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Contents

BODIES
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STRAVINSKY'S EXQUISITE CORPSES

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Stravinsky liked to think of his music as an "object." He notoriously labeled it this way in his article "Some Ideas about my Octuor [1924]," in which he defined musical objects as possessing weight, occupying a place in space, and "based on objective elements which are sufficient in themselves." Stravinsky's notions of musical objectivity permeate his ghostwritten *Poetics of Music* (1942) as well. Ever since, they have haunted musicologists invested in understanding the aesthetic underpinnings of his elusive 1930s neoclassicism.

In this paper, I examine how Stravinsky constructed his music as a sculptural object in order to memorialize the dead in his 1934 melodrama, *Perséphone*. I am interested in particular in how he etched into musical stone (so to speak) Persephone's death in Act II ("Perséphone aux enfers," rehearsal numbers 74–93) and rebirth in Act III ("Perséphone renaissante," rehearsal numbers 207–220). Gretchen Horlacher and other music theorists have repeatedly singled out the former moment for its unique strata of ostinati and static temporal effect. I explore how this musical construction relates to Russian dancer Ida Rubinstein's performance of the deceased Persephone in Kurt Jooss's choreography at the premiere of *Perséphone* in April 1934. I interpret Rubinstein's sleek, pale body in this scene in light of its contemporaneous representation as a living corpse in the paintings of her one-time lover Romaine Brooks. Draped in "colonial modern" fashions and surrounded by luxurious props, Rubinstein's "corpse" transformed on stage into a dislocated consumer product, becoming the epitome of a Benjaminian "ruin" or a surreal *document*. My interpretation of Rubinstein's body allows me to understand how Stravinsky's music functions as well at this moment as a "musical corpse," defending against bereavement like the female body as face in Magritte's *Le viol*.

Yet Stravinsky adopts a different strategy for Persephone's rebirth in Act III. Here, he molds Persephone into the musical equivalent of a Hellenist statue, basing his musical vision on the model of the "Enthroned Goddess" unveiled at the Pergamon museum in Berlin in 1930. He understands such archaic statues not in Winckelmann's classicist sense of "noble simplicity," but rather according to a Nietzschean vitalist tradition that imbues them with energy and movement. The deceased no longer appear as empty ruins or corpses, but rather haunt the living present through their survival in the perfected, constructed forms of art.

My title appeals on purpose to the surrealist game of "exquisite corpse," which consists of writing down a word, or drawing a body part, and then passing it to the person next to you to contribute, continuing the game until a randomly generated communal poem or image emerges. At the end of *Perséphone*, Stravinsky brings together his two contrasting interpretations of musical objects as testaments to the dead, evoking the violated corporeality of the surrealist corpse. I end by suggesting how Stravinsky's method reflects both his complicity with the surrealists, and the cultures of mourning associated with capitalist trends towards collecting and fetishizing objects in 1930s Europe.

GARBO SINGS

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"Garbo Talks," proclaimed the advertisements for *Anna Christie* (1930), the much-anticipated vehicle for Greta Garbo's transition into talking pictures; for *Ninotchka* (1939), her first comedic venture, the tag-line was "Garbo Laughs." Had she ever made a musical before her early retirement, MGM surely would have also announced that "Garbo Sings." Yet Garbo did sing in the movies—in silent movies—and opera is what she sang. In her first Hollywood film, *The Torrent* (1926), Garbo is introduced as a Spanish village girl, Leonora, struggling to put her singing master's lessons ("I tell you to sing from the diaphragm and you—you sing from the tonsils!") into practice. Leonora ultimately rises to the rank of operatic diva, and within a year of this film's release, Garbo's own standing as a star had risen comparably. Along with fame came mystique, and by the time Garbo made *The Mysterious Lady* (1928), her unheard voice had become an object of seemingly unattainable desire, especially since Garbo would continue exclusively to make silents well into the transitional period. Wielded ingenuously in *The Torrent*, her singing voice thus soon acquired—in its still silent sounding—an unusual potential for power over audiences allowed to see it, to imagine it, but never to hear it. Further, as recent work by film scholar Melinda Szaloky has shown, Garbo's screen presence and acting style were often rhapsodized, in the 1920s and beyond, in curiously musical terms; her body was perceived as making visual music on the screen, and not only when her characters were singing.

Central to this concern is *The Mysterious Lady*, an espionage drama in which Garbo plays a Russian spy, Tania Fedorova, who seduces an Austrian captain (Conrad Nagel) for the sake of military secrets, but ultimately chooses love over patriotic duty. Woven through the film is a series of musical performances—she sings, he plays piano—referring back to their initial meeting in an opera box. Scenes from *Tosca* were staged in that sequence—"Vissi d'arte" is iconically represented, though never identified by name—and whenever Tania and Karl play together, they return to the music of their first encounter. Complicating the expectations set up by the film, however, is the musical cue sheet prepared for it by Ernst Luz, which specifies for all of these scenes not the soprano aria, but "E lucevan le stelle"—the Act III tenor aria. Masculinizing Garbo's singing in this way may seem like merely a careless error, but the choice makes sense musically (this aria functions better as a recurring theme than "Vissi d'arte" would, and its romantic affect is also better suited to the film), and also as a response to the uncanny impossibility of Garbo's voice. An examination of Luz's accompaniment aesthetics (expounded in *Motion Picture Synchrony* [1925]), along with film exhibition practices during the era of transition to sound, will further illuminate the ways in which silent films made Garbo sing.

COLLECTING FRENCH POLYPHONY
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OPEN BORDERS: FRANCE, BURGUNDY, AND REPERTORIAL EXCHANGE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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Much of our knowledge of mid-fifteenth-century song depends on a group of five related chansonniers once thought to have emanated from the Burgundian court. The realization that a number of the featured composers—among them Ockeghem and Busnoys—were employed in royal institutions in the Loire Valley when these manuscripts were being copied, along with evidence drawn from their style of decoration, has now conclusively established a French provenance for the group. This repositioning has been extremely productive for scholars, drawing attention to a vibrant musical culture in the environs of the French royal court. Central to this culture is the church of Saint-Martin, Tours, where both Ockeghem and Busnoys served in the early 1460s. Their concurrent presence in the Loire Valley has been used to support a dating of these manuscripts, in which they are exceptionally well represented, to the years after 1460. However, certain aspects of the repertorial profiles of these chansonniers suggest there is more to the story. In proposing a revised chronology of these manuscripts, combined with a more historically and materially grounded approach to their contents, I will argue that there was a significant exchange of repertory between the French and courts in the late 1460s and early 1470s.

Relocating these chansonniers to the Loire Valley has led scholars to construct the category of French songs at the expense of the musical culture of the Burgundian court. In fact, these chansonniers contain music by as many composers of demonstrably Burgundian origin as French—indeed, they are among the most important sources for the songs of the Burgundian composers Hayne, Joye, and Morton. Furthermore, two of the chansonniers transmit a song that incorporates the motto of Anthony, the so-called "Grand Bastard" of Burgundy, and another includes a song attributed to Duke Charles the Bold himself. The notable presence here of music by Burgundian composers makes apparent that, rather than representing the music of discrete court cultures, these chansonniers stand as witnesses to the circulation of repertory between the two courts. Songs, more easily than sacred music, could be transported across geographical and political borders.

Seeing the manuscripts in this light opens up many avenues for future research. One of the most significant possibilities to emerge is that more of Busnoys's songs may date from his time at the court of Burgundy than has recently been suggested. I will argue that the strong representation of Busnoys in the Loire Valley Chansonniers attests to a continuation, during his Burgundian years, of his professional contacts with former colleagues at Saint-Martin and in French royal circles. Although this group of chansonniers originated in France, it does not follow that they are exclusively French objects. Instead, they provide musical evidence of a reciprocal cultural influence between the French and Burgundian courts. Had a Burgundian chansonnier survived, it musical contents might not have been so very different from these French sources.

A MISSING PORTRAIT AND MATHIEU GASCONGNE'E CANONIC *MOTET ISTA EST SPECIOSA*: NEW EVIDENCE FOR A REINTERPRETATION OF THE ORIGINS OF MS PEPYS 1760

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The canonic motet *Ista est speciosa* attributed to Mathieu Gascongne (fl. 1512–1535) poses special problems of interpretation both in terms of its musical realization and its codicological significance. This composition, hitherto unpublished in modern edition, appears in only a single early source, Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1760. It occupies a prominent position in the Pepys MS, on the back of the first, highly decorated folio containing music, and right below a now missing portrait excised from the manuscript sometime after 1697 that an early cataloguer identified as the "Prince of Wales" at "the time of King Henry VII" (r. 1485–1509).

Although a wide variety of evidence argues strongly that this manuscript emanated from French royal circles sometime between 1498 and 1516, the precise occasion of its bestowing remains elusive. Virtually all of the motets and chansons found in Pepys 1760 were composed by musicians known to have served at the French royal courts of Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) and his queen Anne of Brittany (r. 1491–1514) during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, including such luminaries as Antoine de Févin, Johannes Prioris, and Jean Mouton. Numerous aspects of the manuscript's decoration also suggest a French provenance, including its ermine tail continuation signs (associated with the duchy of Brittany) and the presence of red shields used by the French military order of Saint Michael.

The date of compilation and the identity of the recipient are clouded, however, by certain problematic aspects of the manuscript's decoration (some of which has been painted over, suggesting that the intended recipient may have changed during the manuscript's preparation), and the text of the motet *Ista est speciosa*, "She is most beautiful among the daughters of Jerusalem." Given the motet's placement directly below the missing portrait, it hardly seems likely that the original painting depicted a male member of the English royal family. And given the unique breadth and sonority of the motet, which proves to be a twelve-voiced canon in which each successive voice enters one step higher at a remove of two breves and which has no parallel elsewhere in the manuscript, it seems highly unlikely that the placement of this particular work and text was mere happenstance.

Detailed analysis of the texts of the fifty-seven motets and secular works contained in Pepys 1760 suggests that the original portrait may have portrayed not Henry VIII, but rather Mary Tudor of England (1496–1533), Henry's younger sister and (briefly) the wife of King Louis XII of France during the final three months of his life. This identification makes sense of the remarkably homogeneous group of motets dedicated to the Virgin Mary, many of which emphasize her motherhood, and the inclusion of a chanson cycle by Févin about a young women mal mariée to a much older spouse. If this analysis is correct, it would raise the probability that the manuscript was originally intended in late 1514 to serve as a royal wedding present.

LE BRUNG'S SIX-VOICE *SI VOUS N'AVEZ AULTRE DESIR*: A MUSICAL "RESPONSE" TO A POETIC PRACTICE

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Jean Le Brung's *Si vous n'avez aultre desir* curiously appears in Tylman Susato's seventh book of chansons [RISM 1545[15]], a commemorative volume devoted to Josquin. With the exception of three *déplorations* on the death of the composer and Le Brung's six-voice setting, the print contains exclusively five- and six-voice chansons attributed to Josquin, the leading composer of this repertory in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Le Brung, a younger contemporary of Josquin, is also one of the main early contributors to this genre, following Pierre de La Rue and Jean Mouton.

In his edition, Susato designated *Si vous n'avez* as a "responce" and placed it immediately after Josquin's *N'esse pas ung grant desplaisir*. Despite this contemporary reference, no scholarly effort has been made to identify any musical or poetic relationships between the two chansons. In fact, Le Brung responded to Josquin's *N'esse pas* not only on the level of prosody but also on that of compositional strategy and musical detail. The negative, pessimistic tone of *N'esse pas* is confronted with an affirmative, optimistic poem. By changing the order of the model's words, the response alters their semantic potential and reverses the tone of the original setting's content. Le Brung's musical treatment not only closely follows the compositional strategies employed by Josquin in *N'esse pas* but also reflects in musical terms the reversal of tone effected in the poetic response. Le Brung's compositional process sheds light on what a contemporary composer read as important in Josquin's setting and allows us, in turn, to interpret Josquin's chanson with greater depth and clarity.

The discursive practice of *envoy* and *responce* had enjoyed a long tradition in poetic circles but the extent and nature of its application to music has not yet been fully explored. Cutler Silliman's preliminary study of Susato's editions of families of chansons identified as *responces* and *répliques* (retorts) as well as Kristine Forney's more recent investigation of the same subject reveal that Susato was a pioneer in promoting this kind of repertory as a publisher, and enriching it, as a composer. For about a decade, from 1543 to 1552, his printing company published seventy-eight such chansons, twenty-nine of which Susato composed himself. The appearance of *Si vous n'avez* in a volume devoted to Josquin's chansons takes on new meaning with knowledge of Susato's demonstrated interest in the practice of response.

Silliman and Forney identify the following typical characteristics among the compositions of a family: same cleffing, time signature, and mode; the use of *cantus firmus*, paraphrase or parody treatment; the expansion or reduction of texture; and motivic relationships prompted by identical or similar textual phrases. My analysis goes beyond these interconnections to reveal Le Brung's macroscopic conception of his response on the level of compositional process and semantic interpretation of the poetry. Such analysis allows us to identify some of the subtle and often concealed ways by which contemporary composers demonstrated their prowess in addressing the poetic and musical challenges posed by the model settings.

THE LAST CHANSONNIER: BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE MS 228

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Margaret of Austria's chansonnier Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 228 has been the focus of much scholarly scrutiny, most notably by Martin Picker. The manuscript is beautifully decorated and shows numerous marks of her ownership, including her portrait, arms, and symbols such as illustrations of daisies ("marguerites" in French). It is a major collection of early sixteenth-century chansons, motet-chansons, and song motets, and one of very few secular collections from the important "Alamire" scriptorium. This paper deepens our understanding of this significant manuscript by situating it anew in two contexts: that of the chansonnier as a specific type of manuscript, and that of Margaret's own life.

The first portion of the paper traces the history of chansonniers by examining them as cultural objects. The paper shows, first, the evolution of the chansonnier in terms of physical structure, internal organization, and content, and second, the different functions that chansonniers could serve over and above the obvious one of transmitting French or Occitan secular music. The three main functions described are (1) reflecting and helping to transmit social values; (2) acting as the secular equivalent of Books of Hours, especially in the Renaissance; and (3) serving as a rare opportunity for individual expression in the world of book ownership.

The paper then turns to Margaret of Austria and traces the book culture in which she lived, drawing on material such as inventories of libraries that she knew and her own acquisition procedures. Using evidence that includes close comparison with Margaret's first chansonnier (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 11239) and aspects of her biography previously overlooked by musicologists, the paper demonstrates still other ways—heretofore unnoticed—in which Brussels BR 228 is even more closely bound with Margaret, and provides explanations as well for aspects of presentation in the manuscript. Having laid out a detailed background for Margaret as an almost uniquely knowledgeable individual in the world of contemporary book ownership, the paper concludes by showing that Brussels BR 228 was in many respects "the last chansonnier" before the world of music transmission and manuscript ownership changed forever.

HIP HOP: IDENTITY, GEOGRAPHY AND VOICE
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THE VOICE OF "NEW OTHERS": POLISH HIP HOP AND POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION FROM A GRASS ROOT PERSPECTIVE

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While the instruction of Boethius—"Look to the highest of the heights of heaven"—was followed in musicological inquiry since the beginnings of the discipline, the rock bottom of musical genres has been less eagerly explored. The voice of the powerless and the poor tends to pass virtually unheard. Polish hip hop, a musical genre that became the voice of the people marginalized in the process of post-socialist transition, creates an opportunity to listen to

"new others," to include a grass root perspective into a conceptual scheme of post-socialist reality. Such a perspective is practically unattainable by sociological and political studies that reflect common knowledge of local intelligentsia and are preoccupied with issues deemed most important from its point of view.

The beginnings of Polish hip hop in the late 1980s coincide in time with the transition from socialism to democracy and free market economy that began in 1989. This paper will present the changes in hip hop forms, functions, and formal and informal distribution, as well as in its reception, focusing on the way in which they reflect rapidly changing socio-economical situations. It will also examine how within the global musical genre the national space has been created.

Vernacular rap, brought to public attention by main-stream media, functioned originally in isolation from the hip hop culture, and was associated with fun rather than a serious theme. On the example of cycles "Poczet królów polskich" ('Gallery of Polish kings') from a popular TV show, I will demonstrate how a parody of rap served as a means of historical and cultural transmission. I will argue that the first attempts to popularize hip hop were not very successful due to the conflict between the optimism and enthusiasm of the first post-socialist years and the hip hop theme. The fact that the genre initially attracted the communities that first experienced socio-economical degradation in the effects of the transition reproduced and amplified the derogatory stereotypes about the phenomenon and its public. Growing unemployment and disappointment with capitalism coincide with increasing popularity of hip hop that since 2000 has dominated popular culture in Poland. I will present how within the last six years it has evolved towards commercial hiphopolo, while the "authentic" hip hop has returned to underground existence. Polish hip hop challenges the common belief that the rappers are not encouraging any kind of positive representation. It also undermines sanctified common wisdom about the transition in Poland and other countries in the region.

HIGHWAYS AND HISTORY: RETHINKING THE EARLY DAYS OF HIP HOP MUSIC

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In the Bronx, two miles north of Yankee Stadium, the Cross-Bronx Expressway arches over the Major Deegan Expressway before plowing into northern Manhattan. Masterminded by legendary urban planner Robert Moses, these two New York arteries cut through and across the Bronx, ignoring the borough's long-established neighborhoods and communities. Hip hop was born one hot August night in 1973, at a public-housing complex in the shadow of this interchange. There, Clive Campbell—DJ Kool Herc—loudly premiered his record collection of soul funk over his father's powerful sound system. Herc's music challenged the roar of the expressways and in the process created the beginnings of hip hop music.

The story of early hip hop music is a story of the wounded late-modern city, and scholars including Tricia Rose, Adam Krims, and Jeff Chang have all considered how hip hop's origins in the Bronx shaped its creation. Remembering the highways of the Bronx, and how they shaped the creation and reception of this music, will help musicologists understand the musical innovations of early hip hop. I look more closely at the topography of the Bronx, and how its fragmented places and spaces provided the structure of feeling that made hip hop possible in the 1970s. As a result, this essay participates in the larger scholarly project examining the

role that the places of America play in the production of our society and culture. Through historical and musical analysis, I reconsider the earliest days of hip hop music, the most innovative and popular American musical genre of the past thirty years. During hip hop's first decade, images of New York's graffiti-covered subways dominated much of the genre's critical discourse. The elevated subways of the Bronx made the trains' graffiti art widely visible, and thus exposed the greater public to hip hop culture. But highways also cross the borough in every direction, especially in the southern neighborhoods where hip hop first took root. In contrast to the subways—which offer Bronx residents precious mobility despite their harrowing noise —the Bronx's many highways throw constant noise and pollution into the air without providing a service to the many residents who do not own cars. Early hip hop DJs and their community's experience of these highways influenced the creation of hip hop music.

I will analyze surviving recordings of hip hop party jams from the mid-1970s and surviving knowledge of the earliest (unrecorded) Kool Herc parties, calling attention to Herc's use of the "break"—the section of dance records where the rhythm section takes center stage. Hip hop musicians credit Herc with discovering the appeal of the break. Herc extended these moments for dancers by dropping the needle down and creating a series of potentially jarring skips from one record to the next. Thus he transported dancers as fast as possible to the sections of songs hip hop DJs have redefined as their expressive center. Robert Moses ignored the existing neighborhoods of the Bronx; Herc disregarded the best-known and most identifiable parts of the song in order to bring his audience right where he knew they wanted to go.

EMINEM'S "MY NAME IS": SIGNIFYIN(G) WHITENESS, REARTICULATING RACE

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Too often historians reduce the relationship between youth subculture and capitalism to a binary struggle between authenticity and co-optation. Unfortunately, such frameworks miss the complexity of contemporary cultural forms at ease with upsetting social conventions from within dominant institutional apparatuses. Thomas Frank traces this paradox to the advertising industry's embrace of the 1960s' counterculture. With the rise of "hip consumerism," the branding of everyday goods took up countercultural concerns about authenticity, becoming an attempt to distinguish one's products as cool (not square) and as liberating (not conformist).

Commercial hip hop music is clearly indebted to this legacy and in many ways seems to be today's heir to the commodified counterculture of the 1960s. The way in which rapper Eminem burst into the public spotlight in 1999 illustrates this point well. While his "homophobic," "misogynistic," and "violent" lyrics drew fire from watchdog groups and concerned citizens, they also cast upsetting "politically correct" social conventions as liberating, allowing the recording industry to ride the controversy all the way to the bank. Not only was this particular intersection of commerce and culture good for business, it also coincided with broad ideological shifts occurring within American society. The years of Eminem's transformation from an unknown underground rapper to a superstar are framed by a number of important political projects, including anti-affirmative action campaigns, welfare reform, and the consolidation of the Republican political base.

In this paper, I explore the intersection of culture, commerce, and ideology in hip hop music to understand Eminem's emergence as one of the most popular rap stars of 2000. I align myself with previous accounts that emphasize how Eminem's mainstream acceptance depended upon his successful parody of racially based authenticity, the way he self-consciously emphasized his whiteness. I chart new ground, however, by explaining exactly how Eminem's music constructs "white identity" by drawing upon black cultural practices. To explain how Eminem successfully signifies on hip hop conventions, I compare his mainstream debut, *The Slim Shady LP* (1999), with his relatively unknown and commercially unsuccessful first album, *Infinite* (1996). I pay particular attention to Eminem's influential debut single, "My Name Is," which, ironically, samples black, gay musician Labi Siffre's "I Got The Blues" (1975), transforming it into a musical parody of whiteness. I also depart from much hagiography on Eminem, which grants him unquestioned agency as an author and countercultural rebel. Rather than simply transcending racial boundaries, Eminem has had to negotiate them in ways that make sense to his audiences. Thus, this paper will situate Eminem's project of rearticulating the meaning of whiteness in hip hop music alongside a number of other ideological realignments in the late 1990s, many of which pit questions of class against those of race in the service of constructing new political and cultural authenticities.

LOSING YOUR VOICE: SPEECH AND SONG IN SAMPLE-BASED MUSIC

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Using techniques developed in hip hop production and now proliferating in many different styles, a wide range of music is being created based all or in part on digital samples. Although any instrumental or natural sounds one can imagine have been used in loops and layers to build up complex textures and beats, recorded speaking and singing voices have proven to be of particular interest to producers such as DJ Shadow, Prefuse 73, Blockhead, Madlib, and in the music of groups such as Boards of Canada and The Books. But why do vocal sounds remain so attractive to these musicians who specifically choose to work independently of vocalists? Moreover, they often take considerable care to present the samples in such a way as to highlight their artificiality and to make clear that we are hearing recorded sounds.

Through analyses of several tracks in the context of the characteristics of the hardware and software used to create them, I will argue that vocal samples offer a particularly effective solution to the compositional challenges of composing in a style with limited melodic and harmonic motion where contrasts in timbre and texture provide the main constructive device. Recent writings on speech cognition show that even the most distorted and artificial voices provoke a whole range of emotional and affective responses in listeners. Accordingly, vocal samples offer both structural and expressive tools for creating large-scale form. And by using voices drawn from old movies or other ironically distanced sources, or by distorting and manipulating the voices, sometimes to an extreme degree, the producers are able to preserve their authorship, the "composer's voice," and like ventriloquists speak to their listeners and other musicians while remaining behind the scene. But in realizing the centuries-old dream of the vox humana, of talking automata, of instruments that could speak or sing, the ability to compose with the vast sonic, emotional, and semantic palette that samplers provide raises a whole host of social and cultural issues. From Edison's dream of recording as a means for immortalizing speech, we now face a proliferation of voices that we can no longer assume to

be issuing from bodies of flesh and blood. Even the control over our own voices is increasingly tenuous, as shown by well-publicized lip-syncing mishaps, trials concerning vocal impersonators, and new speech synthesis software. Sampled voices allow producers to play with gender, race, history, and tradition, but the legal, ethical, and moral implications of this transformation into sound and data of something uniquely personal, individual, and human are only starting to be understood.

INTERNATIONAL CONVERSATIONS
Gary Tomlinson, University of Pennsylvania, Chair

"MY COMPATRIOT THE SAVAGE": MUSICAL ANACHRONISM AND SOUND IN TOCQUEVILLE'S NEW WORLD

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While traveling in Michigan Territory in 1831, a young Alexis de Tocqueville encountered something most unexpected. Virtually stranded in the forest on their way to the remote outpost of Saginaw, Tocqueville and his companion, Gustave de Beaumont, were relieved to see an Indian canoe approach. The man inside, by all appearances an Indian, stopped to offer them passage. Tocqueville later recalled, in his travel memoir, *Quinze Jours au Désert* (1831), that he was stunned to hear the "savage" in the canoe speaking fluent French, in a Norman accent, and singing an old French tune. When it was published, this anecdote greatly interested Parisian intellectuals who studied their country's *poésie populaire*, as it indicated that a poetic and musical French heritage endured in North America, even though the colony was lost to Britain in 1763.

Like other French visitors to American and Canadian territories in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Tocqueville found reminders of his native land in surprising places. His encounter with the singing "bois-brûlé," (the term he used to describe people of mixed French Canadian and Indian descent) was one among several dramatic moments in his travels with Beaumont that forefronted the role of music and other aural phenomena in the apprehension of the New World. Chateaubriand, who traveled to North America in 1791, placed a similar emphasis on music, also using it to describe the cultural incongruities of life in the wilds of New York. In his *Memoires d'Outre-Tombe* (1848) he described arriving at a remote cabin in the woods only to find a small Frenchman, powdered and bewigged, playing a popular tune on the violin and serving as dancing master for a group of Iroquois in traditional costume and face paint. Somewhat bemused by his commitment to educating "savages" in the finer arts of music and dance, Chateaubriand wryly dubbed this figure "the new Orpheus."

At first glance these anecdotes seem to suggest a colonial trope commonly found in European travel writings, in which "savages" are demonstratively civilized by European arts and language. However, the historical circumstances surrounding nineteenth-century French travelers' writings, in particular, their evident sensitivity to the problem of their nation's "lost empire" in North America, suggests a more nuanced interpretation. Anecdotes such as the ones described here, I argue, link the fates of the dwindling Indian population and the fate of French culture in the former colonies by invoking anachronistic musical practices. This literature treats music and language as powerful vehicles for colonial cultural identification.

Neither Tocqueville nor Chateaubriand was prepared to find such a large population of their own countrymen in American and Canadian territories, speaking their language, singing their songs, and living in villages that looked for all the world like *la France profond*. The echoes of French music, song, and language were, for these keen observers, discomfiting reminders of a French presence in North America that, while formerly highly visible, receded with American, British, and Native American cultural mixing.

POOR BUTTERFLY: FROM PUCCINI OPERA TO JAZZ STANDARD

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Raymond Hubbell and John Golden's "Poor Butterfly" (1916) is one of the oldest songs to remain in the standard repertoire of jazz singers and instrumentalists. From 1917 to the present, it has been recorded over three hundred times, not only by jazz artists but by performers as varied as Fritz Kreisler and Frank Sinatra. Alone among jazz standards, however, its lyrics present a synopsis of a European opera, Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904). This paper explores the cultural context in which "Poor Butterfly" came to be written and suggests why it, among very few pre-1920 songs, was able to retain its place as a standard long after most of its contemporary songs were forgotten.

Based on an American short story and a prior theatrical adaptation, Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* addressed, to a degree unmatched by any other European opera, American anxieties over growing U.S. imperialism, personified in the domineering Lieutenant Pinkerton and his submissive victim Cho-Cho-San. From the time of *Butterfly*'s Metropolitan premiere in 1907, U.S. audiences absorbed Puccini's opera into an ongoing series of revisions of the unsettling original story, retellings that also include stage, film, and popular song versions and that extend to the last decade of the twentieth century (with Weezer's 1996 album *Pinkerton*).

Taking its place among these revisions, "Poor Butterfly" is remarkable for a number of reasons. It was written for Tamaki Miura, the first Japanese soprano to have an operatic career in the West, and who was scheduled to sing it in an extravagant musical revue, *The Big Show,* which mixed opera, ballet, musical comedy, and circus acts. Unlike many other Butterfly songs, which tend to focus on Pinkerton in an effort to soften his harsh personification of cultural insensitivity, "Poor Butterfly" opts instead to focus on Cho-Cho-San at a key moment in the narrative: the long vigil in which she awaits Pinkerton's return. As such, it draws the listener into her subjectivity more effectively than any related song.

Most importantly, the music of "Poor Butterfly" attempts to graft Puccini's harmonic and melodic language onto the conventions of Tin Pan Alley song. Unique among pre-1920 songs, it boasts a chorus in which most phrases end on unresolved dissonances, typically the upper notes of extended harmonies (seventh and ninth chords). Although this treatment of dissonance is extremely rare in a song of this period, it would become quite common in the "golden era" of popular song, circa 1920 to 1955. "Poor Butterfly" thus counters an untested commonplace of jazz history, which states that 1920s jazz musicians adopted extended harmonies, whole-tone scales, and other advanced harmonic practices from the French impressionists. All these style attributes are also found in the operas of Puccini, which were far more widely known in the U.S. early in the century. This paper concludes with a call for music historians to consider the likelihood that these style traits may have entered popular music by way of Puccini, not Debussy or Ravel, and via commercial songwriters rather than jazz instrumentalists.

FREE JAZZ AND THE FRENCH CRITIC

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Writing in *Le Nouvel Observateur* in January 1968, jazz critic Philippe Koechlin remarked that the French response to the free jazz movement coming out of the United States was one that sought "to explain everything with [the phrases] 'black power' and 'peace in Vietnam.'" However derisive its intent may have been, Koechlin's comment nonetheless offers a fairly accurate depiction of the French reception of free jazz from the mid-1960s through the early 1970s, when an influx of expatriate American improvisers into the country brought "la nouvelle chose" widespread public and critical attention. Spurred by the writings of Amiri Baraka, and interviews with Archie Shepp, Sonny Murray, Marion Brown and other musicians, supporters and detractors of the movement soon arrived at the consensus that its music constituted a transparent reflection of an essentially political enunciation.

Although the controversies surrounding the arrival of free jazz in France echoed equally charged debates taking place in the United States, the particular position that jazz occupied within the French cultural field by the mid-1960s—no longer treated as an exotic divertissement, but still marked as foreign—complicated debates concerning its aesthetic merit and political significance. For a number of its adversaries, "la nouvelle chose" called into question jazz's claim to universality, a cornerstone of postwar attempts to secure a legitimate place for the music within France. To some, free jazz was seen as coterminous with a specifically African-American political consciousness; to others it represented the musical corollary of a black nationalist ideology. In either case, the very principle that writers like Andre Hodeir had advanced after World War II to consecrate jazz was called into question—its ability to transcend specificities of geography, culture, social position and race.

Yet the particularism seen to inhere in the cultural politics of free jazz presented no less a challenge for its advocates than for its antagonists. Critics like Michel Le Bris, Yves Buin, Eric Plaisance, Philippe Carles and Jean-Louis Comolli endeavored to broaden the music's political import (and thus its relevance to French listeners) without distorting its perceived message. Responding to the experience of decolonization and the uprisings of 1968, sympathetic critics adapted free jazz to fit their own ideological exigencies in a variety of ways: by drawing parallels between African-American radicalism and French protest movements, by reading free jazz as a local cultural expression of a worldwide anti-colonial struggle, or by contending that the "revolt" that listeners located in free jazz was non-specific in character and therefore not tied to any particular social context. In seeking points of contact between different sets of social and cultural coordinates, these authors were thus compelled to balance their aspirations to political solidarity on the one hand with the desire to recognize cultural difference on the other.

AFRICAN MUSIC IN THE LATE WORKS OF GYÖRGY LIGETI: AMBIGUITIES, RESONANCE, EFFECTS

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Although György Ligeti consolidated his reputation as one of the more important young composers in the Darmstadt circle with *Apparitions* (1958–9) and *Atmosphères* (1961), his late

works struck out in entirely new directions. For Ligeti, the early 1980s marked a significant turning point ("ein Wesentlicher Wendepunkt") in compositional style and method. Today Ligeti's reputation rests on the solid achievement of the Études for piano (1985–2001) and the three concertos, the Klavierkonzert (1988), the Violinkonzert (1993), and the Hamburgisches Konzert (1998–99), which when they appeared were at once recognized as setting a new standard for modern European composition.

Between 1980 and his death in 2006 Ligeti became deeply interested in African music. It is the component of African polyphony (shifting downbeats, asymmetric melodies, staggered canonic voices, inherent patterns, multimeters) above any other feature, that made possible the time-transcending "illusory musical space" ("illusorischen musikalischen Raum") the composer described in his late works. Drawing on modes of music-making found in music ranging from the sanza music of Cameroon to the horn music of the Banda-Linda in Central Africa (as described by ethnomusicologists Gerhard Kubik and Simha Arom, among others), Ligeti in his late works created densely woven polyphonic textures that recapitulated the high speed "rhythmic illusionism" associated with African musical forms.

In amadinda xylophone music of Uganda, for example, two or more players stand opposite one another and beat forth interlocking phrases (sometimes in octaves, sometimes in single notes) of different lengths reaching speeds of two hundred to six hundred pulses per minute. The interaction of parts creates an elusive "inherent" melodic line hovering at the registral extremes of the musical texture. Ligeti simulates this African technique in many of his late works. In his first Étude, for example, he achieves the amadinda-effect by way of a wrist technique associated with salsa piano music in the context of a pulse-based continuum. Furthermore, the asymmetrical distribution of accents and staggered canons draws on Arom's diagrammatic representations of Central African "contrametricity" in his book African Polyrhythm and African Polyphony. In one striking sketch, dated August 1990, we even find an overt attempt to impersonate the instrumental behavior of the Shona mbira on the piano.

In his various public statements and interviews Ligeti enthusiastically acknowledges the influence of African and African-derived music on his compositional practice. Yet his descriptions of the role of African music in his compositions are characteristically imprecise and general. Through a close examination of Ligeti's sketches (housed at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Switzerland), his relationships with various ethnomusicologists, and his own library of books on African music, this paper demonstrates and comments upon the ways different African musical genres, styles and forms became representative modus operandi in Ligeti's late works. The paper traces the African citations to specific source materials; describes the original function and context of the music (even if they are not demonstrably known by the composer); and, finally, assesses the ideological dimensions implicit in the way the African materials are put to use in the context of a Western instrumentarium.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN OPERA
David Rosen, Cornell University, Chair

COMIC SIGHTS: STAGE DIRECTIONS IN
LUIGI RICCI'S *IL NUOVO FIGARO*

Francesco Izzo
University of Southampton

Scholars of nineteenth-century Italian opera have recently devoted substantial attention to the visual elements of operatic performance. Studies have focused in particular on the *disposizioni sceniche* (the staging manuals published by Ricordi beginning in the late 1850s) and on the relationship between music, body, and gesture. Stage directions in libretti and scores, however, have been either neglected or regarded with some degree of scepticism. An opportunity to reassess the significance of stage directions on the early-nineteenth-century opera stage comes from Luigi Ricci, the most prominent opera buffa composer during the 1830s and 1840s. Going well beyond the concise indications provided by his librettists, Ricci filled many of his autograph scores with exceptionally detailed clues on the placement, movements, facial expressions, and interaction of his characters.

Concentrating on the stage directions in the autograph score of one of Ricci's first buffa hits, *Il nuovo Figaro* (1832), I explore the composer's approach to visible action in the light of contemporary opera conventions and criticism. The first part of my study focuses on recitatives, where Ricci's effort is particularly evident in the abundant references to facial expression. In extended passages of recitative, the elaborate onstage activity envisioned by Ricci also affected the timing of musical performance, suggesting that priority was given to realistic acting, which gave rhythmic and expressive variety to the delivery of the text. Then I turn to three numbers (the Introduzione, a duet, and the Finale primo), in which some of Ricci's stage directions not only coordinate acting and musical events, but also bridge the separation between static and kinetic sections of the musico-dramatic structure. At a time when critics complained about the lack of musical differentiation between serious and comic opera, Ricci's preoccupation with the visual also appears to compensate for the ostensible semantic abstraction of certain musical passages. Finally, I examine the connections between Ricci's work and studies of bodily gesture published in early-nineteenth-century Italy. The appearance in Italian translation of Johann Jakob Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (1820) and the publication of Andrea de Jorio's *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano* (1832) were pivotal in establishing a new awareness of the meaning and expressive power of gesture and provide a new context for the exploration of visible action in *primo ottocento* opera.

Ricci's attempt to make his voice heard in an area usually under the domain of librettists and stage directors foreshadows the issues of authority that became prominent during the second half of the 1800s. Beyond its obvious relevance for the study of acting and staging, his work stimulates a reflection on possible applications of nineteenth-century practices to modern performances, enriches the current debate on the significance of nineteenth-century staging materials, and expands considerably our conceptions of the operatic text in early-nineteenth-century Italy.

NEW LETTERS FROM SCRIBE TO VERDI AND THE "PROBLEM" OF THE FIFTH ACT OF *LES VÊPRES SICILIENNES*

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In 1978, Andrew Porter published a collection of fourteen letters from Verdi to Scribe that have fundamentally changed our understanding of Verdi's role in crafting the libretto of *Les Vêpres siciliennes*. While we originally thought that Verdi had more or less accepted Scribe's libretto without reservations, we now know that he influenced every aspect from dramaturgy to versification. But so far, we have known only Verdi's side of the correspondence, even if we have assumed that Scribe's side would eventually be found at the Verdi villa in Sant'Agata. With regard to five letters, I can now confirm this assumption: they are indeed at Sant'Agata and can be consulted in a microfilm copy at New York University's American Institute for Verdi Studies.

The five letters do not change our picture of a composer actively involved in crafting the libretto, but they do change the picture of an ostensibly uncooperative librettist. And since the letters reveal that Scribe did indeed fulfill Verdi's wishes, we must now assume that the libretto, including its ostensibly problematic aspects, reflects Verdi's intentions. The fifth act, for instance, which Scribe upon Verdi's request revised repeatedly and which musicological studies generally consider to be problematic, might in fact have pleased Verdi. Based on the newly discovered and previously published letters, an analysis of the dramatic concept, reviews of the Paris premiere, and an unknown letter Verdi wrote to the editor of *L'Europe artiste* in defense of his good relations with Scribe, this paper will show that the ceremonial opening of act V does indeed reflect a convincing concept.

The act begins with a chorus and two arias, all ceremonial in nature. The slow dramatic pace does not—as Anselm Gerhard has claimed—constitute a problem but reflects a clear intention: Verdi had Scribe remove any trace of ominous foreboding (clearly present in Scribe's original conception) and replace it by lighthearted numbers characterized by mechanical scanning (often against prosodic accents), thus allowing for a acceleration of the dramatic pace toward the tragic end. Not only does this concept duplicate a successful Italian precedent (the second half of Act II of *La traviata*, where the ceremonial matador and gypsy choruses, via a dramatic acceleration, lead to Alfredo's insult of Violetta) but also a precedent in a French grand opera (Act I of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*). One French critic praised precisely this dramatic layout; others, including Paul Scudo (who normally was ill-inclined toward Verdi's operas) considered two of the three numbers of the ceremonial opening to be among the opera's best.

RETROSPECTION
Arved Ashby, Ohio State University, Chair

SUBJECTIVITY AND SENTIMENTALITY IN THE LATE WORKS OF RICHARD STRAUSS

Charles Youmans
Pennsylvania State University

Recent research on the philosophical dilemmas of the young Strauss has as yet unrecognized implications for later periods of his output, particularly the so-called "Indian Summer," a phase marked by musical and extra-musical engagement with the composer's early career. In his final works Strauss returned not merely to long-abandoned genres but to the way stations of his road to maturity, in their original order: absolute genres (the Oboe Concerto, the Second Horn Concerto, the Sonatinas), now handled with subtle freedoms reminiscent of neoclassicism; programmatic orchestral music (*Metamorphosen*), drawing particularly on musico-dramatic techniques typical of the first cycle of tone poems; and a Wagnerian operatic idiom that uses Wagner's own musical language to question the continued viability of Romanticism (the so-called *Vier letzte Lieder*).

Strauss recapitulated his maturation process for reasons addressed elliptically in the late diary entry now known as the "letzte Aufzeichnung." Scholars have yet to answer the composer's final, emphatic complaint that his peculiar brand of musical autobiography had been misunderstood. The approach taken in recent work has been to characterize Strauss as a wearer of masks, an artist fundamentally detached from his work. While consistent with the composer's well-known habits of ostentatious self-concealment, this reading creates a deeper misunderstanding, with the implication that behind the mask lay a coherent, controlling subjective presence. In works and in correspondence that have yet to be read in this context, Strauss explicitly denied the existence of what would later be known as the "centered self." Thus, when read as a response to his youthful crisis, the variety of Strauss's autobiographical statements tells a story both darker and more sincere than the one we have come to know; it speaks of an unstable, fragmented conception of subjectivity, which Strauss was forced to accept as a consequence of his critique of musical idealism.

The most direct statement of this personal philosophy came in the *Metamorphosen*, a disturbingly honest work in which Strauss aligned his views of the self with those of Goethe while juxtaposing the loss of the self, anticipation of his own death, and the decline of German culture. But evidence of it can be found as well in the revival of concerto, lied, and sonatina, where Strauss drew distinctions between ironic distance and modernist sentimentality. As the eighty-five-year-old suggested, these insights provide a context for interpreting his oeuvre as a whole, by clarifying the relationship between the work and its creator.

The critical reading offered here is grounded in research on unpublished diaries, correspondence, and musical sketches held at the Richard-Strauss Archiv in Garmisch-Partenkirchen.

LIGETI AND THE LAMENT

David Metzer
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Ligeti returned to the genre of the lament throughout his career. During the 1980s, he honed in on the genre, writing several works that feature movements cast as laments. The movements build upon a gesture crucial to the age-old genre: the raising of a voice rich in cultural associations of grief and mourning to begin a lamentation. The act of raising a voice provides new insights into Ligeti's laments, particularly how they function as laments and how they participate in a larger turn in the 1980s to more directly expressive idioms.

This paper concentrates on the Adagio from the Horn Trio (1982), the first work of that decade to feature a lament. To begin his lament, Ligeti raises not one voice but three: a chromatic passacaglia, a pedal tone, and a melodic phrase that the composer called the "lamento motif." The voices stem from two different lament traditions, the passacaglia from Baroque opera and the latter two from Eastern European idioms. An examination of materials in the Paul Sacher Stiftung reveals how Ligeti constantly reworked the voices, especially the passacaglia, to tighten the bonds with those repertoires. His annotations also make specific connections to Eastern European styles, allowing us to go beyond the general affinities described by scholars. Having raised the voices, the movement initially behaves like a traditional lament, establishing tensions between expressive gestures and formal structures and initiating a process of sonic transformation that culminates in a scene of "acoustic violence." Ligeti's lament, however, reaches an outcome unthinkable in traditional idioms. Backed by clusters and frantic rhythmic energy, the violence is never curtailed. It shatters the borrowed lament voices and structures, fragments of which are strewn across the postlude. The voices are vanquished by the expressive momentum that they unleash.

