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*Thursday afternoon, 15 November*

**THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY**  
**Vera Micznik, University of British Columbia, Chair**

WHISPERS AND LIES:  
CHAIKOVSKY AND HISTORICAL MADNESS IN *MAZEPPA*

Mary Kalil  
Princeton University

The wild story of the Cossack Hetmann, Ivan Mazeppa, captured the imagination of nineteenth-century Europe. Fodder for both Byron and Hugo, and a point of obsession for Liszt, the dramatic character who defied Russia in order to gain freedom for Ukraine inspired a variety of artistic renderings. In fact, it is easily argued that the tale was so popular abroad, Chaikovsky's operatic setting of Aleksandr Pushkin's version was in essence a reclaiming of this moment of Slavic past. This paper will explore how this often-neglected work of the Russian master offers particular insight into his view of how history is set to music.

Chaikovsky chose not to compose this historical tale in the same grandiose style of his previous work, *The Maid of Orleans*, and to avoid most grand-historical operatic conventions. As *Mazeppa* functions on a more intimate scale, the sweeping concerns of a national history are distilled into smaller moments of personal interaction, where past and present rely on the ability of individual characters to relay information about themselves and others. The inevitable result is a whirlwind of people talking at cross-purposes, of lies and miscommunications. Most striking in this setting, where the progress of the plot depends on the believability of the characters' utterances, the structure of the work hinges on the musico-dramatic theme of madness. From the first act to the last, the accusations and eventual proof of *bezumie* are fundamental. Far from being a standard Romantic distraction, this dominant theme forces us to reconsider the reality of history-telling not as a grand national venture, but as a process often filled with absurdities, where "truth" is dependent on baldly subjective accounts of personal experience.

RICHARD STRAUSS AT THE *FIN DE SIÈCLE*:  
GERMAN IMPRESSIONISM, *NERVOSITÄT*, AND *SEKUNDENSTIL*

Morten Kristiansen  
Truman State University

Now used almost exclusively to refer to features of French painting and music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term Impressionism was also used to denote developments in Germanic culture during this period; the concept is essential to an understanding of the musical style and aesthetic of Richard Strauss as it developed during the 1890s. First (mis)labeled as a "nervous Romanticism" and proclaimed the successor of Naturalism by Viennese cultural observer Hermann Bahr in 1890, the term was often used synonymously with Neoromanticism and Symbolism, became antithetical to Expressionism in

the 1920s, and has since fallen out of use. In 1960, however, literary and cultural historians Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand proposed Impressionism as the unifying concept for Germanic culture of the 1890s and Richard Strauss as its foremost musical proponent. Examining remarks by Strauss himself, Bahr, Hamann and Hermand, and four prominent turn-of-the-century musical observers (Batka, Bie, Bekker, Niemann) who identified Strauss as an Impressionist, allows us to construct a compelling profile of the composer's "Impressionist" musical style and aesthetic. Strauss's aesthetic displayed Impressionist traits such as an aversion to a dogmatic *Weltanschauung*, espousal of a radical individualism, attention to psychology and sensuality, and especially attraction to *Nervosität* (nervousness). With respect to musical style, as examples will demonstrate, Strauss's Impressionism is revealed, among other ways, through an "organized absence of [a uniform] style" and—perhaps most importantly—*Sekundenstil*: rapid or "nervous" shifts of mood.

### ADORNO'S MAHLER AND THE TIMBRAL OUTSIDER

John J. Sheinbaum  
University of Denver

Theodor W. Adorno's 1960 monograph on Mahler is subtitled *A Musical Physiognomy* (*Eine musikalische Physiognomik*). Though this obscure phrase has not elicited much comment, the implications for understanding Adorno's approach to Mahler are enormous. "Physiognomy," the art of revealing and judging character from facial features and patterns, suggests that one can understand the deep essence of Mahler precisely by investigating surface features of the music. In this paper I argue that instrumental timbre and orchestral color can be read as an important part, both literally and metaphorically, of Adorno's approach to Mahler. These ostensibly surface features of the music, traditionally considered superficial and largely irrelevant to its deep structure, are key to understanding that very core. Coloristic features of pieces are often considered in Adorno's writings on music; using Adorno's own examples of "breakthrough," "suspension," and "fulfillment," I argue that timbre is a significant component of his conception of Mahlerian form. Further, for Adorno the relationships between timbre and form are not restricted to the work, but speak both to Mahler's and Adorno's society. This critique of form as deep and timbre as surface evokes the dichotomy between societal insiders and outsiders—important aspects of both Mahler's *fin-de-siècle* and Adorno's post-Second World War contexts. For Adorno, these musical relationships resonated strongly with his concern for the plight of the outsider within the homogenizing bounds of modern society.

### NEW PRIMARY SOURCES FOR GUSTAV MAHLER'S BIOGRAPHY

Stephen McClatchie  
University of Regina

When Gustav Mahler's brother-in-law, violinist Arnold Rosé, fled Nazi Austria in 1939, he took with him hundreds of letters from Mahler to his parents and siblings. Upon his death, these documents (and others) went to his son Alfred Rosé, a pianist, conductor, and composer who was appointed to the University of Western Ontario, in London, Ontario, Canada, in 1948. In 1983, his widow donated the collection to the University in memory of her husband. I published a preliminary study of these still-unpublished letters in *Mahler*

*Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), and am currently editing them for publication by Oxford University Press and Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Vienna. I recently discovered a significant cache of letters from Mahler's sister, Justine, to Ernestine Löhr, the sister of Mahler's good friend Friedrich Löhr. These letters provide important context for, and additional illumination of, the family letters. This paper will highlight important aspects of both collections, with particular focus on the Mahler family's complex relationship with Judaism, Mahler's hitherto unknown reaction to his brother's suicide in 1895, and the exact nature of Mahler's relationships with soprano Anna von Mildenburg and violist/memoirist Natalie Bauer-Lechner.

## TOPICS IN ROCK

**Judith Lochhead, State University of New York, Stony Brook, Chair**

### *LOSING MY RELIGION* AND THE QUEER ALTERNATIVE SUBJECT

Mitchell Morris

University of California, Los Angeles

The alternative rock group REM released *Losing My Religion* in 1991. Like a number of songs co-written by REM's lead singer Michael Stipe, its lyrical situation is opaque but centers around the melancholy of unrequited love. A careful reading of the music and text of *Losing My Religion* demonstrates that the song's grounding of amorous depression hinges upon a failure of speaking—saying too much and not enough. This anxiety about information can furthermore be most adequately comprehended within the structures of “the epistemology of the closet”; that Stipe's own situation at the time as a semi-closeted bisexual man was common fodder for journalistic speculation only added to the piquancy of the song. The cloaked erotic framework became strikingly clear (and controversial) in the video's marriage of lush homoeroticism with learned references to the films of Andrei Tarkovsky and Renaissance art.

*Losing My Religion* was one of a number of songs during the late 80s and early 90s to employ the difficulties of queer adolescence, particularly the image of the gay teen as outcast and abject, as a central trope. This can be understood as a defiant appropriation of the discourses on adolescent anomie and teen suicide evident in popular culture during the Reagan and Bush years, and a brief discussion of songs by the Smiths, Pet Shop Boys, and Nirvana show how they entail a cluster of ideas about the formation of queer identities directly related to the situating of *Losing My Religion*.

### “KEEP GOING!” THE USE OF CLASSICAL MUSIC SAMPLES IN MONO'S *HELLO CLEVELAND*

Sara Nicholson

Eastman School of Music

Like much music that listeners and critics today classify as ambient pop, the British duo Mono's debut album *Formica Blues* relies heavily on pastiche techniques. Released in 1997, the album navigates effortlessly through elements of classic pop, film music, western classical music, drum-n-bass, and hip-hop. Yet even by these standards, the album's tenth track, *Hello Cleveland*, is remarkable; it engulfs the listener in a matrix of samples that generally elude

even this repertory. Amidst an original musical landscape we hear snippets of Luciano Berio's *Sinfonia*, Anton Webern's Op. 6, Arnold Schoenberg's Op. 15, and Alban Berg's *Lulu Suite*, all within seconds. How does one hear a song like this? And does one's background affect that hearing? With a song like *Hello Cleveland*, a different listener may hear an entirely different song. If the listener recognizes these samples—listed nowhere in the CD's liner notes—the song becomes pregnant with meaning and intention. The obscurity of the sample-web may even suggest a secret code of signifiers that begs interpretation and provides semantic counterpoint. If the listener falls short of recognition, the samples act as classical music simulacra, free-floating signifiers without a specific referent. This paper investigates Mono's sampling technique from two such antithetical perspectives: Frederic Jameson's notion of postmodern "blank parody," and the modernist aesthetic of intentional allusion. I attempt to navigate between these two extreme listener responses in order to explore the ultimate opposition of object versus use.

## WHY TWO *REVOLUTIONS*? JOHN LENNON'S AMBIVALENCE AND THE POLITICS OF MUSICAL RECEPTION

John Platoff  
Trinity College

John Lennon's controversial 1968 song *Revolution* was released in two quite different versions: as a single, and on the "White Album" (as *Revolution 1*). The lyrics express deep skepticism about political radicalism, and the single, with its lines "But when you talk about destruction /...you can count me out" drew the vitriol of activists on the Left. Lennon appears less opposed to violent protest in *Revolution 1*—recorded first, though released later—where he sang "you can count me out—in."

Some of his critics were placated by this change. However, the relationship between textual and musical rhetoric is complex; a song's meanings are conveyed not simply by the words but by the way the words are expressed (as both Greil Marcus and Simon Frith have argued, in somewhat different terms). Musically, the single is far more violent: it is an uptempo rocker with savagely distorted electric guitars that overshadow the lyrics. *Revolution 1*, with Lennon's "out—in" on violence, is quite the opposite: mellow and substantially slower, it features an acoustic guitar and irreverently jaunty brass parts, along with ironic "shoo-be-doo-wop" back-up vocals that heighten awareness of Lennon's doubts.

My analysis of the two versions focuses on the relationship between their meanings and their reception. I also discuss other recordings of *Revolution*, including the May 1968 Esher demo and a later promotional video, to trace the unpredictable evolution of Lennon's ideas. I conclude that in their insufficient attention to the musical rhetoric of *Revolution*, political activists preferred the wrong version of the song.

CHOPPING DOWN THE JOSHUA TREE:  
 IRONY, POSTMODERNISM, AND THE “NEW” U2

Timothy Striplin  
 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In 1987 *Rolling Stone* magazine declared U2 “The Band of the 80s,” but the critical praise would not last. By late 1988, U2 faced charges of “overblown self-importance” and “naive idealism.” Critics complained of the band’s self-righteousness and derided their close associations with various political, religious, and social causes. U2 faced a serious dilemma: they could continue on as before and endure critical scorn, disband, or reinvent themselves. The band chose the latter. Previous writers have seen the band’s reinvention as a clear break with—or even renunciation of—their past. The “new” U2 reveled in a savvy mixture of role-playing, calculated distancing, technological overload, pastiche, and Las Vegas-style kitsch. The transformation seemed complete, but the reality of the situation was far from the simple narrative perpetuated by critics and scholars alike.

In this paper, I reassess the nature of the band’s metamorphosis. I argue that although U2 consciously adopted the surface trappings of ironic postmodernism, they encoded their music, lyrics, and staging with subtexts which remained consistent with their past work. I reveal a wealth of literary and pop-culture references through close examinations of two songs, *Mysterious Ways* and *Dirty Day*. Such subtexts make it clear that U2 contrived a clever way to pacify critics and continue to address their favorite topics of musical discourse: politics and religion. I conclude that future investigations of U2’s recent albums and tours would benefit from viewing their art as elaborately packaging serious materials in “throw-away wrappers.”

**SEVENTEENTH- AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TOPICS**

**Antonia Banducci, University of Denver, Chair**

*DIE ERDE HÄNGT DEM HIMMEL GLEICH VOLL GEIGEN*: MUSICAL  
 IMAGERY AND MUSICAL SYMBOLISM IN THREE  
 MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIENNESE FESTIVAL BOOKS

Janet K. Page  
 University of Memphis

When Maria Theresa became ruler of the Habsburg lands in 1740 she faced strong opposition. Three events early in her reign—the births of her sons Joseph and Carl, and the election of her husband Francis Stephen as Holy Roman Emperor—strengthened her position: the dynastic importance of these events was underlined by lavish celebrations in the Habsburg capital of Vienna. The celebrations are described in three festival books, each of about 300 pages. For each event, buildings of the city were decorated with *Sinnbilder* (allegorical pictures), many incorporating musical imagery.

I shall show how the musical images are drawn from classical mythology, Habsburg history, Christian imagery, and everyday life. One depicts a sky filled with stringed instruments, toward which the nine muses reach out. Another features a lutenist playing a nine-stringed instrument; two strings are broken to represent those among the nine electors who opposed Francis Stephen. A third echoes the Christian image of the adoration of the angels:

Maria Theresa sits on a throne holding her son, and beside her a group of aristocratic men and women sing and play continuo instruments, providing a contemporary version of images of harmony depicted in iconologies from Ripa (1593) onwards. This image of cultivated private music is placed above one of trumpets and drums, the instruments of the army and royal ceremony. The musical images were all designed to suggest that Habsburg rule would create universal harmony, extending from mundane details of everyday life to the highest religious and philosophical concepts.

## TRANSFORMATIVE RECEPTION: LULLY AND HANDEL AT THE DRESDEN COURT

Mary Oleskiewicz  
University of Massachusetts, Boston

The early eighteenth-century Dresden court is famous for its cultivation of *opere serie* by Hasse, sacred music by Heinichen and Zelenka, and orchestral music by Vivaldi and Telemann. But Dresden was also a center for performance of music by Lully and Handel. Dresden sources for their works reveal important details about reception and performance practice within Dresden's rich musical and theatrical life, while raising questions about what their music signified to a court already well provided with music by its own composers.

With the exception of one sacred contrafactum of a Handel aria, the music in question is instrumental: over one hundred overtures, concertos, and other works. I intend to show how most were adapted to suit local practices. Overtures, dances, and even choruses from most of Lully's stage works were organized into suites with updated instrumentation. Handel's overtures were joined to dances possibly by local composers; chamber works were rescored for orchestral performance in church, with added movements. Manuscripts of chamber works also document early versions of these compositions.

Many of the arrangements are by the concertmaster Pisendel, who probably met Handel during the latter's 1719 visit, now fully documentable. Another unpublished *Akte* in the Dresden Hauptstaatsarchiv links the cultivation of Lully's music with the emulation of French court practices, including a projected Royal Academy of Declamation under the protection of prime minister Bruehl, whose famous library included editions of much of Lully's work. The overture-suites may have furnished music for the *divertissements* that graced the numerous performances of French comedies documented in the court archives, whose music has hitherto been considered largely lost.

## MUSIC AND SOCIAL ORDER IN CHARLES SOREL'S COMIC NOVELS

Rose A. Pruiksma  
Bates College

Charles Sorel's celebrated comic novel *L'Histoire Comique de Francion* (1623–1633) and his anti-romance *Le Berger Extravagant* (1627) both feature musically active protagonists. Characters in these novels play the lute and the violin, and they sing. They also offer informed criticism of other characters' musical performances, revealing aspects of contemporary performance practice and the role of music in a variety of social settings. These things

come together in Sorel's use of musical ability and judgment as indicators of his characters' social status.

Recent scholarship, particularly that of Catherine Massip, has shown the value of reading literary sources such as Tallemant des Réaux's *Historiettes*, gossipy anecdotes concerning courtiers and their habits, and the letters and diaries of noblemen and women. Such sources show the place of music in court society and attitudes towards performance and listening. Seventeenth-century fiction also reveals aspects of musical practice that are often unaccounted for in other sources, particularly in the case of *Francion*, where Sorel presents such events as a village wedding, a provincial court ballet, and the musical stimulation leading up to a grand orgy.

This paper argues that the musical scenes in *Francion* and *Le Berger* are a viable source for information concerning musical life in seventeenth-century France. These comic novels present a rich but relatively untapped resource for musicologists investigating the function of music in society. When Sorel's fictional accounts of musical performance are read within the context of archival evidence (payment records, employment records), reports from the *Gazette de France*, and mention of music-making in memoirs, they confirm Sorel's familiarity with music and its functions in his world.

#### RECENTLY DISCOVERED MARAIS MANUSCRIPTS AND EVOLVING VARIATION PRACTICES

Stuart Cheney

University of Maryland, College Park

Throughout most of Louis XIV's reign, Marin Marais served as viol player in the king's chamber and occasionally as opera composer and orchestra conductor. He is best known today as the most successful protégé of Sieur de Ste-Colombe and the most prolific French composer for viol, publishing over 500 solo works. Until several manuscript pieces came to light in the 1980s, no known manuscript tradition was associated with Marais. These three manuscripts for viol, which were brought from Paris to Scotland during the 1670s or 80s, have received little scrutiny from either scholars or performers even though they include forty-four *unica* and predate by several years Marais's first publication in 1686. Furthermore, comparison of the handwritings with Marais's signature in archival documents demonstrates that two of the manuscripts are principally autograph, the only such manuscripts known from any major French viol player.

Like most French composer-performers of his day, Marais created variations (*doubles*) on many of his works. The manuscripts contain six unique *doubles*, while six other *doubles* and a set of variations on the *Folies d'Espagne* correspond to versions published in 1686 and 1701. Variations in the manuscripts differ in significant ways from those that appear later in the publications, revealing decisions made by the young composer himself: in the manuscripts virtuosic alternate passages are offered, textures and figurations differ, and several precise performance indications are already included. In addition, twelve of the original *Folies* variations were eventually rejected; the remaining seventeen were rearranged and fifteen new ones added.

**LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND BRASS BANDS**  
**Brian Harker, Brigham Young University, Chair**

LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND THE TUXEDO BRASS BAND, 1921

Thomas Brothers  
 Duke University

Louis Armstrong remembered a 1921 march with the Tuxedo Brass Band as one of the greatest moments of his life. This paper offers three lines of interpretation why that would have been so. 1) In this march Armstrong was able to move through New Orleans without threat of violence, something he could not normally do. Indeed, he eventually came to feel that his music had the power to neutralize violence associated with racism. 2) For Armstrong during his formative years, outdoor performance is more important than indoor performance. The European-centric scale of venues, with emphasis on concert halls, is turned on its head. Armstrong's social group brought practices of the Pentecostal church outdoors through the institution of the "second line" (parade followers). Practices belonging to the autonomous zone of the church moved through unfamiliar neighborhoods; this explains, in part, why second-lining was associated with violence. 3) It is also likely that in this march Armstrong was breaking an ethnic barrier—that between uptown "coloreds" and downtown "Creoles." This slippery topic of ethnic relations is dealt with through study of Armstrong's interactions with these two groups.

This paper also reflects on the role of street blues in Armstrong's early development. By age 10, Armstrong had relationships with two street musicians; one of them (he says) "had soul" and held him "spellbound with his discussions of music" while the other taught him rhythm. The failure to acknowledge these influences is a major flaw in all discussions of Armstrong's early career that I have seen. This connection to street blues at a formative time in Armstrong's development explains how, by age 15, he became known as a blues virtuoso. The core of blues remained with him all of his life, no matter how his music changed in response to various commercial pressures.

"JUST A LITTLE WHILE TO STAY HERE":

LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND THE BRASS BANDS OF NEW ORLEANS

Charles E. Kinzer  
 Longwood College

When Louis Armstrong joined Joe Oliver in Chicago in 1922, he arrived with a performing style and musical worldview developed from more than a decade's experience as observer and participant in the exceptional, multi-faceted music scene of his hometown, New Orleans. During his youth, Armstrong had contact with a number of distinct performance traditions, each of which contributed to the overall development of early jazz. Such traditions included those of the casual, *a capella* vocal ensembles, bar-room dance combos, more formalized dance-hall and society-dance bands, riverboat orchestras, and brass bands.

Armstrong's prose writings show clearly that the music and performance practices of the New Orleans brass bands formed a significant influence on his mature musical persona. In addition, his anecdotal descriptions of such units as the Onward, Excelsior, and Tuxedo brass

bands, and accounts (by himself and others) of his own experiences as a bandsman offer insight as to trends taking place among all New Orleans brass bands in the 1910s and early 20s.

Based on the cornetist's published and unpublished reminiscences (including the typescript for *Satchmo: My Life in New Orleans*) and interview material from the Hogan Jazz Archive of Tulane University, this study seeks to determine the extent of Louis Armstrong's involvement with the brass bands of New Orleans. It also delineates areas in which the brass band tradition influenced Armstrong the future jazz musician/entertainer, as well as those areas in which Armstrong's musical experience with the bands exemplified the historical evolution of the brass-band tradition itself.

## IMAGES IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Rebecca Baltzer, University of Texas, Austin, Chair

### DEVOTIONAL DESIGNS IN THE MONTPELLIER CODEX

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University of Pennsylvania

Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine H 196, has long been a cornerstone of our understanding of the thirteenth-century motet. However, it remains uncertain for what purpose the book was created: while its notation and layout permit performance, Montpellier's famous illuminations suggest alternative functions. In reexamining problems of production and reception, this paper also addresses more fundamental questions about the motet's contradictory dynamic—how did audiences engage with a genre that seeks to present more than the ear can hear?

It is widely thought that motets were randomly arranged within individual fascicles in Montpellier. However, closer investigation reveals sensitivity to the liturgical origins of motet tenors. The paper focuses on fascicle four, a collection of twenty-two Latin double motets whose tenors are predominantly for Marian and Easter feasts. It shows how through motet order, upper-voice glossing, and decorative campaigns, the audience is pressed to contemplate the relationship between the Virgin and the Passion; between Virgin as mother, Virgin as co-Redeemer: the fascicle may be experienced as a devotional exercise, culminating in a spectacular three-fold play upon the Marian text, *Salve regina*. While these were commonplace motifs in devotional literature and art, I suggest that Montpellier alludes to a very particular model: Books of Hours. Read against that model, the interaction of music, image and manuscript design encourages the audience to encounter certain of Montpellier's motets as objects of devotion: the book presents a ruminative space in which to remember and meditate upon the sensuous sonic confusion of a motet in performance.

IMAGES OF NUNS AND THE IDEA OF THE BOOK  
IN LATE MEDIEVAL FRANCE

Cynthia J. Cyrus  
Vanderbilt University

In contrast to monks, who are frequently represented singing at a pulpit, women religious appear relatively infrequently in images from late medieval France and almost never in an explicitly performative context. Perhaps the absence of clear-cut music-making has discouraged scholarly attention, for only a single history-of-costume dissertation by Desiree Koslin has attempted to catalog such images. To Koslin's list can now be added another sixty images of French women religious of the 14th and 15th centuries, bringing the known total to over two hundred miniatures, paintings, and sculptures. An evaluation of these images reveals that nuns, abbesses, and beguines are closely associated with books in each of four standard iconographical representations: the sainted nun or abbess, the contemplative, the ceremonial participant (in consecrations and blessings, for instance) and, in a more cynical view, the hypocrite, shown with especial relish in illustrations to the *Romance of the Rose*. In this iconological study, the author offers overlapping interpretations of the motif of the book in these depictions, arguing that in at least some instances, the image of the book may offer an element of verisimilitude and provide a glimpse of how the book may have been used in late medieval France. Several non-traditional images which portray women religious in their daily life—in procession, in the choir, instructing novices, and a single remarkable image of nuns in a convent library—offer at least circumstantial confirmation of this last interpretation: that in images of women religious, the book may in fact be a representation of itself.

