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# AMS 2003 Annual Meeting

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## Contents

- 24 History as Myth
- 26 Voice and Spectatorship in Italian Opera
- 28 Resonant Bodies in Popular Song
- 30 Perception and Rhetoric in Classical Music
- 33 Scenes and Machines, Spectacle and Symbolism in the Seventeenth Century
- 35 Communities and Politics of Sacred Polyphony
- 38 Panel Discussion: The Role and State of Resources for the Study of Hispanic Music
- 39 Print Cultures in Early Modern Europe
- 41 Opera and Revolt
- 43 Collaboration and Twentieth-Century Ballet
- 45 Framing Modernity
- 48 Jazz, Gospel, and Transnational Movement
- 50 The Sacred in Spain and New Spain
- 53 Textual Theory/Textual Practice
- 55 Hermeneutics of the Sacred
- 57 Instrument, Gesture, and the Body in Performance
- 59 Re-Evaluating Progress in Early American Modernism
- 62 Forgotten Innovations and Modern Challenges in Fin-de-siècle Paris
- 64 The Politics of Public Mourning
- 66 Musical Genres and Social Contexts in Enlightenment Austria
- 67 AMS Presidential Forum: The Symbiosis of Teaching and Research
- 68 Panel Discussion: Carl Jung's Psychology of the Unconscious and Music
- 69 Performing Gender on Stage
- 71 Nation-Building and Social Identity
- 73 Music and Visual Culture in the Twentieth Century
- 75 Music Books and Their Meanings
- 78 Dynamic Change and Decadent Aestheticism in Britain
- 80 Conceiving Broadway
- 81 Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette*
- 83 Cultivating Musical Learning
- 85 Compositional Thought and Practice in the Eighteenth Century
- 87 Film Theories
- 90 Resituating Schoenberg and Adorno
- 92 Music, Memory, and Literary Temporalities
- 94 Roman Chant
- 95 Florentine Songs of the Early Quattrocento
- 97 Panel Discussion: Girl Singers of the 1960s
- 98 The Meaning of Musical Influence
- 100 Aesthetics and Truth in Beethoven and Brahms
- 102 Memory, Identity, and the Totalitarian Experience
- 104 Language and Libretti
- 107 Transformations of Modal Theory and Practice
- 109 Strategy and Sentimentality in Mahler and Bartók
- 112 Index of Authors, Panelists, and Session Chairs

*Thursday afternoon, 13 November*

**HISTORY AS MYTH**

**Gary Tomlinson, University of Pennsylvania, Chair**

*IL DIVINO ADRIANO: THE MAKING OF A CULTURAL MYTH  
IN RENAISSANCE VENICE*

Giulio Ongaro  
University of Southern California

The figure of Adrian Willaert dominates the history of music in Renaissance Venice. The beginning of the Venetian school has sometimes been identified with Willaert's appointment to the position of maestro di cappella at the basilica of San Marco in 1527. By the time of his death in 1562, writers such as his pupil Zarlino, and even panegyrist of the Venetian state had begun elevating him to a quasi-mythical status. Decades after his death, musicians active in Venice were still referring to Willaert's service at San Marco in an approving manner. Willaert's tenure at the church is also partly responsible for our positive view of the role of the procuratori in fostering musical excellence at sixteenth-century San Marco. Documents drawn during the period of his tenure and developments in the history of the chapel after his death, however, put into question many of the accepted notions and suggest a much more complex situation. In this paper, I examine documents and contemporary writings to trace the creation of the enduring myth of the "divino Adriano." I also examine contrary evidence (too often ignored), discuss the role of Venetian composers in fostering civic pride, and analyze the positive and negative influences of this myth on the history of music at San Marco in the late Renaissance and early Baroque.

**RAMEAU IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY DIJON:  
MEMORIAL, FESTIVAL, FIASCO**

Katharine Ellis  
Royal Holloway College, University of London

In August 1876, a few days before *Das Rheingold* opened the first Bayreuth *Ring*, Dijon celebrated the life and work of Rameau, one of its most famous sons. Four days of festivities, including concerts, dance, and the unveiling of a newly-commissioned statue of the composer, attracted 30,000 people to Dijon and featured contributions from the town's entire musical community: workers, church choristers, amateurs, professionals and composers. But what did this event signify for those who organized, attended and wrote about it; and what did it indicate about Rameau's status as a national figure who might represent the French "collective memory" in the early years of the Third Republic?

The answers illustrate the perils of assuming that national and regional agendas coincide, even during a period such as the 1870s in France, when demonstrable national unity is an aspiration of the State. Drawing upon archive materials, correspondence, memoirs and press reports from Dijon and Paris, I expose the dichotomies of reception that made the Parisian Rameau an elegant national hero to counterpose against the megalomaniac

Wagner, and the Burgundian Rameau a necessary evil—the composer of “hardly bearable” music whose name was used in a spirit of expediency to secure high-level support for an ambitious regional venture. My conclusion centres on the importance of avoiding naive methodological assumptions about the motives of historical actors when writing histories of cultural nationalism.

### ‘LISZT IS OURS’: THE HUNGARIAN COMMEMORATION OF THE LISZT CENTENNIAL

Lynn Hooker  
University of Richmond

The 1911 centennial of Franz Liszt’s birth prompted a minor explosion of festivities across Europe. In Hungary, where Liszt was born but only intermittently resided, this celebration was necessarily embedded in an ongoing discourse about Hungarian national music. This paper uses the Hungarian events of the Liszt centennial to illuminate key points of tension in Hungary’s pre-war music scene: nationalism vs. internationalism, elite vs. popular culture, Romantic extravagance vs. modernist austerity, and Hungarian vs. Gypsy identity.

The varied interpretations of Liszt’s significance behind different centennial events act as a metaphor for contemporary debates over the character of Hungarian music. Was Liszt’s Hungarianness best represented by the Hungarian Rhapsodies, despite their lightweight reputation, or could true Hungarian character be found in the innovative compositions celebrated elsewhere as “universal”? An element of racial anxiety also percolated beneath the celebratory surface, since no one had completely forgotten the decades-old controversy over Liszt’s attribution of the creative force behind popular Hungarian-style music to the Gypsy musicians who were its principal performers. This problem was revisited in this landmark year by Hungary’s musical modernists, led by Béla Bartók, who was intent on fixing Hungarian musical identity not on the familiarly exotic Gypsy café style—of which Liszt’s Rhapsodies were the best-known manifestation—but on the simple yet unfamiliar monophonic folksong. The struggle over the definition of Hungarian music revealed in contemporary accounts of the Liszt centennial productively informs current scholarship on both Liszt and Bartók, locally and globally.

### CHÁVEZ, REVUELTAS, AND THE MYTH OF THE AZTEC RENAISSANCE

Leonora Saavedra  
University of Pittsburgh

Despite its central role in the historiography of twentieth-century Mexican art music, the so-called “Aztec Renaissance” of the 1920s and 30s contains more myth than truth. Only a few works by Carlos Chávez, Silvestre Revueltas, and other composers of this period show any demonstrable link to an intended representation of indigenous peoples and their music (whether of the Aztecs or Mayans or of contemporary communities). Moreover, such a representation of “the Indian”—in the sense of re-presenting and of speaking for—proved to be a difficult task. In the first place, it ran counter to a conception of the self that contemporary Mexican audiences had already constructed, one centered in particular

on their *mestizo* identity. Secondly, the contradictions and ambivalences embodied in the “Indianist” music of Chávez and Revueltas, and the difficulty they encountered in encoding “the Indian,” suggests that indigenous culture, including music, was in fact quite foreign to them as well. Focusing on Chávez’s *Sinfonia India* (1935) and *Xochipilli-Macuilxóchitl* (1940), and Revueltas’s *Cuauhnáhuac* (1931), this paper demonstrates, in particular, how both composers, by using such means as pentatonic scales (as a sign of “the primitive”), constructed signifiers of “the Indian” that were based on Eurocentric assumptions, which, paradoxically, were then subverted in the same compositions by the composers themselves.

## VOICE AND SPECTATORSHIP IN ITALIAN OPERA

Roger Parker, St. John’s College, Cambridge University, Chair

### REDEFINING ITALIAN ROMANTICISM: ROSSINI VS. SALVATORE VIGANÒ, 1816

Mary Ann Smart  
University of California, Berkeley

Italian opera has traditionally occupied an uneasy place in accounts of Romanticism. Intuition and common-sense insist that even the highly generic works of Rossini and Donizetti bear some trace of contemporary aesthetic upheavals; yet Italian opera remained apart, clinging to Classical models, adopting a Romantic manner only in momentary flashes, often prompted by supernatural plot elements. Even when Italians entered into the Romantic debate, opera played a small role. A series of articles published in a progressive Milanese journal in 1816 barely mentions Rossini, while choreographer Salvatore Viganò and his “pantomimic ballets,” set to pastiches of music by minor Viennese composers, are enshrined as a pinnacle of Romantic expression.

This odd preference uncovers an aspect of Romantic thought unique to Italy: a suspicion of melody and voice as too “egotistical.” The bias in favor of the pantomimic body persisted into the 1830s, when influential writers continued to elevate opera’s gestural dimension over the vocal. And yet the gulf between Rossini and Viganò was not as great as contemporary reception would suggest. The choreographer’s sister, Vincenzina Viganò Mombelli, was librettist for and a performer in Rossini’s first opera, *Demetrio e Polibio* (1812); and the adaptations of Othello the two men staged within two years of each other reveal common approaches to the interaction of music and stage movement. These affinities suggest not only a new way of hearing certain moments in Rossini, but also a conception of Romanticism less at odds with the artistic production of early nineteenth-century Italy.

### THE RISE OF INTERIORITY IN ROSSINI’S *ERMIONE*

Christina Schiffner  
University of California, Berkeley

Within Rossini’s rarely-heard 1819 opera *Ermione*, there is an extraordinary moment of loss of control for the title character. During Ermione’s second-act aria, this fierce, angry

woman breaks down as her almost desperate need for power slips away. Though Ermione's melodies throughout the rest of the opera repeatedly possess a driving force, this bizarre passage of arioso circles continuously around a pattern that lacks a clear resolution. In this brief passage Rossini allows the conventional forms he normally employs to disintegrate. Thus, Ermione's loss of control becomes an allegory for Rossini's own approach to form; he temporarily modifies or abandons his standard method of composing in order to suit the situation of a character and convey the emotions of her text.

Ermione's momentary break with musical conventions parallels a larger break this entire opera makes from the norms of eighteenth-century opera seria. While the message of Metastasian opera is, in Martha Feldman's terms, the myth of the good king, Rossini's opera presents the patriarchal figure as unable to keep his emotions in check. In ultimately choosing to follow his private inclinations rather than his duty, the king assures his own downfall. Through Ermione's arrangement of the king's assassination, it is she who wrecks havoc on the social order that attempted to suppress her. The extremity of her emotions makes her a danger, and Rossini seems to issue a warning: the rise of interiority may make operatic characters less plastic, but it also sentences them to a tragic end.

SELECTING THE PERFECT ENTRANCE:  
THE ARIA DI SORTITA IN *MARINO FALIERO* AND *OTELLO*

Hilary Poriss  
University of Cincinnati

Donizetti's *Marino Faliero* possesses many peculiarities; perhaps the oddest is that it lacks an *aria di sortita* (entrance aria) for Elena, the lead soprano. In 1835 when the opera premiered, composers, singers, and audiences perceived the entrance aria to be among the most vital components of an evening's entertainment since it served a dual function: it introduced the prima donna into the context of the opera, and (more importantly) it provided a solo opportunity for the singer to present her own voice to her spectators. *Marino Faliero* is among a handful of operas composed during the first half of the nineteenth century that bypassed this convention—the best-known is Rossini's *Otello*.

This project explores prima donnas' responses to this perplexing situation in nineteenth-century productions of operas by Donizetti and Rossini. As Philip Gossett has remarked, sopranos faced with scores that lacked a *sortita* were quick to correct the composer's "oversight," interpolating arias as they saw fit. But which arias did they select? How did these arias conform to their new contexts? And what was the motivation behind singers' choices? Archival research with librettos, scores, and newspapers suggests that in many cases, far more than ego was involved. These documents reveal that singers such as Carolina Ungher and Emilia Bonini carefully selected and tested a variety of arias in successive performances, settling gradually on one that functioned most effectively. This paper investigates this careful selection process which sheds light on the practice of aria interpolation in general during the nineteenth century.

LOOK AND SPECTATORSHIP IN *MANON LESCAUT*

Alessandra Campana  
Tufts University

After the initial triumphal reception, Puccini's *Manon Lescaut* has been relegated to the status of "transitional" work, beautiful but essentially flawed. Among its faults critics most commonly notice the lack of a unitary dramatic and musical design, resulting in the discontinuous sequence of four differentiated acts, and above all the weakness of Act IV. Consisting of a long death scene, Act IV has been declared a "dramatic blunder," its unquestionable emotional or dramatic uniformity in sharp contrast with the previous acts.

Here I argue that the succession of the four diversified acts, terminating on the sudden void of Act IV, is precisely what calls into question issues of visibility and spectatorship that are usually overlooked in the study of opera. In particular I focus on two aspects: how the opera foregrounds the characters' gesture of looking at the female protagonist, and how she reacts to this look by presenting herself as fitting each of the four acts' different settings. By expanding the scope of my discussion to concepts developed in film theory and psychoanalysis—such as suture, identification, and voyeurism—I claim that the opera substitutes narrative continuity with the act of looking, which functions as the mechanism that binds the spectator to the opera. Moreover, the opera's first three acts assign a specific position to the spectator, which is then radically questioned in Act IV. The failure of Act IV thus contains a potentially subversive gesture, which exposes voyeurism as a necessary trick of the operatic machinery.

**RESONANT BODIES IN POPULAR SONG**

**Susan Cook, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Chair**

'OH SUSIE! DIS COON HAS GOT THE BLUES': ANTICIPATIONS OF  
BLUES IN THE TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY COON SONG

Peter Muir  
City University of New York

Coon songs, which flourished in America from the early 1890s till about 1905, were a song-type characterized by black dialect and the frequent use of racist stereotyping. They were also major purveyors of African American folk culture. In this regard, historians have focused on the pivotal role of the coon song in the dissemination of ragtime into the mainstream. What has been all but ignored, however, is that there are also a significant number of such songs that reflect blues culture at the earliest stages of its formation, both at a textual and a musical level. The main focus of the paper is on musical connections between blues and coon songs, particularly the twelve-bar sequence, whose earliest known appearance is in a coon song dating from 1895, and which is subsequently found in a spate of such pieces published between 1898 and 1905. Most coon songs which use the twelve-bar form seem to be closely related to the blues ballad, a folk type generally understood to be the major antecedent of twelve-bar blues. An examination of the relationship between blues ballads and coon songs using the twelve-bar form enhances our understanding of the evolution of blues at this formative stage.

## PINKERTON'S LAMENT

W. Anthony Sheppard  
Williams College

*Madame Butterfly* narratives have repeatedly offered an exotic backdrop for the staging of domestic concerns involving race and gender. In Long's 1898 tale, Pinkerton is presented as a brute who disappears without displaying remorse. Long's ugly American provoked a century of creative revision. Pinkerton is considerably improved in the final version of Puccini's opera and the echo of his anguished cry is heard in numerous American popular songs of the 1910s and 20s. (In some, the male persona even appropriates Butterfly's "Un bel di.") Paramount's 1932 *Madame Butterfly* attempted to remake Pinkerton as utterly guiltless, allowing him to express his pain in song. In *My Geisha* (1962)—a film about making a film of the opera—Butterfly's suicide scene is perversely transformed into a tragic climax for the male fictional director. In both *Household Saints* (1993) and *M Butterfly* (1993), white men infatuated with Puccini's opera and with emulating Pinkerton are the narrative's ultimate victims.

After tracing this striking metamorphosis of Pinkerton in American popular culture, I focus on one perplexing, recent reworking of the tale—Weezer's 1996 album *Pinkerton*. In both overt and cryptic ways, the lead singer identifies himself with Pinkerton the ugly American and Pinkerton the misunderstood. The Butterfly narrative serves as both frame and ironic subject for the album—postmodernist irony attempting to rupture the Orientalist cocoon? This paper draws on materials from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Research Center, Paramount Studios, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, and numerous sheet music collections.

'...ERZÄHL MIR AUS DEINEM LEBEN': MUSIC IN R. W. FASSBINDER'S  
*DIE BITTEREN TRÄNEN DER PETRA VON KANT* (1972)

Karl Kuegle  
University of Hong Kong

While the films of West German director R. W. Fassbinder (1945–1982) attracted a fair amount of critical scrutiny in recent years (e.g., Elsaesser 1996; Watson 1996), their rich soundscapes have so far received only scant scholarly attention. The soundtrack of *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (1972) stands out by its sparse, yet highly effective use of music. Dominated by long stretches of dialogue, the film is punctuated at precisely four moments by musical borrowings drawn from post-WorldWar II American popular song, and Italian opera.

This paper explores the ways in which these borrowings produce meaning within the film's internal dramaturgy, and within the context of West German culture of the early 1970s. On a work-immanent level, the music articulates the plot; beyond that, it is cunningly chosen to reveal and comment on the alienated emotional state of the film's protagonist(s). In addition, the borrowings are part of a tight network of allusions which ironicize and subvert generally accepted valorizations of the "popular" vs. the "high-brow" in post-WorldWar II German culture. This is accomplished by use of a camp aesthetic, and by multiple gender-reversals. *Pace* Fassbinder, such a critique might help the viewer challenge the established order.

The utopian strain notwithstanding, the film strongly asserts its *bildungsbürgerlich* roots by the range and complexity of its signifiers. Such an ambivalence is emblematic of the paradox of post-1968 West German society as a whole: both were trapped between the reassertion and the dissolution of their own modernist aesthetics.

## THE MUSICAL BODY POLITICS OF MESHELL NDEGÉOCELLO

Martha Mockus

State University of New York, Stony Brook

Although American bassist/singer/songwriter MeShell Ndegéocello expresses an ambivalent relationship to feminism, much of her music enacts vigorous feminist critiques of capitalism, Black identity politics, racism, and homophobia. This paper analyzes three of her songs as sonic articulations of Black feminist protest, spiritual transformation, and sexual politics. Situated within a Black feminist framework, my analyses draw from theoretical work by Angela Davis, bell hooks, and Patricia Hill Collins. In “Dead Nigga Blvd” (2002) Ndegéocello manipulates tempo, time, and vocal “space” to fiercely interrogate white constructions of black stereotypes and critique the conflation of freedom with capitalist consumption. “Hot Night” (2002) employs an unusual musical strategy of vocal framing to engage a feminist critique of global capitalism and reinvigorate the concept of revolution. Excerpts from a recording of Angela Davis’s speech “The Prison Industrial Complex” begin and end this song, hence creating a vocal “frame” around Ndegéocello’s music and constructing in sound a kind of feminist solidarity with Davis’s indictment of American imperialism in Viet Nam and the devastating effects of “welfare reform” on poor women. A small handful of artists in popular music celebrate queer sexuality, but none have directly challenged homophobia. Ndegéocello’s “Leviticus: Faggot” (1996) rails against parental homophobia as legitimized by Christianity. Her musical appropriation of “Swing Low Sweet Chariot” in the service of an anti-homophobic message works to ironize Christianity and to reclaim Black musical culture for Black queers. This paper concludes by examining the confrontation between music as political intervention and the music industry’s need for profit.

## PERCEPTION AND RHETORIC IN CLASSICAL MUSIC

James Webster, Cornell University, Chair

## THE IMMEDIACY OF STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING IN LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ‘PUBLIC’ INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Melanie Lowe

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Focusing on the “public” instrumental music of the late eighteenth century (i.e. music performed principally in the public concert hall), this paper suggests that contemporary listeners—listeners who, we must remember, did not have the benefit of subsequent hearings, miniature scores, deep-structural analysis, or even quiet concert halls—experienced an immediacy of structural understanding. By engaging the expressive surface while avoid-

ing analytical techniques that embrace teleology, unity, complexity, and hidden structure as institutional values, a strategy intended to resemble the “real-time” eighteenth-century listening experience, I argue for the primacy of mimetic expressivity in the perception of structural processes.

Examples from four compositions representative of various stages of late eighteenth-century symphonic art (Haydn’s Symphonies 68 and 104; Mozart’s “Haffner” and “Prague”) demonstrate how salient references to the musical soundscape of the contemporary world—particularly echoes of other types of entertainment music—provide instant “roadmaps” for listeners to follow during their one and often only journey through a piece. For instance, echoes of *mélodrame* communicate formal instability; the suggestion of authority heightens anticipatory passages; the statement of popular tunes and dances—the most comfortable and familiar music of everyday eighteenth-century life—secures formal stability; the Pastoral necessitates continuation; and self-reflection serves as a closural device. Beyond another exploration of expression and form, this paper proposes the immediately perceivable interaction of surface and situation as a foundation of musical intelligibility in the late eighteenth century.

PLEYEL’S EMULATION OF HAYDN:  
TWO SPECIFIC MODELS OF FORMAL STRATEGY

Lawrence Bernstein  
University of Pennsylvania

Not surprisingly, the music of Ignace Pleyel has consistently been compared to that of his teacher, Joseph Haydn. The literature documents Pleyel’s indebtedness to Haydn regarding such general procedures as monothematic design and varied rondo reprises. However, Pleyel’s unique formal strategies have never been traced to particular models by Haydn. This study addresses two of Pleyel’s symphonic finales, citing specific models for their idiosyncratic formal design in the finales of two Haydn symphonies, while also taking note of thematic borrowings. Haydn described these symphonies as “sehr leicht,” and they are now thought to have been destined primarily for entertainment. Both would seem straightforward to casual listeners, but it might be argued that *Kenner* better versed in musical form are apt to discern much structural ambiguity in their unusual hybrid designs. In one finale, Pleyel systematically neutralizes every significant source of formal ambiguity in his model. In the other, he actually intensifies Haydn’s means of confusing the listener. Examining what Pleyel borrowed—and what he rejected—from these models provides a contemporary lens on the Haydn finales, suggesting that they were, indeed, meant to be perceived at different levels of complexity by different types of listeners. The view of them as destined for entertainment, therefore, seems to require some modification. Juxtaposed to Pleyel’s finales, Haydn’s seem extraordinary for their capacity to render a single work simultaneously accessible (for *Liebhaber*) and ambiguous (for *Kenner*), where Pleyel appears to have required two separate compositions to achieve the same dual objectives.

## THE 'RHETORICAL PAUSE' AND METAPHORS OF CONVERSATION IN HAYDN'S QUARTETS

Gretchen Wheelock

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Most writers have taken conversation to be a more or less self-evident metaphor for Haydn's string quartets, applying this trope both to the players and to the music they create—or recreate. The medium becomes synonymous with the discourse in such a characterization, which stresses the intimacy of equals at ease, spontaneous yet respectful of the particular interests of the others. Overall, though, the conversation metaphor tends to focus attention almost exclusively on the discourse of the players, rarely taking other listeners into account. Perhaps as a consequence, music analysis tends to elide the role of physical gesture in performance—the mute cues of the body that both produce and reflect understanding in both conversation and string-quartet playing.

While performative gestures and address to the listener are seldom examined in terms of musical conversation, they are subjects of interest to students of rhetoric. With respect to Haydn's string quartets, I argue that attention to music in performance can bring conversation and rhetoric closer together in addressing the interplay between players and listeners. Taking the fermata as one example of what Cicero called "eloquentia corporis," I examine features that link physical, performative gestures with discursive ones in the Adagio of Haydn's String Quartet Op. 76, no. 4. In the sober, even obsessive conversation of this movement, where proposed resolutions are repeatedly destabilized by rhetorical pauses that highlight conflict and undermine ease of continuation, gesture is more than a metaphor.

## 'YOUR HUMBLE AND OBEDIENT SERVANT': MALE AND FEMALE RHETORIC IN HAYDN'S SONATA IN G MAJOR, HOB. XVI:40

Tom Beghin

McGill University

László Somfai (1982, 1995) categorized Haydn's keyboard sonatas Hob. XVI:40–42 as "ladies' sonatas," a term challenged by A. Peter Brown (1986). With two instead of three movements, avoiding sonata-form first-movements in favor of variations, and combining sensitivity, *pathos* and wit, these three pieces were written in 1783/84 for Princess Marie Esterházy, *née* von Liechtenstein, at the occasion of her wedding with the future Prince Nikolaus II Esterházy. They represent an eloquent gesture of welcome and token of respect by the established court composer towards a new Esterházy family member. Taking Haydn's dedication seriously, I read the opening sonata of the Marie Esterházy set as a dedicatory letter to an accomplished, French-educated, fifteen-year-old Madame, so successful in her world already, yet still so innocently hopeful of life. I argue that the rhetoric of this sonata is congruent with letters that Haydn is known to have written to lady-friends, such as Frau von Genzinger, or with eighteenth century female letter-writing in general, as exemplified by a few of Marie Esterházy's own, unpublished letters. Furthermore, I seek to demonstrate how Haydn, throughout the set, gradually abandons this kind of female rhetoric, to introduce his pupil gently into the world of male oratory, thus slowly moving from the intimate space of epistolary discourse to the one of public oration. Analyzing the sonatas in terms of

these dialectics—between female and male, amateur and professional, or private and public—will help define and refine a term as rich as “ladies’ sonata.”

## SCENES AND MACHINES, SPECTACLE AND SYMBOLISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Susan McClary (University of California, Los Angeles), Chair

### STAGING THE INDIAN IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COURT MASQUE

Olivia Bloechl  
Bucknell University

American Indian characters appeared frequently in the masques produced at the English court in the first decades of the seventeenth century. In addition to providing entertainment, these elaborate musical and choreographic spectacles were designed to induce social and political cohesion through the glorification of the monarch’s order. The masque form that developed under Ben Jonson located Indians in the anti-masque, the initial, comic section whose displacement by the masque proper accomplished the transformation of disorder into order that lay at the heart of the form. In the Jonsonian masque the correlation between disorderly anti-masque personae and the music or dances they performed was far from arbitrary: the genius of a composer or choreographer lay partly in his ability to assign appropriate music or dance movements to the masque characters, thereby indicating their nature in a manner that was both pleasing and instructive to a noble audience.

Although some English masques restricted Indian characters to anti-masque sections, a few presented Indians as noble or quasi-noble figures whose music was indistinct from that of other noble characters. This type of masque Indian seems to prefigure the conventionally exotic noble savages who appeared in Baroque operatic productions, of which Purcell’s *Indian Queen* is an early example. Whereas the Jonsonian masque displayed Indians as subjects whose disorder was demonstratively integrated into the order of the imperial state, other masques orchestrated the display of idealized colonial subjects. With either strategy, the end result was the naturalization of highly stylized and politically expedient mimeses of Indianness.