That momentum, though, becomes an expressive voice in itself for Ligeti, one crucial to a larger turn in modernist composition during the 1980s. In a significant shift that has received little attention from scholars, Ligeti and other modernist composers, along with conservative neo-Romantic composers, forged more directly expressive idioms, yet another step away from the abstract stance of modernist styles of previous decades. A lodestone of expression, the lament offered such directness. By raising its voices, Ligeti could raise a new expressive voice in the contemporary scene. He did not merely imitate these voices, as many neo-Romantic composers did with past styles; rather, he took them to violent extremes. In doing so, his works, unlike those of the neo-Romantics, valorize modernist elements, the clusters and manic rhythmic energy that come to the fore at the end of the Trio movement. The lament provides those elements with a new expressive context, giving their intensity a role to play in the emotional throes of sorrow and mourning. In turning to the ancient genre, Ligeti was not alone. Many modernist composers during the 1980s and 1990s drew upon it and used it in similar ways to achieve expressive immediacy, including Kurtág, Saariaho, Gubaidulina, Schnittke, and Turnage.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN OPERA
Ellen Rosand, Yale University, Chair

OF PATRONS AND VENETIAN THEATERS: THE COLONNAS' PATRONAGE OF SINGERS AND THE STORY OF THE WANDERING *ALCASTA*

Valeria De Lucca
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As studies of the "business" of Venetian opera in the second half of the seventeenth century continue to develop, the role that patrons played in shaping the world of opera and in creating a *trait d'union* between "courtly" patronage and "commercial" opera business has become increasingly evident, to the point of questioning the validity of the widespread categories of "private," "courtly," "commercial," and "public" artistic enterprises. An opportunity to deepen our understanding of this aspect of seventeenth-century operatic culture comes from an investigation of the activities of the Roman Prince Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna and of his wife Maria Mancini, two of the most active patrons of music in Rome and Venice during the mid to late 1600s. Based on a re-examination of the "Faustini papers" and on an array of primary sources presented here for the first time (including private correspondence, *avvisi di Roma*, *avvisi di Venezia*, and family records from the Colonna Archive), I explore the Colonnas' involvement in, and contribution to, the development of Venetian opera and the circulation of musical materials, libretti, and singers between Rome and Venice.

The first part of the paper presents an overview of the Colonnas' patronage of opera in Venice during the years 1663–1667. Over the course of three seasons, the couple protected some of the most celebrated singers of the time, including Antonia and Nicola Coresi, Giovanni Antonio Cavagna, and Vincenza Giulia Masotti. In addition, they functioned as liaisons between singers, other patrons, and the impresario of the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Marco Faustini. They influenced Faustini's decisions concerning not only matters of recruiting and casting, but also the repertoire to be performed. The remarkable number of six operas dedicated to them during those years is indicative of their profound involvement with the world of Venetian opera.

In the second part of the paper I turn to the fundamental role of the Colonnas as intermediaries between the operatic worlds of Rome and Venice, which I probe through a discussion of *Alcasta*. A newly discovered letter shows that in 1666 Colonna had commissioned a musical setting of this libretto by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni from Antonio Cesti, which was probably destined to be given at the Teatro Grimani in Venice. But primary evidence suggests that Cesti never in fact set *Alcasta*, and due to an intricate set of circumstances the opera, with music by Bernardo Pasquini, premiered at Rome's Teatro Tordinona in 1673. Controlled by the Colonnas, and coveted to the end by the Chigi family in Rome and the Grimanis in Venice, *Alcasta* exemplifies the complexity of the exchanges between Roman patrons and the operatic Venetian world, and indicates that this interaction played a crucial role in the development of mid-seventeenth-century opera.

This study of the Colonnas' activities paves a new way towards a deeper knowledge of the Venetian operatic world beyond the boundaries of the *Serenissima*, and helps to understand more fully its mechanisms, its circulation, and its success.

PRACTICE AND PATRONAGE MAKE PERFECT: LAUNCHING AN OPERATIC CAREER IN LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

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The Sienese castrato Giovanni Battista Tamburini (*c.* 1676–after 1719) was Cardinal Francesco Maria de' Medici's lifelong project. Francesco Maria must have heard Tamburini's potential when the singer entered the Siena Cathedral choir in 1683. He might have arranged for the operation that left Tamburini a contralto castrato, and he probably engineered Tamburini's operatic début in Florence in 1690. In 1695, the Cardinal sent the castrato off to study voice, first in Rome, and then in Parma, under the tutelage of the composer Bernardo Sabadini. Newly discovered letters from the period 1697–1700 offer the unusual opportunity to observe how this training unfolded from three points of view: student, teacher, and patron.

Tamburini's missives offer a gold mine of gossip on the personalities, artistic and otherwise, of famous singers of the day and on operatic productions in Piacenza, Parma, and other Italian cities outside Venice and Rome. His frequent correspondence also allows for a reconstruction of the musical instruction he was given and of the practical advice he received on how to conduct an artistic career, sometimes coming in the form of orders from the cardinal and his allies and sometimes in the form of opinions offered by his teacher or by fellow singers. Through Tamburini's eyes, we see first-hand the rough-and-tumble industry of recruiting performers for operas and learn of the informal network of friendships and business dealings that connected him to other well-known operatic stars, both male and female. Sabadini's letters to the cardinal, on the other hand, furnish an assessment of Tamburini's abilities and his needs as a singer and highlight the teacher's worries about the personal and health problems that the castrato experienced during his three-and-a-half year apprenticeship in Parma. In one instance, Sabadini reveals a conflict of interest that might have led him to put his own career above the best interests of his student, had not the cardinal intervened. Finally, Cardinal Francesco Maria de' Medici is represented second-hand by the issues addressed in both Tamburini's and Sabadini's letters and first-hand by his own tersely written replies to Sabadini. Francesco Maria's role in promoting opera has hitherto been overshadowed by that of his nephew and near-contemporary Prince Ferdinando, but through these letters we gain a better understanding of his taste and judgment. They demonstrate that he was dedicated first and foremost to developing Tamburini's talents as a singer, and they reveal the methods, sometimes diplomatic and sometimes brutally direct, that he deployed to make sure that Tamburini was receiving the best education possible.

TRANSMISSION OF CHANT REPERTORIES
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THE CAROLINGIAN LITURGICAL REFORMS: HOW SACRAMENTARIES MAY CHANGE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF CHANT "TRANSMISSION"
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Even before the publication of Hesbert's *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex* in 1935, scholars had recognized similarities among the earliest sources of chant for the Mass. These "antiphoners," which date from the late eighth century, exhibit a degree of concordance with regard to the texts of the chants they contain and the arrangement of the liturgical calendar, but they do not contain musical notation and therefore offer no information about the degree of concordance that may have existed among the melodies themselves. Musicologists have, of course, famously disagreed about how the similarities among the early antiphoners should be understood, but almost all have agreed that the level of concordance lends credibility to the Carolingian claim to have established an authoritative version of the chant across the empire as part of a larger effort to "Romanize" the liturgy. This paper will attempt to show just the opposite—that the early antiphoners do not offer evidence for the kind of liturgical reforms that they have been traditionally thought to support.

The earliest sources of Mass chants were not freestanding books of chant. In fact, a majority of the extant eighth- and ninth-century antiphoners belong to codices that contain other contemporaneous liturgical materials, including complete or nearly complete sacramentaries (books of prayers for the Mass). To date, the relationship between the earliest antiphoners and the sacramentaries with which they were copied and/or bound has not received the kind of attention it deserves. By examining these early sacramentaries and antiphoners in context and by considering how they may have worked together in the practice of a Mass, a very different story emerges about the Carolingian liturgical reforms, the degree of Romanization sought, desired, and achieved, and how the "transmission" of chant fit in with the larger project of liturgical reform (if such a project really existed).

Demonstrating that antiphoners and sacramentaries from the same codices (including those from Rheinau, Mont Blandin, Corbie, and Senlis, among others) put forward entirely different pictures of the Carolingian reforms, this paper will ask whether conceptualizing the musical aspects of these reforms as "transmission" does not obscure an apparent flourishing of varied Mass practices (musical and otherwise) throughout the Carolingian era and in the years that follow. In fact, a comparative study of the early antiphoners and sacramentaries suggests that the limited consistency found among the antiphoners alone—a sign that has often been read as definitive evidence of authoritative uniformity sought and achieved—cannot be understood as the only or most important consequence of what were diverse and specific reforms of separate parts of the liturgy. Though it is admittedly an attractive narrative, mistaking limited consistency for uniformity and, in turn, uniformity for "transmission" emerges, here, as a misrepresentation of a complex and multifaceted process that may not have been oriented toward, and certainly did not achieve, authoritative uniformity in the Carolingian liturgy.

ORIGINAL HYMNOGRAPHIC PRODUCTION IN KIEVAN RUSSIA, TEXT, MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE

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For the Eastern Slavs, the eleventh to thirteenth centuries was an intense period of cultural and nascent intellectual foment. Unfortunately, precious few manuscripts have survived to bear witness to the remarkable musical life of Russia at this time. Those that do tell us that the medieval Russian church maintained compliance in her liturgical texts and customs with those of Byzantium. But perhaps more importantly, they stand as monuments to the measure of general and specifically musical literacy of that receiving culture, and attest to the different layers of cultural and intellectual developmental processes.

Byzantine sources obviously provided models, not to mention the point of departure, for all Slavic hymnographic production of this period, both for texts and melodies, and certainly for the entire manuscript tradition. Yet not all Slavic hymns can be found in the Byzantine liturgical canon. We may cite as a specific example the Mode III hymn to the first Russian martyrs Sts. Boris and Gleb, a contrafactum based on the same type of hymn for Christmas, composed in a florid style and written with a complex musical notation. Unfortunately, neither chant can be read since no Byzantine setting in a corresponding musical style nor transcribable musical notation survives to which it can be compared.

All told, examples of original early Slavic hymnody with a musical setting in a readable notation are rare. Furthermore, to find an illustration on which we can cast light on the actual compositional process in a text's transformation into a musical number is indeed cause to celebrate! Fortunately, such pieces do exist: one such number is a chant for the 8 November Feast of the Archangel Michael and the Incorporeal Host.

The presence of one hymn of apparently original literary and musical creation raises the question of the survival of others. Fortunately, another example, also with no corollary in the Greek tradition, can be found on the first folios of a twelfth-century source kept in Moscow's State Historical Museum—a processional hymn for the Transfiguration (6 August). The following is a discussion of this hymn and its place in the liturgical canon of the early medieval Russian church. It offers suggestions as to its musical performance and reconstruction.

TRANSMISSION AND MANIPULATION OF CHANT REPERTORIES: THE MASSES FOR THE HOLY CROSS IN MEDIEVAL ITALY

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Italian liturgical manuscripts copied between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries preserve archaic liturgical and musical features that attest to the complex cultural interrelationships among different regions of Europe. Excellent case-studies for the understanding of the cultural matrices of Italian liturgical sources are the masses for the feasts of the Holy Cross (Invention, 3 May, and Exaltation, 14 September).

While in the majority of chant manuscripts the feasts of the Holy Cross adapted standard Gregorian texts and melodies from the Thursday and Tuesday in Holy week, a group of books copied in the modern regions of Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, and Campania contain chants that do not belong to the international repertory. Rather, these chants are derived from the

southwestern French region of Aquitaine, where the services for the Holy Cross were astonishingly rich and included an entire newly composed Mass Proper set embellished with sequences, tropes, and prosulas.

When transmitted to Italy these chants were reworked in various ways: they were either reassembled in a different order (especially the offertory verses) or expanded through the composition of new pieces, each manuscript presenting its own unique combination of materials. Clerics from northern Italy composed new introits and offertory verses, while those from the south added new alleluias with prosulas. The newly composed melodies echo modal assessments and stylistic elements of the archaic Italian dialects of chant (Ambrosian, Beneventan, and Old-Roman) and occasionally contain references to some texts and melodies of possible Byzantine and Gallican origins. The chants imported from southern France, on the other hand, were stylistically accommodated to the local musical taste.

Considered as a whole these masses are the extraordinary witnesses of the kind of work that medieval musicians and liturgists had to accomplish in order to provide chants for new liturgical feasts. Chant of different origins were assembled and reworked in various ways and juxtaposed to newly composed melodies.

Studies by Cattaneo, Hesbert, Leclercq, and, more recently, van Tongeren, have investigated the question of the origin of the feasts of the Holy Cross and analyzed their presence in seventh- and eight-century lectionaries and sacramentaries and other early liturgical documents. My paper reconstructs the reception of the Aquitanian masses in the Italian manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The collation of liturgical books, in fact, reveals that churches from both the north and the south of Italy derived their imported material directly from Aquitaine, since there are no apparent signs of reciprocal influence. Ultimately, the analysis of local compositions offers a privileged perspective on issues of oral and written transmissions of chants and offers valuable elements to discuss the diffusion of the cult of the Cross in medieval Italy.

ANTIPHONS FROM THE OFFICES FOR HUBERT AND ROCH

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Since Andrew Hughes wrote in 1989 that few scholars "have ever considered the largest of all repertories of monophonic music, plainsongs written from the tenth to sixteenth century for the Offices," a repertory that he estimates contains some 30,000 melodies, several scholars have contributed studies and editions of offices for particular saints. Continuing in that tradition and taking advantage of a local and recent rediscovery, this paper will focus on five rare antiphons for Saints Hubert and Roch found in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, a beautifully illuminated sixteenth-century chant manuscript housed in Halifax, Canada. Donated by the Archdiocese in Halifax in the 1970s to the Patrick Power Library at St. Mary's University, the Antiphonal is thought to have been brought to Halifax in the nineteenth century by William Walsh, the first Bishop of Halifax. Although the artwork, the provenance and the construction of the manuscript (created at Salzinnes, a Cistercian convent in Namur at that time in the diocese of Liège), have been studied intensively (Dietz 2006), the music has not been examined by modern musicologists until now.

Musically the manuscript offers a fascinating window on Cistercian liturgical practice. In the Prologue to the revised Cistercian Antiphoner from 1147, Bernard of Clairvaux declares

that textually and musically the new Antiphoner is "beyond reproach." He stipulates that it should be adopted by all Cistercian monasteries (and therefore convents as well), and that the General Chapter and all the Abbots "prohibit change whatsoever to be made by anyone and in any way." But how faithfully did Cistercians follow Bernard's dictates? Initial musical comparisons of the Sanctorale within the Salzinnes Antiphonal with a twelfth-century Cistercian antiphonal from the Abbey of Morimondo (F-Pn n.a.lat. 1411 and F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412) in the diocese of Milan reveals a remarkable level of consistency considering the four hundred years and the geographical distance that separate the two. What stands out in the Salzinnes Sanctorale and distinguishes it from Morimondo is the presence of five rare antiphons. Covering the winter feasts only, the Salzinnes Antiphonal includes five antiphons dedicated to the local Saint Hubert (first Bishop of Liège) and Saint Roch (venerated widely for healing those with the Plague), whose feast days lie outside the temporal span of the manuscript.

HISPANIC INTEREST GROUP: TRADITION AND LITURGY IN MEXICAN SACRED MUSIC

Ana R. Alonso-Minutti, University of California, Davis, Chair
Joseph Sargent, Stanford University
Jesus Ramos-Kittrell, Tulane University
Alejandro L. Madrid, University of Illinois at Chicago

This panel, comprised of scholars who have done research both in Mexico and Spain, treats issues pertaining to Mexican religious music, from late sixteenth to late twentieth century, its assimilation of Eurocentric styles, the politics around it, as well as the re-evaluation of historiographical approaches to modernity and tradition. We hope to promote knowledge of religious Mexican music, to address the challenges of the repertory, and, most importantly, to provide a space for dialogue among scholars interested in this field.

Hispanic composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries produced a noticeably high proportion of Magnificats relative to mass settings. In "Franco's Magnificats as Agents of Genre Diversification," Joseph Sargent argues that the Magnificats of Hernando Franco—the most significant composer of late sixteenth-century Mexico—represent an impulse toward "genre diversification," aimed at expanding the polyphonic repertoire at Mexico City Cathedral. In an era when traditional ideas about the relative importance of sacred forms faced increasing scrutiny, Franco embodies an approach found throughout Mexico of privileging less "prestigious" genres in order to enrich the repertoire of emerging ecclesiastical organizations.

In "The Politics of Ritual: Considering Baroque Catholicism in Liturgical Practices at the Cathedral of Mexico," Jesus Ramos-Kittrell focuses on the Feast of Corpus Christi to analyze the impact of political and economic factors on the observance of ritual performance in New Spain, in which music was a central element. Recent archival research shows that scarce funds call into question the notion of ritual pomposity during religious feasts of the eighteenth century. Ramos-Kittrell argues that the supposed splendor of the liturgy does not stand up to an earnest appraisal of historical fact, and prompts scholars to re-evaluate upheld notions of excess and exuberance characteristic of baroque religious culture in New Spain.

In "Modernism as Tradition in Julián Carrillo's *Misa en cuartos de tono*" Alejandro L. Madrid combines stylistic analysis with a study of the aesthetic and cultural circumstances surrounding Carrillo's *Misa en cuartos de tono* (1962) in an attempt to show how the development of the composer's mature microtonal music is a synthetic response to the contradictory aesthetic ideas that informed his writings about music, tradition, and modernism throughout his life. Since the interpretative dichotomy modernism/tradition collapses when trying to make sense of this composition, Madrid proposes that the work shows how modernism becomes tradition, thus coming to terms with one of Carrillo's life-long compositional dilemmas.

In "Memory and the Assimilation of Tradition in Mario Lavista's *Missa Brevis ad Consolationis Dominam Nostram,*" Ana R. Alonso-Minutti explores how Mario Lavista's understanding of certain aspects—whether musical or aesthetic—from his musical "ancestors" gives him a way to remember. This memory is present throughout his religious music, culminating with his *Missa Brevis* (1995). By using certain musical traits common in medieval and renaissance music, Lavista not only consolidates his own musical language, but also places himself as part of a particular tradition of composers who have approached the Latin mass as a genre shaped by a spiritual affinity with medieval liturgy.

VIRTUAL ACOUSTICS AND THE RECORDING OF JOSEPH HAYDN'S KEYBOARD MUSIC

Tom Beghin, Martha de Francisco, Wieslaw Woszczyk
with Erin Helyard, Doyuen Ko, Ryan Miller, Jeremy Tusz
Schulich School of Music, McGill University

Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Fonds Québecois de la recherche sur la société et la culture, and executed at McGill's Centre for Interdisciplinary Research in Music Media and Technology, a project to record Haydn's complete solo keyboard music is nearing completion. The result of an interdisciplinary effort, these recordings combine new applications of sound recording and production with new insights in musicology and historical performance, while creating a product that is artistically and commercially attractive.

The traditional model of one-keyboard-fits-all—either the generic "fortepiano" or the modern-day Steinway—is replaced by an array of seven instruments relevant for Haydn, from a 1760s clavichord to a 1798 English grand piano. Three of these—a Viennese harpsichord with an idiomatic "short octave," a *Tafelklavier*, and a fortepiano with an early-Viennese *Stossmechanik*—were especially built for this project, two of them as world premieres.

During trips abroad we measured the acoustic impulse responses of a variety of historical rooms and set forth to recreate these in the recording studio. Thus, among others, the magnificent Ceremonial Room in Esterháza, a private room from Haydn's Eisenstadt home, a *Prunkraum* from the Albertina in Vienna, or the Oxford Holywell Music Room became "virtual rooms" for the performance and recording of Haydn's keyboard music.

The performer, seated at the instrument, is surrounded by a "dome" of twenty-four loudspeakers. These re-transmit the captured performance quasi-instantaneously, through a digital processing system based on convolution and wave field synthesis. The performer interacts live with the recreated acoustics and keeps control over his interpretation, which is recorded in multifold channels (surround), so as to convey the sound-enveloped ambience in the richest possible way.

This new paradigm of recording raises an array of questions, which for musicologists are not altogether new but which in their "virtual" manifestation become more pressing. Have acoustics remained underappreciated in our assessments of musical style and performance? Can modern recording techniques provide ways to reveal alternative contexts for "historical listening"? Are we ready to expand our stereophonic expectations of recorded sound and explore fuller, more integrated sonic images of instrument and room? How far can or should the recording engineer go in mixing "direct" and "diffuse" sounds, the first largely defined by instrument, the second by room, with significant overlap between the two? Assisted by advanced computer techniques, can the recording engineer convincingly reconstruct the impression of a performance in a space different to the one of recording? Can the use of this kind of technology advance musicological and artistic discovery?

Featuring audio-visual materials, this presentation aims to bring a lively account of several important aspects of the project: the selection of historical rooms, the process of sampling their acoustics, decisions made in the recording studio, post-recording decisions yet to be taken before a commercial release. The *Pièce de résistance* will be the construction of a number of virtual rooms in the conference room itself and, in them, the staging of live performances on three different keyboard instruments.

WAGNER AND CINEMA

Jeongwon Joe, University of Cincinnati, Organizer
Sander L. Gilman, Emory University, Moderator
James Buhler, University of Texas at Austin
John Deathridge, King's College London
Thomas Grey, Stanford University
David Neumeyer, University of Texas at Austin
William H. Rosar, Journal of Film Music
Marc A. Weiner, Indiana University

"If Wagner had lived a century later, his home would not have been Bayreuth but Beverly Hills," stated Martin van Amorogen in *Wagner: A Case History*. Although most often cited, *Gesamtkunstwerk* and leitmotif are too simplistic to support Amorogen's view. More sophisticated examples of Wagner's cinematic imagination can be found at detailed levels of his music-dramas, such as his demand for the "mimomaniac" correspondence between music and bodily gestures, which anticipated "Mickey-Mousing" in film. Filmmakers' century-long fascination with the composer has amplified Wagner's aura in cinema. As early as 1912, Carl Froelich produced a silent film, *Richard Wagner*, which is known to be the first composer biopic. In soundtrack, too, Wagner's resonance has been conspicuous in both original film scoring and compilation scores. Also indicative of Wagner's kinship with cinema is Bayreuth's invitation of film directors to stage production, including Patrice Chéreau, Werner Herzog, and Lars von Trier. Furthermore, such celebrated blockbuster films as Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings* series have stimulated popular attention to Wagnerian ambience in cinema. Given these historical manifestations of the mutual attraction between Bayreuth and movie theaters, Theodor Adorno's dictum, "the birth of film out of the spirit of [Wagner's] music," has proven to be more than an ideologically-biased diagnosis.

The panel intends to initiate a dialog about Wagnerism in cinema among film music scholars and Wagner specialists in musicology and Germanic studies. By reconsidering existing theories and introducing new interdisciplinary issues and methodologies, the panelists will enrich and extend the burgeoning scholarship on Wagner and cinema. Moderated by Sander Gilman, the panel will begin with Jeongwon Joe's introduction to the current state of the scholarship on Wagner and cinema, which will be followed by six presentations. The first two panelists will consider musical issues. David Neumeyer will trace Wagner's influence on Max Steiner's film scoring, based on Steiner's hitherto unknown sketches, which contain his comments on specific passages in relation to Wagner's opera. Drawing on Rudolf Otto's theory of the "numinous" in the phenomenology of religion, William Rosar will demonstrate how Hollywood film composers of the 1950s modeled their musical depiction of the extraterrestrial on Wagner's music-drama in science fiction films. Marc Weiner and Thomas Grey will address cultural issues Wagner stimulates in two Oscar-winning Hollywood films. Grey will consider Wagner's shadowy presence as well as absence in Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings* in light of Harold Bloom's theory of the "anxiety of influence." Reading Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* in the political context of the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany, Weiner will discuss how musical quotes from Wagner function in a larger set of references to modern German history in the film. James Buhler will reconsider the dominant scholarship on silent film, which has discounted its debt to Wagner, and propose an alternative perspective from which Wagnerian aesthetics can be re-contextualized in silent film. The panelists' presentations will conclude with John Deathridge's skeptical claim on behalf of Wagner's *anti-cinematic* imagination, questioning the composer's apotheosized status in the genealogy of cinema.

AMERICAN AVANT-GARDE
Robert Fink, UCLA, Chair

ON DEFEATING THEATER : ART, OBJECTHOOD
AND THE MUSIC OF FLUXUS

Kelsey Cowger
UCLA

In 1967, the art critic Michael Fried penned a piece for *Artforum* entitled "Art and Object-hood" which was designed as both a spirited defense of artistic modernism and a rallying cry against minimalist and conceptual art. In it, he darkly predicted the onset of an intellectual and aesthetic battle between what he termed "the authentic art of our time" and "other work . . . of the sensibility or mode of being that I have characterized as corrupted or perverted by theatre." Forty years later, Fried's essay still resonates with a visceral anxiety, augured by the idea that the generic borders between visual artworks, music and performance acts were both more fluid than readily assumed and highly contested by artists working in a variety of media. The artistic and cultural climate of the 1950s and 1960s proved to be fertile ground for this blurring of artistic formal boundaries. As an example, musicologists frequently look to John Cage's early musical/theatrical experimental works (in particular, the 1952 "happening" at Black Mountain College, *Black Mountain Piece*). More infrequently addressed in musico-logical circles, however, are the works of the loosely comprised group of artists called Fluxus, where these experiments in the intersections of art, music and performance were, if anything, more pronounced. At various points in the movement's height, Fluxus artists fed hay to a piano, released butterflies into the audience, obsessively poured water from one vessel into another, and spectacularly destroyed a number of instruments.

Because of their self-conscious "meaninglessness" and their complex relationship to their own object-status, Fluxus pieces tend to be tremendously resistant to conventional her-meneutic interpretive strategies. Works by Fluxus artists were frequently highly visual and performance-oriented, extending Cage's formulation of the inherent musicality of sound into the realm of the unheard and the conceptual; many Fluxus pieces have no sonic content at all (or, as in the case of the butterfly in the audience, sonic content that is imperceptible to humans.) Nevertheless, what makes these pieces particularly interesting to musicologists is that many Fluxus composers adamantly insisted upon their pieces' status as specifically musical objects, often describing their work with Romantic concert hall rhetoric. At Fluxus concerts, the audience was sometimes greeted by formal programs listing pieces, many of which bore opus numbers and formal titles, in (frequently ignored) concert order. Any frag-mentary tangible records of their works were generally described as "scores," the long evenings of event-pieces were "concerts," and the end result of their work (no matter how visual or theoretical) was "music." Following the lead of Fluxus impresario George Maciunas, many Fluxus artists also were quick to describe themselves as composers of specific works, an idea inherently complicated by the fact that performance and spectatorship were often crucial parts of the compositional act (in the manner of Eco's "open work"). This paper will further explore the complex issues of art, genre, objecthood and musical ontology that these Fluxus

works provoke, using LaMonte Young's *Compositions 1960* and works by George Brecht, Ben Patterson and Annea Lockwood as a lens.

A MAP OF (MIS)HEARING: STEVE REICH'S *DIFFERENT TRAINS*
Amy Wlodarski
Dickinson College

In 1988, Steve Reich composed *Different Trains*, a musical composition inspired by Reich's childhood memories of riding American trains during the war and his realization that European Jews had traveled "different trains" bound to concentration camps. Reich endeavored to "make a piece that would accurately reflect the whole situation" by digitally sampling excerpts from three recorded Holocaust testimonies in order to construct a "documentary and musical reality." Because the work contains no visual elements, Reich noted that the documentary takes place in "the theater of the [audience's] mind," where they imagine the interplay between its sonic and linguistic elements.

Reich's reliance on archival sources became the aesthetic basis upon which evaluations of *Different Trains* rested. When the work premiered, Allan Kozinn immediately heralded it as "Reich's most affecting, emotional work" and lauded the composer's ability to use "interview snippets . . . [not only] as the basis of his melodic and rhythmic material, but also to convey information about time, place, and mood." The capstone of such acclaim was Richard Taruskin's 1997 assertion that "[*Trains*] went the full distance and earned Reich his place" as classical music's "sturdy bridge to the twenty-first century." Taruskin also commended Reich for composing "the only adequate musical response—one of the few adequate artistic responses in any medium—to the Holocaust."

In the years since, scholars have evaluated *Trains* in terms of Reich's Jewish heritage, its use of mimetic train sounds, its psycho-acoustic effect on perceptions of motion and time, and its evolution from Reich's earlier tape experiments. Few, however, have considered how Reich, as the work's director of his self-titled "musical documentary," constructed his Holocaust narrative from the three discrete survivor testimonies of Rachella, Paul, and Rachel.

This paper reconsiders Reich's editorial decisions in light of the complete testimonial recordings, housed at Yale University and the New York Public Library. Despite Reich's insistence that he chose his excerpts for "purely musical" reasons, the archival sources suggest that extra-musical factors, including shared textual metaphors and contextual parallels between the individual testimonies, may also have guided Reich's compositional decisions. I also reveal two instances in which Reich misheard the survivors and transcribed their texts incorrectly. These "mishearings," which have stood uncorrected in the libretto for nearly twenty years, bear significantly upon the work's memorial imagery and final emotional impact. Moreover, the uncovering of such apparent errors raises important questions about the perceived authority (and objectivity) of musical documentaries, our trusting confidence in Reich as a composer-curator, and the problematic and constructed nature of Holocaust memories in general.

CHURCH AND STAGE MUSIC IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Michael Marissen, Swarthmore College, Chair

DA PONTE'S AND MARTÍN Y SOLER'S *LA SCUOLA DE' MARITATI* OR *LA CAPRICCIOSA CORRETTA*: AN IDEOLOGICAL SEQUEL TO *LA SCOLA DEGLI AMANTI* OR *COSÌ FAN TUTTE*

Pierpaolo Polzonetti
University of Notre Dame

La scuola de' maritati ("The School for Spouses"), created in 1795 for the King's Theatre in London by Da Ponte and Martín y Soler, presents significant points of intersection with Da Ponte's previous schooling opera buffa set by Mozart, *La scola degli amanti* ("The School for Lovers"), or *Così fan tutte*. Both dramatize infidelity as a way to represent, within the safe boundaries of domesticity, centrifugal forces unsettling the bonds of the primeval social nucleus: the couple. *La scuola de' maritati* presents a Goldonian reverse-world plot of a domineering and libertine wife called Ciprigna (a modern Venus, as the name suggests), upsetting domestic harmony. In the opening Sinfonia, the immediate introduction of the storm music that appears later in the opera has the effect of tearing down the imaginary walls of the domestic indoor space, evoking in the listeners' minds the perils of a stormy open landscape. This use of Sturm-und-Drang *topoi* in the opera alerts the audience that the domestic setting stands for a much broader social system.

The representation of female subversion is also derived from Goldoni's domestic comedies and reverse-world libretti, invariably ending with the taming of the subversive woman and the re-establishment of the patriarchal order. Unlike prerevolutionary Goldonian comedies or even *Così fan tutte*, however, *La scuola de' maritati* displays an unusual amount of physical violence (for example, Ciprigna threatens her husband with a gun). In addition, *La scuola de' maritati* ends with an ambiguous finale restoring the upright hierarchy, but staging the taming of the shrew in the context of an oriental masquerade for which Martín uses Janissary music. Considering the western cultural archetype—still powerful today—that the East (especially the Middle East) is identified with tyranny and barbarity, and the West with progress and democracy, the question is, what does the Orient stand for in this finale? A larger question that this paper addresses is the significance of the representation of family and sexual politics during the revolutionary era. In *Così fan tutte* Da Ponte and Mozart ridicule Kornman's Mesmeric group, which in the 1780s maintained that the woman's role in harmonious society should be confined to the domestic sphere. In the early 1790s, especially after Marat's assassination by Madame Corday, *ancien-régime* tyranny was often identified with allegedly corrupted aristocratic women, leading to their violent silencing during the Terror. Considering Da Ponte's documented anti-Jacobin position, his characterization of the tyrannical female protagonist in *La scuola de' maritati* needs to be interpreted in the context of the complex game of reflections and appropriations of progressive French culture in English antirevolutionary literature. The result is a seemingly conventional, but in fact splendidly multilayered work, filled with metaphors and symbols typical of London's theatrical productions during the years of the French Revolution. The comparison with the first school of lovers, *Così fan tutte*, shows the impact of the fin-de-siècle ideology on the world of opera and helps to clarify the political significance of both Mozart's and Martín's contributions to Da Ponte's "school."

PERFORMING GLUCK'S *ALCESTE* IN BOLOGNA, 1778

Margaret Butler
University of Florida

The 1767 Viennese premiere of Christoph Willibald Gluck's groundbreaking *Alceste* inspired several Italian productions of the work, one of which occurred at Bologna's Teatro Comunale in 1778. A previously unexplored exemplar of the libretto printed for the Bolognese production that bears extensive manuscript annotations provides valuable evidence for the creation of the performance. Such a source offers a rare glimpse into operatic performance practice in the eighteenth century, about which little is known. Moreover, while the hegemony of solo singers is usually cited as one of the essential deterrents to eighteenth-century operatic reform, this source and its context emphasizes the importance of the choreographer's commitment to a reform opera's success.

The exemplar's unusual assembly indicates that it was created specifically for use in production. Its annotations give the duration of portions of the work: the overture, certain scenes, scene and costume changes, and passages involving spectacular elements ranging from lightning strikes to entrances and exits of live horses. Especially important in the absence of a score for the Bolognese production, the markings indicating the durations of scenes suggest specific tempi. The annotations present a detailed image of the staging, reporting the use of onstage instruments, exact numbers of supernumeraries, the movement of choristers and dancers to and from specific parts of the stage, and other aspects of production. At times the indications contradict the printed stage directions, which results in the increase of the dramatic impact of certain scenes. At other times they enhance such directions, intensifying the effect of specific innovative elements.

The annotations likely stem from the Bolognese stage director, Antonio Montefani, who corresponded at length with *Alceste*'s librettist, Ranieri de' Calzabigi. Comparison of their letters with the annotations reveals a dispute with the choreographer for the Bolognese production, Giuseppe Canziani, and its resolution in a compromise that influenced the form and visual effect of one the opera's most striking scenes. The annotations reinforce the image of *Alceste* as visually compelling theater, central to which was complex staging entailing a high degree of coordination—a challenge for eighteenth-century theaters. The Bolognese response to this logistical challenge provides a context for better understanding Gluck's masterpiece and its performance.

ANTI-JUDAISM AND THE LUTHERAN CANTATA: THE CANTATAS FOR JUDICA SUNDAY OF GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN

Jeanne Swack
University of Wisconsin

Bach's St. John Passion has been the focal point for the discussion of anti-Judaism in the sacred music of the late-Baroque Lutheran church. But aside from a discussion of Bach's cantata "Schauet doch und sehet," BWV 46, by Michael Marissen, little attention has been paid to the cantata repertoire of the time, which was part of the weekly experience of the congregation, meant to dramatize the weekly Gospel reading. This paper focuses on the cantatas of Telemann for Judica Sunday, with its particularly anti-Jewish Gospel reading (John 8:46–59), which inspired cantata librettists to amplify on the theme of the Jews' rejection of Christ in

particularly vivid and stereotypical ways. Bach himself has no surviving cantata for this Sunday because of the tempus clausum in effect at his places of employment, so that this Sunday has been virtually ignored in discussions of anti-Judaism in late-Baroque Lutheran music.

I center my discussion on Telemann's cantata "Der Kern verdämmter Sünder," with a libretto by the Hamburg pastor Heinrich Tobias Schubart, which demonizes the Jews as "Hell's children," "the offspring of Satan," "perfidious," "cunning," "evil," and "bloodthirsty." I also bring into the discussion the viciously anti-Jewish sermons for this Sunday by the Hamburg clergy, particularly Erdmann Neumeister, the developer and chief librettist of the "madrigalian" cantata libretto, the first such Lutheran texts to actually be termed "cantatas." These sermons worked in tandem with the cantatas to reinforce anti-Jewish feelings in the Hamburg populace, which led to a riot against the Jews in August, 1730, and for which Neumeister was held partly responsible.

Thus, the Gospel reading for Judica, which itself strongly demonizes the Jews for rejecting Christ, was amplified through the sermon, the cantata librettist, and the composer's setting of the work, underscoring the anti-Jewish sentiments of the Gospel reading through musical means.

HAYDN'S COPY OF THE B MINOR MASS AND MOZART'S MASS IN C MINOR

Ulrich Leisinger
Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum

From the early 1800s on Bach's B Minor Mass was easily accessible for connoisseurs in Vienna. Copies are documented in sales catalogues (Johann Traeg 1804) and private collections (Joseph Haydn). The early history of the B Minor Mass remained entirely in the dark, however, since the oldest known copy (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 11) stems from the time around 1800.

The copy from Joseph Haydn's music library plays a crucial role in the reception history of the mass in Vienna. After the composer's death the manuscript became part of the Esterházy collection and was long believed to have been lost. It survived World War II hidden in a chimney of Eisenstadt castle and has never since been studied by Bach scholars. It comes as a great surprise that this copy is among the earliest sources for the mass: the manuscript originated in Berlin and can securely be dated to the time around 1770; it is closely related to the copy in the Amalienbibliothek and thus to an early and authorized transmission (via C. P. E. Bach and Kirnberger). It shall be shown that the manuscript is very likely to have belonged to the Austrian Ambassador to the Prussian Court Gottfried van Swieten before it came into Haydn's hands.

It is commonly known that van Swieten, who settled in Vienna in 1777, initiated Mozart to the music of Johann Sebastian Bach and in the light of the statement "that he gave me all the works of Handel and Sebastian Bach to take home with me" (Mozart's letter to his sister, 24 April 1782) we must conclude that Mozart was able to study in detail Bach's mass, a work of unprecedented scope and complexity, shortly before he started working on his Mass in C Minor K. 427.

The discovery of the Eisenstadt score therefore provides an entirely new basis for exploring the astonishing similarities between two of the most demanding mass compositions of the eighteenth century. These go far beyond the use of a five-part "chorus" with two sopranos for

the Kyrie and an eight-part double chorus for the Osanna. Bachian (and Handelian) traits can also be observed, for example, in Mozart's Duetto "Domine Deus," and the "Jesu Christe" chorus with the subsequent "Cum Sancto Spiritu" fugue. The most striking example is arguably Mozart's "Qui tollis," which seems to have been derived from Bach's "Crucifixus."

Reports by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf and Maximilian Stadler about Mozart's indebtedness to Handel (and Bach) make it obvious that allusions to Baroque masters in his operas and church music were regarded as deliberate stylistic choices by the composer. The C Minor Mass owed its existence to a vow in connection with Mozart's marriage, and the choice of Baroque models for this composition has at least partly been triggered by Constance's musical taste, who according to her future husband "didn't want to hear anything but Handel and Bach."

COMPOSERS AND THE PAINTERLY EYE
Richard Leppert, University of Minnesota, Chair

WAGNER AND THE *STYLE MAKART*

Thomas Grey
Stanford University

In May 1871 Cosima and Richard Wagner noticed an article in the *Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung* by the influential critic Karl Gutzkow, who, to their indignation, "is not above comparing *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* with Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and a picture by Makart!" It may have been the comparison with Flaubert that most vexed and perplexed them; in any case, associations of Wagner's music dramas with the paintings of Austrian artist Hans Makart (1844–1884) became increasingly common over the remainder of the century. For critics of a later generation like Thomas Mann and Theodor Adorno the "Makart style" remained emblematic of an increasingly questionable side of Wagner's appeal: an aesthetic of overstuffed, eclectic historicism that smacked of "the vulgar and the downright *parvenu*" (in Mann's words), "that taste for the opulent, for satins, luxury, riches, and bourgeois ostentation " that, in Wagner's case, is not only a personal trait but "reaches deep down into his intellectual and artistic being." Makart's Viennese *atelier*—no less than his sumptuous history paintings, "bacchanals," society portraits, and multi-media design-projects (notably a lavish 1879 historical pageant celebrating the Hapsburg monarchy)—defined a visual and a "life" style, alike, for the early fin-de-siècle. The style is recognizable in the salon at villa Wahnfried just as in Joukowsky's set designs for the first *Parsifal* and, arguably, in much of Wagner's music. Like most artists of the era, Makart occasionally depicted Wagnerian motifs, but his affinity with the composer was recognized as something more fundamental. *The Plague in Florence* (1867–8), an early critical success, is a visual meditation on the erotics of death in the manner of *Tristan und Isolde* and the Decadents, while his Renaissance history paintings and the 1879 Vienna *Festzug* stage national history as a collective aesthetic experience in the manner of *Die Meistersinger*. A ubiquitous theme in comparisons of artist and composer is the role of color—visual, harmonic, and timbral—raised to a quasi-autonomous force that dominates composition and "idea."

Nowadays Hans Makart scarcely merits an entry in most surveys of art history. This paper investigates the cultural and technical sources of his appeal in the later nineteenth century and traces the comparison of Makart's and Wagner's styles as a critical topos. The disappearance of

Makart and his "style" from modern critical consciousness, I argue, mirrors a cultural suppression of features central to Wagner's irresistible fascination for his contemporaries. Modernist and post-modernist production styles, with their privileging of the conceptual over the sensual "content" of the dramas, are one obvious factor. Without necessarily arguing for a revival of historical stage design, I do argue for the value of recuperating a sense of the visual aesthetic of the *style Makart* that earlier audiences identified as a defining trait of Wagner's music.

"ALLYING NECESSITY WITH UNPREDICTABILITY": MORTON FELDMAN'S EARLY MUSIC AND IDEOLOGIES OF ABSTRACTION

Ryan W. Dohoney
Columbia University

Reviewing a Composer's Forum concert in 1952, Harold Schonberg wrote of Morton Feldman, "there is a close parallel between Mr. Feldman's work and that of the pure expressionists and non-objectivists in the extreme left wing of modern art . . . He does not really notate his music: he graphs it, and the performer is free to select the pitch."

Schonberg's commentary is an early example of Feldman's association with "the pure expressionists and non-objectivists," those who would by decade's end become the abstract-expressionists. This paper examines the early processes of Feldman's reception and identification with abstract-expressionism through an analysis of the kinesthetics of his graphically notated music and its precedence in the physicality of Jackson Pollock's painting. I also situate both Feldman and Pollock's performances within a larger cultural framework in which masculine labor and alienation were sites of American anxiety.

Morton Feldman's involvement with Pollock began in 1951 with his score for Hans Namuth's film of the painter working. This film, instrumental in producing an emerging Pollock mythology, represents him as a frenetic, almost primitive, masculine creative force. Feldman responded in kind with a "musical choreography" that jabs, leaps, and pulses along with Pollock, mapping sound onto gesture. Pollock's voiceover descriptions, juxtaposed with Feldman's music, describe him existing "in the painting" and wanting "to express [his] feelings instead of illustrate them." This language of emotional spontaneity and metaphysical absorption codes his bodily practice as the music becomes its audible signifier.

With *Intersection 2*, completed two months after the film score, Feldman adapted an understanding of Pollock's physicality to his graphically notated compositions. Whereas the *Projections* and early *Intersections* from 1950–51 are pointilistic soundscapes for ensembles, *Intersections 2–4* redirect attention to a soloist's body. Each score, now a more rigid grid, demands histrionic displays from a performer engaged in an immediate, almost violent, production of sound. In these pieces, Feldman imagined, through a reconfigured relationship between performer and score, a musical body analogous to Pollock's artistic body.

The critical reception drew further connections between the two. Art critic Frank O'Hara described them in nearly identical terms. For O'Hara, Pollock's painting lurched toward the sublime while Feldman's music found "the metaphysical place where work can occur." O'Hara also valued their physical dimensions of their work that depended upon self-knowledge, freedom, spontaneity, and improvisation.

These terms and aesthetic values were hardly culturally neutral and were part of a discourse surrounding the crisis of masculinity in the early years of the Cold War brought about by the post-war reintegration of American men into the Fordist economic system. Cultural critics

of the 1950s such as C. Wright Mills argued for a reconciliation of the mind and body of the American man through alternative models of labor. Heard in the context of this crisis of work, Feldman and Pollock's spontaneous bodies-in-action, with an attendant rhetoric of self-expression through abstraction, become resistant performances attempting to undo the alienation of the Cold War consensus.

MUSIC AND ITALIAN POETRY
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POETRY AND THE POLYPHONIC *MANIERA* IN LATE QUATTROCENTO FLORENCE: A PRE-HISTORY OF THE MADRIGAL

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A recently completed study of the Florentine *cantasi come* sources (poetic anthologies with rubrics indicating titles of songs to which individual devotional poems were sung) provides an unprecedented panorama of music that was known and sung throughout Florentine society about 1370 to 1550. It is now possible to chart by the decade shifting tastes in sung poetry. It is most surprising to learn that in the late 1470s, just as the relatively large number of surviving Florentine chansonniers began to be copied and collected in Florence, the *cantasi come* sources record a decided shift away from foreign texts and contrapuntal settings in favor of the more domestic forms of Italian poetry and music as singing models.

