and frame in the two films. In Hoffmann, whose three tales are already framed by a prologue and epilogue, the devices of dance, mirroring, and voyeurism are used to frame the fantasy created through excesses of color and magic and a heightened ambiguity of space and reality.
Self-conscious, exaggerated display is both mirror and impetus to varied subject positions forged between narrative and audience. In *Parsifal*, ideology regarding Wagner and Germanic political consciousness serves as the main frame. Intense and devout, this *Parsifal* utilizes fantasy in the form of dream-like settings and non sequiturs, arresting socio-cultural symbols (e.g., Wagner’s death-mask as terrain), and fluid identity for characters, especially *Parsifal* (a male then a female adolescent, and then together as two-in-one). As in *Hoffmann*, subject-positioning becomes complicated. Furthermore, both films interrupt their cinematic frame with references to theatrical conventions of opera.

The interplay between fantasy and frame provides a powerful and flexible cinematic device for new interpretations of opera. As in *Hoffmann*, the combination can even produce the “dream” interpretation that captures most fully the spirit of the work.

**RICHARD STRAUSS**
Bryan Gilliam, Duke University, Chair

**STRAUSS AS “CONVALESCENT”:**
THE PROGRAM OF *ALSO SPRACH ZARATHUSTRA* (1896)
Charles Youmans
Duke University

One hundred years after its premiere, Strauss’ *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1896) remains the most enigmatic of his tone poems, with basic questions about structure and program still unanswered. The interpretive puzzle uniting a century of analysts stems from the assumption (bolstered by Strauss’ typically evasive public remarks on the work) that the music has a merely superficial relationship to its notorious philosophical source. New evidence from the composer’s sketches and notebooks, and from annotations in his copy of Schopenhauer’s *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (1818; rev. 1844), indicates that he turned to Nietzsche not out of faddishness but as part of a “convalescence” following an agonizing personal alienation from Schopenhauerian aesthetics. The tone poem *Also sprach Zarathustra* presents this philosophically sophisticated artist’s most cogent expression of his mature attitudes about music and life in the post-Schopenhauerian age.

Awareness of the private intellectual context in which Strauss worked clarifies his choice and ordering of sections from Nietzsche’s text. The drastic reduction Strauss permitted himself focused attention on concepts of profound but misunderstood autobiographical relevance (“convalescence,” “disgust,” the “eternal recurrence”) and yielded an ingenious primer on the promise and sacrifices inherent in the solution proffered by Nietzsche. Musically, the work lays out a model realization of Nietzschean teachings, not through the struggles between “universe” and “individual,” but in the individual’s own wrestling with himself (as would re-emerge in the “inner doubts” of the sketches for *Ein Heldenleben* [1898]), a contest reflected in formal pairing, tonal interaction, and leitmotivic mechanisms.

**“REVEAL NOTHING TO HIM OF HIS MARKET VALUE”:**
THE PUBLICATION OF STRAUSS’ FIRST THREE TONE POEMS
Scott Warfield
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

No other composer has been so castigated for his business acumen and financial successes as has Richard Strauss. The denigration of Strauss’ work as mere “musical
merchandise" produced for sale by an "industrial composer" arose chiefly in reaction to Strauss' fight for composers' rights at the turn of the century. Yet despite the importance of Strauss' advocacy, which culminated in the founding of the Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer in 1903, there has been no investigation into why Strauss championed that cause in the 1890s.

A careful examination of the negotiations in 1889–91 with Eugen Spitzweg—owner of Aibl Verlag—over the publication of Strauss' first three tone poems suggests that those difficult business dealings with his first publisher were the likely starting point for Strauss' concern with a composer's rights. Those events also paint a more complex picture of Strauss than the simplistic "money-grubber" image found in much of the literature.

A previously unknown exchange of letters between Strauss and another publisher reveals that Spitzweg had exclusive right to Strauss' compositions, which prevented Strauss from soliciting competing offers for his works. Spitzweg, following confidential advice from Hans von Bülow, proposed to take only two of Strauss' first three tone poems but refused to allow the composer to sell the remaining one to another publisher. Lacking any other option, Strauss withheld the wildly successful Töd und Verklärung from Spitzweg until he met the composer's demands. Finally, Strauss' letters suggest that he wanted his works in print primarily for reasons other than financial gain.
THE IDEOLOGY OF MODERNISM
Richard Taruskin, University of California, Berkeley, Chair

WOLFGANG FORTNER'S ISAACS OPFERUNG: GERMANY'S "ZERO-HOUR MYTH" AND THE AESTHETIC OF DISCONTINUITY
Alexander Colpa
New York University

After the collapse of the Nazi regime in 1945, the notion that the economical, political, and intellectual rebirth of West Germany represented a break with the past became enshrined in the so-called "Zero-Hour Myth." A discussion of trends in West German literature during the years 1945–60 will show that major authors such as Wolfgang Borchert, Heinrich Böll, and Günter Grass were aware of both the positive and negative aspects of the "Myth." They sought to revitalize the German language by purging it of connotations associated with Nazi rule; highlighting such connotations was a first step in this process. They also demonstrated how older generations were able to hide their complicity behind the sense of historical discontinuity which the "Myth" upheld.

Wolfgang Fortner (1907–87), founding composer of the Darmstadt Summer School, reflected these artistic trends by making discontinuity an issue in his works. Analysis of his concise "Oratorio-Scene" Isaaks Opferung (The Sacrifice of Isaac, 1952) reveals that tension between tonal and dodecaphonic devices has been meticulously crafted to create an aesthetic of discontinuity. Furthermore, he sets the Vulgate text so that those passages which stress obedience and human sacrifice (both concepts abused by the Nazis) are emphasized. Fortner distinguished himself from the younger Darmstadt composers (Stockhausen, Boulez, Nono) who ignored the issue of discontinuity; they saw their serialist aesthetic as a "new beginning." Fortner's critical success depended largely on the perception that his music intellectualized characteristics which his audience associated with the "Zero-Hour Myth."

WHO KILLED NEO-CLASSICISM: THE PARADIGM SHIFT AFTER 1945
Anne C. Shreffler
University of Basel, Switzerland

Soon after World War II, composition based on twelve-tone techniques began to dominate international art music, establishing a prestige, if not popularity, that far exceeded that of its "neo-classical" predecessors. In Europe, young composers active at Darmstadt defined the new aesthetic, while in the United States even older composers "converted" to serialism, Stravinsky being the most prominent example. This broad paradigm shift, which occurred rapidly and for seemingly apparent reasons, was by no means inevitable, and its central issues are far from resolved. Painted at the time as a simple choice between outmoded neo-classicism and modern serialism, the debate reflected a change in fundamental beliefs about music and its role in culture. The relationship between material and form, the belief in progress, and the political-ethical role of New Music all helped to define (and thereby create) an aesthetic duality. The overwhelming moral and logical victory of the "serialist" side occurred in part because it was able to control the terms of the debate, to such an extent that we now ask "how serialism spread" rather than "why neo-classicism died."

This paper examines aesthetic, ideological, and political aspects of this shift and discusses its historical legacy. Drawing upon the writings of Adorno, Boulez, Babbitt,
Carter, and others, I examine the rhetorical moves that placed all diatonic-based music, however diverse, into an inferior ideological position. Paradoxically, the “revolutionary” institutions of New Music were based on values that corresponded with those of Cold War society at large. The paradigm shift remains a central question in the historiography of 20th-century music: out of this moment came a clearly-drawn map of a musical landscape, with whose labels, boundaries, and domains we still contend even as we try to redefine them.

RICHARD STRAUSS, GUSTAV MAHLER, AND THE ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER MUSIKVEREIN:
THE POLITICS OF MUSICAL MODERNISM
James Deaville
McMaster University

When Strauss became President of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein in 1901, he was in a position to influence German musical modernism, presiding until 1909 over the largest festival of contemporary music in Central Europe. However, since the late 1880s the ADMV had been experiencing an identity crisis because Liszt and Wagner—central figures for the Society during their lifetimes—no longer represented the compositional avant-garde. Newly discovered documents from the Society Archive in Weimar—especially unpublished communications between Strauss and board members—as well as published letters by Strauss, reveal how he attempted to re-establish the ADMV’s pre-eminence in the avant-garde, through a politics of musical modernism which based itself upon the aggressive public co-promotion of recognized modernist Strauss and colleague Gustav Mahler.

Strauss’ plan was to establish Mahler and himself as the new central modernists for the ADMV, represented as direct successors of Liszt and Wagner, who occupied the forefront of musical progress. Working independently of board or program committees, Strauss accomplished this by structuring his festivals in Krefeld (1902), Basel (1903), Graz (1905), and Essen (1906) around one major new work of Mahler, balanced by a large composition of his own and one by Liszt. (This programming link with Liszt served to validate the new avant-garde through the old.) The often confrontational correspondence with board members, especially Schillings and Rösch, makes clear the tactics behind Strauss’ commitment to advocating Mahler through the ADMV, a political and personal agenda that suggests the need for rehabilitating the Strauss-Mahler relationship. Recent scholarship (particularly that of Sander Gilman) has problematized that relationship, yet it was this initiative of Strauss in the ADMV that established Mahler in the German contemporary music scene.

NEOCLASSICISM AS IDEOLOGY?
THE PLAUSIBILITY OF AN HYPOTHESIS
Tamara Levitz
McGill University

In Spring 1993 Richard Taruskin shocked at least some of his readers by implying, in the seemingly innocuous format of a book review in the pages of 19th-Century Music, that Stravinsky’s neoclassicism reflected a reactionary, if not fascist, ideology. Avoiding outright claims, Taruskin insinuated that Stravinsky’s neoclassical works could be related in different ways to nationalism, counter-revolutionary politics, and even, albeit indirectly, Nazi aesthetics. Taruskin clearly intended to do more than critique a few new books on neoclassicism in this seminal review; his words served as a warning and demanded a response.
This paper departs from Taruskin’s text to offer a critique and expansion of the idea of neoclassicism as ideology. Referring to the work of Althusser, Ricoeur, and others, I begin by clarifying some of the ramifications of introducing a term such as “ideology” into discussions of musical style. The bulk of the paper, however, addresses the acute problem of whether and in what respect neoclassicism indeed embodies or reflects reactionary politics. I answer this question by focusing on the example of Stravinsky’s Octet, and by referring to writings in ideological criticism by Adorno, Jeffrey Herf, Rose Subotnik, and others. Although questioning some of Taruskin’s claims, I confirm some of his suspicions, concluding with an hypothesis on the ideology of neoclassicism which is based in philosophical debate and which, if deemed plausible, will have many ramifications for the music historiography of this century.

COURTLY AND CLOISTERED WOMEN IN MUSIC
Craig Monson, Washington University, St. Louis, Chair

A SINGER GOES TO COURT: VIRGINIA CAMUFFI AND THE DISASTER OF ALESSANDRO AMANTE (1667)
Irene Alm
Rutgers University

Although a number of recent archival discoveries have enhanced our knowledge and understanding of theater finances in 17th-century Venice, relatively little is known about the business dealings of opera houses, impresarios, and singers. My discovery of a fully documented court case involving the singer Virginia Rocchi Camuffi, the impresario Sebastian Enno, and the Teatro San Moisè has yielded a wealth of new information regarding the complex, and in this case rather shady, financial practices of opera production in Venice.

The documents of this case, along with various personal legal papers pertaining to Camuffi, tell in detail the story of an independent and strong-willed woman. Despite the utter disaster of the opera, Boretti’s Alessandro amante, Camuffi is determined to be paid according to her contract. From this initial contract to the final testimony of various witnesses regarding missing box office receipts, Camuffi’s dealings with Enno are a fascinating account of both the legal and artistic challenges to a Venetian singer.

This paper places Camuffi’s case in the broader context of what we know about theatrical finances in Venice. The struggles at the Teatro San Moisè were not atypical, but the extensive surviving documentation regarding Alessandro amante certainly is. In this instance, the drama off stage was far more riveting than the short-lived one on stage.

ISABELLA MEDICI-ORSINI: A PORTRAIT OF SELF-AFFIRMATION
Donna Cardamone Jackson
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

The death by strangulation of Isabella Medici-Orsini in 1576, at the hands of her husband Paolo Orsini in collusion with her brother Francesco, Grand Duke of Tuscany, dominates accounts of her life, obscuring her considerable musical accomplishments. First, I bring forward a portrait from Allori’s workshop (ca. 1565) which shows Isabella with a sheet of music in hand. Although the music is “faked,” it is clearly an attribute commemorating her status as a composer, and it authenticates the authorship of the arioso madrigal under her name in Bottegari’s
lutebook. Next, I develop the contexts in which Isabella, a singer, poetess, and improviser, functioned as founder of a literary salon and patron at the Medici court, emphasizing her affinity for Maddalena Casulana.

Francesco’s book of villanelle (I-Fn Magl. XIX.67) documents the transmission of Neapolitan aria styles from Rome (through Orsini) to Tuscany, and most likely contains a repertory cultivated by Isabella and court singers with southern connections, namely Scipione delle Palle and Giulio Caccini. Finally, I use feminist standpoint theory to interpret Isabella’s transgressions of the patriarchal codes that governed her political marriage to a profligate who repeatedly deserted her (she dressed as a man, cruised the streets singing, and took a lover). A turning point in her quest for sexual empowerment was identification with Ariosto’s abandoned, but strong-willed, heroine, Olimpia, whose lament Isabella asked Stefano Rossetti to set as a madrigal-cycle. With this metaphorical representation of her passionate female self, Isabella cast off the Medici yoke, which was her undoing.

A DIVA IN THE CONVENT: THE SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARIA FRANCESCA PICCOLOMINI

Colleen Reardon
Binghamton University

Although many spiritual autobiographies by 17th-century women monastics have survived, a manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena is thus far the only one to have as its subject a nun musician. Maria Francesca Piccolomini (1631–59), a nun at Ognissanti, one of the most musically active convents in Siena, was ordered by her confessor to write an account documenting the miracles bestowed upon her by the Virgin Mary. Piccolomini was a theorbo player, and cures to her hands and arms were miraculously granted on occasions when it appeared that physical pain would prevent her from playing her instrument. As a prelude to the autobiography, the confessor furnished a biography of the nun. Both accounts bring to light problems associated with expressing musical talent in the cloister. An examination of the confessor’s text reveals the care with which he sought to establish Piccolomini’s credentials as a holy woman (by recounting her dedication to self-flagellation and her disdain of food) before approaching the sensitive subject of miracles whose purpose was to allow her to make music. Piccolomini’s narrative displays how well she understood the desires of the convent to lay claim to cultural and religious significance, and how skillfully she exploited the two virtues so prized in monastic women—humility and obedience—in order to create fame for herself as a musician not only within the restricted space of the convent, but also in the larger world outside its walls.