### MARVELOUS MUTATIONS: THE PRODUCTION OF OPERATIC SCENES AND MACHINES IN MID-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VENICE

Jonathan Glixon  
University of Kentucky

In mid-seventeenth-century Venice, elaborate scenes and machines were an essential element in the production of opera. Often, they attracted more attention than the score, the libretto, or even the singing. Such scenic elements were complex and expensive to manufacture, and thus required considerable efforts by impresarios such as Marco Faustini, who was, in the 1650s and 1660s, the most important impresario in Venice, then the center of the operatic world. It has often been hypothesized by modern scholars that the task or

providing scenery was made easier because librettos called for scenes of standardized types, which each theater kept in a repository (as was the case in the eighteenth century), ready for the impresario to draw upon when needed. This paper examines the extant contracts, payment records, and inventories concerning scenery and machine construction for mid-seventeenth Venice (all found in the Venetian State Archives), especially those connected with Marco Faustini for productions of operas by Francesco Cavalli. It explores the systems for producing scenes and machines devised by impresarios and the artisans they employed, both painters and carpenters. An important result of this examination is the demonstration that the hypothesis referred to earlier is, as can best be determined, incorrect. This paper shows, rather, that almost all the scenery that appeared on the Venetian stage was new each year, and almost none was preserved for use in subsequent seasons.

## THE SERENATA AND THE LIMITS OF SIGHT AND SOUND

Stefanie Tcharos

University of California, Santa Barbara

In the late seventeenth century, the dramatic vocal genre known as the serenata often functioned as public theater on the grandest of scales. The serenata's outdoor space was transformed into a nocturnal spectacle of lights, fireworks, and allegorical drama depicted through poetry and music. This genre redefined notions of conventional music drama by defying the standard physical confines of indoor theater and by enlarging the sense of space and sound to suggest a super-sensory dimension.

This paper concentrates on the reception of the serenata celebrations held at the Spanish Embassy in Rome's Piazza di Spagna between 1680 and 1700. These expansive spectacles, hosted by the Spanish Habsburgs, employed a recurrent symbolic network of emblems and allegory to magnify a propagandistic and diplomatic function. However, not all audience members experienced the serenata in the same way—the serenata's visual semiotics created subtle layers of meaning that may have been obscure to the average spectator. Additionally, a privileged few among the spectators were sometimes invited indoors to *re-hear* the serenata within the private walls of a palace salon, away from the distractions of the crowded piazza. Though intended for the greater public, the serenata may have straddled dual roles: one as a large-scale public spectacle and the other as a more private intimate experience. Drawing on descriptive documents and musical examples by Giovanni Bononcini, this presentation explores the extent to which the hierarchies of visual reception in the serenata mirrored that of listening given the competing forms of spectacle and music involved in certain serenata performances.

## JEAN DE LA FONTAINE'S *LES AMOURS DE PSYCHÉ ET DE CUPIDON*: AN OPERA IN PROSE AND POETRY"

Geoffrey Burgess

Duke University

In addition to the abundant outpouring of his fables, La Fontaine maintained throughout his career an acute interest in musical theatre. Of his three *livrets*, two were set to music. Lully's rejection of *Daphné* in 1674 triggered a hostility between *surintendant* and

poet that lasted up to 1684, when La Fontaine did however furnish dedicatory verses to preface the score of Lully's *Amadis*.

La Fontaine's fascination with musical theatre was already incipient in *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (1669). This paper explores resonances between structural aspects of *Psyché* and operatic practices that developed in France in the 1670s, extending the consideration of French opera's literary prototypes, which to present has been confined largely to spoken tragedy, to non-theatrical literary genres. *Psyché* partakes of the same mythological subject material as contemporaneous musical stage works, and preceded by just two years the sumptuous production based on the Psyche myth masterminded by Molière and Lully. I argue that La Fontaine's innovative narrative form, comprising prose sections interspersed with poetry (some survive in musical settings), is founded on rules of verisimilitude analogous to those that came to govern the interplay of *récitatif* and air in Lully's operas. The elaborate framing techniques employed by La Fontaine provide a cogent model for understanding the operatic prologue which, as is the case with the preamble to *Psyché*, often took place at a royal residence. The interjections of the audience in *Psyché* give occasion to reevaluate the aesthetic premises underlying the genesis of French opera.

## COMMUNITIES AND POLITICS OF SACRED POLYPHONY Craig Monson, Washington University in St. Louis, Chair

### THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST (*MILES CHRISTI*) IN THE LITURGY OF ST. MARTIN AND THE TENOR OF MACHAUT'S MOTET 5

Yossi Maurey  
University of Chicago

Fourteenth-century France, intermittently at war with England, saw most of its sanctuaries under Anglo-Burgundian rule, and the radiance of its patron saints diminished. The popularity of saints whose shrines were found in unoccupied territory, however, surged. Chief among the latter was St. Martin, whose image became particularly pertinent: although proper chants and readings for his feast mainly recount episodes that relate to his charity and humility, a novel image of the saint as committed Soldier of Christ (*Miles Christi*) was propagated and developed in the late Middle Ages. It is this newly-articulated reflection on St. Martin that figures in my interpretation of one of Guillaume de Machaut's early motets.

In view of the foundational nature of the tenor within the *Ars nova* motet, our identification of the exact musico-liturgical source of this voice is significant. While the origins of most of Machaut's Latin tenors have been identified, the tenor of one work, Motet 5 (*Aucune gent/ Qui plus aime/T. Fiat voluntas tua*), is alleged to have a most unusual source. I offer a new solution to the question of the tenor of this piece, one that both emphasizes compositional procedures congruent with Machaut's practice in writing his motets and ties together its intertwined secular and sacred references. In Motet 5, the composer, drawing on St. Martin's liturgy, may well have provided a musical counterpart to the new portrait of the saint, just at the time when Martin's role as guardian of the French nation was beginning to take shape.

ENGLISH MOTETS AND ENGLISH POLITICS  
IN THE REIGN OF HENRY V

J. Michael Allsen  
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

This paper deals with the political nature of a small repertoire of surviving English motets, and presents two case studies of motets related to a specific event or situation. We have long known that a trio of motets in the Old Hall manuscript by Damett, Cooke, and Sturgeon were sung at, and probably written for Henry V's triumphal entry into London in 1415, following his victory over the French at Agincourt. It has also been posited that another Old Hall motet, Byttering's *En Katherine sollenia*, and Dunstaple's *Salve scema sanctitatis* were connected in some way to the wedding of Henry V and Catherine de Valois. I argue that both motets, which have a clear structural relationship, were composed for a second triumphal entry, on February 21, 1421. There are even clearer intertextualities between two *Deo gratias* motets from Old Hall, *Are post libamina*, attributed to "Mayshuet" and the anonymous *Post missarum sollennia*, which is in turn modelled upon an anonymous French motet of the mid fourteenth century. The texts of these two motets can be related to larger political and religious issues of concern to the English Royal house. In particular, the newly-composed texts of *Are post libamina* relate to royal efforts to maintain orthodoxy in the face of an increasing tide of Lollard heresy. Remarkably, the triplum text of the motet also appears to describe the musical processes that created these motets.

SPANISH IDENTITY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROME  
AND VICTORIA'S 'SPANISH MANNER'

Eric Rice  
Brandeis University

Though a Spaniard, Tomás Luis de Victoria spent much of his career in Rome, assimilating the style of Palestrina so thoroughly that Spanish elements in his music are difficult to detect. The polyphonic hymn settings "in the Spanish manner" ("more hispano") in Victoria's publications constitute a rare assertion of his identity as a Spaniard in Rome, even as the church promoted the expurgation of foreign elements from the Roman liturgy. Victoria based his "more hispano" settings on melodies published in 1515 in Toledo, the center of a fervent, nationalistic movement initiated by Ferdinand and Isabella to renew, indeed recreate, indigenous Spanish liturgical traditions.

In the first part of this paper, I consider the symbolic nature of these Spanish melodies and long-held Roman perceptions of Spanish identity as represented by the performance practices of Spanish singers in the papal chapel and musical traditions in Spanish churches in Rome.

I then explore the possibility that one of Victoria's "more hispano" hymns was conceived for the flamboyant Corpus Christi services at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, one of the principal Spanish churches in Rome. But while other Spanish composers tended to emphasize their Spanish models, presenting them clearly in a polyphonic context, Victoria's presentation of the melody was less overt. Victoria's treatment of this Spanish melody, together with his day-to-day focus on charitable rather than musical activities in Rome and

his eventual return to Spain, suggest that he was ambivalent about his identity as a Spanish composer in Counter-Reformation Rome.

‘NOTES AS A GARLAND’: THE CHRONOLOGY AND NARRATIVE  
OF BYRD’S *GRADUALIA*

Kerry McCarthy  
Duke University

William Byrd’s *Gradualia* (1605/07) is a two-volume collection of Mass Propers and related music for clandestine English Catholic worship: a hundred and nine pieces in all, covering the most important feast days of the Roman liturgy. Is there a principle of purely musical organization mirroring its complex liturgical organization? The first part of this paper continues Kerman’s pioneering work in sketching out a provisional chronology for the *Gradualia* cycle. A re-examination of the two volumes—notably the strong internal evidence that the Christmas Proper, published only in book 2, was the first composed—reveals that Byrd in fact assembled his *Gradualia* as a single coherent musical cycle, though written and published over several years, and presented somewhat haphazardly in print. Reading the contents of the two volumes as a unit, in calendrical order rather than in print order, reveals a systematic use of mode, vocal range, and thematic material to underscore the narrative of the liturgy—what Byrd, in his preface to the second book, calls “notes as a garland” to adorn the ritual year. Here Byrd revisits the careful modal and textural ordering used to such effect in his earlier books of *Cantiones sacrae*. Instead of the affective trajectory of a collection of motets, it now traces the liturgical narrative so important to the life and identity of the English Catholic community.

*Thursday evening, 13 November*

**PANEL DISCUSSION  
THE ROLE AND STATE OF RESOURCES  
FOR THE STUDY OF HISPANIC MUSIC**

**Paul Murphy, State University of New York, Fredonia, Chair**  
**José López-Calo, CIMRE and the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela**  
**Deborah Schwartz-Kates, University of Texas, San Antonio**  
**William Summers, Dartmouth College**  
**Alejandro Planchart, University of California, Santa Barbara**

The four scholars contributing to this discussion bring diverse and valuable perspectives relating to the role and current state of sources for the study of Hispanic music. Collectively they have conducted research and published research studies devoted to a broad spectrum of Hispanic music throughout the world. Each panelist begins with a brief commentary on recent discoveries that expand both our understanding of the role of music in urban life and the principal cultural forces underlying the creation of Hispanic music culture. The panel then invites discussion relating to their comments and to broader issues such as essential source material for the study for Hispanic music and their availability; the role that such sources plays in the development and quality of scholarship in Hispanic music; the modernization of archival material; the lacunae and obstacles that remain; and the research opportunities that are thus presented.

As director of one of Spain's most valuable music collections outside of Madrid, The Center for the Study of the Religious Music of Spain (CIMRE), José López-Calo has catalogued and edited music sources from virtually every music center in Spain. Professor López-Calo reports on the modernization and dissemination of Hispanic music sources in CIMRE. Deborah Schwartz-Kates continues the discussion with a report on film music sources in Latin America and Europe, particularly those relating to the music of Alberto Ginastera. Professor Schwartz-Kates is the author of the entry on Alberto Ginastera for the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and a contributing author to *From Tango to Tejano* (New York: Routledge, 2002). William Summers brings a perspective on Hispanic music sources existing outside of both Europe and the New World, specifically, those located in and relating to The Philippines. Professor Summers is the founder and Coordinator of the International Hispanic Music Study Group and editor of the group's newsletter. He has written articles and reviews for a variety of journals and has conducted extensive research on the city of Manila. A final contribution is provided by Alejandro Planchart (Professor Emeritus) who focuses on Iberian and colonial manuscripts in Latin America. Professor Planchart has published numerous articles and book chapters on the Christian courts of Spain, and is an expert in Latin paleography and the study of documents from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries. These scholars invite an open discussion with members of the *International Hispanic Music Study Group*.

*Friday morning, 14 November*

**PRINT CULTURES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE**  
**Cristle Collins Judd, University of Pennsylvania, Chair**

MADE TO ORDER IN CINQUECENTO ROME

Jane Bernstein  
Tufts University

Rome was second only to Venice in Italian music printing before 1600. Yet unlike Venice, it was not a major center of trade and commerce. Instead its economy depended on the Church, which underwent constant conflict and change. The small number of surviving editions—nearly 200 for the entire century—demonstrates the precariousness of the trade. Bookmen from the Eternal City could not compete with their Venetian counterparts who dominated the international marketplace with their mass-produced books.

Instead, Roman printers traded in ingenuity by responding with consumer goods that Venetian presses couldn't or didn't wish to provide. One of many milestones was the production of liturgical music in huge royal and imperial folios. Books such as Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* (1516) and its progeny not only fit musical requirements dictated by the Church, but also served as luxurious presentation objects for papal and royal patronage. Another first was the revolutionary use of the copperplate engraving process that enabled with greater ease the printing of virtuosic solo madrigals, open-score format, keyboard intavolatura, and lute tablature.

My study of book formats, papers, typographies, and technologies delineates how consumers helped mold the Roman music press. Conversely, it reveals how innovative material forms of music emanating from Rome established high-end markets, generated the production of complex repertoires, and set new standards for other printing centers to emulate.

NOTIONS OF NOTATION AROUND 1600

Anthony Newcomb  
University of California, Berkeley

Against the idea that around 1600 the notation of the work on the printed page merely suggested one among many possible versions of a particular piece in performance, I propose that, for certain genres in late sixteenth-century Italy, the essence of the piece of music was located in those musical elements notated with full specificity on the page. In these genres, it was not stylistically appropriate to vary those elements in performance. Indeed, in some instances, the primary object of notation may not have been to script performances. The printed form of some works such as the score editions of Rore's four-voice madrigals (1577) and of Gesualdo's five-voice madrigals (1613) suggests their design for study and discussion of the contents on the page. A crucial genre here is the instrumental *ricercar/fantasia/capriccio*, 1575–1625.

The notion of the musical work as object rather than event is at issue here, as is a concept of authorship and authority for composers, one vested in the notation itself and

the object that contains it. I am particularly concerned with the publication of music in open score. Both the commercial and the technological aspects of the diffusion of music in print in the later sixteenth century had a profound influence on this situation. Recent writings to which reference is made include John Butt, *Playing with History* (2002) and essays by Samson, Strohm, Talbot, and Goehr in Michael Talbot, *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (2000).

## LEARNING TO READ

Kate van Orden

University of California, Berkeley

In sixteenth-century France, students learned to read print first and only later (if ever) learned to write. From ABCs and syllabizing the Ave Maria and Pater noster, they moved on to a “Civilité” or book of manners in script-like type, which prepared them for writing lessons. Many readers barely graduated from sounding-out Latin texts they already knew by heart before leaving school equipped with a reading strategy that was more recognition than decipherment.

This paper situates rudimentary reading strategies in the context of oral musical traditions. Historians have failed to observe how often works printed for a mass market mobilized the *musical* knowledge of insecure readers whose memory of phrase-length and cadences helped them “read” familiar prayers and poems glossing favorite songs. I retrace the Renaissance curriculum, from sung “primers” (ABCs, *Heures*, of which Parisian presses produced 400,000 by 1535, psalters, and Jesuit catechisms) through civility texts (including an extraordinary monophonic chansonnier in civility type), to books for the marginally literate student of polyphony. This was a “publishers’ repertory,” created by Gardano, Scotto, Susato, and Attaignant, that reduced four-voice chansons to duos and trios for “apprentices of the science of music.” In them, familiar tunes, limited cadences, melodic rhymes, and formulaic rhythms invited much the same reading strategies as *abécédaires*.

Progress from reading printed Latin to writing French script represented advancement from religious instruction to education in manners. I close with anecdotal evidence and pedagogical treatises describing how music helped students internalize the spiritual and social lessons taught along with letters.

## CATCH AS CATCH CAN: THE MATERIAL FORM OF MUSICAL INSTRUCTION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Jessie Ann Owens

Brandeis University

Thomas Morley’s *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* has occupied a disproportionately large place in our understanding of theoretical discourse about music in early modern England. Its wide dissemination and impressive appearance have led scholars to treat it as representative while in reality it is exceptional in many respects. Its opulence (a folio printed in black and red, with lavish illustrations and an elaborate frontispiece) sets it apart from other surviving texts in the field, all of them far more ordinary in appearance.

The discovery of two new treatises, in formats very different from Morley’s, prompts a consideration of English music theory that takes into account the material forms in which

it was printed, distributed and used. One of these is a surprisingly late edition of the anonymous *Pathway to Music* first published by William Barley in 1596. Its republication in 1637 in the same small oblong format as the first edition suggests its longevity in a market for affordable theory treatises. The other is a broadside, *The Scale, or Basis of Musicke*, preserved in a later copy (1664). The only known English treatise in this format, it functions as a kind of “cheat sheet” that provides the elements of music on a single page.

My paper uses these two treatises to challenge a Morley-centered approach and to suggest the significance of material form for the shaping and marketing of music theory in early modern England.

## OPERA AND REVOLT

Sarah Hibberd, University of Nottingham, Chair

### JEAN DE LA FONTAINE VS. LOUIS XIV: OPERA CRITICISM AS ANTI-WAR PROTEST

Georgia Cowart

Case Western Reserve University

The contest between *gloire* and *amour* lies at the heart of seventeenth-century French operatic discourse, but this contest has never been linked to the larger political debate over Louis XIV’s militarism. Jean de La Fontaine’s “Lettre à Monsieur Niert sur l’opéra,” an important milestone in operatic criticism, takes on added significance in its relation to this debate. In an inflammatory passage excised from the published version of the letter, La Fontaine attacks the bombast, grandiosity, and militaristic heroism of opera, explicitly comparing the genre with Louis XIV’s military campaigns in the most unflattering terms. To the “twenty clavecins,” massed strings, trumpets, and drums of Lully’s operas, he opposes a different kind of music consisting of amorous pieces designed for performance in private, more intimate ensembles. Drawing on excerpts from Lully’s *Isis* and other works cited by La Fontaine, I explore the use of *gloire* and *amour* as ideological constructions and show how La Fontaine’s letter uses opera criticism to document and ground an anti-militaristic political agenda.

### CONTAINING THE REVOLUTION: OPERA AND THE CULTURE OF CONTROL IN FRANCE, 1795–1799

Michael McClellan

Chinese University of Hong Kong

In mid-1797, the Parisian journal *Menteur* described Cherubini, Le Sueur, and Méhul as “terroristes en musique.” Notwithstanding the ironic tone of the essay, the use of the term “terrorist” stands out for its timely political resonance. In the last years of the eighteenth century, “terror” could not be separated from the failed experiment of the Jacobin Republic of Virtue, and this provocative allusion within an article concerning opera reveals how anxiety over the recent past dominated French society at this time. Indeed, stabilizing the French state and avoiding a repeat of the infamous Year II was a major goal of the Directory government (1795–1799) as it seasawed clumsily between the demands of royal-

ists and conservatives on one hand and the populist claims of radical revolutionaries on the other. As restraint and orderliness became major concerns of France's new regime, these qualities garnered praise from music critics who saw parallels between political extremism and the "noisy" excess they perceived in certain operas.

This paper demonstrates how the values espoused in the frequently overlooked music journalism of the French revolutionary era produced aesthetic boundaries intended to protect France from cultural disintegration and in this way responded to governmental calls for social equilibrium. The result was a celebration of "national" taste and style that hardened the generic borders of *opéra* and *opéra-comique* and prepared the transformation of French operatic culture under Napoleon.

## LOOKING FOR THE REVOLUTION IN ROSSINI'S *GUILLAUME TELL*

Benjamin Walton  
University of Bristol

The premiere of *Guillaume Tell*, Rossini's final opera, took place almost exactly a year before the revolution of July 1830 caused the overthrow of the restored Bourbon monarchy of Charles X. Such proximity, together with a plot that depicts popular uprising, seems to point towards an appealingly uncomplicated intersection of opera and politics that is bolstered by *Tell's* later reception as a revolutionary work.

In my paper I argue that the piece is indeed bound up with revolution, but not that of 1830. Instead it functions as a vital part of continued French attempts to come to terms with the unsuccessfully repressed first French Revolution that had begun forty years before. By connecting Rossini's work with the epidemic of theatrical *Tells* that appeared all over Paris in 1828, it becomes clear that any actual depiction of revolt formed only a small part of the tale's contemporary meanings. Of far greater importance was the work's Swiss setting. Medieval Switzerland offered a unified version of national identity freed from French factional skirmishing, as well as a recreation of a golden age that appealed to royalists and liberals alike. Rossini's *Tell* thereby becomes an opera primarily about competing forms of nostalgia, the so-called "Swiss illness," offering a chance to travel back to an idealized 1789 available only in Switzerland, and to remake the events of that time successfully in a way that might lead to the eternal happiness promised so frequently by the original French revolutionaries.

## AMERICA ON THE BUFFA STAGE: REVOLUTION AGAINST OPERATIC CONVENTIONS

Pierpaolo Polzonetti  
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

In conjunction with the events leading to the American Revolution, North American subjects began to appear in European *opere buffe*. A dozen works from the late 1760s through the early 1790s represent new "American" characters, or traditional types relocated to the new-world context; their composers include Anfossi, Guglielmi, Paisiello, and Piccini. Although these operas do not explicitly invoke the ideology of the Revolution, they represent social and gender roles in a dynamic or destabilizing manner and thereby subvert a number of fundamental conventions of the genre.

Following a survey of this neglected repertory and its context, this paper focuses on two specific examples. In Piccinni's *I napoletani in America* (1768), a lower-class Neapolitan woman becomes the governor of an American province. One of her arias musically dramatizes her change of identity and status through an unconventional alternation of different rhetorical levels of expression. Guglielmi's *La quakera spiritosa* (1783) represents the opposite transatlantic crossing: Vertunna, an American Quaker woman, goes to Italy to fulfill her contract to marry an old Neapolitan count. Once in Italy, however, she finds the count's servant Tognino more attractive; she proposes marriage to him by threatening him with a gun. For the Viennese pasticcio version of this opera (1790), Da Ponte wrote a new scene (set by Mozart and Cimarosa) in which Vertunna reassures Tognino and offers him her protection. This scene is suggestive regarding the dramatization of gender-role reversal, and its ideological implications, in the context of the European reception of the American Revolution.

## COLLABORATION AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY BALLET

Charles Joseph, Skidmore College, Chair

SAVVA MAMONTOV, SERGE DIAGHILEV,  
AND A ROCKY PATH TO MODERNISM

Olga Haldey

University of Missouri, Columbia

Ever since its inception, the *Ballets Russes* has been hailed as an emblem of twentieth-century modernism and its leader, Serge Diaghilev, as its primary architect. In particular, Diaghilev has been credited with realizing a modernist dream of art synthesis by assembling a "committee" of performers, directors, composers, and designers to collaborate on his productions. This paper draws on diverse unpublished sources to show that the early stages of the aesthetic transition towards modernism on stage must be reattributed, at least partially, to the earlier activities of the Moscow Private Opera and its director, Savva Mamontov. Multiple creative talents, coupled with ample financial means, allowed Mamontov to realize his artistic ideal of opera as a synthesized art form by instigating major reforms in acting, directing, and design—the same innovations later adopted and developed by Diaghilev. However, parallels between the two enterprises, while occasionally noted in the literature, have frequently been dismissed as coincidental. New evidence reveals the existence of a mentor-student relationship between Mamontov and Diaghilev based on their shared aesthetic views that earned both men a derogatory label of "decadents." Intrigued by Mamontov's philosophy and collaborative methodology employed in creating productions like Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sadko*, Diaghilev studied organizational principles of his enterprise and modeled his own *Ballets Russes* after them, while himself assuming the role of an artistic director similar to Mamontov's. Thus, while never actually crossing the threshold of modernism, Mamontov paved the way for the modernist vision of theater presented to the world by Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*.

## RAVEL'S MISSING BALLET

Simon Morrison  
Princeton University

A lost work, *Daphnis et Chloé* occupies the margins of ballet history. Like hieroglyphics, the extant visual materials resist interpretation, a trait that has allowed scholars to speculate that the music, which endures in concert performance, owes little to its own choreographic motivations.

Beyond Maurice Ravel's 1910 score, the residue of the ballet comprises Michel Fokine's 1907 scenario, one stage photograph, twenty eight studio photographs, brief reviews, sketchy memoirs, and some pastel drawings. These disparate materials are scattered across the globe, interred in libraries and museums in Russia, France, England, and the United States. They less comprise a ballet, even the archival detritus of a ballet, than a haunting absence.

This paper assembles all of these materials in an assessment of the choreographic underpinnings of Ravel's music. Comparison is made between the original and revised versions of the finale of Fokine's scenario, and the original and revised versions of the finale of Ravel's score, cast in  $3/4$  and  $5/4$  time respectively. The paper also highlights an archival novelty, a musical fragment from another *Daphnis et Chloé* score, which Fokine commissioned in 1908 from Andrei Kadletz, his former colleague at the Russian Imperial Ballet School.

Beyond clarifying Ravel's relationship with Fokine, analysis of these materials sheds light on the composer's creative intentions. Though *Daphnis et Chloé* has often been described as a critical failure, hastily rehearsed and marred by disputes between members of the cast, it is perhaps the most provocative commentary on the ontology of ballet ever made.

'TO DRIVE AWAY ALL CLOUDY THOUGHTS':  
THE VIENNA BALLET'S 1923 *BALLETTSOIRÉE* AND  
POST-WORLD WAR I AUSTRIAN CULTURAL POLITICS

Wayne Heisler  
Princeton University

In 1922, Richard Strauss, co-director of the Vienna Opera, asked choreographer Heinrich Kröllner to create dances to "Ravel or something piquant, modern," in order to showcase the resources of the company's ballet. This project evolved into an evening-length *Ballettsoirée*, premiered on 17 February 1923 in Vienna's Redoutensaal. In my paper, I reconstruct this forgotten performance from Max Snischek's costume designs, the musical accompaniment and contemporary reviews. The circumstances surrounding the *Ballettsoirée* witness Strauss's growing interest in ballet during the 1920s, as well as the role of dance and music to articulate Austrian cultural identity.

Working with Strauss, Kröllner created four tableaux: "Social and Theater Dances in the Style of Ludwig XV," accompanied by the composer's *Tanzsuite aus Klavierstücken von François Couperin*, and curiously juxtaposing eighteenth-century courtly dance with Romantic ballet; *Ma mère l'oye*, the Viennese premiere of Ravel's work; "The Dancer's Suitor," a short ballet-pantomime with a potpourri of music drawn from Rameau's opera-ballets

(possibly arranged by Strauss); and “Galoppwalzer” to the “Tritsch-Tratsch Polka” and “Akzeleration-Walzer” by Johann Strauss, Jr.

The *Balletsoirée* was the first in a series of dance collaborations between Richard Strauss and Kröllner, complicating the accepted view of the composer’s creative dormancy in Vienna (a truism that derives from a focus on opera). Ultimately, their attempt to induct Vienna into the international dance scene failed, due in part to the national significance attributed to the *Balletsoirée*: an appropriation of dance history, claimed for its own by a war-drained Austria and symbolically revived in the Redoutensaal.