This paper will explore the implications of this apparently contradictory evidence, which challenges assumptions about both the culturally dominant role of northern secular polyphony in Italian cities, and the passive and technically inferior nature of Italian polyphony during the late fifteenth century. From the perspective of the Florentine *cantasi come* sources, the dominance of the chansonnier repertoire was relatively short-lived and circumscribed, and only one of many (including giustiniane, Neapolitan strambotti and barzellette, carnival songs, frottole, and madrigals) that entered a diverse Florentine singing environment that included churches, confraternities, patrician *brigate*, domestic settings, public festivals and piazzas, and humanist circles interested in vernacular poetry. Indeed, one has to wonder if it was just this kind of heterogeneous civic mix that fostered the most progressive approaches to singing Italian poetry, for it is here (particularly in the carnival song and strambotto) that critical components and pre-conditions of the the early Florentine madrigal first can be found. I will expand upon Pirrotta's comments on the strambotto (revealed in the *cantasi come* sources as a newly-arrived genre of sung poetry around 1480), and argue for its importance in Florence as a catalyst for musical settings of more serious Italian poetry, for the move from setting multi-strophic poetry to more individualized musical settings of single poetry stanzas, and for the importation of the expressive singing of the *strambottisti* (among other Florentine *improvvisatori*) into the medium of written polyphony. This picture of a dynamic and autonomous Italian musical culture relatively less subject to northern musical influence is filled out by the recently discovered letters of a Florentine which reveal that in the late 1480s the flow of northern music into the city was matched by the flow of Italian polyphonic songs being mailed out of Florence to France.

TEXT AND SHARED LARGE-SCALE DESIGN IN
TWO MADRIGALS BY WILLAERT

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The historical significance of Adrian Willaert's *Musica nova* collection is unquestioned, particularly in regard to its influence on subsequent composers and on the theoretical writings of Willaert's disciples Zarlino and Vicentino. Willaert's legendary attention to text-music relationships has been studied extensively, yet surprisingly little analytical work has been done on large-scale musical design in his works. It has gone unremarked that two of the madrigals, "L'aura mia sacra" and "I vidi in terra angelici costumi," share the same essential design, encompassing six shared attributes: (1) the F tonal type; (2) tonal stability in the prima parte followed by tonal fluctuation in the seconda parte, both in terms of cadence tones and accidental inflections; (3) very similar cadential schemes, including an unexpected half cadence on A ending the prima parte; (4) a fifth-cycle of major sonorities from A to E-flat at the beginning of the seconda parte; (5) an eventual return of modal regularity and tonal stability; and (6) predominant emphasis on major harmonic sonorities yet with significant shifts to minor sonorities to highlight aspects of the poems (representing "hard" concepts with major sonorities and "soft" ones with minor, as discussed by Zarlino and Vicentino). In both madrigals these shared attributes project Willaert's musical reading of the meaning of the poems despite the fact that these meanings share few overt similarities. The paper discusses each attribute in detail; a sampling from each madrigal follows here.

In "L'aura mia sacra" Petrarch dreams of speaking with the late Laura; in his vision she can respond only by weeping. Willaert's shattering of diatonic stability through the fifth cycle opening the seconda parte accompanies the description of Laura's silence and weeping; through tonal distortion he graphically depicts the distance between Petrarch and Laura in the separate planes of existence they now inhabit and her inability to speak. In "I vidi in terra" a similarly telling manipulation of tonal focus follows on the heels of the fifth-cycle; at a reference to weeping which makes a concert sweeter than any on earth, Willaert changes the essential quality of the mode by introducing the unprecedented remote tone A-flat within an F sonority, thus introducing "sweetness" (A-flat and the minor quality) "greater than may be heard in the world" (represented by the overall F tonal type).

The paper provides an important contribution by recasting our understanding of how Renaissance composers might have read a poetic text and the sort of precompositional large-scale tonal planning in which they might have engaged to project their reading. The shared basic tonal design in these two madrigals provides a unique opportunity to observe how Willaert goes beyond the localized musical reactions to individual words or phrases commonly thought to be the norm for Renaissance compositional practice, and how he uses manipulations of tonal stability and harmonic or modal quality to underscore a meaning that must be read into the words or to emphasize a certain critical moment or moments as the text unfolds and thereby shape the overall expressive structure of its musical setting.

LUTHERANS MEET THE MADRIGAL: MARTIN RINCKART'S
TRIUMPHI DI DOROTHEA (LEIPZIG, 1619)

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As an activity that brings a foreign work to a native market, translation is perhaps the most active and intense form of artistic reception. The vogue for madrigals in translation has largely been studied as an English phenomenon. Far less attention has been paid to German-speaking lands, where the reception of the Italian madrigal offers a valuable case study for examining the intersections of musical fashion and religious doctrine in the early seventeenth century. A new canon of works emerged in the music presses as German poets and editors neutralized the themes of pastoral love that typified Italian madrigals of the late sixteenth century and replaced them with texts that conformed to Lutheran ideals of music and theology. Georg Körber, Valentin Haussmann, Martin Rinckart, Petrus Neander, and Ambrosius Profe formed a new breed of poet-editors charged with adapting the madrigal and canzonetta for use in Lutheran churches and schools.

This paper examines the Lutheran appropriation of the Italian madrigal as charted in Martin Rinckart's *Triumphi di Dorothea: Laus Musicae . . . Das ist, Geistliches, Musicalisches Triumph Kräntzlein* (Leipzig, 1619). The collection is based on the famous *Il trionfo di Dori*, an anthology of twenty-nine six-part Italian madrigals which first appeared at the Venetian presses of Angelo Gardano in 1592. The volume went through ten editions in Italy and abroad, including three with German texts. Rinckart's *Triumphi di Dorothea* departs from its Italian and German precedents by replacing texts of pastoral love with ones that champion the power of music, a central tenet of Lutheran theology. Rinckart's editorial selection of images, lyrics, and packaging remained deeply indebted to Luther's theology of music. Rinckart created a web of references across the paratextual space of the title, title page, prefaces, running heads, and headlines. He interwove quotations from the Bible, ancient Greek philosophers, early church fathers, and reformers. Together, they present a coherent message of praise for music and its causes. This message is echoed in the song texts. Settings 1–16 are unified by their calls to praise God with voices and instruments, while the second half of the anthology focuses on music's effects. The texts are united by the refrain "Unsere Kunst bleibt ewig" [Our art remains eternal], a powerful sentiment that reinforces the importance of Rinckart's enterprise.

Rinckart thoroughly engaged with his musical and textual models, selecting elements that fit his Lutheran worldview and ignoring those that did not. His approach to editorship and translation recalls Peter Burke's concept of *bricolage*, whereby "receivers" of a foreign cultural influence select relevant, attractive, and useful elements from their surroundings and assimilate them with indigenous traditions they already possess. By critically engaging with foreign models, Rinckart created something new and meaningful to his own culture.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MUSIC AND POETRY IN EARLY BAROQUE ITALY: THE CASE OF MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI IL GIOVANE

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Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane (1568–1647), a renowned Florentine poet and great nephew of the illustrious artist, is best known in musicological literature for his Medici theatrical spectacles in collaboration with numerous court composers, including Francesca Caccini and Jacopo Peri. However, Buonarroti's extraordinary literary productivity not only led to his contributions to the Florentine innovations in music-theatre, which culminated in the birth of opera, but also found expression in an extensive collection of unpublished lyric poetry. This significant corpus contains over one thousand poems in five manuscript volumes, many of which were conceived not only to be read, but also to be set to music.

In the context of the early Italian secular monody by Giulio Caccini and his Florentine colleagues, this paper analyzes a selection of Buonarroti's hitherto unknown poetry to explore the interrelationship of music and poetry and the problematic notion of genre in *poesia per musica*. My attributions of over twenty new texts by Buonarroti in musical settings printed in contemporary volumes of monodies and madrigals prove that he not only collaborated with the Florentine musicians Francesca Caccini, Marco da Gagliano and Jacopo Peri (as shown by previous musicological research), but also with other Italian composers including Piero Benedetti, Giovan Domenico Montella, Antonio Brunelli, Amante Franzoni, and Girolamo Frescobaldi. This suggests a radical reevaluation of Buonarroti's standing as one of the leading Seicento poets producing verses for the early monodists and exponents of the new style of music in Italy.

In addition, where musical sources are lost, I have identified through marginalia notes and poetic structures numerous poems that were in fact set to music, offering as well indications about critical aspects of musical style, the compositional order of text and music, and even their relation to sung *balli* and dance rhythms.

Finally, I explore the musical diffusion of Buonarroti's poetry and the processes of literary and musical circulation, whether through a network of musical contacts, or by the recycling and reelaboration of poetic texts for different performative contexts. An analysis of Buonarroti's processes of revision in the manuscript sources in relation to their musical settings, for example, reveals that very different texts were often reworked and set to the same music, revealing the poetry's contextual flexibility, regardless of genre or performance context (whether used as part of a theatrical entertainment, a sung religious pageant or a *sacra rappresentazione* at a Florentine confraternity, or published in a songbook). I conclude by suggesting that music may not always have been a signifier, because very different ideas, images, and emotions in the texts were sometimes being expressed through the same music. Therefore there may be a weaker relationship between poetry and music than is often claimed by musicologists working on this period. There may be few, if any, profound major differences (whether in style, content, or genre) between lyric poetry and so-called *poesia per musica* during the early seventeenth century.

MUSIC AND THEOLOGY
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HILDEGARD'S *ORDO VIRTUTUM*: THEOLOGICAL MEANINGS AND THE PROBLEM OF AUDIENCE

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The *Ordo Virtutum* by Hildegard of Bingen is a milestone in the history of Western music, the first sung morality play, and indeed the earliest of all such plays in this tradition. Although its opening references the ordo prophetarum, and the basic structure of the work shows that Hildegard knew Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, the play takes directions that distance it from these and its other models, leaving major questions about the position of it in Hildegard's oeuvre and about its intended audience. It is, indeed, something quite new. In this paper, I situate the play within Hildegard's cosmology as first developed in her treatise *Scivias*. I then compare Hildegard's two versions of the play, one constituting part of the final chapter of *Scivias*, Book III, and the other the fully neumed version in the so-called Riesencodex, Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms 2. Scholars dealing with the relationship between the two renditions have tried to understand which of them came first, as one is considerably shorter than the other. Based on my positioning of the play within its theological context, I argue that the works are rather two versions of the same thing, and that each was deliberately crafted for a specific purpose. One was made to appeal to the broader audience for which Hildegard penned her treatise *Scivias*, and serves the design of the treatise as a whole in crucial ways. The other is quite different in tone and purpose and was composed for the cloister, especially for her own nuns at the Disibodenberg, and suited the ceremonial use of music there. These views of the two versions and of their differing purposes lead to a concluding discussion of the vexed question of whether or not her music was liturgical or was created, as many believe, primarily for private devotion, study, and instruction.

GLIMMERS OF JOY AMIDST SORROW: THE THEOLOGY OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS IN LAON, MS 263

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Laon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 263 is a well-known source from the late 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 source has received surprisingly little attention; although David Hughes's 1986 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 Holy Innocents (28 December), focusing on a prosula, *Laude piissima*, a unique liturgical item provided by Laon 263 in place of the Alleluia.

Although the feast occurs during the festive Christmastide season, Innocents is a penitential feast during which liturgical expressions of joy, among them the Alleluia, were suppressed. The theological justification for this practice changed over the course of several centuries. By the mid-twelfth century, the Alleluia was thought to be omitted to express sorrow over the Innocents' souls' descent to hell. An earlier view, however, suggested that the suppression of joy instead acknowledged the grief of the Innocents' mothers. Anselm of Laon, the famed school master and exegete whose presence in Laon in the early twelfth century had drawn thousands of scholars to the city, was among the few theologians still espousing a version of the earlier justification; in contrast with the dire view of his contemporaries, he suggested that joy was appropriate on the feast of the Innocents, but that, out of respect for the mothers, it should be constrained.

This paper will examine how the distinctive Anselmian view subtly informs the Laon liturgy for Innocents. *Laude piissima*, provided in the manuscript in lieu of the Alleluia, appears to be an unremarkable prosula that sets a new text to the music of an Alleluia from the Common of Martyrs. Because the new text aligns its vowel sounds with those of the original word, as was common in the composition of prosulas, however, clerics would find themselves singing a hidden Alleluia, a brief, concealed cry of joy amidst an otherwise somber ceremony. This same theological belief informs the unexpected inclusion of the joyful Christmas trope *Laetemur gaudiis* at Matins, as well as the dialogue of the *Ordo Stellae*, the drama provided in Laon 263 for performance on the feast.

Laude piissima accompanies *Iudicabunt innocentes*, a prosula previously known from only one other source, an antiphoner from Saint-Denis, the community thought to have authored it. Laon 263, however, provides evidence that the Laon community had a unique impetus to reflect in its Innocents liturgy an antiquated theological view once promulgated by the city's most famous schoolmaster, thus suggesting that *Iudicabunt innocentes* was in fact composed at Laon and later transmitted to Saint-Denis.

'QUI POST ME VENIT, ANTE ME FACTUS EST': JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE THEOLOGICAL SYMBOLISM OF IMITATIVE COUNTERPOINT IN FIFTEENTH- AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

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Recent scholarship has made important contributions in the pursuit of theological symbolism in musical technique in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century composition. This paper will illustrate a methodology that has important ramifications in the realm of music for the saints, as it is shown that some composers expressly connected the subject of John the Baptist with the craft of imitative counterpoint. The motivation for associating St. John with imitative technique is a simple premise. John was Christ's Precursor, but in many ways was treated similarly to Christ in the gospels. What better way to illustrate the parity between the Baptist and Christ yet at a temporal distance, than to engage in imitative counterpoint? John and Jesus thus assume the "dux" and "comes" of canonic technique. The leader/follower roles played by John and Jesus were not merely implicit in Scripture, but actually proclaimed by the Baptist himself in the profound theological paradox: "The one who is to come after me ranks ahead of me, because he was before me" (John 1:15). Whereas not all pieces for St. John deliberately use imitative counterpoint, nor do all pieces that engage in some form of imitative

technique have something to do with the Baptist, still the instances where such correspondences do occur are compelling and merit close analysis.

The fundamental analogy first captures our attention in an anonymous fifteenth-century motet from Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS J.II.9. The symbolic relationship between John the Baptist and canonic technique then transverses the conventional divide between "Medieval" and "Renaissance" as it appears in the sixteenth century: the essence of John 1:15 is no longer left for the analyst to unearth, and instead becomes overt via several canonic inscriptions found in Vatican manuscripts. These "Johannine" inscriptions confirm the posited relationship—suspected in the fifteenth-century music—between the Baptist and the art of canon. It will be shown that, among the pithy and clever rubrics that recall the words of the Baptist, variations of John 1:15 also begin to apply to the practice of canon in these manuscripts, as even more emblematic techniques emerge in connection with the saint. The link between the saint and imitative composition was evidently so strong that such papal composers as Costanza Festa and scribes like Johannes Parvus employed Johannine inscriptions in works whose subject was no longer John the Baptist. The working out of theology in music, which heretofore has been demonstrated in compositions for Christ and the Virgin Mary, can now be shown in works for John the Baptist and presents an opportunity to consider other music-theological relationships in the sizable amount of music for similar saint-figures of Christendom.

IUBILARE UEL IUBILUM: CONSERVATIVE POLYPHONIC CONTINUITIES UNDER HENRY VIII'S REFORMATION

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Under Henry VIII, sweeping reforms in the English church were imposed on an immense and pervasive scale. From its most widely visible beginnings—the dissolution of the religious houses—Henry's ecclesiastical Reformation transformed the face of the national church forever. All subsequent upheavals, regardless of guiding religious partisanship, were implemented on the bases of the administrative groundwork begun during his reign.

The evidence of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's views on ritual polyphony has figured centrally within musicological narratives of the Henrician Reformation and beyond. That emphasis once stimulated a line of historiography suggesting that musical reform in the English church began in the late 1530s. More recently, scholarly consensus largely posits that there were no changes in polyphonic style while Henry lived. While both positions remain conjectural and subject to further scrutiny, virtually no evidence has been presented to offer a coherent rationale explaining the prevailing conservative musical continuities of the late 1530s through the end of the reign.

This paper provides for the first time insights into conservative influences on church music under Henry VIII. It introduces two figures into the musical narrative of the period: Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Sampson, Dean of Henry VIII's Chapel Royal, and Bishop of Chichester (later of Lichfield and Coventry). Particular attention will be directed towards Richard Sampson. Considerable amounts of hitherto neglected evidence, including autograph letters (1538), printed commentaries on the psalms (1539), and Sampson's "short explanations" of St Paul [I Cor. 14] (1546), provide a reliable witness to the conservative position on church music and ritual up to the end of Henry's reign.

Of special interest is Sampson's commentary on Psalm 32, in the literary tradition of St Augustine, with its definitive encouragement of musical "jubilation." The term itself has stimulated considerable discussion in the musicological literature, owing particularly to continental characterizations of English performance practice—the most notable example coming from the introduction to Johannes Tinctoris' *Proportionale Musices* (*c.* 1472). Richard Sampson's exegetical treatment of "iubilare," along with his involvement in the formulation of the one piece of Henrician legislation addressing musical practice in the church, shows the rhetoric of musical "jubilation" to be an integral part of conservative orthodoxy as late as 1540. Positive evidence connects Sampson directly with *A Book of Ceremonies to be Used in the Church of England*, which, in an early draft (London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1107), prescribes musical "jubilation" in the traditions of both Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. A manuscript version containing the same passage (London, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra E.v) verifies subsequent censorship and alteration coming from evangelicals.

During a time of escalating religious polarization, the extant writings of conservative bishops, set against the printed invectives of radical evangelicals, shed further light on our understanding of shifting attitudes toward music in the Henrician church.

MUSIC AND THE TEXTUAL CONDITION: EDITORIAL THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
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EMANCIPATING MUSIC

Ronald Broude

Broude Brothers Limited

The attitude of musicology towards textual criticism as it is practiced in the verbal disciplines is best described as ambivalent. On the one hand, musicological editors have derived from the verbal disciplines their aims, their procedures, and their terminology. On the other hand, textual criticism has never gained a substantial following among musicologists. Several reasons have been suggested for this state of affairs, but perhaps the most likely is that all too often textual criticism as practiced in the verbal disciplines simply does not work in music. As practiced in the verbal disciplines, textual criticism is really concerned with only one sort of text—the text meant to be read by its audience silently, directly off the page. The assumption that this model can be applied to music, with a bit of tweaking, has led us to treat the texts of musical works as if the were the texts of prose fiction or expository prose.

In fact, musical texts differ from the texts of a genre such as the novel in several important respects: musical texts contemplate sounds that must actually be made, musical texts depend upon atextual traditions, and musical texts can accommodate performance indications without compromising the integrity of the compositions they represent.

Like the text of a novel, the text of a musical work consists of symbols representing sounds, but with music these symbols must actually be realized in performance. Musical texts therefore contain not only symbols that represent content (pitch and value) but also symbols that indicate the manner of delivery (such symbols include dynamics, tempi, articulation). Even so, however, the available musical symbols provide only an approximation of the sounds they represent.

To be rendered in performance, musical symbols must be supplemented by oral/aural traditions. These traditions are both general (what kind of sound should a violin make—and not make?) and specific (e.g., holding a particular high note in an opera aria). Thus, a musical work moves through time in two parallel traditions, a textual tradition, which we can trace in documents, and an atextual tradition, which, when lost, must be reconstructed by historians of performance practice.

Sometimes, however, elements of atextual traditions are incorporated into texts. Readers do not normally re-write novels, but performers often alter musical texts. Thus, musical texts contain both elements that are constitutive or work-defining and elements that are contingent, i.e., that can vary from performance to performance without compromising the identity of the piece. This means that W. W. Greg's distinction between substantive and accidental variance is insufficient for describing variance in musical texts. We must add at least a third level of variance—performance variance—and in tracing the transmission of a work, we must learn to distinguish those cases in which performance variance is separative from those in which it is not.

Freeing music from the model of the silent-reading text can do much to help us understand how musical texts do—and do not—function.

THE THEATRE GUILD *PORGY AND BESS* AS PRODUCTION TEXT

Wayne Shirley
Library of Congress

George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* has three versions, each of which has claims to serve as the basis of a critical edition. There is Gershwin's autograph full score, which is reflected in the published vocal score. There is the version performed by the Theatre Guild in 1935–36, which differs from the autograph in the reduction of the number of winds and in a number of cuts and interpolations. And there is the 1942–43 version in which (among other changes) spoken dialogue has been substituted for recitative passages.

The autograph represents Gershwin's "intentions" (in the sense of what the composer would ideally like to have heard performed). The Theatre Guild production represents what we may think of, in McGann's sense, as a "socialized" text—a text incorporating the alterations accruing in the practical process of getting the work produced—including the cuts necessary to have the audience on its way home by 11:30. The 1942–43 version, which opened in New York, went on tour, and then returned to New York, was the version by which *Porgy and Bess* was for many years best known.

In a 1978 *JAMS* article, Charles Hamm makes an impassioned plea for the 1935–36 Theatre Guild production as the definitive shape of *Porgy and Bess*. It is this version that the 2006 recording by the Nashville Symphony under John Mauceri brings to aural, if not visual, life.

Rouben Mamoulian, who directed the Theatre Guild *Porgy and Bess*, was a strong director, who had directed the straight-play *Porgy* for the Guild in 1927. He was not only influential in suggesting the cuts of the Theatre Guild version of *Porgy and Bess*; he also covered what remained with a mass of spoken lines, reassignment of lines, revisions of details of the action, and stage effects. In one spot—the "occupational humoresque" that opens the final scene—he essentially replaced Gershwin's score with a pattern of sound effects that had proved effective in *Porgy*-the-play.

A producer planning to present *Porgy and Bess* in its Theatre Guild shape must decide which of Mamoulian's revisions are part of the essential new shape of the opera and which represent details of the first production. Some of Mamoulian's changes are essential adjustments required by the cuts; others have become traditional (Bess's final appearance, prepared to go off with Sporting Life, is not in the libretto or score). But others are disorienting. The constant chatter of added spoken lines puts a burden on singers who have learned their parts from the published vocal score—and may well annoy opera-goers who want to hear the music. And some of the changes seem to be the result of problems with the particular production.

At issue is the question of the text of a dramatic work. How much weight should we give to the composer's intentions—even if they were never realized—and how much to the details of a single—even if authorized and defining—production?

TRANSMITTING PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

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When in 1520 Giordano Passetto left Venice to assume the position of choir master at the Cathedral of Padua he was assuming the responsibility for building up the choir and the repertoire of a cathedral that was regionally important yet, compared to Venice, somewhat provincial. In Venice, Passetto, who had been associated with Castellanus, Petrucci's "house editor," had been ideally situated to gain familiarity with the considerable body of music passing through one of the musical centers of Europe. To help him meet his commitments in Padua, Passetto prepared a large manuscript of liturgical music and motets (IPC A17); the repertoire of this manuscript drew upon Passetto's broad range of contacts in Venice and in other Italian musical centers.

Collation of the texts in Passetto's manuscript with other redactions of the same pieces—not necessarily his exemplars—reveals that there are consistent patterns of change. Passetto "edited" pieces as he entered them into his manuscript in such a way as to render the notation and presentation of these pieces accessible to the members of his new choir; his motive seems to have been to facilitate a consistent approach to performing style. These redactions therefore represent a record of the performing tradition in the Padua Cathedral under Passetto. The pattern of changes and the purposes they served are the subject of this paper.

Traditional textual criticism has been concerned with the reconstitution of "authoritative" texts of works—texts that can be associated with composers' intentions. In the case of Passetto's manuscript, however, we can see ways in which sources that are not reliable indicators of composers' intentions can nevertheless be valuable in other ways. The changes Passetto introduced showed us how he—and, presumably, other choir directors similarly situated—adapted their sources to meet the needs of their particular musical circumstances.

PUCCINI AND THE ECLECTIC EDITION

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Several contributions to textual considerations of Italian opera have argued against the use of autograph manuscripts as copy texts for certain works written between 1870 and 1925 (the late operas of Verdi have been addressed by David Lawton and James Hepokoski, those of

Puccini by Roger Parker and Gabriele Dotto). Some studies have suggested taking as copy texts printed full scores; at least one voice has flailed against the "fetishization" of the autograph, without providing prospective editors any guidance. Yet Ricordi's efforts to produce a "critical edition" of the operas of Puccini, which began in the early 1970s, has yet to yield a single published full score.

It is certainly true that autograph manuscripts cannot be adopted acritically as copy texts in this period. There are also many earlier cases in which other readings must be accommodated, either according to Jerome McGann's theories of the "socialized" text or through the presence of what appear to be authorial revisions not reflected in the copy text (examples from *La forza del destino* will be offered). On the other hand, anyone who has seriously looked at printed full scores of Italian operas from the period between 1885 and 1930 can recognize immediately that these scores have even less standing to serve as copy texts for a critical edition.

In this paper, I will examine the sources for the opening of Acts I and II of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, explaining why neither the autograph manuscript nor the printed editions can be treated as single copy texts, in the classical W. W. Greg model. In the case of the opening of Act I, the decision in the printed score to replace Puccini's expressive slurs in his autograph manuscript with bowing marks, a decision that has a certain logic, did not lead the anonymous editors of Casa Ricordi to draw necessary conclusions about parallel parts: as a result, the printed edition is incoherent. In the case of the opening of Act II, those who prepared the printed score failed to understand the composer's notation and missed a significant melodic detail, one which has never made its way into the opera house. Puccini, however, beset by a myriad of details (not to mention the fundamental decision to divide his original two-act opera into three acts), does not seem to have protested (or perhaps even noticed).

Textual scholars in literary studies, such as David Greetham, have written extensively about situations of this kind, where editorial techniques must be developed and rules established that do not depend on the assumption of the model of a single copy text. They normally refer to the resulting editions as "eclectic texts." This approach is the norm in much scholarly editing in literary studies today. If we are ever going to have better texts of operas such as *Otello*, *Falstaff*, *La Bohème*, *Tosca*, and *Madama Butterfly*, all of which badly need such intervention, we must develop criteria for eclectic texts along these lines.

RE-IMAGINING THE PASTORAL: DISCOURSES OF LOSS AND REMEMBRANCE IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLISH MUSIC
Byron Adams, University of California, Riverside, Chair

'IT'S NOT LAMBKINS FRISKING AT ALL': ENGLISH PASTORAL MUSIC AND POSTWAR ARCADIA

Eric Saylor
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Writing in 1938, Ralph Vaughan Williams claimed that the subject of his *Pastoral Symphony* (1922) was "not really Lambkins frisking at all as most people take for granted," but was inspired instead by his wartime service in northern France. His assertion challenged conventional assumptions about English pastoral music; namely, that such music failed to engage with modern thinking and experiences, and provided little more than sentimental escapism

for listeners. In reality, Vaughan Williams's musical evocation of pastoral tropes was only one of its many manifestations found in English art during and after the Great War. In *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Paul Fussell demonstrated the pervasiveness of pastoral allusion and imagery in writings by British soldiers serving on the western front. In many cases, these writings helped their authors mitigate the twisted landscape surrounding them, or were posited as a utopian alternative to the destruction they witnessed in the field. Additionally, as Erwin Panofsky has shown, the grim appropriation of pastoral images via the *memento mori* had a distinguished place in English literature and art since at least the eighteenth century. Even in paradise, Panofsky argues, death was always present, a truism that would have resonated with British soldiers slogging through the mire of rural France, a land recently as green and pleasant as their own.

In the 1910s and '20s, pastoral imagery and symbols were frequently associated with themes of wartime remembrance and elegy, as demonstrated in works by Vaughan Williams (*Pastoral Symphony*), Edward Elgar (*A Voice in the Desert*), and Arthur Bliss (*Pastoral: Lie Strewn the White Flocks*), among others. This paper will argue that in pastoral works of this type, the bucolic visions glimpsed are not Arcadian safe havens, but reminders of what Arcadia was for those swept up in modernity's tide. That is, by evoking images so clearly at odds with the urban, industrial society in which its creators lived (not to mention the war-torn landscapes so many of them witnessed), such music mourns the loss of a potentially utopian future as much as it evokes an idealized past. At the same time, however, pastoral music of this era often inverts the *memento mori*; rather than suggesting that death can never be banished from Arcadia, the largely consonant and tonally-centric harmonies, gently flowing rhythms, and folk-like melodies used in these works imply that Arcadia may still be realized even in the presence of death. Pastoral works thus take on a cathartic role for composers and audiences alike, and suggest an aesthetic approach for pastoralism that is visionary rather than escapist. Moreover, such an aesthetic connects to similar treatment of the pastoral in English poetry and painting from this time, reflecting and reinforcing its importance among English artists as a means of engaging with postwar modernity.

LANDSCAPE AND DISTANCE: MODERNISM, VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, AND THE SYMPHONIC PASTORAL

Daniel Grimley
University of Nottingham

Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral Symphony* (1922) is one of the most ambivalent and multilayered works in early twentieth-century English music. Its reception history points in two directions: on the one hand, it has been heard as emblematic of an idealized English identity, whose ruralist associations have often reflected problematic ideological assumptions about national character and musical style. On the other hand, the work's close associations with the First World War, supported by the composer's own comments about the symphony's compositional origins in the vision of a "Corot-esque landscape" observed while serving as an ambulanceman on the Western Front, aligns it with a broader tradition of English creative responses to images of conflict, loss and mourning.

This paper suggests that these two readings need not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Rather, they underpin a complex dialogue within the work between progressivist and conservative impulses, whose musical implications contribute significantly to the work's symphonic

argument and which in turn demand further critical interrogation. Close reading, this paper will claim, illustrates how these tendencies reflect a deep structural and stylistic tension within the work, and that the symphony can be best understood, in spite of the emphasis on Englishness prevalent in its critical reception, as a product of a broader European modernist practice. Vaughan Williams's treatment of modality, in the first movement in particular, suggests a strong parallel with Sibelius's large-scale musical structures (in particular the first movement of his Sixth Symphony, 1923). Indeed, the rotational shape of the opening movement of Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral* corresponds with one of the sonata deformation schemes first identified by James Hepokoski in the work of early modernist figures such as Strauss and Sibelius. The implication that the symphony represents an exclusively English musical voice is, at the very least, contestable.

But Vaughan Williams's symphony operates at a further level, by questioning the nature and status of the pastoral within a modernist aesthetic practice. The work's evocations of landscape, far from simply reinforcing the nostalgic rustic idyll associated with the "cow-pat" school, offer a more austere and solitary vision of human relationships with nature. The work's allusions to the pastoral tradition of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, as Byron Adams and others have noted, gains a particular poignancy in the years immediately after the war, when Bunyan's book was widely read by serving officers. As with Vaughan Williams's other contemporary Bunyan project, the one-act chamber opera *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*, however, the sense of salvation offered by the symphony is unstable and contingent. If, like the opera, the symphony can be read as an allegory about passing life and the journey towards death, the musical path trodden by the work is a turbulent and restless one. But even as the closing pages appear to dissolve, or liquidate, the music's sense of subjectivity, the work reaffirms both the genre of the symphony and the pastoral as meaningful modes of musical discourse.

BAX AND THE "CELTIC NORTH" AS A CRITIQUE OF ENGLISH PASTORALISM

Aidan Thomson
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Sibelius's pre-eminence among contemporary continental composers in inter-war Britain has long been recognized, to the extent that, among his most enthusiastic British advocates, such as Constant Lambert and Cecil Gray, he became almost naturalized as a British composer. The interest in Sibelius can be attributed to many factors, but perhaps the most important was the image of the composer expressed by J. Cuthbert Hadden as one "wrestling with Nature in her savage moods." It should come as no surprise that this particular image proved attractive to listeners in a country some of whose leading composers were embracing pastoralism, both musically (through the use or adaptation of folk material) and, implicitly, ideologically. But it is striking that the composers perhaps most influenced by Sibelius came from outside the English pastoralist school as it is conventionally understood. The differentiation between "English" and "British" here is significant, for Sibelius's British admirers included several composers associated with the Celtic twilight movement. Foremost among these was Bax, whom Sibelius would later describe as "my son in music," and whose critical reputation reached its zenith in Britain around the same time as Sibelius's did. Bax's Sibelianism was essentially an interwar phenomenon, and reflects a rejection on his part of the excessively ornamental

style of his pre-war Celtic-inspired tone poems. But the distinction between Celticism and Sibelianism was by no means absolute. Of *Winter Legends* (1930), Bax wrote that "any concrete ideas that may be in it of place or things are of the North—northern Ireland, northern Scotland, northern Europe—in fact, the Celtic North": an indication, perhaps, that he saw "northerliness" less in national than in aesthetic terms. If so, it is reasonable to assume that Bax's comments about *Winter Legends* also apply to several other Sibelian works written in the early 1930s, notably the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, and the tone poem *The Tale the Pine-Trees Knew.*

This paper argues that central to the aesthetics of "northerliness" is a conception of "Nature" that is very different from that found in 1920s English pastoralism, particularly in Vaughan Williams. Most obviously Vaughan Williams's music is commonly held to evoke the countryside of southern England, in many ways the antipode of the forests and seascapes of Bax's (and Sibelius's) "Celtic North." But, in addition, Vaughan Williams's pastoralism possesses a social dimension—expressed through his adaptation of folk material, and directed to utopian ends—that is singularly lacking in Bax. Vaughan Williams might therefore be said to reflect the modernist view that nature was capable of human control; Bax, perhaps reflecting similar sentiments in contemporary Irish literature, seems to suggest that a more appropriate response to nature is pantheistic submission. Thus, we might view Bax's work as a critique of English musical pastoralism. By presenting "Nature" in an alternative light, it serves to deconstruct the Edenic metaphors of social progress that underpin so much of Vaughan Williams's music. Moreover, it suggests that "pastoralism" in this period should be conceived not as a homogeneous entity, but in dialectical terms.

MODERN MARITIME PASTORAL: WAVE DEFORMATIONS IN THE MUSIC OF FRANK BRIDGE

Stephen Downes
University of Surrey

As recent research has highlighted, an essential compositional strategy within the interrogation of the legacy of romanticism in the "early modern" period was the deformation of recently reified musical structures and processes. We can extend this notion to consider deformations of wave forms, a paradigmatic feature of romantic music, one tied to that aesthetic's preoccupations with teleology, apotheosis and the sublime. With form heard as a consequence of processes of becoming, organicism and dynamism, "developmental waves" became for many theorists of romantic form an essential metaphor and structural principle. Deformations of the "normative" wave represent a vital part of the modernist questioning of heroic formal paradigms, processes of intensification and apotheosis, and the Romantic sublime, as cultural anxieties were manifested in the resistance or counterforce to degeneration and stagnation, or, by contrast, in the obsession with decay and dissolution in the aesthetics of decadence.

In the context of the art of a maritime country, wave deformations can be further interpreted as part of an interrogation of the function and character of the pastoral. As such, the various types of pastoralism as discussed in literary theory (sentimental pastoralism, complex pastoralism and anti-pastoralism) can be invoked not merely by musical topic, pictorialism or certain harmonic/melodic features (e.g., modalism) but also through symbolic structural/formal process. In English early twentieth-century music one can compare, for example, Vaughan Williams's *A Sea Symphony* (1910), where the waves of the scherzo formed by the

hero's vessel lead to a finale in which the transcendental goal of the voyage ultimately sounds curiously ambiguous, and Delius's *Sea Drift* (1903–4) which drowns in sensuality and lament, despair and longing in the decline of the wave climax. Bridge's engagement with both French and Austro-German modernisms and their differing explorations of wave deformations is especially complex and powerful. In *The Sea* (1910–11), sensuousness and virtuosic tone painting operate in thematic contours cast in wave shapes which function within larger structural and expressive determinants, especially the notion of a "crowning wave." Here the pastoral tone is affirmative, even redemptive. In the transitional miniatures for piano *The Hour Glass* (1919–20), especially "The Midnight Tide," the pastoral tone and wave form are transfigured in a manner comparable with the contemporary, and more radical, Piano Sonata, which is an elegy to the lost pastoral based upon a sustained conflict between remnant wave form, block construction, and palindrome. In *There is a Willow Grows Aslant a Brook* (1927), a musical expression of Ophelia's watery death, the wave form, the principal vehicle for the dynamism and optimism of romantic maritime pastoralism, is negated. Bridge's engagement with the wave form and its pastoral significations is thus a vital aspect of his modern musical project.

TIME SUSPENDED: DESIRABLE OBSCURITY IN
UNMEASURED PRELUDE REPRESENTATION
Vivian S. Montgomery, Harpsichord
University of Cincinnati

This lecture-recital, incorporating harpsichord performance and visual projection, address-es the aesthetic context for one of the most obscure French baroque forms, the *prélude non mesuré*. The experience of listening to preludes of Louis Couperin and comparable works by later *clavecinistes* can be both transporting and confusing. Similar experience can be found in viewing the landscape painting of such seventeenth-century French artists as Claude Lorraine and Nicholas Poussin, each capturing aspects of the indefinite quality evoked by the free pre-lude's notation and performance. In widening the cultural lens through which we regard the prelude, a deeper sense of the timeless sensibilities embodied by its inconclusiveness surfaces.

Louis Couperin's style of preluding was nourished by Froberger, an interchange causing elements of the italianate Toccata to take form in, and be visually liberated by, Couperin's rhythm-less notation. In the decades following, quirky (and often ineffectual) innovations in unmeasured notation developed in an effort to "clarify" this style of composition/performance whose insular mysteries had started to gather attention outside of France. Composers and scribes whose work it was to deliver, through publication, a decipherable representation to an increasingly far-flung market attempted to preserve the essence of Couperin's unmeasured aesthetic through detailed and prescriptive notation. Scholarship surrounding unmeasured preludes of the French *clavecinistes,* spanning the period from about 1650 to about 1720, tends to map the genre's evolution in terms of this notational change. The spirit of Louis Couperin's fully undifferentiated notation, emblematic of an intimate milieu and an aesthetic of seem-ingly deliberate obscurity, was, I contend, weakened in the course of the seventeenth century in a movement toward notational clarification. By playing works that show the spectrum of notational representation, I will offer an aural and visual overview of how interpretation changes as fully undifferentiated notation is compromised or removed altogether.

Elision is essential to the original prelude's avoidance of conclusiveness as a dictating force, and it is this element that is irredeemably altered under the force of elaborately detailed nota-tional devices. Drawing a parallel to seventeenth-century French landscape painting provides a useful dimension for understanding the type of elision described here. In many paintings of Claude Lorraine (1600–1682), distinctions between such natural elements as light, water, and clouds are obscured. Similar overlapping qualities in depicting nature and horizon are found in the last paintings of Nicholas Poussin (d. 1665), violating a distaste for the undetermined, a rejection of undisciplined or soft matter, that permeated the artist's milieu. These paintings blur the viewer's vision in much the same way that Louis Couperin's preludes blur the lines between harmonies, phrases, and figures. The resulting effect in both the aural and visual products is a release from time as defined by predictable endings and beginnings.

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P R O G R A M

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Louis Couperin (1626–1661): Prelude (F Major)
           MS Bauyn. II f. 18 r. / MS Parville, p. 171

Johann-Jakob Froberger (1616–1667): *Plainte faite a Londres pour passer la Melancholie, laquelle se jour lentement avec discretion* (Suite XXX, 1649)

Froberger: Toccata V *da sonarsi alla Levatione*
           Book I, 1649

L. Couperin: Prelude *a l'imitation de M. Froberger* (A minor)
           MS Bauyn, II f. 9 r. / MS Parville, p.79

Jean Henry d'Anglebert (1635–1691): Prelude (D minor)
           MS Res. 89ter, f 52 v., 1660 / *Pieces de Clavecin,* 1689, p. 67

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THE AMERICAS: NORTH AND SOUTH
John Koegel, California State University, Fullerton, Chair

CARNIVAL, RELIGION, AND *AFOXÉS*: MUSICAL
MIXTURE IN THE CARNIVAL OF SALVADOR

Heidy K. Ximenes
Campbellsville University

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The carnival of Salvador, Brazil, has many peculiarities. It is a multifaceted celebration that aggregates different styles and forms of celebration. In normal sense, carnival is acknowledged to be a profane celebration associated with merrymaking, social enjoyment, dancing, drinking, and other behavioral attitudes not otherwise tolerated. However, the *afoxés* have proven to be an exception to this rule.

The *afoxés* are carnival parading groups that use *candomblé*, an animist religion inherited by African slaves, as the main source of inspiration. They bring to the parades a spiritual and more elevated sentiment in which carnival is used to transmit the ideals of peace and respect, tied to admiration for a number of African and African-Brazilian divinities. The frenetic excitement often experienced during carnival is not evident with the *afoxés*, which instead have the tradition of solemnly walking in the streets while moving their arms and feet to the dances of their divinities. The music, being its most important factor, takes all its elements, such as instruments, rhythms, texts, and dances, from *candomblé*. Based on a culture inherited by African descendants the *afoxés* brought a new musical perspective to the carnival environment of Salvador.

The adepts of *candomblé* suffered many years of persecution in Brazil, as the religion was considered by Catholic authorities to be influenced by the devil. For this reason, *candomblé* ceremonies only happened in secluded places, where the police would not have access. Carnival groups associated with *candomblé* were even prohibited from participating in carnival celebrations for much of the twentieth century. The *afoxés*, developed in the early 1950s, were an important factor in changing this situation. They were responsible for bringing out to the streets a culture that, because of persecution, was not known by the general population. Through the *afoxés*, the tradition, the music, and the concepts of *candomblé* were made public and gradually came to be admired in the city.

This paper will analyze the participation of *afoxés* in the carnival of Salvador and explain how the music of *afoxés*, with its sacred tradition, interacts with the other, more boisterous and profane groups that take part in the celebration. *Afoxés*, such as the *Filhos de Ghandy*, parade today in groups of as many as three to five thousand participants, and their rich musical and cultural backgrounds have had a tremendous impact on the carnival celebration of Salvador, famously recognized as the largest in the world today.

LA QUERELLE DU NIGOG: RUDHYAR'S EARLY INFLUENCE IN MONTREAL

Michelle Hakanson
University of Oregon

Developing a cultural identity distinct from that of Europe was one of the defining features of art in the twentieth century in both Canada and the United States. Prior to World War I, American musicians felt compelled to study in Europe in order to be taken seriously at home. Patrons modeled their salons and tastes in line with the great centers of Europe. After the war, with Europe in ruins, North Americans were at a threshold. Could they begin looking to themselves for leadership in the arts?

In 1918, a dynamic group of citizens in Montreal founded a monthly magazine devoted to taking seriously the course the arts would take. The magazine, dubbed *Le Nigog*, became an important forum for the exchange of ideas and the impetus for a polemic that sowed the seeds for the development of a distinctly Canadian musical sound. Ironically, a young Frenchman fresh from Paris, Daniel Chennevière, using the assumed name of "Rudhyar," provided much of the grist for the ideas being milled at the time in its pages.

Rudhyar published a series of provocative articles in the newspaper *Le Canada* that, according to the editors of that paper, were widely read and vociferously discussed—not least by the founders of *Nigog*. In his articles, Rudhyar appeals to Canadian nationalism, technology, and the importance that the contributions of women will assume in developing the arts rebuilding society after the war.