TOWARDS A TAXONOMY OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCES AT VENETIAN CONVENTS

Jonathan E. Glixon
University of Kentucky

Of all the religious institutions of Venice, it was the convents that, surprisingly, enjoyed the most complex (if not necessarily the most active) musical lives. Nearly all of the many musical events at the most famous church in the city, the Doge’s Basilica of San Marco, can be categorized simply: they were performances by the professional musicians of the cappella in a religious ceremony. Similarly, the performances at confraternities and male monasteries are also rather easy to classify. Convents, however, present a different story. Some of the added complexities arose because of the division between interior and exterior spaces: those areas within the
enclosure, barred to nearly all but the nuns themselves, and those outside, including most of the church, which was open to the public but still controlled by the convent. Performers included not only the nuns themselves but also male musicians hired, either by the convent or by private individuals, for public religious services. The overlapping layers of control of the convents—they were subject to both ecclesiastic and civic authorities—add yet another complication. This paper offers a way to make sense of the multifarious musical lives within the Venetian convents, as revealed in a wide variety of sources from the 15th through the 18th centuries, by proposing a classification of their musical performances, sacred and secular, that should also prove useful for similar studies elsewhere.

ROCK MUSIC
Graeme Boone, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Chair

HENDRIX AND DYLAN:
TWO VERSIONS OF ALL ALONG THE WATCHTOWER
Albin Zak
The Graduate School, City University of New York

This paper examines the musical forces that animate Jimi Hendrix’s recomposition of Bob Dylan’s All Along the Watchtower. In its limited melodic resources, its persistent harmonic circularity, and its textural and rhythmic constancy, Dylan’s version Imparts a sense of suspended musical time. Although its phrases constitute a temporal sequence, they leave the listener with a sense less of musical progression than of a gathering atmosphere whose constituent musical elements are all somehow simultaneously present. Its mantra-like chord cycle serves as a core around which all other elements adhere in a tight and consistent focus.

From the powerful flourish of its opening measures, Jimi Hendrix’s version of the song creates an altogether different impression. The music takes on a dynamic, narrative quality; there is a palpable sense of dramatic progression, casting the song in an entirely different light. To create the propulsive force, Hendrix uses a set of formal and conceptual dualisms that oppose one another at both the musical surface and higher structural levels. For example, the verses and refrains in Dylan’s version form a complementary statement/response relationship that preserves a single mood; Hendrix, on the other hand, creates an abrupt formal disjunction between verse and refrain by juxtaposing sharply contrasting rhythmic and instrumental textures. Viewed from a higher structural level, the series of refrains in Hendrix’s version unfolds a long-range directed motion in the electric guitar melody that is antithetical to the stable inertia of the chord cycle.

CROSS-CULTURAL COLLAGE:
PETER GABRIEL’S SECRET WORLD/REAL WORLD
Joseph Henry Auner
State University of New York, Stony Brook

British rock star Peter Gabriel has emerged in the last decade as a major figure in the fusion of Western pop and non-Western styles marketed as “world music.” Through his collaborations with musicians such as Senegalese singer and drummer Youssou N’Dour, his creation of Real World Records which has produced and distributed a wide range of music from many parts of the globe, and his involvement with the World of Music and Dance festivals (WOMAD), Gabriel
has established important new possibilities and forms of multicultural exchange. Yet Gabriel's activities have also been open to criticism as a form of artistic colonialism and for perpetuating troubling aspects of exoticism from the previous fin-de-siècle.

Drawing upon writings by Stephen Feld, James Clifford, and others, the presentation explores how tensions between a utopian collaboration of equals and the problematic realities of representing the “other” are made manifest in Gabriel's 1993 CD-ROM, Explora 1: Peter Gabriel's Secret World. Along with audio and video excerpts from Gabriel's recordings, the CD-ROM includes materials about Real World Records, WOMAD, and world music, including a gallery of playable instruments. I focus on an interactive “jam session” in which the viewer uses a “cultural mixing board” to assemble various combinations of fifteen musicians from Europe, the United States, Asia, and Africa. The resulting cross-cultural collages illustrate the remarkable eclecticism of Gabriel's recent work as well as the limitations and constraints under which he operates.

KANSAS AND THE PROPHETIC TONE
Mitchell Morris
McGill University

“Art” or “Progressive” Rock, best exemplified by groups such as King Crimson or Yes, originated in 1970s Great Britain and depended for its musical and textual characteristics on British attitudes towards “popular” and “serious” music. Outside the land of its origin the genre acquired a somewhat exotic aura, but by the mid ’70s many of the features of Art/Progressive Rock began to be absorbed by Americans. One of the most important of these groups towards the late ’70s was Kansas, which achieved mainstream success with the release of左overture (1976). Crucial to the group's appeal was its ability to domesticate the textual imagery and poetic stance of the British genre by developing a matrix of specifically American concerns, including Emersonian Transcendentalism, ecological awareness, and a generalized evangelical protestant Christianity. Musically, Kansas pioneered the fusion of Art/Progressive Rock techniques with the sounds of American genres such as Southern Rock and Country. Music, text, and album cover art combined to produce an image of the band as modern Whitman-like shamans or seers.

“Carry On Wayward Son,” the most famous song from Leftoverture, provides an exceptional instance of Kansas’ prophetic tone, particularly in the hallucinatory alienation of the text’s speaker. In this paper I demonstrate how the musical style and structure of this song support and reinforce the visionary stance of its lyrics. My discussion will conclude with a more general consideration of Kansas’ other albums and their role in the history of 1970s rock.

DECONSTRUCTING MUSICAL STYLES: THE EMERGENCE OF BRITISH POST-PUNK IN THE 1980S
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State University of New York, Stony Brook

The British Punk movement of 1976 was the first popular music subcultural style to emerge side by side with the development of poststructural critical theories. As such, it has been celebrated for its rebellious fusion of avant-garde performance tactics and mass cultural materials, measures which blurred distinctions between “high” and “low” culture. Since by 1978 the movement’s innovative style had been adopted and commodified by the mainstream music industry, writers such as Dave Laing and Jon
Savage have depicted Punk as a circumscribed historical period. They narrow their attention to a cadre of bands, centered around The Sex Pistols, whose abrasive, direct song structures have come almost exclusively to represent Punk's generic sound.

In his influential book *One Chord Wonders*, Laing labels experimental pop groups who appeared in Punk's wake, such as Public Image Limited and Gang of Four, as Post-Punk. Because these bands fall outside Punk's ostensibly delimited time frame, Laing and other authors have relegated them to a postscript in the Punk discourse. As I argue, Post-Punk groups deserve reconsideration for extending Punk's postmodern avant-garde political and visual aesthetics within a musical compositional realm. These bands deconstructed and estranged the semantics of Punk's sonic language, developing stylistic traits which have influenced current Alternative Rock bands. My discussion of Post-Punk centers around two versions of British musical artist Colin Newman's song "Don't Bring Reminders," the first of which acts as a Punk "model"; the second sounds like a Post-Punk deconstruction of the first.

**WILLIAM BILLINGS**

*Steven Saunders, Colby College, Chair*

**A VOICE WAS HEARD IN SHILOH AND ROXBURY:**
**REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL COMMENT IN TWO TUNES BY BILLINGS**

Charles E. Brewer
Florida State University

When Billings published *Shiloh for Christmas in the Suffolk Harmony* (1786), he included an extensive set of twenty-four annotations. As noted by McKay and Crawford, and in Kroeger's critical edition, most of the citations relate directly to specific Biblical passages. However, it has not been noticed by earlier scholars that two of the citations, to Ezekiel and Psalm 149, do not have this direct referential quality.

These two anomalous annotations in Billings' text lead to a much more radical and revolutionary interpretation. The first partial publication of the text was attached to the tune Boston in the *Singing Master's Assistant* (1778), which included other polemical compositions such as Chester. In fact, both of the anomalous citations demonstrate an anti-monarchical attitude commonly found in Puritan Biblical exegesis and preaching during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Tate and Brady translation of Psalm 149 (New Version) was used in Billings' *Roxbury*, also published in the *Singing Master's Assistant*. The linking of Psalm 149 with the name of a Boston suburb directly connects the tune *Roxbury* (and, indirectly, *Shiloh*) with Billings' explicitly revolutionary paraphrase of Biblical texts in his *Lamentation over Boston*, which includes the text "A voice was heard in Roxbury . . . ."

Though Billings' annotations to this text may have been stimulated in part by his need to demonstrate his own erudition to the literate gentlemen of Boston, as indicated in earlier studies this more detailed examination demonstrates that Billings also left clues to a deeper significance for his seemingly innocent Christmas song.
WILLIAM BILLINGS' REBELLION AGAINST PURITANISM: IDEAS OF NATURE, ANIMALS, AND CANNIBALISM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOSTON

Michael Broyles
Pennsylvania State University

William Billings' identification with Nature is well-known. Less understood is just how radical Billings' concept of Nature was. Billings' belief in a benign Nature as comfort and solace, and his concept of Nature as artistic inspiration and model, clashed forthrightly with the Puritan view that Nature was a place of terror, essentially evil itself.

Billings challenged the prevailing Puritan view with biting satire in both musical compositions and prose writings. His satire encompassed animal allegories, tales of criminals, and a lurid account of cannibalism. In one sense his writings resemble the Puritan view, presenting the world beyond the hedge (a principal Puritan metaphor) as a savage place where the most horrid events occur. They so exaggerate the Puritan view, however, as to become a caricature of it. Billings also may have had a specific target for his writings about cannibalism. In Europe cannibalism had been associated with witchcraft in the 14th to 16th centuries. The New England witchcraft scare of the 17th century, itself a major episode in American Puritanism, was a continuation of that trend.

But Billings did more than satirize Puritan views. In his embrace of Nature, he not only recognized the wildness that the Puritans feared, but turned it on its head. Billings fully identified with those creatures beyond the hedge; he himself became the outsider, the wild man, whose values subvert prevailing standards; and he did so knowingly.

If this interpretation is correct, it has several implications for understanding his music, which this paper briefly elucidates.

RENAISSANCE THEORY

James Haar, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair

HARMONIC INSTITUTIONS: THEORY, PRACTICE, AND PRINTED REPERTORIES (1501–1558)

Cristle Collins Judd
University of Pennsylvania

This paper explores sub-texts created by music examples in treatises from the first half of the 16th century. While music examples have commonly occupied a minor place in histories of theory, I argue that these appropriated musical texts are crucial markers of the intellectual and social spheres inhabited by theorists, their treatises, and the practice(s) such examples suggest. Reading out from examples to the repertories and sources they implicitly represent provides entirely new perspectives on a group of treatises, theorists, and musical sources whose interpretation has long formed the backbone of musical scholarship of this period. Further, the intersection of music and printing evidenced through music examples offers an unexplored position from which to address musical print culture. Specific instances drawn from the writings of Aron, Listenius, Glarean, and Zarlini highlight broader issues; the nature of the relationship of theory and praxis; contemporaneous access to, and use of, practical sources; stated and unstated agendas of theorists; and orality and literacy as they were represented via music print culture. These instances illustrate the ways in which Renaissance theorists’ choices have shaped
modern interpretation of practice and, reflexively, the ways in which modern theory has been mapped onto earlier practice. While the use of music examples may appear obvious to a modern reader—an inevitable concomitant of the emergence of a music print culture—the invocation of printed musical sources betokened an irreversible change in the interplay of music theory, practice, printed repertories, and communities of readers.

NORMALIZING THE HUMANIST: BURTIIUS' REWRITING OF GALLICUS' *DE RITU CANENDI*
Stefano Mengozzi
University of Chicago

Historians customarily present Nicolaus Burtius' *Musices Opusculum* (1487) as a music-theoretical source that derives much of its content from Johannes Gallicus' *De Ritu Canendi* (ca. 1460). However, a close reading of the two treatises reveals that they have much less in common than is normally believed.

Gallicus' primary concern is to provide a rational account of the elements of music, which he assumes to be grounded on universal principles. His thesis is that the musical practice of his time would benefit from a re-adoption of the simple pedagogical techniques of the ancients. In particular, Gallicus condemns Guidonian solmization as a cumbersome and potentially harmful method of training singers.

On the other hand, Burtius' immediate goal was to defend Guidonian solmization against the criticism of Ramis de Pareja (*Musica Praxica*, 1482). For Burtius, the theories of "the Spaniard" threatened the notion of the Church's privileged access to the truth. Disturbed by the fact that Gallicus' discussion of solmization amounted to an endorsement of Ramis' reform of the system, Burtius fabricated a subtle misrepresentation of Gallicus' views by portraying him as a genuine follower of Guido. In this way, he took the weight of Gallicus' authority away from Ramis, while re-establishing Guido and the Church fathers as repositories of musical knowledge. Thus, the late 15th-century debate over solmization can be viewed as a minor skirmish in a larger battle over the authority of the Church.

WILLIAM GRANT STILL
Carol Oja, Brooklyn College and The Graduate School,
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WILLIAM GRANT STILL'S *LENOX AVENUE*: MUSIC, MIGRATION, AND MEMORY
Gayle Murchison
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

William Grant Still described *Lenox Avenue* (1937) as "a musician's stroll through Harlem." By the time he composed *Lenox Avenue*, his first ballet to treat an actual period in African-American history, Still had migrated westward, relocating to Los Angeles in 1934, and the Harlem Renaissance had ended. Composed nearly half a decade after the movement, the ballet's characters, scenario, and music trace an encapsulated cultural and musical history of the Harlem Renaissance.

*Lenox Avenue* depicts the cultural life and nightlife of the Harlem Renaissance as described by Alain Locke in *The New Negro* (1925) and James Weldon Johnson in *Black Manhattan* (1930). Still provided a cross-section of Harlem, presenting both the masses that Locke described as being on the vanguard of change, and the elite, those who would advance the Race through culture. Still also alludes to
Harlem 1920s politics, constructing his ballet as a choreographic roman à clef. Two episodes introduce characters representing two towering figures of Black New York during the 1920s, Alain Locke and Marcus Garvey. Though specifically referring to Harlem, Lenox Avenue is also symbolic of Afro-America and African-American progress as a whole.

 Appropriately, Still composed music that not only suited the dramatic action on stage, but comprised a compendium of Black musical styles associated with New York and Harlem. Lenox Avenue also presents all three of Still’s self-described styles; the ultramodern, the racial, and the universal, demonstrating the way in which Still synthesized both populist and modernist styles with African-American jazz and blues.

BLUE STEEL: WILLIAM GRANT STILL’S COLLABORATION WITH HAROLD BRUCE FORSYTHE
Catherine Parsons Smith
University of Nevada, Reno

Harold Bruce Forsythe, the Los Angeles-educated African-American writer-musician who worked with Still on the first of his eight operas (Blue Steel, 1934–35, unproduced), remains a footnote, especially compared to Langston Hughes (Troubled Island, completed in 1941, produced in 1949) and Verna Arry (six librettos from 1940). Forsythe’s five-year association with the composer began with Still’s 1930 working visit to Los Angeles as an arranger for Paul Whiteman’s “Old Gold Hour”; it continued after Still moved to Los Angeles in 1934.

Still constructed a detailed scenario (recently discovered, now at The Huntington Library) from which Forsythe worked, complete with stage directions, recitative texts, and interpolated “Dear Harold” notes. As was his later practice, Still annotated the resulting libretto with themes and references to themes from a (missing) sketchbook. These draft materials provide substantive insights into Still’s approach to opera, especially his revision of both text and music and his use of leitmotifs. Moreover, they reveal his concern about portraying his characters faithfully in the high-art context of opera.

Although Blue Steel is the only project they carried to completion, Forsythe probably also had a profound influence on the major orchestral works of Still’s middle, “racial” period. Still’s working relationship with Forsythe supplies a window through which the composer can be seen working out some Harlem Renaissance ideas in his music, particularly concerning the representation of Africa and African Americans.