### ‘A MACHINE THAT THINKS’: MODERNITY AND FORMAL PROCESS IN STRAVINSKY-BALANCHINE’S *AGON*

Julia Randel  
Harvard University

The dialogue between music and choreography in the ballets of Stravinsky and Balanchine is complex and little understood. In his program notes to *Agon* (1957), Balanchine compares their most famous collaboration to “an IBM electronic computer... a machine that thinks.” The metaphor evokes Balanchine’s disciplined approach to musical scores: he designed movements to reflect multiple features of the music (texture, melodic shape, even timbre) and precisely mark the contrasts and divisions in Stravinsky’s scores. At the same time, analysis of the music and choreography of *Agon*’s outer movements reveals that Balanchine looks beyond surface qualities and local events in the music. Taking his cue from subtle connections in the score, he also involves the music in a larger formal process linking the contrasting segments and extending over the whole ballet. Without duplicating the music’s structure, the choreography engages in a parallel process of polarization and synthesis of distinct elements. Balanchine’s attention to larger form particularly shapes his varied settings of seemingly insignificant transitional passages in the music. Through this process, the ballet dramatizes the interplay between historical reference and the modern that informs both music and dance in *Agon*, as well as other Stravinsky-Balanchine ballets of the same period. As the composer himself remarked, Balanchine’s visual commentaries offer analytical and interpretive insights into some of Stravinsky’s most enigmatic scores.

### FRAMING MODERNITY James McCalla, Bowdoin College, Chair

### KEYS TO THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF DARIUS MILHAUD’S POLYTONALITY

François de Médicis  
Université de Montréal

The concept of polytonality occupies a prominent place in two 1923 articles by Darius Milhaud. Considerable attention has been devoted to Milhaud’s theory of polytonality insofar as it applies to his music (Rosteck 1992 and 1994, Cox 1993, Mawer 1997), but the wider cultural context of its meaning has escaped close scrutiny. To better grasp their sig-

nificance, we must determine how these essays relate to an important press debate over polytonality and atonality between 1920 and 1923.

Fueled by Henri Collet's tagging of the *Groupe des Six* in 1920, as well as the recognition of Schoenberg's music and legitimation of his atonal writing in France (Mussat 2001), the controversy raises the subjects of polytonality, atonality, nationalism (sometimes degenerating into racism), and the aesthetic clash of the impressionists (ancients) with *Les Six* (moderns). The term suffers from gross distortion, where polytonality—a technique usually employed only locally and by a minority of composers—becomes an idiom, such as tonality or atonality, rich enough to inspire a “school”, in this case *Les Six*, or even the entire French style.

As a Jewish composer vulnerable to racist attacks, and as the main exponent of polytonality, Milhaud skillfully turns the issues of the debate to his advantage. He portrays Viennese atonality as the natural outcome of Wagnerian chromaticism, and polytonality as the extension of French diatonic modality. His construct appeals to both nationalist pride and ethnic tolerance, and his evolutionary principle positions polytonality as inevitable for nothing less than the whole French musical *avant-garde*.

## NEW STOCKTAKINGS FROM AN APPRENTICESHIP: BOULEZ AND HIS SONATINA

Susanne Gaertner  
Universität Basel

On the strength of his early critical writings and first published compositions, Pierre Boulez (b. 1925) quickly established himself after World War II as one of the leading young European composers. The conventional view, supported by Boulez's own account, has it that during a short apprenticeship he self-confidently rejected the Parisian scene (except for the rhythmic innovations of Messiaen) in favor of the twelve-tone technique, which he learned about in private lessons with René Leibowitz. Boulez immediately adopted this promising technique, extending and redefining procedures he found in Webern.

Unpublished material held in the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, in addition to a recently discovered first version of Boulez's *Opus 1*, the *Sonatina* for Flute and Piano (1946), force us to revise this picture. Compositional exercises as well as letters reveal a hard-working and inquiring pupil who tried out a variety of musical elements, including non-dodecaphonic and French pre-war styles. Analytical approaches to Boulez's *Sonatina* that focus exclusively on the dodecaphonic structure are therefore inadequate. A comparison of the two versions shows that twelve-note-procedures were just one ingredient within a network of references. Combining the world of Messiaen, Jolivet and Stravinsky with that of Schoenberg, Berg and Webern was not only, as Boulez points out, a matter of finding ways to integrate pitches and rhythms, it also brought together highly divergent musical aesthetics to which the composer responded in different, even contradictory ways.

## CAGE, ICHIYANAGI, FLUXUS, JAPAN: RESPONSES AND RESONANCES

Rob Haskins

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

As is well known, John Cage's appropriations of Japanese culture had a profound impact on his aesthetics and compositional methods. In addition to his interactions with the Buddhist scholar D. T. Suzuki, he remained connected to Japanese individuals and culture throughout his lifetime. One of the most decisive of these connections came through his teaching of Toshi Ichianagi, then a young composer who had long admired his work. As a member of the Fluxus community, Ichianagi and others helped to explore Cage's call for an art that is identical with life. For his part, Cage responded to Fluxus with a series of pieces in which, more than ever before, he dissolved all the conventions of the musical work: changing the typical venues for its performance, ignoring the idea of duration as the defining element of the work, and significantly expanding the notion of musical content. My paper clarifies some of the fertile cross-relationships among Cage, Japan, Ichianagi, and Fluxus. First, I consider the effect of Cage's aesthetic on two Ichianagi works from the 1960s. I then explore some of Cage's Fluxus-inspired works, their connections to Ichianagi, and their impact on the understanding of his later career. Finally, I turn to Cage's interactions with Japanese culture and Fluxus in his final years, commenting on two late works: the Fluxus-like *One3* (1989), which he performed in connection with his award of the Kyoto Prize; and aspects of *Two2* (1989), a composition that Cage described as a "renga."

PERFORMING HISTORY: TERRY RILEY'S *IN C*

Cecilia Sun

University of California, Los Angeles

Since its premiere in 1964, Terry Riley's *In C* has become perhaps the most widely performed piece of experimental music. The open nature of Riley's score—performers, playing any pitched instrument, navigate through fifty-three melodic figures at their own pace—has produced results that range from a twenty-minute monochromatic rendition by six keyboardists to the self-consciously monumental CD-length performance commemorating the work's twenty-fifth anniversary.

In this paper, I compare the performance practices of five recordings from five different decades: Riley's original 1968 Columbia Masterworks release and performances by Mantra (1970), Shanghai Film Orchestra (1989), Ictus (1997), and Bang on a Can (2001). I look not only to the often outlandish claims made in the liner notes, but also to actual details of interpretation—number and type of repetition, choices in timber and register, structural articulations, large-scale architectural shaping—in arguing that each performance situates *In C*, and by extension the larger project of musical Minimalism that it has come to represent, in significantly different places within the historical narrative of post-War Western music history. Is Minimalism an outgrowth of Serialism as Ictus has proclaimed with its self-styled "Ligeti Mix"? Is it a part of the post-Cageian avant-garde as Mantra's performance, which lasted only as long as their available tape, might suggest? Or does the existence of a recording by the Shanghai Film Orchestra cement the claim that Minimalism is primary a non-Western phenomenon?

**JAZZ, GOSPEL, AND TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENT**  
**Ingrid Monson, Harvard University, Chair**

A QUESTION OF CONTAINMENT:  
 DUKE ELLINGTON AND EARLY RADIO

Chadwick Jenkins  
 Columbia University

Nearly all scholars studying Duke Ellington's early period emphasize the debt Ellington owes radio as a force that spread his music and exponentially increased his fame. Such a position has become a veritable platitude; yet the majority of authors making this claim provide little documentation concerning any verifiable impact radio may have had upon the composer's early career. At a time when there were few African Americans broadcasting over the supposedly (color-) "blind" medium, it is important to ask why Duke Ellington should have been so comparatively successful and seemingly acceptable. In post-World War I America, whites had an ambivalent fascination with African Americans that led simultaneously to the creation of nightclubs where a white audience could observe black performers and also to restrictive covenants seeking to limit the neighborhoods in which African Americans could live. Both of these approaches to the so-called "Negro Problem" could accurately be described as methods of containment. Radio was never blind; it was continually forced into the realm of the visible by the ubiquitous racialized discourses surrounding the broadcasts. This paper examines the methods of containment the dominant white culture imposed upon African Americans in both radio broadcasts and the commentary on those broadcasts. Ellington's success with the medium was due, in part, to successful efforts to control his image and to keep him and his music "contained"—visible and fascinating but removed, isolated and safe.

*JACK À L'OPÉRA: 'JAZZ' IN INTERWAR FRANCE*

Andy Fry  
 University of California, San Diego

When the Paris Opéra needed some jazz in 1931, Jack Hylton's British band was the obvious choice. Re-embodying, then assimilating, Paul Whiteman records, this new "King of Jazz" and "His Boys" had toured Europe to great acclaim—a success lost to recent scholarship focussing on (black) jazz as a site of primitivism. Mistaken for Americans, however, the band's popularity began to wane as resistance to US dominance mounted. Now they were often criticized for their "standardization" of a "dehumanized" musical "formula."

Two seemingly paradoxical alternatives conspired to dethrone Hylton. On the one hand, bands such as Ray Ventura et ses collégiens offered a "national" jazz with great nostalgic appeal. On the other, African American performers found support from the influential historian Hughes Panassié and his more or less racial distinction between "hot" (black) and "straight" (white) jazz. Audiences learned to perceive in both new models a depth and authenticity in contradistinction from the Hylton "product": an ironic turn given his constant shadowy presence as musical influence or commercial facilitator.

My paper considers these events as an early moment in the global circulation of recorded music, borrowing a model from Bruno Latour to understand its influence as neither all pervasive nor altogether resistible. I also look again at distinctions between “black” and “white”, “folk” and “commercial” musics, whose origins may lie in a critical blindness to actual production circumstances. In the process, I argue for a jazz history that is more complicated than we sometimes wish it to be.

ARMSTRONG AND ELLINGTON DO THE ‘RHUMBA’:  
THE CASE FOR JAZZ AS A TRANSNATIONAL AND GLOBAL MUSIC

Chris Washburne  
Columbia University

Throughout the twentieth century both jazz and Latin musicians have turned to the other for providing innovative fodder for their respective styles. This relationship has been rooted in a complex of social factors that have colored these cross-cultural borrowings and how people have thought about them. This paper explores one such borrowing. In 1930, Don Azpiazu and his Havana Casino Orchestra performed at the Palace Theater in New York City. This was one of the first occasions where a mainstream, non-Hispanic, U.S. audience was exposed to an “authentic” Cuban music performance. The success of this concert and RCA Victor’s subsequent release of Azpiazu’s version of “The Peanut Vendor,” the highlight of the performance, helped launch the “rhumba” dance craze and profoundly changed the course of jazz by providing the groundwork for a new style, known as “Latin jazz.” As a result many jazz artists recorded and frequently performed this composition.

By using Louis Armstrong’s and Duke Ellington’s versions of “The Peanut Vendor” as case studies, this paper explores the role of multiculturalism in 1930s New York jazz, challenging the traditional tropes found in historical narratives that posit jazz as a purely African American or American style. Through stylistic analysis, this exploration calls for a re-thinking of jazz as a trans-national and global music. As Jerome Harris writes, “Given the multicultural elements that underlie both jazz and the country in which it developed, perhaps—the image of jazz as exclusively black... has never completely matched the reality...” (Monson 2000: 118).

DIGGING ‘HOW I GOT OVER’:  
GOSPEL MUSIC AND EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

Georgiary McElveen  
Brandeis University

Ebony magazine asked the readers of its April 2002 issue to name their all-time favorite African American gospel song and offered two traditional songs for consideration: “How I Got Over” and “Precious Lord.” While “Precious Lord,” translated into over forty languages, enjoys cross-cultural, multi-ethnic, and inter-generational popularity, “How I Got Over” occupies a more contested space, its popularity more closely linked with cultural specificity, its messages bound up with sometimes-thorny issues like race, class, and theology. “How I Got Over” is a prime example of how the art of gospel music sustains a hidden transcript of values and understandings that centers social and political activism in a black theological framework. This paper, a compositional, lyrical and performance history of

"How I Got Over," uses a modified version of Signifyin' to excavate some of the song's hidden meanings related to African American culture.

**THE SACRED IN SPAIN AND NEW SPAIN**  
**Walter Clark, University of California, Riverside, Chair**

THE POLYPHONIC PASSION IN MEXICO CITY

Grey Brothers  
 Westmont College

In the southern region of the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century there developed a tradition of the polyphonic Passion characterized by intense emotion, coined the "Andalusian tradition" by the late Robert J. Snow.

This style of the emotionally charged Passion was fostered in the New World and spawned a variant, which I have labeled the "Mexico City tradition." This unique tradition, represented by twelve settings of the Passion composed in the vicinity of Mexico City, can be distinguished from the Andalusian tradition in several ways. First, representatives of the Mexico City tradition make little reference to the plainchant version of the Passion with which they were to be performed. Second, settings of the Passions according to Matthew and Mark include certain of Christ's words uttered in the Garden of Gethsemane, which are found in the manuscripts out of the narrative sequence, as a sort of postlude. Third, the speeches specifically attributed to women in the four Passion accounts are typically given polyphonic treatment.

The decisions regarding which passages were selected for polyphonic treatment reflected prevailing devotional attitudes. Women were increasingly recognized during this period as possessing particular prophetic gifts, and it may be that their rising status in Spanish ecclesiastical circles may have granted women prominence in seventeenth-century settings of the Passion.

RITUAL, MUSIC, AND LOCAL AUTHORITY  
 IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Todd Borgerding  
 University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

The writings of Sebastian de Villegas, maestro de ceremonias at Seville cathedral during the first half of the seventeenth century, include a remarkable collection of treatises and liturgical manuals in which he responds to changes in liturgy promulgated after the Council of Trent, changes that culminated in the appearance of the Roman Ceremonial (1600) and Ritual (1614). In his writings, which comprise over a dozen manuscripts, Villegas sets out not only to identify those local customs which might be preserved due to their antiquity, but also to promote the autonomy of the local prelate of Seville in ceremonial and religious matters. This study examines the musical practice in Spain and in Seville as described by Villegas's 1624 "Practica de las igleçias de españa sobre el uso del seremonial romano" (Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Sec. III, lib. 37) and his 1630 "Norma de los

sagrados ritos y ceremonias" (ACS, Sec. III, leg. 40). Villegas notes a number of important variations from Roman practice, among them additional music (such as the use of organ and/or instruments or the polyphonic performance of liturgical chants) to enhance the ceremonies presided over by the archbishop. In addition to showing that post-Trent liturgical practice was far more varied than is normally supposed, this study argues that liturgical heterodoxy at Seville was musically constructed to promote local symbols of power at a time when cathedral communities across Spain were actively resisting Roman religious hegemony.

'MUSIC CHARMS THE SENSES...':  
MUSIC IN THE *TRIUNFOS FESTIVOS* CELEBRATIONS AT THE  
CHURCH OF SAN GINÉS (MADRID), 1656

Janet Hathaway  
Northern Illinois University

The extraordinary series of celebrations that commemorated the installation of the image *Santo Cristo de San Ginés* in its new chapel was recorded by an associate of the confraternity that sponsored the festivities. The account, *Triunfos festivos...* (Madrid, 1656), is remarkable for its expansiveness and rich description, and serves as a vivid witness to the Spanish Hapsburg religious ceremonial at its peak. This wealth of detail enables us to reconstruct the two-week-long festivities, from the alternation of choirs and protocol in the monarch's presence to the impromptu dancing (quickly subdued) that accompanied the main procession in the streets of Madrid.

The author's account does more than fix the events for posterity, however, his narrative draws upon a stylized vocabulary that, like the celebrations themselves, promotes the identity and standing of his confraternity, a standard function of such events. The music is praised in superlative terms, sometimes via spiritual imagery, strongly suggesting how music in service to devotion was heard and was meant to be heard. This paper discusses the role of devotional music in these festivities in both practical and ideological terms and articulates what the author implied, namely, that the music's reception was as carefully calibrated as its production was choreographed. While public devotional celebrations were commonplace, records as comprehensive as *Triunfos festivos* are rare and significant. Gaps in our knowledge of devotional music and its reception remain. A close study of this little-known document, therefore, contributes considerably to our understanding of musical culture in Hapsburg Madrid.

THE ITALIANIZED FRONTIER: MODERNITY AND STASIS  
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DURANGO, NEW SPAIN

Drew Edward Davies  
University of Chicago

The initiatives of reform promoted by the Spanish Bourbon monarchs at the beginning of the eighteenth century aimed to reinvent cultural life in Spain and its empire according to modern Italianate aesthetic norms. Results from my recent archival work on music manuscripts at the cathedral of Durango, Mexico, suggest that in late-colonial *criollo* society, Italianate music functioned as a moniker of civilization in a place geographically pe-

ripheral, yet central to Spanish networks of commodity flow and ecclesiastical administration. As the archbishopric seat and mining center of the vast northern province of Nueva Viscaya, Durango flourished in the eighteenth century. Its repertoire evinces the musical styles of prominent Neapolitan composers rather than traditional Spanish models. Since the dominant historiography of music in New Spain privileges the less copious early colonial repertoire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, music scholars have seldom considered how mature colonial society received Spanish cultural reform. Yet, most compositions preserved in Mexican cathedral archives date from the eighteenth century, and attest to a rapid aesthetic shift spurred on by the importation of musicians and compositions from the Italian peninsula, followed by a period of relative stylistic stasis that lasted until the independence movement. Informed by scholarship on the global imagination, the notion of the frontier, and the architectural experience of cathedrals in northern New Spain, this paper shows how local and foreign-born eighteenth-century composers articulated modernity via Italian-style *villancicos*, *areas*, and *cantadas* at the newly-reconstructed cathedral of Durango within the late-colonial development of cultural reform.

*Friday afternoon, 14 November*

**TEXTUAL THEORY/TEXTUAL PRACTICE**  
**David Rosen, Cornell University, Chair**

WORKING WITH A LIVING COMPOSER: MULTIPLE VERSIONS  
OF *CANDIDE* AND *A QUIET PLACE*

John Mauceri  
Pittsburgh Opera

The last chapter in Gaskell's *From Writer to Reader* traces Tom Stoppard's involvement in performances of his *Travesties*. It demonstrates how one of today's finest playwrights differentiated variants arising from his supervision of multiple performances of a play from determining a text for publication.

Similar problems affect many significant twentieth-century composers. Musicians—especially conductors—who have worked closely with composers can provide essential information about the process by which variant versions emerge from changing circumstances (artistic, acoustic, personal). Yet the question as to how this information can be best translated on the page and in the theater remains difficult.

The author of this paper was Leonard Bernstein's assistant, then his editor and principal conductor over a period of eighteen years. He conducted the premieres of the three current versions of *Candide*, as well as the three-act *A Quiet Place / Trouble in Tahiti* at the Teatro La Scala of Milan and the Kennedy Center, always with Leonard Bernstein present at rehearsals.

Yet bearing testimony, however important, is insufficient. How can such testimony be brought to bear on the preparation of a critical edition when it is not supported by written musical documentation? To what extent should our knowledge of a composer's aims at a particular historical moment color editorial choice for works existing in multiple states?

TO COMPLETE OR NOT TO COMPLETE: THE ETHICS OF EDITING

Philip Gossett  
University of Chicago

Among historically authentic versions of nineteenth-century Italian operas, performed under the composer's direction or substantially finished by him, there are many for which surviving materials are incomplete. Editors are faced with an ethical dilemma: under what circumstances should they permit themselves not only to complete such materials for a contingent performance, but also to print their solutions as part of a canon-defining critical edition?

The circumstances are various. In Rossini's *Tancredi*, all concerted music associated with the tragic finale exists in Rossini's autograph, but none of the secco recitative survives. In Rossini's *Otello*, no musical source exists for the *lieto fine* prepared for a Roman revival at the behest of the Papal censors, but from the printed libretto it is possible to hypothesize a musical rendering. Is it legitimate to allow aesthetic judgments to enter into such decisions (e.g., the tragic finale of *Tancredi* is worth performing, the *lieto fine* of *Otello* is a travesty).

What should be done with a work that was never performed? Verdi completed the skeleton score of *Gustavo III / Una vendetta in domino*, the original version of *Un ballo in maschera*, but Neapolitan censors prevented him from presenting it. From surviving skeleton scores, sketches, and librettos, *Gustavo III* can be reconstructed, but the editor needs to orchestrate important passages of the work to make it performable. Does such a reconstruction belong within a critical edition?

Textual theory alone cannot provide responses to these questions. This paper proposes to offer some guidelines.

### TEXTUAL THEORY/TEXTUAL PRACTICE: THE CASE OF RAMEAU AND FRENCH OPERA

M. Elizabeth C. Bartlett  
Duke University

Rameau, like his predecessor Lully, was aware of the importance of matching his operas to the exigencies of the Académie Royale de Musique and its audience, and of those of the court, not only for works premiered at Versailles or Fontainebleau, but also “public” ones supported by royal patronage. In France a composer could expect continuing financial benefits only while his works remained in repertory.

Rameau’s strategy—revising, sometimes substantially, operas originally premiered at court for public performances in Paris (e.g., *Platée*), and intervening significantly when earlier operas were revived at the Opéra (e.g., *Dardanus*)—succeeded fully: his works dominated the Opéra from 1730 to 1770. He interacted with performers and others associated with the theatre and the court, fine-tuning scores during rehearsals and early performances.

Printed scores (frequently the primary sources for Saint-Saëns’ *Œuvres complètes* and modern performances) hide the richness of the performing tradition. Only a review of all surviving sources, textual and musical, gives us access to Rameau’s art. For French opera, the vast quantity of surviving sources poses problems different from those faced by editors of seventeenth-century Italian opera. How does modern textual theory assist the editor of a Rameau opera to present this information?

Once an edition is made, how does one answer the question: what is “best”? No single version would be the short answer, but a better question is: what are “good approaches” to this repertory? How can the Rameau edition help performers bring the music of Rameau to life for modern audiences?

### ‘L’OPERA È LABILE’: CAVALLI AND *SCIPIONE AFRICANO*

Jennifer Williams Brown  
University of Rochester

After the earliest, self-conscious years of the genre, the musical text of a seventeenth-century Italian opera was not communicated to its audience in written form. It was not printed. Music was committed to paper mainly for in-house use by performers; scores also served as a repository for revisions made during productions. Later copies made for patrons and collectors not only replicate the incomplete nature of these earlier documents, but also

frequently confuse the nature of the revisions. Unfortunately for editors, these later copies provide virtually the only surviving record of seventeenth-century operatic texts.

It is therefore intriguing that Francesco Cavalli apparently embarked on a project to have his entire operatic oeuvre recopied. Was this a rare instance of a seventeenth-century opera composer seeking to establish and disseminate single, stable versions of his operas? A study of Cavalli's *Scipione Africano* reveals this was not the case: Cavalli seems to have had little role in correcting either the (lost) exemplar or the finished copy, which contains traces of several earlier versions.

Seventeenth-century operas can best be seen as "processes whose boundaries are variable and whose state labile" (to quote textual scholar Ralph Williams). This paper advocates an edition of *Scipione* that reconstructs the process of its eighteen-year performance history, yet is mindful of opera's central paradox: however fluid the text might be from performance to performance, each individual performance—whether in the seventeenth century or the twenty-first—must consist of a single, complete state of the work.

### HERMENEUTICS OF THE SACRED

Margot Fassler, Institute of Sacred Music, Yale University, Chair

#### L'HOMME ARMÉ: A NEW HYPOTHESIS

Andrew Kirkman  
Rutgers University

The question of the identity of the "armed man"—and hence of a reason for the widespread use of the *L'homme armé* melody as a Mass cantus firmus—has intrigued scholarship for decades. Various candidates have been advanced, many of them offering persuasive explanations for individual or circumscribed groups of works. However, few have suggested a basis for an understanding of the phenomenon as a whole; indeed, scholars have begun to express doubt that such an understanding is available.

Certainly any explanation embracing such an extended and multifarious tradition would have to be grounded in circumstances beyond those of local priority or occasional motivation, embracing instead something more general and fundamental to late medieval Western Christendom. Such a phenomenon exists in the form of the Mass itself, and more specifically in the person of the celebrant, and in the vestments worn by him while officiating. According to one extremely widespread allegorical model, these became equated with items of armour with which, building on references in the Pauline epistles, the priest was to arm himself against the forces of wickedness, "the book," finally, assuming the status of the sword. This paper demonstrates that, as a model for the understanding of the *L'homme armé* tradition, this and related allegories have the advantage not only of universal familiarity in the late Middle Ages, but also of embracing and illuminating more piecemeal explanations offered in the past.

## ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND THE PRIESTHOOD AT LAON

Robert Lagueux  
Yale University

Laon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 263 is a well-known source from the twelfth century that contains music and liturgical dramas for the feasts of the Christmas Octave, those days following Christmas on which the various clerical orders celebrated their offices. The manuscript is associated with the cathedral of Laon and its celebrated school, a center of learning best known for its scholars' work on the standardized collection of interlinear and marginal commentary on the Bible, the *Glossa ordinaria*. Despite its importance, the manuscript has received surprisingly little attention; although David Hughes's 1972 article on the music for the feast of St. Stephen inventoried and transcribed a small portion of its contents, little else has been scrutinized. This paper explores the music and liturgy for the feast of St. John the Evangelist (December 27), the day given over to the celebration of the priesthood. It focuses on a Matins sequence unique to the Laon source, *Clare cunctorum*, and the distinctive use of Greek in the Gloria (*Doxa en ipsistis*) and Alleluia in the Mass. Drawing upon other sources from Laon—in particular Laon, Bm MS 224, a pontifical; and Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud. Misc. 216, a collection of short theological tracts—I then suggest that the feast of St. John was a nexus at which a medieval understanding of the priesthood as an office established by Christ himself converged with notions of John as the evangelist who received unique knowledge of the divine, a conjunction of ideas that was expressed in the liturgy for the day.

SACRED STRUCTURE, SCRIPTURAL SENSE:  
JOSQUIN'S *HUC ME SYDEREO*

Kate Bartel  
University of California, Los Angeles

Josquin's motet *Huc me sydereo* takes as its text an elegiac poem by humanist, Maphaeus Vegius. Josquin structures the setting of this graphic depiction of Christ's suffering on the cross through a proportional mensuration scheme that formally organizes the music according to the temporal organization of a cantus firmus. A predetermined ratio brings this cantus firmus into gradual temporal alignment with the outer voices. This compositional gesture—the use of a mensuration scheme that gradually diminishes the ratio of cantus firmus to freely composed voices—does not appear to fulfill a rhetorical function in furthering the expressive intensity of the text in portraying Christ's suffering. Might there, though, be another level at which this gesture is put to rhetorical effect to signify Christ's crucifixion?

In this paper I reexamine Josquin's use of this mensuration scheme against the backdrop of Renaissance understandings of the crucifixion, drawing in particular on epideictic oratory in papal Rome and Leo Steinberg's study of the iconographical tradition of artistic representations of the crucifixion in Renaissance art. I analyze text and music of *Huc me sydereo* as both a literary and musical gloss on the crucifixion. I argue that the mensuration scheme provides a means through which Josquin embedded contemporary understandings of the crucifixion at the level of the basic compositional gesture of *Huc me sydereo*.