This paper seeks to establish the importance of *Le Nigog* in the development of Canadian musical identity. It highlights the polemic developing in Montreal between the elite modernists and those favoring a more accessible approach drawing from folk and native traditions as recorded in *Le Nigog* and discussed in other periodicals of the day. It also adds a chapter to the influence of the young Rudhyar, who, befriended and urged on by two well-known pianists and teachers from Montreal, Alfred Laliberté and Djane Lavoie Herz, offered a third way that both factions found impossible to ignore.

Rudhyar's presence in the experimental music community is gradually being reinstated. This look at his early ideas and influence shows him to be much more of a firebrand and polemicist than is generally acknowledged in current literature that describes him in more mystic and ethereal terms. The young Rudhyar saw himself as an agent of change. Having been spared military conscription due to ill health, his survivor guilt caused him to identity himself with destructive forces that necessitated change and rebuilding. The story of *la querelle du Nigog* gives valuable insight into this man's determination to have the arts help shape a new society out of the ravages of war.

THE ART OF DYING
Mark Davenport, Regis University, Denver, Chair

THE VIOL CONSORT AND THE PERFORMANCE OF MELANCHOLY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Loren Ludwig
University of Virginia

The preoccupation of poetry, philosophy, medicine, and the arts, melancholy was the signature condition of early modern England. Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) and Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) exemplify a genre of writing on a subject that was variously understood as a mood or a malady, an affect or a medical condition. The ontology of melancholy was debated in the context of contested religious doctrine and an ongoing preoccupation with the nature of selfhood and subjectivity. Texts as diverse as Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1590) and John Dowland's *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares* (1604), a collection of compositions for viol consort, attest to the ubiquity of melancholy as affective cultural terrain in the English literary and musical arts. The untimely death of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612 would result in a flood of literary and musical works dedicated to the dead prince that further valorized melancholy as the most noble of affects.

The lion's share of modern work on melancholy in early modern England has focused on the written word (particularly Shakespeare) and has traced the Italian literary and philosophical influences on English expressions of the condition. While English music scholarship has established melancholy as a defining characteristic of Elizabethan music (particularly as exemplified by work on Dowland), only recently has the field begun to look more closely at the numerous intersections between music and melancholy in early modern English culture. Penelope Gouk and Linda Austern, for example, have placed melancholy at the center of a seventeenth-century discourse on music's medicinal power. This paper examines melancholy not as an influence on musical style, nor as a medical condition alleviated by music, but rather as a uniquely English mode of social performance. The context of the social performance of melancholy that I examine is the viol consort, the most popular form of amateur chamber music among the English aristocracy.

Consort music was performed one to a part and a high premium was placed on the interactions between the polyphonic voices. The activity of playing consort music was at once social and musical, as the harmony created by the numerous individual parts was understood to model the ideal behavior of individuals in noble society. The wealth of works for voices and viols commemorating the death of Prince Henry, such as Robert Ramsey's *Dialogues of*

Sorrow (1615), as well as the many viol consort works whose generic titles belie their intensely melancholic character (such as most *In Nomine* settings), invite inquiry into the connections between the repertory and this favored English affect. I argue that playing consort music was understood as an activity that allowed, through the carefully stylized social and musical interactions choreographed by the polyphony, the expression and cultivation of melancholy among its noble participants. Further, I investigate how musical representations of melancholy in consort music offer an image of collectivity that challenges the conventional literary reading of Elizabethan melancholy as a highly solitary affect.

"LEARNING FROM LAZARUS: LUTHERANISM AND THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY *ARS MORIENDI*"

Janette Tilley
Lehman College / CUNY

In its twelve short verses, the Biblical parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31) vividly depicts the antithesis between wealth and poverty and its spiritual implications. Touching on issues of continuing social and religious concern, including avarice, sickness, charity, faith, and death, a moralizing story is constructed. The Rich Man, the story relates, is condemned to the torments of hell, while the poor and sickly Lazarus reaps the reward of heavenly bliss. But what, exactly, was the Rich Man's sin that condemns him to an eternity of hellish torment? Why exactly is Lazarus rewarded with a place at Abraham's bosom?

Perhaps it was this very moral ambiguity that made this story attractive to theologians, writers, and composers of early modern Germany. The pericope served as the central scriptural selection for the first Sunday after Pentecost, and was therefore the subject of innumerable sermons, many of which were printed in annual collections for study and reflection. It was also treated poetically for the stage, and musically for liturgical and possibly concert performance. In these presentations, Luke's text is often embellished with passages of dialogue for new characters, moralizing commentary, and in some cases entirely new scenes. It was this story that German composers seem most comfortable experimenting with in longer dramatic forms; Heinrich Schütz's setting has been called the first German oratorio for its sectionalized structure, and the term *Actus musicus*, an enigmatic genre perhaps related to the oratorio, appears most often in association with the story in the second half of the seventeenth century. In musical settings, composers interpolate new poetic material to a higher degree than any other scriptural story aside from the Passion. Additions to the story range from simple funeral songs for Lazarus, to elaborate contrapuntal drinking songs for the Rich Man and his five brothers.

We would expect the meaning imposed on the Rich Man and Lazarus story in musical settings to be in line with local theology and exegesis. What is striking about the surviving musical interpretations, however, is how much they appear to diverge from common theological explications. Onto the story of poverty, wealth, mercy, and the fate of the soul are welded other topoi of Lutheran theology, including *vanitas*, penitence, and the art of dying (*Sterbekunst* or *ars moriendi*) which effectively reinterpret the story in a direction not typically undertaken by writers of sermons and devotional volumes.

This paper will demonstrate how troping on the Rich Man and Lazarus story in musical settings lends the narrative greater moral and eschatological emphasis than contemporary socializing plays and sermons. While sermons, taking their cue from Luther, tend to emphasize

the virtue of mercy through almsgiving and care for the poor, musical settings more often instruct the listener to reject the vanities of the physical world and prepare the soul for eternity. By establishing Lazarus as a model Lutheran, ready and accepting of death, composers model the practice of *Sterbekunst*, instructing the listener not only on how to live, but how to die.

FEMALE PATRONS
Kelley Harness, University of Minnesota, Chair

THE CHAPEL MUSICIANS OF LOUIS XII AND ANNE DE BRETAGNE AT BLOIS: NEW DOCUMENTS, NEW SINGERS, AND A PRIORIS PROBLEM

Ted Dumitrescu
Universiteit Utrecht

Research into the musical establishments of the French royal court is often severely hampered by a lack of basic documentation. For the entire reign of Louis XII (1498–1515), not a single list of royal chapel personnel survives; information on the specific membership and activity of the chapel, therefore, has been derived largely from external sources such as benefice supplications in the Vatican archives. One such source which has remained unexplored until now is provided by the Archives Départementales du Loir-et-Cher in Blois, the city which served as the most frequent home to the peripatetic royal households in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Study of the surviving notarial and ecclesiastical records of the institutions which shaped the peculiar urban landscape of Blois reveals significant musical connections, illuminating the complex relations between city and court. Hitherto unknown archival records shed new light on the career activities of such leading composers as Prioris, Mouton, Hylaire, Longueval, Févin, and De Orto, as well as numerous other musicians connected to the French royal court and local institutions. Beyond information on patterns of patronage and the acquisition of benefices by royal musicians, the documents offer evidence of the integration of court singers and composers into the civic fabric of Blois, and emphasize the importance of a largely-forgotten foundation: the collegiate church of Saint-Sauveur, entirely destroyed in the wake of the French Revolution, but once a locus of frequent royal patronage much like Saint-Martin of Tours in the previous century.

Particularly affected by the new documentation is the biography of the celebrated composer and chapelmaster "Prioris," who turns out to have maintained especially close connections to Blois. Prioris's residence in the city preceded even his assumption of duties as master of the royal chapel, a fact explained by his previous employment: not as a member of Charles VIII's chapel, but as chapelmaster to Louis, duke of Orléans, who would become king Louis XII only upon the accidental death of Charles VIII in 1498. Along with the explanation of Prioris's "fast-track" promotion to head of France's leading musical institution, the Blois records hold another surprise: the chapelmaster Prioris's Christian name was not Johannes, but Denis (Dionisius). This unambiguous information, provided by several independent sources, calls for a re-examination of the scant currently known documentation of the musician's life. In fact, no known archival document names a musician "Johannes Prioris"; the sole source of the first name is the version of the *Missa de angelis* transmitted in two closely-related Habsburg-Burgundian court sources. Were there two contemporaneous musicians named Prioris, one a singer and royal chapelmaster and the other a composer who has completely

escaped identification in archival sources? Is the name "Johannes" simply the result of scribal error? Investigation of the transmission patterns and compositional styles of the works ascribed to Prioris will offer preliminary conclusions concerning the difficulties raised by the new documents.

"NOW I COME TO YOU, LADIES, AFTER SO MUCH TIME": CLEOPATRA, MARIA D'ARAGONA, AND AN *INTERMEDIO* FOR THE DUCHESS OF ALBA

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During March 1588 Maria d'Aragona, the Marchioness of Vasto, sponsored a set of four *intermedi* to honor the Duchess of Alba, the wife of the outgoing viceroy of Naples. The *intermedi* were performed between the acts of Alessandro Piccolomini's comedy *Alessandro*. The centerpiece of the entertainment was the *intermedio* entitled "Queen Cleopatra on her ship" which was the most elaborate of the *intermedi* both visually and musically. In light of the music's recitational quality and its relationship to improvised traditions, scholars have discussed the music that Cleopatra sung, which survives in a Neapolitan anthology of 1577 collected by the composer and organist Rocco Rodio. However, the music has only been discussed in relation to the two corrupt stanzas of *ottava rima* included in Rodio's publication, which obscure the meaning that emerged in the context of the 1588 performance sponsored by the marchioness. Cleopatra sang ten stanzas that were addressed to the ladies of the audience, and to the Duchess of Alba in particular. As host and sponsor of the entertainment, Maria d'Aragona appears to have had considerable sway over the production as a whole. Having chosen to remain a widow for over twenty years, Maria was free from the constraints of patriarchal matrimony that might have compromised her artistic authority; she was also not in the position of female monarch who needed to emphasize the virtue of chastity in musico-theatrical entertainment in order to legitimize her rule. In Naples she moved in humanist circles, particularly those surrounding Giulia Gonzaga, who nicknamed her "la draga" (the dragon) because of the power she exercised over those around her. This paper explores Maria d'Aragona's role in the 1588 production, particularly in relation to a seemingly unusual choice of character for an *intermedio*: the historical figure of Cleopatra. Drawing on sources that informed perceptions of the Egyptian Queen during the early- to mid-cinquecento, it is shown that within a performance context governed by a strong-willed female patron, the often pejoratively depicted Cleopatra was cast as a positive source of identification for the numerous noblewomen in the audience to whom she addressed her recitation. The connection among women along gender lines that the *intermedio* fostered was enhanced by the involvement of a number of Maria's female relatives in the cast, as well as the inclusion of a female vocalist of considerable renowned: the Neapolitan singer Eufemia Jozola who was cast as Cleopatra. The stanzas that Jozola sang engaged with the complex yet malleable figure of Cleopatra in a way that carefully negotiated received notions of Cleopatra in relation to issues of power, sexuality, and political ambition. While Cleopatra later became a relatively well-known figure on the operatic stage, particularly in the late-eighteenth century, this early example of the Egyptian Queen in a musico-theatrical entertainment provides a rare glimpse of the character's portrayal under the sponsorship of a female patron.

IT'S A MAN'S WORLD
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OLGIVANNA LLOYD WRIGHT: THE MUSIC OF TALIESIN

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Olgivanna Lloyd Wright (*c.* 1896–1985) not only sparked a renaissance in the career of her husband, America's most innovative architect of the twentieth century, but possessed a creative spirit of her own that flourished in the books she authored and the music she composed. To date, however, Olgivanna Lloyd Wright is either scarcely known or largely defined by her marriage to Frank Lloyd Wright, while her music (over forty works ranging from intimate chamber music to large-scale dance dramas) is all but silent, the manuscripts placed in storage at the time of her death.

Utilizing primary sources, this paper chronicles the life of Olga Ivanovna ("Olgivanna") Lazovich Hinzenberg Lloyd Wright and contextualizes it within the social, cultural, and artistic sensibilities of the time. The daughter of a Montenegrin army general (her mother) and the chief justice of the Montenegrin Supreme Court (her father), and the granddaughter of Duke Marco Milianov, the patriot credited with preserving Montenegro's independence from Turkish rule, Olgivanna came from strong stock, a grounding that shaped her independent spirit and informed the feminist narrative that characterized her life.

At the age of nine, Olgivanna went to Russia for formal education. Her worldview was broadened by her studies with Greco-Armenian mystic and philosopher, Georgi Gurdjieff. Fleeing Russia at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution along with Gurdjieff and his other followers, Olgivanna helped to reestablish The Institute of the Harmonious Development of Man near Fontainebleau-Avon south of Paris. From Gurdjieff's curriculum, Olgivanna developed as a dancer, musician, educator, and philosopher in her own right.

As the third wife of Frank Lloyd Wright, Olgivanna was often at the heart of controversy, from the scandalous beginning of the couple's relationship to the financial instability that continually beleaguered their existence. When the stock market crash of 1929 curtailed most of Mr. Wright's works in progress and limited new commissions, Olgivanna conceived the idea for a school of architecture, one where pupils learned as apprentices, living with the Wrights at Taliesin in Wisconsin and Taliesin West in Arizona. In the context of the Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture, Olgivanna's music found both voice and purpose.

Olgivanna explained that she and her husband "always endeavored to give [the apprentices] a cultural basis for growth." "We integrate architecture, poetry, painting, sculpture, music, dance, and speech." (*The Shining Brow*: 73, 258) To that end, all apprentices participated in the arts. Olgivanna composed music tailored to the talent and instrumentation available among them. After her husband's death in 1959, she assumed full responsibility for the school and architectural firm, while her music poured forth page after page. Annual festivals of music and dance continued at Taliesin West from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, featuring the apprentices, the Wrights' daughter Iovanna, and members of the Phoenix Symphony Orchestra.

Sonata No. 4 for Violin and Piano (1962, rev. 1963) and the dance drama *Time Upon Time* (1969), together illustrating Wright's highly eclectic musical style, are discussed in this paper (audio and video recordings are included).

THE DOUBLE EXILE OF KATHI MEYER-BAER

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Kathi Meyer-Baer holds a place unique in the annals of musical scholarship, and does so twice over. She was the first woman to hold the Ph.D. in musicology. She earned it with course work and a dissertation at Berlin University, but received it from Leipzig in 1917, apparently because the Ordinarius at Berlin refused to grant the degree to a woman. Unable as a woman and a Jew to hold a university post in Weimar, Germany, she worked instead as a music critic and adult education teacher, and as manager of the Paul Hirsch Library in Frankfurt, the finest private musical collection in interwar Europe.

Meyer-Baer's positions as critic and teacher ended with the advent of the Nazi government, and her work at the Hirsch Library ended when Hirsch fled to England in 1936. Two years later she left with her family for France, where she refocused her bibliographic scholarship on the Paris libraries. Following her husband's internment as an enemy alien when war broke out, she suspended her work in an effort to free him. With the success of that effort in winter 1940, the family sailed for the United States. They spent their early days in Philadelphia, where they relied on the friendship of Henry and Sophie Drinker, one that would later curdle, before moving to New York. Meyer-Baer found work first at G. Schirmer, then at the New York Public Library, where her tenure was unsuccessful. Thereafter, her attempts to find an academic position came to naught, in part for the same reasons the doors had been closed in Germany. Her one brief affiliation with a university would be as a consultant at Duke in 1948 to assess its small music collection and recommend steps to develop it into a serious library.

The issues that dogged Meyer-Baer's American years went beyond gender and religion. One problem was that as an émigré determined to assimilate fully into the life of her adopted homeland, she insisted on writing in English despite her failure to make the language fully her own. Another was that this proud and brilliant woman neither minced words nor conformed to standards of deferent female behavior expected in the academy.

An active member of the American musicological community and prolific independent scholar, Meyer-Baer published books and essays of audacious scope on music aesthetics, bibliography, history, iconography, patronage, and philosophy. Since she had no academic affiliation and therefore no students to carry on her work, however, her name disappeared even before her death thirty years ago. Recently it has reappeared as American and European scholars engage anew with the leading strands of her work in aesthetics and iconography. A rich documentary record allows us to undertake an overdue evaluation.

GENDER AND THE NEW THING: THE CASE OF THE JAZZ COMPOSERS GUILD

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The Jazz Composers Guild was formed in the fall of 1964 by composer and trumpeter Bill Dixon. One of the earliest attempts at self-determination by jazz musicians, the organization also included Sun Ra, Cecil Taylor, Archie Shepp, Roswell Rudd, Paul and Carla Bley, John Tchicai, Michael Mantler, Alan Silva, Burton Greene, and Jon Winter. Reacting against the exploitative working conditions of the major clubs and record companies, the young

musicians in the Guild withdrew their labor from the market with the aim of fundamentally restructuring the field of musical production, creating their own audience by self-producing about forty concerts on the Upper West Side and the West Village. Caught as it was in the space between the entertainment economy of mainstream jazz and the racially policed borders of both established and experimental institutions of high culture, the Guild struggled to maintain cohesion before ultimately folding in a storm of infighting after only six months.

Because it was one of the first formalizations of the jazz avant-garde, or "New Thing," the Guild offers a rich case study of how the emerging discourse of black experimentalism took shape in New York City. In this paper, I am particularly interested in charting the field of gender on which the organization came into being. Carla Bley's inclusion in the group, the result of considerable argument, raises several questions—Was she respected? Resented? Desired? Treated differently? In negotiating the treacherous terrain of "women-in-jazz," Bley challenged or upheld several tropes of gender discourse, among them the "exceptional woman," the male artist-genius, and—through her marriages to Paul Bley and Mantler—the respectable white wife. Paying close attention to gender in this context affords the opportunity not only to notice the specificities of one woman's experience of alternative forums of jazz life, but also to follow how gender framed the discourse of the New Thing itself, men and women, insiders and outsiders alike. Drawing on my own interviews with several members of the Guild and music criticism of this period, I argue that gender discourse provided a set of values and a vocabulary through which competing interests in the jazz avant-garde could interact. Scholars have noted the discourse of masculinity embedded in the bebop cutting contest, and this celebration of strength and domination continued in 1960s jazz. Race has been a key category for analyzing the conflicts in this underground milieu, but gender discourse was an important modality through which racial ideology was expressed, particularly in the jazz criticism of such Black Arts writers as LeRoi Jones, A. B. Spellman, and Larry Neal. A rhetoric of masculinity, particularly the black virility of black nationalist ideology, played no small role in the reception of this music, a point I elucidate through an examination of the rivalry between Dixon and Jones, who competed in their roles as spokesmen and leaders of the underground movement at this time.

MUSICOLOGY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS
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MUSICAL CHAIRS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF "MUSIC" IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

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In 1838, John Reid's bequest of a substantial sum to the University of Edinburgh for the foundation of a resident professorship in the "Theory of Music" baffled his Trustees. How was music to be studied, and to fit in with the scientific academic environment of the university? How was it to be shaped in order to conform to the social class of students, for many of whom serious musical study was downright inappropriate? How would academic music conflict with or support professional needs? What kind of "professor" was to be appointed to achieve such institutional and social assimilation?

Similar problems faced those concerned with music at Oxford and Cambridge in the later nineteenth century. There, professors of music had played little formal part in university life since their posts—which amounted to examining composition-based degrees for non-resident students—were founded in the seventeenth century. While composition was extra-mural, musical activity among students remained amateur and extra-curricular. Accordingly, even in Oxbridge fundamental questions had to be asked about what a music professor was for, what he might do. The professionally-oriented musicianship cultivated by continental conservatoires or the Royal Academy of Music offered no suitable model: indeed it sat uneasily with both the liberal tenor of education at Oxbridge, and the scientific and philosophical training offered in Scotland.

Using documents associated with the applications to professorships at Edinburgh and Cambridge during the period 1839–75, this paper reveals how the academic subject of music was defined and developed in British universities during the nineteenth century. As part of a bid to assimilate musical study to university ideals and to render it appropriate for systematised teaching and examination, "scientific" approaches were proposed for the study of history and analysis, acoustics, and composition. Evidence from applicants' letters and from their portfolios of testimonials suggests various ideas about whether music was a science or an art, a liberal or vocational subject, and whether sacred or secular genres were more suitable for study.

As studies of nineteenth-century Britain have shown, the social status of the professional musician was, at best, ambiguous: hardly suited to the elite English institutions or the serious professional aspirations of many Edinburgh students. Aspects of general education, religion and character were as important as musical qualifications for establishing a place for music in academia; the documentation surrounding elections in both institutions is rich in social commentary. Conflicts in interest, which arise from the concept of music as amateur diversion, profession, academic subject and religious practice were set to pervade debate over the form of musical study.

In a continually critical and developing discipline, the issues that arise from a study of the concerns of early "musicologists" within the academic environment remain challenging. It is clear that early British ideas of musicology were not constructed according to abstract paradigms, but that they operated instead in line with narrow and institutionalized ideas of what was appropriate for a specific class of students, for the academic environment and for professional interest.

AMERICAN MUSICOLOGY AT THE CROSSROADS, CONTEMPORARY MUSIC IN THE CROSSHAIRS: THE IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE AT G. SCHIRMER, INC. AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II

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In the spring of 1945, two major changes occurred in the offices of music publisher G. Schrimer, Inc. One was that, after helping the firm part-time the previous year, thirty-four-year-old William Schuman left his teaching post at Sarah Lawrence College to begin work full-time as the Director of Publications at Schirmer. The other was that Paul Henry Lang, forty-three-year-old professor of musicology at Columbia University, became the editor of *The Musical Quarterly*, Schirmer's house organ "devoted to the scholarly study of the art of music" (Editorial, April 1948).

Lang's first article for the *Quarterly*—"Musical Scholarship at the Crossroads" (July 1945)—laid out the challenges facing American musicology as he saw them. Too many new American scholars had "minds [that] are crammed full of minutiae of learning, of technical knowledge, but artistic feeling and creative inspiration cannot be imparted by a school that considered the great works of art so many objects for the conscientious study of the abstract canons of art." In his essay, Lang argued for a balance between empiricism and "what we might call intellectual lyricism," a proper understanding of the humanistic aspects of music.

However much he may have agreed with Lang, Schuman saw a different challenge for the *Quarterly*: how to retain its pedigree while making it both more readable and more contemporary. Schuman fielded "comments . . . not only from composers and performing artists but from teachers and intelligent laymen. The tenor of opinion is that the magazine does not make interesting reading." Not only did Schuman want to enliven the writing. He wanted Lang to do more about following the present day: "[F]rankly, Paul, in your writings I fail to see that you have established yourself in any way as a champion of contemporary music and, after all, it is only in your capacity as author that you can be known to the music world at large" (both from an August 14, 1947 letter to Lang).

Both men struggled to navigate the musical world of letters after the demise of *Modern Music* (1946) and the birth of *JAMS* (1948), journals both men discussed and admired. In addition to their published writings from this period, their private correspondence from the summer of 1947 to the time of Schuman's departure from Schirmer in September 1951 shows them fighting over the future of scholarship, the role of the critic, and the importance of contemporary music in America. The aftershocks of their debate are felt not only in the "inauguration [in the *Quarterly* of] a new department under the heading of Current Chronicle" (April 1948) but also in Lang's decision to become a critic at the *New York Herald Tribune* (1954–63) and Schuman's leadership in launching *The Juilliard Review* (1954–62). Their personal friendship and professional relationship, in other words, helped to shape American musicology at a critical juncture in its history. In my paper, I explore their interactions and the consequences those interactions had, then and now.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN MUSICAL CULTURE
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THE LITERARY AND MUSICAL RHETORIC
OF APOSTROPHE IN *WINTERREISE*

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In *Winterreise* the poet Wilhelm Müller frequently used *apostrophe*, the rhetorical device of addressing absent, abstract or non-human listeners—such as the frozen stream—and in his songs Schubert responded to the poet's use of this evocative figure of speech. The musical features observed and discussed in this paper, some of Schubert's most characteristic musical devices, have not heretofore been linked to the poet's use of this literary conceit.

Eighteenth-century definitions of apostrophe (e.g., Gottsched) drew on classical authors such as Quintillian. Modern literary critics have dealt only glancingly with apostrophe, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Culler 1981). Two monographs on the apostrophic gesture

(Braun 1971) and the apostrophic moment (Walter 1988) approach apostrophe more as an encompassing mode of poetic discourse than as the traditional rhetorical figure examined here. Cone (1974) and Stein/Spillman (1996) explore the persona speaking in a poem, but less who or what is being addressed. Studies of Müller (e.g., Cottrell 1970, Marshall 1973, Baumann 1981) ignore the poet's use of apostrophe. The most extensive discussions of Schubert's *Winterreise* (Feil 1975 and Youens 1991) do not discuss literary or musical apostrophe as such.

In *Winterreise* seventeen of the twenty-four poems/songs use apostrophe. In eight of these the wanderer addresses non-human objects—his tears, the snow, a frozen stream, the town he's leaving, a crow, bellowing hounds, a cemetery, a meteorological phenomenon. In three of the poems/songs the wanderer speaks to himself, or to his heart as surrogate. In three others rhetorical address is implied—to the beloved's family, the winter-hardened meadow, a signpost. In one song, famously, the apostrophe is reversed and the wanderer is addressed by the linden tree. In two songs the wanderer apostrophizes people—the sleeping beloved and the oblivious hurdy-gurdy player. In *Die schöne Müllerin* there is only a single apostrophized object—the brook. The very multiplicity of addressees in *Winterreise* may have numbed our perception of the phenomenon.

In nearly every instance, Schubert's music changes when apostrophe occurs. The key changes from minor to major, or the reverse, or the vocal line changes from a lyrical melody to a declamatory line including repeated pitches. Textural contrasts may join modal and melodic ones. A particularly pure example occurs in "Gefror'ne Tränen." When the wanderer turns from describing his tears to addressing a question to them, Schubert reduces the texture to a unison and the voice to a confined, low range. Apostrophe is often characterized as an intensifier, and this stark musical contrast unquestionably adds weight to the rhetorical figure. This paper argues that Schubert not only recognized but responded to Müller's use of apostrophe, and that it—as much as the verse's affective content—triggered the musical changes. That is, the poet's/persona's vocative voice rather than his descriptive one was a primary stimulus eliciting the composer's musical response. By isolating apostrophe and bringing it to the foreground, we may add to the richness of our discourse about Schubert and the Lied.

FANNY AND WILHELM HENSEL'S *DAS JAHR*

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Since coming to public attention for the first time through performance, recording, and publication nearly twenty years ago, Fanny Hensel's piano cycle *Das Jahr* has become something of a litmus test for the programmatic interpretation of instrumental music. Musicologists have read the work as various forms of musical autobiography, ranging from the starkly literal (as a diary of the Hensel family's trip to Italy in 1839–40) to the lightly allegorical (as a reflection of Fanny's experience as a Jewish convert to Lutheranism). The publication in 2000 of the revised fair copy illustrated by Wilhelm Hensel (purchased by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in 1997), which apparently represents the final state of the work from the composer's own hand, has only intensified the search for the ever-elusive signification of *Das Jahr*. In this copy, created in 1842, each month/movement is prefaced by an evocative epigram (lovingly stenciled and inserted on a separate sheet); each begins with a pen-and-ink illustration fully integrated into the structure of the score. Texts, image, and music coexist in complex relationships, displacing the locus of meaning from the score itself to the performative character of

the illustrated manuscript. The manifold questions raised by the convergence of these complementary elements demand a new assessment of the revised *Das Jahr* as both sounding object and visual artifact.

This paper combines the perspectives of an art historian and a musicologist to approach the fair copy of *Das Jahr* in the context of the collaboration between Fanny and Wilhelm Hensel that lasted throughout their marriage, and began even before their engagement. Upon his return from Italy in 1828, Wilhelm presented Fanny with a diminutive heart-shaped blank book for Christmas. After they married in 1829, the couple filled the "Herz-Album" with Fanny's musical sketches of her compositions in alternation with Wilhelm's visual sketches of their life together, some quite literal and others rather fanciful. While the "Herz-Album" is a highly artful scrapbook, the Hensels' reminiscences took a more structured form in the "Reise-Album," an illustrated manuscript of songs and piano pieces filled with explicit allusions to the Italian sojourn.

The illustrated fair copy of *Das Jahr* differs significantly from these other albums in that it rarely alludes to specific places or events, and presents itself unambiguously as a coherent cycle. But like the other illustrated manuscripts, *Das Jahr* is linked through its musical and visual precedents to the improvisatory creative collaborations that made up the fabric of the Hensels' social life. Artistic conversations and performative exchanges among the members of their circle are evoked not only in Fanny's diaries and correspondence, but also in their vestiges among the Hensels' collections of drawings. The remarkably close relationship between music and image in the illustrated fair copy of *Das Jahr*, present on every level of structure, emerged from evenings of simultaneous musical and visual creation at the French Academy in Rome (the Villa Medici), where Wilhelm and the other artists sketched alongside Fanny and the other musicians as they performed.

WAGNER'S *TRISTAN* FACTORY

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Only six months separated the completion of the manuscript score of *Tristan und Isolde* and the publication of the full score by Breitkopf & Härtel in January 1860, easily the fastest turn-around for any of Wagner's major works. Even taking into account the publication of Meyerbeer's grand operas in their full orchestration, no publisher had undertaken to engrave such a complex and lengthy score before. (The scores of Wagner's earlier works had only been lithographed.) This paper takes a close look at the methods of, and the possible reasons for, the speedy physical production of the orchestral and vocal scores of *Tristan*. The conveyor-belt-like process that Wagner introduced meant that he had to provide the publisher's engraver with portions of the score well before he had finished composing it. This in turn meant, among other things, that he was obliged to correct the proofs of one act while still creating, often with difficulty, the music of the next. And from the start, as soon as the proofs of one section were finished, copy was sent to the conductor Hans von Bülow, who arranged his famous vocal score of *Tristan* almost literally as Wagner was inventing the music, remaining, like him, equally in the dark about how the whole thing would turn out.

Even accounting for the pressing circumstances that accompany the composition of many operas, the rigorous rationalization and sense of open-ended forward movement in the composition of *Tristan* seem to contradict the work's stubborn subjectivity and its almost

flamboyant aura of erotic excess, not to mention the carefully thought-out symphonic forms leading to emphatic closure that some have seen in it. But the strong pressures on Wagner and his publishers to get *Tristan* quickly into the public realm had everything to do with its nature. I intend to trace the urgent investment in *Tristan* by its producers as a flagship of the New German movement. And I shall also attempt to interpret Wagner's eagerness to make it public as quickly as possible—in the process alienating close friends like Franz Liszt—as a way of controlling a private emotional space that was beginning to function at dangerous levels. With no performance in sight, the deadline was an internal one, and to judge by various documents hardly less prone to anxiety. Wagner wrote to Mathilde Wesendonck half-jokingly while composing the third act that the music would have to be banned as a danger to public health. It was possibly the other way around. The race against time into the public realm was Wagner's way of keeping his sanity with a work for which he needed an audience of total strangers in whom he would find it easier to confide than those closer to him—a neutral receptacle for his secrets that have kept posterity in thrall ever since.

THE MISSING HISTORY OF ABSOLUTE MUSIC

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In his influential book *The Idea of Absolute Music*, Carl Dahlhaus claimed there was "a comprehensive concept of 'absolute' music which reveals the latent unity of musical aesthetics in the nineteenth century." However, a history of the *term* absolute music, as opposed to the concept, leads in different directions that disrupt that latent unity. In this paper, I will re-investigate some of the ground covered in Dahlhaus's book and arrive at different results. I find that using the term absolute music to generalize about aesthetic positions taken since the middle of the nineteenth century is unhelpful, confusing and misleading.

I begin by showing that it is a myth that Hanslick championed the term. This has been recognized in recent years by Klaus Kropfinger, Thomas Grey, and Mark Evan Bonds, but its full implications have not yet been explored. I trace the term emerging as a positive concept associated with Hanslick only around 1880, which is when it started being used to designate the opposite of program music.

The absolute music/program music controversy started to wane around 1900. The problem of meaning in music was becoming too fraught to be solved by merely providing a verbal explanation. Instead, under modern conditions, it was recognized that accessibility and meaningfulness were both threatened and threatening. Only around 1900, responding to the fear that art music faced the twin perils of both an overly rational, intellectual approach on the one side and by mass commodification on the other, did the concept of "the Absolute" start being invoked in order to point to a metaphysical significance of music that went beyond rational explanation and every day life.

Although "the Absolute" does appear with some regularity around this time, a metaphysical "absolute music" is found primarily in the writings of August Halm and Ernst Kurth. These theorists developed esoteric theories centered on Bruckner's music as the most perfect embodiment of a transcendent music. Although he did not acknowledge it, Dahlhaus's account of the "idea of absolute music" as the key aesthetic concept of the nineteenth century relies heavily on the twentieth-century writings of Halm and Kurth. This is because it was only then that the term was used in combination with the concept. The theories of Halm

and Kurth, with their focus on Bruckner, are not compatible with a supposed latent aesthetic unity going back to Hanslick. The fact that Hanslick vehemently rejected Bruckner's music and that Bruckner allied himself with program music require some very convoluted reasoning to arrive at Dahlhaus's latent unity in this area.

To conclude, I hypothesize as to why Dahlhaus needed to construct a unified idea of absolute music, drawing on discussions by James Hepokoski and Anne Schreffler concerning the development of Dahlhaus's thought in context of his position as a professor of music in West Berlin, engaged in ideological battle against Marxist musicology.

RESPECTING AUTHORITY
David E. Cohen, Columbia University, Chair

HORACE OR AL-MUBASHSHIR IBN FATIK?: THE SURPRISING SOURCE OF FOLQUET DE MARSEILLE'S "UGLY PAINTING" IMAGE

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The troubadour Folquet de Marseille (fl. 1178–1195) was greatly respected during the later Middle Ages—he became bishop of Toulouse; Dante placed him in the Heaven of Venus (*Paradiso* 9); his songs were widely distributed in medieval codices; later writers quoted his songs as authoritative pronouncements on the ethos of *fin'amor* and praised his poetic skill. Nicolà Zingarelli (1897) and other modern scholars show that Folquet himself quoted a wide variety of earlier authors, drawing from classical florilegia, complete classical works, and other troubadours' songs. Yet the source of one quotation in "Sitot me sui" (P.C. 155, 21) has resisted identification. Here the protagonist addresses Love: "For in the same way as one values an ugly painting more / from far away than one does as he sees it up close, / I valued you more when I was unfamiliar with you." Zingarelli proposed Horace's *Ars poetica* as the source: "A poem is like a picture: one strikes your fancy more, the nearer you stand; another the farther away." But the comparison does not seem apt: Horace was writing about two paintings, Folquet about one, viewed from two distances. That the two images are different is confirmed by Geoffrey of Vinsauf's use of both in his *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi e versificandi* (*c.* 1200). I have identified what I believe must be the actual source, one less chronologically distant.

Jean de Meun in the *Roman de la rose* (*c.* 1270) attributes an image like the one Folquet uses to Ptolemy, implying the *Almagest* as its source. The image appears not in the *Almagest* itself, but in Gerard of Cremona's introduction to his translation of the *Almagest* (1175), which includes Ptolemy's biography and a collection of sayings attributed to him. Gerard credits the *Mukhtar al-hikam wa-mahasin al-kalim* by the eleventh-century Syrian scholar al-Mubashshir ibn Fatik as his source. As no other translation of al-Mubashshir ibn Fatik's work into any European language had been made by the early 1190s when Folquet wrote his song, Gerard's introduction is the most likely source for this image.

Gerard's translation of the *Almagest* brought Ptolemy's work into medieval Europe and, along with his other Latin translations from Arabic of ancient Greek and Arabic scientific works, initiated a blossoming of intellectual activity. The *Mukhtar al-hikam* itself became popular through its late thirteenth-century Latin translation, *Liber philosophorum*, which was

later translated into French, then from French into Occitan and English. Thus, Folquet's acquaintance with the *Almagest* not only situates him in the intellectual avant-garde of the late twelfth century, but is also one of the earliest witnesses to both the *Almagest*'s and *Mukhtar al-hikam*'s dissemination in western Europe.

NEW TEXTS AND CONTEXTS FOR TWELFTH-CENTURY MUSIC THEORY

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"Where are the writers on music west of the Rhine?" This is the question Lawrence Gushee posed upwards of thirty years ago as he surveyed eleventh- and twelfth-century music-theoretical writings. As far as the "technical" tradition is concerned, the story is a familiar one. Following an eleventh-century flurry of activity in South-German monasteries, music-theoretical discourse seems to exhibit a decisive change in register. The broad mathematical and cosmological concerns that had bound music to the quadrivium seem to have been supplanted by a much narrower and more practical focus on the rapidly developing polyphonic practices. Comprehensive and substantive musical treatises either were not written or have not survived. But this apparent dearth of twelfth-century "writers on music" does not reflect the evidence of surviving texts; rather, it is a product of modern disciplinary divisions and musicological expectations. Musical discourse belongs as much, if not more, to the rich cosmological and philosophical traditions of the twelfth century. And although Gushee and other scholars have noted the importance of music among, for instance, the Chartrian masters, much more remains to be said. Philosophical and cosmological commentaries comprise a distinct and influential music-theoretical tradition—one that speaks not only to twelfth-century musical learning, but to the application of that learning in the quest for philosophy and, ultimately, theology.

This study will outline this theoretical tradition and re-assess the aim and scope of twelfth-century music theory by introducing unedited texts into the discussion: a Florentine commentary on Martianus's *De nuptiis* (Florence, Bibl. Naz., Conv. soppr. J.2.28, ff. 50r–64v); a fragmentary Vatican commentary on Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae* (Vat. lat. 919, 198r–205r); and a partial commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (Paris, BN, lat. 8624, ff. 17r–22v). These unedited commentaries will be situated with respect to recently edited commentaries by Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches, and Bernard Silvestris. All of these authors were keenly interested in the "musical bonds" that held the world in balance—the macrocosmic harmonies that ensured cosmological perfection and the microcosmic harmonies that governed the moral and physical equilibrium of the body. The language of music theory not only allowed the cosmologists to conceptualize the fabric of the universe, it also provided a hermeneutic tool for interpreting the Antique and late-Antique texts that offered detailed theories of the world's construction. If writers on chant and polyphony had little patience with Boethius's "out-dated" musical textbook, then, conversely, the cosmologists, who were more fascinated by music's hermeneutic possibilities, paid little heed to the practical concerns of chant and other musical genres. Instead, the cosmologists fabricated a remarkably synthetic theoretical tradition, grounded in the *De institutione musica* but enriched and embellished by Plato's *Timaeus*, Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae*, and the works of Calcidius, Macrobius and Martianus.

NEW FINDINGS RESPECTING THE NATURE AND ORIGINS OF THE NOTRE DAME MODAL POLYPHONY

Fred Flindell
Berlin, Germany

It has been well over a hundred years since the "discovery" of the so-called Notre Dame polyphony, certainly a decisive moment in the recovery of medieval music. Soon after this disclosure scholars began avidly to read the scholastic writings that were concerned with the puzzling quadratic notation they found everywhere in the sources. Coupled with this effort, a keen search for all the relevant modal manuscripts ensued, culminating in Friedrich Ludwig's publication in 1910 of an extraordinary catalogue raisonné. Thanks to this pioneering work, consisting of an ordering, cross-reference and evaluation of the vast corpus of manuscript material, much of the music of this period became available in modern transcription. Heinrich Husmann, William Waite, Hans Tischler, Yvonne Rokseth and Gordon Anderson undertook the task of making critical editions of this music.

Nevertheless, it behooves us to recall the many vexing problems encountered in deciphering modal notation. The abstruse language of the theoretical tracts revealed, to be sure, much pertinent and elementary information. But both Wilhelm Meyer and Ludwig lamented that the music theorists "teach us little about [the music itself]." One reason for this was that many key and informative passages in the theoretical tracts were so recondite that they proved to be serious obstacles in reaching a common understanding of the music's rhythm. Also there seemed to be no mention of the origins of the modal system of composition. Theodore Karp discussed at length (in his edition of the St. Martial and Calixtine Polyphony) the signal importance of finding a solution to this problem. A real break through in solving this perplexing question seemed to be well-nigh impossible.

Recent strides, however, in a relatively new discipline concerned primarily with the history of rhetoric have made possible a preliminary understanding of the enigmatic scholastic terms (and reasoning!) found ubiquitously in the theoretical tracts. In recent years it has become increasingly clear that the *musica theoretica* of the thirteenth century made extensive use of various classical rhetorical terms to explain the modal system. One scholar has traced Leonin's ingenious utilization of rhetoric's elocutionary figures in composing a polyphony set in one of the poetic (and rhetorical) modes of antiquity. Justification for this approach to composing in the Middle Ages was based upon St. Augustine's tacit admission of the employment of eloquence in Christian preaching.

REFRAIN CITATION AND GENEALOGIES OF AUTHORITY IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ARRAS

Jennifer Saltzstein
University of Oklahoma

The thirteenth-century Northern French city of Arras has long been known as an urban center with a robust economy and burgeoning middle class. This *bourgeois* capital proved to be a fertile region for song production, where active patronage and the guild-like institution of poets called the *confrèrie des jongleurs et des bourgeois* elevated the social status of minstrels and poets, fostering a culture of authorial self-consciousness, emulation, and competition among trouvères. Famous for competitive poetic debate-poems called *jeux-partis*, Arras possessed a

distinctive poetic culture and a tightly-knit poetic community. Contrafacta and modeling are both common in the songs of the *arrageois* trouvères: these procedures allowed poets to respond directly to the songs of their contemporaries in the region by borrowing and transforming poetic structures. By far, however, the most common form of borrowing in thirteenth-century music and poetry was refrain citation. Within this culture of poetic inter-action, it is perhaps not surprising that Nico H. J. van den Boogaard discovered a cache of refrains common to a group of romances and songs that could all be localized in Arras. The discovery importantly contradicts the notion that refrains were popularly known and recognizable throughout the French literary tradition: Boogaard's findings suggest that refrain citation was sometimes insular and local.

Might refrain citation have been another vehicle for poetic emulation and competition in Arras? This paper will explore the ways in which the trouvères of Arras may have used the refrain as a means of situating themselves within an authorial tradition. Building on Boogaard's findings, I will show that there are additional networks of refrains connected specifically to *arrageois* trouvère song. For example, we find the refrain "Ma loial pensée tient mon cuer joli" used in *chansons avec refrains* by two prominent *arrageois* trouvères who were contemporaries: Perrin d'Angecourt and Gillebert de Berneville. Exploring this and other similar refrain networks demonstrates that refrain citation could allow poets to invite comparisons between their compositions and those of other local trouvères. Nowhere is this authorial self-consciousness more evident than in the works of Adam de la Halle, the first composer for whom an *opera omnia* survives. Refrain citation was often central to the ways in which Adam articulated his authorial presence. I will focus on Adam's little-studied motets, offering a reading of *De ma dame vient/Diex! Comment porroie/Omnes*, a motet that cites three refrains, all attested in other sources. The motet may contain an early example of auto-citation: it is likely that Adam drew the refrain "Diex, comment porroie sans cheli durer qui me tient en joie?" from his own *rondeau* of the same title. Through Adam and the trouvères of Arras, I will show how refrain citation allowed trouvères to communicate with one another and to articulate their place within their poetic community, providing new insights into medieval notions of authorship and authorial consciousness and their articulation in music.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY POLITICS
Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Ohio State University, Chair

ALBAN BERG'S "PROPAGANDA" PIECES: QUESTIONS OF GENRE AND MEANING

Margaret Notley
University of North Texas

Berg was working on *Lulu* when Hitler seized power in 1933. His first response was to relish the prospect of challenging the Nazi regime by premiering the opera in Berlin, but by January 1934 he realized that *Lulu* was not likely to be staged in Germany. In May he devised an alternative plan of arranging two concert works from it, "the larger naturally offering an image of the opera's spirit, the smaller more a propaganda selection." Berg later wrote that he would first finish the "propaganda suite," which became the *Symphonic Pieces from "Lulu."* He never completed its planned counterpart, which he called with equal irony the "warning

symphony," an apt epithet given the surrealism and moral ambiguity of the opera's plot: let the viewer beware.