OCKEGHEM
Leeman Perkins, Columbia University, Chair

OCKEGHEM’S APPROACH TO MUSICAL PROCESS IN THE THREE-VOICE CHANSONS
Mary Kathleen Morgan
University of Pennsylvania

Although the literature frequently cites stylistic variety among the hallmarks of Ockeghem’s chansons, closer examination of this repertory reveals considerable uniformity in melodic, tonal and contrapuntal procedures.

Viewed cumulatively, these resemblances provide evidence of a method of composition to which Ockeghem resolutely adhered. In this paper I attempt to demonstrate the existence and nature of this model, which reflects an organizational
approach extending well beyond the rudimentary scheme of the fixed forms. I view the latter not as rigid formal categories, but as flexible frameworks which provided composers and their audiences with a conventional set of expectations. Against this background, I trace how Ockeghem generates discrete units of musical structure. Certain compositional procedures recur consistently at the same structural junctures in a great number of his chansons, including works as diverse stylistically as Prenez sur moi, L'autre d'antan, and Presque transi. The techniques that elucidate the processive homogeneity of Ockeghem's chansons include: isolation of the penultimate phrase as the locus for significant musical contrast, reliance upon the transformation of shared melodic material to create continuity from one phrase to the next, and the melismatic prolongation of a single structural pitch as a way to provide tonal focus without having to interject a cadence. Although one can find scattered examples of these techniques in chansons by other composers, Ockeghem's consistent application of the same basic model throughout his œuvre is unique among the secular repertory of the 15th century.

THE MYSTICAL WORLD OF OCKEGHEM'S MISSA MI MI
Gayle Clark Kirkwood
University of Pittsburgh

C'est un
Ockeghem usant moul de pratique
Et théorique en tout symphonie
Si bien garmy a cest œuvre autentique
De chant mistique et parfaite armonie
Que ainsy mny humain cœur languissant
Et impuissant rendoit sain et puissant
Resjouyssant et l'inconstante rassis.
—Nicolle Le Vestu, Chant Royal 1523

The mystical quality of Ockeghem's music has touched both his contemporaries and modern scholars. Affinities between his music and the devotio moderna, docta ignorantia, and the Brethren of the Common Life have been suggested, but little direct evidence links the composer with these philosophies. This paper proposes the mystical theology of Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, as an alternative intellectual and aesthetic foundation informing both Ockeghem's Missa Mi Mi and his principal patrons, Charles VII and Louis XI.

Evidence suggests that Ockeghem's Missa Mi Mi was conceived in an environment uniquely steeped in Gerson's musico-theological ideas. The transmission of Gerson's primary musical treatises—Cantorum du pelerin, Tractatus de canticis, and Collectorium super Magnificat—directs attention to the collegial hierarchy at St. Martin in Tours and two successive grand chantres whose tenures coincided with Ockeghem's own as trésorier of the same institution. I shall argue that the contents of Gerson's musical treatises point to the symbolic and mystical substance of the Mi Mi head motive and that the Agnus Dei embeds Gerson's unique musical Christology in specific melodic and structural details, standing as a tangible witness to the musical ideas of one of the most celebrated theologians of the late Middle Ages.
INFORMAL STUDY SESSION
HISPANIC STUDY GROUP
David Crawford, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
and Grayson Wagstaff, Virginia Central University, Co-Chairs
Bonnie J. Blackburn, Wolfson College, Oxford
Jane Hardie, Conservatorium of Music, Sydney
Visiting Guest José López-Caló, Emeritus,
University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain
Robert Snow, University of Texas, Austin
William Summers, Dartmouth College

This year’s study session recognizes the musicological achievements of Robert J. Snow. The session begins with welcoming remarks by the coordinator of the AMS Hispanic Study Group, Professor William Summers. Then follows a performance of a Salve service, using polyphony by Ceballos and Guerrero published by Professor Snow in Monuments of Renaissance Music. The performance is arranged by Professor Snow, incorporating appropriate chants from 16th-century Spanish sources. Professor Snow will then discuss the Guatemalan Salve service, a widely observed service from Europe that spread as far abroad as the Philippines.

Next, Dr. Bonnie J. Blackburn discusses “Translating Music.” She reflects upon issues raised by Professor Snow’s edition and also addresses important critical questions concerning music editing. We will then hear “Weeping and Wailing: Lamentations in Spanish Sources Revisited,” by Professor Jane Hardie. Here, Professor Hardie analyzes Spanish Renaissance liturgical sources predating the reforms of the mid-16th century, which have proven important to Professor Snow’s studies of polyphonic Lamentations. The final presentation surveys the current state of research on Spanish music, given by our guest of honor, Dr. López-Caló, who, since the death of Higini Anglès has emerged as the leading Spanish authority on Spanish Renaissance music.

Our informal session, faithful to the spirit of Hispanic influence in the eastern and western hemispheres, embraces participants from several continents who bring diverse interests to performing and contemplating Hispanic music.

SPECIAL EVENING SESSION
COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY PANEL DISCUSSION
DIVERSITY IN THE CLASSROOM:
CONFRONTING CHALLENGES, SEEKING SOLUTIONS
Rae Linda Brown, University of California, Irvine, Moderator
Suzanne Cusick, University of Virginia
Cedric Dent, University of Maryland and a member
of the vocal group Take Six
Scott DeVeaux, University of Virginia
Charles Hamm, Emeritus, Dartmouth College
Guthrie Ramsey, Tufts University
Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Harvard University

The Committee on Cultural Diversity sponsors an “open session” to consider important issues surrounding ongoing efforts to diversify the content of music history and literature courses. In recent years, offerings in American Music, Jazz, and World Music have entered curricula at institutions nationwide; likewise, courses on Women in Music and Music and Gender have proliferated. However, most of
these courses are in fact institutionalized in separate tracks alongside long-established classes on European art music history and literature. As traditional disciplinary boundaries become blurred (and as musical styles increasingly interact), does the perpetuation of “parallel universes” in the classroom make sense on both theoretical and practical levels? We raise these issues with full acknowledgment that the process of diversification has sparked ongoing debates about the construction, perpetuation, and dismantling of canons, the importance of musical values and aesthetic standards to the study of music, and the politics of representation.

This session tackles some of these issues through a series of presentations by colleagues actively involved in diversifying their own classrooms. What are some of the benefits (and drawbacks) of this process of diversification? What are the problems most often encountered as new materials are added to long-standing and established curricula? What solutions have been tried by colleagues at various institutions? How can we discuss these volatile issues together without disintegrating into polemics and “culture wars”? These issues are critical to developments in musicology and the ability to adapt itself to the future.
Saturday morning, 9 November

THE AURA OF AUTHENTICITY
J. Peter Burkholder, Indiana University, Chair

“EVERY ARTWORK IS A MOMENT”:
ADORNO, BENJAMIN, AND MAHLER
Berthold Hoeckner
University of Chicago

Adorno’s thesis that “every artwork is a moment [Augenblick]” perfectly illustrates the “Adorno problem” in musicology: while critics are wary of such a comprehensive claim, theorists bemoan its lack of exemplification in analytical practice. A closer look at Adorno’s Augenblick, however, will be an eye-opener, allowing the critic to see an illuminating link to Benjamin’s notion of “aura,” and the theorist to see Mahler’s Kindertotenlieder No. 2 in a different light.

Benjamin defined “aura” doubly: (1) as “the appearance of a distance, however close it may be,” and (2) as “a phenomenon invested with the ability to look at us in return.” For Adorno, the artwork “opens its eyes” to reveal itself in an instant, like a distant and transient celestial apparition. Music is Adorno’s paradigm for this dialectic between particular and whole, expressed—analytically—in the structural moment that “transcends” the moment of structure. Aura and Augenblick converge in Mahler’s song. Here, the eyes of the dying child speak to the parent about their future as stars looking back from the distant sky: Benjamin’s original phenomenon of aura. Previous analyses of the song attempted to capture its formal, tonal, and motivic totality, but missed the “moment”: its recognition must go beyond traditional analysis, on which this recognition nevertheless depends.

Mahler’s metaphysical moment, then, appears not only as an allegory of aureatic art, but also as the Augenblick, in which criticism and analysis may—if only briefly—open their eyes to each other.

AN AUTHENTICITY GROUNDED IN TRADITION: CZERNY ON BACH
Matthew Dirst
Stanford University

Accounts of the 19th-century Bach revival typically remember Carl Czerny as the original purveyor of “inauthentic” Bach editions. This paper remembers him, paradoxically, for his advocacy of an “authentic” performance practice for the Bach keyboard fugues. This seemingly antithetic claim actually explains Czerny’s infamous edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier (1837): earlier sources and the edition’s initial reception confirm that his Bach interpretation had a significant history.

A Viennese tradition of Bach performance began with the generation of Mozart and Beethoven, whose respective transcriptions of certain WTC fugues anticipate, in several crucial aspects of interpretation, Czerny’s edition of the work and his “rules for the performance of ancient fugues” given in the final volume of his Op. 500 Pianoforte-Schule (Die Kunst des Vortrags der älteren und neueren Klavierkompositionen, 1846). Arguing in modern “authenticist” fashion the superiority of this (classic) practice, Czerny explicitly rejected an idiosyncratic (romantic) approach to Bach interpretation and defined for the first time what many performers still consider to be the central requirements of fugue playing. Not surprisingly, certain of Czerny’s contemporaries objected to his thoroughly rational, scrupulously consistent way of playing the WTC fugues. By exploring the objections of Schumann, A. B. Marx, and others, this paper opposes the philosophy of music
editing enshrined by the Bach-Gesellschaft to that embraced by Czerny, thereby re-evaluating the latter’s remarkable achievement as a Bach editor and advocate.

"♩ = 126, RIGOROSO": LE SACRE DU PRINTEMPS AND THE FORGING OF A MODERNIST PERFORMING STYLE
Robert Fink
Eastman School of Music

It is only recently that we have begun to consider modernist performing style—especially its brisk, unyielding tempo and abhorrence of “expressive” rubato—as an historical phenomenon. Much of the credit (or the blame) for this style has been ascribed to the composer of Le sacre; Richard Taruskin argues that “all truly modern musical performance . . . treats the music performed as if it were composed—or at least performed—by Stravinsky.” But the performing history of Le sacre shows that the composer struggled mightily to get his own music played “as if composed by Stravinsky.” Early interpretations of Le Sacre were slower and more elastic—more “romantic”—than the composer wanted.

Focusing on the “Danse sacrale,” this paper examines the battles over tempo and rubato evidenced by historic recordings and published documents. It also considers the unpublished compositional and performing materials for Le sacre: Stravinsky’s autograph particell and full score, and his annotated personal copies of the 1913 piano reduction and the 1921 and 1948 full scores.

The record indicates: (1) that tempo and pacing of many sections of Le sacre were radically rethought between sketch and 1921 printed score; (2) that someone (Monteux?) changed many of Stravinsky’s metronome marks and indicated rubatos on the autograph; (3) that early performances of the “Sacrificial Dance” featured unwritten tempo modifications for dramatic effect; and (4) that Stravinsky had to work for decades to fix in his score the rigoroso that has become the characteristic performing tempo of our time.

BODY’N’ SOUL?: VOICE AND MOVEMENT IN KEITH JARRETT’S PIANISM
Jairo Moreno-Rojas
Duke University

Reception of Keith Jarrett’s recordings of “standards” is unified by a common observation: the pianist’s “singing” creates an undesirable acoustic layer that “gets in the way of the music.” In addition, during live performances, critics find Jarrett’s body motions to be equally distracting. By examining recordings and videotapes of Jarrett’s performances, this paper explores two ideological assumptions concealed in these criticisms, assumptions that condition the way we think about the musical text, its relation to the creative processes of jazz improvisation, and the interlocution between audience and performer. I use Jarrett’s examples to explore: (1) the inner/outer duality of thought versus voice, and (2) a tradition of performance practice that sanctions individual expression, yet declares the performer to be subservient to a broadly defined “text” (i.e., the chord changes, or the “form” of a song). I maintain that Jarrett’s voice should not be considered an external layer of commentary on his playing—that is, as an addition to an acoustically “pure” musical line—or as the embodiment of the inner ear’s imaginings. Rather, by considering Jarrett’s “singing” and “movement” as integral components of the composition itself, I challenge the traditional superiority of thought over expression: there is no room for an other within the self of the jazz improviser-composer.
SENSUALITY AND PLEASURE IN TEXT AND PERFORMANCE: SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES
Ellen Rosand, Yale University, Chair

BEYOND THE (MUSICAL) PLEASURE PRINCIPLE: SANCTIFYING THE SENSUOUS IN EARLY SEICENTO ROME
Robert R. Holzer
University of Chicago

That art should edify as well as delight is one of the hoariest chestnuts in the moralist’s lexicon. That the maxim is inadequate to explain away the frank sensuality of music in Seicento Rome is perhaps less obvious. Yet the flimsy allegories attached to operas of amorous intrigue—operas sponsored by ecclesiastics—are little more than afterthoughts, while appeals to delectare et docere cannot begin to accommodate cantatas that limn the erotic and even the pornographic.

To clarify such anomalies in this repertory I shall call upon one of its keenest observers, Agostino Mascardi (1590–1640). In 1627 this philosopher, historian, and intimate of the Barberini published Discorsi morali sulla Tavola di Cebete, a defense of the liberal arts from attacks in the “Tablet of Cebes,” an anonymous first-century writing then believed the work of a disciple of Socrates. To be sure, Mascardi’s chapter on music overflows with ancient citations on the utility of music’s delight, but these traditional laudes musicae soon yield to a subversive psychology. “Music has dominion over the passions of the soul,” Mascardi allowed, but such was now all to the good: to be led through a series of emotional states, regardless of content, was in itself salutary.

Mascardi’s thinly veiled Epicureanism, redolent of the libertinage érudit that scholars have detected elsewhere in Baroque Rome, offers us fresh insights into the music of that city. Following Mascardi’s lead, I argue that even its raciest secular productions, such as the Marinist-inspired La catena d’Adone, affirm a morality in the very measure that they deny it.

GOSSIP, EROTICA AND THE MALE SPY IN ALESSANDRO STRIGGIO’S IL CICALAMENTO DELLE DONNE AL BUCATO
Christina Fuhrmann
Washington University, St. Louis

Although Alessandro Striggio’s Il Cicalamento delle donne al bucatto (1567) is considered his best-known work, its music and text have typically been dismissed as amusing portrayals of washerwomen’s gossip. Scholars have looked no further than Clément Janequin’s similar Le Caquet des Femmes (ca. 1555) for the madrigal comedy’s probable model. Yet, consulting contemporary popular iconographical and literary sources reveals that Il Cicalamento is related to a range of well-established Renaissance topoi concerning the dangers of gossip, women’s preoccupation with sexuality, and the ambivalent voice of the concealed male narrator.