**HANNS EISLER: SONGS OF EXILE AND REPATRIATION**  
**Stephen Hinton, Stanford University, Chair**

“REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVAL AND  
CONSERVATIVE RETRENCHMENT” ALL AT ONCE:  
HANNS EISLER AND THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY *LIED*

James Parsons  
Southwest Missouri State University

Although originally stated in a very different context, Carl Dahlhaus's words nevertheless go far in summarizing the fortunes of the twentieth-century *Lied*. Nowhere is this demonstrated more clearly than in Eisler's *Hollywooder Liederbuch* (1943). Most obviously, the work is a song cycle, a Romantic construct *par excellence*. Simultaneously, it projects the sonic equivalent of the *Bildungsroman*, a genre harking back to the eighteenth century. In what is surely the most representative and celebrated example, Goethe's 1794 *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, the protagonist proclaims that his most enduring ambition is “the harmonic development of my personality,” in short, self-synthesis or Enlightenment. As the ordering of the *Liederbuch* confirms, Eisler employs these rich traditions while concurrently fashioning a personalized critique of the concept of exile. Indeed, Eisler's expatriation in large measure

explains why he embraces the past while at the same time moving beyond it. This said, the conventions of the “educational journey” prescribed both teleological advancement and ultimate homecoming. For Eisler, in exile in the United States, such goals were to be attained only musically by means of a highly idiosyncratic mode of musical paraphrase in which “revolutionary upheaval and conservative retrenchment” intersect. Eisler accomplishes this with evocations of a specifically German tradition encompassing expressionistic homages to his former teacher, Schoenberg, allusions to Schubert, as well as echoes of his own *Massenlieder*, or workers’ songs. Examining this heretofore-unidentified melding of tradition and innovation allows for a more complete understanding both of Eisler’s work and its place within the twentieth-century German *Lied* tradition.

“THE INVENTION OF TRADITION”: EISLER, STEINITZ, AND  
*VOLKSLIEDER* IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Joy Haslam Calico  
 Illinois Wesleyan University

When the Soviet Occupied Zone became the German Democratic Republic in 1949, the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) established populism and antifascism as primary themes of the GDR foundation narrative. The SED also initiated a cultural reclamation project, laying claim to German culture that predated Hitler as well as that heritage which had been misappropriated by the Nazis. The rehabilitation of *Volkslieder* played a substantial role in that agenda, since GDR national identity required a distinction between the new *Volk* of the workers’ state and that of the Third Reich. In the early 1950s, intellectuals derived from populism and antifascism two solutions to this dilemma. Each exemplified Eric Hobsbawm’s process of “the invention of tradition.” This paper examines how the intelligentsia manufactured indigenous folksong traditions to provide the GDR with cultural roots.

Hanns Eisler and poet Johannes R. Becher collaborated on *Neue deutsche Volkslieder* in 1950–51. Their new, entirely original songs were not tainted by the association extant folksongs had with the Third Reich, yet they employed a familiar style accessible to the working class. This paper compares the approach of Eisler, in which deceptively simple songs recall the *Volkslieder* tradition while simultaneously attempting to educate the *Volk*, with that of folklorist Wolfgang Steinitz. Steinitz published *Six Centuries of Democratic German Folksong* in 1954, and defined true German folksong as workers’ protest songs (*Arbeiterkampflieder*). Steinitz invented antifascist history for the *Volk* of the workers’ state, while Eisler created new songs with which they could embark upon the future.

**SCANDINAVIAN OPERA**  
**Daniel Grimley, University of Surrey, Chair**

VIKINGS, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AND NIETZSCHEAN SUPERMEN:  
 WAGNERIAN INFLUENCES IN THE CONTEXT OF SWEDISH  
 TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY OPERA

Joakim Tillman  
 Stockholm University

The influence of Wagner is one of the most important trends in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century music. Compared to the explosion of opera composition in Germany during this time, the number of Wagnerian operas in Sweden was small and did not result in any lasting masterpieces (even though Wilhelm Peterson-Berger's *Arnlfot* was played regularly until 1960 and was given the status of a Swedish national opera while in the repertoire). With our critical view of the canon today, however, musicology is no longer limited to the study of great masterpieces. These Wagnerian Swedish operas are of great significance in relation to their social context and as source material in a musical history of ideas.

In this paper I will focus on two operas, Wilhelm Stenhammar's *Tirfing* (1898) and Peterson-Berger's *Arnlfot* (1909), and consider them from both Wagnerian and Swedish perspectives. The two works are representatives of the opera type that has been labeled "Viking Opera" in Sweden, but there is much more to these works than such a label would suggest. Stenhammar and the librettist of *Tirfing*, Anna Boberg, were both part of the intellectual circle around the Swedish educator and advocate of women's rights Ellen Key. In allegorical form *Tirfing* deals with the issue of women's liberation. In Peterson-Berger's *Arnlfot*, several important aspects must be considered: the ambition to create a specifically Swedish music drama; the influence of Nietzsche in a strange combination with Christian symbolism; nationalism, and love of the home district.

CARL NIELSEN UNMASKED: ART AND POPULAR  
 MUSICAL STYLES IN HIS OPERA *MASKARADE*

Anne-Marie Reynolds  
 State University of New York, Geneseo

While Carl Nielsen's international reputation rests on his symphonies, in his homeland he is equally beloved for his songs. Over the course of his life, the former increased in complexity as the latter grew more folk-like, so that Nielsen developed into a Janus-faced composer, master of both art and popular styles. These genres typically have been studied in isolation, so that while many scholars note that Nielsen's music is full of contrast, few show that this depends on the specific opposition of two distinctive styles. Nor has a parallel been drawn between this musical tension and the conflict Nielsen faced in his personal life, including the insidious Law of Jante ("Thou shalt not believe thou art something") that has plagued many an artist from a "peripheral" nation.

Nowhere is Nielsen's opposition of art and popular styles more effective than in *Maskarade* (1904–06), arguably the Danes' favorite among his compositions, where the two styles represent

conflicting dramatic themes and serve to distinguish between the characters. Ludvig Holberg's eighteenth-century comedy provided Nielsen with a particularly apt and surprisingly current dramatic framework in which to play out the musical and personal tensions he experienced midway through his career. Nielsen's opera is an interdependent literary-musical statement in which he underscored the dramatic themes and characterized the main roles with appropriate musical styles drawn from the entire range of his compositional personae. Far from deserving international obscurity, *Maskarade* compares favorably with *Der Rosenkavalier*, whose eighteenth-century setting and tone it predates.

*Thursday evening, 15 November*

**PANEL DISCUSSION**

**POST-SOVIET RESEARCH INTO RUSSIAN LITURGICAL MUSIC:  
METHODOLOGICAL AND LOGISTICAL CHALLENGES**

**Peter Jeffery, Princeton University, Chair**

**Alexander Lingas, Arizona State University / Oxford University**

**Irina Lozovaya, Moscow State Conservatory**

**Gregory Meyers, University of British Columbia**

**Simon Morrison, Princeton University**

**Natalka Pavlovsky, Princeton, New Jersey**

**Nicholas Schidlovsky, Princeton University**

Although the seminal Russian composers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries composed liturgical music, much remains unknown about this music's origins and the secular traditions that sprang from it. The first large-scale Russian exhibition of primary source materials took place only in 1992, when the Glinka Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow held an exhibition entitled "The Sacred Environment of Russia (Chant Books and Icons of the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries)." Both inside and outside Russia, research into liturgical music has been hampered by a paucity of data on performance practice, the indecipherability of the notation of the oldest sources, limited resources, and, until a decade ago, restricted access to archival collections (the Soviet government curtailed most research into the history of the Russian Orthodox Church). Regrettably, much of the research that has been conducted is unduly narrow, focusing principally on problems of musical notation. Broader issues of performance practice and the relationship between the music and liturgy have been explored only in isolated individual contexts, and often with a nationalistic or ideological bias. Political and social change in Russia—and even more generally, changes in the relationship between Russia and the West—have provided scholars with unprecedented research opportunities. These in turn have demonstrated a substantial and deeply felt need for a broader historical and cultural approach to the music, one that stresses both its national and universal qualities.

This panel, bringing together music scholars from Russia, North America, and Europe, will address current research into Russian liturgical music, the methodological and logistical challenges posed by the repertoire, and how these challenges are being met. The panelists have been chosen both for their technical expertise and for their interest in bringing the existing specialized scholarship on the music into a broader arena. Accordingly, within their position papers, they will consider the relationship of Russian liturgical music to folklore, literature, architecture, and icon painting. They will also discuss the historical and cultural values that the music has sustained from the tenth to the twenty-first centuries, its absorption and assimilation of foreign musical styles, and the aesthetic outlook of its creators. It is hoped that the discussion will promote knowledge of Russian liturgical music in North America and support organizations in Russia and elsewhere that are devoted to performing, preserving, and reviving it.

**STUDY SESSION****MUSIC, BELIEFS, POLITICS, AND  
PATRONAGE IN THE HISPANIC ORBIT****Deborah Schwartz-Kates, University of Texas, San Antonio, Co-Chair****Grayson Wagstaff, Catholic University of America, Co-Chair****Leonora Saavedra, University of Pittsburgh****Walter Aaron Clark, University of Kansas**

Are there specific techniques and aesthetic stances that connect Iberian and Latin American composers over time and throughout the large geographic regions they inhabit? And what roles have religious patronage and political ideology played in shaping common manifestations of Hispanic musical culture? Each participant in the session will address these issues by examining a specific aesthetic tendency in relation to a particular historical era and determined geographical region. The session will include discussion of whether or not this approach has been viable throughout long periods of history or during specific times of need and will endeavor to draw cross-cultural comparisons. Of particular concern is the dependence of Hispanic musicians on fragile economic infrastructures. The economic insecurity of being a composer in Iberia or Latin America is one basic factor shared by many composers of different times and places. In an overview of the session, Grayson Wagstaff will explore themes of religious patronage in the Spanish Catholic Church and their specific effect on the chant style of Renaissance music. During the years of Ferdinand and Isabella and their Habsburg successors, both the Crown and the Church shaped Hispanic musical manifestations. Walter Clark's presentation will contribute to our knowledge of Hispanic musical culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during which time secular influences increased and emergent political governments appropriated patronage functions previously assumed by religious institutions. Leonora Saavedra will focus on Mexico of the early twentieth century as she examines the role that Education Minister José Vasconcelos played in shaping national identity. Through the preferred sponsorship of visual media and the promotion of hybridized genres such as the *canción*, Vasconcelos paradoxically encouraged art music composers to move against institutionalized national policies and to favor musical modernism over Mexicanism. Deborah Schwartz-Kates will offer further provocative examples of how the maintenance and manipulation of populist ideology during the first Perón regime (1946–55) conditioned the creative efforts of Argentine composers, a model that invites transnational comparison with contemporary governments such as Vargas's Brazil and Franco's Spain.

*Friday morning, 16 November*

**THEATER AND FILM MUSIC**

**Mark Brill, University of California, Davis, Chair**

THE OPÉRA-COMIQUE AS THE TEMPLE OF APHRODITE

Julie McQuinn

Northwestern University

Pierre Louÿs's astoundingly popular novel *Aphrodite* (1896), in which he proclaimed his dedication to liberating society from what he viewed as a stifling code of sexual morality, had long been in the hearts and minds of the Parisian public before it appeared in the form of an opera by Camille Erlanger at the Opéra-Comique in 1906. No other French opera of the *Belle Époque* can begin to match the sensational content of *Aphrodite*, which includes courtesans, lesbians, murder, an orgy, and a crucifixion, and which flaunts decadent excess in direct opposition to the official propaganda permeating society. I will argue that its paradoxical success was due in large part to its subversive interaction with Parisian society's obsession with morality and sexuality.

I will trace the steps from novel to performed opera, considering an early libretto, the first published score, the production scores, the staging manual, and the correspondence between Erlanger and Louÿs. The story was modified to make it acceptable for the opera-going public in what seems to be a strange and overall unsuccessful attempt to fashion a moral tale out of an immoral one. Thus began a series of paradoxes and reversals swimming in and around this work, which contains crimes of passion that would have shocked even the criminal courts of Paris and yet culminate in a love duet filled with biblical verse and Wagnerian implications, as ancient Greece wielded its seductive visual and musical power over a society consumed by simultaneous feelings of official revulsion and hidden attraction.

A TALE OF MUSICAL ORIENTALISM, IN FOUR GENRES AND  
TWO NATIONS: *THE CHEAT*

W. Anthony Sheppard

Williams College

DeMille's classic 1915 silent film *The Cheat* is a powerful Orientalist document. It tells the story of Tori, a Japanese member of Long Island's "smart set" who rescues the wife of a stockbroker from debt on condition that she visit him alone. At their assignation she attempts to repay him with money, but he demands payment in the manner promised. As they struggle, Tori brands her shoulder with his seal. At the trial, she bares her shoulder for the jury and Tori is nearly lynched.

Following the success of the DeMille film, this story was transformed into a play in New York in 1918. Camille Erlanger's *Forfaiture*, the first opera to be based on a film, premiered at the Opéra-Comique in 1921. A silent film remake, with the villain now "Hindu," was released by Paramount in 1923, and a sound film appeared in 1931. In 1937, a French version (set

in Mongolia) starred Sessue Hayakawa, the Japanese actor who played Tori in the original film.

This extraordinary lineage provides a rare opportunity to compare in a precise fashion the role of music and the realization of musical Orientalism in four distinct genres. I focus particularly on the transformation between the original film and Erlanger's opera. Research at the DeMille Collection at Brigham Young University, the Academy of Motion Pictures, the New York Public Library, and in several silent film music archives has enabled me to identify differences between American and French exoticism and to situate each work within its complex cultural context.

ELECTRONIC MUSIC, MODERNISM,  
AND THE BODY IN *FORBIDDEN PLANET*

Stephan Prock  
College of William and Mary

As the first Hollywood feature film to use an all-electronic score, MGM's *Forbidden Planet* (1956) helped fix electronic music as the quintessential sound of the sci-fi film. At first glance, it might seem that by using electronic music to represent the "Other," Louis and Bebe Barron undermine electronic music's ideological bent in the 50s towards autonomy and abstraction. But as Peter Franklin has recently argued, postwar modernism's rhetoric sometimes concealed an actual practice of secret, "inner programs" representing alienation, pain, madness, and death. By examining the Barrons' strategies of musical representation in the film—especially their projection of electronic, disembodied sounds onto the bodies of "Others"—I will discuss the ways in which they unveil and animate certain tensions in modernist, electronic compositional practice at mid-century.

My analysis will focus in particular on how the tension between embodiment and disembodiment reflects an engagement with and a dismantling of a primary ideological pillar of 50s modernism: the Cartesian duality of mind and body (a duality the film's narrative explores in depth). The effect in the film is a continual blurring of distinctions between diegetic and nondiegetic sound in which music functions as an omniscient, authorial voice while simultaneously invoking the material presence of "exotic," even invisible, bodies. Through this blurring of sonic functions the Barrons not only unveil (and discursively resolve) general ambivalences in postwar America's attitudes toward technology and the body, they also help naturalize modernist musical resources and techniques within the conventional frame of the Hollywood film.

NON-MOVIE MUSIC AT THE "PICTURE PALACES" AND  
LEO ZEITLIN'S *PALESTINA* AT NEW YORK'S CAPITOL THEATRE

Paula Eisenstein Baker  
University of St. Thomas, Houston

The music performed during silent movies and the film scores that have been composed since the introduction of the "talkies" have been amply treated by musicologists. But little or no attention has been paid to three categories of music that existed during the 1920s at the "picture palaces": works played during radio broadcasts from the theatres (these began at

New York's Capitol Theatre, in 1922); music performed at light classical concerts produced by the theatres (the Capitol introduced these, in 1927); and music for the stage shows that accompanied the movies throughout the decade.

I address this neglected area by examining (1) these three categories of music at the Capitol during the 1920s and the orchestras that performed them and (2) a work created for the Capitol Grand Orchestra: *Palestina*, an overture on Jewish themes by Leo Zeitlin (1884–1930) that preceded the twenty-eight screenings of MGM's *Speedway* in September 1929. In addition to the privately-held collection of Zeitlin's manuscript scores, which includes works composed for the Capitol, my sources include the theatre's scrapbooks in the Billy Rose Theatre Collection (New York Public Library for the Performing Arts) and UCLA's Capitol Theatre collection.

Zeitlin, a violist and composer who had studied with Rimsky-Korsakov at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, emigrated to New York in 1923. Because few musical scores from the movie theatres of the era remain (other than stock arrangements), his work offers a rare view into the music created for theatre orchestras that enjoyed the respect of contemporary music critics.

## SCHOENBERG AND NONO

**Severine Neff, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair**

### NEW PERFORMANCE SOURCES AND OLD MODERNIST PRODUCTIONS: *DIE JAKOBSLEITER* IN THE AGE OF MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION

Jennifer Shaw

State University of New York, Stony Brook

Although Schoenberg certainly regarded his most important wartime composition, the half-finished oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter*, as an autonomous and performable work, his conception of the piece changed dramatically over the thirty-six years that it remained in progress. Yet recent productions confirm a remarkable consistency of interpretation, based less on the Schoenberg/Winfried Zillig-orchestrated *Urtext* than on a 1980 recording conducted by Boulez. This "definitive" commercial release has not only dictated the parameters of subsequent productions but has also erased from the record several earlier performances of the work, including the only version that Schoenberg heard and authorized.

This paper examines two performance sources, both held in collections in Vienna but not yet discussed in published studies, that may prove to be extremely significant for future performances of the oratorio. The first, Schoenberg's libretto manuscript, contains an extended concept sketch for the piece's musical and dramatic climax. The second, a copy of the published libretto, includes extensive annotations in Alban Berg's hand which record aspects of Schoenberg's rehearsals for the premiere performance of the oratorio in 1921. Both sources highlight Schoenberg's and Berg's sensitivity to the oratorio's innovative musical language, its fragmentary form, and its problematic literary style, yet both also suggest novel approaches to the oratorio's realization in twenty-first century productions.

ON THE ASHES OF THE HOLOCAUST:  
ARNOLD SCHOENBERG'S *A SURVIVOR FROM WARSAW*  
AND THE LIMITS OF ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION

Klara Moricz  
Amherst College

In his essay "Engagement" T. W. Adorno expressed the fear that the aesthetic satisfaction created by works such as Arnold Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw* ran the risk of wringing pleasure from the horrors of the Holocaust. Similar criticism was also expressed by Kurt List and Olin Downes at their first encounter with the *Survivor*, but such reactions have been largely forgotten or ignored because of the dominant view that the work's aesthetic value neutralizes problems raised by its subject. Yet it was the subject that justified the style, for it made Schoenberg's notoriously difficult music uncharacteristically immediate and effective. Revisiting Adorno's concerns is important for bringing our understanding of the *Survivor* into line with a large body of recent scholarship addressing the artistic representation of the Holocaust.

Although Schoenberg emphasized that the inspiration for the text of the *Survivor* was an eyewitness account of the Warsaw uprising, unpublished letters between Schoenberg and Friedrich Torberg suggest that the composer was more strongly influenced by Torberg's 1943 novella *Mein ist die Rache* (*The Revenge is Mine*). Torberg focuses on the unsettling moral conflicts inherent in human attempts to seek justice in a sphere reserved for God. Schoenberg ignored the novel's main point and praised instead Torberg's one-dimensional depiction of the stereotypical villain whose image lurks behind the perpetrators in the *Survivor*. Historically informed comparison of Torberg's and Schoenberg's works provides the context for a new critical discourse about the *Survivor*. The power of its musical language and the effectiveness of its Romantic program of triumph through suffering make the *Survivor* a central work for addressing the appropriate limits of artistic representation.

"A GLIMPSE OF SOME WEIRD, NEW COUNTRY": PRE-WORLD WAR I  
LONDON, ARNOLD SCHOENBERG, AND THE RECEPTION OF  
MUSICAL MODERNISM IN ENGLAND

Deborah Heckert  
State University of New York, Stony Brook

At their premiere at a London Proms concert in September 1912, Schoenberg's *Five Orchestral Pieces* received an extremely hostile reception. Just over a year later, however, in January 1914, they received an overwhelmingly positive and enthusiastic response when played again, this time under the direction of Schoenberg himself. This puzzling switch in popular and critical tastes within the short time of sixteen months is intriguing. The initial rejection of Schoenberg's music is consistent with our understanding of the English musical establishment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as mired in conservative traditions, generally hostile to the new modernist music from the continent. But the very different response to the *Five Pieces* sixteen months later reflects conversely that a much more positive environment for musical modernism had taken root in London.

My paper will explore the reasons for this new receptivity to the latest trends from the continent by tracing how vibrant discussions about modernist art impacted upon attitudes toward modernist music, especially in the growing critical discussion of modern art surrounding Roger Fry and his enormously successful exhibits of Post-Impressionist art. I will argue that two achievements of English art critics dealing with a comparable crisis in the visual arts—the popular commercialization of the new art and the development of a new critical language—profoundly impacted the musical establishment as well, reflecting the complicated and interconnected forces which conditioned the response to the modernist agenda in England.

PROMETHEUS OR ICARUS? IDEA AND IDEOLOGY IN  
LUIGI NONO'S OPERA *AL GRAN SOLE CARICO D'AMORE*

Raymond Fearn  
Keele University

Did Luigi Nono succeed in creating a “new music theater”? Such a theater would, he said, engage the listener/spectator in a “committed” drama expressed in terms of a “total theater” and in an advanced musical idiom. Despite numerous attempts, it was only with *Intolleranza* (1961) and *Al gran sole carico d'amore* (1975), that he brought this theatrical idea to fruition.

*Intolleranza* set out the path Nono wished to explore: in it he created a powerful dramatic work, but many constraints tended to limit the degree of its experimentalisms. On the other hand, the many sketches for *Al gran sole carico d'amore* housed in the Nono Archive in Venice reveal his plan for a powerful political/historical drama on a hugely ambitious scale, and here the experimentation with “total theater” is more sharply focused. But Nono admitted shortly afterwards to having created a musical and theatrical “monster,” and in his last dramatic piece *Prometeo* (1985) he dispensed with all the trappings of a visible stage to create a wholly internalized “listening tragedy.” This paper will ask what was the essence of Nono's vision of music theater, and through a close examination of the sketches for *Al gran sole* will suggest that the opera represented both a turning-point and a blind-alley in the composer's dramatic work.