This paper takes up recent musicological work on arrangements and applies to new ends the insights it offers. While the general context for the genesis of the *Symphonic Pieces*—above all, Berg's financial straits—has long been known, little attention has been paid to their status as an arrangement, to the different effects made in the arrangement and the opera by more or less the same music, and thus to the tacit guidelines he followed in executing the arrangement. Stated in the simplest terms, Berg set out to purify the image of the opera. Aided by the journalistic efforts of his student Willi Reich, he sought in brief to create a concert work that: 1) could be performed even in Hitler's Germany; and 2) would drum up interest in performances of the entire opera outside of Germany. Although Berg did not live to complete the opera, he succeeded in the first goal. At one point, Reich asserted that we experience the *Symphonic Pieces* not as operatic excerpts but rather as "pure, absolute music." And, indeed, Berg's arrangement conceals the strangeness and questionable morality of the operatic original; it could be performed.

ERNST VON DOHNÁNYI AND THE "KODÁLY QUESTION"

James A. Grymes
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

In recent years, Zoltán and Emma Kodály have been criticized for having failed to defend Ernst von Dohnányi when Dohnányi was falsely accused of being a war criminal in the years following World War II. In extreme cases, Zoltán Kodály has even been blamed for having intentionally turned his back on his old friend Dohnányi—who after World War I had resigned from the Franz Liszt Academy of Music to protest the political persecution of Kodály—to initiate, and later to preserve, a monopoly on Hungarian music. In a fictional account envisioned by Dohnányi biographer Bálint Vázsonyi, Kodály's wife was to be blamed. Vázsonyi imagined Emma Kodály looking across the breakfast table one morning in late 1945 and saying to her husband, "Bartók is dead; Dohnányi is gone. Now it's your turn." This suspicion has continued to tarnish Zoltán and Emma Kodály's reputations, primarily because of the paucity of sources that demonstrate their involvement in Dohnányi's defense.

There is evidence that Zoltán Kodály wrote a letter in Dohnányi's support in February 1946, but this document is missing. The little information that is available has been limited to the often overlooked memoirs of those who knew the Kodálys. István Kapitánffy, who was the Secretary General of the Liszt Academy, has documented that when the Budapest press declared Dohnányi to be a war criminal, it was Zoltán Kodály who led a delegation to the Hungarian Minister of Justice that resulted in a 14 December 1945 decree clearing Dohnányi's name. As Kapitánffy later wrote, "At the Ministry, Professor Kodály reported . . . that to his knowledge in the hardest times Dohnányi had signed dozens of documents that had saved the lives of teachers and students who had needed his help." Lajos Vargyas, who was a member of the Liszt Academy vetting committee, recalled that when he shared his suspicions about Dohnányi with the Kodálys, he was sternly reprimanded by Emma Kodály: "My husband ran his legs off to remove Dohnányi from the list of war criminals, and now you talk that way about him?"

Additionally, some documents that were recently discovered in Dohnányi's legacy demonstrate the ongoing support he received from the Kodálys. In 1947, a new Hungarian

government added Dohnányi's name to the country's list of war criminals, and Dohnányi's supporters in Budapest once again came to his defense. After the case was officially dropped on 30 July 1949, the first to inform Dohnányi was Zoltán Kodály, who in a postscript to a 10 August 1949 letter from Emma Kodály to Mrs. Dohnányi wrote, "I have just obtained written proof from the Ministry of Justice that they have dropped their investigation of Ernst von Dohnányi."

This paper will examine the recollections of contemporaries of the Kodálys as well as unpublished letters and other documents that have recently been discovered in Dohnányi's estate. This new examination will present evidence that Zoltán and Emma Kodály were indeed actively involved in Dohnányi's defense, providing a long overdue answer to the "Kodály question."

HERMANN SCHERCHEN, ELIAS CANETTI, AND THE STRASSBURG ARBEITSTAGUNG, 1933

Dennis Hutchison
University of Northern Iowa

The conductor Hermann Scherchen left Germany soon after Hitler took power; although Scherchen was not a Jew, his identification with modern music and especially his activities with worker choruses made him a potential enemy of the Third Reich. In the course of his exile, Scherchen organized six *Arbeitstagungen* or workshops in order to present significant examples of modern music. The workshops symbolized artistic freedom, cosmopolitan eclecticism, and musical autonomy, all values in opposition to the cultural policies of National Socialism.

The first workshop took place in Strassburg during the summer of 1933. It featured two conducting seminars and fourteen concerts of recent music. These concerts represented nearly every European nation and included works by Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, Krenek, Schulhoff, Hartmann, and Milhaud. As a part of the seminars, Scherchen presented his aesthetic justification for the workshop. In a move reminiscent of Edmund Husserl's phenomenological *epoché*, he argued that one must "bracket out" the worldly connections to musical tones. While the Nazis used music for propaganda means, Scherchen extolled music "in itself" as a means of spiritual and political regeneration.

One observer at the workshop was the writer and sociologist Elias Canetti. Although Canetti found much to criticize in Scherchen, he wrote, "In that month in Strasbourg he managed to assemble a kind of Europe consisting entirely of musicians engaged in new experiments, a courageous, confident Europe, for what would have been the point of experiments if they didn't reckon with a future?" Building on Canetti's observations and using archival materials from the Akademie der Künste, Berlin and the Conservatoire de Musique, Strasbourg, this paper reconstructs the events of Scherchen's first Arbeitstagung and illuminates the politicization of musical culture in the summer of 1933.

LIGETI AND THE HUNGARIAN MUSICIANS' UNION

Rachel Beckles Willson
Royal Holloway, University of London

The late György Ligeti appears as a brilliantly virtuosic figure in twentieth-century music history, thanks to his innovative compositions but also to his engaging lectures and interviews. Yet his shining reputation developed on the basis of the work he accomplished in Western Europe, indeed his earlier compositions written in Rumania and Hungary were barely known for over two decades after he emigrated in 1956. Today they are available but are a somewhat frustrating presence, for we know very little about the communist regime controlling the Hungarian musical sphere in which many of them were written, and Ligeti's interaction with the same. His own later recollections are selective and one-sided testimonies. Thus not only are Ligeti's early works currently without a historical context, but we have scant resources for gaining an insight into the composer's character as it developed in his youth.

My paper contributes to filling the gap by discussing meetings held at the Hungarian Musicians' Union between 1949 and 1956, the minutes of which are now housed at the Hungarian National Archive in Budapest. These minutes provide an insight into discussions that were standard practice throughout the Soviet bloc, so their significance patently extends well beyond Hungary. All musicians were obliged to join the union and participate; their discussions addressed all manner of concerns related to the administration of music, including commissioning, concert programming, and the development of institutions. Here I focus on minutes of listening sessions, occasions when union members heard and discussed new compositions, and voted them on or off the public concert platform. Ligeti was often present, sometimes in order to present his own work, sometimes in order to speak for that of his friends.

In the paper I put forward three broad points about the nature of the meetings and their function in the Soviet musical sphere. First, they were discursive "performances" in which musicians enacted a partially ritualized discussion that embodied collaborative working practice, offered advice to composers, and also made judgments about the quality of new works. Second, the discussions sometimes evolved erratically, enabling completely unrelated hostilities to be played out, so that a conversation about a new work was actually a game of point-scoring between rival factions. Third, despite both these factors and even though in certain cases the outcome of voting was not followed through in final programming, it is clear that composers could sometimes benefit from the auditing practice: their work was performed and then discussed by professionals who attempted to address musical, rather than political, questions.

While exploring these points I interweave the contributions of Ligeti, demonstrating both the ways his music was received (and comparing it to his later recollections of these events), and also the manner in which he argued through his own views. As I reveal, the adroit rhetorical skill he displayed in maturity was well-developed even in his early professional years.

CRITICAL DOMAINS: MUSIC JOURNALISM, RECEPTION STUDIES AND THE PUBLIC, 1800-1920

Dana Gooley (Brown University), Organizer
Celia Applegate (University of Rochester)
Katharine Ellis (Royal Holloway, University of London)
Benjamin Walton (University of Cambridge)
Alexandra Wilson (Oxford Brookes University)

The quantity of music scholarship focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and on issues of reception and historical context, has made journalistic sources more central to musicology than ever before. As these sources and their indices become increasingly available in digital and online forms, they are likely to become still more indispensable and pervasive. A potential disadvantage of the digital revolution is that scholars will treat articles, reviews and essays simply as sources of information, forgetting or ignoring the extent to which these writings were embedded in particular journalistic contexts, commercial enterprises, or ideological battles.

This panel reflects on the strengths and limitations of periodical sources for historical writing on music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While plenty of attention has been paid to the opinions of individual critics and writers, we often lack the perspective to measure their authority or sphere of influence. To what extent did music critics and journalists articulate a distinctly professional, elite framework of opinion, and to what extent did they reflect the responses and listening habits of a broader public? How might we measure the influence of a particular critic, and how might the medium—newspaper, music journal, pamphlet, literary magazine—affect the dissemination of his (or rarely, her) views? What do we assume about how deeply or seriously audiences read music journalism, and how might we discover more about them? How did music criticism, theater criticism, literary criticism and art criticism overlap or influence one another? If we focus on provocative, eloquent, or idiosyncratic writers such as Schumann, Berlioz, and Wagner, versus more ordinary, workmanlike ones, might we risk replicating some of the tensions between "aesthetic hierarchy" and "history" that the discipline of musicology has recently faced?

Pursuing these questions, we aim to illuminate better the relationships among musicians, writers, and audiences, both within the public sphere and, perhaps, in other settings that do not quite meet its criteria, such as private correspondence, salon conversation, or state memoranda. Recent studies by this evening's panelists and others have drawn attention to the ideological, national, and aesthetic agendas of pioneering music periodicals, thus treating music criticism as an institution in its own right with definable cultural roles and agencies. Future work on listening, audience experiences, and hermeneutic interpretation all stand to gain from reflecting on music criticism as it grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

MUSIC AND POLITICS IN THE EARLY COLD WAR: RECENT APPROACHES, FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Peter J. Schmelz (Washington University in St. Louis), Chair
Phil Ford (Indiana University)
Tamara Levitz (Graduate Center, CUNY)
Laura Silverberg (Columbia University)
Leslie Sprout (Drew University)
Danielle Fosler-Lussier (Ohio State University, respondent)

The present panel will be the first public discussion sponsored by the AMS Cold War and Music Study Group. The study group was formed in 2006 to begin exploring more systematically the issues and debates encompassing the study of music, culture, society, and politics in the Cold War. Its goal, and one of the fundamental aims of this panel, is to trace in more detail the central, complicated, and still underappreciated roles that music played in the ongoing conflict. The past several years have witnessed a revived interest in the politics and culture of the Cold War. With the help of newly released documents and a sense of renewed purpose after 9/11, many scholars are, as critic Carlin Romano has noted, taking aim at "Cold War Conventional Wisdom." Much of this reassessment predictably has been spearheaded by historians and political scientists, many of whom still remain suspicious of investigating art and the Cold War. Nonetheless, an increasing number of musicologists are now focusing on the roles of culture--and specifically music--during the period. This panel will take the pulse of current Cold War musicological and cultural studies while also discussing fruitful avenues for future scholarship, ranging from archival to interpretative, by focusing on specific case studies.

The panel will focus on the early stages of the Cold War (roughly 1945–1965) and it will feature five scholars assigned to represent major geopolitical areas: Phil Ford will take American popular culture as his topic, specifically exotica pop and the global imagination; Tamara Levitz will consider the effects of the Cold War in Caribbean—and specifically Cuban and Haitian—music; Peter Schmelz will discuss the representation of the atomic bomb in Alfred Schnittke's 1959 oratorio *Nagasaki* and its reflection of post-Stalin Cold War culture in the USSR; Laura Silverberg will address the interactions between socialist realism, nationalism, and the reception of Western modernism in East Germany and Eastern Europe; and Leslie Sprout will explore the impact of lingering trauma from the Second World War on music in postwar France. As this selection of scholars and topics shows, the Cold War and Music study group is interested in expanding and complicating the traditional binary view (US/USSR) of the post-1945 world, while also exploring a variety of musical styles and genres, both "popular" and "art" (and the many hybrids in between). Each of the panelists will present a thesis that encapsulates or critiques a specific aspect of recent thought on the Cold War. They will frame the musical with the political and balance musicological concerns with other interdisciplinary perspectives, including work by historians, political scientists, and ethnomusicologists. Issues of patronage, style, signification, and audience also will be considered. The panel will highlight recent directions in the scholarship of Cold War music, while interjecting musicological perspectives into broader academic debates about the Cold War, thereby countering the conventional wisdom that art and music somehow remained separate from the fraught and pervasive politics of the day.

ANALYZING JAZZ
Tammy Kernodle, Miami University, Chair

STRAYHORN'S LORCIAN ENCOUNTER

Lisa Barg
McGill University

In the fall of 1953, Billy Strayhorn composed four pieces for an Off-Broadway production of Federico García Lorca's surrealist play *The Love of Don Perlimplín for Belisa in Their Garden*, subtitled *An Erotic Lace-Paper Valentine in Four Scenes*. Mounted by the vanguardist Artists' Theater collective in November of that year, the one-act play was staged with an all-black cast and played to full houses for three performances at the Amato Theater in Greenwich Village. Strayhorn's involvement with the Lorca production occurred at a crucial moment in his post-war career: the period from 1950 to 1956 when Strayhorn left the Ellington fold and set out to establish his own professional identity. Strayhorn's quest to separate from his long-time collaborator first led to Paris, where he spent a year with his then partner, the pianist Aaron Bridgers. When Strayhorn returned to New York in 1952, he sought out alliances with a largely black gay artistic community. He regularly attended salon gatherings in the home of Frank and Dorcas Neal, where he came into contact with many young black gay writers, painters and choreographers.

The Artists' Theater was founded the late 1940s by Herbert Machiz, a close friend of Strayhorn's, with the financial backing of influential art dealer John Bernard Myers. Working closely with Machiz, Strayhorn, by all accounts, conceived of the *Perlimplín* production as a vehicle to address issues of black gay identity. While previous commentators have considered the music Strayhorn composed for this project, the connections between the production's various translations (linguistic, racial, musical) of Lorca's tragic-comedy and black or queer themes remain unexplored. I will present several contexts that can illuminate such connections, ones that, by extension, invite a queer hearing of Strayhorn's musical contributions. These include the choice of play and playwright, themes enacted in the text itself, and, most importantly, the transformative role of Strayhorn's setting of three lyrics in the play.

One of these pieces, the song "Wounded Love," is a lament to frustrated desire sung by the protagonist Don Perlimplín following his comically failed wedding night and foreshadowing his suicide at the end of the play. With its queer thematic of erotic impossibility and alienation, this song—and its subsequent instrumental version arranged as a ballad for Johnny Hodges—strongly evokes both in style and affect earlier Strayhorn ballads such as "Lush Life," "Day Dream," and "Something to Live For." At the same time, the specific performative context of "Wounded Love" gestures towards a larger field of theatrical representations of homosexual themes in McCarthyite America such as those found in contemporaneous plays by Tennessee Williams and Robert Anderson. By contrast, the song "Love, Love" explores a playful (queer) theatrical terrain through its use of irony, stylization and masking. Beyond their expressive and dramatic functions in the play, both songs, I will argue, link Strayhorn's Lorcian encounter both to the rich transatlantic history of black queer artistic production

and, more generally, to the reception of García Lorca by African American modernist writers and artists.

MULTIPHRENIA: RACE, MENTAL HEALTH, AND THE ANALYSIS OF JAZZ

Scott DeVeaux
University of Virginia

The term "multiphrenia" was coined about fifteen years ago by the psychologist Kenneth Gergen to describe a state of extraordinary mental multiplicity. It was designed to counter "schizophrenia," a mental illness associated with hallucinations, delusions, and disassociated behavior. Medical terms are diagnostic, and therefore useful; but they also serve to limit and control. Jazz musicians know this. From the beginning (Buddy Bolden) into the modern age (Charles Mingus, Charlie Parker), important jazz artists have been classified as schizophrenic and placed under close supervision. There is a racial angle to this. Evaluation of schizophrenia is done entirely by interview, and according to the *Washington Post*, black people are five times more likely than whites to be diagnosed as schizophrenic. To evaluate Parker as a "hostile and evasive personality" (to cite his psychiatric records) probably confirms the folk wisdom: "if someone really *is* out to get you, paranoia's just smart thinkin'."

In this paper, I pull the multiphrenic Charlie Parker from this web, highlighting the many creative facets of his remarkable, complicated personality. I propose to use multiphrenia as a model for understanding improvised jazz. In so doing, I challenge certain assumptions of music analysis, which typically penetrates beneath the changing surfaces of a musical moment to its inner organic unity. Analysis is *reductive*, transforming the complex into the simple and coherent; and it is *persuasive*, attempting to show that music contains a greater depth and coherence than one might commonly assume. In a way, it proves the music's mental health. Jazz in particular needs such evidence: many people—even some of its adherents—view it as shallow and insubstantial, a music that "fakes" its way in the world. I will consider writing by James Lincoln Collier, a jazz critic whose assessments of the music correspond in many ways with an accusation of schizophrenia. My multiphrenic analysis of Parker, focusing on his 1953 performance of "Out of Nowhere," offers an alternative. Rather than a unified whole, my analysis concentrates on the brilliantly complex juggling of musical personalities that defines a Parker performance.

"SOUNDS MIDDLE CLASS": SMOOTH JAZZ AND THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

Charles Carson
University of Pennsylvania

Between the mid- and late-1960's, record producer Creed Taylor began experimenting with mixing elements of post-bop jazz with contemporary popular music. These early recordings with such established jazz musicians as Wes Montgomery, Johnny "Hammond" Smith, and George Benson laid the groundwork for a style of jazz that would attempt to "crossover" to mainstream popular audiences, while at the same time stay rooted in its jazz origins. While these recordings were well received, the style became immensely popular—and, perhaps more problematically, *profitable*—as a result of Taylor's work with a then-obscure saxophonist

named Grover Washington, Jr. in the early 1970s. In this way, Taylor and Washington helped to create a style that would become known as Smooth Jazz.

While Smooth Jazz continues to control a large portion of the jazz marketplace, there has yet to be significant work investigating its history, characteristics, or reception. The commercial success of this music, coupled with its decidedly pop-like production values and its dependence upon regularized melodic formulae, have contributed to the controversy over whether or not it is even jazz at all. Further complicating this debate is the increasingly important role white producers and musicians continue to play in this music. At any rate, the absence of Smooth Jazz in contemporary scholarship is made all the more conspicuous by its ubiquity in contemporary society.

It is no accident that the development of Smooth Jazz coincided with the rise of what sociologist Bart Landry calls the "New Black Middle Class" during the 1970s and early 1980s. As the boundaries of jazz were being redefined, so too was the definition of blackness—especially in large northern urban centers like New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Similar to the music of Motown a decade before, Smooth Jazz was one of several means by which the Black Middle Class attempted to negotiate its own identity within American society at large, securing a place within the mainstream middle class without severing ties to its African-American heritage. Building on the work of scholars of the Black Middle Class such as E. Franklin Frazier, Landry, and Mary Patillo, this paper attempts to trace the origins of this controversial idiom, paying particular attention to its connections to, and uses within, the Black Middle Class.

Following examples set by Scott DeVeaux, Sherrie Tucker, David Ake, and Guthrie Ramsey, I argue that the conscious omission of certain narratives from jazz history in favor of Eurocentric models that stress autonomy and unity over popular or commercial concerns serves only to undermine the richness and complexities of this genre. This presentation is not meant as an apology for what has traditionally been a marginalized style within jazz studies; rather, I seek to carve out a space for the discussion of problematic "crossover" genres such as Smooth Jazz, and to re-imagine a jazz history that includes such varied expressions of the jazz experience.

A COSMOPOLITAN MODERN DIALOGUE: POLITICAL AND AESTHETIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN STEFAN WOLPE AND POST-WAR AMERICAN JAZZ

Brigid Cohen
Wesleyan University

In late 1940s and 1950s New York, the German-Jewish émigré composer Stefan Wolpe enthusiastically gave composition lessons to many jazz musicians and arrangers. Gil Evans, George Russell, John Carisi, Eddie Sauter, and Bill Finegan, among others, sought him out for his innovative pedagogy. This remarkable exchange took place during an era when, as Ingrid Monson has emphasized, racially integrated projects assumed special political significance in jazz, exemplified most famously by Miles Davis' epochal 1949–1950 "Birth of the Cool" sessions (which included Evans and Carisi). Many jazz musicians at this time engaged intensively with ideas of the avant-garde, valorizing formal and theoretical exploration while combating racist stereotypes of black musicians as intellectually inferior entertainers rather than high artists. Wolpe was an understandable ally in this context: he was a veteran of many socially engaged avant-garde movements, including Dada, the Bauhaus, and agitprop theater,

and he had been an outspoken advocate of Arab-Jewish integration and civic equality in 1930s Palestine. This paper explores common commitments between Wolpe and mid-century jazz innovators, including a cosmopolitan embrace of culturally disparate aesthetic impulses, an incipient vision of transnational political identifications, and a belief in the social relevance of experimentation in small groups. Drawing from interviews, interpretations of their music, and Wolpe's unpublished writings, I aim to focus attention on a moment of mutual exchange that broadens our understanding of the range of political values modernist musics could mediate at mid-century.

Like many composers after World War II, Wolpe worked to formulate an artistic response to totalitarianism. This mission became especially personalized as he struggled to develop a compositional aesthetic that might somehow redress his own experiences of dehumanization in Nazi Germany and his subsequent migrations. In response, in works like *Enactments* and the Oboe Quartet, Wolpe sought to imagine cosmopolitan modes of community—in his words, an "all-union-of-the-human-tongue"—through the exploration of eclectic new formal possibilities in his music. Creating a sense of exchange between heterogeneous musical elements and culturally diverse concepts became the motivation for his entire artistic practice. Not dealing responsibly with pluralities, he suggested publicly, lay at the heart of the political disasters of the century.

In this context, Wolpe explained, he identified with jazz as a "tongued" music, indicating jazz's potential as an effective means for speaking out critically. "Tongued" also alluded to jazz's speech-like and dialogical qualities, similar to effects he valued in his own energetic avant-garde music with its aspiration toward an "all-union-of-the-human-tongue." Though Wolpe never composed at mid-century in an explicit jazz or "third stream" idiom, many other aspects of bebop and its offshoots jibed with his preoccupations, especially the exploration of vastly expanded rhythmic and harmonic possibilities and a suggestive use of musical "found objects." Ultimately, I aim to show that this exchange was as much human as musical. As George Russell remembered, "my interest in talking to Wolpe was chiefly about life." A freedom of new musical possibilities, it was hoped, might encourage a freedom of new human possibilities.

CHANSON MODERNE
Jane Fulcher, University of Michigan, Chair

THE CHAT NOIR AND THE BIRTH OF THE *CHANSON MODERNE*
Derek B. Scott
University of Leeds

The *chanson moderne* was created at the Chat Noir (founded 1881), the first and most famous of Montmartre's *cabarets artistiques*, which attracted an informal gathering of musicians, theatrical performers, poets, and bohemian artists. Cultural historians (Carco 1954, Herbert 1967, Marc 1989, Cate and Shaw 1996, Hawkins 2000, Gendron 2002) have long considered the Chat Noir important to the rise of modernism, and have commented on its chansonniers. Musicologists, Steven Whiting (1998) excepted, have inexplicably ignored it. Yet, the contention of this paper is that the Chat Noir played a vital role in the history of French chanson.

Aristide Bruant (1851–1925), whose image is well known through the poster art of Toulouse-Lautrec, had a profound impact on French song by creating the *chanson realiste*, which reinvigorated the chanson through a concern with injustice, corruption, poverty, and crime. I propose that his provocative cabaret persona and peculiar method of distancing himself from sentimental involvement was highly influential, and that this is apparent in the unadorned forthrightness found often in later chansons by Georges Brassens, Barbara, and Leo Ferre. Not all chansonniers chose to sing of the dispossessed and disaffected. Maurice Mac-Nab (1856–89) specialized in macabre and grotesque chansons, such as "Suicide en partie double," in praise of double suicides. This subject matter shows how far the *chanson moderne* could differ from the cafe-concert chanson. Another distinguishing feature is the ability to turn at any moment from broad and inoffensive lyrics to the harshest social realism, as Emile Bessière exemplifies in "Les Morphinomanes," a chanson about drug addiction.

A critical evaluation is made, for the first time, of the music of the *chansons modernes*. Tension often exists between the music and text. For example, Mac-Nab's anarchic "Le Grand Métingue du Métropolitain," with its well-crafted melody, modulations in harmony, and richly detailed piano accompaniment, reveals the skill of the composer Camille Baron, and stands in strong contrast to Bruant's oeuvre. Here, rather than a spontaneous quality suggesting songs of the street, the influence of the bourgeois salon is evident—though it is in the context of parody. Paul Delmet (1862–1904) creates similar irony between text and music when he composes in a sentimental romance style for Maurice Vaucaire's "Les Petits Pavés," a chanson about a violent stalker.

The *chansons modernes* are found to possess a contradictory character in their reception. Bruant's chansons, for example, have been regarded as a mouthpiece for the Parisian underclass, but primary source evidence shows they also served as entertainment for the affluent, who enjoyed "slumming" in Montmartre. This paper argues for a more nuanced interpretation of the *chansons modernes*, assessing their meaning and value in the context of debates about the modern, the popular, and the avant-garde. They need to be understood as part of a new type of artistic cabaret that engaged with the contradictions and complexities of modernity, and spread quickly throughout Europe (to the Quatre Gats, Barcelona, the Elf Scharfrichter, Munich, Schall und Rauch, Berlin, and Die Fledermaus, Vienna).

NOTRE DAME DE LA CHANSON: YVETTE GUILBERT'S AMERICAN CAREER, 1915–1922

Jacqueline Waeber
Duke University

Still awaiting for a major reappraisal in the field of musicological studies, the French singer Yvette Guilbert (1865–1944) remains trapped in her self-created image of the "diseuse fin-de-siècle" that diverts us from her so-called "second career," which took place from 1901 to the 1930s.

Viewed as a major departure from her café-concert period, Guilbert's "second career" can be understood at its best by focusing on her exile in New York from 1915 to 1922—her fifth and last stay in the US, where she had been celebrated since her first tour in 1895. Drawing on little-known and unexplored archives mostly related to her last American stay, my paper aims to disclose the aesthetical and ideological motives underlying Guilbert's artistic output

during the 1910s and 1920s, examining the three main axes of her activities in song, theatre, and pedagogy.

Guilbert's American exile can be viewed as the culmination of her "second career." It is in New York that she eventually gave full voice to the "Vieille Chanson de France," the repertoire she had painstakingly started to construct since the 1890s, notably with the unacknowledged contribution of the Genevan pianist Gustave Ferrari. In 1916, Guilbert pursued her "mission" (as she would call it) with a series of concerts and lectures in collaboration with the renowned medievalist Jean Beck, and by deepening her interest in medieval French theatre, as evidenced by her 1919 theatrical reconstitution of *Guibour*, a fourteenth-century "mystère de Nostre Dame."

Guilbert's historical quest was also inscribed in an ambitious pedagogical program fuelled by her association with the avant-garde theatre of the Neighborhood Playhouse in Manhattan. There she found an ideal ground for the conception of her gestural art, defended in her book *How To Sing A Song* (1918), and her short-lived "Yvette Guilbert School of Theatre" that included classes on plastique, pantomime, and Dalcrozian rhythmics, as well as lectures on the literature of the Middle Ages or the Afro-American and Creole songs.

I will argue that Guilbert's "American" repertoire still reflects the typical late nineteenth-century French practice of juxtaposing high and popular culture, modern and past repertoires, as has been shown in recent scholarship. Inspired by the works of folklorists and medievalists like Julien Tiersot and Gaston Paris, with which she had been familiar since the 1890s, she tirelessly struggled to restore the "grandeur de la chanson française" through her pedagogical mission, influenced by the agenda of "popular" education, like the Conservatoire de Mimi Pinson.

If Guilbert's second career quickly declined after her 1922 Parisian comeback, the seeds of her New York experience would not be completely lost: one of her most fruitful and unexpected legacies can still be grasped in the recreation of medieval plays given from 1933 at the Sorbonne by the company of the "Théophiliens" directed by the medievalist Gustave Cohen, himself guided by the *credo* of "making the ancient modern."

MEDIEVAL COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS
Rebecca Maloy, University of Colorado, Chair

THE BECKET CHANTS: MOTIVES, MODES, AND MODELS

Andrew Hughes
University of Toronto

Chants for the office for Thomas Becket, composed about 1173 by Benedict of Peterborough, are quite distinctive. Some of the ways in which they differ from conventional plainchant are not hard to identify: we may cite the range, the modally coherent phrasing, and a symmetry deriving from its setting of rhymed and metrical texts. Bruno Stäblein, in 1975, speaking about the high quality of the chants, thought them particularly distinctive in two ways: first, he noticed that accented syllables were consistently set to melismas, and unaccented ones to single pitches. Second, he claimed that individual words were set to coherent modal motives, suggesting that they begin with and end on important modal pitches. We may call this "modally delimited word-setting." Although Stäblein cited some examples showing this feature,

there are no statistics and his analysis is necessarily quite brief so that we do not know how pervasive this feature truly is.

More recently David Hiley has taken up the phenomenon of modally delimited word-setting in the office for Mary Magdalene. I recently carried out work on a related topic, accumulating as a secondary investigation comprehensive statistics and comparing the Becket office with scores of other late offices and with the standard repertory of office chants to see whether the Becket words were truly distinctive in this way. Preliminary results suggest that they are not.

In the next months I will take the opportunity to rework systematic and comparative analysis to confirm or refute this tentative result. I will be using a database of some hundred thousand words and the melodic motives to which they are set.

The secondary purpose, inherent in the comparative aspects of this topic, will be to show how far the Becket melodic models were used in later offices, as was the case, in some five or six known offices, for the text. Recent work done by one of my assistants suggests that entire phrases were sometimes borrowed wholesale.

The overriding purpose of the paper, then, will be to demonstrate how far, and perhaps how, melodic motives of conventional plainchant are modified or retained in newly-composed chants and whether they are modally delimited.

I will demonstrate with as many visual examples as possible and, of course, with sound.

THE SCACCABAROZZI SKETCHES: SOME ASPECTS OF COMPOSITION AND COMPILATION TECHNIQUE IN LATE AMBROSIAN SONG

Jamie Younkin
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Composition and compilation processes in the Middle Ages have been the topic of much mystery and many debates in recent decades. Part of the reason these topics remain so elusive is that fact that, unlike studies of music from later periods, medieval musical studies generally lack the type of evidence provided by a composer's autograph sketches. The recent discovery of autograph sketches by a thirteenth-century plainsong poet and composer from Milan, Orrigo Scaccabarozzi (d. 1293), is therefore of some value. Bound into a collected-works volume in Milan, Biblioteca capitolo metropolitano II.F.2.1, these sketches provide an interesting case study of how one composer and compiler managed the subtle aspects of medieval compositional sound and style.

This study surveys some of Sacaccabarozzi's composition and compilation techniques as they are illustrated in his plainsong sketches. Both textual and musical aspects of the works are examined, and special attention is paid to the use of characteristic melodic intervals and ornaments as types of punctuation in Ambrosian-dialect songs. By way of a conclusion, I suggest that the plainsong characters known as the *pressus* and *oriscus* had a rhetorical significance in Ambrosian song that became especially significant when coupled with Scaccabarozzi's rhymed texts.

COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS IN TRECENTO MUSIC

Anna Maria Busse Berger
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Various scholars have suggested that orality played a role in the creation and transmission of trecento music. The most popular pieces are for the most part associated with specific composers and transmitted in writing. Yet, there are considerable variations among manuscripts, and it is not clear how they came into existence. The difficulties are twofold: first, compositions of the period are polyphonic; at the same time, however, it is now virtually certain that for the most part composers did not conceive pieces written in score, as we do today. Instead, they must have worked out the coordination of the voices in the mind, "alla mente." The voices were immediately written down in separate parts. Second, there is a huge gap between the intricate diminished counterpoint of the composers with their carefully controlled dissonance usage and the music theory treatises devoted to the art of counterpoint which seem exceedingly simplistic and rudimentary. All concentrate on note-against-note progressions and have very little to say on diminished counterpoint. In other words, the gap between what has come down to us in music manuscripts and what appears in theory manuals seems immense. And it is unclear how composers bridged this gap.

Art historians have had a longer and more detailed discussion of compositional process in the Middle Ages than musicologists for the simple reason that they have more surviving artifacts. Particularly revealing has been a study of so-called modelbooks, which consisted of examples, often collected or designed by the master, which could be used repeatedly by the bottega for any number of commissions. It might include a number of drawings of heads, which would cover essentially every kind of face an artist might have to paint. In the fifteenth century, artists gradually replaced model books with drawings or sketchbooks. Both relied extensively on memorized figures, which would then be adapted to particular commissions. Yet, the artist would not be praised for copying the figures, but for how they are put together and elaborated in ever new ways.

I would like to suggest that the memorization of interval progressions is music's equivalent of the model book. Moreover, I believe that our quest for dissonance rules is more indebted to Fux than to fifteenth-century theorists and that singers and composers had little need for dissonance rules. On the contrary, they must have believed that diminished counterpoint was not something one could teach with the help of a textbook. It seems likely that theorists would have covered it, had they considered it important. Diminished counterpoint could easily be passed on orally or learned by imitating or playing with other performers, or by copying manuscripts. It was not an issue for a theorist but for a performer.

Just as artists learned by memorizing figures, composers learned by memorizing polyphony and singing improvised polyphony. The constant singing of improvised counterpoint provided singers with instinctive knowledge of how to use consonances and dissonances and to dispense with written scores without abstract dissonance rules.

THE *PERLARO* CYCLE RECONSIDERED
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The cycle of six *perlaro* songs—two each by Maestro Piero, Giovanni da Cascia, and Jacopo da Bologna—is central to our narrative of the development of early Trecento music. I will re-interpret the evidence by reference to three interconnected hypotheses. First, Filippo Villani's account of the song contest between Giovanni and Jacopo at the Veronese court of Mastino II della Scala is correct, but the activity of Maestro Piero, not mentioned by Villani, took place at an earlier period, centering in the 1330s. Giovanni and Jacopo were asked to write songs in the manner of Maestro Piero, using the same poetic conceits. This also took the form of set-ting the same texts: "Sì com' al canto" in the case of Jacopo, and "Con brachi assai" in the case of Giovanni (neither text belongs to the *perlaro* cycle). The stylistic gap between the songs of Maestro Piero and his two successors corresponds to a chronological lag in their creation, one that also explains the circumscribed transmission of Piero's music. Second, the *perlaro* songs, which all refer to the *perlaro* tree and contain the *senhal* "Anna," were dedicated to Giovanna d'Antiochia, wife of Cangrande I della Scala and the aunt of Mastino II and Alberto II della Scala, lords of Verona. Giovanna, or Johanna, was the daughter of Konrad von Antioch, grandson of the Holy Roman Emperor, Friedrich II; she survived her husband by over two decades. Third, Giovanni's "O perlaro gentil se dispogliato" is a lament written for Giovanna d'Antiochia upon her death in late December 1351. Mastino II had preceded her in death in June 1351, while Alberto II della Scala followed his brother in September 1352. The tone and content of the poem, with its familiar trope of regeneration in spring as symbol of eternal life, can best be explained as a reference to the death of Anna.

MUSIC AND THE EVERYDAY
William Weber, California State University, Long Beach, Chair

THE MUSICAL LIVES OF TWO TEENAGE COUNTESSES IN DARMSTADT, 1742–1744
Andrew Talle
Peabody Conservatory

The study of musical life in the eighteenth century has traditionally favored professional musicians over amateurs. Those who made music professionally were far more likely to leave traces in the historical record than those who did so recreationally. The libraries of amateur musicians were typically discarded, in part because they were generally smaller than those of professionals and in part because their owners lacked students and admirers eager to preserve the materials.

The Pretlack Sammlung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin includes some fifty manuscripts of keyboard music which were prepared between 1742 and 1744 by a single scribe on be-half of two teenage daughters of Count Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt: Louise Charlotte and Friederica Sophia von Epstein. The manuscripts include short keyboard pieces excerpted from the printed works of diverse contemporary composers, including J. S. Bach, Handel, Graupner, Agrell, and Telemann. The sources have attracted little attention because they are

often corrupt and thus worthless for purposes of edition-making. And yet these materials provide a fascinating window into the musical lives of these two young women. Many of the manuscripts are dated by month and year, and arranged in collections according to key, providing insight into the pedagogical approach of their teacher, who identified himself only with the monogram "Me." On the basis of archival work I was able to determine his identity and illuminate his life as a theology student from Marburg, who instructed these two sisters not only in music but also in religious studies. Further contextual information is provided by letters they wrote about their governess and by an estate catalog of their mother's home in Rauschenberg. That they were active and enthusiastic participants in their own musical education is suggested by two minuets composed by Friederica Sophia, which she herself copied into a manuscript prepared in advance by her teacher.

Though the noble status of Count Ernst Ludwig's daughters gave them privileges that must have separated them from many amateur musicians, their musical lives were apparently typical in some important ways: their teacher was young and inexperienced, the sources for their repertoire were less than authoritative, and they seem not to have had many personal connections to the composers whose music they practiced. The investigation of this substantial collection of neglected keyboard manuscripts illuminates the ways in which solo keyboard music by well-known composers such as Bach, Handel, and Telemann was actually used by the public.

"IN THE PANTRY, OR THE LIBRARY . . . UPSTAIRS IN THE BEDROOMS": BRITAIN'S HIDDEN CHAMBER MUSIC

Christina Bashford
University of Illinois

One of the strongest claims in the historiography of chamber music in general and British musical life in particular is that Britain in the nineteenth century lacked a significant domestic string quartet (or serious chamber music) culture, of the sort so prevalent in Germany. This view, promulgated by such mid-twentieth-century scholars as Ernst Hermann Meyer, Denis Arnold and Michael Tilmouth, holds that such activities dried up in Britain, along with indigenous chamber-music composition, around 1800, and were replaced by the ubiquitous parlor piano. This paper re-evaluates these claims and implications, and explores why they should have taken root so strongly in the literature.

The starting point for my analysis is a body of newly-discovered primary evidence for domestic and public music-making in Britain, taken from newspapers, novels, private diaries, letters, auction catalogs, amateur drawings, and so on. From this, it emerges that, contrary to much received opinion, British composers produced a considerable number of string quartets, piano trios, piano quartets etc. across the nineteenth century; that these works were usually publicly performed; and that chamber music was frequently played in private (by men, and later, as gender boundaries were negotiated, women) in wealthy middle-class households across Britain. There are traces of domestic chamber-music making in grand country houses, parsonages, Oxford and Cambridge colleges, garrison towns, and so on—mostly corners of musical England neglected by the traditional, London-centered historical narratives.

But the recovery of this evidence alone cannot explain why such a negative picture of Britain's domestic chamber-music life has persisted for so long, and the paper goes on to explore

the ideas and assumptions that lay beneath these assertions, both within the period and as handed down across the twentieth century.

Conclusions in the secondary histories may well have been based on ideas that the apparent lack of British chamber-music composition spawned a negligible domestic performance tradition; and on simplistic explanations about the shift from music made in the home to the concert hall—assumptions that are now being seriously challenged. Further marginalization may have come from scholars subscribing to the mainstream musicological view of chamber music as an inherently German phenomenon, and to their indifference to contextual music history. At the same time, the underlying thinking may have owed something to an ideology embedded in the nineteenth century itself. A knot of cultural anxieties around the intersecting issues of gender (especially masculinity), class, intellectualism and national identity may have led observers at the time to consciously down-play, caricature, or ignore the serious, private pursuit of chamber music among British men of wealth and leisure.

Although probably never more than a minority activity, the chamber-music-making of devoted amateurs in nineteenth-century Britain was by no means as negligible as it has been portrayed, and its rehabilitation offers a new and meaningful counterpoint to the stereotype of the Victorian female at the piano, while also uncovering societal issues and tensions around the pursuit of serious music.

THE PEERLESS RECITER: RECONSTRUCTING THE LOST ART OF ELOCUTION WITH MUSIC

Marian Wilson Kimber
University of Iowa

This paper explores the performance practice of combining music with spoken recitation, which flourished in England and North America between 1880 and 1920. Professional elocutionists sometimes specialized in melodramatic repertoire with piano or orchestral accompaniment, such as Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* with music by Richard Strauss and Max von Schillings's *Hexenlied*. Amateur performances of poetry accompanied by piano commonly occurred in domestic settings. The increase in composition of melodramatic pieces at the turn of the century included multiple settings of oft-recited poems, including works by Edgar Allan Poe, Adelaide Proctor, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

More informal pairings of poetry with music generally drew on pieces not necessarily composed for any specific text. This practice has gone largely unexamined by musicologists because it falls outside traditional conceptions of the musical work, but there is no lack of evidence for it. Recitation anthologies and pedagogical publications can suggest what was heard in undocumented private performances. The writings of Clifford Harrison, who regularly recited with music, provided criteria for the selection of appropriate accompaniments. Recitation handbooks sometimes proffered characteristic music. Alfred Miles's *The New Standard Elocutionist* (1897), for example, supplies several excerpts, including a section of the piano part to Schubert's *Erlkönig* for stormy, agitated situations. Popular parlor books, such as Henry Davenport Northrop's *The Peerless Reciter* (1894) and Elsie Wilbor's *Delsarte Recitation Book* (1890, 1905), include written suggestions for adapting music successfully, and contain a sampling of poems with simple musical excerpts aimed at amateur reciters.

While it is possible to reconstruct the musical settings for recitation, it is more difficult to recapture the performance style of nineteenth-century speakers, which, according to

numerous elocution books, would have had marked elements of pitch and rhythm. The specific musical intervals required of speakers were often notated in pedagogical works with a variety of graphic symbols. A musical transcription of a performance by reciter Helen Potter was published in 1915. British composer Stanley Hawley's vocal ideal lay somewhere between speaking and singing, and elocutionist Emma Dunning Banks's *Original Recitations with Lesson Talks* (1890) describes how to "intone the words in time to the music." What was described in the elocution manuals is borne out in early recordings of actors Herbert Beerbohm Tree and Frank Benson. Two melodramatic works, Edward Elgar's *Carillon* and Max Heinrich's *The Raven*, recorded *c*. 1913–15, can provide clues about the prevailing style, in which spoken passages had an audibly musical basis in performance.

NORMAN ROCKWELL'S *SHUFFLETON'S BARBERSHOP*: A MUSICAL-ICONOGRAPHICAL RIDDLE

Blake Howe
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Since appearing on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* on 29 April 1950, Norman Rockwell's *Shuffleton's Barbershop* has been recognized as one of the artist's greatest works from his period in Arlington, Vermont. In its depiction of a clarinet, violin, and cello trio rehearsing in the back room of a small-town barbershop, it is also a valuable—and puzzling—piece of American musical iconography. Puzzling, because such trios are exceedingly rare: by the time Rockwell began work on his painting, only three pieces for such an ensemble had been published. Inevitable questions arise from this musical-iconographical riddle: who are the players in this strange ensemble, what might they be playing, and why are they playing it?