As in parallel literary and iconographical traditions, the gossipy washerwomen of Il Cicalamento—stereotypically lower-class, lazy, bellicose, and sexually insatiable—serve to warn patrician women of the dangers of loose talk and to alleviate men’s uneasiness with gossip as a potential form of women’s power. Yet, as in many male portrayals of female talk, the women’s gossip elicits fascination as well as aversion. Like citizens who donned the clothing of their social or sexual opposites during Carnival, the performers and audience of Il Cicalamento could enjoy the unruly, lower-class women’s license while perpetuating their negative stereotype. The sexual content of Il Cicalamento, however, exceeds what is needed to label these women lascivious. Applying a wide variety of double entendres of the time, I argue that Il
**Cicalamento** offers a previously unrecognized catalogue of licit and illicit Renaissance sexuality, which allies it to the burgeoning erotic literature of the time.

**“LE PAROLE FURONO FATTE DOPO L’ARIA DEL BALLO”?**
**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO BALLI**
**FROM LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY**
Jonathan Morgan
Royal Holloway College, University of London

Italian theorists active during the 16th century make it clear that in secular vocal compositions the poetic text held precedence over the music. But there were exceptions: namely the *balli* and *balletti* of theatrical entertainments. According to contemporary statements made by Cristofano Malvezzi and Giambattista Guarini, among others, in *balli* dancing had pride of place and was worked out first; music was subsequently composed which would accommodate the requirements of the choreographer, and only then was the text written which, of course, had to fit the already existing music.

The two *balli* mentioned by Malvezzi and Guarini—*Il ballo del Gran Duca*, performed at the end of the 1589 Florentine intermedi, and the *Gioce della cieca* from Guarini’s play *Il pastor fido*—merit close consideration. With reference to 16th-century dance practice, and through a comparative analysis of the music and texts, I demonstrate that while *Il ballo del Gran Duca* was written in the order dance—music—text, the *Gioce della cieca* was not.

This finding highlights a significant gap between 16th-century performance practices for *balli* and the printed version of Guarini’s *Gioce della cieca*. Following on from this, I suggest that the printed edition of *Il pastor fido* is not a testament to the play’s theatrical performances, and I in turn question the supposedly theatrical orientation of many of the play’s madrigal settings which are based on this printed version, including those of Claudio Monteverdi and Luca Marenzio.

**“WHAT SUFFERING IS IN STORE FOR CRUEL BEAUTY”:**
**MONTEVERDI’S *IL BALLO DELLE INGRATE***
**AND THE DISCIPLINING OF FEMALE BODIES**
Bonnie Gordon
University of Pennsylvania

In his accounts of the 1608 Mantuan wedding festivities, Federico Follino describes the stage of Monteverdi and Rinuccini’s *Il ballo delle ingrate* as a flaming, cavernous mouth of hell. Against this backdrop several knights and ladies, including Duke Vincenzo and the bridegroom Francesco Gonzaga, portray ungrateful women condemned to Pluto’s inferno for spurning their lovers. This cautionary tale not only blurred gender lines but, like the marriage ceremony itself, merged performance and reality in a ritual attempt to quell the excessive potential of female desire.

My consideration of *Il ballo delle ingrate* positions it within the larger wedding festivities that included Monteverdi’s celebrated *L’Arianna* and Guarini’s *L’Idropica*. Using Bakhtin’s discussions of the classical and the grotesque in early modern culture, I argue that the wedding festival as a whole reflects the mutually constitutive nature of this dichotomy—that is, the essential dependence of classical and grotesque on each others’ opposition. This dichotomy relies on contrasts between high and low cultures and “closed” versus “open”—usually female—bodies. *Il ballo delle ingrate,*
with its dependence on the bodily actions of singing and dancing—and especially the open fleshiness of the gaping mouth of hell—clearly embodies Bakhtin’s notion of the grotesque.

I show that this grotesqueness metonymically represents the female body in all its excess, and that the predicament of the ungrateful souls ritually acts out a cultural process of instructing and disciplining women. Building upon the work of Suzanne Cusick and Susan McClary, I situate the piece in early modern discourses on women presented in conduct books, marriage manuals, and philosophical debates. Viewed in this context, Il ballo delle ingrate reveals conceptions of the female body—and of music’s power—as hovering between harmless pleasure and threatening excess.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC: MEDIUM, IDIOM,
AND THE IDEOLOGY OF FORM
Philip Bohlman, University of Chicago, Chair

"THE WILL TO BUILD": FASCIST IDEOLOGY
AND MUSICAL FORM IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY
Karen Painter
Dartmouth College

In the 19th century formal patterns in music came to preoccupy critics and composers alike in Germany and Austria, as if promising transcendence above the immediacy and sensuousness of the musical experience. By the end of the century, discussion of the relative clarity or obscurity of musical structures took on political dimensions as well.

Reflecting the intensified racial tension in Germany and Austria, conservative music critics (the Berliner Leopold Schmidt, the Viennese Gustav Schönaiich) denounced as “Jewish” the features that hindered the coalescence of sounds into form: “gesticulation” in thematic material, “restlessness” in rhythm, “twitching” or “distractedness” in instrumentation. Both fascinated with and repelled by the “physicality” of works by Mahler and the young Strauss, these critics turned to the “spirituality” and formal transparency of Bruckner and Beethoven as symphonic icons. They anticipated fascist ideology in developing architectural metaphors that promoted a kind of determinism and timeless social structure. Musical form was valued as an exercise of force and control, with composers praised for welding thematic material into strong patterns, compelling listeners’ attention. The psychological notion of struggle and “the will to build” central to this symphonic aesthetic later became important to the National Socialists (e.g., musicologist Karl Blessinger).

More liberal critics (the Viennese Max Kalbeck and Albert Kauders), however, tried to see musical form as an ongoing process of shaping, rather than the articulation of a single, permanent structure. Subsequently developing this view, Paul Bekker and Ernst Kurth invoked concepts from Freud, physics, and philosophy to explain form as a dichotomy between structure and process, offering new political models that encouraged listeners’ participation and freedom of consciousness—concerns persisting with Adorno through to the present.
“ES WAR SO WUNDERBAR!”: ZARAH LEANDER AND VERGANGENHEITSBEWÄLTIGUNG
Brian Currid
University of Chicago

Zarah Leander, the most successful musical film star during the Third Reich, was renowned primarily for the unique timbre of her deep contralto. Having left Germany in 1942, her return after the war became a story of failed comebacks and “final appearances”; these attempts to reclaim her central role in German mass culture mirror the tortured attempts within the Federal Republic to “bewältigen,” or to master, its Nazi past.

“Die Leander” provides an opportunity to examine the way the history of music in German mass culture is conceptualized. First, Leander’s popularity in the Third Reich indexes both the success of fascism in harnessing the culture industry, while simultaneously pointing out its limits and failure, as well as its contradictions. The popularity of Leander’s perversely deep voice points towards both the uncontrollability of popular pleasure and its role in the ideological production of super-national fascist fantasy. Second, Zarah—reception after the war illustrates the relationship of popular music to the narration of German national history. Using material from Leander’s work in the Nazi period and post-war biography, autobiography, and fan literature, as well as observations of recent Zarah-consumption in German queer subculture, I will explore the ways these two facets of “die Leander” allow us not only to reconceptualize the function of the culture industry in fascism, but also to illuminate the way ideology more generally produces its own failure, and as such clarify and complicate the configuration of “resistance” within the narration of German history.

LE JAZZ “HOT”?
Vincent J. Panetta
Wellesley College

It has long been taken as an article of faith that it was in Europe, especially in France, that jazz, an African-American musical expression, was truly embraced for the first time. According to conventional wisdom, as encountered in a long succession of histories and monographs, it was the French in particular, during the late teens and twenties, who were the first to appreciate jazz, to accord it intellectual recognition, to regard its makers with genuine respect—while Americans of the same era, hobbled by prudery and philistinism, resisted the acceptance of a vital native art form.

Yet this familiar view is in need of revision, for most of the supposed “jazz” heard in France during this early era was markedly distant from the genuine New Orleans idiom and its offshoots. Based on the evidence of oral histories, recordings, and other sources, it is apparent that what the French were hearing and celebrating as jazz was in most cases a highly diluted product, largely devoid of improvisation, swing rhythm, or blues influence. While Lawrence Kramer and other scholars have recently pondered the influence of jazz idioms on European concert music of the 1920s, it is essential to recognize that the compositions and recordings of Oliver, Morton, Armstrong, Henderson, and Ellington were almost completely unknown to European composers and intellectuals throughout the entire span of the so-called “jazz age.”
VOICES WITHOUT BODIES, TIME WITHOUT SPACE:
LISTENING TO THE RADIO DURING THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC
Nathan MacBrien
University of Pennsylvania

Writing in 1930 for Aufbruch, Günther Stern expressed palpable anxiety about the ways the nascent technology of radio was changing music’s relationship to time and space. Stern feared that absolute music—whose existence depends on, but is never limited to, unique performances in particular spaces—would be destroyed by radio’s vast disseminating power, opening a ghostly, uncanny realm. Stern’s angst was only an extreme version of a widespread recognition by Weimar-era critics that a transformation of musical experience was underway. As the public concert began to compete with the technologically mediated public sphere of records and radio, listeners encountered music and each other under new spatial conditions.

Radio criticism from the Weimar Republic reveals an intense concern with the unstable mixture of potential listening behaviors produced by radio’s dislocation of musical works from their traditional spaces of reception. By disintegrating the concert space into bourgeois interiors, radio blurred distinctions between public and private. Some critics, especially Adorno, discerned an accelerating process of alienation and distraction, which portended the wholesale degradation of experience. Others, including Bernhard Winzheimer and Ernst Schoen, envisioned a redemptive experience that might forge new relationships to everyday life.

In this convergence of musical works, radio technology, and the social and physical status of listeners, the question of the mass listening subject disclosed itself. The kind of subjectivity that radio listening assumed and produced—public or private, active or passive, stable or unstable—constituted a site in Weimar criticism from which a precarious historical process played itself out.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY OPERA STUDIES
Elizabeth Hudson, University of Virginia, Chair

CONTRIBUTIONS OF SPATIAL FORM TO OPERATIC REALISM
Emily Laurance
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In “Spatial Form in Modern Literature,” Joseph Frank reflects on how literature (essentially a temporal medium) can highlight spatial relationships between discrete objects, images, or actions, subverting conventional temporal order by creating the impression that objects or events are perceivable instantaneously. Although Frank’s essay primarily examines 20th-century poetry, I explore the interaction between spatial form and the aesthetic aims of 19th-century realism, as manifested in prose fiction and opera.

Extensive description, a hallmark of realist narrative, is inherently spatial: although readers encounter descriptions of objects successively, description de-emphasizes time so that a reader can imagine a scene as a synchronic whole—not as a series of actions. Further, actions can also be presented spatially, either by frequent narrative cross-cutting between concurrent layers of action, or through the juxtaposition of continuous and perfective verb tenses. Such layering of actions suggests a greater variety of real experience than would a more linear narrative.
Operas influenced by 19th-century realism, such as Carmen or Louise, employ analogous techniques: although a dramatic work, unlike prose, does not have the same opportunities for extensive description, an operatic scene can imply simultaneity by shifting focus between on-stage musical events. But because opera has both dramatic and musical properties, it is also inherently spatial—that is, it can present several simultaneous layers of action visually and musically. These two techniques interact to expand perceived time and space and to extend the drama beyond the boundaries of the stage.

MASSENET AS “PHILOGYNIST”:
A LOVER OF WOMEN AND THEIR OPERATIC REPRESENTATION
Clare Minting
King's College, London

Recent feminist criticism of 19th-century opera has made much of “undone” women, female protagonists whose submission or death is required not only to achieve narrative closure but also to uphold the oppression of women within a patriarchal society. A study of female representation in Jules Massenet’s operas—both in the libretti and the music—modifies this reading considerably. Although one encounters the traditional fallen women—courtesans who sell their bodies and seduce holy men, who pay with their lives for daring to defy the moral code—one also finds, astonishingly, women whose desires are actually fulfilled, who “get their man.” Indeed, the whole gamut of female types is represented in Massenet’s operas, a fact less surprising when one discovers that, of the 25 operas in his œuvre, no less than 10 have the names of principle female characters for their titles.

“Undone” women are, moreover, often “saved” through Massenet’s music. In analyses of Manon, Thaïs and Sapho one observes Massenet’s renewed attempts to identify positively with his tragic heroines through a careful intensification of lyrical and dramatic gestures, particularly in scenes added post premiere which alter the characterizations significantly. While Massenet never challenges the stereotype of woman as both the object and subject of desire, his fascination with female protagonists attests to a life-long preoccupation, even love-affair, with images of the empowered female. Ultimately, Massenet’s characters triumph as women through their powerful voice, their seductive “feminine” melodies.

VERDI’S LUISA, A SEMI-SERIOUS ALPINE VIRGIN
Emanuele Senici
Cornell University

The critical literature on Luisa Miller has discussed the transfer of location from Schiller’s German town to Cammarano’s Tyrolean village as an attempt to draw Schiller’s political sting for the censors’ sake. However, it is precisely the Alpine setting that permits establishment of a connection between Luisa and a number of opere semiserie, including Bellini’s La sonnambula and Donizetti’s Linda di Chamounix. The genre-defining characteristics of early 19th-century semiseria consisted of an essentially serious plot, a happy ending, and the presence of a buffo among the principals. By the late 1840s, however, the vast popularity of La sonnambula and Linda had added to these features an Alpine setting and a virginal heroine whose much-praised innocence, at first threatened, is finally preserved for the man she loves, a socially superior tenor.
The placing of *Luisa* in the context of Alpine *semiseria* helps to make better sense out of some of its most prominent characteristics as well as its puzzling early critical reception. Moreover, it is at least possible to interpret *Luisa Miller*’s trajectory from *semiseria* idyll to full-blown tragedy as an attempt at a kind of fusion of genres differing from the oft-invoked Shakespearean mixture of comic and tragic, making this trajectory resonate with echoes of the 1848 revolution. As a corollary to these investigations, one might suggest that, when discussing Verdi’s career and, more broadly, 19th-century Italian opera, arguments focused on ambiance, genre, and class are at least as important as the analytical and, especially, formal approaches at present favored in Verdi scholarship.

**RELIGION AND DIFFERENCE IN VERDI’S OTELLO**

James Parakilas

Bates College

The story of Othello is a story of incompatibility—of jealousy that Iago can create and inflame because of a pre-existing difference between Othello and Desdemona. In Shakespeare’s play that difference is expressed largely in racial terms, and Verdi’s opera is usually staged and discussed as if racial difference were as great an issue there. But in Boito’s libretto for Verdi, references to racial difference are considerably fewer than in Shakespeare, while religion looms much larger as a marker of difference. Much in the opera that owes least to Shakespeare, in fact, contributes to this new religious “theme.” Though Iago’s “Credo” has been much studied in this regard, the argument made here is that a whole system of numbers, grounded in 19th-century operatic conventions of religious representation, maps the crucial difference in *Otello*.

Iago, for instance, is constructed as a devil figure by a series of references (not only the “Credo,” his anti-prayer) to other operatic devils, including Gounod’s Mephistopheles as well as Boito’s own. The oath of Iago and Otello, “Si, pel ciel,” belonging to a French operatic tradition of unholy pacts or *serments*, amounts to a call for a holy war against the innocent and defenseless Desdemona. Above all, two real prayers reveal the incompatibility between Desdemona and Otello: while her churchly “Ave Maria” marks Desdemona’s rootedness in her community, his “Dio! mi potevi,” an unconventionally private religious expression for a male character, marks Otello as a social misfit.