**EARLY SCRIBES AND NOTATIONAL SYSTEMS**  
**Charles Atkinson, Ohio State University, Chair**

ON THE ORIGINS OF GREEK INSTRUMENTAL NOTATION

Charles W. Warren  
Pittsford, New York

The vocal form of Greek notation is clearly alphabetic as far as the shape and order of its notes is concerned, but the derivation of the instrumental signs remains a mystery. Various theories have been proposed about the origins of these enigmatic symbols, and all assume some kind of alphabet as a basis: Semitic, early Greek, Ionic. The problem is that none of these theories accounts satisfactorily for the “abnormal or unrecognizable form” of the majority

of the letters, their “unintelligible order,” and their rotatability, which makes us suspect that the system was not alphabetic to begin with. There is some evidence in fact that the original notes were not letters at all but star-signs played on the lyre in connection with the oracle and liturgy at Delphi. The clue to this celestial tablature is in the nature of the “gold phorminx” that belonged to Apollo and the Muses, “spoke on their behalf,” and was perceived to be the cosmos itself: the planisphere of earth and ocean its “curved” or “hollow” frame; the sun its “golden plectrum”; and the constellations on the ecliptic the signs of its strings. The form, order, and rotation of these starry notes, which the “tuneful prophets” at Delphi observed, correspond more closely than the letters of any alphabet to the signs of the instrumental notation.

## ALPHABETIC WRITING AND HUCBALD’S “ARTIFICIALES NOTAE”

Blair Sullivan

University of California, Los Angeles

In *Musica Hucbaldi*, Hucbald of Saint-Amand opens his discussion of music notation with an analogy between the alphabetic components of a text and the notes of a melody. Within the context of theoretical discussions of Western music, from antiquity through the Middle Ages, the use of this analogy is well known—whether between the theoretically phonemic sounds of the letters of an alphabet and the discrete sounds of a musical gamut, or between their written designations. This paper reexamines the origins of the analogy, approaching the subject through a revisionist theory of the evolution of alphabetic writing proposed by David R. Olson, who argues that writing has a cognitive function and that alphabetic writing, in particular, provided the model by which the Greek language was introspected. This paper extends Olson’s results, arguing from Greek philosophical and music theoretical sources that alphabetic writing was also the model for the conceptualization of musical sound that was codified in Greek music theory and transmitted to the Carolingian ninth century. Within this context, the cognitive implications of Hucbald’s comparison of two types of music notation—“artificiales notae,” based on Boethius’s adaptation of Greek pitch notation; and “consuetudinae notae,” contemporary neumatic notation—are related to considerations of the literal and illocutionary aspects of writing and to the conceptualization of musical space implicit in Aurelian’s *Musica disciplina*. The conclusions are consistent with recent research in the area of music cognition, in particular, the work of Margaret Jean Intons-Peterson and Andrea Halpern.

## ADÉMAR DE CHABANNES AND THE EARLIEST COMPOSITIONAL AUTOGRAPH

James Grier

University of Western Ontario

Adémar de Chabannes left behind 451 folios with musical notation in his autograph hand. This remarkable corpus constitutes an extraordinarily large and diverse body of music in autograph, it includes the earliest identifiable compositional autographs by several centuries, and Adémar can now be identified as the music scribe who produced the earliest surviving Aquitanian manuscript in which the heighting of the neumes is used to record accurate

intervallic information. In short, because of the survival of this treasure trove of autograph music, we know more about Adémar's musical activities than we do for any other musician from the Middle Ages, with the possible exception of Machaut, and he emerges as a figure of central importance to musical developments of the Central Middle Ages. In this paper, I present a detailed palaeographic analysis of the evidence, in both literary and music texts, that supports the identification of Adémar's hand in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MSS latins 1121, 909, 1978 and 1118, correcting a number of false statements in the literature and proposing one important new attribution, namely that Adémar was the music scribe of the first layer of Paris latin 1121. This identification, in turn, permits the dating of his musical contributions to these manuscripts between very narrow limits, specifically mid-1027 to 1033. I also consider the notational innovation that allowed the accurate representation of musical intervals, its context and ramifications; and finally summarize his achievements as a composer in virtually every liturgical genre practiced in his era.

### THE ROLE OF LETTER NOTATION IN FRUTOLF OF MICHELBERG'S TONARY

Rebecca Maloy  
University of Cincinnati

Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Breviarium de Musica et Tonarius* was compiled in the late eleventh century. In its most complete source (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 14965b), the tonary is supplemented with St. Gall neumes and letter notation. In addition to incipits and finals, the scribe notated internal passages of many Mass and Office chants. When citing Frutolf's tonary, many scholars have referred only to a 1919 edition by Cölestin Vivell. Vivell based his edition largely on the Munich codex but omitted most of the notation, believing that it served no practical purpose.

Although scholars have acknowledged the role of the tonary's notated finals in clarifying ambiguous modal assignments, no comprehensive study of its notation exists. A close examination of the tonary in Munich 14965b reveals that the scribe was very selective in the passages he notated. In a majority of cases, these passages exhibit an unusually high degree of variance between sources. The notation often serves to specify the scribe's preferred readings of tonally problematic passages. Through comparison of the Munich codex with a wide range of other sources, I will illustrate the nature of these problems and the ways in which the manuscript's notation clarifies them. In effect, this tonary functions as both a theoretical treatise and practical performance guide. Its notation attests to a repertory that was subject to discussion and debate and serves as a remarkable witness to the interaction between theory and practice in the Middle Ages.

**BEETHOVEN****Jon Finson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair**

## BEETHOVEN PROMETHEUS?

## D'INDY CONTRA THE REPUBLICAN CRITICS

Steven Huebner

McGill University

The composer Vincent d'Indy complained often to his colleagues about misrepresentations of Beethoven in French criticism. In 1911 he finally published a biography himself, with the implicit purpose of providing an interpretation of Beethoven's life concordant with his own right-wing politics. D'Indy's book is an important but often overlooked adjunct to his numerous analyses of Beethoven's music in the *Cours de composition musicale*. In writing the biography, d'Indy's principal targets were Romain Rolland's early monograph *Vie de Beethoven* (first published in *Cahiers de la quinzaine* in 1903) as well as biographies by Julien Tiersot and Jean Chantavoine. Building upon recent work by Jane Fulcher, my paper contextualizes this renewed Beethoven polemic in the post-Dreyfus political environment. It considers the political implications of d'Indy's criticism in light of positions adopted by writers further to the political Left. For example, to counter Rolland's depiction of Beethoven as a republican who lived in a hostile political environment, d'Indy proposes that his subject was relatively well integrated, both personally and professionally, with his own social milieu, even at a relatively late stage of his life. D'Indy emphasizes that Beethoven was "Catholic by birth and culture." Various corollaries developed out of this proposition will be examined, for example d'Indy's dismissal of Rolland's suggestion that Beethoven derived his love of nature from the Calvinist Rousseau.

## BEETHOVEN IN B FLAT:

## OP. 130 AND THE "HAMMERKLAVIER"

John Sterling Lambert

Tufts University

The compositions of Beethoven's so-called "late period" have been the focus of an enormous amount of critical attention, none more so than the piano sonatas and string quartets, whose integrity as groups have been pondered by authors such as Deryck Cooke (in the case of the quartets) and William Drabkin (in the case of some of the sonatas).

However, the issue of the possible relationships between these two groups has not been so explicitly raised, although the correspondences between specific sonatas and quartets are often striking. Nowhere are these relationships stronger or more meaningful than between the two works in B flat, the Quartet Op. 130 and the "Hammerklavier" Sonata Op. 106, and this paper will attempt to demonstrate the extensive similarities of form and content between their respective first movements. These similarities begin to suggest that the sonata may have served as some sort of background model for the quartet. However, the same elements that contribute to what Charles Rosen has shown to be a highly integrated structure in the sonata seem to serve quite different purposes in a quartet characterized more by what Daniel Chua, for example, sees as a disintegration of normative procedures. A comparison

of the two works provides a fascinating framework with which to suggest a means by which (to borrow Jeffrey Kallberg's concept with regard to Chopin) Beethoven's "late" style was transformed into his "last."

## THE SOURCES FOR BEETHOVEN'S QUARTET IN F MINOR, OP. 95

Seow-Chin Ong  
University of Louisville

For many years, the research of Tyson and Brandenburg has informed scholars that the autograph of Beethoven's Quartet in F minor, Op. 95, dates not from 1810, when the work was completed, but from 1814, when Beethoven began preparations to have it published; the Quartet appeared in print in 1816. Indeed, Beethoven himself called the work a "quartetto serioso" and went so far as to stipulate that it was "never to be performed in public." These striking comments, the autograph's highly unusual date, and the remarkable resonances of aspects of the composer's late style in the work give heavy support to the widely-held notion that the Quartet also betrays Beethoven's voice of 1814, a time of re-evaluation of the "second-period" style.

Until recently, the bulk of the Op. 95 sketches was lost or inaccessible to scholars. My fresh re-examination of this autograph and other related Beethoven manuscripts now indicates that the Op. 95 autograph was made in 1810. Further, it questions a long-held principle of sketch studies—that papers with the same watermarks date from the same time. In the remainder of my paper, I shall discuss some fascinating details about the work's history obtained from a study of these sketches, including: (1) the origins of the first movement from *Egmont* sketches; (2) the very passionate and extensively developed *cadenza-cum-recitative* in the finale, which Beethoven abandoned only at the last minute; (3) the persistent problems of continuity and proportion that plagued the composer in his work on the Scherzo.

## CYCLICAL ORDERING(S) IN BEETHOVEN'S *GELLERT-LIEDER*, OP. 48

Joanna Cobb Biermann  
Beethoven-Archiv, Bonn

A newly discovered source for the *Gellert-Lieder* reveals that after the first print run of the first edition, Beethoven experimented with several different orderings of the songs, with far-reaching implications. This paper examines this source, the only preserved copy of this first printing, which is filled with corrections of all kinds made in red crayon. On the basis of comparisons with the autograph and the Mollo edition known until now as the "first edition," these corrections, which are not in Beethoven's hand, can be shown to be authentic. This paper then discusses the three different orderings revealed in these sources. The Hoffmeister & Kühnel edition of Op. 48, also published in 1803, offers a fourth, still different ordering. Its authenticity is also discussed here.

Beethoven is generally credited with having invented the song cycle with his Op. 98 in 1815/16. This paper argues that the sources studied here show that the concept of cyclical ordering and unity was developing already in Op. 48, after the individual songs had been completed, in the very midst of publication. This study of the *Gellert-Lieder* in their final ordering by Beethoven argues that at the time of his "invention" of the new genre with *An die*

*ferne Geliebte*, he was actually returning to several solutions that he had discovered in his 1802/03 experiments with the Op. 48 songs.

## ITALY AND SPAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Mauro Calcagno, Harvard University, Chair

### LAUGHTER AND SCANDAL: INQUISITION CENSURE AND THE VILLANCICO IN LATE HABSBURG MADRID

Janet Hathaway  
New York University

This paper examines the unstudied Inquisition censure proceedings (dated 1663) preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid). The case was brought against Tomás Miciezes I, the chapel master of the royal convent of Las Descalzas Reales, for the textual and musical content of two villancicos composed by him and performed by the convent's musical chapel in Madrid. Alongside these papers are other Inquisition documents from the same period emphasizing similar criteria and issuing censures in cases not involving music.

It is well known that the seventeenth-century villancico stirred controversy owing to its often overtly secular links (both musical and textual): these Inquisition proceedings provide us with a rare opportunity to examine specific criticisms brought by representatives of the Church against the genre. The inquisitors viewed both villancicos as unorthodox in their handling of doctrine and state that the music could give rise to "laughter" and "scandal." The texts of the villancicos are included as evidence, although the music itself is not preserved; the testimonies of the witnesses highlight specific passages of which they disapproved. The proceedings, then, provide us with important insight into contemporary perceptions of orthodoxy and into the role of music in the transmission of doctrine in late Habsburg Madrid.

### PAOLO QUAGLIATI'S *AFFETTI AMOROSI SPIRITUALI* (ROME, 1617): A REFLECTION OF FEMALE SPIRITUALITY

Kimberlyn Montford  
Trinity University

Female monasteries figured significantly in the religious, civic, and musical life of seventeenth-century Rome. In the male-dominated Catholic hierarchy, women were legally marginalized creatures, yet nuns were able to utilize their special status to maintain a vital presence in the spiritual lives of their communities.

In theory, the music in the convents was severely proscribed. In practice, many female monasteries provided musical experiences of variety and quality for their members and visitors. Several female monasteries were well-known for their music, and a number of Roman nuns were renowned for their singing, yet little music written by or for nuns in Rome is extant. The majority of works performed by these women circulated in manuscripts and were the personal possessions of the *madri di cappella*.

One of only four known exceptions to this situation is Paolo Quagliati's *Affetti amorosi spirituali*, a collection of spiritual madrigals dedicated to Suor Anna Maria Cesi, who apparently

performed several of the madrigals with the composer in attendance. Both the composer and the dedicatee were nobly born and highly connected in both urban society and the papal curia; it was apparently these special circumstances that allowed the publication of this print.

This study examines a rare documentation of the musical life of Roman convents and investigates the means by which such works reinforce the imagery of being in, yet apart from, the world, an affect that figured prominently in the architecture, rituals, and iconology of female monasteries.

## EXCAVATING VIRGIL IN THE COUNTER-“RE-FORMATION” OF ROME: DOMENICO MAZZOCCHI’S DIALOGUES FROM THE *AENEID* (1638)

Susan Shimp  
Yale University

Seicento Rome’s fervent archaeological pursuits and its interest in ecclesiastical history during the Counter-Reformation are but a few examples of the sheer political force of anti-quarianism in the city’s early modern period. Among such examples are Domenico Mazzocchi’s musical *dialoghi*, *Nisus & Euryalus* and *Dido furens* (from his *Dialoghi e sonetti* of 1638), portions of Virgil’s *Aeneid* set practically verbatim with one highly unusual discursive assignment—that of the original text’s author as named narrator. While most *dialoghi* of this period have no designated narrator, with narrative material taken by a separate duet, three-voice chorus, or most often, a singer outside those characters in dialogue, Mazzocchi’s unusual works let Virgil himself step into the drama. The result is an implicit dialogue between the narrator and listener that accomplishes several rich and unusual musico-rhetorical tasks: the *dialogo* includes more direct speech in the third person, retaining the essence of Virgil’s original text and creating, perhaps, a *mimesis* of the act of reading them; by circumscribing Virgil the poet within the dialogo, Mazzocchi the composer masterfully assumes the role of “central speaker;” and finally, in response to seicento ecclesiastical reforms, Mazzocchi draws upon the authority of Virgil, a “Christianized” poet despite his role in pagan antiquity, endorsing Latin as the language of reform, and creating an ancestral bond between seventeenth-century Romans and their archetypal heroes: Nisus, Euryalus, and especially Aeneas, founder of the eternal city.

## FROM PERSEPHONE TO POPPAEA: MONTEVERDI AND THE RISE OF VENETIAN “PUBLIC” OPERA

Tim Carter  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In 1630, Claudio Monteverdi and the librettist Giulio Strozzi produced the opera *Proserpina rapita* for the wedding of Lorenzo Giustiniani and Giustiniana Mocenigo. Only a libretto survives, although one chorus, “Come dolce hoggi l’auretta,” is in Monteverdi’s Ninth Book of madrigals (1651). But this libretto has detailed references to staging and scoring, plus curious classicizing references. Thus “Come dolce” is a “Parthenian canzonetta sung by the three nymphs with Lydian harmony, that is, soft in sound and suitable for young girls.”

*Proserpina rapita* has been discussed by Abert and Fabbri, but no one, it seems, has analyzed the libretto to discern its likely musical setting. And although this music seems to

have had many features typical of later Venetian “public” opera, the subject matter and staging are indistinguishable from earlier “court” operas. Thus it can be viewed as a “missing link” between court and public opera, or better, as evidence that generic distinctions currently maintained for this repertory are problematic.

The “Lydian” G major of “Come dolce” calls into question Chafe’s views on Monteverdi’s evolving tonal language, where the key is associated with the “warlike” *concitato genere*. This prompts a re-reading of the role of G major in Monteverdi’s *L’incoronazione di Poppea* (1643). Finally, the similarities between this trio and the final duet of *Poppea*, which Curtis claims is not by Monteverdi, suggest that doubts about the ending of Monteverdi’s last opera need to be reconsidered.

*Friday afternoon, 16 November*

**CAGE AND MINIMALISM**  
**Christopher Shultis, University of New Mexico, Chair**

JOHN CAGE IN WEST GERMANY, 1952–1954:  
A CONTEXTUAL EVALUATION

Amy C. Beal  
University of California, Santa Cruz

Shortly before John Cage's legendary first appearance at the Darmstadt summer courses in September 1958, American musicologist Gilbert Chase wrote in a letter to Elliott Carter of a Belgian friend's recent claim that Europeans were "all under the impression that modern music in the USA began and ended with John Cage." This surprising disclosure contradicts historical accounts that place the start of Cage's European influence in Darmstadt, 1958. In fact, as early as 1952, Cage's work was becoming known on German radio, and by 1954 he had already received significant recognition in new music circles.

Drawing on primary sources located at radio station archives in Baden-Baden and Cologne, this paper uncovers new details heretofore absent from the story of Cage reception in Germany. For example, Cage's 1954 Donaueschingen debut occurred in the shadow of *musique concrète*, which had been introduced to German audiences at the Donaueschingen festival in 1953, causing much outrage and aesthetic debate. Furthermore, the festival organizer Heinrich Strobel's direct contact with Cage, initiated by composers Rolf Liebermann and Wladimir Vogel—and apparently not by Pierre Boulez as is often assumed—reveals a circle of interest in Cage prior to 1954. Finally, the financial support and publicity provided by a local America House suggest Cage's propaganda value for the U.S. State Department during the early years of the Cold War. Thus, Cage's 1958 appearance in Darmstadt marked a culmination of at least six years of intense interest and activity in West Germany, years that have, until now, remained undocumented.

"MUSICATING" LANGUAGE: THE MUSICAL/POETIC WORKS OF  
JOHN CAGE AND JACKSON MAC LOW

Sara Heimbecker  
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

John Cage's name is associated with a myriad of artists including painters, dancers, writers, and poets. Despite this recognition of Cage's "network," scholars have largely failed to contextualize Cage within the achievements of his colleagues. Cage's relationship to the poet and composer Jackson Mac Low and the artistic achievements surrounding this friendship have been neglected. Much of Cage's musical/poetic output, however, is prefigured and often inspired by the works of Mac Low.

Jackson Mac Low took part in Cage's classes at the New School for Social Research in the mid- to late fifties. Mac Low's play *The Marrying Maiden* (1958–59) is a result of his participation at the New School, and Cage's *Theater Piece* (1960) bears remarkable similarities to

the Mac Low work. Similarly, Cage employed a “writing through” technique, specifically derived from what Mac Low referred to as his “reading through” compositional method, which resulted in works such as *Mureau* (1970), *Empty Words* (1973–78), *Writing Through Finnegans Wake* (1977), *Roaratorio* (1979), *Writing Through the Cantos* (1982), and *Muoyce* (1983). Cage’s attempt to “musicate language,” or in other words to move from syntactical writings (such as his “Lectures”) to what he called “nonsyntactical” works, is partially due to the influence of Mac Low who had already done so.

*UNA NOTA SOLA*: STEINER, RUDHYAR, SCRIBIN, SCELSE,  
AND THE NOTION OF MUSIC ON A SINGLE NOTE

Gregory N. Reish

State University of New York, Buffalo

In a series of lectures given in the early 1920s, philosopher and Anthroposophist Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) proposed that humankind’s increasing sensitivity to tone would eventually lead to the single note serving as ample material for musical composition. In books published shortly thereafter in 1928 and 1930, Franco-American composer Dane Rudhyar (1895–1985) criticized Western musical tradition for exploiting only the *external*/relationships between one tone and others, ignoring the *internal*/potential of what he called “living tones.” Both men recognized that a few Western composers had seemingly taken steps in this direction. Scriabin, for instance, had envisioned a harmonic distillation to “two-note harmonies and unisons” in his unfinished *Preparatory Act*. It was not until 1959, however, that Italian composer Giacinto Scelsi (1905–1988)—influenced by Steiner, Rudhyar, and Scriabin—achieved large-scale composition on a single note in his *Quattro pezzi (ciascuno su una nota sola)* for chamber orchestra.

This paper examines the sources in which the notion of music on a single note first appear, elucidating the primary arguments and their aesthetic implications. Steiner’s view of music on a single note as the denouement of a great musical-spiritual evolution and Rudhyar’s conception of single tones as tiny “solar systems” open to exploration of their “inner space” are posited as the backdrop for Scelsi’s compositional breakthrough. Discussion of the stylistic features of Scelsi’s *Quattro pezzi* establishes that his exploitation of the single note depends chiefly upon manipulations of timbre, microtones, and the harmonic series.

THE SONIC SEARCH FOR KOLOB: MORMON COSMOLOGY  
AND THE MUSIC OF LA MONTE YOUNG

Jeremy Grimshaw

Eastman School of Music

The numinous language with which La Monte Young describes his music might, on the surface, seem to be a lingering product of the freely appropriated Eastern philosophies and freely ingested substances that accompanied his arrival on the New York art scene in the psychedelic 1960s. Empowered by what he feels is a divine calling, Young claims to receive and transmit ineffable lessons about the fundamental principles of the universe; he sees himself as a guru, a shamanic conduit to the cosmos: “If [listeners] aren’t carried away to Heaven, I’m failing.”

This study, however, looks past the immediate philosophical influences of the hippie era and finds Young's ideas rooted in the Mormon religion of his youth. While scholars have previously recognized the general influence of Mormonism on Young's concepts of eternity and infinity, this study finds specific correspondences between his work and certain theological and cosmological principles unique to Mormonism. A Mormon reading of Young's most important project, *The Well-Tuned Piano*, shows that these correspondences exist on various levels, from the biographical to the technical: Young's view of himself is informed by the Mormon doctrines of pre-existence and foreordination; the fervor with which he promotes just intonation parallels the concepts of apostasy and restoration taught by Joseph Smith, the first Mormon prophet; finally, the tuning system employed in *The Well-Tuned Piano* resonates with the unique cosmological structures described in Mormon scripture—suggesting that when Young says he wants to carry us away to Heaven, he has something very specific in mind.