A remarkable geographic coincidence strongly suggests that the music is Adolf Busch's "Deutsche Tänze" (op. 26, no. 3). Best known today as the first violinist of the Busch Quartet and for his collaborations with son-in-law Rudolf Serkin, Busch was also a published—if not widely performed—composer. After leaving Germany for Manhattan in 1941, Busch and his family spent many summers in towns around Brattleboro, Vermont, and, in 1948, he purchased a home in Guilford—roughly fifty-five miles east of Arlington. Though there is no record of their having met, Busch and Rockwell shared a prominent close friend in the author and philanthropist Dorothy Canfield Fisher, who could have easily introduced the two or, at the very least, provided the right conditions for Rockwell to have come in contact with "Deutsche Tänze." Given their uncanny physical proximity, the odds are compelling.

A staunchly Germanic piece in title, genre, and harmonic language, "Deutsche Tänze" introduces a witty bit of Rockwellian cultural dissonance into the mythic Americana of *Shuffleton's Barbershop*. As if to make the irony more apparent, a tattered American flag from a World War II poster hangs just next to the trio of musicians. This painterly intrusion of the foreign and worldly into a small-town community was not an unpolitical act in 1950. Around this time, there was much interest in the musical culturalization of rural Vermont, best symbolized, perhaps, by Busch's creation of the Marlboro School of Music in the summer of 1950 (just months after the publication of *Shuffleton's* in the *Post*). Frustrated by the lack of opportunities in America for his beloved repertoire of chamber music, Busch sought to bring amateurs and professionals alike to the small Green Mountain town of Marlboro. Rockwell's painting, too, seems to be a comment on this perceived gap in American musical culture, and his musicians—amateurs playing chamber music for pleasure, utterly without pretension—were precisely the kind of instrumentalists that Busch would have most admired.

MUSIC IN FILM
Michael Pisani, Vassar College, Chair

LITURGICAL BORROWINGS AS FILM MUSIC IN EISENSTEIN'S *IVAN THE TERRIBLE*

Katherine Ermolaev Ossorgin
Princeton University

To date, the Russian liturgical music heard in Sergei Eisenstein's film *Ivan the Terrible* (1945) has received little scholarly attention. The liturgical music, borrowed from the nineteenth- and twentieth-century repertoire of traditional *a cappella* Russian Orthodox music, comprises a significant portion of the film music, yet the origins of its inclusion in the film remain unknown. Research on the topic has proven difficult to conduct; most of the liturgical music was sung spontaneously on the set and the single critical edition of the film music (Sikorski, 1997) is riddled with errors and incomplete transcriptions. Based on both a close reading of the original screenplay and a detailed musical analysis of the original score housed in the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow, I have discovered that the liturgical music in *Ivan the Terrible* serves a variety of functions that altogether enrich our understanding of Eisenstein's art and his collaboration with Sergei Prokofiev on the music for the film.

In addition to approaching the questions regarding the provenance of the liturgical music in the film, I explore the variety of ways it was used and conclude that overall, liturgical music serves multiple purposes in the two extant parts and planned third part of the film. In Part I, the most important function of the liturgical music is to support the patriotic tone of the drama. Part I is framed by scenes in which liturgical music enhances the depiction of Ivan as a national, even God-chosen, hero. As Ivan grows increasingly dark and more complex through Parts II and the planned Part III, the liturgical music plays an ever greater role in affirming this character development. Liturgical texts hint at Ivan's cruel nature by comparing his victims to Christian martyrs and even to Christ himself. In the original screenplay, Eisenstein repeatedly refers to Ivan and his henchmen, the *oprichniki*, as fallen angels. A planned scene in Part III was to engage the *oprichniki* in a parody of the Orthodox Requiem service. The diabolical representation of Ivan and his *oprichniki* culminates in the *oprichnik* Oath (written by Prokofiev) that concludes Part II. Possessing qualities antithetical to traditional Russian liturgical music, the Oath of the *oprichniki* makes Ivan and the *oprichniki* appear diabolical themselves.

The liturgical music helped seal the fate of the film. Part I earned the Stalin Prize in 1946 for its patriotic depiction of Ivan while Part II was banned and Part III never completed. Allegedly too "religious" and "mystical," Part II actually has fewer liturgical borrowings than Part I. What displeased Stalin was the manner in which religious imagery (and music) was used to portray Ivan negatively. Understanding the liturgical borrowings is crucial to understanding the fraught politics of *Ivan the Terrible*, and the tribulations of the Eisenstein-Prokofiev collaboration.

MUSIC AND IDEOLOGY IN *DAS UNSTERBLICHE HERZ* (1939)

Tobias Plebuch
Humboldt University

In 1937, the German propaganda ministry reorganized the Reich's second largest film studio. Due to its huge budget, the company's major production of the following year, *Das unsterbliche Herz*, required special approval by Joseph Goebbels himself.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this film is its music. From the catastrophic opening to the triumphant finale, the score consists exclusively of compositions by J. S. Bach orchestrated by Alois Melichar and performed by the Berlin Philharmonic. While the tradition of compiling and arranging pre-existing music goes back to the silent era, Melichar's arrangements sparked off a highly controversial debate about the use and abuse of canonized masterpieces in the cinema. Nonetheless, the film became a box office hit, won lavish praise in the German press and, its nationalistic message notwithstanding, even in the New York Times. The film's success was largely due to the leading actor's brilliant performance, a carefully orchestrated publicity campaign, and, last but not least, a carefully orchestrated score based on keyboard works, choral music and a Schemelli song by Bach.

The derivative nature of the score and its unknown location may have caused *Das unsterbliche Herz* to be ignored in film music studies to this point. Fortunately, manuscript sources have survived, although misfiled and incomplete, in Melichar's estate. A close examination of the score allows a deeper understanding of his skillful adaptations of Bach's original music ranging from delicate chamber ensembles to massive orchestrations of late Romantic dimensions and style. An intertextual analysis reveals how narrative, imagery and particularly Bach's compositions under Wagnerian guise evoked Riefenstahl's infamous documentary of the 1934 Nazi party rally without turning the film into a heavy-handed propaganda piece.

UNATTAINABLE TEXT?: ON A CONTEMPORARY FILM MUSIC STUDIES

David Neumeyer
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I argue against establishing film music studies as a sub-discipline of historical musicology in the form of a narrative of film style, achieved by accumulating case studies. Film music studies is a topic within sound track studies, itself a sub-discipline of sound studies. Within a historical musicology, attention in case studies should be directed as much to music's place in the sound track as to music's narrative functions.

The case study mentality is not the problem—indeed, it is hard to see how information can be gathered efficiently any other way at this point in the development of film music studies. The problem is the myth of music as special that comes out of the classical cinema through the engrained conventions that it fostered. In the "transition decade" (roughly 1927–37) the status of music, however, was almost always in contention. Even if that conflict was temporarily resolved in favor of an operatic conception, the consensus held true only for certain types of films, such as high-budget spectacles and melodramas. As Rick Altman has shown, the conventionalized model that emerged from technological and aesthetic developments in the 1930s was the *mis-en-bande*, or the aural environment of the sound track.

Music is at odds with the image—it needs mediation, and in the context of the *mis-en-bande*, music is mediated by dialogue. Music's presence always needs justification: it is justified

to the image by speech as parallel to the latter's basic role in the rhythmic flow of stream of consciousness. On the other hand, the image is justified to music by the concreteness of physical anchoring in the body and of the sound of associations (words). Acknowledging the modes of thought that have grown out of film's "central paradox: the co-presence of movement and stillness" (Mulvey), we can approach the matter dialectically and in its proper context, the image track and integrated sound track of the sound film. As a practical demonstration, a close reading will be carried out, similar to Bellour's "The Obvious and the Code," but focused on the mediation of speech.

STEMMING THE ROSE, QUEERING THE SONG: *BROKEBACK MOUNTAIN*, OLD HOLLYWOOD, AND THE RADICAL POLITICS OF RUFUS WAINWRIGHT

Paula Higgins
University of Nottingham

Castigated by the Christian right, and slighted for Best Picture by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Ang Lee's *Brokeback Mountain* also drew sharp rebuke from gay critics for depoliticizing its subject matter: failing to cast gay actors, targeting a heterosexual audience, and concealing its homosexual theme as a "universal love story." Whatever the marketing and casting decisions ineluctably driven by same-sex politics, *Brokeback* nevertheless made history as a "landmark film" for GLBT civil liberties, garnering unforeseen industry accolades and eliciting emotional reactions of seismic proportions from viewers around the globe.

The role of the soundtrack in effecting these socially transformative responses has yet to be interrogated. Gustavo Santaolalla's musical score ingeniously redeploys a musical genre (country-western) associated with the conservative, rural United States for a film whose subject matter radically challenges "traditional American values." The soundtrack assembles an unusually queer-friendly and activist cast of musicians. And what many deem the best song in the film features an out-and-proud singer-songwriter known for the queer anthem "Gay Messiah" and his vociferous resistance to the neo-conservative agenda of George W. Bush.

As the final song in the film, Rufus Wainwright's "The Maker Makes" was ineligible for Best Original Song, thus (according to some) "robbing" Wainwright of a prestigious Oscar nomination and enabling the misogynous "It's Hard Out There for a Pimp" to walk away with the coveted award. Others dismiss the starkly scored, 'cowboy lament' for solo voice and piano as being of little compositional interest compared to the songwriter's complex, classically inspired, and richly orchestrated 'poperatic' productions. Why would the Taiwanese director commission an original song from an openly gay musician "lauded as the greatest songwriter of his generation" only to consign it to inaudibility at film's end? And why would the songwriter appear to have been happily complicit in a decision which some believe deprived him of career-enhancing professional recognition?

Intrigued by this paradox, and by reports of the song's provocation of visceral, physiological responses in some listeners, my paper directs its attention to the closing sequence where "The Maker Makes" forms the third panel of a meticulously crafted and emotionally charged audio-visual triptych. I contextualize the song with respect to the film's provocative phrase, "stem the rose"; the homophobic political climate in the United States; Wainwright's vociferous resistance as a political activist; his autobiographical links with icons of Old Hollywood; and, above all, the trademark allusivity of his songs. I offer a critical reading/hearing of "The

Makes Makes" triggered by acoustic palimpsests that collectively out this notionally "apolitical" elegy as a radically subversive text. Situated in the privileged position of final utterance, the song functions as a multi-vocal political speech act: an anthem, a prayer, a critique of the social pathology of the closet, and a clarion call to end the American embarrassment of government-sanctioned homophobia. "The Maker Makes" emerges as the ideological prequel and acoustic palimpsest for more spectacular queer utterances enacted on Wainwright's most recent album, *Release the Stars* (2007).

MUSIC OF DEVOTION
Christine Getz, University of Iowa, Chair

LAY DEVOTION AND CHURCH MUSIC REFORM IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROME: INFLUENCES ON PALESTRINA IN THE 1560s

Noel O'Regan
University of Edinburgh

A recent discovery of musical involvement by Giovanni P. da Palestrina in two Roman confraternities in the 1560s highlights the importance of such institutions as sponsors of music during that critical decade for church music. In concentrating on Tridentine documents and follow-up directives, discussion of church-music reform has tended to ignore the important contribution to change made by the devotional sphere. From earlier in the sixteenth century devotional services required simple and effective music in both the vernacular and Latin: lamentations, *laude spirituali*, litanies, Marian antiphons, motets, music for *sacre rappresentazioni*, spiritual madrigals, and so on. While some Mass-settings by Palestrina and Giovanni Animuccia in the late 1560s undoubtedly show the much-vaunted change of style, analogous changes to the motet and other genres are often overlooked. This paper will give details of Palestrina's newly-found confraternity employments and will use them as a starting point for a fresh look at the music composed in Rome during the later 1560s. We are also now in a position to place an end-date on Palestrina's employment at S. Maria Maggiore as well as identifying his successor there. Palestrina's move to the Jesuit-run Seminario Romano in late 1566 brought him into direct contact with Ignatian spirituality and its devotional implications. The end-result of all these influences was his highly-charged *Liber primus motettorum, 5–7vv* of 1569 which, together with the Latin pieces in Animuccia's *Il secondo libro delle laudi* of 1570, revolutionized motet writing in Rome.

THE BURNING THORNBUSH AND THE HOLY TURTLEDOVE: JOHANNES KHUEN'S THOROUGHBASS SONGS FOR THE FRANCISCAN NUNS OF COUNTER-REFORMATION MUNICH

Alexander J. Fisher
University of British Columbia

In recent years we have learned much about the cultivation of liturgical and devotional music behind the walls of post-Tridentine enclosed convents, particularly in Italian cities like Rome, Bologna, Siena, and Milan. In the female houses of Catholic Germany, by contrast, little is known about musical culture given the scattering of archival records due to the upheavals of religious wars and monastic secularization. Insight into this question is offered by

a repertory of vernacular thoroughbass lieder penned by the Munich priest Johannes Khuen (1606–1675) and published in the 1630s and early 1640s. Dedicated to prominent noblewomen and the mothers of Munich's houses of Franciscan tertiaries, Khuen's songbooks provide an accessible medium for the valorization of spiritual wedding, monastic asceticism, and female role models drawn from the Scriptures and hagiography. The sometimes lengthy strophic poems are assigned to bipartite diatonic melodies of modest difficulty—accompanied homophonically by a lightly-figured or unfigured instrumental bass—that guarantee clarity of poetic diction.

This paper introduces this unfamiliar repertory, while suggesting that its publication represented a propagandistic response to the recent imposition of full claustration. In 1621 Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria had welcomed to his duchy the Reformed Franciscans, who immediately set out to enclose tertiary communities that for centuries had carried out charitable activities in the public sphere. These open houses of women from diverse backgrounds were to be supplanted by idealized corporations of sacred virgins—increasingly noblewomen—dependent on the court for their economic survival and whose piety was to be channeled in mystical, ascetic directions. Enclosure was not achieved without resistance, however; women opposing the measure were forbidden to leave their houses, and archival evidence documents the difficulty of imposing ascetic discipline and the singing of the Latin Breviary. The women of Khuen's time would have remembered this difficult initial wave of claustration in the 1620s as well as the re-enclosure of the convents after many of them fled Munich in the face of the invading Swedish Protestant army (1632). Khuen, who was closely connected to the religious and political concerns of the Wittelsbach court and the locally powerful Jesuits, designed his songs to speak to his idealized vision of the nuns' spirituality: heavenly wedding feasts await those who have renounced the world and earthly suitors in favor of Christ the Bridegroom; he celebrates the glorious martyrdom of virgin saints, with Mary at their head, as models for emulation; and he characterizes the convent as the noble *Frauenzimmer*, an analogue to the privileged spaces for women in the earthly as well as in the heavenly court. As such these songs represent a tuneful apologia for life behind convent walls at a time when the memory of traffic with the outside world was still fresh, their melodies serving as effective vehicles for the transmission and memorization of texts. At the same time, devotional singing of this kind could also resonate with a brand of post-Tridentine spirituality that convent women increasingly internalized in the course of the seventeenth century.

DEFINING MUSIC IN THE CLOISTER: DEVOTIONAL SONG IN THE ROYAL CONVENT OF LAS DESCALZAS (MADRID)

Janet Hathaway
Northern Illinois University

The royal convent of Las Descalzas distinguished itself from other female monastic houses in Habsburg Madrid by following the austere First Rule of St. Clare, which prohibited the sisters from singing their liturgy; a professional male musical chapel performed both chant and polyphony for the convent. The women were forbidden to perform music within the public's hearing in the church and musical activity was strictly regulated in the *locutorio* (parlor). Research of the last two decades has shown that nuns in prestigious convents in early modern Spain and Italy actively cultivated sacred music and, in some instances, earned renown for their music. These investigations have led us to a better understanding of how nuns' music

functioned within the spiritual and cultural context of the convent. In this paper I discuss the unusual case of Las Descalzas, with its regulations and its male musical chapel, and why it apparently sought to silence the women's voice; this yields additional insights into the musical practices of early modern nuns.

Surviving records indicate that music making by the privileged, well-educated women in the highly governed environment of Las Descalzas was restricted to private, non-liturgical music in the form of devotional songs. The most vivid account of a Descalzas nun singing in the cloister constellates specific spiritual markers, namely, her illness; her Christ-like acceptance of her suffering (*imitatio Christi*), which prompted her to sing devotional verses; and a miracle attributed to the piety of the nun: after her death, a piece of her clothing was said to cure a woman who also suffered from breast cancer. A contemporary report that tells of a different miraculous cure experienced by a male chaplain-singer of the Descalzas chapel points to a distinction—in this institution at least—between men's and women's music: while the nun, who expressed her faith in devotional song, effected a miracle, the devout chaplain was rewarded with a cure that enabled him to sing.

The limitations on the women's musical expression (limits placed by Juana de Austria, the founder of the convent and a professed music lover) helped create a rarefied atmosphere in which the sisters' music—unheard by the public—was divorced of any sensual element and instead was perceived in purely spiritual terms. I consider the decision by Juana de Austria to limit the nuns' music in light of the contemporary shift in Habsburg women's role in political matters: Juana de Austria was the last Habsburg woman to be freely given an active role in government, and the convent she founded came to serve as an institution in which her female relatives exercised influence through spiritual and familial, rather than directly political, means. The careful regulation of music in the cloister suggests that in the voices of these highborn women, music was understood both to transcend the physicality of the body and to signal exceptional piety.

ENCHANTING RITUALS: CELEBRATING THE REFORMATION CENTENARY IN 1617

Bettina Varwig
Magdalen College, University of Oxford

On 31 October 1617, many of the Protestant German territories mounted extensive celebrations to honor the centenary of the Reformation, an event most powerfully symbolized by Luther's posting of the ninety-five theses exactly a hundred years before. Past musicological interest in the festivities has largely been restricted to identifying the pieces that various composers contributed to the occasion and asserting their function as Lutheran propaganda. Yet a detailed examination of contemporary political and theological evidence reveals a much more complicated network of polemics and anxieties, centered around issues of social and spiritual identity and the power of commemorative rituals to shape such collective beliefs.

My paper addresses the ways in which music—in particular Heinrich Schütz's large-scale compositions for the Dresden celebrations—participated in this interplay of conflicting agendas. I initially investigate the ambiguous meanings of ritual within Lutheran ideology at the time. Drawing on recent theories of ritual as a "process of emotional evocation" (Edward Muir), I discuss the crucial dilemma the reformers faced by shifting the emphasis from the sense of sight—paramount in Catholic forms of worship—to the sense of hearing, focused

on the Word and its exegesis in the sermon. This intellectualized version of religion, which banned most kinds of mystical and ritual behavior, proved impossible to implant in the wider populace. Various forms of ritual were therefore retained or introduced to replace and denigrate popular Catholic traditions, yet the ritual action was fundamentally redefined as centering on representation rather than presence—hence, for example, the practice of commemorating historical events as a substitute for asserting the continual presence of Saints on many Catholic holidays.

Music played a crucial but ambivalent role in defining the nature of these reinvented, representational rituals: while Lutheran doctrine supposedly endorsed music as a means for making heard the Protestant message, Schütz's Psalm settings for the 1617 celebrations rely surprisingly little on Lutheran melodies or styles, instead adopting the magnificent polychoral idiom that the composer had learnt from the Catholic Gabrieli. Moreover, the martial trumpets and drums prominent in some pieces could equally have served to affirm secular authority, or else might have constituted an openly aggressive gesture in a tense pre-war atmosphere. Instead of tying the music to any one of these possible meanings, I argue that its vague and sensual qualities (encapsulated so strikingly in the overwhelming aural experience of the Venetian style) effectively recaptured some of the emotional power of past rituals. Such a reading not only challenges the current widespread perception of Lutheran vocal music as a way to preach Protestant dogma, but also complicates the familiar narrative of the progressive "disenchantment" of early modern society as a result of a Protestant-inspired rationalism.

STRAVINSKY
Pieter van den Toorn, University of California, Santa Barbara, Chair

STRAVINSKY AND THE 1903 CRYSTALLIZATION OF DEBUSSY'S STYLE

François de Médicis
University of Montreal

Scholars have long recognized the strong affinities between French and Russian musical culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and their increased interaction that lead to the development of a viable alternative to German aesthetics. The rapprochement between Debussy and Stravinsky is a well-known if argued case in point, for which I provide concrete and detailed evidence. I demonstrate this in two stages. First I provide a new understanding of a decisive stylistic crystallization that occurred in Debussy's works around 1903. Second, I point to previously unobserved commonalities between the French composer's post-1903 style and Stravinsky's first Russian-period mature works of the early 1910s.

The emergence of a new Debussyst style in works such as *La mer*, *L'Isle Joyeuse,* and *Estampes* is recognized both in the composer's own letters from the period and in Laloy's first "authorized" monograph (1909). But I describe this shift much more concretely, in terms of characteristic textural and pitch organizations. Admittedly, the influence of the French school on Stravinsky's musical development was widely accepted in Stravinsky studies (Schaeffner, White) until Taruskin's revision in *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* (1996). While Taruskin acknowledged various reminiscences from the French repertoire (e.g., Debussy, Ravel, and Dukas), he considerably downplayed its relevance and deemed it superficial by comparison to the Russian legacy. In technical terms, he positioned the Russian stylistic hegemony

mainly in the pitch domain, along with the conjunct exploitation of modal and octatonic/symmetrical pitch formations. In aesthetic terms, Taruskin found Stravinsky's music reflective of the Russian traits of stasis, additive form, and brute simplification (or roughly *Nepodvizhnost*, *Drobnost*, and *Oproshcheniye*).

For all his remarkable insights into Stravinsky's ties to the Russian tradition, Taruskin's near exclusion of foreign influence appears questionable as far as the first mature Russian works are concerned (e.g., *Petrouchka* and *Nightingale*). As a case in point, I highlight the striking similarities between Stravinsky's *Petrouchka* ("Shrove-Tide Fair") and Debussy's *Estampe* ("Pagodes")—a work Stravinsky heard in 1904. Following Taruskin's own strategy, my discussion will focus less on musical borrowings than on technical procedures and aesthetic values. The commonalities between the two works are closely tied to Debussy's new shift in the use of layered texture, a predilection for ostinati and pedal points, and the subtle formal interactions between the strata. Furthermore, the two works feature a linking melodic motive: in both cases, it is based on the same set-class [0257], has the same linear contour, and is moreover integrated as a subset into various pentatonic and heptatonic scales.

As a whole, the stylistic features that define Debussy's shift have little precedent in Russian music. To be sure, the quintessential Russian color in *Petrouchka* owes nothing to Debussy. Nonetheless, the aesthetic values Taruskin recognizes in Stravinsky are very similar to the ones scholars have long ascribed to Debussy's music: stasis, disruption, additive form, and decorative figurations—a substitute for brute simplification (Jarocinski, Jankelevitch, Wheeldon). This contrasts radically with the Germanic valuation of teleology, organicism, and pathos, suggesting that both leaders of French and Russian modernity reacted in similar ways to German culture.

THE STRAVINSKY CODE: *JEUX DE NOMBRES* IN *THE RITE OF SPRING*

Matthew McDonald
Northeastern University

The margins of Stravinsky's sketchbook for *The Rite of Spring* are littered with numerical and symbolic notations: tallies of instrumental forces, unidentified equations, clusters of mysterious symbols, and personalized dal segno indications. Many of these are extremely cryptic, but most have received no more than casual interpretations and have sometimes been dismissed altogether as trivial. Upon careful study, however, these markings can be shown to relate to an idiosyncratic and secret set of compositional procedures that account for an astounding number of *The Rite's* most famous rhythmic innovations. Specifically, Stravinsky seems to have translated the intervallic structures of prominent chords and melodies into durational series. The process is straightforward: each interval in a chord or pitch collection is measured in semitones, and these numerical measurements are converted into beats, which are then used to generate an irregular pattern of accents or a series of changing rhythmic values. The paper begins with a selection of representative examples, each taken from the beginning of one of the titled sections of *The Rite*, where the best known music of the ballet resides. I then turn to Stravinsky's sketches for the "Sacrificial Dance," which contains the highest concentration of numerical and symbolic markings in the sketchbook. Here, I attempt to decode various quasi-hieroglyphic characters, equations (which Robert Craft has speculated might have concerned "overdue rent" or "railroad timetables"), and other numerical markings. In considering these pages, I draw upon evidence from Stravinsky's autograph score and the four-hand piano

reduction upon which he recorded choreographic instructions for Nijinsky. Together, these analyses of score and sketches uncover a precompositional musical/numerical/symbolic complex that seems to have informed Stravinsky's compositional decisions and, as suggested by the role of the composer's own monogram in this complex, that Stravinsky may have designed as a way to encode his own identity into the work.

This new perspective on Stravinsky's compositional method calls for a reappraisal of the meaning and significance of *The Rite*. As a first step in this direction, I speculate upon the difficult question of how Stravinsky might have conceived of these procedures: Do they constitute an instance of proto-serialism, an early example of the tendency towards rigid precompositional systems that would emerge more fully in the music of the Second Viennese School? Did Stravinsky design these procedures as a means of diminishing his conscious control over his musical product, and if so was this impulse linked to the practice of "automatic writing" soon to taken up by Andre Bréton and others (a tantalizing possibility in the context of Stravinsky's experimentation with a new script in his sketchbook)? Or were they primarily a response to the subject matter of *The Rite*, a representation of a Pythagorean view of nature, in which simple numerical relationships are imagined to underlie the processes of life? Through these and other questions, we can begin to situate Stravinsky's numerical games within the context of his personal history and views about music as well as in relation to early-twentieth-century European modernist ideas and practices.

FROM SCHERZO TO *SON*: PIANO MUSIC BY CUBAN WOMEN COMPOSERS, *C.* 1870 TO THE PRESENT
Margaret E. Lucia, Piano
Shippensburg University

Today, American musicians have become increasingly aware of the rich resource of melodies and rhythms of their politically estranged neighbor, Cuba. However, in the midst of this newfound admiration for the country's folk/popular forms, Cuban concert music has been somewhat neglected, despite the strong presence of contemporary composers such as Tania León, Leo Brouwer, Aurelia de la Vega, Orlando Jacinto Garcia, and others. Further, composers of previous generations, particularly those of the late nineteenth century, who helped develop the concert art forms, have been similarly disregarded.

In this lecture-recital, I will show the evolution of concert music in Cuba by performing solo piano music from the late nineteenth century to the present. Further, I will present this development entirely from the perspective of the woman composer in Cuba. Although their numbers are not large (or, at least, our current knowledge about them is limited), women of this time period have benefited from the education of a classic conservatory tradition firmly established in the eighteenth century by Esteban Salas, superb organizer, philosopher, and a composer of refinement. Throughout the nineteenth century, musical training closely paralleled that of Europe; students were given a thorough grounding in Mozart and Beethoven, but were also exposed to the extravagance of opera as well as the shorter genres for piano and voice of the romantics.

One of the first women to establish herself as both a composer and pianist was Havana composer Cecilia Arizti (1856–1930). Born into a musical family, she studied first with her pianist/composer father, and then with Nicolás Ruiz Espadero (1832–1890), then one of the best-known composers and teachers in Cuba. While Espadero was known for his virtuosic fantasies on opera themes, Arizti's music is characterized by a unique lyricism and careful formal construction. The first two selections on the program, *Scherzo*, Op. 10, and *Reverie*, Op. 16, exemplify this more refined romantic style. Unlike Manuel Saumell (1814–1870), or her contemporary, Ignacio Cervantes (1847–1905), she did not use native rhythms in her music. However, as the twentieth century progressed, the genres of *son, rumba, canción, contradanza* (and later, *danzón*), *guajiro*, and *zapateo* developed and became popular—and found their way into the art music. Indeed, unlike musical education in the United States, conservatory training in Cuba has long reflected the richness of its entire musical culture by its all-inclusive approach to the education of its students. When asked by *NewMusicBox* interviewer Frank J. Oteri if she was taught about local music and composers as well as standard classical repertoire, Tania León responded, "for us to study Chopin and to study Lecuona, it was on equal terms . . . You couldn't learn to play the twenty-four *Études* by Chopin without learning the Lecuona dances or the Cervantes *Contredanses*." Thus, the diversity of style and incorporation of indigenous rhythms in the art music of Cuba from early in the tweintieth century to the present should come as no surprise. Gisela Hernandez (1912–1971), who was educated in the United States as well as in Havana, adopted both neoclassical and impressionist techniques in mid-career, but turned increasingly to nationalism in her mature works. The "Cubanas"

Suite offers a contemporary view of son and *guajira* (a country style); *Zapateo Cubano* takes the form of a set of variations on Cuban dances.

Turning to living composers, one continues to find a broad range of styles. María Alvarez Ríos (b. 1919), who has devoted much of her career to the musical education of children (she composed a musical theater piece on Saint-Exupery's *The Little Prince*), evokes the memory of Saumell in two Contradanzas. Magaly Ruiz Lastres (b. 1941), a leading figure both education and composition in Cuba, also utilizes the rhythm of the *contradanza/habanera* in *En Pregon*, one of Twelve Cuban Studies for piano. Tania León, former composer in residence with the New York Philharmonic and one of the most celebrated Cuban-born composers, writes in the most eclectic style of all, often combining native instruments, such as bata drums, with standard orchestral ensembles and voices. *Momentum*, written in New York in 1984, juxtaposes fragments of blues, jazz, and Latin rhythms in a context of great intensity. *Tumbáo*, one of her most recent works, is a short, fast salsa-like toccata—irrepressible and brilliant.

THE AMERICAN MUSICAL
bruce d. mcclung, University of Cincinnati, Chair

BERNSTEIN'S *WONDERFUL TOWN* AND MCCARTHY-ERA POLITICS

Carol J. Oja
Harvard University

In the "canon" of Broadway, Leonard Bernstein's shows—or, rather, *two* of them—have a solid ranking. *West Side Story* (1957) looms to such an extent that it has taken on an almost folkloric stature in American culture, and *Candide* (1956) has a reputation for being exceptional but quirky, with its much-loved score and history of ongoing revisions. Both also embed a political agenda, and both exhibit the kind of cross-over that Bernstein cherished, fusing opera and operetta with dance and musical theater.

Wonderful Town, which opened on Broadway in February of 1953, represented quite a different story. The show was Bernstein's second collaboration with lyricists Betty Comden and Adolph Green, and it hewed closer to the musical theater conventions of the day than its more illustrious successors. At the same time, it achieved its own version of cross-over, with operatic flourishes, up-to-date conceptions of ethnic numbers, jazz vamps, brilliant comedic timing, and a score that is far more challenging than meets the eye. Its initial success was enormous, exceeding the demand for tickets of *South Pacific* (1949), *Guys and Dolls* (1950), and *The King and I* (1951). The critics raved, calling *Wonderful Town* a "masterpiece" (Harold Clurman in the *New Republic*) and a "well-nigh perfect show" (Olin Downes in the *New York Times*). But it has ended up with a spotty performance history and no traction in the scholarly literature.

Of the many enticing issues raised by *Wonderful Town,* the focus here will be on its political profile—one that exemplifies the challenge of making art at the height of the McCarthy hearings. Despite the show's affable surface, it encoded political messages addressing both public and private issues, and sketches reveal provocative lyrics that were dropped during revisions. Added to this, Ruth McKenney, author of the stories that inspired the show, had strong and public ties to the American Communist Party. Jerome Robbins, Bernstein's otherwise ever-present collaborator, played a prominent role in revisions of *Wonderful Town* but was not acknowledged publicly, perhaps because he was bracing for a now-infamous hearing before

the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And political fears closed the show for one night in April of 1953, two months into its run, because a block of tickets had been sold to an alleged left-wing group.

This paper considers *Wonderful Town* and its contemporaneous contexts afresh by drawing on archival materials in the papers of Bernstein (Library of Congress) and Comden and Green (New York Public Library).

"WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER": NEW MEDIA, NEW SHOW MUSIC, YOUTH CULTURE, AND *HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL*

Jessica Sternfeld
Rhode Island College

High School Musical (2006) offers a new model for a twenty-first-century hit musical. While movie musicals and family-oriented Broadway shows have healthy recent histories, *High School Musical* points to television and computers as the future of musical theater, especially for youth. Disney's first made-for-cable musical immediately became a sensation with kids and teens, partly thanks to the technological means by which *HSM* (as its fans call it) is delivered. Repeated airings on The Disney Channel, sing-along and dance-along versions, discussion boards, an interactive website, and the movie's availability on iTunes not only grant media-savvy viewers easy access, but create an aura of shared experience around the show. Fans can learn the lyrics and moves, talk with peers, and feel like members of a trendy community.

This paper explores both the technology by which *HSM* so effectively reaches its audience, and—diving into a largely unaddressed area beneath this slick sheen—the highly political, socially loaded messages it delivers. What is a musical, according to this movie? And what sort of community are this show's fans joining? The story concerns a basketball player, Troy, who discovers an affinity for singing, but must overcome peer ridicule for engaging in the socially questionable practice of musical theater. As a cafeteria production number (one of many borrowings from *Grease* and *Fame*) explains, the cliques in Troy's school are sharply divided—though in a thoroughly Disney move, they are divided only by interest and dress, yet meticulously integrated by race. While this unspoken but visually powerful gesture toward integration might reach kids and please parents (who discuss their fondness for the film in glowing terms on message boards), the subtly homophobic undercurrent of the entire film goes unaddressed both in the story and by audiences and critics. The film makes it clear that Troy risks his popular social standing and his masculinity/heterosexuality by singing "show music" on a stage in a costume. More subtly, he also faces the accusation that theater music (represented by two belting, conniving theater kids) is not, as Troy's friend explains, "essential to culture." *HSM* contrasts traditional stage singing (read as insincere and tacky) with heavily mixed pop ballads and hip hop (coded by musical and lyrical cues as heartfelt and modern), thereby presenting its loyal audience with a new definition of a musical that apparently avoids the threat of homosexuality, while never becoming culturally relevant beyond a Disneyfied, vague, rather Orwellian "we're all in this together" feeling.

GESTURE AND PANTOMIME
Mary Ann Smart, University of California, Berkeley, Chair

FROM GARRICK'S DAGGER TO GLUCK'S DAGGER: THE DUAL CONCEPT OF PANTOMIME IN FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT

Sin-yan Hedy Law
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In the article "From Garrick to Gluck" (1968), Daniel Heartz explains Gluck's operatic reform within the contexts of Noverre's dance reform, Goldoni's comic opera reform, and Garrick's acting reform. Central to these reforms, as the work of Harris-Warrick, Brown, and Harris has shown, is a fascination with naturalistic gesture. Yet musicologists still do not know the specific ways in which physical gestures function in eighteenth-century operas. The important issue, I argue, is not merely to identify the contexts in which Gluck wrote his operas, but also to examine the ways in which gestures informed his compositional thinking. This shift of focus reveals a bias against dance in modern productions of Gluck's opera. In John Eliot Gardiner's production of *Alceste* (2000), for example, nobody pantomimes on the stage even though Gluck specified pantomimes in the performance material. Gardiner's "interpretation" dismisses bodily gestures, suggesting that "pantomime" was to Gluck nothing but a form of dance that is inferior to the music he composed. This dismissal stems, I argue, from our underestimation of the musical importance of gestures in Gluck's compositional process, from our neglect of the extensive stage directions Gluck specified in his librettos and first editions, from our ignorance of the struggles Gluck had to face while attempting to introduce the "speaking body" to the Opéra, and from our failure to understand what "pantomime" meant to Gluck.

Drawing evidence from a host of primary sources and performance material, I argue in this paper that Gluck's Paris operas sustain a dual concept of pantomime. Pantomime was to Gluck a form of dance as well as naturalistic acting. I begin by outlining Gluck's struggles with ballet writing, the Opéra administration, and the publishing business in Paris between 1774 and 1776, the period during which he inserted ballet-pantomimes in *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774, rev. 1775), *Orphée et Euridice* (1774), and *Cythère assiégée* (1775). While he insisted on using ballet-pantomimes, he developed pantomime as acting in his reproduction of Quinault's *Armide* (1777). In setting the recitative "Enfin, il est en ma puissance" of the dagger scene, Gluck demonstrated much awareness of Rousseau's analysis of the same recitative in *Lettre sur la musique française* (1753). With a subtle textual change of Quinault's verbal text, Gluck's setting exaggerated the physio-psychological turmoil that Armide experiences. Most remarkably, Gluck's dagger scene simulates Garrick's famous performance of the dagger scene in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. While Garrick pioneered to exemplify inner psychological conflict by physiological means, Gluck articulated psychological depth by means of music.

Examining Gluck's Paris operas from the perspective of pantomime is important because it raises issues of embodiment, interiority, performance, authority and authenticity, voice and silent speech, and the concept of "nature" that have been neglected in Gluck studies. In addition, these operas respond to Enlightenment theories of signs and senses that had been debated most notably by French philosophes including Diderot, Condillac, Rousseau, and Marmontel. Perhaps most importantly, the dual concept of pantomime provides a much-

needed historical perspective on staging for future producers of late eighteenth-century French operas.

FEELING DEATH'S HAND ON THE OPERATIC STAGE: THE EMBODIMENT OF SUFFERING IN WIELAND AND SCHWEITZER'S *ALCESTE*

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Following the premiere of Schweitzer's *Alceste* (1773), one author observed: "Alceste was performed here for the first time on 29 May, and did that which no other tragedy, which I have ever seen, has ever done. All eyes overflowed, the most insensitive [people] were moved. . . ." Widely acknowledged as the first German tragic opera, the work was repeatedly credited during the eighteenth century for its unusual evocation of intense feeling and uncontrollable tears in the audience. As Alceste wept on stage, so audience wept bitterly in their seats. But precisely how did these operatic productions provoke this exceptional reaction? Within modern scholarship, the compositional language used by Schweitzer is not regarded as particularly innovative: most scholars view the style as deriving from opera seria. But, as I shall demonstrate, it is necessary to look beyond musical techniques to account fully for the audience's heartfelt response.

In this paper, I shall argue that Wieland and Schweitzer's *Alceste* is inextricably linked with the spoken theatrical tradition in Germany, particularly that of the bourgeois tragedy, inaugurated by Lessing in 1755 with his *Miss Sara Sampson*. Crucial elements of this tradition include fashioning the drama in order to display the most innermost feelings through gesture. *Alceste* too was starkly reduced to an intimate domestic drama—containing only four characters and discarding all moving scenery—serving as a platform to display bourgeois sentiments of grief within the conjugal family. Most importantly, the intensity of Alceste's physical suffering and death was revealed through that which I argue is an innovative use of music and gesture in German opera. An eyewitness review of the opera—claiming that he has seen the "German Garrick"—gives evidence that performances made use of gesture characterized by unprecedented realism. Heartz describes Garrick's acting style as one in which the character would not merely strike a pose and sing the aria (as was the case in Italian opera seria), but instead would explore various expressive motions governed by rapidly changing sensibilities. Also, many of the gestures used in *Alceste* are described and illustrated in J. J. Engel's *Ideen zur einer Mimik* (1785), revealing fascinating insights into the staging of the physical and psychological trauma associated with her suffering and death.

I shall provide a "close reading" of one at the end of Act II, during which Alceste reveals her physiological and psychological responses as she begins to die. A grotesque display of fainting and emotional trauma ensues as she feels the cold hand of death and hears the wings of the shadows descending upon her. Chills run through her veins and she experiences convulsions and visions of the Parcae coming to take her away. During a performance of this scene, J. M. Kraus remarked that he "feels the hand of death, which Alceste feels." Finally, I will investigate audience identification with the protagonist and the notion of communal tears and transparency, viewed as characteristic of a morally upright citizen, standing against the perceived opaqueness and corruption of Old Regime Europe.

INTERWAR
James Deaville, Carleton University, Chair

PLOTTING THE INSTRUMENT: ON THE CHANGING ROLE OF TIMBRE IN MAHLER'S NINTH SYMPHONY AND WEBERN'S SYMPHONIE OP. 21

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This paper examines the dialogue that occurs between "primary" and "secondary parameters" within the discursive form of Mahler's Ninth Symphony, and traces the historical employment of timbre both in that work and in Webern's Symphonie op. 21. While studies by Adorno, Abbate, Lachenmann, and Ratz have dealt with the functionality of "secondary musical parameters" in these works, my analysis investigates the historical lineage and changing role of timbre in these two works. Following theories of Carolyn Abbate and Carl Schorske, I interpret how this transformative development existed as a socio-cultural syndrome that stemmed from problems of linguistic comprehension in an increasingly socially unstable fin-de-siècle Vienna.

As Erwin Ratz has shown, the narrative of Mahler's Ninth Symphony is dependent on thematic dialogue, but the syntactical context of the "speech principle" is reinterpreted, as Mahler's themes, motives and harmonies all seem to be intimately interrelated in terms of rhythm, contour, interval content and timbre. Theodor W. Adorno has shown how each thematic identity is constituted with a built-in motivic similarity to other themes. Such similarity presents a new "speech principle" that functions to expand the micro-level of motivic relationships and simultaneously dissolve the larger formal scheme of symphonic thematic development. The employment of such motivic "variants" became coupled with Mahler's exploitation of timbre as a new constructive tool for symphonic narration.

Employing sketch material, I first show how Mahler constructs relationships between timbre, harmony and pitch, thereby charging timbre with new constructive possibilities. My analysis demonstrates how the initial timbral elements of the work, introduced in an encoded, oblique manner as part of the structural background, actually become primary elements of the larger musical narrative. This constructive employment of timbre allows Mahler's instruments to become both extended and estranged from their previous existence.

Mahler's dismantling and recontextualization of the traditional functionality of the orchestral apparatus allowed for the constructive possibility of employing timbre as a primary musical parameter, a possibility exploited in Webern's Symphonie. Mahler's deconstructive approach to symphonic instrumentation and form represents the preliminary stage of Webern's parameter-based musical architecture. Just as Mahler's transformation and alienation of the orchestral machine permitted an implosion of his instruments' traditional functionality and historical aura, Webern was the first to radically employ instrumental timbre as an emancipated compositional parameter in his Symphonie op. 21. Comparing the employment of the horn "fanfare" in both works, I investigate how Webern's universe of timbral functionality clashes with semiotic associations of its past. I then go further to analyze Webern's instruments in their orchestral context to see how their historical positioning relates to his new symphonic form and musical expression. I argue that Webern's employment of timbre as a primary parameter was an attempt not only to reinvent the symphonic "speech principle" but also to

create a new musical language that would transcend the discursive dialectic of symphonic form. Finally, I demonstrate how this increasingly emancipated, encoded, modernist musical structuring was a direct response to problems of expression and political alienation in bourgeois Vienna of the early twentieth century.

SLAYING THE WAGNERIAN MONSTER: *DAS NUSCH-NUSCHI* AND THE POSTWAR CRISIS OF MUSICAL GERMANNESS

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When Paul Hindemith's one-act opera *Das Nusch-Nuschi* was premiered in Stuttgart in 1921, it quickly helped establish him as a rising *enfant terrible* in German music. Hindemith had based his opera on a Burmese marionette play whose sexualized buffoonery scandalously satirized *Tristan und Isolde*. *Das Nusch-Nuschi* outraged critics and audiences alike, but despite the furor that initially greeted the opera, scholarship has yet to address the most pressing historical and cultural questions surrounding its Wagner parody. Nor has any commentator accounted for the telling presence in Hindemith's score of a powerful non-German influence, one that chafes against Wagnerian ideals of compositional seamlessness and expressive opulence.