**RENAISSANCE PATRONAGE, RECEPTION HISTORY, AND BIOGRAPHY**

Richard Sherr, Smith College, Chair

*UT RHETORICA MUSICA: JOSQUIN’S MOTETS IN THE GERMAN HUMANISTIC MILIEU*

Stephanie P. Schlager

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In 1520 the Augsburg publishers Grimm & Wyrsung produced an anthology of 25 motets, the *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo Mutetas appellant* (RISM 15204). Initiated by the scholar Conrad Peutinger, edited by Ludwig Senfl, and dedicated to Cardinal Matthäus Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, the volume culls motets by several generations of composers. Individual works by Obrecht, LaRue, and Mouton supplement five by Isaac and six by Senfl himself. Because the volume exhibits
strong Imperial connections, it is somewhat surprising to find that it contains no fewer than seven motets by Josquin des Prez, who had no official ties to the Hapsburg courts.

Why would Josquin’s motets occupy such prominence in a volume that otherwise seems to celebrate Maximilian I’s patronage of music? A study of the volume’s genesis and an exploration of the stylistic qualities of its contents suggest that Josquin’s motets—with their blend of old-fashioned mathematical constructivism and state-of-the-art rhetorical expressiveness—particularly embodied the humanistic ideals of the collection’s creators. Additionally, internal evidence, supported by a comparison of musical variants, enables us to identify Senfl’s source for some of Josquin’s motets and to posit a specific occasion on which he may have imported them into German-speaking lands.

The Liber selectarum cantionum would later play a significant role in the posthumous reception of Josquin’s motets. Its organization, historicist nature, and repertory proved to be a model for the motet anthologies of both Ott and Berg & Neuber, the central sources of the mid-16th-century German “Josquin Renaissance.”

WHO WAS LISTENING TO SACRED POLYPHONY, AND FOR WHOM WAS THE MUSIC COMPOSED? THE CONTEXT OF PERFORMANCE AND COMPOSITION AT THE VATICAN IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Jeffrey Dean
Manchester, England

In recent years scholars and performers have devoted much attention to the issue of contextuality in the performance of medieval and early modern music, especially sacred music. A related concern of scholars has been the patronage of musicians and their circumstances of employment, for we want to understand how music was made not only in the sense of the manner in which it was performed but also of how it was brought into being. Many difficulties and paradoxes beset the construction of such an understanding, and a case study of a particularly important (if not necessarily representative) pair of musical institutions may help to nuance some accepted paradigms.

My study is based on three sets of documents: (1) the surviving musical sources of the Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia; (2) official and unofficial documents concerning the singers of the two choirs; (3) the manuals and diaries of the Masters of Ceremonies of the Papal Chapel. Comparison of the implications of these bodies of data leads to several observations: (a) polyphony was not an official constituent of Vatican ceremonial, and the most solemn liturgical occasions called for the most austere rather than the most splendid music; (b) more often than not, sacred polyphony was performed in the presence of no significant audience or congregation; (c) composition was not a condition of employment even for a chapel-master. I conclude that papal patronage of singer-chaplains embodied values other than those we accord them as performers and composers of sacred polyphony, and that the principal intended audience of this music was the singers themselves.
JOSQUIN, ROME, AND A CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY
Pamela F. Starr
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

It is one of the paradoxes of music history that one of its most significant figures should possess so sparse a curriculum vitae. For this reason, scholars have clung tenaciously to the few firmly documented periods in the career of Josquin des Prez as articles of faith in an otherwise dark world of speculation. Two of the most venerable, and most frequently invoked of the few known facts about Josquin are his residences in the papal chapel, from September 1486 to January 1487, and from June 1489 to 1494. These dates have remained fixed poles in Josquin studies, influencing discussions of biography, chronology, and musical style. In this paper, I record a process of conversion from uncritical acceptance, through doubt, to ultimate rejection of the first period of Josquin’s presumed service in the cappella pontificia. My argument rests upon a reconsideration of two pieces of evidence: (1) Josquin’s behavior with respect to the acquisition of benefices, and (2) telling differences in the ways in which scribes of the papal Curia recorded his presence in 1486–87 and 1489–94. I then nominate a different candidate for the person once presumed to be Josquin: a musician with his own reputation and modest corpus of compositions. Finally, I explore the implications of re-dating Josquin’s years in the papal chapel. Although the period in question is small, the significance for the future direction of Josquin studies is great.

JUDOCUS DE KESSALIA, JUDOCUS DE PRATIS,
AND JOHANNES DE PRATO
Adalbert Roth
Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften Forschungsstelle Cappella Sistina

Where sufficiently secure biographical data are lacking for composers of great stature, too often we as scholars have been tempted to discover relevance in the flimsiest of documentary evidence possibly pertaining to their careers, where in fact there is none. With the biography of Josquin des Prez, one of the greatest composers of the Renaissance, the scarce extant information concerning his life and career—in inverse proportion to his fame and, of course, to his importance as a composer—has duped us into creating facile conjectures and daring hypotheses which have been accepted quickly and uncritically throughout the secondary literature.

Particularly vital in this regard is Josquin des Prez’s early career. Nino Pirrotta appears to have been the first and only prominent scholar who dared to be sceptical about the presumed identification of Josquin des Prez with a “Judocus de Frantia” in the payrolls of Milan cathedral in the period 1459–72, and, further still, with a “Juschino” or “Joschino picardo” in the four extant lists of the court chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and in other Milanese documents of the 1470s. This paper confirms Pirrotta’s scepticism by identifying for the first time the singer “Iuschino” in the rosters of the Sforza chapel and concludes that, given the present state of Josquin research, there is no unequivocal documentary evidence for a sojourn by Josquin des Prez in Milan.
Saturday afternoon, 9 November

TWENTIETH-CENTURY OPERA AND MUSIC THEATER
Robert P. Morgan, Yale University, Chair

NEW APPROACHES TO MUSICAL THEATER:
THE ROLE OF CLAUDEL IN THE EMERGENCE OF MILHAUD’S STYLE
Barbara L. Kelly
University of Keele, Staffordshire, England

Paul Claudel’s role in Darius Milhaud’s early musical development is frequently dismissed on account of the poet’s limited musical expertise, yet their collaboration spanned forty years and Milhaud declared that it was “the best thing in my life as a musician” (Etudes, 1927, p. 28). This paper focuses on dramatic works from the early part of their collaboration (1912–22), including the two fruitful years in Brazil they spent together, the musician as the poet-ambassador’s secretary. Temporarily removed from the overwhelming pull of Parisian musical culture, Milhaud felt the freedom to experiment with new ideas before his involvement with the artistic scene of “Les Six,” Satie, and Cocteau during the 1920s.

This paper examines Claudel’s theories on the role of music in drama, revealing the extent to which Milhaud realized many of the poet’s ideas in these early experimental works. Indeed, Claudel can be seen as the catalyst behind many of Milhaud’s most characteristic traits, in particular his use of spoken declamation with rhythmic accompaniment, his deployment of voices as an extension of the orchestra, and even his experimentation with polytonality. Finally, I consider why Milhaud should have turned to literature, and Claudel in particular, to aid his discovery of a distinctive musical voice.

HEARING VOICES IN JEANNE D’ARC AU BÛCHER:
MEDIEVALISM, NOH, AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE
MUSIC THEATER OF HONEGGER AND CLAUDEL
W. Anthony Sheppard
Williams College

The desire to create theater works of religious and ritual significance was widespread among modernist composers, dramatists, and choreographers; a primary model for this development in modernist music theater was the medieval mystery play. In this paper, I focus on the medievalism of Arthur Honegger and Paul Claudel and on their representation of celestial sound in Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher.

I first consider this work in the context of French medievalist theater and explore the impact of contemporary scholarship and the revival of the mystères on its creation. In music theater of religious intent, the aspiration to create transcendent voices encouraged the development of alternative vocal techniques through emulation of exotic musical models or, more rarely, with the assistance of new musical technology. Honegger and Claudel shared an intense interest in exploring the variety of vocal possibilities in their dramatic works, both in terms of the potential musicality of speech and the expressivity of non-verbal vocalization. I offer an analysis of Jeanne d’Arc that focuses on the creation of the heavenly voices heard as St. Joan relives her martyrdom for the spiritual benefit of modern audiences. These voices were realized, in part, through the vocalizations of a wordless chorus—directly inspired by Claudel’s interpretations of Japanese Noh theater—and by the use of the recently invented Ondes Martenot. This celestial music not only
encouraged the onstage maid at the stake, but came to have a tremendous nationalistic impact, offering inspiration to French audiences during World War II.

SYMBOLIC TONALITY AND CONTEXTUAL SHIFTS
IN THE OPERAS OF BENJAMIN BRITTEN
Mary C. Francis
Yale University

Many studies of Benjamin Britten's texted works emphasize the composer's frequent treatment of "the corruption of innocence." Although this is an important idea, to assume that it is the dominant theme either neglects or distorts the significance of its putative opposite, namely "knowledge and experience." In works such as Billy Budd and The Turn of the Screw the pursuit of knowledge and experience is no less central to the drama than the corruption of innocence. The complexly ambiguous interaction of these ideas forms a recurring theme in Britten's oeuvre.

The conflicts and relationships of ideas in Britten's operas are encoded in his symbolic use of tonality. This implies that Britten's use of symbolic tonalities is uncomplicated—that once the significance of a given tonality is established, it is fixed and readily interpreted. However, such significance frequently becomes equivocal as the progress of the plot alters context in which the symbol functions. Symbolic tonalities accrue multiple associations as the context changes, and this multiplicity of association creates the ambiguous dynamic of desirability and danger that surrounds both innocence and knowledge in the operas. Shifting contexts complicate the musico-dramatic relations between seemingly opposed concepts in all of Britten's operas, and this critically defines his artistic sensibility. This paper uses the tonal symbolism of Billy Budd and The Turn of the Screw as examples of this characteristic shift of contexts, focusing on the ambiguous interaction of knowledge and innocence in the operas.

MIMESIS AND THE FIERY ANGEL
Simon Morrison
Princeton University

Sergei Prokofiev based his opera The Fiery Angel on a 1908 roman à clef by the Russian Symbolist writer Valerii Brjusov. The novel describes a bizarre love triangle involving Brjusov, the Moscow society figure Nina Petrovskaya, and Brjusov's artistic rival, Andrei Bely. Prokofiev discovered the work in New York in 1919, the year he developed an interest in Christian Science. He was struck by the dramaturgical potential of the novel's scenes of hysteria, the angelic visions, and the spellbinding conclusion, in which the heroine Renata (Nina Petrovskaya) falls victim to the Inquisition.

Comparison of the 1923 and 1927 versions of the opera reveals that Prokofiev conceived the supernatural events as Renata's hallucinations, but he subsequently reordered the musical material to make them real and constant. Analysis of the libretto drafts likewise indicates that Prokofiev merged dramatic levels by swapping lines assigned to the novel's protagonists, the result being that they appear to speak (sing) in tongues. In both respects, Prokofiev articulated ideas of life-transformation in a musical context that stressed the dark side of his compositional talents.

Although Prokofiev was unaware of the real life underpinnings of Brjusov's text, his operatic setting provides a strange commentary on the Russian Symbolist concept of mimesis. Several parallels exist between events in the opera and events in Prokofiev's subsequent years: these include a period of wandering, a disastrous
love affair, and an ignominious demise. Within his life and art the apocalyptic forebodings of the Russian Symbolists and the utopianism of the early Modernists came together.

REVISITING THE WORKSHOP OF HOWARD MAYER BROWN
Frank A. D’Accone, University of California, Los Angeles

MUSIC, MEMORY, AND PERFORMANCE IN THE RENAISSANCE
John Kmetz
The Chase Manhattan Bank, New York

If one were asked to identify a fundamental issue in Renaissance music that “worried” Howard Mayer Brown throughout his career, the problem of the untented songbook would certainly be one of them. Whether editing the Florentine manuscript Banco Rari 229, cataloging Petrucci’s alphabet series, or discussing the function of Verona manuscript 757, Brown repeatedly confronted the same issue: how were such untented songbooks intended to be used? In the absence of archival documentation, this question has invariably been answered by scholars (over the course of several generations) in the same way: the sources were intended for instrumental performance.

Brown, however, never felt comfortable with this verdict, regardless of who the jurists were, and on more than one occasion he expressed concern about using the absence or presence of text underlay as categorical evidence for determining how a source functioned or, for that matter, how a particular composition was performed.

In keeping with Brown’s reservations and his tenacious interest in sorting out fundamental issues, I propose a new theory on the function of the untented songbook in the Renaissance, and, in so doing, redefine our view of vocal and instrumental music in the Renaissance. I argue that the absence of text is not necessarily an indication of instrumental performance, but rather of the two-set method through which a Renaissance singer learned his song. This entailed memorizing the music first (usually with the assistance of solmization syllables) and then underlaying a text at sight from a separate songtext sheet or songtext book. My theory relies on four distinct, yet closely related, layers of evidence, each of which Howard Mayer Brown spent a lifetime studying: iconography, bibliography, music theory, and performance practice.

THE INTABULATIONS OF JOSQUIN
AND THE CONTEXT OF ARRANGEMENT
Victor Coelho
University of Calgary

Throughout his career Howard Mayer Brown returned continually to the intabulations made by Renaissance lutenists for information about embellishment, musica ficta, compositional process, and reconstruction of lost polyphonic models. Disagreeing with those who dismissed intabulations as mere arrangements by instrumentalists of suspect formal training, Brown pleaded that intabulations constituted a central repertory of the Renaissance, and that their lutenist-arrangers were no less knowledgeable about theory and counterpoint than composers of vocal music. In one of his last articles, Brown broke new ground by using intabulations as markers of Vincenzo Galilei’s evolving tastes, influences, aesthetic orientation, and the cultural context of his 1563 lute book—issues Brown hoped one day to confront in the repertory that first drew him to intabulations: the music of Josquin.
Over 100 intabulations exist of Josquin’s Masses, motets and chansons; these appear in every variety of tablature. I shall use this repertory to focus on two central issues: (1) Josquin’s “ghost” intabulations—that is, those for which no vocal model exists—through the motet *Obrecht te domina* that appears in Valderrábanos’s 1547 vihuela tablature; and (2) how intabulations act as a barometer of Josquin’s evolving influence and reputation among instrumentalists during the 16th century. My conclusions point to the need for more serious study of intabulations of Josquin’s works, considering both the veracity and choice of texts they transmit and what is revealed about the cultural and musical process of Josquin’s revival over the course of three generations of Renaissance musicians.

**RENAISSANCE MUSICIANS: AMATEUR OR PROFESSIONAL?**

Keith Polk
University of New Hampshire

Howard Mayer Brown, in a recent article, highlighted the impact of amateur musicians on Renaissance performance practices. His discussion pointed out that we still know little about how 15th-century repertories were performed and how they actually sounded. Brown’s own ideas, especially those concerning the critical balance between contributions from elite amateurs and those from first-rate professionals (some in the employ of the elite), offer great promise in finding answers to the still-nagging questions surrounding this issue and form the basis for my present efforts.