ISAAC'S *LAUDES SALVATORI*, JOSQUIN'S *VICTIMAE PASCHALI*  
*LAUDES* À 4, AND THE MARIAN SYMBOLISM OF EASTERTIDE

David Rothenberg  
 Yale University

Isaac's *Laudes salvatori* (from *Choralis Constantinus* II) and Josquin's *Victimae paschali laudes* à 4 are both settings of Easter sequences. Each paraphrases the Gregorian chant it sets while also incorporating two additional cantus firmi: the chants *Regina caeli* and *Victimae paschali laudes* in the Isaac, and the superius voices of Ockeghem's chanson *D'un autre amer* and Hayne's *De tous biens plaine* in the Josquin. Although the identity of these cantus firmi was never in question, their hidden symbolism has not previously been recognized, nor has the similarity between the two compositions been noted. This paper demonstrates that the two additional cantus firmi in each piece have been inserted to symbolize Christ and the Virgin Mary, respectively, and examines these symbolic associations within the context of Eastertide, a liturgical season that simultaneously celebrated Christ's resurrection and the earthly re-birth characteristic of spring. For it is Mary's role in the liturgical and secular symbolism of Eastertide that allows the significance of the cantus firmi to be fully understood. A careful examination of earlier polytextual works further shows that Isaac and Josquin were contributing to a centuries-long tradition that wedded elements of the Eastertide liturgy with both Marian prayer and vernacular springtime song during the vernal season. Isaac's liturgical and Josquin's secular cantus firmi, now correctly understood, can thus be seen as part of a single web of sacred/secular symbolism that extended back at least three hundred years.

**INSTRUMENT, GESTURE, AND THE BODY IN PERFORMANCE**

**Elizabeth LeGuin, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair**

THE LUTE, THE BODY, AND CIVILITY: THE SOCIAL GESTURE OF  
 MUSICAL PERFORMANCE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

George Torres  
 Grinnell College

Beginning with the work of Castiglione and continuing through the writings of Erasmus and others who followed, efforts at codifying a system of comportment and behavior among the upper classes in early modern Europe were important in the development of a process of civilization and manners. Specifically within the *ancien régime*, Courtin's *Nouveau traité de la civilité* (1671), which went through many translations and multiple editions well into the eighteenth century, had a profound influence on seventeenth-century civility. Regarding the spectacle of musical performance, these writings prescribed an environment that was tightly controlled with regard to social behavior on the parts of the players and auditors. Furthermore, period treatises on playing the lute give specific rules regarding body comportment, venues, and discretion.

Based on recent methodologies in the study of gesture (Muchembled and Roodenburg), period treatises on civility (Courtin), and period French lute tutors, this paper shows how seventeenth-century lute performance was used by the dominant class as a means of a

counter example of lower-class behavior. It also shows that the extra-musical performative elements—which include the choice of instrument, a controlled performance environment, and a strict structural code of body and gesture—were all used in the construction of an identity among those who participated, both performer and audience. Finally, I show that lute performance within the broader context of seventeenth century *civilité*, helped to reinforce a cultural bi-polarization between the lower and dominant classes of seventeenth-century French society.

## HEROIC CODES OF THE VIOLIN (1780–1830)

Maiko Kawabata

State University of New York, Stony Brook

Beyond its glossy surface of virtuosity and lyricism, a violin concerto is replete with a vocabulary of hidden and (on second glance) not so hidden gestures. From Beethoven's timpani strokes to Paganini's marches and fanfares, the genre employs a host of "heroic" elements and gestures borrowed from military band music. In the revolutionary era such borrowings were hardly restricted to a purely musical level. Rather, I argue, military themes and ideas permeated virtually every aspect of a violin concerto's composition, performance and reception. In the famous concertos as with countless now-forgotten works (of Viotti, Kreutzer, Rode, Baillot, Spohr, Bull, Alday, De Bériot, Lipinski, Prume), the combination of military topoi with the soloist's leading role characterized the violin as a hero. Simultaneously, the tendency to compare violinists to mythological or historical figures became increasingly focussed on the image of a military leader (Alexander, Napoléon, Hercules). All the while, the instrument itself projected a noble, chivalric aura through popular imaginings of the violin as "king of instruments" and the bow as weapon. Taken together, it is these characteristics—what I call heroic codes—that, more than anything, shaped the culture of the violin, violinists, and violin music.

An exploration of the "heroic" violin—ultimately a cultural legacy of Napoléon's military heroism—prompts a rethinking of the lines traditionally drawn between absolute and program music and encourages a historical reevaluation of the "warhorses": concertos of Beethoven and Paganini were not isolated "masterpieces" but rather symptomatic of a larger cultural trend.

## NINETEENTH-CENTURY VISUAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE STRING QUARTET

Nancy November

Victoria University of Wellington

In the nineteenth century, the string quartet arguably became the most revered form of chamber music. Written documents on music of the time, such as treatises and criticism, reveal the dominant aesthetic ideals that have since been associated with the genre: equality, necessity, sufficiency, homogeneity, and purity of voices. Visual documents of the genre and visual metaphors of the time reinforce this ideology of the string quartet. I discuss the position of Haydn's works in particular, as viewed through the ideology, considering the dominant visual metaphors that were applied to this composer in nineteenth-century criticism.

Writers of the time were certainly establishing and applying an ideology of the string quartet, yet their remarks reveal alternative conceptions of the genre. Around 1800, the visual metaphors applied in discussions of the instrumental quartet, especially the figure of theatrical representation, suggest the tricky mediating role of the quartet between “public” and “private” places. These tensions, concerning the quartet’s location and expressive modes, have arguably been lost in more recent, more unified perspectives on “Classical” string quartets. Iconography of the time, too, calls to question traditional quartet historiography. An oil painting, assumed latterly to be of eighteenth-century origin, shows an idealized “conversational” representation of chamber music-making in the *ancien régime*. Reinterpreted as nineteenth-century satire, this image gives us further pause to reflect on the visual ideologies that affect our views of the early string quartet.

### ONE HAND ON THE FUTURE: SYNTHESIZERS AND THE BODY

Theo Cateforis  
Carleton College

From the massive guitar sculptures adorning its outdoor façade to the dozens of archival instruments on display within its walls, the Rock’n’Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland is in many respects a shrine to the electric guitar. By contrast, among its numerous exhibits the Hall includes only three synthesizers, a total which indicates the bias behind this popular narrative of rock history. In recent years, scholars such as Trevor Pinch and Frank Trocco (*Analog Days*) and Paul Théberge (*Any Sound You Can Imagine*) have redressed this imbalance, tracing the enormous impact of the moog synthesizer in the late 1960s and digital technologies in the mid-1980s. This paper examines the period between these two eras—the late 1970s/early 1980s—which featured the rise of the first new wave synthesizer “pop star,” Gary Numan, and the subsequent visual popularization of synthesizers on MTV.

I approach the topic by looking at the relationship between the synthesizer and the performing body. Like earlier rock keyboardists, new wave musicians initially had to conform their bodies to the monophonic synthesizer, which confined the player to one-handed melodies and solos. I first examine how this one-handed approach encouraged some synthesizer players to develop a modal melodic style. I then consider the synthesizer’s representation in videos from Gary Numan, The B52s, and New Order, where we see how the synthesizer—often visually separated from the performing body—served to underscore new wave’s overriding musical aesthetic of emotional detachment.

### RE-EVALUATING PROGRESS IN EARLY AMERICAN MODERNISM

Carol Oja, Harvard University, Chair

### ‘AND THE WORLD HAS CHANGED’: THE PROGRESSIVE MRS. BEACH

Susan Borwick  
Wake Forest University

Recent scholarship has deemed the larger works of Amy Beach (1867–1944), which prestigious ensembles performed during her lifetime to much critical acclaim, to be “what a woman musician could do if given the chance” (Crawford). It has also relegated the songs

to what women composers ordinarily did (Block, Jenkins). Yet Beach's songs reveal not only a distinctive musical palette, but also on occasion attitudes well beyond the Victorian Brahmin culture in which she has traditionally been placed.

The central song in her most famous set, Op. 44, *Three Browning Songs* (1900), "Ah, Love, but a day!," takes Browning's first poem in the series *James Lee's Wife*, a text set by many female and male American song composers. Virginia Gabriel and Ethel Harraden set this before 1900, Julian Pascal as well as Beach in that year, and at least seven others before World War I. Yet only Beach's setting omits Browning's third stanza, which objectifies the unnamed wife who is speaking. That the commission and premiere of Beach's Opus 44 was linked to Boston's Browning Society makes the composer's alteration of the poet's intent particularly delicious and shows that Amy Beach at times revealed herself to be a more progressive thinker than we have estimated—indeed, a New Woman in step with progressive attitudes at the turn of the century.

### LEO ORNSTEIN AND THE INTUITIVE PATH IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MODERNISM

Michael Broyles  
Pennsylvania State University

By the 1910s critics recognized that Schoenberg and Stravinsky were reshaping Western music. Yet some writers considered Leo Ornstein's contributions even more important. History, of course, did not validate that claim, and this paper explores why. I suggest that the reason lies partly in the path Ornstein chose and partly in twentieth-century historiography. As the works of Schoenberg and Stravinsky defined modernism, they became the benchmarks by which others were judged. Should they? Ornstein tests that case.

With the Violin Sonata, Op. 31, (1915), Ornstein's atonal trajectory led him to a crisis similar to that of Schoenberg in the period from 1909 to 1916. But, unlike Schoenberg, Ornstein spurned system, actively and consciously; he remained committed to intuition and spontaneity. This was an important orientation in American modernism, embraced by Rudhyar, Crawford, and to an extent Ruggles and Ives, but only Ornstein did not find it a creative dead end. The reason: Ornstein was willing to choose a path that few other composers were, to turn back to a more "expressive" style (his term), as apparent in his Cello Sonata, Op. 52 (1916).

In two ways, then, Ornstein was at odds with dominant historiographic tendencies of the twentieth century. He privileged spontaneity and intuition over system, and he disavowed progress. Ornstein was severely criticized on both counts, for abandoning modernism and for not producing tight structures. The latter rings of Elliott Carter's criticism of Ives. This paper focuses on the implications of Ornstein's works to twentieth-century historiography and vice-versa.

A SYMPHONY OF DANCES:  
WILLIAM GRANT STILL'S SYMPHONY NO. 1

Earnest Lamb  
University of Arkansas, Pine Bluff

William Grant Still's *Afro-American Symphony* is encumbered with historical barnacles: it is the first symphony written by an African American to receive a performance by a world-class orchestra; the twelve-bar blues form replaces sonata form in the first movement; and the banjo appears for the first time in a symphonic work. As the only African American classical composer of his generation, the *Afro-American* inevitably became a symbol of racial progress and the realization of the New Negro's dream of using Negro folk idioms (i.e. blues, jazz, spirituals) as the basis for symphonies, operas and other "great works" of art.

While Still's use of Negro folk idioms is significant, the symphony's synergy of African American dances has been neglected in most exegeses of this work. This is not surprising. Dance, both social and concert, has been the least explored aspect of the Harlem Renaissance. This is ironic since the spectacular dancing in the all-black musical *Shuffle Along* is often cited as the catalyst for the cultural renaissance in 1920s Harlem. By foregrounding the dance rhythms in this work, Still's symphony becomes a musical portrait of Afro-America expressed through dance. African American social dances like the shuffle, Charleston, and the black bottom, which achieved mainstream popularity, appear alongside two nineteenth-century dances, the juba and cakewalk. Still, then, is continuing the established tradition of using social dances as inspiration for symphonic works.

INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND MODERNISM: JOHANNA BEYER  
AND THE NEW YORK COMPOSERS' FORUM, 1935–40

Melissa de Graaf  
Brandeis University

The New York City Composers' Forum, a series of weekly concerts of new music, was one of the New Deal's most successful endeavors, showcasing composers like Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Elie Siegmeister. Question-and-answer sessions followed the concerts, inspiring comments, critiques, and, often, attacks from the public. Transcripts of these sessions survive nearly complete in the National Archives, and are an incredibly rich source of information about an underexplored time in American musical life. Study of these archival sources gives valuable insight into composers' and audiences' views on gender, modernism, vernacular music, and political situations in the 1930s.

The early years of the Forum provided significant opportunities for not only renowned women composers like Amy Beach, Marion Bauer, and Ruth Crawford, but also those less known such as Johanna Beyer. This paper explores the reception of modernism in the Composers' Forum, focusing on Beyer. Gender became a predominant issue in some Forum sessions, functioning as a lens through which listeners saw and defined modernism. Transcripts illustrate the definitions of and relationships between modernism, masculinity, and femininity current at the time. The importance of these documents for female composers of the time period cannot be underestimated. Modernist women have been neglected both individually and collectively. Drawing on the transcripts and other docu-

ments, this paper re-focuses attention on female composers' contributions to musical modernism.

**FORGOTTEN INNOVATIONS AND MODERN CHALLENGES  
IN *FIN-DE-SIÈCLE* PARIS**

**Ralph P. Locke, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, Chair**

GEORGINA AND GEORGE, GOUNOD AND MOLLIÈRE

Steven Huebner  
McGill University

In 1874, while in England and estranged from his wife, Charles Gounod began an operatic adaptation of the prose text of Molière's play *George Dandin*. Soon afterwards, he hastily returned to the fold in France, inadvertently leaving the unfinished score with his associate, amanuensis, and later adversary Georgina Weldon. Inaccessible for over a century, his autograph has recently become available for study.

This opera commands attention for aesthetic, economic, and biographical reasons. Critics have often cited Gounod's published explanatory essay about *George Dandin* as a harbinger of later prose operas, including *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Now his seminal essay may finally be compared to the music itself, among the first operatic attempts anywhere to set prose. How did Gounod's conservative phrase structure mesh with irregular and non-rhyming syntactical units? After addressing this question, I argue that Gounod's decision to bypass a librettist was motivated not only by aesthetic concerns as he claimed, but also by monetary considerations brought to his attention by Weldon (and documented in his correspondence with Jules Barbier, also recently become available). Gounod's diverse efforts to improve financial terms for composers provide a context for this argument. Finally, I ask why Gounod did not return to such an innovative project when opportunities arose, and as he did with *Polyeucte*, another autograph held hostage by Weldon. The answer lies partly in his private life: documentary evidence suggests that once Gounod was reconciled with his spouse, an opera about a comic protagonist distrustful of his wife proved unpalatable.

*S'OUBLIER DANS L'œUVRE*: THE PRELUDE TO *LOHENGRIN*  
AND WAGNERIAN TRANSCENDENCE  
IN EARLY THIRD REPUBLICAN FRANCE

Kelly Maynard  
University of California, Los Angeles

Lying at the intersection of historical musicology and cultural history, this paper examines the Parisian response to Wagner in the early Third Republic. I use the Prelude to *Lohengrin* as a case study and build upon recent work by Lawrence Kramer, Manuela Schwartz, and Steven Huebner to consider both musical and socio-cultural explanations for Wagner's highly-contested reception in France. Utilizing firsthand accounts from independent Parisian presses by concert-goers prior to *Lohengrin's* official premiere (1891), the rich religious language which marked these accounts is considered not as following a programmatic description of the shimmering sanctuary of the Grail, but rather in light of

tensions inherent to the 1880s in France. The Prelude challenged French audiences with its “foreign” harmonic and orchestral style, yet resonated with listeners embedded in a residually Catholic culture who described their experience of listening as “transcendent.” Prevalent in many writers’ responses to Wagner, this theme of transcendence was articulated in two very contradictory ways: as a renunciation of the self in favor of communal experience with other listeners, or as a psychological experience which *removed* the listener from the outside world toward an interior, profoundly personal space. This opposition paralleled broader conflicts of the period between the bourgeois, liberal individual and nationalist/socialist movements which sought to subsume that individual. Through the example of the Prelude to *Lohengrin* in Paris, I suggest that music may function not merely as residue or illustration, but as an active historical component of the political and cultural landscape of modern France.

THE MEDIEVAL LEPER PLAGUES MODERN PARIS:  
SYLVIO LAZZARI’S *LA LÉPREUSE*

Julie McQuinn  
Northwestern University

Lazzari’s opera, *La Lépreuse* (1912), presents an extreme instance of a *fin-de-siècle* portrayal of woman as monster—a medieval mother and daughter deliberately infecting men and children with leprosy. The squeamish reaction of the director of the Opéra-Comique to an outwardly archaic subject attests to the powerful resonance of this opera with Parisian anxieties regarding sexuality and venereal disease. The striking parallels between perceptions and constructions of leprosy and syphilis, as well as attempts to contain and control these societal threats, facilitated a *fin-de-siècle* reading of this opera as a syphilitic tale.

The opera’s Breton connections intensified the power of these parallels. Sets, costumes, story, and music all mirrored Parisian perceptions of contemporary Brittany—perceptions shaped by tourism, paintings, postcards, and modern publications of Breton songs and stories—as a mythic, savage place where medieval ways persisted, thus enabling a condition simultaneously remote and modern. Breton folk songs permeated Lazzari’s score, evoking a stylistic primitivism resembling the art of Gauguin.

An examination through the lenses of medical texts, art and literature, and reviews reveals how this previously unstudied opera provides unique insights into *fin-de-siècle* Parisian culture, employing popular stereotypes associated with syphilis and simultaneously undermining those stereotypes, exposing the problematic nature of societal attitudes toward venereal disease and its perceived prime carriers—women. Its presence at the locus of a tangle of issues including sex, prostitution, disease, hysteria, religion, myth, and authenticity provided a tense, ambiguous space as equipped for reinforcement as for subversion of the link between gender and disease.

*LOIN DE LA TONALITÉ USUELLE:*  
THE OCTATONIC SCALE IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

Sylvia Kahan  
College of Staten Island, City University of New York

The octatonic scale, like the dodecaphonic scale, is now widely regarded as one of the principal organizational devices of twentieth-century classical music. Its first use can be traced, however, to the Romantic Era: it was used as an agent for radical harmonic progressions in the works of Schubert, Chopin, and Liszt; Rimsky-Korsakov described it in an 1867 letter as a leitmotif in the symphonic poem *Sadko*; Scriabin, Debussy, and Ravel employed it in their late Romantic and early Modernist works. Interestingly, the scale's reification—the naming of the collection as a thing in itself—has been long in coming. Stravinsky, who opened the door to musical Modernism with his octatonically-infused *Rite of Spring*, never formally identified or theorized the scale. It took another thirty years for Messiaen to identify the “modes of limited transposition.” And another twenty years would pass before Arthur Berger, in a 1963 article, coined the name “octatonic scale.”

In fact, the collection had already been named—twice—in 1894 Paris. Amateur composer Edmond de Polignac wrote several compositions based on the “*gammes chromatico-diatoniques*” as early as 1879, and subsequently theorized them in a one-hundred-page treatise. Musicologist Alexandre de Bertha wrote and lectured extensively about his discovery of the “*gammes enharmoniques*.” In this paper I examine the reception of the works and ideas of these two men by contemporary critics and composers, and their role as precursors of modern octatonic theory.

**THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC MOURNING**  
**Annette Richards, Cornell University, Chair**

PASSION DEVOTION AND CHRISTIAN OPTIMISM AT THE COURT  
OF LEOPOLD I: *IL LUTTO DELL'UNIVERSO* AS A CASE STUDY IN  
THE SYMBOLISM OF THE EARLY VIENNESE *SEPOLCRI*

Patricia Firca  
University of Chicago

Much of our information about seventeenth-century Viennese *sepolcri* comes from accounts of its post-1669 history that credit Nicolò Minato and Antonio Draghi with developing the genre under Leopold I's passive patronage. However, written on Francesco Sbarra's text, Leopold's 1668 *sepolcro*, *Il Lutto dell'universo* suggests that the monarch participated actively in the production of *sepolcri*, and that before Minato, Sbarra formalized the genre's main characteristics.

In *Il Lutto*, Sbarra mastered a symbolism designed to allude to specific Habsburg devotional and dynastic traditions, and thus to glorify Leopold's prosperous government of the 1660s. Since Sbarra died immediately before the Maundy Thursday performance of the *sepolcro*, *Il Lutto* is one of his last works, alongside with his famous *Il Pomo d'oro*. But in contrast to the latter, *Il Lutto* was presented to the Habsburg audience under more somber circumstances, Holy Week devotion being enhanced by the court's mourning for Leopold's son's death. In this context, Sbarra succeeded in creating an ingenious plot where scriptural

references, non-biblical episodes and mythological metaphors accommodate the spirit of humble piety, while simultaneously projecting a sense of Christian optimism, emphasizing the Habsburg propensity for universal joy and peace. Prioritizing this rhetoric of optimism, Sbarra's text transcends the *sepolcro's* sacred framework in its manipulation of imperial symbols familiar from *Il Pomo d'oro*. Finally, by following mid-seventeenth-century traditions of Italian operatic style, the emperor's musical setting of the text sheds important light on his own serene devotion, in agreement with the atmosphere of the Viennese court in the late 1660s.

## PUBLIC MOURNING AND PROHIBITIONS AGAINST MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

Gregory Johnston  
University of Toronto

Income derived from participation at funerals was of fundamental importance to the livelihood of German musicians in the seventeenth century. Indeed, funerals occasioned commissions for new works by composers, provided essential supplements to the incomes of cantors and other school instructors who supervised performances of processional and ceremonial music, and augmented the meager income of needy pupils from the church schools. This aspect of professionalism has received attention from scholars working in the area, but a related and equally important facet of funerary culture in early-modern Germany has been largely overlooked. When a member of the ruling nobility died, public mourning was customarily invoked by the court, during which time many types of private and public music-making were strictly forbidden. Because these periods of public mourning could extend anywhere from two months to more than a year in length, the consequences for civic and church musicians were particularly severe.

The present paper is an inquiry into some of the implications and ramifications of invoked bans on music. More than just the imposition of silence on a region, periods of public mourning were also the catalyst for various musical activities. Courts saw them as opportunities to "lend" and "borrow" musicians (e.g., Praetorius and Schütz), whereas town and church councils affected by these prohibitions found themselves faced with the risk of permanently losing their best and most employable musicians. An awareness of these bans may contribute to a better understanding of patterns and tendencies in the creative activities of contemporary musicians.

**MUSICAL GENRES AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS  
IN ENLIGHTENMENT AUSTRIA**  
Elaine Sisman, Columbia University, Chair

ARISTOCRATIC HOUSE ORCHESTRAS  
IN MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AUSTRIA: PRIVATE CONTEXT  
AND PUBLIC EXPRESSION IN THE GENRE OF THE SYMPHONY  
Jen-yen Chen  
Occidental College

In Austria during the middle of the eighteenth century, the symphony was situated at the nexus of competing tensions that characterized contemporary musical life: private vs. public musical activity, occasional uses of music vs. an increasing emancipation of music from narrowly functional contexts. An investigation of the aristocratic house orchestras, or *Hauskapellen*, which thrived especially in the period from 1750 to 1775, highlights these tensions. Modeled upon the imperial *Hofkapelle*, the *Hauskapellen* preserved a ceremonial, privileged setting for the presentation of music. At the same time, the efforts of these ensembles to outdo one another in musical splendor brought about a professionalization of their performers, many of whom had formerly carried out other servants' tasks but now became devoted to musical activities full-time. The *Hauskapellen* thus helped to initiate a conception of music as forming a distinct sphere worthy of independent cultivation, even as they maintained music's traditional role as an adjunct to other activity. Their repertoire reflects this development, simultaneously conforming to conventional social uses (evident in quasi-symphonic forms such as the divertimento and the serenade) and demonstrating a growing idiosyncratic seriousness (e.g. Haydn's symphonies of the 1770s for the Esterhazy orchestra). Through a discussion of the music and musical practices of important *Hauskapellen* such as those of the Schwarzenberg and Graskowitz families, this paper examines the intersection of functional and aesthetic aspects of the symphony. It considers the extent to which private, exclusive contexts may paradoxically have contributed to the evolution of the genre into a paradigmatic representation of public music.

FROM COURT TO PUBLIC:  
THE USES OF KEYBOARD CONCERTOS IN AUSTRIA 1750–1770  
Martin Eybl  
Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Vienna

The keyboard concerto in the 1750s and 1760s has traditionally received less attention from scholars than those genres generally regarded as the period's most innovative: the

symphony and the string quartet. Indeed, from the perspective of formal organization, the keyboard concerto appears rather conventional. More than other genres of instrumental music, however, it reflects an ongoing process of cultural decentralization in the Habsburg Empire during the reign of Empress Maria Theresia (1740–1780).

Three manuscript collections of some fifty concertos by Wagenseil, Hofmann, Steffan, Haydn and others were originally intended for private use by the Empress' daughters, yet this imperial repertoire gradually lost its exclusiveness. The wide dissemination of these works sheds light on developing markets of music, musical instruments, and private music lessons. Taking these works as a point of focus, this paper examines the circulation of music within its social contexts and also considers problems of terminology, genre, and performance practice. In Austria in the 1760s, the keyboard concerto could be regarded as both chamber music and orchestral music. In order to illuminate the contemporary understanding of these categories, the paper discusses the interrelation among diverse scorings, the different titles sometimes used for the same composition (*concerto*, *concertino*, *concert*), and the different genres to which variant versions of some works belong (divertimento solo, accompanied keyboard divertimento, keyboard concerto). Played by both amateurs and professionals in aristocratic circles and in public concerts, the keyboard concerto in its various manifestations provides insight into an increasingly diversified musical practice.

### **AMS PRESIDENTIAL FORUM: THE SYMBIOSIS OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH**

**J. Peter Burkholder (Indiana University)**

**Thomas Christensen (University of Chicago)**

**Susan McClary (University of California, Los Angeles)**

**H. Wiley Hitchcock (City University of New York)**

**Kay Kaufman Shelemay (Harvard University)**

The AMS Presidential Forum, now in its second year, replaces the traditional Presidential Address. This year the Forum focuses on how our work as teachers, in and out of the classroom, leads us into research and publication, and how our work in research feeds back into our teaching. For many of us with teaching positions, teaching and research compete for our time, but can also contribute to a larger enterprise where one benefits the other. The close relationship of research and teaching can be a platitude administrators use, but it can also be true as lived experience, even a source of excitement.

The panelists are all widely known for their research and have held leadership positions in the AMS and other scholarly societies. Yet they consider their work as teachers to be just as important and rewarding, if inevitably less familiar to the AMS membership at large. Each will relate their own experiences of how their teaching and research have mutually inspired and supported each other. These brief presentations will be followed by conversation among the panelists and comments and questions from the floor.

*Friday evening, 14 November*

**PANEL DISCUSSION  
CARL JUNG'S PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS AND MUSIC**

**Jeffrey Kurtzman, Washington University in St. Louis, Chair**

**Edward Applebaum, University of Houston**

**Robin Wallace, Baylor University**

**John Suydam, Eastern Oregon University**

The application of Freudian psychology to the criticism of literature is well known, but in the past quarter century there has been rapidly expanding interest in interpreting literature and painting according to tenets of Jungian psychology because of its explanatory power in accounting for the universal human process of symbol formation. Much of this work has been done by Jungian analysts, but an increasing number of academicians are also utilizing the insights and theories of Carl Jung in studies of literature, mythology and religion. At this point the application of Jung's research and writings to the study of music is in its early stages. This panel offers perspectives on four different musical issues as they relate to or exemplify Jung's theory of the unconscious. Composer and depth psychologist Edward Applebaum discusses unconscious symbol formation and its relationship to the dream state in the compositional process; musicologist Robin Wallace discusses gender difference as a function of conscious ego and unconscious *anima* or *animus* in a single individual, as represented in Brahms' Third Symphony; musicologist John Suydam discusses "cryptomnesia" (hidden memory arising from the unconscious), as exemplified in Schubert's *Die Forelle*; and musicologist Jeffrey Kurtzman discusses the failure of "individuation" (growth in the conscious ego's understanding of the unconscious) in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*. We hope to stimulate an open discussion around these and other Jungian interpretative approaches to music.