## RENAISSANCE SOURCES

**Patrick Macey, Eastman School of Music, Chair**

### CANONIC CONUNDRUMS: THE SINGER'S PETRUCCI

Bonnie J. Blackburn  
Oxford University

When Petrucci began printing polyphonic music in 1501, he was convinced that there was a market for easily portable and relatively inexpensive books of music. But what purchasers did he have in mind? A study of the compositions containing canons has revealed that his buyers must have been non-professional singers, because the music has been edited to fit their needs. Whereas professionals normally had no need of resolutions, Petrucci (or his editor) realized that amateurs would require more help. This notion did not occur to him immediately: the first three anthologies, containing several enigmatic canons, have no resolutions. Only beginning with the first volume of Josquin's masses in 1502 did Petrucci regularly give resolutions of many canons, while still including the original form. After 1505 he frequently gave only a resolution, often so labeled, sometimes not. In many cases we can recover the original enigmatic inscription or notation from manuscript sources, but some appear to be lost altogether. Modern editions impoverish the composer's conception by ignoring the original notation.

Which canons needed resolution was not consistent: in the first three anthologies he expected singers to cope with inversion, retrograde, transposition, diminution, augmentation, ostinato, and mensuration canons. Beginning with Josquin's masses, however, he resolved many such canons, plus the more complicated canons with enigmatic inscriptions. He occasionally made mistakes, sometimes spectacular.

While ease of singing must have been Petrucci's prime motivation for resolutions, I shall show that the change to partbook format is relevant as well.

THE RESUMPTION OF PRINTING IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY  
SILESIA: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PRINTER NIKOLAUS SCHNEIDER  
TO SILESIAN REFORMATION MUSIC HISTORY

Allen Scott

Oklahoma State University

The duchy of Silesia was a center of theological and liturgical struggles between Lutherans, Calvinists, Hussites, and Catholics in central Europe prior to and during the Thirty Years' War. In order to be successful during this time, composers and printers had to negotiate a minefield of differing musical, religious, social, and political convictions. One significant contributor to central European Reformation history is the Liegnitz printer Nikolaus Schneider (1560–1621). Outside of the Catholic stronghold of Breslau, there were no printers active in Silesia from 1547, when Ferdinand I ordered the closure of all printing establishments other than the Winkler press in Breslau, until 1589, when Friedrich IV, Duke of Liegnitz and Brieg, authorized the establishment of a printing firm in Liegnitz under Schneider's direction. With the resumption of printing, composers in non-Catholic areas of Silesia found a public voice after forty-two years of silence. Twenty-five of Schneider's publications are music collections containing Psalm settings, Latin and German motets, and wedding and funeral motets. Two of the most significant publications are Thomas Elsbeth's *Sontägliche Evangelien*, one of the four most widely-used Gospel cycles of the seventeenth century, and his *Festorum paschatis et Pentecostes*, two settings of the full Latin Mass, including the Proper texts. Schneider also published the Silesian *Kirchenordnung* of 1594.

This paper examines Schneider's career, revealing the various ways in which composers and printers worked within a culture beset by religious, social, and political upheaval, and illustrating the powerful impact one printer had in such a climate.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS IN A  
CINQUECENTO EDITION OF PLAINCHANT

Richard J. Agee

Colorado College

During his brief reign, Pope Pius V championed the reform of liturgical texts by promoting two great printed monuments of the Catholic Reformation—the *Breviarium romanum* of 1568 and the *Missale romanum* of 1570. His successor, Gregory XIII, hoped to extend the spirit of reform to liturgical music, and in 1577 authorized Palestrina and Zoilo to redact corresponding editions of the antiphoner and gradual. Yet in the following year, under pressure from the Spanish King Philip II, the pope was forced to abandon the project. Scholars have debated and ultimately denied any influence by Palestrina on later plainchant editions, especially the Roman *Editio Medicea* of 1614–15.

By the 1580s, however, the initiative for reforming liturgical music appears to have moved northward from Rome to Venice. Newly uncovered archival documents from the early 1580s suggest that Palestrina contracted with the Venetian printer Angelo Gardano to publish his gradual and antiphoner. Finally, in 1587, Gardano issued a book of plainchant, the small Franciscan *Graduale, et Antiphonarum*, setting a precedent for his massive 1591 *Graduale Romanum*, itself a predecessor of the *Editio Medicea*. Of course, the possible influence of Palestrina on Venetian editions of plainchant proves a tantalizing prospect. Furthermore, the

1587 *Graduale, et Antiphonarium*—in its adherence to the tradition of the Middle Ages, its classical allusions and musical aesthetic inspired by the Renaissance, and its promulgation of the new reforming zeal of the Catholic Reformation—clearly demonstrates the inherent conflicts in the editorial mission that faced Palestrina and other editors of plainchant during the cinquecento.

## LASSO IN STOCKHOLM: A “NEW” SOURCE REVEALED

Kristine K. Forney  
California State University, Long Beach

Later sixteenth-century manuscripts, dating well after the establishment of music printing, have generally received less attention than earlier sources, in some cases because their repertory appears to have been copied directly from printed music books. This paper investigates the history and repertory of a little-examined and virtually unknown source, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket MS S 227, a single Quintus book copied in 1566 in the Low Countries and containing a diverse repertory of chansons, madrigals, and motets that includes a number of unica. This source is important for the dissemination of the music of Orlando di Lasso, its best represented composer, and of the Italian madrigal to Sweden, where the manuscript was part of the court library of King Erik XIV (reigned 1560–1569). MS S 227 also presents an unicum by Lasso—an occasional work that offers valuable insights into the manuscript’s preparation and history and suggests a renewed relationship with the composer’s first publisher, Tielman Susato. The source is significant too for the inclusion of several well-known chansons first published after the manuscript’s redaction, and for its rich repertory of Italian-texted works that, along with the Winchester partbooks (1564–66), helps establish northern tastes in the madrigal prior to the issue of the many large anthologies from the Phalèse press. An Antwerp provenance for the source is determined by scribal hand and repertory, and by its relationship to several other contemporaneous manuscripts copied there.

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OPERA John Rice, Rochester, Minnesota, Chair

### HENRY FIELDING AS IMPRESARIO OF OPERA AND POLITICS

JoAnn Taricani  
University of Washington

Prior to his career as a novelist, Henry Fielding followed a provocative path as an anti-government playwright and journalist. His vivid attacks on the British establishment included sarcastic assaults on Italian opera and its audience, and he co-opted the fashionable fascination with Italian opera for his political agenda in the final moments of his theatrical career.

Although the opera *The Dragon of Wantley* (Carey/Lampe, 1737) has attracted a fair amount of performance and scholarly attention in the past few years, no one has focused on the significance of Fielding’s role as the initial producer of that opera, or of the covert links between that opera and Fielding’s own plays.

Fielding's career as a playwright came to a spectacular conclusion in May 1737, when an act of Parliament closed down his theatre. In his final three weeks as a producer, he premiered the self-described burlesque opera *The Dragon of Wantley* on a double bill with one of his own vehement satires of current British politicians. Overtly, he presented the opera as a parody of Italian fashion, but in reality it was yet another British political satire linked on many levels to his own plays.

Newly uncovered documents in Fielding's hand and new interpretations of political cartoon caricatures from 1737 publications clearly link Fielding's subversive political agenda to his production of *The Dragon of Wantley*. Ironically, he buried his hints and winks so well that the opera survived in London theatres for decades after Fielding's own plays and theatre were closed down by the government.

EGGS, HENS, COOPS, AND CASTRATI:  
CARNIVAL AND SACRIFICE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OPERA

Martha Feldman  
University of Chicago

The castrato was a quintessential figure of ambiguity, sexual and social. This paper suggests that these ambiguities were imbricated in the symbolic economy of Baroque festivity and absolutism. Uncovering surprising intertextual references between the castrato and the archetypal figure of carnivalesque polysemy, Pulcinella, it shows how the two were similarly marked as sacrificial substitutes in the pagan context of Carnival, especially in Naples. Each filled this role through his association with an amphibious, unfamiliar animal world, epitomized (though inversely) by the capon. While the comic Pulcinella could impersonate various animals as well as the hero or nobleman, the castrato who impersonated the sovereign or hero onstage played the rooster or buffoon in numerous caricatures.

The paper argues that the symbolic efficacy of the castrato relates to two contemporary narratives, heretofore unattended. The first, found in archival documents, claimed castration was necessitated by bites from wild pigs or swans, or falls from horses. Resembling folk-like beliefs about perils to maleness, such narratives spring from taboos that serve to ward off dangers to the stability of the self. The second, transmitted in Filippo Balatri's autobiography, assigns the castrato a myth of origins virtually identical to one of Pulcinella's, according to which his beak-like face, corpulent neck, protruding stomach, and piercing voice can be traced to his birth from a hatched egg. Symbolizing dimorphism, metamorphosis, and mysterious origins, the egg myth resonates with reports by De Brosse, Calzabigi and others that satirized castrati as strutting, crested capons. It also illuminates the status of castrati in conservatories, where they were segregated and specially fed, pampered like hens being plumped for future commerce. In a world of changing political authority and accelerating commerce, these tales assimilated castrati to observing subjects even as it distanced them.

HAYDN, MAHLER, AND *LO SPEZIALE/DER APOTHEKER*:  
THE JEWISH CONNECTION

Caryl Clark  
University of Toronto

*Lo speciale*, the comic opera by Haydn that inaugurated the new opera house at Eszterháza in 1768, had its first modern revival as *Der Apotheker* under the direction of Gustav Mahler, first in Hamburg in 1896 and then Vienna in 1899. Based on an edition prepared by the Viennese music critic Robert Hirschfeld, the *fin de siècle* revival constituted more than an innocent resurrection of a long-forgotten work by the beloved Papa Haydn. Close study of the surviving correspondence between conductor and editor suggests that the collaborators recognized a covert Jewish presence in the opera.

Reading *Lo speciale/Der Apotheker* as a document in the history of Jewishness and difference forms the focus of this paper. Building upon Sander Gilman's and Richard Taruskin's descriptions of Jewish identity, it exposes the coded inscriptions of "otherness" in Goldoni's libretto and Haydn's score—from the opera's setting (the busy port of Venice, understood as the Venetian Ghetto) and plot, which focuses on the allure of the exotic East, to the characterization of the apothecary, Sempronio, as deviant, restless, and greedy. The opera's Jewish thematics also prompt an examination of the historic role played by the Esterházy family in protecting displaced Jews following their expulsion from Vienna in the mid-seventeenth century. Of the seven Jewish protectorates established within the Esterházy realm, the largest was in Eisenstadt; indeed, the "Unterberg" Jewish quarter, still in existence today, is situated between the Esterházy palace and an eighteenth-century apothecary shop.

"BIRTHPLACE OF A NEW RECITATIVE STYLE"?  
THE "GREAT SPEAKER SCENE" IN *DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE*

Laurel E. Zeiss  
Baylor University

Tamino's arrival at the gates of Sarastro's realm is one of the most praised scenes in Mozart's operas. This striking passage continually veers between *accompagnato* and *arioso* and incorporates numerous remote modulations within a fluid structure. To many critics, the "Great Speaker Scene" heralds the future; they view it as the "birthplace of a new recitative style," a passage of "astonishing newness" that breaks ground for Wagner's music dramas. Such a view, however, is one-sided. The scene's tonal maneuvers, mix of genres, and through-composition have numerous precedents within Mozart's own works, including an early one, *La finta giardiniera*. Furthermore, eighteenth-century conventions surrounding *accompagnato* and the depiction of the supernatural and the fantastic play a role in the scene's construction. Pragmatic considerations, such as staging needs and the text's odd structure and irregular versification, also prompt Mozart's compositional choices. In short, the passage reflects the past and provides a window onto contemporary practice as much as it offers a glimpse of the future. Examining it in the light of the above issues not only enriches our understanding of the scene, it helps broaden our understanding of text/music relationships during the late eighteenth century.

**MUSIC IN FRENCH SOCIETY, 1889–1939**  
**Brian Hart, Northern Illinois University, Chair**

NEW MEDIA, SOURCE-BONDING, AND ALIENATION: LISTENING AT  
 THE 1889 *EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE*

Annegret Fauser  
 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Research in media studies has focused on the role which the new technologies of telephone and typewriter have played since the late nineteenth century (Kittler). With respect to music, however, the technological mediation of sound phenomena has so far been addressed mainly from a contemporary perspective (film, popular music, music psychology). An archaeological study of earlier listening to music through the telephone and phonograph reveals how horizons of expectation towards not only the consumption of music but also its aesthetic foundations were shaped through the encounter with, and appropriation of, these new media.

Visitors at the 1889 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris encountered various forms of technically mediated music consumption, including live telephonic transmission of opera performances and recorded music on phonographs. Accounts in newspapers and other writings engaged with these changing forms of listening, focusing in particular on the alienation of the listener from the sound source and the role of technology as mediator. Other topics included the celebration of technological progress, the choice of repertoire, and the possibilities of disseminating music to wider audiences. These issues also affected the cultural focus of an exhibition which carefully contrasted such technological progress with so-called “primitive” music in the colonial exhibition immediately adjacent to the telephone installations.

“UNE AUTRE IVRESSE”:  
 MUSIC IN PARISIAN *UNIVERSITÉS POPULAIRES*, 1898–1910

Mary Ellen Poole  
 Millikin University

In the wake of the Dreyfus Affair and the anarchist bombs of the early 1890s, certain French intellectuals found reassurance in forging alliances with workers, as subjects of study or social experiment. Occasionally this urge manifested itself in organizations which lasted beyond one season, and which ultimately moved beyond the control of their bourgeois founders. So-called “people’s universities” sprang up in the working-class neighborhoods and scruffy near-suburbs of Paris, their avowed purpose to improve the intellect and strengthen the moral fiber of the laborer or artisan, to reconcile the classes, and to provide a healthy distraction from the café-concert or cabaret.

Toward those ends, their curricula invariably included generous doses of the arts, and especially music. I will show how the structure of those offerings, their theory and practice demonstrate the conflicted attempts by artists and intellectuals to use music for purposes of uplift, of (limited) solidarity, of recruitment, of publicity for their cause and, not least, to battle “bad taste” (i.e., the popular music served up with alcohol in café-concert and cabaret). In the *universités populaires* of Belleville and the Faubourg St-Antoine, the well-meaning

bourgeois intellectual affirmed both his laboring comrade's "right to beauty" and his inability to discern it.

## SYMBOLIC DOMINATION AND CONTESTATION IN FRENCH MUSIC: SHIFTING THE PARADIGM FROM ADORNO TO BOURDIEU

Jane F. Fulcher  
Indiana University

Despite the alacrity with which other fields have perceived the heuristic potential of Pierre Bourdieu's semiotic analysis of power relations, musicology has lagged behind. Engrossed in the paradigms of both Adorno and Geertz, we have, as Roger Chartier has observed with reference to the application of cultural anthropology to history, often overlooked the social reality of how power insinuates itself symbolically.

This paper argues that if we are fully to explore the relation of music to social power and its deployment of symbols, and thus to penetrate the social meaning of music more profoundly, Bourdieu's sociological insights are essential. For even more precisely than Foucault, he has conceptualized those phenomena surrounding the interaction of language and symbolic power in a democratic but state-dominated cultural system such as France.

Symbolic domination, symbolic legitimacy, and symbolic violence are but a few of his concepts that can imbue our perception of the relation of music to social meaning and ideology with greater scope. To illustrate this argument this paper employs the case of interwar France, demonstrating the inappropriateness of Adorno's essentialist sociological reading of neoclassicism for this culture. Using new archival evidence and overlooked secondary sources that reveal the goals and methods of the conservative postwar government in establishing symbolic dominance, it re-reads symbolic contestation through French music in the twenties.

## WAYWARD CONDUCT AND INCONSTANT CATHOLICISM AT THE PARISIAN SCHOLA CANTORUM

Catrina Flint de Médicis  
McGill University

It is difficult to conceive of the Parisian Schola Cantorum (founded 1894) as anything other than a conduit for Roman Catholic doctrine and morality. Most of the published evidence speaks to this interpretation: it was founded in part by clerics with a mandate to teach and promote church music, by persons like Vincent d'Indy who had clear pro-Catholic leanings. Nonetheless, a study of changes to the Schola's repertoire between 1898 and 1903 as well as archival documents reveal a much more problematic relationship between the institution and the Church.

First, we learn that the clerics living at the residence for Schola students were considered a bad influence on non-ordained students, and had also spawned rumors that the institution would have to close. Second, a survey of over 250 concerts shows that the Schola's performances of sixteenth-century polyphony (the music that had Vatican approval) began to diminish around 1900. This may be seen as an attempt on the Schola's part to distance itself from the Church. Finally, complaints about the Schola's abuses and flagrant disregard for

Church regulations concerning music are revealed. This new knowledge indicates a need to reassess our notions not only of power and control at the Schola, but of the political complexity of the persons at the heart of the institution, including the ever problematic Vincent d'Indy.

### EARLY MODERN VOICES AND BODIES

Anne MacNeil, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair

#### BECOMING FLESH: MONTEVERDI, ZEPHYR, AND THE DANCING BODY

Gordon Haramaki

University of California, Los Angeles

Monteverdi based two madrigals on poems with the theme of Zephyrus: the five-voice madrigal *Zefiro torna, el bel tempo rimena* (published 1614) on a sonnet by Petrarch, and the later two-voice continuo madrigal *Zefiro torna e di soavi accenti* (published 1632) on a sonnet by Rinuccini. The identical incipit of both poems (“Zefiro torna”) elicits from the composer the same rhythmic gesture of a dotted rhythm in triple meter for the opening of both madrigals.

As I will demonstrate, this rhythmic motto is the same *sciolta* rhythm found in contemporary court dances, such as the Spagnoletta found in Fabritio Caroso’s *La Nobiltà di Dame* (1600), and brings with it the association of the stomping *seguito battuto al canario* step. While this rhythmic gesture in the earlier madrigal is channeled and diffused, much as the creative violence of Zephyrus is changed by Renaissance humanists into the *gentialis spiritus mundi*, the same gesture in the later madrigal is emphasized and exacerbated by its layering over the syncopated *ciaccona* bassline.

Monteverdi’s combination of the actual dancing body—a kind of physicality normally outside the interior explorations of the madrigal—with the topic of Zephyrus creates an auditory conflation of the Arcadian realms of the texts with the musical and physical plentitude of the New World. I argue that Monteverdi’s embrace of the body in the second madrigal indicates a societal paradigm shift from the silenced body of Petrarchan interiority to a Marinist celebration of the body and bodily knowledge.

#### MADALENA CASULANA: MY BODY KNOWS UNHEARD-OF SONGS

Thomasin LaMay

Goucher College

Madalena Casulana claimed emphatically in the dedication to her *Primo libro di madrigali* (Girolamo Scotto, 1568) that she would “show the world ... the concealed error of men. They believe so strongly to be the masters of the high gifts of the intellect that, in their opinion, these gifts cannot likewise be shared by women.” Further, she insisted that she would not fail to publish her madrigals, a specific rhetorical gesture that in her culture was tantamount to behaving like a man. Her volume was the first ever published by a woman. I want to bring this collection to light for its musical and textual possibilities, and to consider why she

particularly chose the madrigal, a genre replete with sexualized images of women, but generally in body fragments and rarely from a female subject positioning. Then I would ask a fundamental question: why did she insist on publishing, when this seriously compromised her image as a female performer? Contemporary writers (all men) had problems with her since they frequently could not determine which aspect of her (female-bodied singer or male-minded composer) to describe. Drawing from her own texts, contemporary documents about her, and current feminist theories surrounding early modern women, this paper renegotiates through Casulana's lens a repertoire notoriously rich in sexual metaphor. It offers a more mutually inclusive view not only of men and women, but of the problematic "other" reflected within the madrigal tradition.

## ARISTOCRATIC POLITESSE AND THE RECEPTION OF ITALIAN MUSIC IN LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Don Fader  
Indiana University

There is a long tradition of scholarship that views French criticism of Italian music, most notably the writings of Lecerf de la Viéville, as grounded in classicist literary theory. While there can be no doubt about the intellectual basis of his arguments, Lecerf also conceived of Italian music as a distinct threat to French society, a less well-recognized but important aspect of his criticism that reflects wider seventeenth-century standards of taste. This linkage between the social and the aesthetic has its origins in classical texts on rhetoric which require the gentleman-orator to eschew grandiloquence and to employ only those rhetorical figures that will convince and move his audience. The notion of rhetorical restraint played an important role in seventeenth-century theories of politesse (*honnêteté*). Period writings on the subject emphasize the careful control of a courtier's "ornaments" (*agréments*)—including his abilities in the arts—whose purpose is to please rather than to impress. These values contributed to a distaste for musical complexity and virtuosity, which were viewed as empty demonstrations of technical prowess. Italian music's "savant" techniques come under fire from critics like Lecerf not only because they represent illegitimate uses of rhetorical figures, but also because they were seen to reflect bourgeois self-advertisement rather than self-effacing *honnête* consideration of others.



*Friday evening, 17 November*

**STUDY SESSION**

**BETWEEN OPERA AND CINEMA**

**Jeongwon Joe, University of Nevada, Reno, Chair**

**Marcia J. Citron, Rice University**

**Michal Grover-Friedlander, Princeton University / Tel Aviv University**

**Lesley Stern, University of California, San Diego**

**Rose Theresa, State University of New York, Stony Brook**

**Marc A. Weiner, Indiana University**

Since the advent of the motion picture, opera and cinema have been mutually attracted to each other. The ways in which the two art forms have interacted over the past century are intriguing, yet they have remained relatively unexplored. This study session seeks to address various issues that can be considered in the study of opera and cinema—aesthetic, technological, institutional, and ideological issues related to silent film, film-opera, and blockbuster films.

Focusing on the transitional period of early cinema—the transition from the “cinema of attractions” to narrative films—Theresa situates opera’s appeal to silent cinema in opera’s ability to provide a flexible model for negotiating the contradictory claims of spectacle and narrative. Grover-Friedlander suggests that opera’s unique representation of vocalicity was inscribed into silent film, not by creating an illusion of giving voice to mute images on screen, nor by attempting to substitute verbal for gestural languages, but by making cinematic imagery “behave” operatically.

Citron and Stern explore the genre of film-opera. Like Theresa and Grover-Friedlander, Stern locates the opera-cinema encounter in the practices of silent film by showing how Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger’s *The Tales of Hoffmann* approximates to the status of the silent cinema of the divas. Citron focuses on the impact of technological mediation on the sound-image relationship in film-opera with particular attention to the effects of what she calls “interior” singing, that is, vocal music presented without the singers’ moving lips.

Weiner discusses the phantasmagorical effect of the operatic music in Jonathan Demme’s *Philadelphia* (1993) in the context of the ideological assumptions regarding the role of opera in American culture.