Emerging in the years immediately after the First World War, *Das Nusch-Nuschi* came into being when Wagner's legacy was at the center of heated debates over the newly precarious status of musical Germanness. After years of bloody fighting, the Empire had been lost, and a severely weakened Germany was forced to assume responsibility for the war. This shook German self-understanding to its roots and polarized cultural discourse. In early 1920, while demanding the "conscious separation" of "true German national sentiment" from foreign, "Jewish international" forces hostile to it, the intransigent Hans Pfitzner stridently lauded Wagner as the musical standard-bearer of German heroism. He even quoted from Wagner's *Meistersinger* libretto while envisioning a self-conscious artistic nationalism that would function as an aesthetic surrogate for the vanished Empire. By contrast, Paul Bekker, the prominent music critic against whom Pfitzner had directed his polemic, was arguing passionately for the dismantling of German musical chauvinism. In a little-known lecture delivered repeatedly at this time, Bekker strongly implicated Wagner in the chauvinistic forces that had precipitated the war and, further, singled out Pfitzner and Richard Strauss as holdouts of a morally indefensible post-Wagnerian enterprise. In the interest of postwar harmony, Bekker argued, German composers needed to abandon such suspect musical trajectories for a vigorous engagement with recent non-German music.

I propose that the central peculiarities of *Das Nusch-Nuschi* come sharply into focus within the context of this debate. (Having sidelined the project in late 1919, Hindemith—an acquaintance of Bekker's—redoubled his efforts only after the debate had been thoroughly aired.) First, a historically sensitive reading of the opera's parodic dimension might, following Linda Hutcheon's theory of twentieth-century parody, locate its target less emphatically in Wagner's own work than in a dangerously hardened postwar artistic nationalism. Second, situating *Das Nusch-Nuschi* amid the controversy over internationalism brings to our attention numerous musical passages that apparently have been modeled on another puppet-piece of conspicuously non-German parentage: Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. Careful examination of the score reveals Hindemith's fascination with that aggressive simplicity that Richard Taruskin has

identified as a hallmark of Stravinsky's Russian "neonationalism" of the 1910s. My reading of *Das Nusch-Nuschi* argues that this budding alliance with Stravinsky, which cleared aesthetic space for Hindemith's influential anti-Romanticism of the 1920s, allowed the composer to hold at bay a cultural past whose arm reached threateningly into the postwar present.

IDENTITY, MUSICAL BORROWING, AND REGIONALISM: JEWISHNESS IN MILHAUD'S INTERWAR COMPOSITIONS

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In the preface to his memoirs, Darius Milhaud defined himself in clear and concise terms: "I am a Frenchman from Provence, of the Israelite religion." (Milhaud 1974/1998: 9). In his *Entretiens avec Claude Rostand*, Milhaud pointed more particularly to one aspect of his three-fold identity, claiming, "If I have emphasized my Jewish side, it is because I am profoundly religious." (Milhaud, 1952/1992: 24) A construction of the composer as an artist deeply inspired by the Jewish faith dates from the years following the Second World War and his completion of works such as *Service Sacré* (1947) and the opera *David* (1952). At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that the very first "Jewish" works predate this period, and figure in a distinct corpus of works that are centered around Judaism.

This paper explores the various ways that Judaism informed the work of Milhaud during the interwar period by looking to three works that borrow from Jewish music. Studies concerned with the influence of Jewish music on Milhaud (Rosen 1991, Zeitlin 1992, Gineys 1993, Kelly 2003) have not examined these borrowings in the cultural context of France in the 1920s and 1930s. Of chief concern here is how the composer expressed his attachment to the Jewish community through music, during a pivotal moment in which Milhaud positioned himself as a major composer of his generation in France.

Born into a well-established *Aixois* family, the composer's identity was shaped by a strong sense of regional and secular rooting in the ancient Southern province of Venaissin and through an awareness of *otherness* with respect to the larger Jewish diaspora. With this background in mind, I will turn to three of Milhaud's settings of pre-existing Jewish melodies. Based on an Eastern European collection, the *Six Chants populaires hébraïques* (1925) resulted from Milhaud's more generalized interest in folklore and constitute not merely a simple harmonization, but a powerful example of true appropriation of folk material. At the other end of the spectrum, the *mélodie* "Holem Tza'adi" (1937) was part of a project that aimed to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine in the 1930s. As a Zionist gesture, this song reveals a more politicized aspect of Milhaud's Jewishness. The final example, *Liturgie comtadine* (1933), draws on chants published at the end of the nineteenth century in a Jewish Provençale anthology and speaks a language of regionalism that permeates many of the composer's Jewish works of the interwar period. This regional model allows Milhaud to distinguish himself from the larger Jewish community by underlining the regional specificity of his faith. His ties to Provence also serve to anchor his work in French and Latin traditions, a cornerstone of Milhaud's aesthetic. With this in mind, Milhaud's recourse to regionalism should be considered a deft means of expressing his Jewishness in a cultural milieu where this type self-identification had all the potential to place him in a position of vulnerability.

THE *SKATING RINK* BALLET: HONEGGER'S RONDO SONATA FORM AS COUNTERPOINT TO LÉGER'S CUBIST SCENERY

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On the evening of 20 January 1922, Rolf de Maré's Ballets Suédois took to the stage at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées with *Skating Rink*, a ballet based on a *poème dansé* by Riciotto Canudo with contributions by painter Fernand Léger and composer Arthur Honegger. Critics greeted this "ballet on skates" with skepticism, denouncing a certain aesthetic disparity between the ballet and the music (Häger, 1989). The object of this paper is to present an interdisciplinary study of *Skating Rink* in order to come to terms with the dissonances formed by its storyline, music, and scenery.

In 1920 Canudo published a poem in the form of a ballet synopsis under the title of *Skating Ring à Tabarin* in *Le Mercure de France*. The story, which takes place on a roller-skating rink set up in the Tabarin hall in Paris, is a passionate drama revolving around three individuals—a Mad Poet, a Woman and a Man—whose collective suffering goes unacknowledged by the dizzy crowd of skaters around them. Canudo's "*unanimiste*" situation thus takes place in an urban context where men and women "spin and spin the desperate meaning of life."

By the fall of 1921, Rolf de Maré had decided to produce Canudo's ballet with the abbreviated title *Skating Rink.* Enlisted to provide curtain, set and costume designs, Léger based his work on the kinetic properties and popular spirit of the urban crowd suggested by the synopsis: he accentuated the angular forms of the skating dancers' bodies and transformed the characters into an asymmetric grouping of moving geometric forms arranged within an immense cubist tableau. The effect is a caricature of frivolity through the portrayal of popular morality with Chaplinesque mechanical gestures.

Honegger, on the other hand, sought to highlight the dramatic essence of the story, and Canudo later acknowledged that his music had in fact captured all of the details of the work (*Bonsoir Figaro*, 21 January 1922). Bringing together some forty instruments, the composition has an orchestral intensity that the crtitic Émile Vuillermoz would describe as "animated by a feverish movement and intoxicating gliding." (*Excelsior*, 22 January 1922). Cast in a polytonal language, this *symphonie chorégraphique* presents a series of insisting gliding ostinati and highly contrasting *Leitmotifs* that unfold within a rigorous sonata form.

At first glance, Honegger's classically structured work seems at odds with Léger's cubist staging. Further investigation reveals that the rhythmic and melodic specificities of the composition as well as the strident density of the orchestration bring a supplementary dimension to the ballet's visual component, essential for a better understanding of the synopsis. This deeper examination suggests that the music and scenery form a counterpoint as equal and autonomous entities. Finally, this paper underscores the artistic value of *Skating Rink*, a ballet that has suffered from unfortunate neglect in our time.

THE MUSICAL WORLD OF JEAN MOLINET, BURGUNDIAN CHRONICLER AND POET
Jane Alden, Wesleyan University, Chair

WHAT FORTUNA CAN DO TO A MINIM

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Among the numerous references to music found in Jean Molinet's writings, none is more puzzling than a passage from his 1501 *Roman de la Rose moralisé*. There the Burgundian court chronicler, poet, and composer describes in precise musical terms the misadventures of a note—a minim—that is so unlucky as to fall under the influence of the goddess Fortuna. She elevates the little note to the top of her wheel, where it feels itself to be very long and important and begins to sing a song by Du Fay. But the fickle goddess has other plans: suddenly, with one turn, the minim is plunged to the depths, where it sings so quietly that no one can hear it complain.

Strange though this description may seem, it not the only place where Molinet mixes Fortuna with music: I have found analogous imagery in his *Petit traictié soubz obscure poetrie*. Taken together, these passages suggest that Molinet, a skilled composer in his own right, was drawing on his knowledge of specific pieces on the theme of Fortuna. I will single out for analysis two such works—the *Fortuna desperata* masses of Jacob Obrecht and Josquin des Prez—in which the cantus firmus treatment is evocative of the transformations borne by Molinet's minim: augmentation, transposition, and the illusion of circular motion.

In fact, Molinet's language is neither random nor unduly whimsical. Rather, his description of the minim's misadventures references a parallel compositional trend of depicting Fortuna and her wheel in musical terms. An awareness of such depictions, in turn, should cause us to broaden our conception of the kinds of images that masses, in particular, can project, and invites us to accord greater place to extramusical imagery in our understanding of late fifteenth-century music more generally.

"MON FLAÏOLLET NE VAULT PLUS RIENS:" ON SEX, MUSIC, AND RHETORIC IN JEAN MOLINET

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One of the most peculiar things about the poetry of Jean Molinet, the court historian of the Court of Burgundy from 1475 to 1507, is the frequency with which things (*res*) become words (*verba*). In rebus poems such as *A domine my reverende*, images of tables and dice become the syllables "table" and "dé" in words such as "redoub*table*" and "recommen*dé*." Molinet is more interested in the sound of the words than in the things themselves. This is important in relation to music, which appears so often in his poetry and prose. Allusions to musicians such as Ockeghem, Busnois, and Compère; lists of instruments in poems such as *Le Naufrage de la pucelle*; his poetic exchange with Antoine Busnois—all attest to the importance of music in Molinet's work. Yet, it can be asked whether music per se really enters into Molinet's poetics,

or whether it is simply rendered into a purely discursive form in which all that counts is the *bruissement* of words used to highly rhetorical effect.

Although Molinet brings music into poems such as his *Recommendacion a Jehan de Ranchicourt*, in which musical notes are used to rhyme words such as *rechut* with *conchut* and *adoré* with *doré*, it can be asked to what degree Molinet's interest is limited to the sounds of the words *ut*, *re*, *do*, etc. Critics such as François Cornilliat have explained that Molinet's language is a uniquely fallen one. Molinet uses this fallen language to recreate a pastiche of the harmony lost in the fall from grace. In this light, harmony is less a matter of musical sounds than of rhetorical mellifluousness. In his *Art de rhétorique*, Molinet famously called poetry a "*rhétorique*" that was also a form of "*musique rythmique*." Despite Molinet's allusion to music here, almost all of the *Art de rhétorique*, as its title indicates, is devoted to questions of rhetoric and not to music. Poetry is less musical than rhetorical.

I would like to try to understand this phenomenon in relationship to the overtly sexual context of two of Molinet's more musically-minded poems. In both his *Résponse a monseigneur maistre Anthoine Busnois* and in his *Debat du gendarme et de l'amoureux*, in which music or musicians play crucial roles, characters make detailed allusions to their current state of sexual impotence, which they compare with an earlier time when things looked up more, so to speak. Although the appearance of sex and music in these poems might be entirely coincidental, their juxtaposition might be part of larger picture. In a fallen world, depicted in terms of sexuality, language can only be fallen, and harmony, whether musical or celestial, can only be produced as an illusion in language. Despite the obvious importance of music in Molinet's poetry and prose, rhetoric might just necessarily trump music, *par la force des mots*.

CHARLES D'ORLÉANS, PHILIP THE GOOD, AND A WOOL MERCHANT'S DAUGHTER: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BRITISH LIBRARY MS LANSDOWNE 380

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Assumed for nearly a century to have been produced in France for French consumption, the manuscript London, British Library, Lansdowne 380 has long been known to musicologists because of its sixty French chanson texts dating from the fifteenth century. The manuscript has never been studied in detail, however. Nor has there been, until this present study, a complete inventory of its contents: a seemingly confusing mix of Latin and French liturgical, moralistic and didactic texts (including a religious ballade by Molinet), medical recipes and treatises, courtesy texts, "historical" poems, astrological texts, and a variety of courtly verse, including what Martin le Franc called "the English book" of Charles d'Orléans.

The confusion is only superficial, however: a close examination of its contents shows that the volume was compiled for the use of a young, unmarried woman who had recently learned how to read. The compilation was to serve as a primary tool of her education, with the religious and moralistic items included to ensure that she would be molded into a devout Christian, while a broad range of secular literature guaranteed a proper cultural upbringing. It is to this second category that the chanson texts belong.

The contents of the manuscript exhibit the dual influences of the Burgundian and central French courts—influences that also permeate the chanson texts. The most likely point of confluence for these two influences is the geopolitical territory most contested between France

and Burgundy during the fifteenth century: Picardy, the Artois region of the Somme river, and French-speaking Flanders. During much of the fifteenth century, administration of these provinces was largely the responsibility of the Croy family, on behalf of their overlord, Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. The same family, however, also pledged allegiance to the French monarchs Charles VII and Louis XI, in recognition of which various members were given positions at the French royal court as well as estates within the above-mentioned disputed territories. Evidence within the chanson texts of Lansdowne 380, such as certain incipits and an acrostic, suggests that this particular repertory of songs was cultivated by one of the Croys before their fall from grace in 1465.

But more remarkable than the provenance of the chanson texts themselves is the origin of the manuscript *in toto*. Despite the longstanding assumptions of its French provenance, a study of the included liturgical items demonstrates that the manuscript was, in fact, compiled for use in England, not on the Continent. Moreover, it was probably produced in London for the use of the daughter of a wool/cloth merchant connected with Bristol. Lansdowne 380 thus offers proof of interest in the French poetry of Charles d'Orléans in England during the fifteenth century, as well as evidence of the continuing popularity of the francophone courtly chanson across the English Channel.

GUILLAUME DU FAY'S LATE SONGS AND THE CIRCLE OF MOLINET

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Like Igor Stravinsky in the twentieth century, Guillaume Du Fay appears in the course of his career as something of a stylistic chameleon, and yet, also like Stravinsky, he managed virtually all of the time to sound uniquely like himself. In his youth, he adapted the style of Ciconia; in the 1430s he absorbed the rhythmic language of Dunstaple while retaining the kinds of motivic writing found in his earlier music. In the late 1440s he adopted the textures and structural innovations of the master of the *Missa Caput* in a series of works that are considered by scholars as archetypal examples of his mature style. Even in his old age, he sought to absorb the stylistic traits of a younger generation, possibly on account of his friendship with Jehan de Ockeghem.

While these influences can be readily observed in the sacred and ceremonial works, Du Fay's songs are in many ways his most idiosyncratic works and the ones where is its hardest to see influences from predecessors or contemporaries. In a few early works we can hear echoes of Loqueville and Velut, but there are few traces in Du Fay of the style of his most famous contemporary, Binchois. This applies also to Du Fay's choice of texts: an unusually large number of the early songs are New Year or May songs with dance-like rhythms and bourgeois rather than courtly texts. This bourgeois tone affects even what at first sight appear to be more conventional songs, as in the case of *Ma belle dame souverainne*.

There may be a change in pieces from the 1440s. Although the sources for these pieces (with the exception of MS Porto 714) are transmitted with corrupt or incomplete texts, there are a number of compelling pieces found only in late sources, some of which can be dated, as Fallows has shown, after 1455, when Du Fay spent some time with the French. In these works, the types of text prevalent at the courts of France and Burgundy become more common, and even the contrapuntal style of the pieces changes.

Among the late works are songs with texts in the style championed by Molinet and other *rhétoriqueurs*, refined to the point of hermeticism and set to music that shows stylistic traces of Ockeghem and Busnoys. In some cases, Du Fay even goes beyond his younger colleagues, including temporary mensuration shifts characteristic of sacred music, as in *Dieu gard la bonne*, but these are also a throwback to procedures in Du Fay's earliest works. These songs can be read as summations of Du Fay's *modus operandi*: they present a style that would have been readily accessible to Molinet's generation, while their roots go back to music that most of its *rhétoriqueur* hearers would barely have remembered.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY EXOTIC
Jonathan Bellman, University of Northern Colorado, Chair

THE *STYLE HONGROIS* AND SCHUMANN'S FORMAL EXPERIMENTS OF 1842

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In the finale of Schumann's 1842 A major Quartet, op. 41, no. 3, critics have observed certain oddities: the paratactic nature of the main theme and a reversal of refrain and episode functions, with the latter more stable than the former (Kohlhase and Newcomb); and a large-scale "parallel" form, in which a sectional rondo unfolds once again: ABACAD<u>AB</u>-ACADA (Daverio and Brown). This paper argues that an alternative musical language—the *style hongrois*, evoked especially by the recurring refrain—prompted these and other anomalies within the quartet. As Jonathan Bellman has shown, evoking the *style hongrois* might do more than merely reference an increasingly popular strain of nineteenth-century music; it could encode deeper meanings that resonated with, even reinforced, aspects of the Gypsy stereotype. Schumann's quartet provides a new illustration of such subtexts, revealing how an alternative musical language might open up new paths for formal experimentation. Resistance to societal norms and expectations, for example, finds a parallel in the finale's subversion of refrain and episode functions. The finale's tonal construction also evokes the Gypsy-as-wanderer. Because refrains modulate constantly, the movement unfolds without a definitive tonal "home." Indeed, among the dizzying array of keys, A major—the putative tonic—surfaces in a seemingly aimless, arbitrary fashion: initiating refrains here, terminating them there, disappearing altogether, even emerging within episodes. Ultimately, unequivocal tonic definition occurs only as an *end*-oriented event, another subversion of tonal practice.

I also explain how this quartet movement became the basis for the unusual finale of Schumann's Piano Quintet, op. 44, composed two months later: it too features a refrain-based parallel form that emphasizes non-tonic returns of the main theme (mm. 1–220); a wandering through numerous keys (indeed, the music traverses the circle-of-fifths via a symmetrical, chromatic pitch space); and a delayed confirmation of the true home key. As many know, the movement features a progressive tonal scheme, opening strongly in G minor, only to end in E-flat major. The refrain-based parallel form facilitates this tonal narrative: by stressing non-tonic thematic returns and a chromatic tonal journey, the form sets in motion the gradual subversion of G minor. Ultimately, the change in tonal hierarchy betrays a larger pattern of continuously shifting perspectives, ones analogous to those experienced by Clara and Robert

as they hiked in Bohemia just weeks before composition of the Quintet began. And if "on the following day one feels how with effort and exertion one can reach even higher," so too can the artist surmount previous accomplishments, for "so it is in life and in art." The quintet finale illustrates such artistic journeying not only internally but externally as well: although not evoking the *style hongrois* directly, it clearly builds upon the formal innovations prompted by this style in the earlier string quartet. Thus, Schumann—like Weber, Schubert, Liszt, and Brahms (figures emphasized by Bellman)—must also be counted as one who uncovered new paths of expression from this alternative musical language.

"YOU WERE BORN TO BE A SPARK FOR POET'S INSPIRATION": EXOTIC OTHER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN ART SONG

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Edward Said's binary model (colonizer-colonized), as well as his view that the Orient was seen by Europeans as a homogenous, monolithic entity is not entirely appropriate for understanding Russian Orientalism. Unlike Great Britain and France, Russia colonized its immediate neighbors. Since European Russia met the Asian steppe within one vast Eurasian landmass, a mental map separating the Russian West and its subjugated East was not always clear-cut, either geographically or culturally. This situation deeply marked the nineteenth-century Russian repertoire of cultural representations of the conquered peoples. Taruskin, following Said's general premise, has aligned Russian musical Orientalism with various phases of imperialistic expansion. However, he has also depended on Said's colonizer-colonized opposition, presenting Russian Orientalism as an extension of the European, and claiming Russian composers' casual attitudes towards oriental verisimilitude. Although Russian/Soviet musicologists were aware of the importance of eastern influences in Russian music and legitimized them as part of their own national musical culture (in 1883, Vladimir Stasov identified "the Oriental element" as one of the four distinguishing features of Russian music), researchers have been mainly dealing with the origins of borrowed oriental tunes and with musical gestures that would be classified as "oriental." Almost nothing has been said about political implications of the nineteenth-century Russian oriental art song.

I argue that not all the images in Russian oriental art song emphasized Said's idea of the antagonism between collective imperial "us" and colonized "them," nor do they all replicate nineteenth-century European Orientalist clichés. Using examples from early nineteenth-century art songs, I claim that, first, Russian images of the oriental Other are not as homogenized as those of the European. Early examples of art songs, especially those of Alexandre Aliab'ev (1787–1851) based on original transcriptions of Caucasian and Asian tunes, demonstrate considerable thoroughness in representing various Russian oriental ethnicities. This is due to the geographic proximity of Russia to its Orient, which allowed composers to experience oriental music first hand. Second, not all the images in Russian art song stigmatize the oriental Other as barbaric, militant, and undergoing moral degradation, and not all of them express imperial conviction of the Russian state. Some songs reveal favorable attitude towards the rebellious spirit of Caucasian mountaineers, by associating the subjugated Orientals, who fought for the natural rights of freedom, with the Decembrists, who also yearned for liberation from tsarist autocracy. Circussian and Kabardian songs, for example, demonstrate Aliab'ev's use of the oriental image and space to transmit his own rebellious stance against the state's oppression.

In Kabardian song, by intentionally avoiding musical "corrections" to render linguistically appropriate Russian stresses, Aliab'ev—answering Spivak's famous question positively, lets "the subaltern speak" with his own musical accent. Therefore, on the local level, this paper examines the significant yet under-represented repertoire of Russian art songs; on the larger level, it reconsiders the theoretical framework of Orientalism and addresses enduring questions about the relationship between music and politics, as well as representation of the colonized.

PERFORMERS AND PERFORMANCE
José Bowen, Southern Methodist University, Chair

PERFORMERS, COMPOSERS, AND OUR NEED FOR A NARRATIVE: THE DELAYED DEMISE OF PIANO PRELUDING

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The improvisation of preludes and transitions was a routine part of keyboard performance-practice for centuries, but even the finest specialist treatments of the topic have claimed that the custom rapidly declined with the increasing solidification of a standard repertoire after the middle of the nineteenth century, and by the end of the Romantic era was happily dead. Improvisation's unlamented demise is, according to this chronology, conveniently illustrative of the dramatic shift from irreverent performer-centered to serious work-centered practices that has become a familiar part of the narrative of nineteenth-century music.

This paper claims the contrary: the custom of improvised preluding was in rude health until the early decades of the twentieth century, and the shift in emphasis from performer to composer in the nineteenth century, while certainly real, has been demonstrably exaggerated in the laudable if misleading interests of a clean historical narrative. A sidelining of relevant written evidence, and the relative rarity of preluding on early recordings—easily explicable on both aesthetic and technical grounds—has also helped to obscure the hardy endurance of the practice in the concert hall. Nevertheless, fascinating improvised transitions can be heard on a disc by Ferruccio Busoni from 1921, and on live recordings by Josef Hofmann and Percy Grainger from subsequent decades. It is highly likely that the increasing focus on recording as the twentieth century progressed, rather than performers' desire to play a useful part in an uncomplicated historical trajectory, formed preluding's coup-de-grace.

Extemporization was used by players not just to join pieces or movements slickly together, but often to add spontaneous musical commentary. A little-known example of a fairly elaborate transition in the improvised style was provided by Charles-Valentin Alkan in his fifth book of *Chants* (1872). Here hesitant reminiscences of earlier pieces in the collection make an evocative linking passage to the last in a manner strongly recalling accounts of Mendelssohn's own improvised transitions during performances of his Songs without Words. Thought-provoking thematic quotes from alien but allegedly related works, inserted with an insistently didactic intent, were also a striking feature of concerto cadenzas by Alkan and Busoni.

Hans von Bülow was especially famous for offering reminiscences of one Beethoven sonata as a transition to another. The audience was effectively given a wordless program note on stylistic development through these extemporized cyclical links. But Bülow's custom was, if more imaginative than common practice, clearly reflective of it. The openings of at least two

Beethoven Sonatas—op.31. no.2 ("Tempest") and op.78—seem to have been specifically written with audiences' expectation of an improvised prelude in mind. Even as late as 1917, Percy Grainger published a specimen "Preliminary Canter" to be used (transposed) as a preface to any piece in any key. For much longer than usually realized, performance practice not only tolerated, but insisted upon this improvised musical dialogue between player and composer. The context in which we now hear our standard repertoire has, in this respect as in so many others, more radically and more recently changed than we might wish to believe.

THE COMPOSER'S RAINBOW: RUDOLF KOLISCH AND THE ROLE OF INTERPRETATION IN PERFORMANCE

David Trippett
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Schoenberg's brother-in-law, the violinist Rudolf Kolisch (1896–1978) was a performer, pedagogue and theorist. Over the course of his life, Kolisch developed and taught a theory of musical performance which sought to base musical interpretation on what he regarded as "objective-structural" rather than "subjective-sensory" categories. His theory is striking for rejecting the "false idols" of sonorous beauty, musical idiom and extant performance traditions in favor of a cerebral process that "reconceives the compositional working," a quasi-analytical process leading to "true [musical] reproduction [which] is the x-ray of a work," as his friend Adorno put it. In this view, the act of performance becomes an event that illuminates clinically a total comprehension of the work, rendering it *visible* to the extent that "what you fulfill in performance is actually none other than the uncovering of the integration process that is played out in the music itself . . . which leaves far behind it . . . [any] distinction between productive and reproductive."

This paper will interrogate Kolisch's theory from the twin perspectives of pragmatism and idealism, asking what assumptions are operative about the musical text, the musical work and the very act of performance. Kolisch believed his theory applies to all Western art music, yet his writings focus primarily on the German canon, principally the music of Beethoven and the Second Viennese School. While all surviving manuscripts pertaining to the theory were drafted after Kolisch's emigration to America in 1935, the cultural origins of his system can be located securely in the musical circle around Arnold Schoenberg in Vienna and Berlin, in particular that of the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführung*. These Austro-German beginnings will be explored in the context of sound reproduction technologies and critical public voices that were largely unfavorable to the music of high modernism.

Drawing on unpublished documents and recordings from Kolisch's *Nachlass*, housed in Houghton Library at Harvard University, I will consider his theory of performance in tandem with selected passages from Adorno's parallel, fragmentary text: *Zu einer Theorie der musikalischen Reproduktion*, which was intended to form part of a joint publication with Kolisch. My paper will revisit the metaphor of a musical "language" that is so fundamental to Kolisch's aesthetic, and pursue the implications of his claim to articulate a non-semantic, musical "meaning" through a performed work. Furthermore, I consider the spectre of media-mechanical reproduction that underpins ideals of objectivity in performance, asking if and to what extent this implies a reversal in agency on stage between the performer and the work. Finally, on hearing an electronically precise performance, Kolisch's realization in 1978 that it was "far removed from a rhythmically exact representation in performance" begins to call into

question his erstwhile ideal of objectivity, an implication I pursue. His consequent decision to sublimate silent reading for performance undermines the very possibility of musical objectivity and structural "meaning" in a performance. In doing so, it ultimately questions the need for performance itself.

PLAYING WITH SIGNS
Richard Mook, Arizona State University, Chair

PHONETIC PLAY IN LOUIS ARMSTRONG'S TIN PAN ALLEY

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UCLA

While Tin Pan Alley compositions in the 1920s and 1930s largely conformed to a narrow set of formal conventions, actual performances varied radically. A single song was the pretext for performances in a variety of styles, and in each style, performers added a significant layer of meaning to the pre-existing text. Blues singers, "crooners," jazz singers, and even opera singers sang many of the same songs. A common repertory bound elements of the popular music world together; but the possibility of idiosyncratic interpretation allowed singers and communities to express their differences.

Louis Armstrong's singing resisted the kinds of stylistic markers distinguishing contemporary singers: it was not particularly loud or resonant like that of blues singers, belters, or opera singers; nor was it soft and intimate as microphone singers tended to be. In contrast to the clear tone and seamless phrasing of many contemporary white vocalists, Armstrong took melodies apart, building them up again with colors, contours, and effects new to much of his audience.

In his scatting, and in the vocables interjected throughout his singing, Armstrong made the voice more like an instrument: when we listen to him sing, we often lose the sense that he is uttering words (even when he is); indeed, one contemporaneous critic described this activity as "playing upon the voice" rather than singing. However, as Benjamin Givan has argued, Armstrong's singing style largely derives from speech: he shortens vowel duration, limits the vocal range, and makes use of frequencies outside of the twelve-note scale, all of which contribute to a more conversational delivery of the text. I hear both of these effects in the context of African American rhetorical strategies that foreground phonetic, rather than lexical elements of language. Well-documented and theorized practices such as signifying and marking involve what scholars have understood as language play, which often involves changes in inflection and pronunciation. In his singing, Armstrong played as much with the sounds of the English language as with the notes of the tune. His interpretations of Tin Pan Alley songs not only refashion melody and rhythm but also transform the sounds of the lyrics. The semantic content of songs like "Dinah" and "All of Me" is not lost, but the sonic composition of the lyrics acquires new meaning. This meaning is both musical and linguistic, as Armstrong simultaneously organizes vocal sounds and English words. In this paper, I describe and contextualize Armstrong's singing in the late-1920s and early 1930s in order to show both what made his voice so new and to situate it in a racialized history of singing in the United States. Using methods of phonetic analysis derived from linguistic descriptions of dialect and voice quality, I will provide close readings of some of Armstrong's recordings, examining his use of

phonetic play within the context of other contemporary performances. It is Armstrong's *play*, with language and music, that ultimately sets his performances apart.

"ROMANTIC SAVAGE": REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE IN PAUL BOWLES'S *DENMARK VESEY*

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Paul Bowles and Charles Henri Ford, two white friends and collaborators, based the unfinished—now lost—opera, *Denmark Vesey*, on the dramatic true story of a slave who purchased his freedom with lottery winnings and organized a violent slave uprising against the residents of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822. The plan failed in the end, and authorities tried and executed thirty-six leaders and participants, including Vesey and his co-conspirator, the African "conjurer" Gullah Jack.

In January of 1938, Juanita Hall conducted the Negro Melody Singers—a flourishing and well respected WPA sponsored choral group—in a performance of the first act of *Denmark Vesey* in the New York City Composers' Forum. The performance provoked an animated, critical discussion about the music, characters, and stereotypes portrayed. A transcript of the conversation between Bowles and the audience provides what is possibly the most detailed existing commentary on the work and gives us unique insight into a discourse on race and a white composer's representations of "blackness." While the greater part of the opera has been lost, the libretto and recordings of three songs remain available for study.

This opera has been a missing piece within the context of American opera in the 1930s, coming as it does in the aftermath of *The Emperor Jones*, *Four Saints in Three Acts*, and *Porgy and Bess*. It has much to tell us about race in American opera. What sets *Denmark Vesey* apart from its precursors, however, is its representation of Communist-style revolution. The opera abounds with romanticized Marxist imagery, also reflected in Bowles' and Ford's correspondence, Ford's notes, and the historical context of 1930s race and labor conflicts. Bowles and Ford's Communist sympathies enrich their portrayal of race and revolution.

In this paper, I reconstruct this opera and its compositional and performance history. I draw on a rare recording of the three surviving songs, as well as on the transcript of the post-concert discussion, the libretto, numerous letters between Bowles and his librettist, Charles Henri Ford, and Ford's journals from the time period. I then examine representations of race in this work. I propose that contradictory elements are in play: while Bowles was sincere in his sympathy for the plight of an oppressed group, like many of his contemporaries, he nevertheless portrayed the African American characters in stereotypically negative ways. The audience of the Composers' Forum was quick to criticize such representations. Taken together, the recordings, transcripts, letters, and other documents are invaluable in exploring an intriguing example of racial representation in American music. They broaden our context for representations of race in 1930s musical culture while simultaneously exposing Bowles's uniquely political approach to race, in a work that Virgil Thomson once called one of the three best unperformed American operas.

"BLUESOLOGY": GIL SCOTT-HERON AND THE SEMIOTICS OF THE VOICE

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Vocal music—song and singing—is at the heart of virtually every African American musical tradition since the beginning of the twentieth century, and the voice is a central metaphor in African American music, indexing a musician's artistic self. Given this, it is incumbent upon musical scholars to account as robustly as possible for the meaning of vocal performance. To that end, this paper explores the music of Gil Scott-Heron, especially the meanings performed and heard in his voice. Through listening to Gil Scott-Heron I propose a model of the voice as culturally meaningful (as it is in Alan Lomax's *Cantometrics*), as socially meaningful (as it is in John Shepherd's musical sociology), as significantly tied to the basic, shared aspects of human psycho-physiology (as it is in Roland Barthes's formulation of the "grain" of the voice), and yet more specific than any of these general models can account for. Scott-Heron is known today largely for his musical spoken-word piece "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised," from 1971. The song is justly renowned, both because it is an inspired piece of music, and because of its impact as "proto-rap." As important as "The Revolution" and other pieces like it in his catalogue are in style and sentiment, Scott-Heron's other work as a singer expresses a gamut of emotion and experience of black masculinity in a musical language that is fully equal to his lyrics.

The most significant aesthetic and political context for Scott-Heron is the Black Arts movement, as theorized by such authors as Amiri Baraka, Eugene Redmond, and Haki Madhubuti. The Black Arts movement had the goal of reconnecting Black artists with working people, connecting art to the movement for social justice and liberation, connecting black Americans to the peoples of the Third World, and creating expressive approaches that would somehow be organic outgrowths of black vernacular culture. Others have noted the relationship between Scott-Heron's work and Black Arts, including Eugene Redmond himself, and more recently Mark Anthony Neal. Generally, however, they have focused exclusively on the content of Scott-Heron's poems, and to a much lesser degree on the form, particularly on the fact that the poems are, for the most part, lyrics, intended to be rapped or sung. As such they have principally demonstrated only Scott-Heron's connection to the ethics of the Black Arts movement (liberation, revolution, clean living, and such), and not the aesthetics. A careful listen to Scott-Heron's work as a singer shows the extent to which he fulfils the Black Arts aesthetics, per se, crafting a music that shows a remarkable understanding of the potential unity of Soul, Blues and Avant Garde Jazz proposed by Amiri Baraka as the "changing same" in Black music.

PLAYING WITH MASCULINITY: THE POLITICS OF MUSIC AND SPORTS IN LEON GAST'S *WHEN WE WERE KINGS*

Ken McLeod
University of Toronto

The relationship between sports and music forms a complex and little understood nexus of cultural production that has consistently shaped our understanding of gendered identity. Young males are typically steeped in the values of competition and dominance over their peer groups. This attitude is particularly prevalent in the worlds of sports and music which both

encourage notions of a "no pain no gain" approach to practice and a stoic concentration on "performance." Among the most significant manifestations of this interaction is the considerable aesthetic rapport between African-American music and sports. Built into the structures of African-American musical and sporting practices are complex rhythms, improvisation, call and response patterns, and competitive interaction that require individuals to assert their excellence as soloists while remaining part of a cohesive ensemble.

The connection between sports and music is particularly highlighted in Leon Gast's 1997 Academy Award-winning documentary *When We Were Kings.* The film captures the October 30, 1974, "Rumble in the Jungle" heavyweight title bout between George Foreman and Muhammad Ali and the elaborate musical festival that accompanied it. I argue that this film, that purports to present an empowered vision of African-Americans, uses music that is in dialectic tension with that message. African-American musicians symbolically colonize their African counterparts while hypermasculinized funk and blues are projected as more evolved forms of native styles. As such the musical language of this movie is framed in the rhetoric of Social Darwinism. Ali, the underdog, is identified with the Third World, while Foreman is portrayed as a colonialist First World oppressor, complete with his German Shepherd—a dog associated with the former Belgian overlords. Similarly, a connection between the primitive rendering of Africa and Ali is furthered through concert performances by B. B. King and James Brown that accompanied the bout. Repeated shots of Western black musicians rehearsing, performing and partying are juxtaposed with images of native Africans drumming and dancing in tribal dress. Ali pointedly listens to soul music and gives a speech on the importance of black music to black Americans framed between clips of B. B. King's performance. In one unfortunate episode Miriam Makeba, among the first artists to bridge African and American sounds, is portrayed as a "succubus" (a common figure in blues) who symbolically robs the otherwise "awesome" Foreman of his strength before the fight.

Gast also compares the physically aggressive performance of James Brown with that of the two fighters. Brown was an ex-boxer and attributed his well known dancing prowess to his boxing training. Audiences are thus presented with a powerful image of black masculinity that is primarily based on physical ability and aggression. Conversely, Ali won the fight with his legendary "rope-a-dope" tactics. By juxtaposing Ali's creative strategy against B. B. King's improvisational blues guitar solos the film links the improvisatory genius of both artists and reinforces a powerful trope of African-American culture.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH MUSIC
Georgia Cowart, Case Western Reserve University, Chair

PIOUS PERSUASION: BÉNIGNE DE BACILLY'S SPIRITUAL AIRS FOR REPENTANT SOULS

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Throughout the seventeenth century, Catholic church leaders in France sought to persuade female aristocrats to renounce frivolity and live a life of religious devotion. Beginning with François de Sales's *Introduction à la vie dévote* (1609), authors of similar treatises provided an itinerary of pious activities and supplied meditative texts to guide women towards achieving

a heightened spirituality. Authors also recommended singing religious songs. To fill the need for a musical repertory proper for pious meditation, Father François Berthod published three volumes of sacred parodies of popular love songs or *airs sérieux* (1656, 1658, 1662). Yet certain critics found Berthod's works not only inadequate as expressions of an increasing religious fervor, but also irreverent by reference to their profane originals.

This paper explores a new kind of sacred song, composed for women, that captured the spirit of an intensifying religious zeal through a new persuasive rhetorical-musical language: Bénigne de Bacilly's two volumes of spiritual airs (1672, 1677). Five re-editions (1683–1703) attest to their popularity. The airs were set to sacred lyrics by L'Abbé Jacques Testu, whose poems were revolutionary; they were not parodies or French paraphrases of psalms but newly-written inspirational poems on sacred themes. Bacilly's spiritual airs, set to this new kind of pious verse, differ significantly from Berthod's parodies. While Berthod's airs express love for Jesus or God, Bacilly/Testu pieces are utterances of repentance and remorse, betraying a shift from a conciliatory to an obdurate theological stance, thought to be more appropriate for women than the seemingly "trivial" nature of Berthod's parodies.

By reference to theological and rhetorical treatises, prefaces to Testu's verses and Bacilly's airs, and through an analysis of texts and settings based on rhetorical principles, particularly *memoria*, I show how Bacilly manipulates musical conventions, associated with profane airs, in unconventional ways, befitting Testu's texts. Bacilly draws on profane conventions to create a sense of familiarity that make both melody and text more immediately memorable. This approach served a pedagogical function: to enable women, most of whom did not read music, to learn the airs easily and sing them from memory. Bacilly's use of profane conventions was also meant to "imprint" upon the memory the meaning of the texts. While the poems are humble and intimate confessions in communion with God, reflecting the Jansenist view of predestination, the musical settings are not representations of passionate expression, as in profane airs, but rather symbolically demonstrate the opposition between earthly vice and heavenly virtue.

This study not only examines Bacilly's spiritual airs, what they represent, and how, it also demonstrates the widespread belief that songs, properly composed, could be so persuasive as to alter one's mental and physical state—this during the reign of Louis XIV, who himself eventually repented under the influence of Mme de Maintenon and her ever-increasing commitment to religious devotion.

THE RHETORIC OF *MOUVEMENT* AND PASSIONATE EXPRESSION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH HARPSICHORD MUSIC

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Although the concept of rhetoric is generally associated with verbal expression, there existed in seventeenth-century France an entire branch of rhetorical discourse based upon the non-verbal notion of *mouvement*. In fact, a philosophy of expression through *mouvement* was prevalent not only in artistic and intellectual disciplines, but in the circles of polite society and in the musical arts as well. While modern studies have examined this philosophy especially with regard to the visual and the verbal arts of the day, very few have considered how this once prevalent way of thinking relates to contemporaneous instrumental music. This paper,

however, will do just that, illustrating how the principles of the rhetoric of *mouvement* apply especially to seventeenth-century French harpsichord music.

Mouvement was a complex concept in seventeenth-century French thought, going beyond basic temporal motion (i.e., meter and tempo) to also encompass interior motions (i.e., emotion) associated with feeling and passion. For example, Richelet's *Dictionnaire* states that *mouvement* signifies "Thought, sentiment. All that touches and moves the heart," and Furetière's *Dictionnaire* states, "*Mouvement* also has signification in the Arts. In rhetoric and poetry one says, 'to excite the *mouvements*,' when the passions of the auditor are moved by the force of the eloquence . . . David with his Harp calmed the impetuous *mouvements* of Saul." It was believed that *mouvement* resulted from a physical/temporal motion that could both represent interior passion and incite people to feel passion.

This paper examines prevailing philosophies of *mouvement* and passionate expression, discussing chief tenets and demonstrating how they manifest themselves within different artistic disciplines, including instrumental music. It considers how passionate expression through *mouvement* derives from various disciplines, citing Félibien's and Le Brun's commentaries on painting, Méré's writings on civility, Bellegarde's treatise on eloquence, and Masson's and Mersenne's treatises on music. The principles discussed in these writing are echoed once again in St. Lambert's treatise on harpsichord playing, allowing us to apply these principles directly to harpsichord music.

The paper then turns to defining how *mouvement* in harpsichord music was engendered by effecting the physical/temporal motion of sound on many levels—i.e., tempo, meter, melodic motion, rhythmic activity, harmonic rate of change, use of *agréments*, etc. It focuses on two key aspects of *mouvement* in harpsichord music: the general rhetoric of *mouvement* found in the chief dances of the repertoire, and the *agréments*, which functioned within this general framework to create another level of *mouvement* fashioning the music's passionate-expressive gestures. Thus, musical *agréments*, rather than being mere extraneous embellishments to the music, were part of an intricate declamatory language, used to create an expressive rhetorical discourse that reflected contemporaneous socio-aesthetic values.

SACRED MUSIC IN LOUIS XIII'S *MUSIQUE DE LA CHAMBRE*: THE RISE OF THE MODERN AND THE ORIGINS OF LOUIS XIV'S GRAND MOTET?

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The study of sacred music at the court of Louis XIII (r. 1610–43) has, for obvious reasons, historically focused on the Chapelle Royale. The small amount of surviving repertoire from the Chapelle, most of it in the *stile antico*, together with archival sources which indicate a performing ensemble of men's and boys' voices doubled by cornets, all convey the image of an institution stylistically still firmly rooted in the sixteenth century. By contrast, sacred music in the Chapelle Royale of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) exemplifies the Modern (at least in the terms of mid-seventeenth-century France)—instrumental participation, *basse-continue* (one of the features extensively discussed by Le Cerf de la Vieville in 1704 in connection with the grand motet), homophonic choruses, and declamatory solos.