*Saturday morning, 15 November*

**PERFORMING GENDER ON STAGE**  
**Wendy Heller, Princeton University, Chair**

**SELF-IMAGE AND THE CASTRATO**

Mary E. Frandsen  
University of Notre Dame

Historically, the castrato was dehumanized and objectified as a musico-sexual oddity by many in society, from the time of his surgery until his death. Today, in their efforts to understand the castrato phenomenon, modern scholars also tend to objectify these singers and to privilege their “otherness.” In the process, these singers lose their identity as human beings and are reduced to abstract constructs. But how did these “constructs” see themselves?

I explore this question with the help of some unusual materials. In 1667, after a five-year struggle, the Dresden court castrato Bartolomeo Sorlisi (ca. 1632–72) married Dorothea Lichtwer. Two documents, the betrothal agreement and a letter of Sorlisi’s father-in-law, reveal the high regard in which Sorlisi was held by Dorothea’s family. A third document, Sorlisi’s petition to Lutheran church authorities for permission to marry, reveals not only his deep love for Dorothea, but also his view of himself as a man with the same needs and desires as other men and with the same right to seek their fulfillment, despite his infertility. Although Sorlisi assured the authorities that he could satisfy his future wife sexually, he stressed the fact that his request was driven by an honorable desire to enjoy the non-procreative benefits that marriage would afford them both: comfort, companionship, and mutual support. Sorlisi’s image of himself as a man essentially like any other conflicts sharply with modern constructs of the castrato as “other,” and suggests that the surgical mutilation of the castrato’s body did not radically alter his sense of self.

**BLOODLINES: THE CASTRATO’S TALE**

Martha Feldman  
University of Chicago

Why did some tales portray castrati as generated through male reproduction when castration produced only *non*reproductive men? Two castrati who illuminate the question are Farinelli and Filippo Balatri. In a recently-discovered letter to his principal father figure, Count Sicinio Pepoli, Farinelli exalts himself through tongue-in-cheek allusion to a divine (male?) birth while implicitly associating himself with nobility. He aims to establish his family’s wealth and its worthiness of a suitable sister-in-law to bear him a natural heir, but in exploiting Pepoli he also highlights the role of adoptive family in transcending blood.

Extraordinarily revealing on these issues is Balatri, who left in two mammoth works the only autobiographies by a castrato. One, in satiric verses from 1735, has been neglected by musicologists; the other, in nine volumes of prose from 1725–32, is all but unknown to

them. These dramatize how social reproduction and self-production served as stand-ins for natural reproduction, and how the castrato stood as “son” to fatherly patrons. They provide the only “native’s” account of a castration, lamented as a bodily wounding by Balatri’s natural father and a deprivation of future fatherhood. Issues of reproduction, physical and social, coalesce as Balatri assimilates himself to the pig—disdained by society but loved when his dying flesh is worth money—and therefore refuses polyphonic virtuosity for his funeral. Here and elsewhere Balatri confirms the castrato’s dilemma as one of money without blood relations, while compensating for his contradictory position as a vigorous but nonreproductive commodity in an expanding world of capital.

## OF NOBILITY AND DECEPTION IN ‘NON TI FIDAR’

Edmund Goehring  
University of Notre Dame

“Non ti fidar” holds a secure position among Mozart’s finest ensembles. An appreciation of its musical craft has withstood long-standing questions about the coherence and ethical worth of the opera as a whole. Less stable in the number’s critical reception has been the appraisal of its dramatic significance. The situation has been faulted as a flimsy pretext for writing a quartet but also lauded for showing a fine sense of timing. Occasionally viewed as a dignified episode, the quartet is more often identified as a species of low comedy, as another variant on the opera’s dogged humiliation of Elvira.

This paper reads “Non ti fidar” as a moment that irrevocably unmasks Don Giovanni as an actor. The argument first looks to earlier Don Juan tales. From this perspective, compressing Don Giovanni’s incongruous roles as seducer and murderer into a single scene is an exceedingly rare move, even in the influential comic-grotesque tradition. Exposing the seducer’s concealment as something ominous rather than comic occurs through Elvira’s agency: through formal/motivic processes, she attains a dignity hitherto unseen in this opera or in similar episodes from earlier renditions. Elvira’s newly won credibility comes at the expense of her antipode’s: these same musical procedures expose Don Giovanni as a chameleon, as one who “changes colors.” This revelation disquiets the onlookers, and, concluding with the opera’s most conspicuous commentary on the treachery of acting, the quartet sustains a moral earnestness even as the players themselves lapse back into their stereotypical comic roles.

## A STAR IS BORN: KITTY CLIVE AND FEMALE REPRESENTATION ON THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON STAGE

Berta Joncus  
St. Hugh’s College, Oxford University

Kitty Clive (1711–1785) was the most famous singer-actress of mid-eighteenth century London, and one of the first women whom Drury Lane managers sought to popularize specifically as a singer. Drawing on theories of star construction in cinema, this paper explores the function of music in marketing a “Clive persona”.

A key ingredient in star production is the wide-ranging dissemination of the star’s image. My analysis begins with a survey of period media—printed ballads, epilogues, frontispieces and mezzotints among them—and how they coalesced in Mrs. Clive’s publicity.

Clive ephemera, once integrated with her biography and repertory, suggest three phases in her career development. First, there was the grooming by Henry Carey, who taught her distinctive vocal techniques (“natural” singing; mimicry of opera singers) and supplied a ballad-style repertory of which she was the chief exponent, 1728–32. Second came Henry Fielding’s marketing of her in his musical comedies and his cultivation of her off-stage persona, 1732–36. Third, after 1737, on- and off-stage Clive topoi were recycled in works such as Handel’s *Samson* and musicals written by herself and others. Essential to her success throughout this process was the negotiation of normative traditions in performance, literature and female decorum, which she alternately challenged and embraced.

Mrs. Clive’s music both articulated and reflected a public personality created by herself, her producers and her fans. Her career, with its analogies to modern pop stardom, reveals the extent to which an eighteenth-century principal player could determine the form and content of English stage music.

## NATION-BUILDING AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Barbara Milewski, Princeton University, Chair

### NATIONAL IDENTITY, ASSIMILATION, AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF JEWISH ‘OTHERNESS’ IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLISH MUSIC

Halina Goldberg  
Indiana University

Jewish involvement in nineteenth-century Polish musical culture was largely inspired and controlled by two powerful political forces: Jewish struggle for emancipation and partitioned Poland’s efforts to maintain sovereignty of identity through national constructs. The collision of these forces further intensified and articulated the perception of the Jew as an orientalised “Other from Within” by a nation that itself was often viewed as an exotic “Other” (a notion fuelled by the concept of Sarmatism). Politics and cultural exoticism are, therefore, central to the discussion of Jews in Polish music.

This paper focuses on critical reception and musical depictions as revealed by hitherto unexplored manuscript and original printed sources as well as contemporary writings (daily and musical press, in particular). Some of the issues addressed are signifiers of Jewishness in Polish genres rendered by Jews; musical representations of Jewishness in characteristic pieces, including the enduring reception of Chopin’s Mazurka Op. 17 No. 4 as a characteristic scene involving a Jewish innkeeper; and constructions of Jewishness in the libretti and the music of the many then popular operas on Jewish topics.

### CHOPIN’S PILGRIM BALLADE

Jonathan Bellman  
University of Northern Colorado

Chopin’s second Ballade has long been an unsolved riddle. The composer’s oblique remark linking it to “some poems of [Adam] Mickiewicz,” its puzzling two-key scheme and episodic form, and its relationship to the preoccupations of Polish emigré Romanti-

cism (alienation, homesickness, and a sense of chosenness) continue to spark critical interest.

Those close to Chopin, however, seem to have understood the work to be about something specific, calling it the “Pilgrim’s Ballade” and “Polish Ballade.” Because “pilgrims” designated the exiles who fled conquered Poland after the rebellion of 1830–31, the use of that word links the piece to the recent Polish national tragedy. A style analysis of the work offers further specifics: Chopin used formulas from contemporary opera to evoke the unfolding historical scenes of an idealized Poland, the failed insurrection, and its tragic aftermath. These formulas included Pastorale, which symbolized an idealized past as it did in Meyerbeer’s *Robert le diable*, and Storm Scene, which suggested a desperate battle, as it did in Rossini’s *Guillaume Tell*. A veiled quotation from the first-movement finale of Rossini’s work specifically recalls helplessness in the face of tyranny, capture, and conquest—all highly relevant to the Poles’ situation. This programmatic reading of the Ballade accounts for both the singular structure of the piece, which corresponds to the unfolding historical events, and its anomalous, bleak, mediant-key ending, that cannot return to the tonic while the “Pilgrims”—the composer among them—remained exiled from their Polish homeland.

#### NATION, TRADITION, AND MEANING IN THE FINALE OF BRAHMS’S FIRST SYMPHONY

Matthew Gelbart  
University of California, Berkeley

In this paper, I offer a hermeneutic analysis of the last movement of Brahms’s First Symphony. I suggest that, since the symphony was a quintessentially public genre, analyses focusing on secret allusions are of limited relevance here. More important is the question of German nationalism. By the time Brahms was writing, the symphonic finale (as the culmination of the symphony itself) had come to be the ultimate symbol of German music-making. This weight bore heavily on Brahms, whose own nationalist ideas have recently been explored in greater detail by Daniel Beller-McKenna and others. Like Reinhold Brinkmann, I propose that this movement shows Brahms specifically “answering” Beethoven’s Ninth, and that the themes have heavily symbolic value. But I see the main subjects (and their deployment) as embracing a pan-German answer to Beethoven’s Viennese style (and to the Bruckner camp’s more narrow Viennese populism. The melodies embody Alpen Germanophone culture (the horn call) and Brahms’s own beloved North Germany (the chorale) alongside the reference to the Ninth. Further, by modeling formal elements of the movement on Schumann’s Second, and especially by placing the chorale theme as the capstone of the whole piece, Brahms sought to escape Beethoven’s intimidating specter by stressing a “German” tradition both before and after Beethoven. Ultimately, he conquered his own anxiety by presenting a sounding historiographical outline—a quintessentially “German” symphony. The composer would later work even more overtly to incorporate pre-Beethovenian German traditions into symphonic form, with his Haydn Variations foreshadowing the finale of his last symphony.

## TURANDOT, MODERNISM, AND FASCIST CULTURE

Alexandra Wilson

Worcester College, Oxford University

This paper considers responses to Puccini's *Turandot* in Fascist Italy. Puccini was held up as a national hero at his death, and the first reviews of the posthumous *Turandot* acted as a second round of obituaries. However, a thorough investigation of the reception documents from the mid-1920s reveals complex subtexts underpinning the encomia. The debates surrounding Puccini's last opera afford us an opportunity to trace how the challenges posed by modernism were confronted within an Italian context, at a time when Italians were once again being forced to reassess their collective identity. Specific issues for discussion include questions of artistic sincerity, the "human" vs. the mechanized, and tradition vs. progress.

Work on Puccini to date has largely been limited either to sketch and source studies or interpretative readings, and until now we have known little about the composer's relationship with his cultural milieu. This paper forms part of a wider study of the contribution of Puccini's operas and their reception to the Italian nation-building process in the early twentieth century. My work not only enriches our understanding of *Turandot*, but is also part of a growing body of scholarship across the humanities on the creation of national identities, processes of myth-making, and the politicization of artworks.

## MUSIC AND VISUAL CULTURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Nancy Perloff, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Chair

SOUND PROJECTED INTO SPACE: VARÈSE  
AND THE FOURTH DIMENSION

Olivia Mattis

University at Buffalo

In the early twentieth century the scientific discovery of the fourth dimension provoked responses in the arts. Both the cubist and futurist movements derived from the desire on the part of artists to render the fourth dimension in visual form, as art historians Linda Henderson and Stephen Kern have persuasively shown. Edgard Varèse, who was intimately familiar with the theories and practices of these movements, was one of a select group of composers who sought to render the fourth dimension in sound. The title of his *Hyperprism* (1922–23)—named for a solid existing in a space of four or more dimensions—is unambiguous evidence of his interest in this concept. Furthermore, my research has uncovered that both *Intégrales* (1924–25) and *Arcana* (1925) were intended by the composer as musical equivalents of cubism. The culmination of Varèse's interest in the fourth dimension came in 1928 when he collaborated with cubist sculptor Alexander Archipenko on the creation of a kinetic sculpture, the *Archipentura*—a four-dimensional project as it combined three spatial dimensions with the passage of time. Varèse's role, previously unknown, was to provide a musical component; this would be his last American project before he sailed to France for a five-year stay. Using primarily unpublished materials, such as Varèse's letters to his painter friends, as well as a close reading of artistic, literary and scientific

sources that Varèse is known to have read, this paper reveals a previously hidden program underlying the music from Varèse's high period: the mid-1920s.

## THE FILM MUSIC INTERLUDE OF ALBAN BERG'S OPERA *LULU* AND THE COMPOSER AS SCENARIST-DIRECTOR

Melissa Ursula Dawn Goldsmith  
Louisiana State University

*Lulu* premiered in Zurich on June 2, 1937, seventeen months after Berg's death. The performance of the opera, left incomplete, included a silent film directed by Heinz Rückert. The film depicts Lulu's arrest, trial, imprisonment, illness, and escape. Two documents, Berg's own manuscript and his Film Music Scenario, indicate the images and actions that are to take place in the film. Scholarship on the Film Music Interlude fails to consider the composer's dual role as scenarist-director and his compositional techniques in light of concurrent film theory.

The essays in *Film als Kunst* (Berlin, 1933) by film critic and theorist Rudolf Arnheim, Berg's contemporary, shed new light on Berg as scenarist-director and significant congruencies between the musico-dramatic Film Music Scenario and contemporary cinematic montage and camera techniques. Arnheim's ideas on montage (centering on his thesis that film art avoids reproducing reality) and notion that good films create new realities seem to coincide with Berg's compositional intentions, representation of characters, and transition from opera to film. His film theories suggest that although Berg left artistic decisions such as camera angles up to the filmmaker, he attempted to control the montage through suggesting a sophisticated editing style (a combination of cutting to continuity and classical cutting) and specifying gestures and facial expressions of the opera performers to be filmed. Though the original film is lost, four stills from it, recently unearthed in the Zurich Stadtarchiv, reveal at least something of the filmmaker's adherence to Berg's indications and use of *mise-en-scène* and camera techniques.

## 'AN ARTIFICIAL EYE, A SHOELACE...': STEFAN WOLPE'S ETHICS OF MEMORY IN THE EARLY 1960s

Brigid Cohen  
Harvard University

In 1962, Stefan Wolpe publicly recalled his experiences in the early 1920s with the Berlin Dadaists and the Bauhaus masters. Their greatest lesson, Wolpe explained, was to teach him the value of treating seemingly disparate "found objects" as adjacent compositional elements.

Wolpe described such found objects as "haunted." His use of this term is striking, especially in connection with the objects he had in mind: screws, dead birds, torn scraps of letters, and other street trash emblematic of the devastation and perplexity following the war. The term "haunted" has strong temporal connotations; it suggests the presence of an entity that should be part of the past, but that nonetheless persistently and disturbingly reaches the present. The term has a genealogy that traces through Wolpe's Bauhaus teacher Paul Klee to Goethe and to Goethe's dread of *Gespenster*, remnants from the past that "burst into the present like foreign bodies."

This paper questions how and why Wolpe recalled the Bauhaus experience and retrieved the concept of *Gesperster* in his words and music in the early 1960s. The composer deliberately engaged issues of history, memory, and national identity through a rich and idiosyncratic treatment of temporal process in his music. Wolpe's work—with its search for highly textured and tendentious ways of engaging with the past—invites a critical reexamination of many historicist approaches to the study of post-war American musical formalisms.

### VOX BALÆNÆ AND THE IMAGINATION OF POPULAR ECOLOGY

Mitchell Morris

University of California, Los Angeles

George Crumb's *The Voice of the Whale (Vox Balænæ)* premiered in 1971, three years after recordings of the vocalizations of humpback whales had begun to be recorded by cetacean biologists and discussed as "songs." The work connects itself to actual whale sounds through the use of extended flute techniques; as I demonstrate, other details of the score indicate that this mimetic relationship should be interpreted within the demotic American discourse on environmentalism that was institutionalized with the proclamation of Earth Day on April 22, 1970. Crumb's references to the music of an assortment of canonical (human) composers—Strauss, Debussy, Chopin, Messiaen, and above all Stravinsky—are grounded, as well, by a search for the oxymoronic ideal of a mainstream avant-garde musical style and practice. At stake in Crumb's allusions is the poetic content attributed to each style or individual work in its American reception history. The associations and images lent to specific pieces by their appearance in films, in the music press, or in popularizing muscology are often more significant than their immediate sonic characteristics for Crumb's programmatic purposes. The popular historical tradition establishes a set of cultural "commonplaces" that acts as an environment within which Crumb's musical argument can be read as part of an eco-critical discourse. *Vox balænæ* thus carries larger moral implications, firmly grounded in American intellectual traditions, about music's representations of human subjectivity and its relationship to the impersonalities of the natural world.

### MUSIC BOOKS AND THEIR MEANINGS

Stanley Boorman, New York University, Chair

### A FLEMISH-ITALIAN GIFT TO THE TUDORS

Ted Dumitrescu

Princeton, New Jersey

Among the various music books that bear witness to the introduction of foreign repertoires into early-Tudor England, one of the most significant and least-studied is Royal Manuscript 11 E.xi of the British Library in London. Although the volume's function as a gift to flatter Henry VIII in the early years of his reign is unmistakable from the texts and heraldic references in the illustrations, nevertheless the exact origins of the book remain unknown, with numerous conflicting hypotheses and interpretations scattered throughout the modern literature. The present re-evaluation links the manuscript's creation conclusively

to the de Opiciis family, active in Antwerp and England in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The presence of a motet in Royal 11 E.xi by the organist Benedictus de Opiciis, who left Antwerp in 1516 to serve in the Privy Chamber of Henry VIII, is known well enough. However, new evidence demonstrates the dependence of the manuscript on a 1515 Antwerp print related to the de Opiciis family, as well as the book's ties to a 1497 presentation manuscript made for Henry VII by an enigmatic Johannes Opicius. Reinvestigation of the texts and images specific to the Royal manuscript suggests as a likely context the Twelfth Night entertainments of the Tudor court in 1516/17. Additionally, through the collation of new and previously-published biographical references to the de Opiciis family, a much stronger case can be made for the Italian origin of the family than for the conjectural German origin favored by recent musicology.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED EDITION OF BYRD'S  
*PSALMES, SONETS & SONGS: PROVENANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE*

Jeremy Smith  
 University of Colorado, Boulder

In the course of editing William Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* for the *Byrd Edition* (forthcoming, 2003) I recently discovered a previously unknown source of his renowned first solo publication, an undated edition printed by Thomas East. Only two copies of this newly discovered edition are extant today. In the Knowsley collection at the University of Liverpool, an incomplete copy was long available for study, but was well hidden within a tract volume of seventeenth-century poetry and plays. In the newly established Britten-Pears Library, however, it stands prominently with four other printed collections by Byrd in a nearly complete set with original vellum bindings.

In this paper, I trace the history of both copies of this edition and explain the circumstances of its publication. Aided by evidence in wills, letters, State Papers, the complete archive of business records of the Hodgsons book auction (at the British Library), watermark evidence and type-deterioration evidence, I track these copies from their present-day locations to their original owners and distributors. The picture that emerges sheds new light on Byrd's relationship with recusant activists who sought to distribute his work (and who were arrested and tortured in the process) and advance our knowledge about the great Norfolk music collector Edward Paston, whose extraordinary collection of musical manuscripts and printed editions the late Philip Brett uncovered in one of his first published articles.

COLLECTING MADRIGALS IN NUREMBERG: *DE' FIORI DEL  
 GIARDINO* AND THE MUSIC ANTHOLOGY AS *KUNSTKAMMER*

Susan Lewis  
 University of Victoria

Scholars have traditionally located the structural and aesthetic models for *De' fiori del giardino* (1604), the last madrigal anthology to be issued by the Nuremberg printer Paul Kauffmann, in the collection's immediate predecessors: Friedrich Lindner's *Gemmæ musicæ I-III* (Nuremberg, 1588-90) and Kauffmann's own *Fiori del giardino* (1597). Yet the surface connections between *De' fiori del giardino* of 1604 and its forerunners have overshadowed

the anthology's affinity with contemporaneous strategies for collecting artistic and cultural products. In this paper I suggest that *De' fiori del giardino* bears striking resemblance to the Renaissance *Kunstkammer*, as a "gathering place" for precious objects, paintings, and other cultural artifacts deemed of historic, stylistic, or artistic value. The primary aesthetic tenets for compiling a *Kunstkammer*—variety, rarity, strangeness, and eclecticism—all have counterparts in Kauffmann's own gathering strategies. His collection transmits forty-six pieces by nineteen different Italian composers, making it among the most varied of any northern anthology. The garden imagery evoked in the anthology's title reflects this diversity, thereby offering an idealized space for collection and display that provides a botanical counterpart to the *Kunstkammer* tradition. As a collector of madrigals, Kauffmann assembled repertory that shares few concordances with other prints; he emphasized southern, exotic madrigals that are seldom transmitted on either side of the Alps. *De' fiori del giardino* can thus be interpreted as a madrigalian *Kunstkammer* of Italian objects, representing the musical manifestation of what was a rich and thriving northern collecting phenomenon.

### CROSSING THE SACRED: INTABULATIONS AS TRANSLATIONS

Victor Coelho  
University of Calgary

Renaissance intabulations have been largely understood as arrangements of vocal models that offer valuable information about the use of borrowed material, parody procedure, embellishment, and solutions to unnotated accidentals. We have not, however, approached this repertory as an adaptive, *autonomous* language that crosses linguistic, cultural, and aesthetic boundaries. In other words, we have always treated intabulations as derivative works referring back to, rather than departing from, their models. In this paper, I examine intabulations through the lens of translation theory to show how we might view these works along the same lines as text translations, in which manipulations of form, language, and meaning are inevitable in the service of new cultural, linguistic, economic, and even political priorities. Of particular importance within this approach are intabulations of sacred works crossing into secular, domestic environments and commercial print culture, in which seemingly incommensurate modifications, such as soloistic figuration, usually avoided in the writing of sacred music, is merged with the original, producing a modernized "vernacular" in translation. As a theoretical foundation, I draw on two texts of translation theory: Etienne Dolet's *De la manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* of 1540 (which is contemporary with a large body of intabulations), and on new work by Umberto Eco that pushes translation theory beyond the boundaries of its own discipline and suggests how intabulations can be understood independently of their models by considering them, like translations, as a form of *interpretation*.

## DYNAMIC CHANGE AND DECADENT AESTHETICISM IN BRITAIN

Alison McFarland, Louisiana State University, Chair

### AGENCY AND CHANGE: BERLIOZ IN BRITAIN, 1870–1920

Leanne Langley

Goldsmiths College, University of London

Hector Berlioz made five visits to England in his lifetime. He was highly regarded and well received. Less clear is the fate of his music in Britain, and wider influence there, after his death in 1869. The standard view, reflecting notions of a great genius ignored by philistines, is that not much of interest happened until Sir Thomas Beecham conducted an inspired *Les Troyens* in 1947. This paper challenges that view through analysis of key concert patterns and networks across Britain, and of British assimilation of Berlioz's music, in the first fifty years after his death. It shows not only that the composer benefited from committed advocacy, fierce rivalry, and dynamic change in concert life at this period, but also that his music was itself an agent of that change—a benchmark and a calling-card of modern orchestral achievement.

In reconstructing the geography of British Berlioz performance, I draw on programs, public archives, memoirs, and scholarship to show a range of links between the composer and his successive advocates in Manchester, London, and Glasgow from Charles Hallé, August Manns, Edward Dannreuther, and Bernard Shaw to Edouard Colonne, Henry Wood, Ernest Newman, and Thomas Beecham. Pianos, choral societies, and recordings all played a role, but it was arguably the explosion in orchestral culture that did most to enlarge public appreciation. Manchester, not London, led the way. Innovation and audience education, not ossification of the repertory, set the tone. Longitudinal performance history offers a potent new tool for reception studies.

### 'WITHERING RELIGION INTO DEAD BONES': COMPOSERS, CRITICS, AND THE CLASS-BASED CONSTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ORATORIO AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Charles McGuire

Oberlin College Conservatory

At the peak of Great Britain's oratorio production, between 1880 and 1899, over 135 new compositions premiered throughout the country. While the great music festivals subsisted upon a steady diet of Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* (by far the most popular oratorios of the nineteenth century), new sight-singing methods dramatically increased the number of singers who in turn both created a potential market for new oratorios and, indeed, demanded them. Sight-singing leaders, including John Curwen and John Hullah, conceived of the oratorio as uplifting working-class singers' morals through rational recreation, providing a specifically Christian community experience devoid of most traditionally self-aggrandizing acts of performance, including applause and celebration of the individual ego. Despite this commensurate popular interest in the genre, all oratorio production fell dramatically in the years after 1900.

Examining concert reviews, festival programs, contemporary editorials, and preliminary information gathered from the Oratorio Project, an on-line database of nineteenth-century oratorio performances in Great Britain, this paper explores the oratorio's transition from the grand, prestigious genre supported by the mid-century middle classes into a popular, late-century working-class genre. This transfer, fueled by prominent music critics denouncing the "derivative" oratorio (including George Bernard Shaw and W. J. Henderson), coalesced through an elite desire to create an instrumental music tradition to rival Continental practices. The rational recreation thus embraced by sight singers as a means of self-improvement consequently became a marker of class distinction, resulting in the inevitable decline of the oratorio's prestige.

'DOTH BURN ERE IT TRANSFORM': ROMAN CATHOLICISM,  
DECADENCE AND ELGAR'S *THE DREAM OF GERONTIUS*

Byron Adams

University of California, Riverside

Since its premiere in 1900, Elgar's oratorio *The Dream of Gerontius*, which has as its text a poem by John Henry Cardinal Newman, has received both popular success among English audiences and a highly ambivalent critical reception. This paper investigates the origins of the score's anomalous and uneasy position in the canon of twentieth-century English music, locating both text and music at the intersection of the aesthetic currents identified by literary critics as "decadent." The decadent elements of Newman's verse—a potent admixture of Roman Catholicism, thinly veiled homoeroticism and masochism—are matched by the luxuriant, and, within the Protestant and repressed ethos which characterize much British music of the period, decadent Wagnerian chromaticism of Elgar's music. Both text and music interact with "aestheticism" in a manner that conflates Roman Catholicism, Wagnerism and homoeroticism, all essential aspects of the discourse of decadent authors such as Pater and Wilde. Crucial to the oratorio's reception is the fascination with *Parsifal* by such authors as well as the societal trauma of the 1895 Wilde trials and the profound effect of these trials upon artistic life in England during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. The history of these contexts illuminates Elgar's own ambivalent relation to his Roman Catholic faith, as well as his connections, fraught with homoerotic overtones and social panic, to the aesthetic movement in the years immediately following the Wilde trials.