*Saturday morning, 17 November*

**HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN  
NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY FRANCE**  
**Maribeth Clark, New College, University of South Florida, Chair**

ADOLPHE ADAM'S *LE DIABLE À QUATRE*: A POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO  
THE MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF A POPULAR BALLET

Willia Collins  
Cornell University

In 1844 the Paris Opéra suffered a serious decline in box office sales, at least in part because theater audiences had grown weary of the enchanted creatures that populated ballet productions—such as *La Sylphide* and *Giselle*—that formed a major part of the Opéra's previous seasons. This changed dramatically in 1845 with the premiere of a new ballet by Adolphe Adam, *Le Diable à quatre*, a work that was popular with the public and proved to be a great financial success. The story of this morality-comedy had been familiar to the Parisian public for nearly a century, with operas by the same title produced in 1756 by librettist Michel-Jean Sedaine in collaboration with François André Danican Philidor, and in 1809 with a new score by Jean-Pierre Solié to Sedaine's libretto. Although *Le Diable* was performed in Paris at the Opéra, throughout Europe, and in the United States by numerous ballet companies for eighteen years after its Paris premiere, it never evolved into one of the so called "classic" ballets from the nineteenth-century. By examining Romanticism within the context of "longing for the unattainable," and parallels between romantic period ballet subjects and the role of the female dancer in nineteenth-century Paris, this paper will attempt to unravel the tangled conditions that led to the to exclusion of this ballet from the standard repertoire.

"QUELQUE PEU THÉÂTRAL":  
THE OPERATIC CORONATION OF CHARLES X

Benjamin Walton  
St. Anne's College, Oxford University

The intersection of politics and spectacle has a long tradition in French history, from Louis XIV's Versailles to the streets of revolutionary Paris. As a result, Chateaubriand's criticism of the coronation of Charles X in May 1825 as theatrical may at first seem unremarkable. His description of the occasion as a dramatic performance rather than a real event, however, deserves closer examination. In line with Chateaubriand, I propose that this anachronistic final Bourbon coronation can best be understood, at the most literal level, as an opera, with music, resplendent costumes, dashes of orientalism (the envoy for the Bey of Tunis provoked much interest), hired claqueurs, and the whole of Rheims turned into a stage set.

Conversely, the coronation's reliance on operatic props and aesthetics can shed light on the dramatic crisis that led to the appearance of grand opéra. The largest piece written to celebrate the coronation, the multi-authored *Pharamond*, was performed at the Paris Opéra, but failed to command either critical or popular acclaim. The work's troubled negotiation

between the demands of historical drama and celebratory *pièce de circonstance* mirrors the logic that underpinned the planning of the coronation: a desire to invoke the authority of French history while bypassing unresolved memories of the Revolution and the Empire. While most accounts of the period have focused exclusively on the Opéra's successes and on the painstaking historical accuracy of its stagings, I argue that *Pharamond's* failure and its selective appropriation of history offer a more productive mode for understanding the connections between opera, ceremonial language, and historical precedent, as well as those between musical works and large-scale political events.

## DEBUSSY AND CREATIVE ANACHRONISM IN THE *CHANSONS DE FRANCE*

Stacy Moore  
Middlebury College

In many of Debussy's *mélodies*, like the *Trois Chansons de Bilitis*, the composer treated the poems' language in a declamatory fashion, with careful, rhythmically fluid prosody; created temporal "anomalies" by using clear beginning but weak ending gestures; and avoided strong directional motion (strong, that is, in *fin-de-siècle* terms). These traits stemmed in part from Debussy's view that the temporal treatment of music was a national characteristic—that the French and (in particular) the Germans treated musical time differently, reflecting the different rhythms of their thoughts. Debussy was careful to maintain the rhythms of the French language and to avoid the end-heavy, teleological sounds typically associated with German music (and, more to the point, with the music of Wagner and Beethoven). He opposed goal-directed, dramatic (or, to use Bergson's term, "spatialized") time with his own more lyric sense of time (Bergson's *durée*, or "lived" time).

It is odd, then, that in his 1904 setting of two *rondels* by Charles d'Orléans, Debussy seems, on the surface, to have deserted many former compositional habits. In the *rondels* (which he titled *Chansons de France*) Debussy's prosody, though still careful, is more melodic than declamatory, stiffening the rhythms of the language; he also uses temporal gestures more typical of goal-directed, "dramatic" music. By playing with the anachronisms, however, in his choice of both poet and poetic type, and with the circular structure of the *rondel* itself, Debussy continues to point up the impossibility of a fully spatialized experience of time.

## "L'OISEAU EST UN AMOUR REBELLE": TRADITION AND SYMBOLISM IN MESSIAEN'S EARLY BIRD STYLE

Robert Fallon  
University of California, Berkeley

A problem in Messiaen historiography is the exaggerated belief that his "works exist entirely after, and to a large degree apart from, the great Western tradition" (Griffiths, 1985). By focusing on how closely Messiaen's ornithologically-based late (post-1952) bird style imitates the real thing, studies from Demuth (1960) to Johnson (1999) promote Messiaen's isolation from music history while they neglect the traditions and symbolism of the early

(pre-1952) *style oiseau*. By examining the early bird style, however, I show that Messiaen drew systematically from other composers' bird imitations.

I first argue that Messiaen's bird style—the most idiosyncratic in his palette—is permeated by the tradition of bird representation in tonal music. I identify six “bird tropes” (from trills to rocking fourths), exemplify them from canonical repertoire, and demonstrate where Messiaen used them in his first bird imitations. Nearly forty verbal and musical references to birds in Messiaen's compositions prior to 1952 provide for a reconstruction of the constellation of ideas surrounding his birds: love, death, liberty, angels, and especially joy. I suggest that these themes underlie the post-1952 *style oiseau* and so can contribute not only to new interpretations of pieces like *Reveil des oiseaux*, *Oiseaux exotiques*, and *Catalogue d'oiseaux* but also to our understanding of how Messiaen's bird pieces relate to the rest of his oeuvre.

## AMERICANA

**Victor Fell Yellin, New York University, Chair**

### RIP'S AMERICAN ODYSSEY: CHADWICK'S *RIP VAN WINKLE OVERTURE* AND ITS REVISION

Bill F. Faucett  
Royal Palm Beach, Florida

Chadwick has been closely identified with his *Rip van Winkle Overture* (1879) since its premiere; with only a few possible exceptions, no other work in Chadwick's orchestral oeuvre has generated comparable admiration. And unlike the other works, *Rip van Winkle* completely frames Chadwick's long career: not only was *Rip* Chadwick's first composition for orchestra, but its 1920s revision was among his final compositional efforts.

It is this later version of *Rip van Winkle* that is best known to modern audiences, but it is vastly different from the original. It reveals the composer's clear effort to refashion its originally conservative German musical dress with the trappings of “Americanism” utilizing techniques he had developed in the intervening fifty years. Chadwick's “American” modifications include: (1) the substantial rhythmic alteration of melodic material; (2) the formal reconstruction of the overture; and (3) the addition of “color” instruments.

This paper explores the avenues of Chadwick's nationalism by closely comparing formal and stylistic features of the two versions of the work, thus enabling a rare insight into his evolution as a creative artist. Also glimpsed is Chadwick's perspective on what constituted characteristically American music. Although the original *Rip* had never been considered particularly “American,” Chadwick, as the “Dean of American Composers” whose fame in large measure rested on somewhat nationalistic compositions, was by his later years expected to forge a distinctly American sound. In the American *Rip van Winkle* Chadwick's sense of nationalism reawakens—much like Rip himself—to refresh a traditional overture he hoped to introduce to younger generations.

## MARIAN MACDOWELL: ADVOCATE FOR WOMEN IN MUSIC

Ann L. Silverberg  
Austin Peay State University

After the death of American composer Edward MacDowell in 1908, Marian Nevins MacDowell continued to develop one of the final projects they had begun as a couple. This effort was the sustenance and growth of the MacDowell Colony, a refuge for artists of all types (composers, painters, playwrights, novelists, architects, etc.) which they had founded on land adjacent to their New Hampshire summer home. An accomplished concert pianist in her own right, Marian MacDowell proceeded to tour, establish MacDowell Clubs across the United States, and raise funds for the Colony; she oversaw its operation into her 90s. Based on an examination of Marian MacDowell's correspondence and other primary sources, this presentation shows that she activated women composers and musical women across the nation both to participate in and support the MacDowell Colony. An extraordinary percentage of the composers invited to the Colony during Mrs. MacDowell's lifetime were women. When Amy Beach paid her first visit to the Colony in 1921—at Marian MacDowell's urging—she was one of seven women composers invited; men composers numbered only four. Calling on women's clubs and music clubs in particular, Marian MacDowell energized a vast network of largely female support for the increasingly prestigious Colony. The popular view that women in music and women composers in particular were undersupported and unnoticed in early to mid-twentieth-century America may need revising. This examination of the work of Marian MacDowell suggests that musical women were vigorously pursuing their art in a wide spectrum of domestic and professional venues.

## THE SAGAS OF THE PRAIRIE AND THE MYTHS OF MODERN MUSIC: COPLAND'S *MUSIC FOR RADIO*

Beth E. Levy  
University of California, Berkeley

In 1936, Copland accepted his first radio commission, viewing it as an opportunity to reconcile "modern composition" and "the need for a wider public." In this spirit, listeners were asked to invent descriptive titles for the neutrally named *Music for Radio*. Choosing among such evocative entries as "Subway Traveler," "Oriental Phantasy," and "Futile Search for Order Out of Chaos," Copland christened his piece *Saga of the Prairie*, later claiming (probably incorrectly) that one of its themes was a cowboy song.

Copland's recollections and the work's supposed associations with the American West long obscured the fact that much of its musical material originally appeared in sketches for a choral setting of Langston Hughes's controversial poem about racial injustice, "The Ballad of Ozie Powell." Although recent scholars have noted the discrepancy between the conception and eventual title of Copland's composition, none has interpreted it in light of the broader ethnic and stylistic questions this evolution raises. The real saga of *Music for Radio* shows how Copland's western aura eclipsed his more contentious leftism, softening his jazzy modernism into an all-purpose Americanism steeped in nostalgia. Balancing musical analysis with archival research and contemporary reviews, I argue that the work's accessible style and acceptable imagery illustrate both the promises and the perils of populism. The ironies that emerge from its geographical and political reorientation reveal the power of western mythology

to transform not only the meaning of a piece but also the shape of a composer's career and his place in American musical life.

### AARON COPLAND IN 1932

Elizabeth Bergman Crist  
University of Texas, Austin

In the early thirties, Aaron Copland was busy sketching, composing, and revising three orchestral pieces: the *Short Symphony*, *Statements*, and *El Salón México*. He wrote the *Short Symphony* as an orchestral sequel to the *Piano Variations*, using a similarly austere musical language and rigorous motivic logic. *Statements* and *El Salón México* were, however, intended for a different purpose—meant to reach an audience outside the musical elite. Despite their common goal, these works proposed distinct approaches to the singular problem of adapting contemporary music to the cultural circumstances of the Great Depression. *Statements* employed a dissonant modernist dialect yet accommodated the listening public with an unusual formal plan; *El Salón México* used a simpler musical language inspired in part by Mexican folksong. In 1932 Copland was still searching for a new expression of accessibility in music, but ultimately the colorful idiom of *El Salón México* proved most successful as a language that subsequently defined his compositional work for well over a decade.

Based on original research with sketches, scores, and letters at the Library of Congress, this paper documents Copland's transition from neoclassical modernism to populist Americanism, especially as influenced by the reception of *Statements* and *El Salón México*. The initial appearance of this accessible style in connection with Mexican music and culture is shown to be more than coincidence; rather, *El Salón México* evinces the glorification of Mexico in Copland's compositional aesthetic and in the ascendant philosophy of progressive liberalism during the Depression era.

### HAYDN AND RHETORIC

Gretchen A. Wheelock, Eastman School of Music, Chair

#### REHEARSING RHETORIC IN JOSEPH HAYDN'S TRIOS FOR KEYBOARD AND STRINGS

Elizabeth Le Guin  
University of California, Los Angeles

The dynamics and objectives of chamber music performance have shifted substantially since Haydn's day, toward an oppositional model (players on a stage, separated from listeners spatially and by virtue of their supposed expertise), and away from the model offered by the drawing-room, with everyone more or less on the same plane both spatially and socially. In terms of performative rhetoric, this amounts to a shift away from the conversational mode, called *oratio concisa* by Quintilian, and toward the professionalized, agonistic orational mode (*oratio perpetua*). Most rhetorical treatments of eighteenth-century music have tacitly supported this shift by confining their comparisons to the more familiar and better-documented rhetoric of oration; conversation has chiefly been invoked as a tired metaphor for counterpoint

or for the galant style. I use eighteenth-century models of drawing-room conversation by Morellet, Necker, Staël, and von Knigge to develop a theory of the rhetoric of conversation (defined almost exclusively, by writers both Classical and Early Modern, in terms of what it is not). Through it, and drawing upon work in musical ritual by Martha Feldman, I offer a fresh interpretation of how eighteenth-century amateur participants in Haydn's Trio in A-flat Major (Hob. XV:14) used the scripted and implicit conversations of playing it—in particular, receptive and resistive modes of listening as enacted through the string parts, and the salonnière's delicate negotiations of social control enacted through the keyboard—to rehearse and to interrogate the drawing-room's complex presentations of bourgeois selfhood.

## “DELIVERY, DELIVERY, DELIVERY!” CROWNING THE RHETORICAL PROCESS OF HAYDN'S KEYBOARD SONATAS

Tom Beghin  
University of California, Los Angeles

Although recent scholarship has rightly emphasized the importance of oratory for eighteenth-century composition and performance, the implications have been limited largely to analytical criticism, on the one hand, or performance practice, on the other, without connective links. Taking Demosthenes' proclamation to heart (that delivery is not only the first but also the second and third most important aspect of oratory), this paper will view Haydn's solo keyboard sonatas as a complete rhetorical process, in which the stages of *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* are crowned by *actio*. This integrated approach sheds a new light on the meaning of a “text,” crucially different from what has traditionally been accepted: how “finished” is it; how much room is there for spontaneity, pretended or not, but always practiced? Although related, these questions go beyond the eighteenth-century license of improvisation and varying repeats. Rather, they have to do with specific rhetorical strategies: figures, effective arrangement, argumentation. Examples of how to clothe the same idea in different words, how to save an especially effective argument for a more powerful moment in the piece, etc., will be drawn from Haydn's sonatas. The discussion will be rooted, on the one hand, in analysis of Haydn's music itself, especially its relation to notation (which developed drastically after his first published set in 1774), and, on the other, the larger issue of composer and performer as one *persona* (whether real or not) and a general aesthetic-rhetorical framework expounded by Forkel, C.P.E. Bach, and others.

## HAYDN AND THE RHETORIC OF COMIC METAMORPHOSIS

Wye J. Allanbrook  
University of California, Berkeley

A persistent cliché about Haydn's motivic rhetoric is its “mono-thematism”—the opening material occurring in multiple representations across the work, very like the nineteenth-century notion of “thematic transformation.” This notion accords with late eighteenth-century writers' insistence that a movement contain a *Hauptsatz* or principal “text,” warranting the comparison of a musical work with a coherent oration. Oratorically speaking, in this reading Haydn's rhetoric would be of the tightest sort; even his *Gegensätze* or antitheses will

reveal the *Hauptsatz* lurking underneath. Under the standard of “unity in variety,” Haydn’s works should hit close to ten on the unity scale.

Frequently, however, Haydn practices motivic metamorphosis in the Ovidian mode. Like Ovid he transforms a given theme or topic element by element into a second with no necessary relation—a fleshly limb become a branch, a strand of hair the whip of a weeping willow. Like Ovid’s, the process is irreversible, producing a new being of singular nature. I term the process “comic” because its foregrounding of the mechanisms of transformation is as peculiarly diverting as Ovid’s, and results in an emphasis on surface and variety—comic virtues—rather than on a unity residing in the deep structure of the work.

Is this process a form of rhetoric? Does it trouble music’s status as a coherent oration? In asserting the centrality of the *Hauptsatz*, were eighteenth-century pedagogues clinging to conservative dogma, a survival of *Affektenlehre* habits? My principal text for the exploration of these questions will be Haydn’s Piano Sonata in E-flat Major, Hob. XVI:52.

## REFORM CATHOLICISM VERSUS DIVINE MYSTERY IN HAYDN’S *SEVEN LAST WORDS*

Richard Will  
University of Virginia

*The Seven Last Words of our Savior on the Cross* (1787) express the contradictions of an “Enlightened” religious culture by simultaneously exemplifying and contesting the rhetorical model applied to instrumental music in eighteenth-century composition treatises. Much as pedagogues recommended, each movement in this originally orchestral work takes a single theme and elaborates it in both key areas of a sonata-form exposition, and in the development section and recapitulation as well. The themes “set” the words of the crucified Christ (which were printed under the first violin part), and their elaboration, by contemporary standards, allows the associated emotional states to be impressed on listeners as through an oral address. The analogy is especially fitting in the context of eighteenth-century Catholic Europe, where reformers called on priests to explain the Gospels in comparably focused, single-subject sermons; based in classical rhetoric, the ideal of a clear, persuasive lesson informs musical and religious oratory alike.

Because the texts of *The Seven Last Words* are not sung, however, they also threaten to loose from their themes and leave behind an ineffable sound that suggests not the clarity of Enlightened religion but the opacity of a more traditional, revealed theology. The mystery is deepened by Haydn’s abrupt moves to remote tonalities and other music-rhetorical surprises, traditional signs for the sublime and unfathomable in eighteenth-century sacred music. Thus Haydn captures the tension that persisted between traditional and reformed Catholicisms throughout the second half of the century, and in so doing demonstrates both some broader cultural implications and some limitations of the use of rhetorical metaphors for instrumental movements.

## RENAISSANCE TOPICS

Paula Higgins, University of Notre Dame, Chair

### MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA AND KATHERINE OF ARAGON: PERSONAL INTERSECTIONS IN LonBLR 8.G.VII

Jennifer Thomas  
University of Cincinnati

As both author and patron, Marguerite of Austria expressed in her chansonnier her sorrow over the deaths of loved ones. Concordant works, texts, and composers link the chansonnier to another Netherlands manuscript, LonBLR 8.G.vii, a gift to Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. Though the manuscript's many idiosyncrasies have attracted sustained scholarly scrutiny, Katherine and Marguerite's personal relationship may explain some of the most puzzling aspects of the book; its many dimensions and their possible links to the chansonnier remain to be explored. The women established a close relationship at the Spanish court after Marguerite's marriage to Katherine's brother, Juan. Both endured the deaths of their young husbands, stillborn children, and the burdens unique to women of Europe's powerful dynasties.

The classical text "Dulces exuviae," which appears twice in Marguerite's chansonnier and five consecutive times in LonBLR 8.G.vii, tellingly expresses their personal parallels. Within the context of this manuscript, the consecutive repetitions of this particular text with its ominous meanings cannot be inconsequential. The subsequent motet, *Absalon fili mi*, a lament on the death of a king's son, suggests that the five settings convey Marguerite's compassion to her sister-in-law, Katherine, over her five unfulfilled pregnancies. This interpretation of the manuscript deepens our understanding of the meaning of the gift and imparts a view of prominent royal women interacting personally through a medium usually associated with formal diplomacy.

### JENA 4, CHARLES V, AND THE CONQUEST OF THE INFIDELS

Flynn Warmington  
Somerville, Massachusetts

The early sixteenth-century manuscript Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Chorbuch 4 is among the richest treasures produced in the Netherlands court workshop of Petrus Alamire. It is a showcase for polyphonic Masses of the court composer Pierre de la Rue and five of his contemporaries, presented in the finest calligraphy. Among the unique border decorations is a series of ten flags bearing rare heraldic ensigns, which have eluded identification. The present paper reveals that the flags refer to territories that Ferdinand of Aragon had captured from the infidels in far-flung regions: Spain, north Africa, the Canary Islands, and the New World. A series of such flags was part of the funeral pageantry for Ferdinand celebrated in Brussels in 1516, which culminated in the proclamation of the future Charles V as Ferdinand's heir.

The heraldic discoveries have a double importance: first, they permit us to clarify the historical context of the choirbook with a rare degree of vivid detail. A contemporary account of the symbolism used in the funeral brings to life the web of meanings in which

Christian devotion, exalted in music and art, was seen as the foundation for kingship. Secondly, the more secure and narrow dating of Jena 4, in the period soon after Charles was named king, makes it a pillar for the chronology of a large number of other Alamire volumes, based on the evolution of the two scribes' letterforms.

## RESONANCES OF *ABSALON FILI MI* IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Richard Sherr  
Smith College

The motet *Absalon fili mi* has been the subject of much twentieth-century fascination and of much recent scholarly disagreement concerning its date and composer. Generally left out of these discussions are two works which reflect a sixteenth-century involvement with the motet. One is an anonymous setting of the exact same text in Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae jucundae* (Wittenberg, 1538), a publication intimately connected with Martin Luther. The other is an anonymous *Missa Absalon fili mi* copied by the Bolognese theorist Giovanni Spataro in the 1520s. The motet in the Rhau print has curious musical associations with the famous setting and may represent a response to its "difficulties." The Mass is an imitation Mass in which the fidelity to its model is so strong that the model can be substantially reconstructed, allowing us to retrieve what is arguably the earliest source of the motet. This was a fifth higher than the version we know (on F with a flat signature, depriving the motet of its extremes of range and removing some of its *musica ficta* problems), and can be shown to have differed from the extant sources of *Absalon fili mi* in enough small but significant ways so as to have derived from a different exemplar. The Mass testifies to the popularity of the motet that belies its few extant sources, and further provides a window into the mind of a composer of early imitation Masses as he recalls his polyphonic model with a mixture of direct quotation, misquotation, and *fantasia*.

## PUFFS OF WIND, TABLE TALK, AND RHYMING A MAN TO DEATH: ANTI-IMPROVISATIONAL TRENDS IN ELIZABETHAN AESTHETICS

Elizabeth Crownfield  
New York University

Between 1500 and 1600, the status of improvised vocal polyphony in England shifted: once an integral part of church services, it came to be seen primarily as an impressive feat or a teaching tool. The same period brought changes in compositional style, changes paralleled in literature and elsewhere. This paper posits a correlation between the two developments, intensified by a late Elizabethan anti-improvisational aesthetic.

Early Tudor compositions often resemble descant stylistically—not as literal writing-out, but as idealization and extension. By the late sixteenth century, written music and descant had diverged both in practice and in style. At the same time, attitudes toward all forms of improvisation became more ambivalent: fields debating extemporaneous expression included poetry, drama, religion, and law. Puritans disparaged prefabricated sermons, Spenser boasted of metrical translations extemporized in bed with Gabriel Harvey; Sidney dismissed improvised verse as "table talk." In every subject some valued sincere or clever spontaneity while others extolled meticulous, "artificial" crafting.

Although forces tugged in both directions, influential thinkers increasingly portrayed impromptu creations as old-fashioned or vulgar, inspiring changes in prevailing aesthetic styles. Creative works began carrying internal proof of pre-planning—a reversal of the feigned spontaneity of *sprezzatura*.