My goal in this paper is to investigate further the interchanges between amateur and professional. Concerning music for dancing, for example, it can be shown that patrons were definitive in establishing the basic repertory. Clearly the spread of Burgundian dance tunes (as transmitted in the *Buxheim Organ Book* and other collections) reflected the stature of Burgundy in courtly circles throughout Europe. Actual performance of the dances, however, was the provenance of instrumentalists, such as the brilliant lutenists and wind players at the court of Maximilian I. Still, archival sources and chronicles record that patrons could have defining impact even on performance practices. New and quite different dance types evolved just before 1500, innovations which were demanded by changing interest on the part of patrons. The new dance types in turn required new musical techniques (variations above repeated bass patterns, for example) from the performers. In sum, as this paper shows, a better understanding of the spheres of influence of both amateurs and professionals, as laid out by Brown, can help us unravel some of the remaining unanswered questions concerning music and musical contexts in the 15th century.

**“CORAM IMAGINE”: PERSONAL PIETY AND THE LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MOTET**

Bonnie J. Blackburn
Wolston College, Oxford

In his last years Howard Mayer Brown turned his attention to “Music in Devotional Life About 1500,” the subtitle of a paper published in *Renaissance Quarterly* in 1990. His work revolved my long-standing interest in motet texts, especially one type of devotional texts summed up by the phrase “O mater dei memento mei.” These words, embedded in Josquin’s Ave Maria . . . virgo serena, reflect three major aspects of 15th-century piety: the personal element, the need to be remembered, and the address to the Virgin as intercessor.
Books of hours typically contain non-liturgical prayers, many of which were set to music. When would such prayers, couched in the first person, have been performed? For whom do the singers pray? A survey of first-person prayers set to music in the late 15th century reveals that the main composers are Josquin, Weerbeke, Compère, and Ghiselin, suggesting that this music was composed at Milan and Ferrara.

A fair number of these prayers carry indulgences. One such, *Ave sanctissima Maria*, was set to music by over 30 composers; supposedly written by Pope Sixtus IV, it carried an indulgence of 11,000 years if said before an image of the Virgin “in sole.” The prayer, it turns out, is on the Immaculate Conception, a then-controversial doctrine promoted by Sixtus IV, and the image prefigures what would become the standard iconography. Pictorial and musical evidence for this and other indulgenced prayers to be said “coram imagine” illuminate an important aspect of the late 15th-century motet.

**NEW READINGS OF MARX: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY FORUM**

*Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, University of Alberta, Chair*

**COMMODITY-STRUCTURE, DISAVOWAL, AND PRACTICES OF MUSIC THEORY**

*Henry Klumpenhouwer*

*University of Alberta*

In *Kapital* I Marx discusses commodity-fetishism, an epistemological gesture brought about by commodity-structure under which relations between “phantom” objects screen social relations. Marx’s discussion provides a good starting point for a critique of music theory’s insistence on the musical object (“the music itself”) and the text/context binary that sustains it. Drawing on Marx’s analysis of commodity-fetishism, as well as invoking Freud’s interpretation of sexual fetishism, one can argue that the modern conception of “the music itself,” like reified commodity-structure, is an illusion, “a ‘phantom objectivity,’ an autonomy so all-embracing as to conceal every trace of its fundamental nature: the relation between people”; and furthermore, that the illusion functions in modern musical-analytical practice very much as the illusion, according to Freud, of a “maternal penis” functions for a sexual fetishist.

Anyone convinced about the pernicious effects of such practices in music theory need not, however, condemn music analysis or close reading outright, and Marx’s analysis of commodities provides an alternative context for such activities.

**ANALYTIC PRACTICE, COMMODITY-STRUCTURE, AND MUSICAL MEANING**

*David Gramit*

*University of Alberta*

Despite divergent ideologies, many recent analyses of 19th-century music share a common orientation, reading music’s significance from an object constituted initially as autonomous and essentially unitary. This is self-evident in formalist analyses, but analyses of social meaning are similarly constructed; the claim that music represents social relations depends on this initial separation of musical and social. Although such approaches are consistent with much 19th-century thought, another perspective can provide a thus far largely neglected supplement: the work can be viewed not as the site of meaning but as a result of meaningful processes.
Saturday afternoon, 9 November

This approach derives ultimately from Karl Marx’s analysis of commodity-structure: if, like commodities in Marx, works of music are viewed not as objects in their own right but rather as expressions of particular social relations, then the processes by which musical objects are produced can be analyzed and the work seen as one aspect of a social practice that brings about the production of, reception, and ascription of meaning to music. Because the aesthetic and the socio-economic are not conceived as separate spheres, one need not posit a reflection of economic “base” in musical “superstructure.” Thus reconceptualized, analysis would study practices and relations rather than works with independent or representational meaning. A variety of 19th-century accounts suggest such a concept of “relational” meaning for music. The eventually dominant ideology of musical autonomy appears not as the historically correct approach to the music of the period, but rather as one of a variety of viable contemporary metaphors.

PRODUCING THE SUBLIME: ART MUSIC
AND MODE OF PRODUCTION
Regula Burckhardt Qureshi
University of Alberta

Mode of Production theory addresses social inequality and structures of power, in particular as they are linked to the exploitation of direct producers through controls over their own labor, the means of production with which they work, and that which they produce. Identified with the concept of Political Economy, this emphasis points toward aspects of power and domination implicated in the practice of culture, a crucial nexus still little attended to in art music scholarship. In music-specific terms, Marx’s relational concept of production offers a salient perspective on music-making as a productive process within that nexus.

This paper explores this perspective by focusing on traditional Hindustani music, with its contradictory yet intimate connection between a highly open-ended, cosmopolitan art music idiom and the traditionally exploitative class and gender relations of its production.

HIP-HOP AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF BLACK POVERTY
Adam Krims
University of Alberta

What Nelson George refers to as the “ghettocentricity” of rap music and hip-hop culture may usefully be conceived as a late 20th-century mutation of some processes described by Marx. In particular, commodity fetish (in Kapital I, the mistaking of objects for social relations) and surplus value (the difference between a product’s value and the value of the capital involved in its production) may prove surprisingly illuminating to a music which, as Tricia Rose has pointed out, is both traditional and intransigently postmodern.

The marketing of hip-hop music, videos, artists, and clothing abounds with representations of Black inner-city poverty which promise its safe reproducibility, portability, and consumption. Products are marketed as frozen essences of social relations. A song of the Wu-Tang Clan provides an example of a more generalized phenomenon: surplus value takes a remarkable form, in which the lack of capital is itself deployed in capital’s own endless reproduction, projecting value as its own simulacrum. At the same time, specifically African-American tropes and notions unique to hip-hop culture destabilize these processes; the destabilization is then reintegrated into commodity and surplus value structures. The flux between the
cultural/economic systems renders hip-hop production dialogic and prevents totalization of these Marxian concepts as closed systems.

ROMANTICISM FINDS ITS FEET:
NINETEENTH-CENTURY BALLET AND OPERETTA
Ruth Solie, Smith College, Chair

AN “UNSUITABLE” GISELLE
Marian Smith
University of Oregon

In the Theater Museum in St. Petersburg there exists a manuscript of Giselle—annotated in two hands—describing an early production of this ballet, most likely the original Paris production. This manuscript, little known to Western scholars, reveals a Giselle that has been called “unsuitable” by one dance director and is indeed quite different in many ways from the Giselle of today. In this paper, aside from presenting some basic information about this valuable document, I will discuss two of its most surprising revelations and their implications for the understanding of this work—the most important Romantic ballet before Tchaikovsky—and of 19th-century dramatic music in general.

I examine first the famous fourth scene of Act Two, in which the wilis attempt to murder Albrecht. The manuscript shows that, in the older incarnation, this scene was tighter dramatically, and full of details that have since been minimized. I then examine two crucial mime scenes from Act One, in which characters’ conversations are clearly echoed in the music (as confirmed by the annotations). In each case I will compare the “unsuitable” older approach with the current-day approach, arguing that we have lost the ability to hear in the music the connotative cues and voices that the composer, Adolphe Adam, so carefully imbedded in the music. I conclude that we have altered this ballet in order to make it conform to our own ideas of what constitutes Romantic ballet.

WALTZING BRÜNNHILDE: ZUKUNFTSMUSIK
AND THE VIENNESE OPERETTA
Camille Crittenden
Duke University

The vast bibliography on Wagner attests to the thoroughness and attention scholars have devoted to explicating his role as a formative composer and thinker. However, the influence of his ideas remains under-researched in one significant musical genre, popular stage music. The work of Johann Strauss best exemplifies the trend of popular music composers to expand upon Wagner’s artistic and financial successes. Once referred to in a contemporary Viennese journal as the “Richard Wagner of the waltz,” Strauss provides a fruitful comparison since his stature in the operetta world closely parallels that of Wagner in the world of opera. Strauss’ operetta Simplicius (1888) combines the dramatic innovations of Victor Léon, his young librettist and an ardent Wagnerian, with a tonal language unprecedented on the operetta stage. Similarities to Parsifal in structure and plot device reflect not an attempt at parody but rather genuine admiration through imitation. A through-composed operatic style and conscious dabbling in leitmotiv techniques characterize Strauss’ stride toward opera while staying within the constraints of the operetta genre. Strauss’ next work was, in fact, performed at the Vienna Court Opera and further partook of Wagnerian musical and dramatic paradigms. Only after its failure did Strauss return
to the familiar ground of the bourgeois salon operetta. Although Strauss did not achieve critical or commercial success with his contributions to Wagneriana, his correspondence during the works’ creation and their subsequent revisions sheds light on both Wagner’s reception in Vienna and on the development of Viennese operetta.

MEDIEVAL THEORY AND GENRES
Anna Maria Busse Berger, University of California, Davis, Chair

IMPROVISATION AND NOTATION IN THE ARS SUBTILIOR
Anne Stone
University of Iowa

The experimental rhythmic notation found in manuscripts of the late 14th century is usually explained as the product of an elite circle of musical intellectuals trying to outdo one another in proportional complexity. Yet the author of the most important treatise of ars subtillor rhythmic notation, the Tractatus figurarum, justifies the invention of new rhythmic notation by explaining that “since it is unreasonable that something that can be performed should not be able to be written down, I took care to write this little treatise.” This rationale for the use of new note shapes suggests that invented notational symbols are an attempt to record performance practice rather than to play abstract mathematical games. I propose that an example of improvisation recorded with ars subtillor notation might be found in the remarkable transmission of a Credo by Zacara da Teramo, copied into the manuscript Mod A with a cantus line heavily ornamented with the complex invented note shapes typical of ars subtillor practice, but found in several other sources with no ornamentation and copied wholly in conventional ars nova notation. This hypothesis raises the possibility that other ars subtillor pieces are also written-down improvisations, and I propose some candidates. Finally, I consider the broader issue of the complex interplay between conception and representation of musical rhythm, suggesting that the notation itself provides clues to its intellectual and social origins, and that there is evidence both of improvised performance and of the intellectual exploration of proportional complexity.

THE MONOPHONIC MOTET:
A LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PHENOMENON
Judith A. Peraino
City College, San Francisco

French polyphonic motets and monophonic chansons traditionally have been considered unrelated repertories. General surveys of the two repertories emphasize the segregation of sources, differing vocabularies of notation, and contrasting poetic and melodic forms. Yet a provocative number of anomalous “continuous melody” chansons found in northern French manuscripts (F-Pn fr. 844 and 845) indicates an increasing interpenetration rather than segregation of these two repertories toward the end of the 13th century.

Based on an examination of these anomalous monophonic pieces and the treatise De Musica written by Johannes de Grocheio (ca. 1300), this paper proposes that, in the years surrounding 1300, musicians in northern France cultivated an experimental type of chanson modelled on the triplum and duplum voice parts of motets. These “monophonic motets” demonstrate a sensitivity to the melodic and poetic traits of polyphonic motet parts, and contribute to a complex of motet compositions that
encompasses a variety of musical phenomena. Thus, the "monophonic motets" illustrate a more fluid notion of musical genre and challenge presently held conceptions of medieval music.

**NINETEENTH CENTURY: A SENSE OF THE PAST**
Jon W. Finson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair

**SCHUMANN, LISZT, AND A PRIVATE TRIBUTE**
Garry Ziegler
Washington University, St. Louis

7 January 1857
Dear friend,

Please excuse this incomplete and tardy response to your most recent letter. For several weeks I have been confined to my bed. And today, as I write to you, I am still in bed—and out of sorts.

How are things with you, Wasielewski? How much further along are you with your Schumann biography? I have a profound interest in this endeavor. But I am sorry to say the request you have so amicably put forth will be impossible to satisfy; most of the letters Schumann wrote to me during the early years of our friendship have been lost.

In the stead of those irretrievable jewels, may I offer the golden strands of my memories? When I have recovered from my present malady, I will write to you at length of Schumann—of the affinities that brought us together, of the confidences we shared, of his Fantasy in C major, his deep lament for a distant beloved, and his public tribute to me. You will learn too of my Ballade in B minor and its musical allusions to the Fantasy—of my private tribute to this "Leander" who tried so valiantly to reach his "Hero."

Until then, my warm and sincere greetings,
F. Liszt

**BRAHMS AND THE ANXIETY OF ALLUSION**
Raymond Knapp
University of California, Los Angeles

As Harold Bloom’s *The Anxiety of Influence* casts an increasingly influential shadow across musicological studies, Brahms has seemed a logical starting point for applying the theory to music, given his confessed anxieties about Beethoven and his oft-noted—if not universally acknowledged—musical borrowings. Yet the application does scant justice to Brahms’ compositional situation and practice, in which the need to establish a relationship to the past, however critical, was largely subordinate to other concerns.

Chief among the constraints that informed Brahms’ allusive practice was the necessity of projecting an abstract musical structure that could account internally for the ways in which allusive passages were constituted; this freed his allusions from the task of providing musical rationales and allowed them to operate on a more subliminal level. Brahms’ wish to preserve this hierarchy, to keep non-referential musical discourse in the foreground of his audience’s response, provides a more telling explanation for his annoyance when specific borrowings were identified than an exaggerated fear of being labeled an imitator of past masters.

Brahms’ anxiety regarding his audience’s awareness of allusions in his music may be termed an “anxiety of allusion,” a phrase that, unlike Bloom’s, places Brahms’ anxiety *between* the past and his audience rather than primarily with the
past. By considering selected allusive passages in Brahms’ symphonies—the genre in which Brahms’ preoccupation with a “strong poet” is arguably most central—this paper will demonstrate how far removed Brahms’ allusive practice was from the model suggested by Bloom’s theory.

WAYS OF TRANSMISSION
John W. Hill, University of Illinois, Chair

TUNE TRANSMISSION AND TRANSFORMATION
IN PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS OF MONODY
Roark Miller
Southern Methodist University

In stark contrast to preceding centuries, the Seicento has offered scholars a seemingly inexhaustible repertory of solo song. Whereas the lack of a significant body of Italian secular solo song from earlier centuries has stimulated numerous studies of the “unwritten tradition,” the huge body of published monody has discouraged such investigation. Yet musicians of the early 1600s undoubtedly committed much of their solo repertory to memory, as had their earlier counterparts. This paper addresses the effect of the unwritten tradition on the development and transmission of popular, written tunes in the early Seicento.