NEW THOUGHTS ON *COCKAIGNE*:  
ELGAR, URBANIZATION AND GERMAN CRITICISM

Aidan Thomson

Queens University, Belfast

Edward Elgar's *Cockaigne* overture (1901) is generally held to portray a happy, socially untroubled picture of London, complete with noble citizens, cheeky cockneys, lovers in a park, churches, and a military band. However, in the light of contemporary urban theory, and prompted by a 1903 critique of the overture by the German critic Max Hehemann, I contest this viewpoint, offering instead a reading of the work that depicts a socially divided

London, underpinned by values of consumerism and social Darwinism. The military march should be viewed not as a symbol of patriotic pride, but as an attempt to mask any hint of the degeneration which many commentators of the period (notably Max Nordau) saw as the natural consequence of urban squalor. Evidence for this can be found, too, in the compositional style of the work, particularly Elgar's almost cinematographic techniques of discontinuity at key formal moments. *Cockaigne* thus emerges not as a romantic re-creation of a pre-modern city at ease with itself, but as an impression of a modern metropolis. Consequently, it forms part of the discourse on a wider urban/rural social dialectic, and in doing so problematizes the generally rural imagery of the nationalism with which Elgar's music is often associated.

### CONCEIVING BROADWAY

Geoffrey Block, University of Puget Sound, Chair

#### IN THE WORKSHOP OF RODGERS AND HAMMERSTEIN: NEW SOURCES FOR *OKLAHOMA!* (1943)

Tim Carter

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

*Oklahoma!* is widely regarded as landmark in the history of the Broadway musical for its integration of music and drama, its incorporation of "high-class" choreography (by Agnes de Mille), and indeed for its role in time of war. Most accounts of the work's creation, however, rely on anecdotal evidence (memoirs, reminiscences, etc.) that itself participates in the myth-making surrounding the musical.

Alternative views are offered by hitherto unexamined, and in some cases undiscovered, material in various collections in the Library of Congress and in the Rodgers & Hammerstein Organization: no fewer than three, perhaps four, draft librettos of *Oklahoma!* demonstrating its evolution from its conception in May-June 1942 to its première on 31 March 1943; some intriguing first workings of the music; and contractual and similar documents belonging to the producers, the Theatre Guild. None of this has yet been properly identified, still less subject to scholarly examination. It permits a clearer sense of chronology, and of a work evolving even through its latest stages. It also reveals that Hammerstein's ideas for *Oklahoma!*, in particular, were at times much more radical than the final result, and at times more conventional.

These findings raise important issues concerning the types of evidence available to scholars working on the Broadway musical. We might be inclined to trust the "documents" over anecdotes, and yet in the case of *Oklahoma!*, the documents sometimes lie. The methodological consequences are profound.

## OPERA BY AND FOR AMERICANS, ON BROADWAY

Heidi Owen

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

In the pages of *Modern Music* (1930), George Antheil called for “opera by and for Americans.” According to Antheil, “a real American school of opera” belonged “on Broadway and in the legitimate theaters.” Four years later, Virgil Thomson’s *Four Saints in Three Acts* launched an almost-twenty-five year relationship between opera and Broadway’s commercial theater. During this period, at least fourteen new works played on Broadway. These were either presented or received as opera, including such works as George Gershwin’s *Porgy and Bess*, Kurt Weill’s *Street Scene*, Gian Carlo Menotti’s *The Consul*, and Marc Blitzstein’s *Regina*.

Although many of these have been studied individually, little attention has been paid to the phenomenon as a whole. This paper argues that a unique combination of political and economic factors, put into play by the New Deal, combined with a growing awareness of America’s increasing leadership role in the international community to create a desire for a national opera, not for the elite Metropolitan audience, but for “the people.” The paper draws upon archival sources including correspondence, production notes, promotional materials, articles and interviews to examine the path taken by these works to the stages of New York’s commercial theaters. It also explores the various ways in which Broadway affected the nature of their style and presentation. The result is a greater understanding of the crucial role played by the commercial theater in shaping not only America’s popular music theater, but also its native opera.

### BERLIOZ’S *ROMÉO ET JULIETTE*

Vera Micznik, University of British Columbia, Chair

### BERLIOZ’S *ROMÉO* SYMPHONY AND THE ITALIAN *GIULIETTA* TRADITION

Janet Johnson

University of Southern California

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Shakespeare’s play was neither the only nor even the principal incarnation of the Romeo and Juliet story. Still familiar was the passage in Dante’s *Purgatorio* that launched the poet’s famous invective against “servile Italy” and lent Bellini’s opera *I Capuletti e i Montecchi* (1830) its name. The story was also known from the novella “La Giulietta” by Luigi Da Porto, from which both Bellini’s opera and the earlier operas of Zingarelli and Vaccai (entitled *Giulietta e Romeo*) ultimately derived. Earlier sources included Girolamo Dalla Corte’s pre-Shakespearean *Dell’istorie della città di Verona* (reprinted several years before the mid-eighteenth-century productions by David Garrick that launched the Shakespeare revival) and the play *Roméo et Juliette* by François Ducis, itself indebted to Dante’s *Inferno*.

This paper situates Berlioz’s criticism of Bellini’s opera (the starting point for most readings of the Frenchman’s *Roméo et Juliette*) in the context of the debate over the respective merits of the Italian and English literary versions of the lovers’ tale provoked by Etienne-

Jean Delécluze's translation of Da Porto's novella, published in Paris within months of the English actors' performance of Shakespeare's play and the Parisian premiere of Vaccai's opera in 1827. The paper also considers the question of narrative viewpoint in what Berlioz insisted was his *Roméo* Symphony (1839), showing how an understanding of the entanglement of the two national traditions in Paris is indispensable to readings of both Berlioz's music and the polemics he waged on behalf of it.

## BERLIOZ'S HELLENISM: GREEK TRAGIC CHORUS AND MUSICAL DRAMA IN THE *ROMÉO ET JULIETTE* SYMPHONY

Jennifer Hambrick  
University of Iowa

Scholars have traditionally read Hector Berlioz's *Roméo et Juliette* (1839) in the generic context of French Grand Opera. This preconception has, however, limited consideration of other influences on the work which Berlioz himself termed a dramatic symphony. I identify Greek antiquity, mediated by early nineteenth-century French Hellenism, as an important non-operatic source for Berlioz's original conception of the Prologues of *Roméo et Juliette*. I also explore Berlioz's changing aesthetic of dramatic music, as illustrated in his 1846 revisions to the work's first Prologue.

Berlioz crafted the original two Prologues almost entirely of syllabic choral recitative in which music follows the prosodic accents of the text. This musical conception emerged from the context of contemporary French Hellenism in which figures such as Pierre-Simon Ballanche, Jean-François Le Sueur, Castil-Blaze, and Maurice Bourges attempted to recapture the ethos of the Greek tragic chorus—understood as an emblem of primeval dramatic music—by emphasizing prosodic accents in the French language.

Berlioz's 1846 revisions of *Roméo et Juliette* suggest, however, that his concept of dramatic music had changed. He discarded the second Prologue and revised the first to place greater weight on melody and the role of the orchestra. These extensive revisions betray the hitherto unnoticed influence of another Hellenistic work, Felix Mendelssohn's music (1840) to Sophocles' *Antigone*. The revised first Prologue of *Roméo et Juliette* thus reveals Berlioz's efforts go beyond reinforcing the prosodic accents of the text to convey emotional content through music.

*Saturday afternoon, 15 November*

**CULTIVATING MUSICAL LEARNING**  
**Susan Weiss, Peabody Conservatory, Chair**

HILDEGARD'S *LINGUA IGNOTA* AND MUSIC

Honey Meconi  
Rice University

Traditionally linked with music for a variety of reasons, including its use in her antiphon *O orzchis ecclesia* as well as a letter to Pope Anastasius from ca. 1153–1154, Hildegard von Bingen's *Lingua ignota* has received relatively little attention in the 150 years since it came to modern notice in Wilhelm Grimm's "Wiesbadener Glossen." This "Unknown Language," a series of over one thousand words that she invented, was accompanied by the *Litterae ignotae*, a twenty-three letter alphabet also of her own devising. This paper probes the never-clearly explicated relationship between the *Lingua ignota*, the *Litterae ignotae*, and Hildegard's music. Consideration of numerous factors, including the manuscript dissemination of *Lingua ignota*, *Litterae ignotae*, and *O orzchis ecclesia*, likely visual models for the *Litterae ignotae*, and the circumstances surrounding *Lingua ignota*'s creation now suggest that the language and letters served the educational needs of Hildegard's new monastery as well as the reconsecration of the church at Rupertsberg.

'READING NOTES CORRECTLY': THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY  
MUSICAL LITERACY REVOLUTION

Tobias Plebuch  
Stanford University

The ability to learn music by note, not only by ear, is a fundamental condition of Western (classical) musical culture. Nevertheless, there is a striking lack of research on musical literacy in the eighteenth century, which may result from difficulties in both defining musical literacy and empirically evaluating its historical changes. I examine these problems focusing on repertoire, readership / musicianship, education, and notation in England and Germany.

In the early century, oral tradition and memory were the primary means to acquire and reproduce music. Hymnals, psalmodies, and the Lutheran school-cantorate system promoted a low-level literacy beyond small circles of music professionals and wealthy amateurs. By the late century, however, musical literacy was emancipated from religious functions. With my study of subscription lists (representing over 14,000 copies) I analyze the new musically literate public emerging in Protestant Europe (proto-*Bildungsbürgertum*, women literacy, spatial density, etc.). The musical reading habits of amateurs shifted from intensive to extensive consumption, i.e. from a limited, repeatedly used repertoire to copious new music in diverse styles and genres. Consequentially, enlightened music pedagogy favored reading over memorization. Private teaching functionally succeeded two declining key institutions of music education: cantorate and guilds. The increasing preference of

teachers and amateurs at the keyboard brought about a new paradigm of “keyboard literacy.”

While the standardization, refinement and representational scope of notation increased, this development did not always promote literacy. Many old scores were rendered virtually illegible for non-specialists. Moreover, several authors advocated an ideal of “reading notes correctly” (Leopold Mozart), which went beyond explicit notation to explore a deeper comprehension of musical “content” and structure. Literacy became a problem of aesthetic *Bildung*.

### PARTIMENTI AS CODED MESSAGES FOR THE INCULCATION OF A MUSIC CULTURE

Robert Gjerdingen  
Northwestern University

The unfigured basses that constitute the bulk of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sets of *partimenti* were centerpieces in the training of musicians. The names of the teachers and students who used them constitute a veritable *Who's Who* of the age: Handel, Paisiello, Cimarosa, Bellini, Verdi, and generations of French musicians at the *Conservatoire* (Cafero, 1993). Today few know of this tradition, and fewer still can “read” these documents, in the sense of hearing the multi-voice messages encoded in the patterns of their basses. Sanguinetti (1997) notes that “while other European countries developed more rational [music] theories, Italy was an operatic monoculture whose theoretical basis was the time-honored Neapolitan tradition of the *partimento*.” In terms of communication theory, the “rational” approaches privileged a “transmission” model amenable to reception by outsiders, while the *partimenti* favored a “ritual” model of shared symbolic practices performed best by insiders. In terms of the psychology of categorization, the rational approach was “theory” driven while the *partimenti* reinforced the formation of “prototypes” through the rote learning of “exemplars.” Confronted with a *partimento*, the insider heard a series of musico-ritual messages rich with associations. The outsider saw just a bass part. Today, decoding *partimenti* requires first learning their repertory of messages. Recent research allows one to re-enter the circle of mutually reinforcing practices enshrined in these documents. Newly interpreted examples from Fenaroli, author of the most famous *partimenti*, illustrate the presentation.

### EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN FEMALE SEMINARIES: MUSIC AND THE ‘IDEAL OF REAL WOMANHOOD’

Jewel Smith  
University of Cincinnati

The proliferation of female seminaries in America after 1830 evinces a rise in the middle class. Rather than emphasizing “ornamental arts,” as their eighteenth-century counterparts had, these seminaries stressed a liberal arts education. Contemporary women’s advocates believed such an education was a prerequisite for women to fulfill their role in home *and* society. It also supported the tenets of what Frances Cogan has coined the “Ideal of Real

Womanhood.” Such women were physically fit, self-sufficient, and as intelligent as men. Although their societal place was in the home, “real” women were no less capable than their husbands.

The Moravian Young Ladies’ Seminary subscribed to a liberal arts curriculum based on the adage, “when you educate a woman, you educate an entire family.” The Seminary earned a distinguished reputation for its rigorous academic and musical education, one equivalent to that at the Moravian parochial school for men. It encouraged women to develop their musical talents to the fullest, even though it was not preparing them for concert careers. A wealth of primary sources, including manuscript and printed programs reveal that students performed the same literature as concert artists like Franz Liszt and Sigismond Thalberg.

While many have assumed that women in antebellum America were only capable of playing songs in the parlor, the “Ideal of Real Womanhood” provided an avenue for them to become as proficient as men. Although they are not discussed in the standard histories of American music, these institutions played a significant role in women’s musical training.

**COMPOSITIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE  
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**  
**Richard Will, University of Virginia, Chair**

*MUNDUS INVERSUS AND MUNDUS RECTUS IN VIVALDI'S  
CONCERTO IL PROTEO, O VERO IL MONDO AL ROVESCIO*

Massimo Ossi  
Indiana University

Vivaldi’s titles have long been seen as reflecting his marketing strategies and having little connection with his music. The concerto in F major, *Il Proteo, o vero il mondo al rovescio*, RV 544, has been marginalized in discussions of the titled works as a “trick” piece, a double concerto in which Vivaldi inverts the solo parts (violin in bass clef, cello in treble). Scholars have focused on this feature as the simplistic “representation” of the common social and religious metaphor, the *mundus inversus* (“world upside down”), dismissing the concerto as a clever jest.

However, *Il Proteo* offers a sophisticated commentary on what constitutes a well-ordered composition. Vivaldi achieves this by distorting the first movement’s structural elements even as he retains its expected outline: the ritornello presents a jumble of inverted motives; it includes a pedal point in the viola rather than the bass; its harmonic rhythm is abrupt and mostly static; its frenetic activity contradicts the pastoral F tonality; and its structure does not follow the predictable *vordesatz-fortspinnung-epilog* model. The solos are rigidly canonic, sectional, and incorporate the typical THREE-part structure missing from the ritornello. The subsequent movements restore the genre’s conventional structural patterns, emphasizing the anomalies of the first and bringing into play the images of the title: Proteus the seer and the restoration of the *mundus rectus*.

Vivaldi's invocation of metaphor and classical allusion reveals him as an astute commentator on compositional practice, capable of the musical and intellectual discourse associated with J. S. Bach.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED FLUTE QUARTETS  
OF JOHANN JOACHIM QUANTZ (1697–1773)

Mary Oleskiewicz  
University of Massachusetts, Boston

Quantz, author of the important *Essay on Playing the Flute* and music teacher of Frederick the Great, composed hundreds of flute sonatas and concertos whose influence extended to members of the Bach family. An additional late-baroque genre, the quartet, figures prominently in Quantz's *Essay* and autobiography (which mentions his composing such works in 1725 as a student of Gasparini in Rome). Accounts of performances in Berlin mention the contrapuntal character of the quartets, sharply contrasting with the galant style usually associated with Quantz. They are relevant to recent studies that have called attention to the interpenetration of baroque sonata and concerto genres in the quartet.

Quantz's quartets have been assumed lost or identified with his concertos for flute, two violins, and continuo. I have now discovered six Quantz quartets for flute, violin, viola, and continuo in the recently recovered archive of the Berlin Singakademie. Distinct from the composer's concertos—although incorporating several movements *auf Concertenart*—they are contrapuntal masterpieces whose compositional architectures approach those of Bach. Although incorporating melodic features reminiscent of Vivaldi, Telemann, and others, they are independent of any direct models, although related to Quantz's early trio sonatas.

The works' manuscripts, prepared in the late eighteenth century for Sara Levi, passed to Carl Friedrich Zelter, director of the Singakademie. Their preservation in this collection alongside Quantz's concertos documents cultivation of his works beyond the court in the musical salons of Berlin, continuing into the nineteenth century when Zelter listed Quantz with Bach among admired composers of the past.

THE LAST BACH-FAMILY COPPER-ENGRAVED PRINT:  
C. P. E. BACH'S *PROBESTÜCKE*

David Schulenberg  
Wagner College

The eighteen *Probestücke* of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach are defining documents of mid-eighteenth-century keyboard music. Published in Berlin in 1753 alongside the composer's famous *Essay on the True Manner of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, not only are they unique sources for keyboard performance practice, they conclude a series of important music publications from copper plates by members of the Bach family.

Whereas previous editors have found no significant variants in printed copies of the work, I have identified numerous alterations to the plates before and after the works' initial publication. These attest to the composer's concern for publishing an accurate text of what was, graphically, perhaps the most complex keyboard music ever printed, replete with signs for fingering, ornamentation, and other performance elements. Bach's care reflected not

only family tradition in such publishing ventures, but also a culture of intellectual and musical precision and rationalism that characterized the Berlin court, especially after the publication of Quantz's rival flute treatise in 1752.

Some of the previously overlooked variants in these works are products of musical revisions that reflect statements about performance practice in Bach's *Essay*. Yet the works' manuscript tradition, which reaches into the nineteenth century, reveals adaptations of the music to reflect new performance practices and musical aesthetics. Ornaments and fingerings are stripped from the text, passages transposed, and the movement least characteristic of the composer's *empfindsamer* style—but containing a distinct Beethoven parallel—becomes the one most frequently copied.

### CONSPIRACY OF COMPOSERS: THE CHANCERY SUITS J. C. BACH AND C. F. ABEL BROUGHT AGAINST LONGMAN AND LUKEY

Ann van Allen-Russell  
Trinity College of Music, London

In 1773 London publishers and music sellers James Longman (1740–1803) and Charles Lukey (1740–1776) were the target of three lawsuits regarding the unauthorized publication of music, two by Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782) and one by Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787). It is now generally acknowledged that the outcome of Bach's first lawsuit was to set a legal precedent establishing music as intellectual property; however, little research has been carried out on the other lawsuits or, more importantly, the underlying conditions behind the suits. In a period in which the issue of intellectual property rights was being clarified in the English courts and Parliament, these three lawsuits, along with a petition to the House of Commons in 1774, represented a concerted strategy by two of the most prominent composers in London at the time not only to halt production of unauthorized editions of their music, but also to force a clear court ruling giving composers copyright protection to equal that secured by authors through the Copyright Act of 1710 and subsequent lawsuits. Legal records, Royal Warrants and other documents from the London Public Records Office, several of which had been reported as lost and most of which had been neglected from a musical standpoint, shed new light on the changing relationship between publishers and composers in the late eighteenth century.

### FILM THEORIES

Peter Franklin, St. Catherine's College, Oxford University, Chair

### THE MORALITY OF AUDIOVISUAL MEMORY

Berthold Hoeckner  
University of Chicago

If “pictures say more than words” about unspeakable inhumanity (Primo Levi), how can music avoid compromising their testimonial truth? When combined with the depiction of atrocities, music appears unsure of its role as an emotional qualifier of visual experience. Music's ability to remember, especially, remains caught between the sanctity of the

factual and the sacrilege of the fictional (as between *Shoah's* silence and the euphonic sounds of *Schindler's List*).

Two examples illustrate the dilemma. Although Alain Resnais directed the classic Holocaust documentary *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955) asserting that “the more emotional the material, the less emotional the treatment,” Hanns Eisler’s score wavers between detachment and identification, juxtaposing Brechtian alienation effects with Hollywood-style sentimentality. Sources, moreover, reveal that Eisler considerably recycled music for other occasions, whose associations place, uneasily, the remembrance of a unique historical event within a more universal account of human depravity. By comparison, Herbert Achternbusch’s *Hades* (1994) invents the story of a Jewish undertaker, who “remembers” (when dying at the hand of Neo-Nazis) childhood scenes by combining well-known Nazi footage of the Warsaw Ghetto with Paganini’s variations on “O mamma, mamma cara.” At the risk of being morally offensive, Achternbusch’s double recollection strains grotesquely to merge empathy for a fictive individual with the condemnation of mechanically reproduced mass murder.

Since the memory of genocide cannot escape visual mediation through melodrama and monumentalization, accompanying music that fails to reconcile affective involvement and critical distance may, paradoxically, succeed in helping to rescue such memory from banality and oblivion.

## SONDHEIM AND RESNAIS

Steve Swayne  
Dartmouth College

“Movies were, and still are, my basic language.” Stephen Sondheim’s assertion, made when he was 70, exposes a lacuna in the literature on Sondheim and American musical theater. Few have attempted to explore how the language of film affected the musicodramatic language of Sondheim, despite references, in interviews and his biography, to particular films, filmmakers, stars, and genres. Sondheim has remained committed to the importance of the spoken word, and thus somewhat removed from traditional understandings of opera. But his use of dissolves, voice-overs, cutaways, flashbacks and other cinematic devices in his musical and dramatic structures also moved him away from the discrete song-oriented style of American musical theater and toward a distinctive handling of music drama, one indebted to film.

Sondheim’s love of film included foreign film, and his allusion to Alain Resnais’s *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959) and *L’Année derrière à Marienbad* (1961) offers a key to understanding how Sondheim translated the language of film into the language of the musical. In particular, Sondheim’s musical treatment of time and space in *Sunday in the Park with George* (1984)—a musical that bears more than a passing resemblance to the aesthetic of Resnais—provides numerous intersections between musical and film and between Sondheim and the French New Wave school of cinema, of which Resnais was a prominent member. In accounting for these intersections in this musical, a modest attempt is made to expand the ways scholars discuss music created in, and affected by, the cinema age.

MUSIC AND PAINTING IN DEREK JARMAN'S *CARAVAGGIO*

Holly Rogers

Magdalene College, Cambridge University

Film-music theory has been largely concerned with the Hollywood mainstream tradition: it has worked predominantly on the basis that film music is a suturing device that aims at invisibility (or inaudibility) in order to enforce other narrational elements, especially the image. Music in avant-garde films, however, is often different. Rather than base its main narrative on the progression of images, avant-garde film tends to use a mixture of styles and media, often treating all elements, including music, equally. As a result, whereas moments of musical "audibility" can rarely be found in the Hollywood tradition, avant-garde film often elevates music to a rival narrational system, allowing it to rupture continuously the fictional world. Music assumes a footing equal to the normally privileged image. Scenes in which music is at the forefront of action make the image subordinate to the rhythms of sound, stalling narrative propulsion by creating visual tableaux. The result is a subversion of Hollywood's traditional construction: image becomes controlled by musical time.

Derek Jarman's film *Caravaggio* (1968), an interesting case, offers the two contrasting filmic styles side by side: first, silent studio scenes in which the eponymous hero observes and paints the other characters, and second, musical scenes that stall both visual motion and the flow of the artist's recollections. The interaction between these styles confuses the distinction between painting and film, image (fiction) and reality, providing fresh insight into the influence of music in film.

DONKEY SERENADE: ABJECT EXPRESSION  
AND ADOLESCENT GIRLS' VOICES IN RECENT CINEMA

Robynn Stilwell

Georgetown University

While the adolescent male "rite of passage" film has long been a staple of cinema internationally, it was only in the 1990s that a body—however small—of female "rite of passage" films has emerged. Whereas the male schema is frequently based on physical journeys and the loss of innocence, the female version is usually about an internal journey (often enforced through physical confinement) and the revelation of self. Key in these films is the suppression of the girls' self-expression and their (re)gaining of their voices, both literal and metaphorical. The abjection of the girls' voices results in displacement, and the presence or absence of music bears importantly on the narrative and the understanding of vocality and selfhood. Four films demonstrate different displacement/resolution strategies. In *The Craft*, verbal expression summons magic but unbalances the natural order; the non-verbal action-finale strikes many female viewers as a disturbingly "male" resolution. In *A Little Princess*, Sara's voice is suppressed in the diegesis but emerges multivalently in the underscore. In *Heavenly Creatures*, Pauline and Juliet's voices pass through the intermediary of their "saint" Mario Lanza, invoking a homosocial triangle that both expresses and suppresses their feelings about themselves and one another. And in *The Virgin Suicides*, the imprisoned Lisbon girls use popular recordings as coded communication

with the boys on the “outside”, but the film’s unusually layered—and distinctly gendered—authorial voices put expression and meaning in flux.

## RESITUATING SCHOENBERG AND ADORNO

Max Paddison, University of Durham, Chair

### LABOR AND NATURE IN HINDEMITH’S AND ADORNO’S PRESCRIPTIONS ON COUNTERPOINT

Keith Chapin  
Fordham University

During the 1950s, Hindemith and Adorno polemicized in favor of contrapuntal technique in modern practice. Both drew on the topoi of labor and nature rooted in counterpoint, albeit with contrary ideals and techniques in mind. By examining their shared basic terms, this paper illuminates both the proximity of seemingly opposed music-theoretic positions in the 1950s and the multivalence of the contrapuntal tradition itself.

Fellow conservatives averse to the newest New Music, Hindemith and Adorno both appealed to counterpoint to defend the German tradition in which they strongly believed. In this tradition, metaphysics of nature combines with human labor to underpin technical procedures of thematic combination and formal process. But they tacked in different directions. For Hindemith, labor meant conscious work ethic as a propaedeutic to composition, while physical acoustics represented nature. Thus, in *Ludus tonalis*, he “played” in a world of tones, his “work” done in contrapuntal exercises. For Adorno, labor resided both in the composer’s subconscious and in the auditory effort of listening; musical stringency, on the other hand, intimidated illusory metaphysical transcendence. Schoenberg’s Obbligato Counterpoint exemplified expressionist counterpoint. The thematic density without formal conventions created a “logical” work appropriate to modern alienated consciousness.

Often perceived as antipodes, Hindemith and Adorno occupy positions in a single German “contrapuntal” tradition—a tradition they needed as the common ground for the expression of their differences. Harmonious combination vies with motivic expressivity; sober work with subjective toil; and the immediacy of momentary sonorities with the reflective sublimity of the whole.

### THE DILEMMA OF SCHOENBERG’S FIRST CONVERSION

Jill Brasky  
University at Buffalo

Arnold Schoenberg’s 1898 conversion from Judaism to Lutheranism is typically considered to have been a negative move. Scholars have assumed it to be the result of personal indifference, societal pressures, or cultural assimilation and they have instead focused their attention on the 1933 return to Judaism. But scholars have essentially ignored Schoenberg’s earlier crisis of faith—implicitly reinforcing its opportunistic image with their assumptions.

Ignoring Schoenberg's earlier conversion may be largely the fault of Carl Schorske's seminal *Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (1980), which undercuts the role of Jews (both integrated and observant) in Vienna's artistic and academic circles and which provides unsatisfactory answers to questions about Jewish life in the city. The deficiency is addressed by Malachai Hacohen (1999, 2000), who concludes that fully assimilated Jews, in fact, were rare. Further, Steven Beller (1989, 2000) and Allan Janik (2000, 2001) provide a much fuller picture of the influence of Jews, pious and converted alike, among Vienna's elite artists and academics. My paper draws upon these post-Schorske studies and examines the roles of Jewish and Lutheran thought in Schoenberg's conversion. My conclusion is that it was the re-conversion in 1933—and not the actions thirty-five years earlier—that was primarily a societal and political gesture. Confirmation for this view is found in Schoenberg's surprisingly Lutheran depiction of Moses in *Moses und Aron* (1932).