Using examples of Elizabethan music and literature, I will show how their authors developed the internal significance of words, images, or motives, storing up power that both added drama and bound the whole together. The self-referential complexity of this interwoven patterning could not possibly be created live, or dismissed as mere “puffs of wind.”

**MENDELSSOHN, SCHUMANN, LISZT**  
**Michael P. Steinberg, Cornell University, Chair**

THE PROPHET TRANSFIGURED:  
 CHRISTOLOGY IN MENDELSSOHN'S *ELIJAH*

Jeffrey S. Sposato  
 University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg

In describing a performance of Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elijah* at Berlin's Oranienburger Straße synagogue in 1937, Leon Botstein noted that “there was no doubt that in 1937 Jews believed they were hearing a Jewish work written by a German Jew affirming the greatness of Judaism.” Indeed, the interpretations of *Elijah* as a predominantly Old-Testament work and the belief that Mendelssohn himself retained a strong sense of pride in his Jewish heritage have long been mutually self-supporting views. However, any assessment of *Elijah* as a confession of the composer's continued allegiance to his Jewish roots presumes that Mendelssohn intended the work to be interpreted historically rather than allegorically. More important, it suggests that he was willing openly to oppose contemporary expectations regarding Old-Testament oratorios, as well as the beliefs of his friend and theological mentor, Friedrich Schleiermacher.

Both stylistic convention and Schleiermacher's teachings demanded that oratorios based on the Old Testament orient themselves in some way towards the New, a practice readily observable in the works of Mendelssohn's contemporaries Carl Loewe, Friedrich Schneider, and Sigismund Neukomm. That Mendelssohn likewise intended to make *Elijah* a Christological work is clearly demonstrated in his numerous libretto drafts, which often contain obvious references to New-Testament events, such as the transfiguration. In reinterpreting the final version of *Elijah* in the light of these documents and expectations, one rapidly finds that Christology is not confined to the Messianic prophecy in the last few numbers, as has been often observed, but rather permeates the work's entire structure.

THE PHANTOM OF MENDELSSOHN'S OPERA:  
FICTIONAL ACCOUNTS AND POSTHUMOUS PROPAGANDA

Monika Hennemann  
University of Rhode Island

Despite a life-long desire and dozens of attempts, Mendelssohn failed to complete a mature opera. His contemporaries and subsequent generations alike tried to remedy what they perceived as a grave shortcoming in the composer's biography by recourse to their own imagination. I will discuss the most striking fictional stage works attributed to Mendelssohn and their impact on the composer's reception history. The attempted rewrites of his biography fall into three categories: 1) contemporary journalistic reports in which opera compositions by Mendelssohn were falsely announced; 2) nineteenth- and twentieth-century fictional biographies, in which opera composition plays a central role in the composer's life, such as Elizabeth Shepard's *Charles Auchester* and Pierre la Mure's *Beyond Desire*; and 3) "surrogate" stage compositions, namely a *Liederspiel*, parts of which were attributed to Mendelssohn, and the Singspiel *Dichterliebe* (1919) by Brammer/Grünwald on the life of Heine, supposedly with music by Mendelssohn.

During Mendelssohn's lifetime, neither librettists nor journalists could inspire the composer to deliver the much-desired opera; posthumously, novelists and creative patchwork-composers ultimately failed to make up for this deficiency. Their iconographical aspirations provide insight into the significance of opera composition for Germany's leading composer of the time, the attraction of becoming his librettist, and the anticipated public interest in fake or falsely attributed stage compositions. Ultimately the ghost operas give testimony to Mendelssohn's cultural importance and reception history in ways that his "proper" biography fails to do and demonstrate impressively how myths are employed to manipulate dissatisfying portions of reality.

BLINDING FAUST

Laura Tunbridge  
Princeton University

With his *Szenen aus Goethe's Faust* (WoO 3), Schumann broke new ground: his was the first musical setting to use Goethe's actual text, rather than a paraphrase; the first to tackle Part Two as well as Part One; and the first to set any of the text as oratorio rather than opera. This paper argues that Schumann's choice of genre reflects his decision to set Part Two, and was particularly influenced by its theme of *Schein*, or the power of artistic semblance.

While Schumann's treatment of Part One is typical of operatic treatments in its focus on the Gretchen tragedy, his scenes from Part Two are not similarly theatrical. He ignored passages from the "Klassische Walpurgisnacht," which Goethe described as opera, instead jumping from the opening of Act I, "Anmutige Gegend," to "Mitternacht" in Act V. In both scenes, Faust is blinded: in the first, momentarily by the sun; in the second (and permanently) by the spirit *die Sorge* (Care). It is this focus on blindness that is suggestive of *Schein*: on losing his sight, Faust demonstrates the subjectivity or relativity of the viewing process.

Music's role in blinding Faust, ironically, depends on its ability to make manifest the visual. For example, the rising sun that opens "Anmutige Gegend" is accompanied by a deafening noise. Schumann renders the sun's rays, which blind Faust, in an unequivocal

blaze of C major. To accompany this music with scenery would be redundant: the coincidence of light with sound means that music can be seen but, in being seen, can blind.

### *DIABOLUS IN MUSICA: LISZT AND THE DEMONIC*

Derek B. Scott  
University of Salford

I am seeking to answer a number of questions concerning the role Liszt played in the establishment of demonic genres, the techniques he employed in representing the demonic, and their impact on his stylistic development. A wider issue is how we interpret the demonic in Liszt and whether this subject matter brings with it certain structural constraints for the composer.

It is scarcely a coincidence that two celebrated evocations of the demonic that precede Liszt's efforts are both found in operas: Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787) and Weber's *Der Freischütz* (1821). A staged spectacle is an efficient means of establishing particular connotations for musical devices, following which they may acquire a degree of independence as musical signs that can be employed in instrumental programmatic forms. Building on the work of predecessors and contemporaries, Liszt plays an important part in establishing particular demonic genres, such as the *danse macabre*, the demonic scherzo, the demonic ride, and the more abstract study like *Unstern* (a dark counterpart to the *méditation religieuse* genre).

I contend that the primary demonic technique for Liszt is that of negation: negation of the beautiful, the noble, the graceful, and so forth. The secondary technique is parody, though qualities are often negated and parodied (or mocked) at the same time. I relate Liszt's strategies to ideas of the demonic in the work of Goethe and Kierkegaard.

*Saturday afternoon, 17 November*

**EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION  
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**Margarita Mazo, Ohio State University, Chair**

**“MY ONLY FAULT WAS BEING A GOOD PATRIOT”: NEW SOURCES  
FROM ERNST VON DOHNÁNYI’S POLITICAL PORTFOLIO**

James A. Grymes  
Florida State University

When Hungary became aligned with Nazi Germany, Ernst von Dohnányi (1877–1960) actively contested the new anti-Semitic regulations and eventually resigned in protest from his positions as the director of the Franz Liszt Academy, the conductor of the Budapest Philharmonic, and the music director of the Hungarian Radio. He ultimately fled his war-torn homeland when the Russian army began working its way towards Budapest.

At the end of World War II, the new Soviet-controlled Hungarian government punished Dohnányi, who as a senator had signed anti-Russian legislation prior to the Soviet invasion of Hungary, by accusing him of being a war criminal. As Dohnányi himself explained, “My only fault was . . . that as a member of the Hungarian House of Lords I signed—like other members of the House who were good patriots—the foundation of the ‘Nemzeti Szövetség’ (National Association), which was directed against the Russians.” For the next decade, Dohnányi fought a barrage of false charges that used as their only documentation sources from the Russian-dominated Hungarian government and the communist Hungarian-American newspaper *Az Ember*.

This paper will examine the contents of a portfolio that includes government documents and personal endorsements from prominent musicians, some of whom, such as Léo Weiner, risked their lives by sending letters of support through the Iron Curtain. This marks the first time that Dohnányi’s heirs have allowed these papers to be studied. The newly uncovered sources provide an invaluable insight into Dohnányi’s struggle to restore his political reputation and revitalize his career.

**WRITING A COMMUNIST LIFE:  
ANDRÁS MIHÁLY AND THE POSSIBILITY OF MUSICAL DISSENT**

Danielle Fosler-Lussier  
Princeton University

Some recent discussions have forced composers who were active under Communist regimes into categories of “dissidence” or “complicity.” The career of András Mihály, one of postwar Hungary’s most important composers, prompts a more nuanced understanding of the tensions involved in composing within a totalitarian system. Mihály was a committed Communist and an avid spokesman for socialist realism, but he also struggled to preserve Bartók’s modernist legacy despite the Party’s increasingly strident disapproval of Bartók’s

music. Partly due to the conflict over Bartók, Mihály fell out of favor and was officially censured in 1950.

Relying on recently disclosed archival documents, I trace Mihály's negotiations between musical traditions and political authority from 1945 to 1956. Through detailed examination of Mihály's 1953 Concerto for Cello and Orchestra, his first major work after his denunciation, I demonstrate that labeling a composer who worked under a totalitarian regime as a villain or as a hero must often miss the point. Mihály's concerto contains formal allusions to and even direct quotations from several of Bartók's works that had been banned from performance; at the same time, the concerto clearly strives in other ways to fulfill the criteria of accessibility and lyricism endorsed by Party officials. The work can hardly be read as an attempt to convey a hidden message, for the quotations are prominent and unmistakable. Rather, the concerto communicates an ambivalence singularly appropriate to the political reality in which it was created, an ambivalence that mirrors its creator's tenuous position as a Communist composer.

### ANDREY VOLKONSKY, THE "YOUNG COMPOSERS," AND TWELVE-TONE MUSIC IN THE SOVIET UNION, 1956–1962

Peter J. Schmelz  
University of California, Berkeley

After Stalin's death in 1953, governmental controls on art and society in the Soviet Union began gradually to relax, a process that lasted well into the 1960s and became popularly known as the "Thaw." It was at this time that the generation of Soviet composers schooled in the 1950s began to embrace a variety of prohibited avant-garde compositional techniques, foremost among them twelve-tone music. The Soviet press called this generation the *molodie kompozitori*, or "young composers," whose ranks included composers like Alfred Schnittke, Edison Denisov, and Arvo Pärt. But the first Soviet composer to write dodecaphonic music was the little-known but highly influential "young composer" Andrey Volkonsky (b. 1933). The first public performances of Andrey Volkonsky's early twelve-tone compositions and their models, compositional techniques, and reception will be the subjects of the paper.

The premieres of Volkonsky's first twelve-tone pieces, the idiosyncratic *Musica Stricta* (1956) and *Suite of Mirrors* (1960), were landmark concerts that exerted a powerful influence on both audiences and his colleagues. The overall style of this music stood directly at odds with official Socialist Realist aesthetic doctrine. For audiences these concerts became a means of resistance, yet of a paradoxical sort, for in the context of the Thaw these strictly-constructed twelve-tone pieces became identified with freedom. Volkonsky was the "young composer" most frequently castigated by Soviet officialdom in the early 1960s, which forced him to stop composing but also unintentionally guaranteed his impact on the remainder of the musical Thaw.

MUSIC ANALYSIS IN THE SOVIET UNION:  
INTEGRALISTS VS. FORMALISTS

Ildar Khannanov

University of California, Santa Barbara

Behind the Iron Curtain, for seven decades, music theory developed under unique conditions. Little is known in the West about the details of this development. My paper presents the way in which analysis was taught at the Moscow Conservatory during the 1970s and 80s. Among the most important conceptual battles of that time was a debate in which so-called “integral analysis” challenged traditional formal analysis by raising questions that still remain unanswered. Integral analysis was an attempt to overcome the conventional limits of the formal analysis and to gather a number of disciplines under one analytical roof. Despite this noble claim, it diluted the notion of form and, as a result, much of the coherence of analysis suffered. An important side note is that the debate between “formalists” and “integralists” occurred in an atmosphere of intolerance toward formalism. Both “integralists” (Leo Mazel, Victor Zuckerman, Vladimir Bobrovsky) and “formalists” (Igor Sposobin, Yuri Tjulín, Yuri Kholopov) closely followed the classical European tradition of A. B. Marx and H. Riemann. Nevertheless, original formulations of purpose and strategies of analysis, indigenous to Soviet music theory, resulted from this passionate discussion.

**APPROACHES TO BIOGRAPHY**

**Christopher Gibbs, State University of New York, Buffalo, Chair**

PILGRIMAGES TO BEETHOVEN:  
REMINISCENCES BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES

K. M. Knittel

University of Texas, Austin

In the years following Beethoven's death, a flood of reminiscences were published by contemporaries who claimed to have met or visited Beethoven during his lifetime. It is scarcely surprising that so many people—there are approximately 150 accounts—were trying to capitalize on their connections to the world's most famous composer, a connection that would remain for many the highpoint of their lives. What is interesting, however, is that so many of these accounts fall into a specific form or framework, that of a quest plot or pilgrimage. Richard Wagner's short story “A Pilgrimage to Beethoven,” written in 1841, is unlikely to be the source of these plots, but nevertheless the stories do all share with Wagner a focus not on Beethoven, but on the visitor as hero and protagonist. While these stories have been examined for their biographical information, they have never been examined as evidence for the reception of Beethoven's music. When comparing the stories of visiting Beethoven to analyses of his music from around the same time, we find that both man and music are difficult, demand effort, and yet yield their secrets to those who are willing to search them out and are deserving. Analysis thus has a similar goal to that of the stories: to become acquainted with the true Beethoven in order to show one's own superiority. My paper will explore the structure of these stories and their relation to analysis in order to scrutinize the belief that Beethoven is not—and perhaps should not be—available to everyone.

BEETHOVEN'S IMMORTAL BELOVED:  
EVIDENCE AGAINST ALMERIE ESTERHÁZY

Rita Steblin  
University of Victoria

With a flurry of press publicity, a new candidate—Almerie Esterházy (1789–1848)—was recently presented as the recipient of Beethoven's passionate letter from 1812 to his Immortal Beloved. The case for Almerie was formulated decades ago by the Czech musician Jaroslav Celeda, now deceased. Celeda's unpublished article was then revised/translated by three Beethoven scholars, Oldrich Pulkert (Prague), Hans-Werner Küthen (Bonn), and William Meredith (San Jose), and published in the *Beethoven Journal* (Summer 2000). Unfortunately, this international team of experts failed to check the validity of Celeda's sources.

I will use the published memoirs of Almerie's father, an important French diplomat, and new archival documents to show that much of the factual material presented is false. For example, Almerie's father died in 1805, not in 1813 as stated in the article's genealogical chart. Thus, he could not have opposed Beethoven's supposed wish to marry Almerie. Evidence garnered from Almerie's musical estate also argues against her candidacy. Celeda used a work of fiction, Carl Pidoll's 1943 fabrication of Zmeskall's memoirs, as his model and, like Pidoll, mingled facts with fiction to create a good story.

Not a single piece of documentary evidence shows that Beethoven was even acquainted with Almerie, let alone that he was passionately in love with her. The real mystery concerns Josephine Brunswick, undisputed recipient of thirteen love letters from Beethoven and, in my opinion, the true Immortal Beloved. I will present new research from Hungarian archives that exposes a carefully-hidden secret in this fascinating woman's biography.

MUSICAL BIOGRAPHY AS A CULTURAL DISCOURSE:  
CHOPIN AS A CASE STUDY

Jolanta T. Pekacz  
University of Saskatchewan

Biography is probably the most methodologically neglected area of musicology, yet perhaps the most widely cultivated by musicologists and the most popular with the readers. Considering recent theoretical and methodological developments in literary and historical biography, serious reflection about the ways we approach biography as musicologists is long overdue.

Since Lytton Strachey at the beginning of the twentieth century, the goal of biography was to tell a coherent story about an identifiably unified individual; it was believed that there is a core personality that can be discovered if only a biographer digs deep and long enough. For most biographers of Chopin, one such unifying category and a marker of identity was his "Polishness."

In contrast, I argue that the identities are mobile, contested, multiple constructions of the self that depend as much on context as any defining traits of character. Hence, if we are to explore the complexities of Chopin it is necessary to see him as an individual with multiple selves whose different manifestations reflected the passage of time, and the demands and options of different settings.

Further, I also argue for a biography that not only partakes in, but also becomes a form of, cultural discourse. The biographer, in recreating the subject and context of his subject, not only represents the past and its culture and transmits it to his readers, but also re-orders it.

FINDING THEIR VOICES:  
NEW (AUTO-)BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES FOR WOMEN MUSICIANS IN  
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

James Deaville  
McMaster University

Musicologist La Mara (Marie Lipsius) published in 1882 the fifth of her *Musikalische Studienköpfe* under the title *Die Frauen im Tonleben der Gegenwart*, which was the first collection of biographical essays about German women musicians. All but unknown to contemporary musicology, this book serves as an important early source about women composers and performers in Germany of the late nineteenth century: its value increases because La Mara relied upon the artists themselves for her information, gathered through letters and questionnaires. La Mara's detailed biographical questions to the women and her "objective" literary working out of their responses expose her own purpose, which—within the traditionally legitimating format of the biographical dictionary—was to present women as productive contributors to German musical life, equally important as male musicians.

As a result of her lexical approach, La Mara had to remove marks of difference between her subjects. This heightens our interest today in the musicians' original, unpublished communications to La Mara that are preserved in archives in Weimar and Leipzig. A study of these new autobiographical documents—from such musicians as Clara Schumann, Teresa Carreño and Ingeborg von Bronsart—affords the first comprehensive and comparative insights into how women musicians in the German-speaking world constructed their own gendered identities in the late nineteenth century. In relation to the dominant patriarchal order, the responses to La Mara range from complicity (Schumann) to subversion (Carreño), a variety that reflects the continuum of positions adopted by different generations of women musicians in Germany at a time of nascent social change, in which the emerging *Frauenbewegung* would play a major role.

**MUSIC AND MONARCHY IN EARLY MODERN FRANCE**  
**Downing Thomas, University of Iowa, Chair**

CONTROL THE CITY AND CONTROL THE STATE: THE TE DEUM  
AND PENITENTIAL PROCESSIONS UNDER HENRY III

Kate van Orden  
University of California, Berkeley

Civil war confronted Henry III (reigned 1574–1589) with unprecedented challenges: forced public opinion, pamphleteering, and swelling mobs. Savvy to the political theater created by his appearances, Henry launched an extraordinary counteroffensive of royal processions. The Te Deum ceremony was especially successful; it featured the traditional hymn of acclaim for rulers and usually included a procession from the Louvre to Notre Dame, a Mass,

a psalm, fireworks at the Hôtel de Ville, cannon fire, wine for soldiers, and parallel ceremonies throughout the realm. Ordered to celebrate military victories, the repossession of contested territories allowed Henry to retake the cities as well, pacifying his subjects with song and *feux de joye*. Singing crowds internalized the hymn's message of divine majesty ("Tu Rex gloriae"), reminded of the king's unique sacredness and their membership in his Christ-like body politic.

City folk ordinarily received news through bell-ringing, street song, public cry, sermon, religious ritual, royal progress, and artillery fire, forms that the royal processions mobilized around the king. Popular appropriations witness the formula's success: 72,000 singing pilgrims emulated Henry's white-robed penitential marches (his included polyphonic motets), Catholic mobs sang the Te Deum while parading Protestants about on asses, pamphlets sported song texts written to its tune, and translations of it circulated as spiritual chansons.

Drawing together evidence from French polyphonic settings, engravings, diaries, and printed accounts of dozens of Te Deums and *processions blanches*, I argue that these ceremonies recruited religious symbolism, hymnody, firepower, and motets to serve a new era of public politics.

À L'OUVERTURE DES ENFERS: ROYAL ENTRÉE AND SUBVERSIVE  
"OTHER" IN THE *TRAGÉDIE EN MUSIQUE*

Geoffrey V. Burgess  
Jersey City, New Jersey

Amidst the controversies surrounding the French overture, musicologists have overlooked the presence of its musical structure in dramatic contexts quite distinct from its usual position at the beginning of opera or suite. In French operas from Lully to Rameau, instrumental movements beginning in duple meter with dotted rhythms followed by a faster section in a contrasting meter are also common in demonic scenes. I call this "Other" overture the *entrée funeste*.

As well as demonstrating the structural similarities and stylistic idiosyncrasies of majestic *entrée* and demonic invocation, this paper considers the consequences of the striking similarities between these complementary movements. Drawing on examples from works by Lully, Charpentier, Marais, and Rameau, I argue that in both dramatic contexts, this musical gesture represents authority, but authority of antithetical valences. While the overture is identified with monarch and operatic hero, its distorted "Other," the *entrée funeste*, symbolizes sovereignty's Other, the sorceress, at the moment when she summons forth the powers of darkness to challenge her royal adversary.

The structural analogy between overture and *entrée funeste* points to the reciprocity of the power represented by the sovereign who brings the opera into existence, and the sorceress who challenges his sovereignty. I propose that the sorceress plays a crucial role in the *tragédie en musique* as she provides the means of revealing the underside of sovereign power, that which it must deny, and of incorporating the subversive within the sovereign order.

GOVERNING THE PASSIONS, GOVERNING THE STATE: LULLY'S  
*ALCESTE* AND THE PROBLEM OF CARTESIAN METAPHYSICS

Donald B. Chae  
 University of Chicago

Throughout the seventeenth century, philosophers were obsessed with the definition, categorization, and, ultimately, the control of the human passions. Absolute monarchs such as Louis XIV shared the philosophers' concerns, since the regulation of the passions figured prominently in the management of a well-ordered state. Not surprisingly, music would prove a useful tool for the sovereign, for it was thought to be efficacious in tempering, soothing, and, when necessary, arousing the passions. In this light, I consider the intersection of music, the passions, and sovereign power in the early Lullian *tragédie en musique*, particularly *Alceste*, through a reading of four landmarks of seventeenth-century thought: Descartes' *Passions de l'âme* and *Compendium Musicae*, and Jean-François Senault's *L'usage des passions* and *Le monarque*. After Cartesian metaphysics opened a gulf between body and soul, the misalignment between these fundamental yet opposed constituents of man would henceforth render the passions an agent of personal and social discord. In response, Senault suggests that individuals might transmute their passions into orderly virtue by emulating a divine or royal model. *Alceste* represents just such a model king, for the opera envoies a paradigmatic world in which a sovereign figure enables courtiers to overcome their passions. Lully's musical setting most forcefully projects this mimetic potential at two points: when the sovereign-hero manipulates the collective passions of his soldiers; and when a royal example engenders the reconciliation of two rivals. These musical representations thus engage the central philosophical problem of the century: in restoring order to the passions, they presume to mend the Cartesian rift and re-align the interests of body and soul.

IDEOLOGICAL NOISES:  
 OPERA CRITICISM IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Charles Dill  
 University of Wisconsin, Madison

Modern discussions of early French opera criticism have focused, rightly, on key skirmishes: ancients versus moderns, French music versus Italian, *lullistes* versus *ramistes*. These, however, are symptoms of an ongoing battle between competing views of culture, among them between a nostalgia for the France of Louis XIV and, alternatively, a fascination with other expressive outlets. From the usually non-committal *Mercur de France* to the most biased anonymous screeed, commentators continuously questioned the role of opera in society.