The anonymous canzonetts collected in the anthologies of Giovanni Stefani (fl. 1618–26) provide our focal point, for they demonstrate that, despite their relative simplicity, solo canzonetts of the early Seicento underwent further simplification at the hands of musicians such as Stefani. First, in contrast to their original source tunes, Stefani’s canzonetts employ marked melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic simplifications characteristic of orally transmitted tunes. Second, comparison of textually and musically concordant songs between Stefani’s anthologies and the collection of texts with alfabeto (but devoid of musical notation) by guitar pedagogue Pietro Millioni reveals how intricate bass lines could be reduced by self-accompanying singers to a succession of simple harmonic progressions. In addition, Stefani’s anthologies include new melodic-rhythmic formulas fitted to repetitive, rhythmic verse meters such as quinari, senari, setteneri, and ottonari inspired by fashionable Chiabreraan verse and found in numerous monody collections. The seeming renunciation of the unwritten tradition implied by the act of publication could not quell this venerable tradition.

MUSICAL WORKS AND ORAL TRADITION:
TRANSMISSION AND IDENTITY RECONSIDERED
Lawrence Zbikowski
University of Chicago

Musicology is usually viewed as centered around the study of musical works whose identity is preserved through musical notation. Musics of oral traditions pose a challenge to this perspective, since in fact here notation plays no part. This suggests that musics of oral traditions rely on some other standard of identity to ensure continuity of musical practice.

In this paper I propose that the “other” standard of identity is connected with processes of categorization discussed recently by cognitive psychologists and linguists. These processes are dynamic, reflecting the influence of experience, culture, and society. The categories that result typically have flexible boundaries and variable membership, and they are often organized around a central exemplar.
Each piece of music constitutes a category of this sort. The category comprises performances of the piece, as well as artifacts related to performance, and other information regarded as constitutive of the piece, such as placement of the work within a ritual. The relationships among, and relative priorities assigned to, category members represent the structure of the category. New performances are granted membership in the category according to the degree to which they reflect category structure. Category structure is thus the basis for determinations of musical identity and continuity of musical practice.

This model of identity applies to musics of literate and quasi-literate traditions as well to musics of oral traditions; I shall discuss this application within the broader context of the control of musical identity afforded by various forms of enregisterment, including notation.

SPECIAL EVENING SESSION
TEACHING TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC
Robert Walser, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair
Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., Black Music Research Center
Ellie Hisama, Ohio State University
Susan McClary, University of California, Los Angeles
Bruno Nettl, University of Illinois
Richard Taruskin, University of California, Berkeley
Robert Winter, University of California, Los Angeles

The Outreach Committee of the AMS Council presents a panel discussion on the topic of teaching 20th-century music. The format of the session will be the following: the Chair’s brief introduction of the panelists and the issues, discussion among panelists, and further discussion involving audience members.

The goal of this forum is to promote dialogue about a variety of theoretical problems, but with attention given as well to the practical decisions faced by teachers of 20th-century music. Now that the 20th century is drawing to a close, what was it? That is, how do we represent 20th-century music in our writings, and how do we teach it? In this era of global interactions, the status of “the Western tradition” seems anything but self-evident; historians face problems of boundaries—both geographic and conceptual—with new urgency. They must consider shifts over the course of this century in musical patronage, demographics, cultural hierarchies, and in the technologies that produce and mediate musical experiences.

As teachers, musicologists must make choices about how to organize syllabi—what to put in, what to leave out, and whether to organize chronologically or topically. Responding to these practical challenges depends upon reaching at least provisional solutions to larger theoretical problems: representing and relating multiple traditions, and even reconsidering forthrightly the goals of historical education. Which 20th-century musics should our students study, and why? Should courses devoted to single periods remain the mainstay of music history curricula? The panelists have written about and taught the music of this century in a variety of ways; their careful consideration of these issues should help suggest new strategies for thinking about 20th-century music and tactics for teaching it.
FROM THE GARDENS OF THE ALHAMBRA TO THE TEMPLES OF JAVA: ORIENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS IN THE WORKS OF MANUEL DE FALLA
Michael Christoforidis
University of Melbourne

Manuel de Falla’s musical language has been hailed repeatedly as one of the most original and penetrating manifestations of “authentic” Spanish music. His most renowned compositions were, however, conceived in an environment conditioned by Romantic European constrictions of Spain. Spanish and European notions of Alhambraism led Falla to associate his early mature works with Granada, a city perceived as the nearest representation of the Orient. Through his Andalusian pedigree and supposed first-hand knowledge of the site and its folklore, Falla was perceived as bringing a stamp of verisimilitude to such works as La vida breve and Nights in the Gardens of Spain, notwithstanding the fact that he had never visited Granada.

Recently discovered compositional papers demonstrate that Falla fabricated these works from elements he classed as “Arab-Andalusian,” which incorporated such varied sources as Bourgault-Ducoudaray’s transcriptions of Greek and Ottoman melodies and contemporary collections of North African music. In El amor brujo, The Three-Cornered Hat, and the Fantasia baetica, his attempt to recreate Spanish gypsy idioms led Falla to study flamenco sources and relate this genre to its oriental origins. In doing so, he rationalized the “borrowing” of seemingly disparate elements—ranging from Byzantine modes, Indian ragas, and Javanese ritual dances—into the formal, rhythmic and poetic conception of these archetypal “Spanish” works. A study of the composer’s library and sketch materials reveals the extent of such appropriations and helps to explain the difficulty faced by previous commentators in identifying Spanish models for some elements of these works.

SOME EXAMPLES OF IMAGINARY FOLK MUSIC IN THE CZECH LANDS
Michael Beckerman
University of California, Santa Barbara

There has been a good deal of discussion devoted to the way composers throughout history have consciously employed pre-existent musical material known as “folk music” as a basis and inspiration for new works. Sometimes, as we compare the folk source to a composition on which it is supposedly based, we find that a composer has actually invented a sort of imaginary folk music.

This study explores two levels of imaginary folk music in the Czech Lands. In his Moravian Duets Dvorak creates a kind of harmonically inflected popular song to represent the music of rural Moravia. Even though Dvorak knew the original melodies (since he used their texts) he chose to avoid them. The difference between the real and imaginary is shown by comparing Dvorak’s melodies with transcriptions from contemporary folk song collections.

There are instances, however, when a composer fabricates a musical vocabulary for an unknown people. To illustrate this, I focus on two compositions by Janacek: the Diary of One Who Vanished and The Makropulos Case. In both works the composer
systematically assembles a Gypsy musical language by inflecting certain types of Moravian song.

The practice of imagining a folk music is often opposed to that of composers who are thought to use the substance in a more “authentic” manner. The conclusion of this study argues that all use of folk music in an “art music” context has an imaginary aspect to it, and that far from being a negative factor, it is the essentially creative part of the enterprise.

ART MUSIC ON ASHKENAZI JEWISH THEMES:
THE SOCIETY FOR JEWISH FOLK MUSIC (1908–1919)
Paula Eisenstein Baker
University of St. Thomas, Houston

A discussion of art music based on folk material rarely includes music on Jewish themes. There is, however, a body of music composed on Ashkenazi (Eastern European) Jewish themes that should not be ignored: the output of the Society for Jewish Folk Music (1908–19), organized in St. Petersburg by several of Rimsky-Korsakov’s composition students at the Conservatory.

The Society published scholarly works, its members wrote for the musical press and participated in ethnographic expeditions, it organized public lectures, music classes, and concerts that were reviewed by Russkaya Muzykalnaya Gazeta, and it inspired similar organizations in other cities. Its lasting legacy is the collection of works by 18 different composers that the Society published—81 compositions and arrangements based on themes drawn from Jewish song, nusach (the mode and motives associated with the liturgy for particular prayer services), and trop (or cantillation, the tune fragments for chanting the various books of the Hebrew Bible). Many of the works are based on material discovered by Society members in their fieldwork.

Representative of the Society’s publications is Eli Zion (“O Zion”) for violoncello and piano (1914). In it, composer Leo Zeitlin contrasts two Jewish liturgical elements: the non-metric cantillation for the Song of Songs, and an unfamiliar melody for the kinah (lament) “Eli Zion” sung on Tisha b’Av (which commemorates the destruction of the First and Second Temples). Eli Zion and the other works published by the Society should be included in our consideration of Eastern European art music based on folk sources.

BARTÓK’S IMPROVISATIONS FOR PIANO, OP. 20: FROM “FOLKSONG ARRANGEMENT” TO “COMPOSING WITH FOLK TUNES”
Elliott Antokoletz
University of Texas, Austin

As part of the evolution of Béla Bartók’s musical language toward increasing synthesis of Eastern European folk modes and the abstract pitch constructions of contemporary art music, the composer pointed to the changing role of Hungarian folk tunes as he used them in his compositions. He divided the transcription of folk music into three categories in which (1) “the used folk melody is the more important part of the work” and “the added accompaniment and eventual preludes and postludes may only be considered as the mounting of a jewel”; (2) “the importance of the used melodies and the added parts is almost equal”; and (3) “the added composition-treatment attains the importance of an original work, and the used folk melody is only to be regarded as a kind of motto.”

My intention is to trace these changing relations between authentic folk tune and abstract accompaniment by comparing pieces from the Eight Improvisations on
Hungarian Peasant Songs for Piano, Op. 20 (1920) with the Hungarian folk-tune arrangement in No. 4 of his 14 Bagatelles for Piano, Op. 6 (1908). Nos. 8 and 3 of the Improvisations, a work in which Bartók believed he reached the "extreme limit in adding most daring accompaniments to simple folk tunes," exemplify the means by which he could radically transform the diatonic and nondiatonic modal structures of Hungarian folk music into abstract symmetrical (octatonic and whole-tone) sets. These modal transformations, which serve to enhance the intrinsic quality of the original folk sources themselves, are essential to the evolution of Bartók's musical language.

MARKETING BRITISHNESS
Byron Adams, University of California, Riverside, Chair

"THAT FOREMOST OF ENGLISH SONGWRITERS": MAUDE VALÉRIE WHITE AND THE ENGLISH MUSICAL RENAISSANCE
Sophie Fuller
University of Reading, England

In late Victorian Britain, after centuries of domination by European music and musicians, the development of a national identity became a driving force on the British musical scene. Twentieth-century writers have constructed an appealing but often misleading picture of this so-called English Musical Renaissance. Public performances of large-scale works have been made the focus of attention, overlooking the historical significance of private performances and the huge market for smaller genres, especially song. Many successful British song composers were women: in fact at this time women were establishing themselves as highly regarded composers of all genres—despite the continuing debate in the musical press over whether women were "destitute of the creative faculty in music" and the possible arrival of a "great female composer."

These issues resonate clearly in the 20th-century reception of Maude Valérie White (1855–1937), a composer who defiantly chose to restrict her work almost exclusively to the genre of song, and who was (in her own words) "the most out-and-out cosmopolitan that ever lived," moving far beyond the boundaries of her British musical training. Nevertheless, in the 1880s and '90s White's music was enthusiastically received by the British press and public, and she was seen as making an important contribution to the development of British song. But as a woman songwriter who engaged enthusiastically with an eclectic range of texts and musics from other countries, it is perhaps not surprising that she has subsequently been denied a place in the carefully constructed image of the English Musical Renaissance.

DEFINING THE CANON: THE BBC'S SHAPING OF A NATION'S TASTES
Jennifer Doctor

During the initial period of British broadcasting, the men responsible for music programs were given the unprecedented opportunity of molding a nation's musical tastes. BBC authorities regarded the challenge seriously, pledging that the new medium should enlighten and educate as well as entertain. Emphasis was placed on programs that raised cultural awareness; in particular, broadcasting introduced many listeners to the Western art music canon.
Significantly, the BBC appointed musicians from outside the British musical establishment to devise the “serious music” broadcasts. As the monopoly gained power, rapidly becoming the foremost music disseminator in Britain, its policies were perceived to conflict—politically, economically, and musically—with establishment aims. The power struggle erupted into both vituperative criticisms of broadcast policies and demands that these cater to British musical interests.

This paper investigates the degree to which the conflict resulted from early BBC program policies and broadcasts (1922–30). Analysis of the canon as it was broadcast shows that the BBC not only presented “standard repertory” systematically, but that extraordinary recognition was also given to living European composers: Percy Pitt and Edward Clark ensured that Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Bartók received unprecedented attention. This practice evoked protests championing the nation’s own, since broadcasts of recent British music encouraged popular and economic support of the evolving national style; in response, the Corporation devised strategies to promote local talent. However, previously unexplored archival documents reveal that these high-profile attempts backfired disastrously, culminating in the BBC rejecting its commission of that quintessentially “British” work, Walton’s Belshazzar’s Feast.

THE AMERICAN RECEPTION OF RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS: MUSIC AND THE “SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP”
Alain Frogley
University of Connecticut, Storrs

The significance of Vaughan Williams’ strong transatlantic ties has been largely overlooked, both in the literature on the composer himself and in studies of American music. Yet Whitman’s mystically democratic vision of the New World played a crucial role in Vaughan Williams’ philosophical development, and the composer’s three extended visits to the United States (1922, 1932, and 1954) gave rise to his most important published writings. Vaughan Williams’ music has been more enthusiastically received in America than anywhere else outside Britain, and in the 1950s conductors such as Szell, Stokowski, and Ormandy were competing hotly for Vaughan Williams premieres. His compositional impact can be heard in works by Schuman, Hanson, Piston, Hovhaness, and others.

This paper argues that, whatever the intrinsically musical attractions of his works, mid–century American interest in Vaughan Williams was informed by broader cultural and political developments. The desire among sections of the American elite to reassert Anglo-Saxon hegemony in the national self-image, as a foil to increasing cultural diversity; the growing strength of the Anglo-American alliance in international affairs; the widespread interest in Anglo-American folksong and hymnody that emerged during this period: all these trends inevitably drew Vaughan Williams, as perceived ambassador of Englishness and champion of folk-song, into the debate surrounding American national identity, and the politics of race, class, and gender that shaped it. Yet his relationship to such issues was not simple, and the appeal of his music ultimately went beyond the confines of special-interest groups.

SELLING BRITTEN: MUSIC AND THE MARKET PLACE
Paul Kildea
Magdalen College, Oxford

Between the beginning of this century and the Second World War, the market for art music in Britain twice changed almost beyond recognition. The first was
during and immediately after the 1914–18 war, when nationalism affected demand while a changing financial infrastructure influenced supply. The second was in 1922 when the BBC was formed, complete with a firm commitment to art music and an ironic disdain of mass culture.

Since 1945, however, the British art music market has been transformed many more times. The arrival of the Arts Council in 1945—via several war-time experiments—put patronage into the hands of the government, which had its own aspirations for British cultural identity. The re-opening of Covent Garden in the same year was a serious attempt to develop and sustain a grand opera tradition in a country without one. A revival of interest in festivals moved music away from metropolitan centers. The inauguration of the BBC’s Third Programme in 1946 resulted in a specific production and broadcasting forum for art music. And improvements in recording technology—most notably the invention of the LP and stereo—greatly enlarged the audience for art music.

Benjamin Britten was involved in these new market articulators from their beginnings, often influencing their shape and potency. This paper will explore the relationship between Britten and the market place, illustrating the complex patterns of demand and supply which emerged in the period 1945–63.