### THE 'POPULAR EFFECT' IN SCHOENBERG'S MUSIC

Áine Heneghan

Trinity College, University of Dublin

In his *Gedanke* manuscripts Schoenberg outlined three methods of connecting small musical components: “unfolding,” epitomised by the contrapuntal compositions of Bach; “development” (and “developing variation”), characteristic of the homophonic style practised by the “Wiener Klassik”; and “stringing together” [*Aneinander-Reihung*]. Designated the most “primitive” of the three, “stringing-together” achieves its goal of immediate intelligibility mainly through its slow tempo of presentation with little motivic variation, and was illustrated by Schoenberg in his analyses of fragments from Franz Lehár's operettas and the dance music of Johann Strauss. Although particularly appropriate for folksongs and popular music, the use of this type of motivic treatment was not precluded in higher art forms such as the symphony, and could be used alongside more “artful treatments.”

Drawing on published and unpublished sources, this paper explores the popular mode of presentation in Schoenberg's compositions of the early 1920s. It argues that the emphasis on developing variation in the secondary literature has obscured the importance of contrapuntal and, in particular, popular presentation. Schoenberg's predilection for dance music with simpler formal means in his music of this period attests to his interest in popular forms. Moreover, the “popular effect” [*populäre Wirkung*] is apparent not only in the motivic technique of “stringing-together,” but also in the preponderance of rhythmic repetitions and symmetrical structures. At a time when Schoenberg found the composition of sonatas to be problematic, popular forms—together with their contrapuntal counterparts—played an important role in the evolution of the twelve-tone method.

### ADORNO IN WEST GERMANY: CONTEMPORARY MUSIC AND THE STUDENT'S MOVEMENT

Beate Kutschke

Universität der Künste, Berlin

This paper provides explanations for a problem unaddressed till now: in the 1960s and 1970s not only Adorno's socio-philosophical writings, but also his music philosophy spurred the student's movement. Engaged students discussed Adorno's musical-aesthetic thought

and transformed it into concrete action. Surprisingly, they did not revolt against popular or classical-romantic bourgeois music events, but against avant-garde music. In December 1968, for instance, student actions caused the premiere of Hans Werner Henze's *Floss der Medusa* to be postponed. Only a month later, in January 1969, they interfered with a concert of electronic music. What were the reasons for the students' bizarre behavior? Why did they attack only New Music—in contrast to Adorno's critical, yet emphatic pladoyer for New Music? Did students not understand Adorno's writings properly? Did they intend to balance out the lack of practical advice in Adorno's theory that had already led to earlier conflicts between students and the philosopher?

All these reasons might have played a role. However, as I demonstrate in my paper, the main reason for students targeting New-Music events was its specific West German status that colored students' reception of Adorno's writings: New Music—applied as a tool of re-education by the allies after 1945—had been institutionalized and established and thus, in Adorno's terms, invited to be considered as a conspirator of the "Kulturindustrie." I reconstruct the Adorno-absorbing and distorting arguments as they are documented by student discussion groups, manifestos and flyers.

## **MUSIC, MEMORY, AND LITERARY TEMPORALITIES**

### **Christopher Gibbs, Bard College, Chair**

#### **MIXING MEMORY AND DESIRE: SCHUBERT'S LYRICISM RECONSIDERED**

Su Yin Mak  
Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts

While recent scholarship has witnessed a welcome disavowal of the view that Schubert's formal and tonal designs in sonata-form compositions bespeak the song composer's inability to master instrumental form, it remains a commonplace to characterize Schubert's unorthodox practice as "lyrical." There is, however, no standard critical model for the lyric in current musicology. Although certain compositional strategies have consistently been associated with lyricism in the analytical tradition, the association is often loose rather than systematic.

This paper addresses a number of theoretical and aesthetic issues arising from the notion of lyricism in Schubert's instrumental practice. I contend that the lyric constitutes an alternative, albeit anomalous, discursive paradigm within the context of the sonata style. With reference to the writings of philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, I argue that the composer's treatment of form and syntax in the late instrumental music often bears resemblance to discursive strategies associated with lyric poetry in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German letters. Among these, parataxis, or the deliberate omission of syntactical connections between phrases and formal sections, provides a crucial link between Schubert's instrumental practice and contemporaneous conceptions of lyric poetry. Passages from the outer movements of the Piano Trio in E flat major, D. 29, serve as illustration. Finally, following up on Dahlhaus's exhortation that "Schubert's lyric-epic sonata form ought not to be measured by the standards of Beethoven's dramatic-dialectic form," I attempt to posit a theory of the lyric in Schubert's sonata practice.

## REMEMBERING A DREAM: THE TRAGEDY OF ROMANTIC MEMORY IN SCHUBERT'S INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Brian Black  
University of Lethbridge

Yearning for an unattainable dream is a theme so central to early Romanticism that it lies at the heart of the tragedy of Romantic memory. As Charles Rosen has so beautifully expressed it, such memories are not merely of past happiness, but of "moments when future happiness still seemed possible." They are thus memories "of absence, of that which never was." This paper explores how Schubert's instrumental music often conveys the remembrance of something so complex, yet so insubstantial.

The discussion focuses on Schubert's unusual transitions in his sonata forms. Here his departures from Classical practice create a modulatory process that highlights the deliberate cultivation of the irrational, the projection of the modulation as an involuntary, as opposed to willed, event, and the "estrangement" of the familiar. Such characteristics capture both meanings of "dream," suggesting the pursuit of a desired, yet immaterial, state of existence while reproducing the floating effect of dreaming. All of the above points are exemplified in the Quartettsatz in C minor, D. 703, whose most perplexing features, I argue, can be understood through the trope of the dream and its tragic illusions.

## RAVEL'S *DAPHNIS ET CHLOÉ* AND THE IDEA OF MEMORY

Michael Puri  
Yale University

When considering Maurice Ravel's music, scholars are confronted with a paradox: the absence of rigorous critical response to this music despite its central position within the performing repertory. A survey of Ravel reception during the twentieth century reveals consistent historical bias that, in designating his music as mere "pastiche," "artifice," and "surface," has made it seem unattractive for analysis. To liberate our understanding of his artistic achievement from these preconceptions, an investigation of Ravel's "choreographic symphony," *Daphnis et Chloé* (1912), represents an ideal opportunity for critiquing Ravel reception as well as formulating new interdisciplinary approaches to his work.

The argument divides into three phases: a critical review of recent secondary literature on *Daphnis*, an alternative analysis of the artwork, and a comparison of its narrative structure with Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*. I argue that Lawrence Kramer's interpretation of *Daphnis* as a "commodification of the exotic" merely transfers received prejudice into new conceptual vessels. As a hermeneutic counterproposal I educe the thematization of "memory" from three aspects of the artwork: the libretto's origin in the third-century C.E. Greek novel by Longus; the presence of this source as reconfigured within the ballet's musical and dramatic material; and its "anachronic" unfolding whereby the narrative, behaving as if inflected by memory, progresses by incremental *retrogression* in time. Examining the broader implications of this interpretation, I demonstrate parallels between the narrative strategies of Ravel's *Daphnis* and Proust's contemporary novel to show how the idea of memory organizes large-scale form in different artistic media.

**ROMAN CHANT****John Boe, University of Arizona, Tucson, Chair****A NEW SOURCE OF THE EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ANTIPHONER**

Peter Jeffery

Princeton University

Anglo-Saxon writers of the seventh to eighth centuries are the earliest to exhibit awareness of a distinctly Roman chant repertory, and to ascribe Roman chant to Pope Gregory. Well-known sources describe how John, the Archcantor of St. Peter's in Rome, came to England to teach chant, and say that he wrote out a manuscript of the Roman antiphoner. Little survives of this early Anglo-Saxon repertory derived from Rome, however, for it was supplanted by the familiar Frankish-Carolingian recension of Gregorian chant. Small collections of antiphons can be recovered from Latin devotional writings; other antiphons are preserved in Anglo-Saxon poetic glosses on parts of the liturgy.

On a flyleaf in an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript of grammatical treatises, we find some lists of liturgical readings and antiphons in a contemporary Anglo-Saxon hand. The core document is similar in structure to *Ordines Romani* 13 and 14, but different in content. This unknown text can be shown, however, to have been a source of *Ordo Romanus* 34, preserved in the same manuscript as the eighth-century Brussels Gradual, which has Anglo-Saxon links of its own. Besides the core document, there are short lists of antiphons and psalms for Holy Week and other occasions.

The material includes some previously unknown texts, but on the whole it represents a Roman type of liturgy. Some archaic features, however, give us new information about the development of the liturgy in Rome, and confirm that this is indeed one of the earliest witnesses to the Roman chant tradition.

**A NEW SOURCE OF OLD ROMAN CHANT**

Thomas Kelly

Harvard University

Two bifolia, eight consecutive pages, of a late eleventh-century musical manuscript in the style generally called Old Roman have recently come to light in an Italian archive. They formed part of an antiphoner of the office, and contain music for pre-Lent and Lent, Sexagesima to Ash Wednesday. Taking into consideration two fragments of antiphoners reported by Giacomo Baroffio and the two substantially complete antiphoners in Rome, this document brings to five the number of separate antiphoners of the Old Roman office now known, of which this new fragment is the earliest.

The liturgical arrangement of the manuscript shows an earlier stage in the expansion of Lent than that of any surviving antiphoner, Gregorian or Old Roman. The series of Old Testament responsories, and hence the related readings from Genesis, begin at Sexagesima (which is not unique) and omit any reference to Noah (which is). The later Old Roman antiphoner, San Pietro B 79, represents an intermediate state, giving only three responsories of Noah in the main manuscript, and three more in an appendix—an incomplete attempt to fill the void created by the progressive extension of the Lenten season.

This new fragment, in the context of other witnesses of the Roman and Frankish traditions, provides evidence of archaism and of change in the Roman tradition, and may help to clarify the question of musical origins for at least a small portion of the chant repertory.

## FLORENTINE SONGS OF THE EARLY QUATTROCENTO

Anne Hallmark, New England Conservatory, Chair

### MS SAN LORENZO 2211: SONG REPERTORIES OF EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE

John Nádas

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Of recent manuscript discoveries, one of the most significant is the Florentine palimpsest volume that turned up in the early 1980s: San Lorenzo Manuscript 2211. Interest in the source stems from the fact that it bears traces of its original function: it was once a sizeable collection of *ars nova* and early fifteenth-century polyphony. A century after its creation, the volume was transformed into an administrative ledger. New digital photographs offer high-resolution images that allow for outstanding improvement in visibility through computer enhancements; forthcoming publication of a facsimile edition will constitute the virtual recovery of a lost codex.

The most interesting compositions are those of the Mazzuoli and Ugolino da Orvieto, representing both a continuation of earlier Trecento styles and a gradual transformation toward clearer articulation of text and music. Most remarkable is the inclusion of transalpine songs which made their way to Florence via Constance and the courts of Pavia and Padova in patterns of dissemination recently outlined by Strohm: anonymous rondeaux, virelais and ballades along with well-known songs by Machaut and his contemporaries. MS 2211 helps to illuminate an era of Italian music-making drawing to a close, telescoping with the new international French style. Impetus for the assemblage of such a collection seems to have been the continued expression of Florentine pride in native polyphonic composition joined with the cultivation of some of the most cosmopolitan repertory then available.

### ITALIAN POETRY, FRENCH VS. ITALIAN MUSIC: A CASE STUDY IN MID-FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE

James Haar

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In the *brigata* (circle of friends and kindred spirits) of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, sons of Cosimo, an artistic *giostra* (joust) was invented in the spring of 1445. Ballata texts written by Giovanni and a close friend, Rosello Roselli, were to be set to music and performed in competition within the *brigata*. Rosello had his text, *Poy che crudel fortuna*, set by the Northern musician [Gilles] Joye, and it survives in the Porto chansonnier.

Giovanni commissioned the Florentine Antonio degli Organi (=Squarcialupi) to set his poem, which he did with some difficulty; Lucrezia Tornabuoni (Piero's young wife) learned and sang it. This was sent to Giovanni, who approved of it. But Antonio was not satisfied,

and after further struggles gave it up. Ugo della Stufa, a close friend of Giovanni in Florence, lent Antonio a chansonnier (which I think can be identified) he had recently had copied, to no avail. To save the *giostra* Ugo arranged for a singer of San Giovanni, the French musician Benotto (Benoit) to rewrite the piece so as to “approach the style of Binchois,” in other words, the fashionable French polyphonic style.

This episode gives striking evidence that French music was much in vogue in Florence by the 1440s, and that an Italian-trained musician such as Antonio had trouble mastering it. Italians continued to cultivate the lauda and improvisatory music, both enduringly popular among all classes; but they now had to face, much earlier than has been thought, the challenge of French music.

*Saturday evening, 15 November*

**PANEL DISCUSSION: GIRL SINGERS OF THE 1960s**

**Susan Fast, McMaster University, Chair**  
**Jacqueline Warwick (Dalhousie University)**  
**Patricia Juliana Smith (Hofstra University)**  
**Robynn Stilwell (Georgetown University)**  
**Annie Janeiro Randall (Bucknell University)**  
**Laurie Stras (University of Southampton)**

“So dramatic was the Beatles’ impact [on America],” writes Rebee Garofalo, “that, from a cultural point of view, there is a tendency to think that the sixties...began in 1964, the year they first hit the pop charts. It was as if the country had simply been marking time for four years waiting for their arrival.” This view, which dominates most histories of popular music, credits the so-called British Invasion (defined exclusively by the Beatles and other British male rock groups) with reversing a perceived artistic and economic decline in American popular music and re-introducing Americans to the “roots” of rock and roll. While this view has some currency, some scholars have questioned its usefulness, as it dismisses equally important contemporaneous repertoires that also shaped the musical life of this era. One of the most under-researched of these repertoires is that made by young women, both in Britain and the U.S. including artists such as The Shirelles, The Supremes, The Shangri-Las, Dusty Springfield, Tina Turner, Lesley Gore, The Crystals, Brenda Lee, the Bobbettes and many others. These women had hit songs on the record charts simultaneously with British Invasion bands and even influenced them directly, but this influence has been erased. Many of these artists are viewed solely as having been ventriloquized by male producers, musicians or songwriters, their own contribution judged as relatively insignificant. The pop style of their music, with lyrics that often targeted their female peers, has been deemed less worthy of scholarly attention than the British rock styles, or the more “soulful” music produced by male artists at, for example, Stax Records.

This panel brings together scholars whose current work is focused on girl singers of the early 1960s. In the absence of a central body of research, brief position statements from each of the panelists provide models for discussion and further research. Drawing on established methodologies such as feminist theory, queer theory and performance practice research, as well as current contextual debates such as critical race studies and cultural constructions of female adolescence, the panelists show how the repertoire may be interrogated, illuminated and repositioned in assessments of the period’s legacy. Jacqueline Warwick addresses issues of violence, masochism and anger in girl group music; Patricia Juliana Smith focuses on BritPop princesses and their influence; Robynn Stilwell discusses femininity, whiteness and the “monstrousness” of puberty as projected in the music of Brenda Lee; Susan Fast maps meaning in Tina Turner’s crossover from rhythm and blues to white rock and pop; Annie Janeiro Randall combs “Dusty’s hair,” revealing clues to the way sexual and racial orientation are represented visually in her performances; and Laurie Stras amplifies “the voice of the beehive,” looking at changes in vocal production at the turn of the decade. The panel hopes that its considerations of these specific aspects stimulate contributions from an open discussion with fellow musicologists, rethinking the accepted history of this musical period.

*Sunday morning, 16 November*

**THE MEANING OF MUSICAL INFLUENCE**  
**Christopher Reynolds, University of California, Davis, Chair**

FROM HARMONY TO HERMENEUTICS IN SCHUBERT'S *GANYMED*

Suzannah Clark  
Merton College, Oxford University

Schubert's *Ganymed* has attracted attention both for its harmonic twists and subject matter. Curiously, every detailed study of it invokes Schenker. Theorists have seen in its A-flat-major beginning and F-major ending an opportunity to question Schenker's monotonal *Ursatz*. Thomas Denny argues for a single but incomplete structure, preserving some sense of teleological drive. For Harald Krebs, *Ganymed* qualifies as another example of structural torsos "welded" together, the joint in this case mirroring the poetic shift from the earthly to the heavenly. For Lawrence Kramer, the departure of *Ganymed*'s harmonic structure from Schenker's marks a "tonal transcendence" that stands for Ganymede's "lower and higher raptures."

Schubertian hermeneutics has come to rely increasingly on instancing how Schubert subverts norms. I explain why pitting him against Schenker is inappropriate to this agenda. A more pertinent model is the one Schubert himself used: Reichardt's setting, which also spans a third. The harmonic language of the two settings is radically different. Reichardt sticks to standard progressions, reaching the final key through a straightforward interrupted cadence. Schubert mutates from one triadic entity to another, undermining conventional syntax at every turn. I argue that comparing these two settings allows us to articulate what led some of Schubert's contemporaries to nickname him the "painter of words." After exposing Schubert's powerful harmonic means of painting poetic detail, one that has eluded scholars because existing analytical methods are not designed to cope with it, I outline how my case study might inform hermeneutic responses to Schubert's songs more generally.

LITERARY VOICES IN LISZT'S *VALLÉE D'OBERMANN*

Jacob Hosler  
University of California, Berkeley

Like many nineteenth-century composers, Liszt was fascinated by the notion of making instrumental music "speak." This fascination took two forms: an obsession with trying to evoke the human voice at the piano and an interest in infusing instrumental music with a literary dimension. This paper investigates the relationship between these interests by showing how the vocal impulse of one of Liszt's best-known piano pieces, *Vallée d'Obermann*, is shaped by concepts drawn from its literary source, the novel *Obermann* by Étienne Pivert de Senancour. Inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas of music and language, Senancour connects sound—and voices in particular—with an idealized primitive state. I argue that Liszt reconceives these primitive voices as instrumental recitative, and that he uses recitative's affinity to Rousseau's *première langue* as a tool to shape the vocal character

of the rest of the piece. The development of the work's main motive (both within the piece and between the work's two versions) traces out aspects of Rousseau's theory of linguistic evolution: first the "cry of nature" that begins the discarded introduction is gradually integrated into the well-ordered grammar of the first theme, then the constituent elements of primitive language, speech and song, are broken apart and placed in opposition in the middle section of the piece. By showing how passages often labeled as "transitional" may actually form the conceptual nucleus of the work, this "voice-centered" analysis hopefully offers an alternative to interpretive approaches narrowly focused on sonata form.

## THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE WANDERER: LISZT'S ALLUSIVE LIEDER AND THE ACT OF TRANSCRIPTION

Michael Hamad  
Brandeis University

In 1838, Franz Liszt responded to the experience of performing Schubert's "Der Wanderer" (D. 493) with a piano transcription of the song and a prose dream sequence depicting an encounter with its protagonist. Liszt's powerful connection to the wanderer in the dream, in particular his belief that he and the wanderer "had to merge with and transform each other," evokes the act of transcription itself, an important and distinctive component of Liszt's compositional process. As examples of individual creative personalities aligning with each other, Liszt's characterizations of Schubert's wanderer in his dream and transcription represent similar fusions of Liszt, still a prospective song composer struggling to gain recognition as an artist, with the revered master, Schubert.

In this paper, I consider transcription as a form of compositional apprenticeship, one that shaped Liszt's notions of text setting while he endeavored to compose art songs. First, I demonstrate that Liszt's letters, especially the one containing the "wanderer dream," offer insight into how the Schubert Lieder that Liszt transcribed left their mark on his own compositions. Drawing on theories of musical intertextuality, I then examine references to "Der Wanderer" in Liszt's "Die Loreley" and "Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh," arguing that Schubert's influence reveals a new dimension of Liszt's creative process, one infused with his idealist aesthetics and his experiences as a traveling virtuoso. Expanding upon existing views in the scholarship, finally I conclude that Liszt's Lieder transcriptions supplied him with a referential palette of musico-poetic tropes to use when setting texts to music.

## AGAINST MUSICAL INFLUENCE

Lawrence Kramer  
Fordham University

Recent studies of musical influence raise important questions of historiography and criticism. Influence has a relatively short and limited history. It was conceived in the eighteenth century to devalue imitation of revered models and promote the contrary ideal of originality; it was revived two centuries later by Harold Bloom as a struggle against creative anxiety and the burden of the past. In music, the problem of influence gained currency as a byproduct of the acute self-consciousness attendant on the construction of a "classical" tradition. Awareness of this historical positioning should caution us against the continued use of influence as a critical concept, a practice that mandates acceptance of the ideology

behind the concept, even, or especially, where that ideology is rejected. Critical narratives of influence systematically efface the broad social and discursive fields of cultural transmission in favor of a narrow drama of heroic individuation. They also systematically misrepresent ordinary intertextual relations—similarities, analogies, citations, allusions—as extraordinary devices that defeat the process of intertextuality itself or else are defeated by it. These narratives exert a strong appeal by sacrificing cultural memory. When Ives and Bartok write slow fugues for strings clearly resembling the opening of Beethoven's C-sharp-minor string quartet, Beethoven's influence may seem obvious. But the Beethoven in these cases is different: not a singular historical Beethoven but "Beethoven," a cultural trope partly constructed by the pieces that cite it, a trope that may mean one thing in 1890s Danbury and quite another in 1930s Budapest.

## **AESTHETICS AND TRUTH IN BEETHOVEN AND BRAHMS**

**William Meredith, San José State University, Chair**

### **BEETHOVEN, E. T. A. HOFFMANN, AND THE IDEA OF MUSICAL TRUTH**

Mark Evan Bonds  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In his 1810 review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, E. T. A. Hoffmann famously articulated what he perceived to be important differences in the musical styles of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Scholars have traditionally focused on Hoffmann's adjectives and nouns ("a serene and childlike personality," "the purple shimmer of night," "the lever of fear and awe"). A careful examination of Hoffmann's verbs, however, reveals a more profound mode of difference. He discusses the music of Haydn and Mozart using the vocabulary and conceptual categories of rhetoric, in which the composer's fundamental task is to move an audience. But he presents the music of Beethoven within an essentially philosophical framework, in which the composer's primary purpose is to reveal a higher—musical—truth. "Infinite longing," for example, commonly interpreted as an emotional state, was in fact a philosophical concept advocated by Friedrich Schlegel, Novalis, and Schelling as a means of bridging the divide between subjectivity and objectivity.

Hoffmann's distinction between an idea (truth) and its presentation (rhetoric) established the groundwork for a fundamentally new kind of musical criticism centered on a work's essence rather than its effect. The unprecedented length and level of technical detail in his review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony ultimately derive from this new dichotomy between rhetoric and truth, which inscribes the growing rift between composers and listeners, between music that can be readily assimilated and music that challenges its listeners to perceive a realm of truth both within and beyond the world of sound.

'HEROIC' CLOSURE IN BEETHOVEN'S SONATA-RONDO FINALES  
TO 1803 AND THE OPENING OF A CAREER

Michelle Fillion  
University of Victoria

In 1800 the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* situated the "aesthetic value" of Beethoven's "Pathétique" Sonata in the "unity and inner life" imparted on the entire work by its rondo finale. Accordingly, cyclic coherence—a prime value in later aesthetic responses to Beethoven's "heroic" period—makes its first entry in the critical literature in questionable company. Although repeatedly maligned since the 1770s, the sonata-rondo and other rondo forms had newly affirmed their legitimacy and appeal in Haydn's London symphonies and Mozart's Viennese concertos. It may be no coincidence that Beethoven resorted to this popular finale type in the majority of the sonata cycles and concertos of his first Viennese decade, just as he was consolidating his reputation as a composer and winning an audience for his "difficult" music. In so doing, he opened himself to a dilemma: how to counterbalance the musical weight of his bold sonata-form opening movements and achieve cyclic closure with recourse to this additive and reputedly naïve finale form. In sonata-rondo finales from the Sonata op. 2, no. 3, to the "Waldstein," I argue, Beethoven addressed this compositional problem by enhancing their reference to unfinished musical business from earlier movements, and by resolving these long-term issues in increasingly weighty codas, replete with original strokes and harmonic surprises. Thus the neglect of finales, especially rondos, in modern Beethoven reception has obscured this "new path" in the music of his increasingly disputed first creative period.

BEETHOVEN'S UNFINISHED F MINOR TRIO FROM 1816

William Kinderman  
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

On 1 October 1816, Beethoven offered two new compositions to his publisher Robert Birchall in London: a "Grand Sonata for the Pianoforte" for 40 pounds and a "Trio for the Piano with accomp. of Violin and Violoncello" for 50 pounds. The former project became the Sonata in A, Op. 101, but the F minor Trio remained unfinished and is still almost completely unknown. Yet the manuscript sources for the trio are extensive: eighteen pages of sketches in the "Scheide" Sketchbook held at Princeton, and a fragmentary score for the first movement held at the Staatsbibliothek preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin as MS Grasnick 29.

When these two documents are closely compared, Beethoven's evolving plans for the F minor Trio are clarified. The point in the sequence of entries in *Scheide* when Beethoven began to write out the F minor Trio in score can be precisely identified, and this enables us to evaluate the shape and substance of the project for the first time. The piece was to have begun with an extended slow introduction, marked "Andante con moto," whose important harmonic and motivic relations were coordinated with the main theme of the ensuing sonata design. As in other major works in this key, Beethoven is concerned in this torso with Neapolitan relations, as well as with motivic material based on descending thirds. These sources thus shed new light on what would have been a major chamber work at the threshold of Beethoven's third period.

**BRAHMS'S ORCHESTRAS: SIZE MATTERS**

Styra Avins  
Drew University

In the past decade or so, ideas about how to perform the music of Johannes Brahms have undergone important modifications which contrast sharply with the tradition handed down during much of the twentieth century. The most striking change involves his large works: reasoning particularly from the size of the musical forces chosen by him for first performances of his *Schicksalslied* and First Symphony (in Karlsruhe) and his Fourth Symphony (in Meiningen), the idea has been promoted, and received, that Brahms preferred smaller rather than larger orchestras and choruses. At least two prominent conductors have been sufficiently convinced by recent hypotheses to have recorded works in this manner.

Nevertheless, a close reading of a variety of documents, including letters, newspaper reports, memoirs and concert programs, does not confirm this point of view. My paper presents a substantial body of primary evidence pointing to a significantly different picture of the sound world envisaged by Brahms from the one which has gained currency in the past decade. I also address the reasons prompting Brahms to choose Karlsruhe and Meiningen for the premieres of those pieces, and the extent to which he felt his music well served in those places.

**MEMORY, IDENTITY, AND THE TOTALITARIAN EXPERIENCE**

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

INTERROGATING THE SOCIALIST REALIST MYTH:  
SHOSTAKOVICH'S EARLY STRING QUARTETS

Judith Kuhn  
University of Manchester

Shostakovich, like many Soviet artists, used his compositions to reflect upon the profound philosophic, political and personal questions posed by life in that society. These works have been the subject of conflicting reception histories and they provide useful case studies on the fluid nature of musical narrative and extra-musical meaning. What is it about this music that provokes narrative, extra-musical interpretation, and how can we best discuss its narrativity without trivializing or oversimplifying it? This paper examines his early string quartets, works in which the composer was perhaps able to be more candid than in his symphonies, and seeks to show some of the ways that the composer used the untexted genre of the string quartet to reflect on existential issues and interrogate the mythology of Socialist Realism.