This paper will analyze the more conservative, nostalgic discourses as a form of cultural denegation, focusing specifically on their constant invocations of raw sound: the characterization of certain musics as noise (e.g., whistling), animal cries (e.g., the meowing of cats), or the sounds made by savages (e.g., "Iroquois"). These are, I will argue, more than simple polemical devices. They show the hegemonic culture defining itself over and against what it was not and what it was afraid of becoming; in the language of French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, these metaphors were determining and selective agents, used to reterritorialize a ground critics perceived France as having lost. By portraying certain musics as non-human or

otherwise insignificant, critics used an argument *ad hominem* to maintain existing cultural values.

Music *qua* noise, in this instance, functioned precisely in the manner proposed by the economist Jacques Attali in his 1977 book, *Bruits*: as a marker for social formations of power. These characterizations provide us with an intimate view of the cultural work certain repertoires involved and of the interested manner in which critical languages came into being.

## METAPHYSICS OF EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY THEORY

David Yearsley, Cornell University, Chair

### DEEP SUBJECTS: MUSIC, METAPHOR, ROMANTICISM

Holly Watkins

University of California, Berkeley

In his 1839 *Allgemeine Musiklehre*, influential music critic A. B. Marx bemoans the popularity of Italian and French opera and their supposed elevation of outward or external effect over internal richness and depth. Marx's demonization of romance-language opera would be echoed by later German commentary, and this paper traces how the metaphorical underpinnings of his diatribe—encapsulated in the binary pairs inward/outward and deep/superficial—exerted a lasting influence on nineteenth-century thought about music. I argue that the metaphors of inwardness and depth served as conduits through which music and a distinctively German Romantic subject became fundamentally linked. On the one hand, for aestheticians such as Wackenroder, music helped to define the subject by granting access to its newly-valued inner depths. On the other hand, music specialists began to grant music a kind of provisional subjectivity: Marx, for example, posits that an “inward tendency” binds extended musical works into wholes. Inwardness, a notion strongly tied to eighteenth-century Pietism, was perhaps the defining quality of the German Romantic subject. Wholeness, as one of a cluster of values which would later coalesce into the concept of *Bildung*, was not only a watchword of organicism but an important goal for the cultivated subject.

I propose that investing music with qualities of the subject was crucial in the establishment of music analysis as a distinct practice, and I suggest that the allure of music's depths, an allure which grew as analysis' methods were refined, stems primarily from the nationalist overtones of German subject-definition resonating in the metaphor of depth itself.

### THE NATURE OF THE LEARNED STYLE: COUNTERPOINT IN NORTHERN GERMANY, C. 1800–1820

Keith Chapin

Stanford University

In eighteenth-century European musical discourse, as Elaine Sisman has noted, counterpoint enjoyed the status of a rhetorical “high” or “sublime style.” Although the analogy was apt, another association took hold in North-German Enlightenment aesthetics: counterpoint was nature rationalized. With the prestige of ineffable genius on the rise, the ideal of attaining sure knowledge of nature persisted undiminished. By placing the learned style

within the context of North-German debates about rational knowledge and art, this paper illuminates two aspects of the history of counterpoint. First, the combination of Enlightenment ideals and contrapuntal tradition gave Northern Germany a geographically and intellectually distinct take on the “learned style.” Second, while critics all associated counterpoint with nature, their diverse views on Enlightenment gave their respective counterpoints different foundations, characters, and models.

Heinrich Christoph Koch, Christian Friedrich Michaelis, and E.T.A. Hoffmann serve as case studies of three views: mechanistic, Kantian/Schillerian, and Romantic. Each was the basis for the next, but also continued independently through the nineteenth century. In Koch’s dictionaries, the “grammar” of counterpoint, based on acoustics and encoded in precepts of correctness, taught composers to manipulate sound according to principles of objective nature. Michaelis reinterpreted counterpoint’s objectivity from the subjective standpoint of Kant’s theory of mind. Hoffmann construed counterpoint as having a sublimely violent effect on individual subjectivity. In these three writers, counterpoint and the nature it represents changes from cool balance toward mannerist turbulence, from “grammar” (Koch) to musical “epic” (Michaelis) to “mysterious and terrible combinations of tones” (Hoffmann). Seen in this way, the learned style records the fate of Enlightenment.

## MUSIC AND POLITICS

Hugh Macdonald, Washington University, Chair

### THE “LOCAL POLITICS” OF BERLIOZ’S *SYMPHONIE MILITAIRE*

Peter Bloom  
Smith College

The story of the commissioning of the work that became the *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale* would seem to be straightforward. In April 1840, the then Minister of the Interior, Charles de Rémusat, invited Berlioz to write a symphony to be performed out-of-doors as a tenth-anniversary commemoration of those who had died during *les Trois Glorieuses*. The commemoration was to be a two-part affair, with music for a funeral procession that would depart from Saint-Germain l’Auxerrois (the church across the plaza to the east of the Louvre) and move through the boulevards to the Place de la Bastille; and a hymn for the inauguration of the newly constructed Colonne de Juillet.

The miserable acoustics of the boulevards and the Place soon led Berlioz to revise the piece for concert performance (and to proclaim that outdoor music “does not exist”). What needs further explanation is why Rémusat insisted upon this particular sort of funeral ceremony (the itinerary and the intervention of the national guard that spoiled Berlioz’s *Hymne d’adieu* were by no means fortuitous), and why he turned for the music to the composer of *Roméo et Juliette*. In fact Berlioz was a favorite of the régime (as shall be elaborated here) and was warmly associated with the heir to the throne, who would soon accept the dedication of the published score. Both by reputation and comportment, we claim, Berlioz suited Rémusat’s promotion of a return to the origins of the July Monarchy, at a time of political crises at home and abroad, and of a rebirth of the eclectic and liberal *orléanisme* of the earlier 1830s.

A TONIC TO THE NATION:  
THE FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN OPERA COMPETITION

Nathaniel Geoffrey Lew  
University of California, Berkeley

In 1951 the British government mounted the Festival of Britain, a nationwide celebration of native industry and culture. In preparation, the Arts Council of Great Britain embarked on an ambitious exercise in support of British music: an anonymous competition for new operas. However, political and planning difficulties rendered the competition a fiasco. This paper traces this unprecedented episode in British operatic history. It presents for the first time archival documents that reveal the identities of all 117 contestants and the criteria by which the judges chose the four winners. Revelation of the winning composers proved disappointing, if not embarrassing, to those counting on a triumph for British opera: two were German Jewish refugees, one was an Australian, and the only native Englishman, Alan Bush, was an outspoken communist. Final decisions had come too late for productions during the 1951 season; with the end of the Festival, funding for opera decreased and the Arts Council soon abandoned the commissioned works. Commentators have suggested that the Arts Council, BBC, and opera companies deliberately let the winners languish rather than having to promote works politically incongruent with the national image projected by the Festival. To this day, none of the winning scores has been produced by a major British opera company.

The opera scheme offers conflicting lessons. An example of the power and importance of modern institutions of state patronage, the competition also demonstrated the political pitfalls such institutions can face and their limitations in the stimulation of native talent.

**MUSICAL GUIDES**

**Theresa Muir, Brooklyn, New York, Chair**

LABELS FOR WAGNERIANS: LEITMOTIFS AS CONSTRUCTS OF  
MIDDLE-CLASS WAGNER RECEPTION, 1876–1914

Christian Thorau  
Harvard University

By naming, systematizing and interpreting the motifs of Wagner's *Musikdramen* the mythologist and linguist Hans von Wolzogen inaugurated the dominating music approach of Wagnerism up to World War I. His thematic guides (*Thematische Leitfäden*) were taken as the official instruction for understanding Wagner and in librettos and piano scores merged with the work. Yet the unpublished correspondence between Wagner and Wolzogen (Nationalarchiv, Bayreuth) shows that the composer neglected Wolzogen's role as a music mediator and underestimated how strongly the image of his music would be shaped by this musical layman.

Wolzogen's textbooks set off a flood of imitative works and became the prototype for a new Cicerone literature, studied and carried by the well-prepared listener, as a "decent tourist" (Hanslick). As epigonic texts aimed at the general public these guidebooks between 1876 and 1914 have been ignored in the scholarly literature but are nonetheless important sources

for middle-class music reception. These brochures established an educational function for Wagner's music for the *Bildungsbürgertum* in attempting to promulgate a new, demanding way of listening (or pretending to do so). The strong semantic "surplus value" of the leitmotifs was played off against a hedonistic way of traditional opera listening and catered to listeners' self-esteem. Recognizing motifs meant being a "better" listener, responding both emotionally and intellectually. In retrospect the labeled, interpreted, and canonized leitmotifs have proven to be a powerful marketing strategy for the Wagnerians.

GROVE IN PERSPECTIVE:  
THE FIRST *DICTIONARY OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS*

Leanne Langley  
Goldsmiths College, University of London

George Grove's *Dictionary*, issued in twenty-five parts between 1878 and 1889, became something he never imagined even before it was finished. His name, soon synonymous with the book, accrued an almost religious authority he never sought. Projected to the top of a field in which he always disclaimed his own expertise, he has since become easy prey in revisionist theories about culture formation in the nineteenth century and about the value of "facts" in general. Grove was neither scholarly hero nor cultural villain, however; he was a music enthusiast seeking to win new converts. Through investigation of the *Dictionary's* background, execution, and reception—never undertaken by anyone until now—I will place both the man and his achievement in truer perspective.

Grove's contracts with Macmillan, his editorial methods, and the printing of the *Dictionary* fascicles (revealed in ledgers at Oxford) show unsuspected challenges to the project as well as ingenious solutions. Problems of tone and content in individual articles gave way to those of scope and balance across the alphabet. As new music research, fresh assistance, and public reaction to each part came through, "mission creep" set in. The editor altered his original concept and lost control. Yet to his own amazement, and that of his skeptical publisher, music scholarship sold books—some 14,000 by the year 1901. In uncovering the roots of the "Grove" tradition, this paper will spark reconsideration not only of modern lexicography, but of the fruitful tension between commerce and music-intellectual work in nineteenth-century Britain.

**SIRENS**

**Daniel Chua, King's College, London, Chair**

SIRENS: ON THE SEDUCTIVE APPEARANCE OF BEETHOVEN'S  
"HEILIGER DANKGESANG"

James Robert Currie  
Columbia University

Sublimely unaware of their own apparent ability to contain and temper potentially fractious opposites, the *Molto adagio* sections of the third movement of Beethoven's Op. 132 exude an aura that it seems profane to interpret as anything other than a force of good. They

seamlessly fuse the impersonality, authority, and “otherness” of both the distant past and religion—Lydian harmonies and learned, even “archaic” counterpoint—with the intimate image of an individual giving thanks. They awe us, to the extent that the two charming Andante sections with which they alternate strike us as galant interruptions, merely increasing our longing for the Adagios’ return. As the trajectory of Beethoven’s works and those of other Classical composers are directed so frequently toward resolution and “right,” one might expect that the rest of Op. 132 would attempt either to sustain or surpass the “Heiliger Dankgesang’s” state of grace. What follows, though, is a gauche march, a hysterical recitative, and a furious and rather schizoid finale. Most commentary, by concentrating on the “Heiliger Dankgesang” in and of itself, excuses itself tacitly from having to examine this musical “fall from grace.” However, as a result, scholars fall into the trap that the movement itself sets. I argue that, siren-like, the idealistic appearance of the “Heiliger Dankgesang” threatens to seduce us into forgetting the difficulties left over from the opening two movements and thereby distracts from the ethical requirement of Classical instrumental cycles—namely, that all problems be addressed. Metaphorically, the concluding movements cover their ears to the song of the “Heiliger Dankgesang” so as to attempt to focus on negotiating the problematic backlog from the work’s opening movements. It is now time that we question the myth of this movement’s inviolability.

## SOUND AND SHAPE: *ULYSSES’ SIRENS’ SONGS*

Alan Shockley  
Princeton University

James Joyce had difficulty letting go of *Ulysses*. He continually rewrote, at times revising in favor of earlier versions, at times inserting wholly new text. After publication, he circulated his notes and two schemata; the way *Ulysses* is understood has been filtered through these somewhat misleading charts ever since.

*Ulysses* has no chapter titles. The schemata create these, and chapter titles are not the only covers in which Joyce wrapped his book: to discuss “Aeolus” without confronting rhetorical techniques or “Oxen of the Sun” without mentioning the color white would be strikingly unconventional. Chapter II, the “Sirens” chapter, borrows, therefore, according to the author himself, its narrative technique from music, using a specific, strict method of ordering music, the fugue.

But does it? Readers have looked at “Sirens” as if handed a dusty score, emblazoned at its head “fuga per canonem.” I argue instead that although *Ulysses’* eleventh chapter is a literary work that borrows music, it does not steal its form from Bach. Rather it offers a form interpenetrated with musical structures and allusions, containing a richness and formal complexity which critics overlook attempting to squeeze its pages into the shape of something from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*. I suggest that far from fitting such constrictions, “Sirens,” like the novel’s whole text, both adheres to and evades the rules by which critics seek to confine it.

I will look at the music of “Sirens” and at the literature of “Sirens” as music, drawing connections with Bach, Lutosławski, Wagner, Berio, Arthur Sullivan, Donizetti, street urchins, and Joyce’s Jesuit instructors.

*Saturday evening, 17 November*

**PANEL DISCUSSION**

**NEGRO SPIRITUALS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:  
VEHICLES OF MEMORY, VINDICATION, AND DESIRE**

**Marva Griffin Carter, Georgia State University, Co-Chair**

**Lawrence Schenbeck, Spelman College, Co-Chair**

**Paul Allen Anderson, University of Michigan**

**Jon Cruz, University of California, Santa Barbara**

**Willie Strong, Yale University**

Multiple and constantly shifting receptions of the Negro spiritual in the United States after the Civil War offer compelling evidence of its function as a bellwether of American attitudes toward race, class, nationalism, modernism, and more. Spirituals, cited by Douglass as proof of the horrors of slavery, soon became artifacts prized by white collectors, “wonderful music of bondage” cited now as proof of blacks’ capacity for Christian belief. Conversely, many freedmen came to despise them as reminders of an unhappy past.

As the new century progressed, influential segments of both black and white society persisted in studying, arranging, and performing spirituals. Classically trained black singers used them to show pride in their heritage and to rehearse tropes of dignity, deep feeling, and sincere Christianity. Negro Renaissance aesthetes called for their use in symphonies and string quartets, partly to show that a more civilized class of black Americans had arisen. Meanwhile, certain white critics strove to exhibit knowledge and approval of “authentic” black music, valorizing the spontaneous and untutored.

The demise of the Renaissance—or its evolution into a bolder African-American nationalism—set the stage for yet another twist in the fortunes of the spiritual. At the end of the twentieth century, historians, sociologists, and musicologists continue to explore the varied meanings that this body of music has held. In assembling an interdisciplinary group of scholars, we hope to illuminate commonalities of approach and also to suggest useful complementarities in work on a genre that has embraced both folk and cultivated traditions, evoked both black and white responses. Our panelists address the topic in macro and micro, sketching broad theoretical and methodological issues in the social sciences without neglecting individual stories.

Cruz outlines religious and political currents during the second half of the nineteenth century that resulted in the analytical mapping of the Negro spiritual. His statement strives to open a critical discussion on historically specific modes by which the spiritual was appropriated and came to serve as a window into both social crisis (modernity) and subjects in crisis (slavery). Anderson reconstructs debate among Harlem Renaissance intellectuals over the formalization of spirituals for the concert stage. Whereas cosmopolitan critics like Du Bois and Locke fostered alignment of a black-coded folk nationalism with dominant European standards, others worked to undermine those Eurocentric “New Negro” ideals. By examining Hall Johnson’s three Negro spiritual categories, Carter explores the African, folk, and “New Negro” sensibilities exemplified in these arrangements. Strong considers recent

shifts in black musical aesthetics from rural- to urban-based wellsprings and the role of those phenomena in repositioning the spiritual in nationalist discourses: since World War II, separatist/assimilationist dynamics in African-American experience have been given voice by other black musics. Schenbeck surveys the reception of music by R. Nathaniel Dett, an adherent of “New Negro” ideals whose relationships with white critics and patrons both enabled and circumscribed his career.

*Sunday morning, 18 November*

**PATRONAGE**

**David Crawford, University of Michigan, Chair**

**POLITICS AND MUSIC: CIVIC PATRONAGE OF MUSIC  
IN LATE MEDIEVAL SOUTHERN FRANCE**

Gretchen Peters

University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

My past research has established that civic patronage of music in the principal urban centers in late medieval southern France was at least comparable to and often rivaled that of other major European cities. A comparison of Montpellier, Toulouse, and Avignon has suggested that the extent to which the city government was subject to external authority affected the degree and nature of its civic sponsorship of music. In this paper, civic musical practices will be established for smaller cities in southern France (5,000 to 25,000), specifically Marseilles, Aix-en-Provence, Albi, Nîmes, and Narbonne. In contrast to Montpellier and Toulouse with their official civic wind bands, minstrels were typically hired on an *ad hoc* basis and only trumpeters held salaried positions. This paper will also establish the relationship between civic musical practices and the socio-political history of the city. For example, this paper will consider why the city of Narbonne, which was almost comparable in size to Toulouse, hired only *ad hoc* minstrels for such occasions as the visit of the King of France in 1389. Or, it will discuss how in Albi, a city where the Bishop struggled to maintain power, the ceremonial trumpeter was in the employ of the Bishop, not the city council. Based upon new archival information, this paper significantly expands the picture of urban musical culture for a country where the image has only started to emerge, and it places the music into a broader political and social framework, offering greater context and meaning to “the urban soundscape.”

**SPAIN IS DIFFERENT: PATRONAGE OF MUSIC  
BY THE SPANISH NOBILITY IN THE RENAISSANCE**

Roberta Freund Schwartz

University of Kansas, Lawrence

Current scholarship acknowledges that the patronage of music by the Spanish nobility in the sixteenth century had a substantial impact on the development and dissemination of genres and styles. However, almost nothing is known of the establishments of the noble courts, their methods of supporting musicians and the creation of new works, or the overarching modalities of patronage outside the royal sphere.

This study, based on records of the Alba, Lerma, Gandía, Arcos, and four other noble lines, suggests that the unique societal position of Spain's aristocracy—vastly influential within its own domains yet subjugated by the crown and lacking competition from a strong bourgeoisie—resulted in a complex mixture of approaches to musical patronage. Financial accounts, inventories, foundation statutes, and correspondence reveal the identities, duties, and compensations of musicians, the repertoires favored in different courts, and the various

means by which individual noble houses resolved the problem of demonstrating wealth and culture (yet avoiding competition with the crown) despite the fluctuating financial stability of their estates.

Though patronal practices differed considerably, certain commonalities emerge: the foundation of musical establishments in Collegiate churches and monasteries (which functioned independently when service to the empire required prolonged absences of patrons from their domains); small musical organizations whose members were primarily locally recruited talents; and few specific demands for new compositions. This pattern, favoring local musicians and creative independence, contributed substantially to the cultivation and preservation of diverse and indigenous musical styles and genres, such as *ensaladas* and *cantares de sala*.

## THE MUSICIANS OF SALISBURY HOUSE: PATRONAGE REDEFINED

Rachelle Taylor  
McGill University

A Catholic tract of 1592 labeled Elizabeth I's government *Regnum Cecilianum*, the hallmark of which was surveillance. Evidence of a late Tudor and early Stuart culture of surveillance erected by the hugely ambitious Cecils (William, Lord Burghley and his son and political heir Robert, Lord Salisbury) has assisted literary critics in their re-evaluation of dramatic works from this period.

The constant discourse on treason, exacerbated in 1570 by Pope Pius V's promulgation of the bull of excommunication *Regnans in excelsis* which drove the English Catholic nobility into exile, prison, or debt, also dealt a severe blow to artistic patronage. Many musicians had no other recourse but to join the ranks of the elaborate and efficient Cecilian secret service in order to supplement their incomes. By 1603, when James I ascended the throne, Salisbury House amounted to a small conservatoire that employed, among others, the Lanier family, Giovanni Coperario, Henry Phillips, the Irish harper Cormac Dermode, and the peripatetic organ builder Thomas Dallam.

Robert Cecil was a widower with a small absentee family. Why did he hire such a large group of musicians? An examination of payment records, correspondence, and other state papers now preserved at Hatfield House and in the Public Record Office reveals that Salisbury used his musicians as couriers on secret government business in order to maintain the effective and aggressive foreign policies initiated by his father.

## IN HONOR OF THE FLORENTINE CATHEDRAL: THE 1526 CONTRAFACTUM OFFICE OF ST. ZENOBIUS

Marica S. Tacconi  
Pennsylvania State University

By the end of the quattrocento, the cult of Florentine bishop-saint Zenobius had waned to its lowest level in centuries. As exemplified by the Florentine service books of the time, his office was no longer proper but was drawn instead from the common of the saints. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, however, the cult of St. Zenobius underwent a powerful revival, as reflected by the creation of new liturgical material in his honor. The 1526 antiphonary Cod. M n. 25 of the Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore of Florence

preserves a recently discovered Office for St. Zenobius, comprising thirty-five proper chants for Vespers, Matins, and Lauds. While the texts are newly written, most of the melodies are borrowed from other chants within the repertory of the Cathedral. Among the musical and liturgical derivations, melodies for the Annunciation and Immaculate Conception of the Virgin and for the Dedication of the Church are particularly significant.

This paper will first illustrate the 1526 contrafactum office, focusing on the various borrowed melodies and their liturgical derivations. It will become evident that by means of these explicit musical references, a complex web of liturgical-symbolic associations was established as a way to exalt not only St. Zenobius, but the Cathedral of Florence in particular. Secondly, this study will investigate the motivation which led to the creation of the new office, arguing that its introduction in the local liturgy was due to forces inspired by Florentine civic identity and political propaganda.

**MUSIC AND THE IDEA OF NATURE**  
**Annette Richards, Cornell University, Chair**

MUSIC AND THE BOOK OF NATURE: PYTHAGOREAN TRADITION  
 AND EMPIRICAL MATHEMATICS IN THE DISCOURSES OF  
 VINCENZO GALILEI

Brandon Konoval  
 University of British Columbia

Vincenzo Galilei's *Discourses* (1589–91) have received considerable scholarly attention in recent decades. Indeed, Vincenzo's investigations of musical consonance and dissonance have been said to articulate developments that were central to the practice and conceptual foundations of early modern science. In particular, Vincenzo's work has been taken to represent an early model of empirical science and a radical reformulation of the ontology of number essential to the birth of mathematical empiricism. Vincenzo is thereby portrayed as exorcising the numerological ghost of Pythagoras from both the musical and scientific thought of his era.