NINETEENTH/EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY TOPICS:
BEETHOVEN, BRAHMS, LISZT, IVES
Walter M. Frisch, Columbia University, Chair

“DEINEZAUBERBINDENWIEDER”: BEETHOVEN’S SCHILLER
AND THE MUSIC OF ENLIGHTENMENT
James Parsons
Southwest Missouri State University

Surveying the crossroads at which musicology currently stands, it is revealing that Beethoven studies frequently have led the way in explorations of new critical methods. Not surprisingly, given its “implied significance that overflows the musical scenario” (Solomon), examinations of the Ninth Symphony have figured prominently.

Although Nattiez and Abbate have questioned “poietic” strategies that seek to reconstruct the cultural context surrounding a composition, it is my contention that this, in conjunction with other analytical considerations, is precisely what stands to enrich our understanding of the Ninth’s Finale. Building on Kinderman’s recent observation that Beethoven highly prized Kunstvereinigung (artistic unification), I begin with what Freude (joy)—the subject of Schiller’s poem—meant during the composer’s lifetime. As contemporaneous accounts agree, it was the reward given those who were able to unite (vereinigen) the earthly and the sublime—in other words, attain Enlightenment. From here it will be seen that Beethoven adumbrated the Freude tune in three compositions before the Ninth; the texts of each involve some aspect of Vereinigung. Indeed, Beethoven’s near lifelong concern for Kunstvereinigung informs the Finale on any number of levels: from his selection of lines from Schiller’s poem, the decision to “unite” two different musics at the double choral fugue (one the initially mundane Freude tune, the other emblematic of the sublime), to matters of form. In sum, the movement may be heard as the sonic mapping of the poetic line to which Beethoven returns the most often: “Joy . . . your charms unite again that which custom rudely has divided.”
PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE RECEPTION IN THE MUSIC OF BRAHMS
Dillon R. Parker
University of Ottawa

The received view of Brahms as champion of absolute music has dominated musical historiography for over a century, and with good reason. Except for a handful of compositions, Brahms never published his instrumental music with the suggestive titles, narrative descriptions, or literary extracts normally associated with program music. Unfortunately, this entrenched view conceals a contrary picture revealed only in more private venues. Indeed, a substantial body of evidence suggests that many works generally believed to be absolute often circulated with verbal adjuncts Brahms himself made available, either through word of mouth or correspondence, through suppressed verbal inscriptions found only in pre-publication versions of compositions, or through literary documents distributed among close friends. By exploring the particulars of several cases throughout Brahms’ compositional career, I argue that portions of his output have a double reception history: to privileged listeners within his circle of intimates he transmits many of his compositions as program music, whereas for everyone else that same music remains more or less abstract.

The paper concludes by examining the paradoxical relation between current research and this duality. Scholarship can certainly disclose the particulars of each case, but it cannot therefore widen the circle within which verbal adjuncts circulated, even though published research challenges us to receive works previously believed to be abstract as program music. Instead, scholarship illuminates a private corner in Brahms’ musical life, a space in which we can glimpse—behind the public image of a composer of absolute music—the shadow of “Brahms the Programmatic.”

WEITZMANN’S REGIONS AND CYCLES: AN EARLY GROUP-THEORETIC APPROACH TO TRIADIC PROGRESSIONS
Richard Cohn
University of Chicago

In Der Übermassige Dreiklang (1853), Karl Friedrich Weitzmann observes that each of the four augmented triads can progress to six consonant (i.e., major or minor) triads by moving a single voice by semitone. This observation leads Weitzmann to suggest a method for partitioning the 24 consonant triads into four different groups, which I call Weitzmann regions. His characterization of these regions implies a specific cyclic ordering of the six triads within a single region, which I call a Weitzmann cycle. A clear example of a Weitzmann cycle is found at the end of the exposition of the first movement of Liszt’s Faust Symphony (1854), adding further substance to the speculation that Weitzmann’s monograph influenced Liszt’s symphony.

Weitzmann’s regions anticipate significant aspects of recent music-theoretic approaches to 19th-century music. These include David Lewin’s neo-Riemannian model of triadic progressions in Wagner; Jack Douthett’s map of relations among the 24 consonant triads, based on maximum common-tone retention and semitonal voice-leading, and using the four augmented triads as “switching stations”; and models, proposed by Benjamin Boretz and Robert P Morgan, of “Tristan” progressions connecting dominant- and half-diminished seventh chords via absent but implied diminished seventh chords. Of most general significance is the fact that Weitzmann’s treatise, in its focus on common-tone retention and semitonal voice-leading between triads, appears to be the earliest treatise to adopt a group-theoretic rather than acoustic stance toward musical materials and their relations.
CHARLES IVES AND THE TRADITION OF CHILDHOOD NOSTALGIA
David Metzer
University of British Columbia

Nostalgic reflections on childhood have reappeared throughout American culture. In this tradition, children stand as symbols of a distant and innocent past. Such evocations of youth crowd early 20th-century arts and popular media, emerging from anxieties over the extensive changes in American life and an increasingly nostalgic view of the previous century.

As is well known, Charles Ives returned frequently to the topic of childhood in his music and writings. This paper situates his representations of youth within the tradition of childhood nostalgia. It concentrates on the song "Tom Sails Away" (1917), relating it to contemporary nostalgic works in the other arts. One of Three Songs of the War, the piece is concerned more with boyhood memories than with World War I. Ives stages these memories by quoting and emulating what is arguably the source of the nostalgic tradition: the popular 19th-century song "The Old Oaken Bucket." In addition, his work conveys the regression fantasies—the desire to re-enter the world of youth—typical of childhood nostalgia.

Portraying youth as distant and inaccessible, Willa Cather’s novels not only offer representations similar to Ives’ but also engage various regression fantasies. Moreover, My Antonia (1918), in a satire of childhood nostalgia gone too far, refers to “The Old Oaken Bucket.” Finally, Mary Pickford’s films present the most popular image of childhood from the 1910s and ’20s. Like the depictions of Ives and Cather, it is an idealized 19th-century portrait, one based on the wish to recapture youth, fulfilled in the elaborate visual realizations of the adult actress as a child.

NATIONALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM
IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY FRENCH MUSIC
Pamela Potter, University of Illinois, Chair

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE BAROQUE REVIVAL:
JEAN-BAPTISTE MOREAU AT THE SCHOLA CANTORUM, 1905
Catriona Flint
McGill University

It is easy to imagine the consternation the unrepentant anti-Semitic, anti-Dreyfusard Vincent d’Indy felt when he was obliged to defend music performed and published by the Schola Cantorum as “more Christian than Jewish.” Jean-Baptiste Moreau’s Esther and Athalie should have been unconditionally acceptable to nationalist Parisian critics: not only was the composer French, but the texts were by Jean Racine. Yet the tepid reception accorded the 1905 revival of the works was explained by the commentator l’Abbé Delfour as the result of its inherent Jewishness. A reading of the Schola’s attempt to justify the works as “Christian” reveals cultural attitudes about the nature of “Jewishness” in music. The stigma of this ethnic/“racial” identity included gestural ostentation, rhythmic inflexibility, and, surprisingly, the use of basso continuo. D’Indy’s privileging of the contrapuntal style as “Christian” can be understood as a direct opposition to the alleged harmonic focus of “Jewish” music.

Ostensibly a minor ripple on the surface of the French musical scene, the polarization of counterpoint and harmony as “Christian” and “Jewish” music, respectively, is actually a symptom of the larger 1905 press war between d’Indystes and Debussystes, or Contrapuntistes and Harmonistes. Furthermore, referring to Sander
Gilman’s work on Jewish sexuality, d’Indy’s defense of Moreau may be placed in relief against the highly gendered language of the larger debate in order to show connections between anti-Semitism and misogyny. This virile hatred of both Jews and women, musically represented as harmony, played a powerful role in the constitution of modernity in turn-of-the-century France.

THE CONCERT AS POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE
AND THE CONTROL OF “PERFORMATIVE CONTEXT”
Jane Fulcher
Indiana University

Shortly after the conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair, a new model of concert developed in France, one sponsored by, or politically associated with, the now defeated French “integral nationalists.” Such concerts presented the music performed in proximity to either formal lectures or preparatory texts that explained their significance according to a conception of “authentic French culture.” For nationalists now turned to culture, including music, as an effective but indirect channel through which to articulate and subtly insinuate the political values they still hoped to diffuse. The model was soon to spread: as this paper shows, it was used by other political groups, including the Republic itself, which employed it as a symbolic vehicle of political pedagogy.

This paper examines these concerts, including those at the Schola Cantorum, at the Universal Exposition, at the Dreyfusard Ecole des Hautes Sociales, and the Syndicalist Fêtes du Peuple. Using previously neglected material from contemporary books and journals, as well as unpublished letters, it shows that they all recognized music’s ideological effectiveness when prepared discursively or placed in a suggestive social context. I thus explore the implications of the anthropological concept of “performative context,” which embodies ideas that such groups grasped and utilized instrumentally for their political ends, for “performative context” includes all those ambient factors around a performance that interact with a work to shape its meaning, to make it a unique enunciation.

Finally, this study demonstrates that such groups comprehended what post-modernist theory has more recently articulated: that music gains a socially semantic dimension when interacting with those factors that shape the “experience.” It concludes by showing how the “politically pedagogical concert” provided the paradigm for those of the First World War and the interwar period, achieving its culmination during the Vichy regime.

HANDEL AND HIS CIRCLE
Lowell E. Lindgren, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Chair

JOHN CHRISTOPHER SMITH’S PASTICCIO
ORATORIOS REDISCOVERED
Richard G. King
University of Maryland, College Park

This paper announces the discovery of the manuscripts of four of John Christopher Smith’s late oratorios and considers a number of questions that arise in connection with their recovery. The oratorios, composed in the 1760s and ’70s, are Nabal, Tobit, Gideon, and Redemption. The manuscripts—complete, written in Smith’s hand, and still in their original bindings—contribute significantly to our
knowledge of English oratorio composition in the decades following Handel's death. These sources also provide information on a variety of issues related to Handel's own practices.

Three of the oratorios are pasticcios that draw heavily on Handel's music. One of the more interesting finds among these scores is Thomas Morell's manuscript libretto for the third part of Tōbit, which illustrates with particular clarity the compositional process of the pasticheur. Following a presentation of evidence seen in the libretto, this paper considers to what extent its approach might reflect that of Handel.

A second issue concerns performance practices, particularly orchestration (oboes) and the apparently common technique of cutting the B sections of da capo arias to reduce the length of an evening's entertainment. Again, the question arises: do the Smith manuscripts preserve “authentic” Handelian traditions?

A third point concerns Handel's own conducting scores, which were in Smith's possession at the time these oratorios were composed. Some markings and revisions seen in the conducting scores may reflect Smith's adaptations for his own oratorios, an important point for editors of Handel's music.

Finally, the paper addresses the pasticcio genre itself, and the questions of whether, and if so how, works such as Smith's oratorios might aspire to the condition of art.

HANDEL'S ALCINA AND THE LIMITS OF ILLUSION SPACE
John T. Winemiller
Knoxville, Tennessee

The operation of illusion space, and the question of who delineates its boundaries, are principal concerns of current opera studies. While traditional theories of drama assign primary control to composers and librettists, recent applications of performance theory to opera seria argue strongly for the agency of performers and audiences. This paper explores the nature of illusion space in later Handelian opera, using the circumstances of the first production of Handel's Alcina (London, 1735) to consider how drama and spectacle were configured in relation to the interplay of performers and audiences.

The 1735 production of Alcina wove together layers of illusion involving plot, convention, and performance. A reworking of Ariosto's tale of a sorceress and her enchanted island, the opera asked its willing audience to accept castrati, cross-dressing, and frequent narrative ruptures for arias and ballets. The audience, however, sharply delimited the illusion space when it came to the performers. They praised the expressive, emotional singing of Anna Strada, who created the role of Alcina, but mocked her countenance by calling her "The Pig." Similarly, they hailed the sentimental, naturalistic dancing of Maria Sallé, whose choreography added an important dimension of spectacle to Handel's Covent Garden operas; ultimately she was run out of London for her too-daring appearance in male garb in Alcina. The contradictory, but engaged, reactions to the performances and personas of Strada and Sallé form a counterpoint to the opera's conventionality, richly representing the complicated mechanics of opera seria and its audience in 1730s London.
TEXTUAL ISSUES IN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY WORKS
Linda C. Roesner, New York City, Chair

THE PREMIERE OF BEETHOVEN'S MASS IN C: EVIDENCE FROM THE SOURCES
Jeremiah W. McGrann
Boston College

Among the primary sources for Beethoven's Mass in C, Op. 86, are the score and parts used at the work's premiere on September 13, 1807. These materials have remained largely untouched in the Esterházy collection in Eisenstadt, and their importance for the genesis of the work and the current state of the musical text has never been fully established. This paper, a result of preparing a new critical edition, presents the historical and textual issues raised by these documents.

A puzzling array of copyists and uncorrected mistakes attest to the rush with which the Mass was brought to performance. Stitched pages and Vide additions record last-minute compositional changes in the Kyrie and Credo. Most intriguing is the Agnus Dei, where variants in dynamics and in the assignment of choral and solo parts disclose a different and, in places, more detailed and forceful interpretation of the music than readings transmitted through published sources. The performance heard at the Eisenstadt premiere, while not qualifying as a separate version of the Mass (such as exist for Christus am Ölberge and Fidelio), presents a distinct interpretation of the work. Beethoven's Mass in C thus exists in separate states, much like the different states of a Rembrandt print, in which shadings are altered and shifted from one pressing to the next. The Eisenstadt parts ultimately allow us to see how Beethoven rethought the performance of his first Mass before its publication in 1812.

THE SUBJECT'S TALE: ITALY, ITALIANISMS, AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUSICAL SEMIOTICS IN THE FASSUNG LETZTER HAND OF MENDELSSOHN'S A-MAJOR SYMPHONY
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Posthumously published in 1851, the 1833 version of Mendelssohn's A-major Symphony has become known as the "Italian" Symphony. The appellation derives from the finale (a saltarello) and from the assumption that the work originated during Mendelssohn's Italian sojourn of 1830–31. However, none of the music of this Symphony can be traced to those travels, and Mendelssohn never suggested any association between this music and Italy. Moreover, the composer completely rewrote the last three movements of the A-major Symphony a year after he composed the familiar version, asserting that the first movement would have to be completely rewritten. The still-unpublished Fassung letzter Hand of the symphony is thus even further removed from any of Mendelssohn's original Italianate conceptions than is the familiar version of the work, and there is good reason to doubt whether the designation "Italian" is at all appropriate for the A-major Symphony.

However, an examination of the changes between the two versions and a correlation of these alterations with events of Mendelssohn's Italian journey and contemporary Italian or Italianate works reveals that to contemporary listeners the revised version would have sounded more, not less, Italianate. The two versions of the work thus offer valuable insight into the musical semiotics of a major topos in early 19th-century Germany.
This presentation begins by examining the ways in which the *italianità* of the work is focused and enhanced in the revised version. It ultimately suggests that the insufficiently “Italian” character of the familiar version further argues for the philological and musical authority of the unpublished revised version.
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