In 1938, for reasons that could well have been political, personal or not even fully conscious, the composer changed the order of movements of his First Quartet, and created an affirmative, instead of the originally-composed ambivalent, ending. Thus began the chamber-music dialogue with Socialist Realism's heroic optimism that is an ongoing thread in his Stalin-era quartets. Dialogues with genre and plot archetypes, modal ambiguity, and thematic transformation all contribute to narrativity and imagery in these quartets.

MUSICAL HAUNTINGS: CONJURATIONS  
IN SHOSTAKOVICH'S EIGHTH STRING QUARTET

Sarah Reichardt  
University of Texas, Austin

Dmitri Shostakovich's Eighth String Quartet is created almost entirely out of musical quotations and repetitions of the composer's moniker motive, the DSCH motive. Over the course of the work, the DSCH motive comes to dominate the piece to such an extent that it becomes the central specter in a work filled with ghosts. The quotations enter into the framework of the quartet through what can be seen as a ritual of conjuration performed by the motive. But, why this ritual? In this study, using Derrida's theories on conjurations, I argue that the motive summons the quotations because of the conjuration's ability to amass power, in this case the power of signification. In short, because the proper name does not inherently hold meaning the quotations are summoned in hopes of conjuring up the identity of the subject so that the sign may be filled by their presence.

Yet, I argue, the quotations themselves are empty signs. The final movement's second half—a repetition of the first movement, minus the quotations—fully reveals the emptiness in the motive's quest for meaning. Although the quartet tries to escape into the past, it cannot escape the emptiness upon which its reality is constructed; the motive, as an empty signifier, ultimately comes to represent this void. Ultimately, I argue that in the motive, the emptiness behind existence, takes on positive existence in that the motive's role in the Eighth documents the fundamental subjugation of modern existence while also attesting to humanity's monumental ability to survive.

SCHNITTKE'S FIRST SYMPHONY, POSTMODERNISM,  
AND THE END OF THE THAW

Peter Schmelz  
University at Buffalo

Alfred Schnittke's First Symphony leads a double existence. Historians often comment on the similarities between the "polystylistic" First Symphony and other contemporary "collage" works by the Western avant-garde. Yet Schnittke's work played a pivotal role in the musical life of the U.S.S.R., and particularly in the life of his generation of "unofficial" composers. This paper provides a more comprehensive discussion of the reception of Schnittke's First Symphony, focusing on its impact on official and unofficial Soviet music, while reconsidering its relationship with its European precursors.

Schnittke's generation was the first to take advantage of the cultural Thaw instituted by Khrushchev following Stalin's death. The "young composers," as they were known, worked vigorously to catch up with the major trends of Western modernism denied under Stalinism, including serial and aleatoric techniques. As a result, Schnittke's Symphony drew heavily from "postmodernist" compositions like Zimmermann's *Die Soldaten* and Berio's *Sinfonia*. For its original audiences, unaware of these models, Schnittke's collage of quotations represented a shattering of barriers, especially when heard against the contemporary repressions of Soviet artistic life. The symphony's premiere was the musical event of 1974, the year of both Rostropovich's emigration and the "Bulldozer Exhibition"—the literal crushing of an avant-garde exhibit in a Moscow park. Coming at this seminal moment, Schnittke's First Symphony signaled the end of the musical Thaw and the beginning of the age of "Stagnation," even as it marked the moment when the young Soviets finally "caught up" with their Western colleagues.

**LANGUAGE AND LIBRETTI**

**Thomas Bauman, Northwestern University, Chair**

SPEECH AND SILENCE IN BACH'S CANTATAS  
TO TEXTS BY MARIANA VON ZIEGLER

Mark Peters  
University of Pittsburgh

Mariana von Ziegler, librettist for nine Bach cantatas at the end of his second Leipzig Jahrgang, was one of the most outspoken advocates for women's rights in early eighteenth-century Germany. In her writings Ziegler argued that men and women share the faculty of speech and should therefore share the right to communicate, whether publicly or privately. The common eighteenth-century state of affairs where men were verbal and women silent was not acceptable for Ziegler; she insisted rather that speech and silence were states to which all humans had equal right. This paper examines Ziegler's emphasis on self-expression through her texts dealing with speech and silence, as well as Bach's musical realization of these texts.

The paper begins by placing the ideas of speech and silence in the context of Ziegler's position as a woman poet in early eighteenth-century Germany and of her literary output. It proceeds to study her sacred cantatas in particular, presenting a summary of the references to speech and silence in Ziegler's cantata texts in relation to these concepts in texts by Bach's other librettists. The paper concludes by examining Bach's musical realization of Ziegler's texts on speech and silence. While considering the types of textual references and each movement's textual and musical context within its cantata, the discussion focuses on how Bach emphasized musically Ziegler's conceptions of speech and silence. Of particular interest is the textual and musical juxtaposition of speech and silence in the third and fourth movements of Cantata 128.

### MOZART, DA PONTE, AND THE TRADITION OF ITALIAN PSALM PARAPHRASES: THE CASE OF *DAVIDE PENITENTE*, K. 469

Bruce Brown

University of Southern California

*Davide penitente*, Mozart's attempt to salvage what music he could from his unfinished C-minor Mass, is in several respects a problematic work. Even its genre (oratorio? cantata? psalm?) is in doubt, and its anonymous text, sometimes attributed to Da Ponte, displays striking disparities from one section to the next. These, and related oddities of text-setting, are largely explained by the fact that only two of the work's numbers were new, the rest simply being provided with new Italian texts. But how might the original audience, mostly unaware of the work's origins (unlike modern listeners), have judged  *Davide penitente*?

In examining this work I aim to situate it within the context of concert programs of the Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät, in which expectations of genre, language, and musical style were rapidly changing; to examine the venerable tradition of Italian psalm paraphrases, into which  *Davide penitente* rather uneasily fits; and to shed light on the question of the text's authorship. The musical and poetic contexts for this work were largely incompatible, and their collision explains much about the choices Mozart made in assembling  *Davide penitente*. Da Ponte's prior experience with psalm paraphrases notwithstanding, his prodigious poetic skill and literary erudition tend to cast doubt on his authorship of so unpoetic a text as  *Davide penitente* (as do also his troubled relations with the Tonkünstler-Societät). But newly reexamined evidence directly connects Mozart to the choice and arrangement of at least one number's text, with important implications for the rest of the work.

### MOZART'S *MAGIC FLUTE* AND THE MYSTERY OF LANGUAGE

Marianne Tettlebaum

Cornell University

In  *Der Vogelgesang oder die drei Lehren* by Christoph Martin Wieland, whose Dschinnistan was a principal source for the libretto of Mozart's  *Magic Flute*, a talking bird admonishes a wealthy but ignorant man: "Fool; Words are only empty shells/The sense [ *der Sinn*] is everything, the sense, the sense!" The bird suggests a two-fold concept of linguistic meaning in which words have both a superficial meaning and a deeper meaning or sense, which is prioritized as truth. What is this deeper sense of a word and how is it determined? Mozart's  *Magic Flute* implicitly provides an answer. It is, in large part, I argue,

an opera about language. Tamino undergoes a process of linguistic *Aufklärung* in which he learns how to use language. Papageno, however, calls into question the enlightened concept of language that Tamino acquires. Whereas Tamino's idea of language is thoroughly a product of the Enlightenment, Papageno's reflects the emerging discourse of German Romanticism and its critique of Enlightenment rationality.

The two theories of language in the opera attest to its ambiguous position as both quintessential Enlightenment drama and post-Enlightenment critique. Like Carolyn Abbate (*In Search of Opera*, 2001), I argue against traditional readings of the opera that anchor it firmly in the Enlightenment. Whereas she examines the opera through ideas about voice and body, I do so through its ideas about language in the context of Enlightenment and Romantic philosophy in order to reflect on the relationship between music and language in this period.

### AT A LOSS FOR WORDS: WRITER'S BLOCK IN BRITTEN'S *DEATH IN VENICE*

Shersten Johnson  
University of St. Thomas, St. Paul

Aschenbach, an aging novelist, is at a loss for words in the opening scene of Britten's *Death in Venice* (1973). His phrase, "My mind beats on, my mind beats on, and no words come," encapsulates his struggle: his mind is churning feverishly, but he cannot produce the flow of elegant and disciplined prose that had always characterized his writing. The words we as listeners do hear help to communicate his psychological condition by creating meaning through sonance and syntax: the text here not only describes the impasse, but also sounds impeded, lexically and grammatically. As the opera progresses, musical forces play an increasingly essential role in Aschenbach's linguistic undoing. Motivic, rhythmic, and registral impediments accrue as his loss for words eventually results in a catastrophic inability to speak. This construal of Aschenbach's dilemma conspicuously shifts the dramatic locus toward writer's block and away from that of Thomas Mann's 1911 novella on which the opera is based.

My paper speculates as to how this shift provides insights into Britten's own understanding of the creative process. Beginning with an outline of the nature of writer's block as a psychological disorder and drawing on the works of Freud and others, the paper goes on to show how inhibitions in the musical processes themselves express this disorder. The analysis makes use of cognitive linguistic theories to demonstrate how musical and textual forces blend to voice the loss of words that both initiates Aschenbach's journey and follows him to its end.

## TRANSFORMATIONS OF MODAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

Gregory Barnett, Rice University, Chair

### MODAL CONTRAST IN CHANTS BY HILDEGARD OF BINGEN AND HER CONTEMPORARIES: A NEW MUSICAL LINK

Michael McGrade  
Brandeis University

The chant composed by Hildegard of Bingen defies categorization. The relationship of her compositional style to that of her contemporaries remains largely unexplored, and questions concerning the ritual performance of her music have also been raised. My paper addresses both of these topics.

I have surveyed several thousand chants from French and German antiphoners, and I have found a small number of office melodies (mostly responsories) that share specific modal features with Hildegard's compositions. In particular, these chants use C as a final and combine the melodic characteristics of two modes: transposed tetrardus plagal (C final, G-g range, with a B flat) and a form of the transposed tritus authentic (C final; c to c<sub>1</sub> range, with b<sub>1</sub> natural). Such modal contrasts, described in the work of Marianne Richert-Pfau, are a distinctive feature of Hildegard's C-based melodies. The chants I have found show that this combined ambitus and hybrid modal signature was known and used by Hildegard's contemporaries, especially those who lived in the Rhineland.

The chants I discuss also shed light on the performance of Hildegard's music. Although C-based melodies with dual modal qualities are quite rare, they were frequently performed at the end of matins or in the final position of other office observances. In that respect, they lend support to the suggestion by Margot Fassler that Hildegard's chants were designed to conclude ceremonial observances.

My study proposes that Hildegard's C-chants are the most prominent examples of a melodic idiom that has, for the most part, escaped notice.

### 'HARMONIOUS DISCORD': NICOLE ORESME'S NOTIONS OF CELESTIAL MUSIC AND MOTION

Gabriela Ilnitshi  
Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Despite Aristotle's authoritative rejection of the celestial sound in his *De caelo*, scholastic thinkers of the late middle ages remained deeply invested in the Neoplatonic notion of cosmic harmony. They often found innovative ways to negotiate between these two seemingly contradictory views and reached acceptable compromises. More often than not, their conceptual reworkings of the cosmic music became manifold and dynamic syntheses between sets of upstart cosmological and scientific doctrines and the established Neoplatonic philosophical core.

Particularly noteworthy in this respect are Nicole Oresme's interpretations of the celestial harmony as developed in his *Tractatus de commensurabilitate* and *Le Livre du ciel et du monde*. Contingent on his own kinematics of circular motion and rigorous mathematical derivations, Oresme envisages a cosmic music regulated not by the standard Neoplatonic ratios, but by continuously variable irrational ratios of mutually incommensurable quantities.

The incommensurability of celestial motions, which Oresme seems to favor, leads therefore to an infinity of planetary conjunctions corresponding to a dynamic, though not precisely codified, cosmic polyphony. Woven from the shifting mathematical interrelationships among the heavenly bodies, this tapestry of imperceptible sound manifests an endless set of internal pitch configurations in which harmonic consonances occur only at fleeting moments of conjunction. Insofar as Oresme's celestial music mediates between terrestrial and divine music, it embodies cosmological and aesthetic premises different from those of the Neoplatonists, and ultimately engenders a sounding universe that he regards as infinitely more beautiful because it is infinitely more varied.

#### POINT/COUNTERPOINT: VICENTINO'S POLYPHONIC EXAMPLE OF THE DIATONIC GENUS AS REBUTTAL TO LUSITANO

Timothy McKinney  
Baylor University

The famous 1551 debate between Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano concerned whether contemporary music was written in the diatonic genus, as Lusitano claimed, or whether it represented a mixture of the genera, as Vicentino maintained. The judges ruled against Vicentino, who in 1555 published in *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, a full exposition of his views on the genera and a description of the debate and its aftermath. His bitterness over the debate and the ongoing controversy surrounding it have been well-documented by modern scholars. What has not been recognized, however, is the agenda behind the contrapuntal structure of his polyphonic example of the diatonic genus in the treatise. He asserts that "considerable harshness is felt in this music, compared to that which is tempered and mixed [i.e., contemporary practice]." The paper shows that Vicentino infused the example with harmonic and contrapuntal devices described elsewhere in his treatise as being appropriate for expressing harshness, devices he, along with Zarlino, learned from Willaert. These include chiefly (1) the harmonic major sixth, harsh in itself, and especially so when it moves to a fifth rather than an octave, and (2) parallel major thirds, which he advises composers to avoid, and which appear only thrice in his first madrigal book, yet which also appear thrice in the twenty-eight-measure diatonic example. By making the example especially harsh through these devices, Vicentino hoped to render it unpleasant and to distance the diatonic genus from contemporary practice, thus bolstering his stance in the debate.

#### MAKING SENSE OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MODAL THEORY: MODAL REPRESENTATION, THE CHURCH TONES, AND SHIFTING CONCEPTS OF TONAL SPACE

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To modern readers it can seem that the only aspect of modal theory seventeenth-century music theorists ever agreed upon was the very absence of agreement. Various incarnations of the eight- and twelve-mode systems, the church tones, and the emergent major-minor system vied for dominance, often within the very same treatises. Not surprisingly, the modal theory of this period has often been dismissed as confused and decadent. Amidst

the diversity of seventeenth-century views, however, may be discerned significant shifts in how musicians conceptualized tonal space. These shifts are especially evident in theorists' representations of the church tones, a set of modal categories originating from alternatim psalmody with organ and first described by Adriano Banchieri in 1605.

Accordingly, this paper traces the church tones over the course of the Baroque era through more than thirty treatises from Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and Germany, comparing the terminology, tonalities, and manners of modal representation employed. These comparisons clearly demonstrate a shift from vocal to keyboard ways of conceptualizing and representing tonal space. In treatises closely linked to alternatim psalmody, for example, authors typically represented the church tones using final-signature combinations, with the final standing for the psalm-tone ending. As the church tones gained currency beyond psalmody, theorists presented them in the traditional modal apparatus of mediated octave species. By the later seventeenth century, however, final-signature combinations once again dominated. Rather than standing for the end of a cantus firmus, however, they now stood for tonalities whose defining features were final and quality of third.

## STRATEGY AND SENTIMENTALITY IN MAHLER AND BARTÓK

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### WHEN GUSTAV MET ALMA

Stephen McClatchie

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Few musical marriages have occasioned as much commentary as that between the middle-aged *k. und k. Hofoperndirektor* Gustav Mahler and the young and beautiful Viennese *Mädel* Alma Schindler. The liaison—"chaining spring to autumn," as Mahler once put it—fascinates on numerous grounds: it coincides with other significant changes in Mahler's life (a near-death experience, a shift away from the *Wunderhorn* world of the first four symphonies); it required Alma to abandon her own aspirations as a composer; it is riddled with triangles (Gustav-Alma-his work; Gustav-Alma-Justine; Gustav-Alma-his friends; Gustav-Alma-Zemlinsky; Gustav-Alma-Gropius); and, finally, it was interpreted by Sigmund Freud in a famous 1910 encounter in Leiden. On the basis of newly available sources, such as Alma's contemporaneous diaries and a complete and unexpurgated edition of Gustav's letters to her, as well as unpublished correspondence between Gustav and his sister Justine, this paper attempts to distinguish between fact and fiction surrounding the marriage. In particular, Mahler's decision to marry Alma Schindler is recontextualized in light of unpublished letters between Gustav and Justine in December 1901.

MAHLER'S BROKEN PASTORAL  
AND *FIN-DE-SIÈCLE* URBAN CULTURE

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In their fascination with the auditory environment of Mahler's childhood, scholars have all but ignored the composer's ambivalent relationship to *fin-de-siècle* urban culture and its decisive influence on his compositional aesthetic. In this paper I argue that Mahler's attitude toward metropolitan culture at the turn of the last century reveals itself in his treatment of the pastoral. I demonstrate how Mahler articulates a "version of pastoral" that is at its core fundamentally broken. Focusing on the celebrated moments of pastoral evocation in the outer movements of the Sixth Symphony, I propose that they be interpreted not as enclaves of solitude and contemplation but rather as a succession of fleeting and ultimately illusory moments of escape.

By emphasizing the fragmentary and transient nature of these passages, I suggest that they can be interpreted as shards of memory which emerge unbidden in the context of the symphony's increasingly bleak trajectory. Drawing on passages from Rilke's novel *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge*, Georg Simmel's essay "The Alpine Journey," and Georg Heym's collection of poems *Umbra Vitae*, I show that, like the work of these writers, Mahler's music offers a striking reflection of metropolitan modernity.

THE POLITICS OF GYPSINESS AND SENTIMENTALITY: FROM THE  
BARTÓK-MÖLLER POLEMIC TO THE CONCERTO FOR ORCHESTRA

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At first glance the Bartók and Möller exchange in the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* appears straightforward, centered on "scientific" criteria for the choice of material in Möller's collection, *Ungarische Volkslieder* (1929). Disagreement occurred, however, precisely around Bartók's theory of peasant music creation, the rejection of which caused bitter disappointment for Bartók. Further, the debate's discursive turn toward Gypsy music and its inherently sentimental, schmaltzy performance ideal, or "Gypsiness," effectively usurped the debate over the peasant origins of idealized ancient Magyar music. Note that Bartók's complex views of Gypsy music changed over time, with a gradual warming toward its cosmopolitan or hybrid contribution to Hungary's musical traditions. After a close reading of the polemic with references to songs from Möller's edition, other writings from the same time by Bartók, and Gypsy-Hungarian recordings, I turn to the *Concerto for Orchestra*, and especially the "Intermezzo interrotto," a fantastic site of much critical disagreement but which ironically contains some of the most stunning appropriations of popular sources in Bartók's oeuvre. If recent texts (Suchoff, Cooper, Brown) attest to historical contradictions in Bartók's aesthetics, still, what remains largely unexplored is the extent to which Gypsiness informs Bartók's music. I argue that the main overture to Gypsiness reveals itself not in a particular melodic source or musical distortion, but in the evocation/ integration of sentimentality, a trait of Romanticism and Gypsiness emphatically dismissed by Bartók, yet nonetheless present in his strategy of creating a pan-Eastern European style.

DOHNÁNYI, THE *PUSZTA* AND THE PASTORAL ROOTS  
OF BARTÓK'S MODERN STYLEDavid Schneider  
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In a 1928 essay Béla Bartók described the slow movement of his Second Suite for Orchestra (1905) as a turning point in his compositional development. Identifying the last chord of the movement as the first example of non-resolved dissonance in his oeuvre and hence the basis of his modern style, he claimed that his treatment of this minor-seventh chord as a consonance was inspired by the tonal implications of pentatonic Hungarian folksong. A model closer at hand for Bartók in 1905, however, was the Symphony in D minor (1901) by Bartók's friend and rival Ernő Dohnányi (1877–1960). Bartók especially admired the slow movement of Dohnányi's Symphony, which he performed and memorized. In addition to its final chord (also an unresolved minor seventh), this movement shares with Bartók's the pastoral topic of the *puszta* or Great Hungarian Plain, a favorite subject for Hungarian nationalist composers, poets and artists since the 1850s.

The discovery of Dohnányi's Symphony as a model for an innovation generally ascribed to Bartók alone significantly alters the notion, propagated by the composer, that his modern style resulted from a rejection of earlier Hungarian traditions of art music in favor of folk music. Locating Bartók's work in the context of representations of the *puszta* by Dohnányi, Erkel, Hubay, Mosonyi, and Szendy illuminates Bartók's debt to an important if little-known nineteenth-century Hungarian tradition. Moreover, it demonstrates that even early on Bartók had the ability to transform a well-worn musical topic to such an extent that it could seem utterly new.

## *Index of Authors, Panelists, and Session Chairs*

- Adams, Byron 79  
Allsen, J. Michael 36  
Antokoletz, Elliott 109  
Applebaum, Edward 68  
Avins, Styra 102
- Barnett, Gregory 107  
Bartel, Kate 56  
Bartlet, M. Elizabeth C. 54  
Bauman, Thomas 104  
Beghin, Tom 32  
Bellman, Jonathan 71  
Bernstein, Jane 39  
Bernstein, Lawrence 31  
Black, Brian 93  
Block, Geoffrey 80  
Bloechl, Olivia 33  
Boe, John 94  
Bonds, Mark Evan 100  
Boorman, Stanley 75  
Borgerding, Todd 50  
Borwick, Susan 59  
Brasky, Jill 90  
Bravo, Gwyneth 102  
Brothers, Grey 50  
Brown, Bruce 105  
Brown, Jennifer Williams 54  
Brown, Malcolm Hamrick 102  
Broyles, Michael 60  
Burgess, Geoffrey 35  
Burkholder, J. Peter 67
- Campana, Alessandra 28  
Carter, Tim 80  
Cateforis, Theo 59  
Chapin, Keith 90  
Chen, Jen-yen 65  
Christensen, Thomas 67  
Clark, Suzannah 98  
Clark, Walter 50  
Coelho, Victor 77  
Cohen, Brigid 74  
Cook, Susan 28  
Coward, Georgia 41
- Davies, Drew Edward 51  
de Graaf, Melissa 61  
Dodds, Michael 108  
Dumitrescu, Ted 75
- Ellis, Katharine 24  
Eybl, Martin 66
- Fassler, Margot 55  
Fast, Susan 97  
Feldman, Martha 69  
Fillion, Michelle 101  
Firca, Patricia 64  
Frandsen, Mary E. 69  
Franklin, Peter 87  
Fry, Andy 48
- Gaertner, Susanne 46  
Gelbart, Matthew 72  
Gibbs, Christopher 92  
Gjerdingen, Robert 84  
Glixon, Jonathan 34  
Goehring, Edmund 70  
Goldberg, Halina 71  
Goldsmith, Melissa Ursula Dawn 74  
Gossett, Philip 53
- Haar, James 95  
Haldey, Olga 43  
Hallmark, Anne 95  
Hamad, Michael 99  
Hambrick, Jennifer 82  
Haskins, Rob 47  
Hathaway, Janet 51  
Heisler, Wayne 44  
Heller, Wendy 69  
Heneghan, Aine 91  
Hibberd, Sarah 41  
Hitchcock, H. Wiley 67  
Hoeckner, Berthold 87  
Hooker, Lynn 25  
Hosler, Jacob 98  
Huebner, Steven 62

- Innitchi, Gabriela 107  
 Jeffery, Peter 94  
 Jenkins, Chadwick 48  
 Johnson, Janet 81  
 Johnson, Shersten 106  
 Johnston, Gregory 65  
 Joncus, Berta 70  
 Joseph, Charles 43  
 Judd, Cristle Collins 39  
  
 Kahan, Sylvia 63  
 Kawabata, Maiko 58  
 Kelly, Thomas 94  
 Kinderman, William 101  
 Kirkman, Andrew 55  
 Kramer, Lawrence 99  
 Kuegle, Karl 29  
 Kuhn, Judith 103  
 Kurtzman, Jeffrey 68  
 Kutschke, Beate 91  
  
 Lagueux, Robert 56  
 Lamb, Earnest 61  
 Langley, Leanne 78  
 LeGuin, Elizabeth 57  
 Lewis, Susan 76  
 Locke, Ralph P. 62  
 López-Calo, José 38  
 Lowe, Melanie 31  
  
 Mak, Su Yin 92  
 Malvinni, David 110  
 Mattis, Olivia 73  
 Mauceri, John 53  
 Maurey, Yossi 35  
 Maynard, Kelly 62  
 McCalla, James 45  
 McCarthy, Kerry 37  
 McClary, Susan 33, 67  
 McClatchie, Stephen 109  
 McClellan, Michael 41  
 McElveen, Georgiary 49  
 McFarland, Alison 78  
 McGrade, Michael 107  
 McGuire, Charles 78  
 McKinney, Timothy 108  
  
 McQuinn, Julie 63  
 Meconi, Honey 83  
 Médicis, François de 45  
 Meredith, William 100  
 Micznik, Vera 81  
 Milewski, Barbara 71  
 Mockus, Martha 30  
 Monson, Craig 35  
 Monson, Ingrid 48  
 Morris, Mitchell 75  
 Morrison, Simon 44  
 Muir, Peter 28  
 Murphy, Paul 38  
  
 Nádas, John 95  
 Newcomb, Anthony 39  
 November, Nancy 58  
  
 Oja, Carol 59  
 Oleskiewicz, Mary 86  
 Ongaro, Giulio 24  
 Ossi, Massimo 85  
 Owen, Heidi 81  
 Owens, Jessie Ann 40  
  
 Paddison, Max 90  
 Parker, Roger 26  
 Peattie, Thomas 110  
 Perloff, Nancy 73  
 Peters, Mark 104  
 Planchart, Alejandro 38  
 Plebuch, Tobias 83  
 Polzonetti, Pierpaolo 42  
 Poriss, Hilary 27  
 Puri, Michael 93  
  
 Randall, Annie Janeiro 97  
 Randel, Julia 45  
 Reichardt, Sarah 103  
 Reynolds, Christopher 98  
 Rice, Eric 36  
 Richards, Annette 64  
 Rogers, Holly 89  
 Rosen, David 53  
 Rothenberg, David 57

- Saavedra, Leonora 25  
Schiffner, Christina 27  
Schmelz, Peter 104  
Schneider, David 111  
Schulenberg, David 86  
Schwartz-Kates, Deborah 38  
Shelemay, Kay Kaufman 67  
Sheppard, W. Anthony 29  
Sisman, Elaine 65  
Smart, Mary Ann 26  
Smith, Jeremy 76  
Smith, Jewel 84  
Smith, Patricia Juliana 97  
Stilwell, Robynn 89, 97  
Stras, Laurie 97  
Summers, William 38  
Sun, Cecilia 47  
Suydam, John 68  
Swayne, Steve 88
- Tcharos, Stefanie 34  
Tettlebaum, Marianne 105  
Thomson, Aidan 79  
Tomlinson, Gary 24  
Torres, George 57
- van Allen-Russell, Ann 87  
van Orden, Kate 40
- Wallace, Robin 68  
Walton, Benjamin 42  
Warwick, Jacqueline 97  
Washburne, Chris 49  
Webster, James 31  
Weiss, Susan 83  
Wheelock, Gretchen 32  
Will, Richard 85  
Wilson, Alexandra 73