I review Vincenzo's confrontation with the traditional Pythagorean ratios of musical consonance and their Renaissance counterparts by considering both the experimental and the ontological claims of the *Discourses*. Furthermore, I examine the arena of this confrontation—the debate engaged by Vincenzo with Gioseffo Zarlino—highlighting the difficulties encountered by Vincenzo as he attempted to rationalize divergent experimental results, insofar as these reveal the fundamental ontological challenges confronting mathematical empiricism.

Far from “liberating” musical or scientific thought from an alleged tyranny of Pythagorean numerology, Vincenzo Galilei developed an “empirical numerology” in attempting to provide a coherent mathematical reading of phenomena that otherwise revealed no consistent mathematical identity. Thus, Vincenzo's *Discourses* posited a challenge, not a solution, to an empirical reading of the Book of Nature in both mathematical and musical terms; a challenge that was subsequently engaged by Galileo Galilei's *Discourses on Two New Sciences* (1638) and reformulated in the realm of motion.

## CHARLES BURNEY AND THE ORIGIN OF A NEW MODALITY

Matthew Gelbart  
University of California, Berkeley

Charles Burney undertook his work on Greek music with little enthusiasm: he slogged through it as the prehistory to the music he really cared about. This much has been well documented. But the historian's attempt to reconstruct the "old enharmonic" genus turned out to have a profound influence that has not been studied. While French theorists had already been writing about the similarity between the Greek and Chinese scales, Burney stirred in a new ingredient. Not only were the oldest Greek and Chinese scales identical, he calculated, but they accorded precisely with the "Scots scale" as well. From this he concluded that this scale was somehow "natural," shared by different societies during their "infancy." Burney's image of the Scots as wild children of nature was obviously the legacy the reception of "Ossian," but his own claim had far-reaching implications. It gave European scholars a musical link between their own rural peasantry and other "primitive" societies, through a "universal" pentatonic "scale of nature." Burney did not carry this idea further himself, but in his wake it was developed and expanded by many scholars. Several Scots were drawn to Burney's formulation, and historians such as Forkel were also quick to extend Burney's scale comparison to German folk music and other arenas. Thus Burney's work was in some ways as important as Herder's in the polarization of "folk" and "art" musics in European consciousness. It supplied a technical angle through which theorists could categorize music, and composers could invoke the *Volkston* for which they strove.

THE MATERNAL VOICE OF "NATURAL" MUSIC  
IN LATE ENLIGHTENMENT FRANCE

Catherine Cole  
University of Chicago

Gluck's sensational hits *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774) and *Alceste* (1776) were remarkable for their striking depictions of maternal love in the characters of Clytemnestra and Alceste. While motherhood has rarely been a prominent topos in Western opera, it had a sudden vogue at the Paris Opéra during the 1770s; in particular, the spectacle of distressed mothers separated from beloved children moved audiences to tears, and critics raved over the moral benefits of this emphasis on maternal sentiment. This paper argues that Gluck's operas articulated new ideologies promoting increased intimacy between mothers and children, situating maternal love at the core of female identity and advocating the maternal voice as a model for musical sound. Gluck's critical relationship to this discourse on music and mothers has gone unrecognized but was an essential factor in his phenomenal success with the Parisian public.

From the 1750s, influential writers began to advocate the "natural cries" of distressed mothers—particularly Clytemnestra—as ideal models for musical expression based in human nature. My paper reconstructs this discourse drawing upon evidence from Diderot's *Entretiens sur le fils naturel* (1757), Grimm's *Encyclopédie* article "Poème Lyrique" (1765), and pamphlets from the *querelle des Gluckistes et Piccinnistes* of the 1770s. These texts constituted blueprints for Gluck's stagings of motherhood at the Opéra, and an analysis of selected

passages from *Iphigénie en Aulide* and *Alceste* demonstrates how Gluck fulfilled the Enlightenment dream of “natural” music emanating from the maternal voice.

## CELLULAR-MODULAR ORGANIZATION AS AN INDICATOR OF NAHUA INFLUENCE ON COMPOSITIONS BY GASPAR FERNANDES

Timothy D. Watkins  
Tallahassee, Florida

The Oaxaca Codex, a composition notebook kept by the Portuguese composer Gaspar Fernandes (c. 1565–1629) while *maestro de capilla* at Mexico’s Puebla Cathedral (1606–1629), contains four compositions with texts in Nahuatl, the language of the Nahua culture (commonly known as Aztec). These compositions feature certain non-European stylistic elements that can only be explained with reference to Nahua culture.

Despite the existence of little direct information regarding the specifics of pre-conquest Nahua musical style, much is known about other aspects of the culture. Nahua culture was characterized by a way of understanding and organizing a variety of modes of discourse. This epistemological system can be detected in what anthropologist James Lockhart has called cellular or modular organization—“the aggregation of parts that remain relatively separate and self-contained, brought together by their common function and similarity, their place in some numerical or symmetrical arrangement, their rotational order, or all three.”

An analysis of two compositions with Nahuatl texts from the Oaxaca Codex shows that cellular-modular organization is an important feature of the music with regard to melody, harmony, rhythm, and formal design. The presence of such cellular-modular organization in these pieces constitutes evidence of previously unidentified Nahua influence on Mexican polyphonic music in the European tradition.

## ISSUES OF CANON IN JAZZ AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN MUSIC

Frank Tirro, Yale University, Chair

### DU “JAZZ HOT” À LA CRÉOLE: JOSEPHINE BAKER SINGS OFFENBACH

Andy Fry  
St John’s College, Oxford University / University of Pennsylvania

When Josephine Baker first arrived in Paris in 1925, her dancing to the “jazz hot” of *La Revue nègre* was, famously, perceived as a celebration of the “primitive” (and even a threat to French civilization). Yet the contrast marked by her 1934 performances in Offenbach’s *La Créole* has been largely overlooked: at once completing the construction and testing the limits of a complex redefinition of Baker as French-African(-American), this may be a historical moment of parallel importance.

The substantially reworked version of *La Créole*, performed for the first time in sixty years, restaged Baker’s own assimilation, a new black character serving as a foil for the “creole” Joséphine and marking her as “in-between”; in effect, it thematized her “creolization.” The similarities between this tale of colonial acclimation and accounts of Baker in “real life”

show how the success of *La Créole* was situated within the context of an insular French nationalism; how it (and he) served as an re-affirmation of France's *mission civilisatrice*.

But if the self-satisfaction with which the press typically regarded the French "capturing" of Baker was unsatisfactory, the few dissenting voices asking her to remain her old "self" (mostly in the name of a left-wing anti-colonialism) paradoxically risked insisting on her difference within an essentialized notion of black culture. Recognizing both personas as complicated constructions (and performances) for and by Baker produces a more favorable reading. Indeed, the unstable interpenetration of race and nation in France revealed by Baker's role in *La Créole* may hold an emancipatory potential.

ELLINGTON AS EARLY MUSIC:  
JAZZ REPERTORY ENSEMBLES AND THE CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS  
OF A "HISTORICALLY INFORMED" JAZZ

Dale Chapman  
University of California, Los Angeles

Recently, such jazz repertory ensembles as the Smithsonian Jazz Masterworks Orchestra or the Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra have introduced issues of historical performance practice into the genre of jazz. Their attempts at "period" rendering of the works of a Duke Ellington or a Miles Davis draw inevitable comparisons with the work of such figures as Roger Norrington or John Eliot Gardiner in the realm of Western art music and raise crucial questions about the relationships they infer between these two sets of musical practices. What function do repertory ensembles serve when we in many cases have access to "original" recordings? In the improvised musical sphere of jazz, what does it mean to import the composer-centered priorities of classical music?

My approach in this paper will be to explore some of the ramifications of this emergence of a "performance practice" phenomenon within the field of jazz. One potentially constructive aspect of this practice is its pedagogical value. Jazz students have always appropriated musical vocabulary through copying the recorded solos of musicians; the exercise of attempting to reproduce the timbral qualities, phrasing gestures, and rhythmic nuances of solos provides the student with the chance to embody alternative modes of being. However, jazz studies also stands to learn from the critiques offered by Richard Taruskin and Suzanne Cusick, who have each drawn attention to the ways in which performance practice proceeding from notions of authenticity pose difficult questions about the ethics of subordinating performers to the rule of the "composer's intentions."

LOCAL JAZZ:  
WORKING MUSICIANS, MODERNISM, AND THE CANON

David Ake  
University of Nevada, Reno

In recent years, popular and academic discourse on jazz has expanded to include a broad range of topics, from biographical narratives and formalist studies of style analysis to explorations of gender construction and racial identity among jazz cultures. Yet these works have tended to view such issues solely through the lens of canonic individuals. With a few notable

exceptions, authors and video documentarians have set their sights on a tightly circumscribed canon of select performers and composers: Armstrong, Ellington, and, more recently, Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk and Miles Davis. To be sure, each of these musicians has greatly influenced the sounds, looks, and meanings of jazz, and the studies about them have contributed enormously to our understandings of the music's past. But such a "star-centric" historiographical approach overlooks the work-a-day worlds of most jazz musicians, resulting in a somewhat skewed vision of jazz participation.

This paper addresses some of the advantages afforded by opening our perspectives to a wider, less canonical, perspective of the music. In particular, it looks to such areas as instrumentation, repertoire, stage comportment, and audience interaction among lesser-known musicians on jazz gigs, while raising some questions regarding deeply ingrained notions of "authenticity," ethnicity, and even geography in jazz. More to the point, exploring the professional reality of working musicians may reveal a more ambivalent attitude toward modernist (and, for that matter, post-modernist) aesthetics among some jazz communities, raising questions regarding the practical—as opposed to the media-constructed—status of jazz as "America's classical music."

"THREE PERIODS OF NEGRO MUSIC AND DRAMA" (1921–22):  
NEGOTIATING A PLACE FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS  
IN MUSIC HISTORY

Sarah Schmalenberger  
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Harriett Gibbs Marshall (1865–1941) was a pioneer American music educator. The first African-American woman to graduate from the Oberlin Conservatory of Music (1889), Marshall established the Washington Conservatory of Music in 1903. It was the first private conservatory owned, operated, and attended exclusively by black Americans, and the longest running institution of its kind to have advocated the study and performance of black concert music.

Dramatic musical spectacles provided an essential component of Marshall's plan to secure the funding necessary to keep the Washington Conservatory open. They also demonstrated the Conservatory's commitment to championing black music and musicians. One of the more impressive was an event in 1921 entitled "Three Periods of Negro Music and Drama." Marshall placed works by Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Harry T. Burleigh, and R. Nathaniel Dett at the end of the program as evidence of "the pinnacle of Negro achievement in music." Her effort to demonstrate the increasing competency of black musicians as viable practitioners of the western European tradition also reflected the principles of "racial uplift."

No single individual can create a "canon" of musical repertoire. Nonetheless, Marshall stands as a significant proponent of the emerging tradition of black art music in the early twentieth century. This paper will show how Marshall fashioned a hierarchy of black musical expression that corresponded to the sacralized view of European art music, by examining the repertoire of the "Three Periods of Negro Music" and the ideology behind its construction.

## NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN OPERA

Gabriela Cruz, Tufts University, Chair

### GOTHIC SHUDDERS:

#### DISCOURSES OF THE BODY IN DONIZETTI'S *MARIA DE RUDENZ*

Melina Esse

University of California, Berkeley

The preponderance of Gothic themes in Italian operas of the early nineteenth century is often cited as one of the few ways essentially conservative Italian composers flirted with the Romantic revolution sweeping the rest of Europe. By 1838, the very ubiquity of these tropes led the Venetian reviewer of Donizetti's gory *Maria de Rudenz* to plead "exhaustion" with the ever-present "daggers, poisons, and tombs" of the contemporary stage. Based on the French melodrama *La nonne sanglante*, Donizetti's sensational opera is almost a litany of Gothic tropes. The most disturbing of these is the female body that refuses to die: Maria herself, who rises from the dead to murder her innocent rival. This fleshy specter is musically rendered as a body that is too receptive to emotion, particularly to (imaginary) cries of longing or grief.

Such lugubrious trappings were more than an attempt to dress up conventional number opera in contemporary clothing. This paper argues that as the opera's principal register of extreme feeling, Donizetti's heroine puts emerging Romantic discourses of bodily expression into dialogue with older notions of restrained sentiment. In *Maria de Rudenz*, the Gothic mode heightens the effect of conventional sobs, sighs, and shudders, leaving behind the socially-grounded language of the emotions to limn an interior landscape—a landscape defined by its hyper-bodiliness. By exploring the musical treatment of such "body language," I show how these tropes came to define not only a uniquely Italian response to Romanticism, but also a new vision of femininity—one that emphasized women's physiological susceptibility to the passions.

### THE OTHER BASEVI:

#### ABRAMO BASEVI AS THEORIST, CRITIC, AND PHILOSOPHER

Jesse Rosenberg

Northwestern University

The activities of Abramo Basevi (1818–1885) ranged well beyond the controversial book on Verdi's operas which has constituted his chief interest to scholars of nineteenth-century Italian music: he was also composer, journalist, theorist, collector, and organizer of concerts, and he played an important role in the founding of the Florence conservatory. Still further afield, he authored no fewer than four books on philosophy, all generally focused on epistemological questions.

A thorough survey of Basevi's life work would be a daunting enterprise; the present study focuses instead on his contributions in several of the lesser-known fields of his activity—music history, harmonic theory and the philosophy of knowledge—to determine the reciprocal relations between them, and to gauge the extent to which they illuminate, and are in turn illuminated by, his criticism. Under close examination, interesting commonalities emerge

among these seemingly disparate areas. For example, of central importance to his writings on both harmony and epistemology is Basevi's concept of "perception" as distinguished from "sensation," and a similar distinction is adumbrated in certain of his comments on *Il corsaro*, *Stiffelio*, and *La traviata*. At the same time, the increasingly religious bent of Basevi's philosophy in his later years, together with indications of his strongly held Jewish identity, provide a wider context in which to understand important aspects of his Verdi criticism. Selections from Basevi's writings point to the conclusion that his nearly exclusive preoccupation with philosophy after 1865 represents not a turning away from previous interests, but rather a more generalized elaboration of ideas already present in his theoretical, critical, and historical writings on music.

## STEPS AND MISSTEPS IN *UN BALLO IN MASCHERA*

Philip Gossett  
University of Chicago

The tortuous literary history of Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*, in its travels from Sweden to Pomerania to Boston, is well known through letters and documents. Nothing whatsoever has been known to date, however, about Verdi's composition of the opera. Work undertaken to support the critical edition, edited by Ilaria Narici, has for the first time clarified Verdi's musical activities over the sixteen months that led to the Roman premiere of the opera on 17 February 1859.

In his continuity draft, described here for the first time, Verdi drafted Act I of *Gustavo III* and Acts II and III of *Una vendetta in dominò*. A skeleton score was prepared in full for performance in Naples during the Winter of 1858 as *Una vendetta in dominò*. When that project was banned, the composer suspended all musical composition for nine months. When he took up his pen again in September 1858, he transformed about 85 percent of *Una vendetta in dominò* into *Un ballo in maschera*, orchestrating this music for the first time. For the other 15 percent of the opera he removed fascicles and pages from the autograph and replaced them entirely. It will be demonstrated that the removed material probably reflected closely the music preserved in the continuity draft.

This presentation will focus on several crucial scenes with a particularly fascinating history: the Scena ed Aria Amelia at the opening of Act II, the Aria Renato in Act III ("Eri tu"), and the Finale Ultimo (the masked ball itself). It will include the first performance in the United States of the original version of "Eri tu" ("E sei tu"), prepared for *Una vendetta in dominò*.

## TROVATORE TODAY

Elizabeth Hudson  
University of Virginia

For many, Verdi's *Il trovatore* epitomizes the best—and worst—of the Italian operatic tradition. The combined popularity and scorn that it has elicited poses a conundrum for the Verdian critical tradition, because the terms by which we analyze the opera have so often seemed to contradict the opera's ongoing success in performance. Important recent studies have recuperated *Trovatore* critically by interpreting operatic conventions in nuanced ways,

for example, yet an ongoing focus on conventions as the site of the principal production of the work's meaning contradicts both what we know about how operatic audiences responded to operas like *Il trovatore* in the nineteenth century and how the opera functions in performance today, when audience members have little or no acquaintance with the references on which our interpretations depend.

My paper investigates the gap between the *Trovatores* constructed today by scholars, and in performance. I will focus in particular on three new productions of the opera (at the Met, the Washington Opera, and La Scala), examining the way these productions set up very different spatial realizations of Verdi's music, both through the staging itself, and through the relationship of the staging to the vocal performances of Azucena and Manrico. Through a comparative analysis of these performances with traditional close readings of the score, I will demonstrate how the tension in Verdi's middle-period works between abstract structure and immediacy of musical expression becomes continually reconfigured, as the location of meaning in the opera shifts between musicology and performance.

## TEXT AND MATERIALITY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Alexander Silbiger, Duke University, Chair

### METAPHOR IN BAROQUE MUSIC POETICS: HARSDÖRFFER'S *GESPRÄCHSPIELE* AND THE VISUAL IMAGINATION

Michael Spitzer  
University of Durham

This paper challenges the conventional historiography of *Figurenlehre* in the German Baroque (Bartel, Braun, Forchert), and proposes that seventeenth-century musical rhetoric has more in common with literary poetics than with the didactic Kantor tradition. I outline a theory of *imagination*, following the writings of Georg Philip Harsdörffer, the most important German critic before Gottsched and Breitinger. I focus on the use of music in Harsdörffer's massive, eight-volume poetic treatise, the *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele* (1641–49), particularly the allegorical masque on the Planet-Virtues, *Die Tugendsterne*, in volume 5. Although the subject of a monograph by James Haar, *Die Tugendsterne* has never been discussed in the context of Harsdörffer's literary theories. *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele* is a humanistic parlor-game in which six interlocutors play at discovering connections between disparate objects, such as visual emblems (*Sinnbilder*) and epigrams. The game escalates to connections between text, image, and *music*, and in *Die Tugendsterne* the players must relate the seven planets to the seven human virtues, the seven colors, and the seven musical modes as described by Glareanus. I argue that Harsdörffer's attitude to music/text correspondences is shaped by the emblem/epigram dynamic, and ultimately flows from his central poetic concept of visual metaphor, *Die Gleichnis*. This is important for various reasons. First, because even when Italian opera infiltrated German musical culture, theorists such as Feind, Hunold, and Neumeister continued to identify arias with a quasi-pictorial *subscriptio* or *sententia*, according to the quintessentially German tradition of *Bildlichkeit*. Second, it shows that German musical poetics drew on a home-grown theory of metaphor, rather than Italian or Spanish imports (Tesauro's *Ingegno* or Gracián's *Agudeza*).

## THE RHETORIC OF TEXTUAL PERFECTION: ONTOLOGIES OF MUSIC IN EARLY MODERN PRINT CULTURE

Stephen Rose

Magdalene College, Cambridge University

Printed music from early seventeenth-century Europe often has self-justificatory prefaces speaking of the published work's perfection and the composer's concern to transmit a text for posterity. Such rhetoric was partly marketing talk. Consumers were constantly uncertain whether to trust books from far-off printers who might be pirates. The prefatory emphasis on textual correctness and authorial supervision hence assured readers of a book's veracity.

The rhetoric of textual perfection, however, also reveals how print culture shaped composers' attitudes to their texts. Most music was disseminated in printed partbooks, encouraging composers to collect and revise their output for publication. In Germany and Italy, a composer's output typically comprises discrete printed collections, each bearing a strong authorial signature. Such textual transmission resonates with some of the working practices and assumptions of nineteenth-century *Gesamtausgaben*.

My paper scrutinizes the paratextual rhetoric of such publications as Johann Hermann Schein's *Cantional* (1627) and Heinrich Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae II* (1647). Surviving early manuscript and printed versions of pieces from these collections allow for a reconstruction of how Schein and Schütz collected and revised their own work. By considering textual transmission as well as humanist prefatory conventions, I show how seventeenth-century notions of a "musical work" were shaped by the material concerns of print culture with textual accuracy and marketability.

## THE MUSICAL BOX: COFFINS AS LOCUS FOR PERFORMANCE AND COMPOSITION IN EARLY MODERN GERMANY

Gregory S. Johnston

University of Toronto

The present paper explores the relationship of the coffin to musical performance and funerary composition in seventeenth-century Protestant Germany. While contemporary documents describe many ways in which funeral music was performed, some of the most striking and affective seem to be those in which the musicians are placed in close proximity to the body. It is my intention, in the first part of the paper, to examine some of these practices.

The second part of this paper, by extension, focuses more specifically on the practice of inscribing scriptural, chorale and poetic texts on coffins, and the relationship of these texts to musical practices in the Lutheran Church. While the texts themselves were sometimes selected in advance by the deceased, contemporary descriptions and illustrations of coffins show that the placement of these texts—as with the careful positioning of family crests on the coffins—was both systematic, hierarchical, and governed by convention. By understanding something of these conventions, it is possible to relate some of them to musical practices. Thus the unique formal design of the opening *Concert* of Heinrich Schütz's *Musicalische Exequien* (SWV279–81) from 1636, attributed variously to the inventiveness of Schütz and to the deceased Heinrich Posthumus Reuß, must now be seen in the light of its adherence to what was in fact a conventional "reading" of the coffin.

POLYPHONY AND SACRED HISTORY IN GABRIEL SAGARD'S  
*HISTOIRE DU CANADA* (1636)

Olivia A. Bloechl  
University of Pennsylvania

In 1636 the Recollect Fr. Gabriel Sagard issued an expanded edition of his *Grand voyage du pays des hurons* (1632), in which he chronicled the winter that he spent among the Wendats ("Hurons") of the eastern Great Lakes region. One chapter of the renamed *Histoire du Canada* (1636) describes the "dances, songs, and other ridiculous ceremonies" of the Wendats, and the end of this chapter features several leaves of staff notation for four voices, arranged in choirbook format. The passage that precedes the staff notation reproduces solfège transcriptions of three North American Micmac and two South American Tupinamba chants from the histories of Marc Lescarbot and Jean de Léry, respectively. Four of these transcriptions form the superius of the polyphonic setting, while the other three parts appear to be newly composed.

Although the practice of incorporating preexisting material into a musical text was common during this period, the polyphony in Sagard's *Histoire* signifies beyond its formal or stylistic characteristics. The *Histoire* is a sacred, rather than an anthropological history, and this approach distinguishes it from the ethnologies of non-European cultures that emerged during the following century. As Sagard subordinates geographical distance and cultural difference to the metaphysical affinity that he finds among native religions, the polyphony gathers exempla of native song within a common textual space and marks these as several instances of the same moral type. Simultaneously evaluating and "improving" these native exempla, the *Histoire's* polyphony registers its prophetic vision of a proselytized and civilized New France.

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