Until now, little explanation has been possible for this dramatic change in aesthetic and genre which had taken place by the early 1660s when the first grand motets appeared. The

subtitles of the Dumont (1686) and Lully (1684) published editions of motets ("motets a deux choeurs") has led much recent scholarship to search for the origins of the grand motet in the Venetian double-choir motets of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century as reflected in the works of such earlier court composers as Du Caurroy and Le Jeune. Others have the seen the immigrants Henri Du Mont (trained in the Italian style) and Jean-Baptiste Lully (an Italian) as providing the impetus for the change. Newly identified works from F-Pn ms. rés. 571 (the so-called "Deslauriers" collection) suggest, however, that long before Dumont and Lully arrived in France, the performers and composers of Louis XIII's *musique de la chambre* were making use of the *basse-continue* and that a large repertoire of previously unknown sacred music diametrically opposed to the *stile antico* repertoire of the Chapelle Royale had already been developed. (This large newly identif ied repertory represents a previously unknown facet of the *musique de la chambre*'s activities.) Thus, when Dumont and Lully arrived in France, the feature of the grand motet which Le Cerf deemed most essential—a simplicity and directness of expression—was already in place: the expert singers of the *chambre* were already using a more text-based style, and the *basse-continue* had been in use in the *chambre* decades before Dumont supposedly introduced it in 1652. And far from the "double choir" designation of these works being related to the Venetian model of antiphonal choirs exchanging thematic material, their soloist-ripieno model (in many of Dumont and Lully's motets the chorus merely doubles the soloists at important moments) reveals their origins as works for an expert body of singers (the *musique de la chambre*) and a less expert one (the Chapelle Royale), a fact alluded to by numerous literary accounts from the early seventeenth century but only now supported by musical evidence.

GOSSIP, TRAVELOGUES, DRINKING SONGS & POLITICAL SATIRE: THE AFTERLIFE OF THE "AIR POUR LA MAISON DE FRANCE" FROM LOUIS XIV'S COURT BALLET, *HERCULE AMOUREUX* (1662)

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Many recent histories of the reign of Louis XIV still fixate on the idea of his absolute power and his nobility's complete submission, but contemporaneous manuscript collections of the numerous anecdotal, satirical and political contrafacta offer competing voices to the dominant panegyric histories of Louis's reign. These songs cover a wide range of topics: light-hearted drinking songs; misogynous bawdy songs; songs relating current court scandals; songs critical of the king's ministers, mistresses, or generals; songs celebrating military victories or deriding losses; and even songs recounting prominent trials. Through them French nobles maintained a lively, if clandestine, commentary on current affairs.

Dimissed or bowdlerized by nineteenth-century historians and marginalized by twentieth-century scholars, these songs document the underside of Louis XIV's reign. Compiled in manuscript volumes during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries "pour servir d'une histoire du temps de la regne de Louis XIV," the collections were self-consciously historical and often lavishly bound. They were prized possessions in noble libraries, and collectors prided themselves on completeness. Copying them was, at times, forbidden, but escaped the official censorship to which print was subject. Making such contrafacta sometimes came with a heavy price—ex-courtier Bussy-Rabutin lost his place at court and was imprisoned for his

verses on the king's mistresses set to the Easter "Alleluyia"—but this did not extinguish the verses, nor did it discourage the production of many others.

This unruly repertory demands our attention as it documents the ways music served as a vehicle for subversive histories—the seemingly inconsequential, ignoble, and scandalous details of court society. It offers a glimpse of how anecdotes became fixed, passed along from ear to ear, from hand to hand, among the nobility. The recurrence of certain tunes throughout the volumes also warrants closer attention: are the tunes simply vacant vehicles for new texts, or might tune choices and textual subject matter work in relationship to each other?

To address this question, my paper examines the twenty-plus verses composed on the melody from the King's entry as the House of France in the 1662 ballet *Hercule Amoureux*. The range of subject matter—from genealogies, travelogues, versified fables from LaFontaine, to accusations of sodomy—exemplifies the richness of these verses as cultural documents while also suggesting the ways a tune from the court ballet might carry its connotations into avenues quite distant from the decorum, dignity and *politesse* normally associated with Louis XIV. These verses played on the musical gestures of the tune, with its marked references to French noble dance style, adding an important layer of critique, subversion, or sometimes even legitimacy to the texts. The texts alone are subversive, disturbing the established order; using a tune from the king's ballet renders them doubly powerful. Once the newly composed verses had circulated among the nobility, one could not know, when hearing the tune whistled, whether to think of Louis's grandeur, the sodomitical exploits of various nobles, the fall of an ambitious debutante, or the corrupt Archbishop of Paris.

EARLY FRENCH MUSICAL MODERNISM: ITS SOURCES AND IDIOMS

Michael J. Puri, University of Virginia, Moderator
Daniel Albright, Harvard University
Gurminder Kaur Bhogal, Wellesley College
Carlo Caballero, University of Colorado, Boulder
Ralph P. Locke, Eastman School of Music (University of Rochester)
Jann Pasler, University of California, San Diego

This panel pursues three main goals in addressing early French musical modernism from the end of the Franco-Prussian War to the beginning of World War I: to open up new critical perspectives on the repertoire of this period, which has historically received less attention than its Austro-German counterpart; to situate this repertoire within a larger historical context; and to critique the concept of modernism as it has been applied both to this repertoire and to twentieth-century music in general.

The panel comprises six scholars of modernism and French music whose individual presentations group naturally into three pairs. After providing a brief history of the concept of modernism as it has been invoked by musicology, Michael Puri argues for a modernist anti-metaphysical attitude in Ravel's music similar to that appearing in Strauss's orchestral tone poems, thereby proposing a transnational understanding of French musical modernism. Next, Gurminder Bhogal shows how decorative gestures in Ravel's "Noctuelles" and "Ondine" resonate with contemporaneous modernist trends in literature and the visual arts that sought to endow the ornament with structural and narrative significance.

The second pair broadens the scope of inquiry to trace the origins of this movement and outline its overriding aesthetic principles. Understanding modernism on the one hand as a response to urban modernity, Ralph Locke considers Meyerbeer as a proto-modernist for having placed onstage a panoply of contending social groups. On the other hand, if modernism is understood primarily to mean experimentalism, complexity, and originality, Locke considers Berlioz to have been its progenitor in French music. Jann Pasler, in turn, brings to light listening practices that were central to the emergence of modernism in France. Devoting particular attention to the phenomenon of contemplative admiration, she discusses how composers and critics during the 1890s increasingly compelled listeners to focus on the formal beauty of music rather than interpret their personal responses through sentimental or imaginative projections. Such practices stimulated a reevaluation of Bach, among others, supported the composition of difficult music, and rewarded connoisseurship, thereby wresting art music back from the masses.

The third pair places our concerns with French musical modernism within an even larger framework. Noting that musicology has largely borrowed the concept of modernism from literary and art-historical studies without critical reflection on the validity of this maneuver, Carlo Caballero argues that its current use in musicology does not promote historical insight but actually hinders its proper articulation. Daniel Albright responds with a more positive position that upholds the inter-art correspondences laid out in detail in his recent *Modernism and Music*.

MUSICOLOGY AND NATION: A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

Mary Ingraham (University of Alberta) Chair
James Deaville (Carleton University)
Serge Lacasse (Université Laval)
Sherry Lee (University of Toronto)
Gordon E. Smith (Queens University)

Given the amount of border-crossing that takes place between the United States and Canada, it is understandable why musicologists should assume that North America comprises one large scholarly community. If one were to survey research in the realm of "traditional" historical musicology, that observation may find support. However, such perceived uniformity begins to falter when attention turns to historically "peripheral" areas of musicological inquiry in the two nations, including popular music studies and ethnomusicology. Moreover, even for the study of Western "art music," arguments could arise that the divergent infrastructures for the funding of research in Canada and the United States and the countries' differing political, social, cultural and—significantly—linguistic characters have an impact on the types and nature of musicological work.

This panel's purpose is to create a forum for the discussion of these ideas surrounding musicology and nation. Since the AMS is meeting in Canada, such a dialogue seems especially appropriate. The opening question regards whether there exists an identifiable Canadian musicology, followed by consideration of the factors that could contribute to its identity and what it would look like in practice. These questions have preoccupied the thoughts of Canadian musicologists for decades, manifested in such AMS-related developments as the discussions surrounding a Canadian "Chapter" of the Society and the recent practice of the New York State—St. Lawrence Chapter to accept papers in French. This session should result in a spirited and fruitful interaction among Canadian and American musicologists, contributing to a heightened awareness of the interface between musicological discourse and national identity, inside and outside the North American context.

Each of the five panelists will present a brief position statement based on the questions articulated above, after which the participants will respond to each other, followed by a general discussion among audience members and the panel.

Panelists represent a variety of fields and subject positions within Canadian musicology. James Deaville was educated in the United States, but has spent most of his professorial career at Canadian universities and is currently President of the Canadian University Music Society. Mary Ingraham teaches and conducts research in twentieth-century Canadian music and cultural politics, and is the creator of educational materials for the Canadian Music Centre. A popular music specialist, Serge Lacasse is a member of the Executive for both the Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la littérature et la culture québécoises (CRILCQ) and the Observatoire international sur la création musicale (OICM). Sherry Lee teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in Canadian music with a focus on expressions of cultural identity across concert, popular, and indigenous musical repertoires. The research of Gordon E. Smith includes fieldwork and publications on traditional music in Canada, as well as Mi'kmaq music culture in Nova Scotia.

ANONYMOUS EDITORS
Bonnie Blackburn, Wolfson College, University of Oxford, Chair

WHO DEVISED THE PROPORTIONAL NOTATION
IN ISAAC'S *CHORALIS CONSTANTINUS?*

Ruth DeFord
Hunter College and Graduate Center, CUNY

Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* has been renowned as a source of complex proportional notation since the 1530s. Sixteenth-century theorists, beginning with Sebald Heyden, drew examples from it even before it was published, and it has played a prominent role in studies of mensural notation ever since. Although the work has been interpreted as a key to Isaac's mensural usage, much of its unusual notation may be the work of Heyden, not Isaac. Many of its proportion signs appear in no other works of Isaac, and some exist nowhere else outside of theoretical treatises. The unconventional signs are concentrated in a handful of numbers that make up only about one percent of the collection. They apply to commonplace rhythms that were normally notated in much simpler ways. A liturgical collection like *Choralis Constantinus* is not the type of work a composer would normally choose to display purely theoretical or didactic notational complexities. Theorists sometimes wrote motets with complex proportions for the benefit of students who could see the notation, but liturgical music was meant to serve listeners, not music readers.

As the leading authority on music in Nuremberg, where the music of *Choralis Constantinus* was collected and edited for publication two decades after Isaac's death, Heyden would have had both the opportunity and a plausible motive to revise Isaac's notation for his own purposes. The second edition of his treatise *De arte canendi*, the earliest surviving source for two of the *Choralis* numbers with complex proportions, appeared in 1537, the year in which Johannes Ott announced the forthcoming publication of Isaac's work. Heyden generated many of his examples by altering the notation of existing compositions; if he subjected the Isaac examples to this treatment, he would surely have encouraged Ott to adopt his revised notation in the print. Ott may have complied both because of Heyden's prestige and because the striking notation, which is featured in prominent positions within the work, lends an air of erudition to the collection.

The lost exemplar for the print was substantially complete by 1537, but various complications delayed the publication until 1550–55. This exemplar was the direct or indirect source for all but one of the extant sources of the notationally complex numbers in the work. Discrepancies among the sources prove that Isaac's notation was intentionally altered in the process of transmission, though they leave open the question of which versions were the originals.

The proportion signs in *Choralis Constantinus* conform to Heyden's theory, which differs significantly from that of Isaac's contemporaries. If they are Isaac's, they may support the application of Heyden's version of the mensural system to a broader repertory, as Philip Gossett suggested in a 1974 study, but if they are Heyden's, they demonstrate no more than the theorist's skill at self-promotion. In either case, they are not typical of their time, and their reputation as examples of normal mensural practice is undeserved.

DOM POTHIER'S TONARY AND THE GENESIS
OF THE *LIBER GRADUALIS*

Jean-Pierre Noiseux
University of Quebec, Montreal

The library of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Wandrille in Normandy holds six notebooks that belonged to Dom Joseph Pothier (1835–1923). Each of these notebooks, which Pothier completed between 1868 and 1870 while he was at the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, is devoted to one type of piece belonging to the Proper of the mass. The pieces are grouped by tone and transcribed in square notation on four-line staves. For Pothier, they constituted the preliminary phase leading to the 1883 edition of the *Liber Gradualis.*

Approximately one third of Pothier's transcriptions (some 180 pieces) are accompanied by marginal notes written during or after the transcription work was completed, and refer to some forty Gregorian chant manuscripts or copies of manuscripts. In addition, for these and numerous other pieces in the tonary, variants in either alphabetic or a *campo aperto* notation appear above or below the staves.

After a brief survey of the tonary, I will present the preliminary results of my study of these documents. The two-fold object of this study is to better understand Pothier's methodology for restoring the mass chants, and to determine to what extent the numerous marginal notes and variants can help us to identify his sources for a significant portion of the *Liber Gradualis* and by extension, of the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908.

COPLAND AND SCHOENBERG
Elizabeth Bergman, Princeton University, Chair

BOULANGER AND THE COPLAND *PASSACAGLIA*

E. Douglas Bomberger
Elizabethtown College

Aaron Copland recalled of his teacher Nadia Boulanger, "All Mademoiselle's pupils wrote, among other things, motets and a passacaglia." The archaic, cosmopolitan, and rigidly structured passacaglia form would seem an unlikely choice in the era of musical modernism; in practice, Boulanger used it to explore important principles of micro- and macrostructure with her students. Passacaglias by her students demonstrate not only her legendary attention to the details of musical composition but also her interest in cultivating large-scale formal connections that develop over successive variations.

Aaron Copland's well-known *Passacaglia* of 1922 provides an opportunity to examine her teaching in detail, as the Copland Collection in the Library of Congress contains three drafts and extensive sketches for the work. These preliminary versions of the piece are replete with corrections and suggestions in Boulanger's hand, allowing us to witness firsthand the evolution from initial idea to finished product. From a first draft that was predictable in phrase lengths and highly sectional, Boulanger elicited a reshaping of the work into a fluid progression that builds dramatic tension over multiple variations.

The *Passacaglia* is recognized as Copland's first mature work, the first to contain a recognizable "Copland sound." Boulanger's blue-penciled markings on the sketches and drafts shed

light on her skill at bringing out the student's unique strengths and helping him find his own voice. She encouraged him to reject ideas that did not fit the mood and structure of the whole, and she helped him to reorganize materials to highlight his strongest conceptions. As noted by many former students, her role was to help the student hear his piece as others heard it and thereby free himself to realize his full creative potential. The sketches of the *Passacaglia* present an unusually detailed view of how that process unfolded in one seminal composition.

COPLAND THE SERIALIST, 1923–1930

Bryan R. Simms
University of Southern California

It is well known that Aaron Copland began to apply serial and twelve-tone methods in his music following World War II, first with his Piano Quartet (1950). But Copland admitted that he had also used techniques associated with the music of Schoenberg in compositions begun in the 1920s, including the "Poet's Song" of 1927 and Piano Variations (1928–30). "'Poet's Song' . . . is quite twelve-tony," he told Edward Cone in 1967, and to Vivian Perlis (1984) he described the Piano Variations in similar terms: "I *did* make use to some extent, but in my own way, of the method invented by Arnold Schoenberg that came to be known as 'twelve tone' and from which developed 'serialism.'"

Copland's interest in Schoenberg's music was apparently awakened during his studies with Nadia Boulanger. Léonie Rosenstiel asserts that Mlle. Boulanger examined Schoenberg's twelve-tone works at her Wednesday gatherings with her students as early as 1923 (Copland recalled the year as 1924). But the content of these discussions is uncertain since virtually no information about the twelve-tone method was available in 1923, and Schoenberg's first major twelve-tone composition, the Piano Suite, Op. 25, was published only in the summer of 1925. In this year Mlle. Boulanger cooled toward Schoenberg when she learned of his bitter attacks on her friend Stravinsky.

Copland nevertheless returned to music by Schoenberg later in the 1920s. He analyzed Schoenberg's compositions in 1927 to prepare for a lecture on the Viennese modernists at the New School for Social Research, and his interest in serial methods may also have been provoked by the piano music of Schoenberg's student Adolph Weiss, which this composer performed on the Copland-Sessions Concerts in 1928.

Which were the works by Schoenberg that could have provided models for Copland? This paper will attempt to answer this question by assessing Schoenberg's serial methods of the early 1920s and their influence on Copland's music from 1927 to 1930. An analysis of Copland's Piano Variations and its sketches shows that Copland probably relied for his knowledge of Schoenberg not on twelve-tone music per se, but instead on Schoenberg's pre-twelve-tone compositions, works that resulted from what Schoenberg called "composing with tones." An especially relevant model for the Piano Variations is Schoenberg's Piano Piece, Op. 23, No. 3 (the music for which, published in 1923, was acquired by Copland for his personal library). It shares with the Piano Variations a strongly octatonic tonal organization and common ways by which an opening basic shape—terse and octatonic in both pieces—is subsequently used.

Copland's rapprochement with the music of Schoenberg in the 1920s suggests that the personal and artistic barriers that separated French and American neotonalist composers from the Viennese atonalists between the world wars were more permeable than hitherto thought.

ARNOLD SCHOENBERG—AMERICAN

Sabine Feisst
Arizona State University

Like innumerable Jews from Europe, Arnold Schoenberg, pioneer of musical modernism, fled the Nazis and settled in the United States, where he spent an important part of his career (1933–1951) and contributed greatly to America's musical culture. Here Schoenberg not only grappled with his Austrian-German and Jewish identities, but also came to terms with a third, American identity. While Schoenberg commentators often characterize him as a European elitist unwilling to adapt to his new environment and draw attention to his increased self-awareness as a Jew, they downplay acculturation processes, belittle his engagement with American culture and misjudge dissimilative phenomena typical of his activities in the United States. Such positions reveal that research on his American years neither achieved depth nor breadth commensurate with the importance of this period of the composer's career.

In my paper I will examine Schoenberg's American identity, a lacuna in the historiography and reception of an essential creative stage in the composer's life. I have three objectives: to clarify concepts such as "identity," "acculturation," and "dissimilation," which help to frame a new understanding of his activities in America; to illuminate how Schoenberg adapted to American society outside the realm of music (his use of the English language, relations with Americans, political thinking, interest in the Hollywood film industry); and to demonstrate how Schoenberg professionally accommodated to American culture. As a teacher, he adjusted to the American educational system and provided textbooks tailored to American students. Committed to the advancement of American music, he composed works inspired by and for Americans. I will illustrate the latter point by focusing on Schoenberg's previously unknown venture into the area of American folk music, his unfinished setting of "My Horses Ain't Hungry" from John Jacob Niles' "Songs of the Hill Folk" (circa 1935). This and other examples, however, display his receptiveness toward his adopted home in more and less subtle ways, often revealing a hybrid quality. While many scholars tend to either ignore or criticize Schoenberg's bow to American culture and rebuke his dissimilative expressions as impure, I argue that Schoenberg, far from compromising his integrity, negotiated his multiple identities in his activities in America.

My study is based on unpublished materials, including Schoenberg correspondence and the music manuscript of "Horses," housed in the Schoenberg Center in Vienna. I adapted concepts from sociology and ethnomusicology drawing on writings of Nettl, Kartomi, Frühauf and others. My work is also indebted to research by Goehr (her idea of "doubleness"), Cahn, Kangas, Ringer, Mäckelmann, Schiller, Brinkmann, and Danuser, who discussed Schoenberg's Jewish and German identities; and to Newlin, Lessem, and Henke, who present Schoenberg's American years in a novel light. Further, the work of scholars including Kowalke, Hinton, Levitz, and Maurer-Zenck who focused on other émigré figures and exile topics and developed new points of view provides ground for my paper. By considering new archival material and expanding these writers' perspectives, I intend to contribute to a more differentiated understanding of Schoenberg's American years.

AARON COPLAND AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: "UN-AMERICAN" COMPOSER MEETS COLD WAR AMBASSADOR

Emily Abrams Ansari
University of Western Ontario

In her recent scholarship, musicologist Elizabeth Bergman has fruitfully considered Copland's music from the thirties and forties within the context of a left-wing social movement known as the Popular Front. She contends that Cold War, anticommunist historiography has obscured from view the political progressivism inherent in Copland's most well-known works from this period. In this paper, I accept Bergman's claim that the leftist themes in Copland's populist works were more veiled after World War II. Copland was, however, not wholly a victim of historiography. Instead, I argue, both the American government and Copland himself played a role in reshaping the public's image of the composer and his music. Furthermore, this depoliticizing was essential within the context of his participation in the U.S. government's cultural diplomacy campaign.

During the Cold War, the State Department and the United States Information Agency actively promoted contemporary American classical music abroad, seeking to demonstrate to the world that democracy could result in a rich, diverse culture, thus making it an appealing alternative to communism. To this end, they sent American musicians as cultural ambassadors to countries throughout the world. They also produced informational material about American music, including leaflets, documentaries, and panel displays, to be exhibited in local American embassies or distributed by them. Through archival research in government papers and the Copland Collection, I have discovered that well over a third of Copland's visits to foreign countries between 1941 and his death were funded through these programs. Furthermore, during the remainder of his tours (which were primarily funded by foreign orchestras which Copland conducted) he also made frequent Embassy appearances, assisting the USIA around the world on an ad hoc basis with local talks and small-scale concerts. For the government, Copland—minus the communist taint—represented an ideal vehicle through which to promote American values. In this paper, I analyze why this was the case, examining the most ubiquitous aspects of the USIA's presentation of Copland.

The second part of this paper considers Copland's motivations for such committed involvement in his government's cultural diplomacy campaign, within the context of a re-evaluation of his politics after World War II. I begin by considering his actions against the background of his lifelong mission to promote American high culture. I also provide evidence that he had been dedicated to the idea of cultural exchange since at least the 1940s. But there were also benefits associated with his involvement: when combined with his new avoidance of political speeches and politically-inspired music, this work for the government helped Copland establish himself as part of the political mainstream after his 1953 appearance before Joseph McCarthy's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. And yet, I argue, such activities did not denote a move to the political center on Copland's part. In fact, elements of his career as a government-funded ambassador provide clues to demonstrate that his leftist, progressive politics, although hidden from public view, remained central to both his life choices and his compositional aesthetic until the end of his life.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN THEORY
Anne Stone, Queens College and Graduate Center, CUNY, Chair

"HABENT SUA FATA LIBELLI": THE DESTINIES
OF *DIVINA AUXILIANTE GRATIA*

Linda Cummins
University of Alabama

Traditional textual scholarship regarded manuscript witnesses as degenerate copies of the text the author intended; the critic's task was to eliminate the dross and recover the original. Zumthor (*Essai de poétique médiévale*, 1972), however, saw the variation among manuscript copies of the "same" text as an essential characteristic of medieval writing; as Cerquiglini (*Éloge de la variante*, 1989) put it, the task of the medieval scribe was not to copy but to rewrite. Present-day textual scholarship, accordingly, sees surviving witnesses not as deficient copies but as versions of a text valid in their own right, whose meaning is determined not only by the words that make them up but by the company in which they are placed and the manner in which they are presented; the "meaning" of a text is not fixed but evolves diachronically (Taylor, *Textual Situations*, 2002). The surviving versions of *Divina auxiliante gratia*, an anonymous treatise on modal theory extracted from the *Lucidarium* of Marchetto of Padua, illustrate the variety of modifications and modes of presentation a medieval text could undergo. Despite its derivative nature, *Divina* developed its own manuscript tradition, surviving in six fifteenth-century copies and often standing in for its parent text as representative of Marchetto's modal doctrine. The present paper, based on my own study of *Divina*'s six sources *in situ* in preparation for an edition, surveys the destinies of the treatise; it is illustrated with digital images.

One version of *Divina* appears in a magnificent anthology representing—and distinguishing—French and Italian theoretical traditions; in another version it gains dignity through the acquisition of a *proemium*; two versions omit the musical examples present in the others, almost certainly through scribal intention; another, in a collection representing the musico-liturgical interests of a Carmelite monastery, systematically interleaves an alternative (and contradictory) modal theory misattributed to Guido, and interpolates a number of chapters on disparate subjects that more than double its length. In all six sources *Divina* is given a large decorated initial or has space left for one; in three, it is honored through placement at the beginning of a gathering, in two others of a recto; yet in one (anonymous) source it is stripped of the attribution of its doctrine to Marchetto and merely continues an ongoing text.

Divina's manuscript companions and their manner of presentation continue to shape its destinies. The chain still attached to one manuscript testifies to the high regard in which it has been held; another, already damaged when La Fage saw it in the middle of the nineteenth century, was deprived of all evidence of its original construction through an over-zealous restoration in the 1980s. The entire manuscript source of one version was long overlooked through having been bound together with three much more imposing volumes, including a handwritten copy of the 1496 print of Gaffurio's *Practica musice*; yet another version was enshrined in a commercial CD-ROM only because its source also contains a pre-publication version of that same work. Such are the destinies of medieval books.

INSIDE THE STUDIO OF A LATE-MEDIEVAL CHOIRMASTER:
JOHN HOTHBY AT THE CATHEDRAL OF LUCCA

Benjamin Brand
University of North Texas

Although musical treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that counterpoint was central to the curricula of late-medieval choir schools, it remains uncertain precisely how students progressed from singing strict, unmeasured discant to complex mensural polyphony. New evidence concerning one of the most celebrated pedagogues of the late fifteenth-century, John Hothby, elucidates this critical stage in learning. As choirmaster at the cathedral of Lucca from 1467 to 1486, this Englishman trained the chaplains and choirboys of that church to sing the intricate polyphony of northern composers. His teachings find a telling witness in five exercises in mensural counterpoint added to an inventory of the sacristy (Lucca, Archivio Archivescovile, Enti religiosi soppressi, 3086) by a chaplain of the cathedral. One of only two examples of "model composition" to survive from before 1500, they newly illuminate Hothby's program of study in Lucca and more broadly expand our knowledge of music pedagogy in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The Lucchese exercises witness the steadily more fluent and sophisticated elaboration of note-against-note progressions between a cantus and tenor through imitation and diminished counterpoint. They exemplify the rules in Hothby's pedagogical treatises and evince particular affinities with the *Tractatus quarundam regularum artis musice*. A contemporary Tuscan source (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino, 472) presents eight two- and three-voice laude in the folia directly following that text. These include *Verbum caro factum est*, which also appears as the cantus of two of the Lucchese exercises. This concordance suggests that *Verbum caro* and the remaining laude served as the basis for the contrapuntal exercises of Hothby's students, and had thus acquired a pedagogical rather than devotional function. In so employing the lauda, that most beloved of Tuscan traditions, for the teaching of mensural polyphony, Hothby showed himself to be a northern choirmaster particularly attuned to the needs and customs of his Italian students.

MAHLER
Jon Finson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair

"DER ROMANTIKER DER GROSSSTADT":
MAHLER AND VIENNESE OPERETTA

Timothy Freeze
University of Michigan

Among the most readily recognizable traits of Mahler's music is his frequent emulation of folk, military, and popular styles. Drawing on Mahler's own testimony, many scholars have used the composer's early experiences with German and Czech folksongs, as well as the military band garrisoned in his boyhood hometown, to account for the idiosyncratic mixture of these styles and idioms. This paper considers another possible source: the urban entertainment music of Vienna. Though the relevance of Vienna's popular music for Mahler's works is frequently acknowledged, it is usually only in general terms or in occasional asides that

identify potential melodic allusions. To date, very little research has been devoted to the nature and extent of these connections.

This paper takes the operetta as its core repertory, focusing primarily on those operettas that Mahler conducted or which were exceptionally famous in Vienna during his years in the city. An overview of these works shows that virtually all the idioms and styles used to link Mahler's music to his boyhood experiences or to romanticism more generally were also common fare in the operettas of the day, including the emulation of folk songs, preponderance of military signals and marches, and frequent use of dance idioms. Musical examples drawn from such operettas as Franz von Suppé's *Boccaccio* (1879) and Johann Strauss, Jr.'s *Der lustige Krieg* (1881) demonstrate close similarities in melodic and rhythmic formulae, strategies of orchestration, and frequent use of ironic and sentimental expression. Musical connections between marches in the first movement of Mahler's Third Symphony and Carl Millöcker's *Der Bettelstudent* (1882) take on special significance because Mahler conducted the operetta eleven times in the months before he composed the movement. Excerpts from the critical reception in contemporary newspapers show that many reviewers, hostile and favorable alike, heard such echoes of operettas or urban entertainment music in his works.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the appropriation of folk styles and stock romantic elements by operettas and the popular music industry more generally made it possible for colloquial elements in Mahler's works to have multiple plausible antecedents. Such passages as the posthorn solo of the Third Symphony or the *Ländler* Trio of the Fourth, which have been frequently understood to exemplify Romantic attributes (drawing inspiration from the folk or expressing a longing for the past), were more frequently heard in Mahler's day as emulating lowbrow entertainment music. The recognition that many of the colloquial styles and clichés in Mahler's works invoke musically legitimate but contradictory associations can help remedy the surprisingly widespread view held in certain Mahler literature that his references to genres outside of art music are clearly representative and imbued with unmistakable clarity. It can also help account for the polarized contemporary reception of his music, whose likenesses to urban entertainment music created a scandalous exterior that has since been tempered by the fading away of the operettas and popular music that once comprised an integral part of its context.

HIRSCHFELD, MAHLER, AND THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE REVIVAL OF HAYDN'S *DER APOTHEKER*

Caryl Clark
University of Toronto

The first opera by Haydn revived in the modern era was *Lo speziale* (Eszterháza 1768), freely adapted by the editor and critic Robert Hirschfeld as *Der Apotheker* (1895). By the late 1890s Hirschfeld had established himself as one of the most influential music critics working in fin-de-siècle Vienna, largely through his efforts in organizing a series of early music concerts, teaching aesthetics at the Vienna Conservatory, writing and editing program notes for the Vienna Philharmonic, working as a music critic for the *Weiner Abendpost*, and preparing performing editions of three operas whose sources were incomplete: *Der Apotheker*, Schubert's *Der vierjärige Posten* (1896), and Mozart's *Zaide* (1902). A German-speaking immigrant Jew from Moravia and son of a rabbi, Hirschfeld successfully negotiated the increasingly difficult fault-line between unbounded respect for Wagner's music versus the more unsavory aspects of

Wagnerism, which was closely aligned with German nationalism and anti-Semitic sentiments. Although a former student of the conservative Hanslick, Hirschfeld praised both Wagner and Brahms, and recognized the achievements of Bruckner and Wolf in the contemporary idiom while denigrating those of Mahler. During Mahler's tenure as conductor at the Wiener Hofoper from 1897 to 1907, Hirschfeld grew evermore critical of Mahler's music and operatic and symphonic performances, especially after the Viennese premiere of the composer's First Symphony in November 1900. His interactions with Mahler before the turn of the century, however, were initially positive, as witnessed in their collaboration on Haydn's *Der Apotheker*.

This paper recounts the history of the revival of *Der Apotheker*. Following its premiere in Dresden under Ernst Schuch in June 1895, the production was repeated at a benefit concert at the Carltheater in Vienna in November 1895, after which it garnered critical praise in a series of performances conducted by Mahler in Hamburg (1895–96) and Vienna (1899). Discussed here are several important documents pertaining to these performances, including a little-known letter by Mahler to Hirschfeld from November 1895, Hirschfeld's revised libretto and keyboard edition (published by the impresario and entrepreneur Albert Gutmann), several published reviews, and Mahler's annotated conducting score recently discovered in the uncatalogued collection of the Wiener Staatsoper. Haydn's original Turkish scene in Act 3, in which the gullible title character falls for a get-rich-quick scheme to move to Constantinople to work as the Sultan's apothecary, contrasts a pseudo-Turk with the "ultimate Other"—one whose "difference" both textually and musically bears the mark of the Jew. Hirschfeld's reconstruction disrupts the carefully constructed caricature in ways that fit his larger agenda of deepening the roots of German musical culture. Mahler's performing annotations, however, recuperate the original characterization. Subsequent performances of *Der Apotheker* by the Wiener Sängerknaben and the Verband Deutscher Apotheker, an organization of professional apothecaries in Hamburg and Berlin from 1930 to 1933 before being disbanded by the Nazis, further complicate the representation. Hirschfeld's revival of a seemingly innocent comic opera by Papa Haydn unleashed many ironies.

MAHLER'S "SYMPHONIA DOMESTICA": THE SIXTH SYMPHONY'S SCHERZO AND A BARNYARD TALE OF FAMILY VALUES

Sue Taylor
Washington University in St. Louis

Gustav Mahler made no secret of his distaste for the family privacies Richard Strauss exploited for the program of his *Symphonia domestica.* Strauss acknowledged his friend's indictment when he wrote to Romain Rolland, "You are extremely in agreement with G. Mahler, who utterly condemns the program." Mahler knew Strauss' work when he began composing his Sixth Symphony in 1903. Alma Mahler wrote in her memoirs that her husband said he had composed a musical portrait of her with the main theme of this Symphony's first movement. She continued, "In the third movement [Scherzo] he represented the arhythmic games of the two little children, tottering in zigzags over the sand." Just prior to these passages she noted that Mahler found delight in regaling their older daughter with the story of *Gockel, Hinkel and Gackeleia*, an old Neapolitan folk tale retold by Clemens Brentano in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn.* This fantasy tells of parents, a daughter, and the heroic deeds of their pet fowls,

named in the title. Heavily symbolic, this popular folk story provides a potent allegorical commentary on family unity and personal ethics.

Close examination of the Sixth Symphony's Scherzo reveals that its episodic and chronological structures parallel events in the *Gockel, Hinkel and Gackeleia* story. Throughout the movement recur comic effects and material imitative of barnyard squawking. Another plausible connection to the Brentano tale is Mahler's brief interjection of garish waltz music for the seductive dancing of an automated doll (*Kunstfigur*) representing the force of evil in the story. Mahler also tinkered with his coloristic instrumentation, observed through his additions to the partitur and Stichvorlage, in ways that seem to intensify a relationship between his use of percussion and events in the fairy tale. In addition, the Scherzo has parodic musical elements reminiscent of those in his *Wunderhorn* song "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt." Probably the most compelling link to the children's tale, however, is Mahler's "Altväterisch Grazioso" section of the movement with its short, "precariously placed" staccato notes—a musical portrayal of the story's prominent *Eiertanz* with its inevitable ill-placed foot. Toward the end of the movement, Mahler's "death shriek" and a gong stroke may represent the sacrificial slaughtering of the family's beloved rooster to obtain the prized Solomon's ring with its power to restore familial order. These accumulating connections suggest the likelihood of a hidden program, yet any musical ties to the story are best viewed only as stimuli for Mahler's satirizing of Strauss' excesses, and not as attempts to "compose" the *Gockel* story.

This paper makes a persuasive case for the possibility that the Scherzo of the Sixth Symphony was composed as a disguised parody—for Mahler's personal amusement—of Strauss' banal household exposé.

"WAS SOLL DENN EUCH MEIN SINGEN?" DISLOCATED SOUND IN MAHLER'S *DAS KLAGENDE LIED*

Sherry Lee
University of Toronto

Gustav Mahler's dramatic cantata *Das klagende Lied* (1878–80) is his earliest surviving large-scale work. Its narrative poem from Mahler's own pen tells of two brothers seeking a flower that will win the hand of a beautiful queen. The younger finds it, but the elder murders him, claiming flower and bride. However, a minstrel discovers the victim's bone in the forest and fashions from it a flute which, shockingly, sings the story of the fratricide. The chilling tale culminates in supernatural retribution when the flute voices its accusation at the murderer's wedding to the queen, with devastating results. This extraordinary work, unjustly neglected until recently, foregrounds issues of sound and voice, bodies and disembodiment, narrative and performance, and has inspired me to explore its significance in terms of modern conceptions of voice and performativity. My paper examines these issues in both text and music, drawing upon Roland Barthes's theorization of vocal plurality in classic and modern texts, and Carolyn Abbate's work on effects of sonic dislocation and vocal disembodiment in performance. It demonstrates how Mahler used an essentially romantic narrative as a vehicle for a uniquely modern exploration of the disturbing, disruptive forces of performed sound.

I begin by explaining the ways in which the text thematizes sonic displacement through its narrative content, but also its structure: it shifts between past and present, narration and enactment, incorporating interrogatory interruption and lyric reflection. While the story invokes voices human and inhuman, living and dead, and the physical power of sound to

transcend conventional boundaries, the poem's grammatical and vocal shifts—who speaks, when, where?—exemplify what Barthes called a "tonal instability" of utterances whose source seems unidentifiable or absent.

I then show that the events of this narrative and the multi-voiced means of its telling resonate with problems of voice and locus of sound that become central in Mahler's musical setting. Notable is the distribution of the text among multiple performing voices in shifting narrative roles, an effect Peter Franklin has discussed recently in terms of gendered discourse. Yet this intriguing but intricate gender fragmentation, I suggest, is less perceptible than the fundamental experience of continuous displacement: the voice, in Barthes's terms, "gets lost . . . through a hole in the discourse." Such spatial and temporal polyphonies of text and vocal setting echo in other performance effects, vocal and instrumental, throughout the work. My paper ultimately queries the significance of the singing bone itself, which evolves from gentle lament to what Abbate might term a terrifying, disembodied "voice-object," whose source is unknowable. It clashes dramatically with an offstage band, whose spatial distance fails to nullify its effect of bridging, with fearful immediacy, the gap to the past and the imaginary. What is so striking about this extreme volatility of utterance is how it becomes the means of the work's embodiment of its own narrative content, such that we experience the radical sonic dislocation that is the story's theme—a theme that reverberates throughout Mahler's oeuvre.

MAKING MEANING IN FRENCH BAROQUE OPERA
Tim Carter, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair

ECHOES OF ALLEGORIES PAST IN LULLY'S *PHAËTON*

Lois Rosow
Ohio State University

Our manner of reading Lully's operas as political allegories, and especially of seeing the heroes as representations of Louis XIV, has undergone revision in recent years. Scholars have learned to see a complex relationship between the godlike "Hero" of the prologues and the more problematic heroes of the *tragédies,* and in general to distrust *à clef* readings, with fictitious events representing real events at court. Nonetheless, it has proved rewarding to read these operas as general metaphors for courtly society—representations of symmetry, magnificence and splendor, and top-down authority. At the same time, the primary sources occasionally encourage us to interpret the hero specifically as Louis, and contemporaneous anecdotes demonstrate that courtly audiences made a game of seeing themselves in particular characters. Moreover, the tradition of mythological courtly symbolism served the longstanding impulse to blur the boundary between heaven and earth and to idealize courtly society as a return to the mythological golden age. So long as we avoid expecting consistency in the relationship of fiction and reality, but recognize instead the genre's "fleeting associations," surely we are well served by paying attention to symbol and allusion however they present themselves.

Using *Phaëton* as a case study, this paper will suggest another source for allegorical reading: the reception of the mythological stories. In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid divided the story, introducing it at the end of Book I and opening Book II with the splendid palace of the Sun. The splendor of Apollo's palace is suggested in the opera by an expansive divertissement and evocation of Versailles (where Louis XIV had recently moved his court). Whereas Ovid was

sympathetic to Phaethon, praising his risk-taking, the principal early-modern allegory—that of Phaethon as an immature prince attempting to rule before he is ready—expressed moral disapproval. This disapproval pervades the love triangle and story of royal succession in the opera, largely the librettist's invention. Here (Acts I to III) the libretto and score follow the conventional dramaturgy associated with heroism; yet while Corneillian heroism is evoked, both poetically and musically, none is actually present. By contrast, the musically expansive encounter with Apollo (Act IV) largely follows Ovid and stresses Phaethon's *gloire* and willingness to die for immortality, along with Apollo's dilemma. Art historian Pierre Marechaux has demonstrated that the depiction of Phaethon's fall in Bernard Salomon's highly influential annotated illustrations for *Metamorphoses* (1557) juxtaposes Jupiter as a rigorous, severe god, and the Sun as a source of Christian redemption. Seventeenth-century imitations of that illustration preserve Jupiter's role but not always Apollo's, and evidence for the early staging of Lully's opera agrees with that adjustment. Nonetheless, the king of France was thought to encompass a pantheon; spectators might well have seen Louis XIV reflected both in Apollo in Acts IV and V and Jupiter in Act V. Phaëton himself served as a foil for Louis's virtues. The prologue prefigures the themes of the opera and their relevance to the French monarchy.

READING *ROLAND*

Rebecca Harris-Warrick
Cornell University

Dance has such a strong presence inside of French baroque opera that it cannot be ignored. However, it can be, and often has been, marginalized—damned with the label "decorative" that obviates any need to take it seriously. In this view, dance may be part of the work, but it is not part of the drama. By extension, the divertissements in which the dancing is embedded are seen mainly as pretexts for dance and spectacle. Even scholars of baroque opera tend to subscribe to this view: divertissements in general are characterized as having "little to do with the main action," as features that "inevitably dilute the dramatic intensity," or as "a decorative but nonessential and dramatically neutral ornament." To be fair, it must be said that these scholars do recognize that not all divertissements are alike and that Philippe Quinault, Lully's main librettist, was particularly skilled at integrating the divertissements into the opera. Nonetheless, discussions of the dramaturgy of divertissements have generally remained on the level of the plot.

What happens if, instead of trying to explain away the presence of dance, we accept it as an essential element of the style and ask what kind of work dance is doing inside the opera? This switch in angle of vision encourages us to assume that the librettist, composer, and choreographer knew what they were doing in constructing divertissements as they did, and that it is our job to make sense of their choices. It further obliges us to pay close attention to the texts, music, and (insofar as it can be discerned) the choreography of the divertissements. As a first attempt at giving the divertissements full dramaturgical standing inside an opera, this paper proposes a reading of Lully and Quinault's penultimate *tragédie en musique*, *Roland* (1685). This study reveals that far from offering a distraction, the divertissements deepen the characterization of all three principal singers (Roland, Angélique, and Médor) and intensify the main themes of the plot. And because divertissements bring on stage group characters acting in obedience to a powerful individual, they become a vehicle for exposing or undermining power relationships. In *Roland*, one impact of the divertissements is to characterize the

eponymous "hero" as much by his absences or failures as by the military glory to which he returns at the opera's conclusion. Another divertissement lays the groundwork for the revelation of betrayal that pushes Roland into madness. The dancers and choral singers, who often act together as surrogates for the main characters, thus become the means for revealing emotional truths that the characters either are incapable of enunciating for themselves or do not wish to face. Lully's musical choices do not separate dance from its surroundings, but embrace it as one of his most powerful expressive tools.

MASONIC OPERA BEFORE MOZART: RAMEAU, CAHUSAC, AND THE RITUALS OF FRENCH FREEMASONRY

Graham Sadler
University of Hull

Shortly after the French Revolution of 1789, rumors circulated that the whole thing had been a Masonic plot. The idea may now seem absurd, but the very fact that it gained credence is significant. For over fifty years before the Revolution, Freemasonry had attracted a huge following in France, especially among writers, artists and musicians, and there can be no doubting its special appeal to those of a liberal or reformist temperament. Although evidence connecting Rameau with the order is mainly circumstantial (research presented in this paper will nevertheless make the link more secure), his librettist Louis de Cahusac was secretary to two prominent Freemasons—the Comte de Clermont, titular head of the entire order in France, and the Comte de Saint Florentine.

Musicologists have long been aware of Masonic symbolism in Cahusac's libretto for Rameau's *Zoroastre* (1749), a work which, in its own way, is almost as much a coded representation of Freemasonry as *Die Zauberflöte*. Various writers have alluded to Masonic elements in other Cahusac-Rameau operas, yet little published research has explored this whole subject in any detail. The present paper will relate major aspects of the Cahusac-Rameau operas to passages from mid-eighteenth-century Masonic catechisms and other specifically French sources of Masonic ritual. In the process it will reveal that each opera approaches symbolism and ritual from a different angle, as if to demonstrate a different, if still encoded, facet of Freemasonry—the struggle between good and evil (*Zoroastre*), the opposition of ignorance and enlightenment (*Les Boréades*), chaos versus order and trial by ordeal (*Zaïs*), and so on. Several operas include elements of initiation, while initiatory voyages are central to the plots of *Zoroastre* and *Les Boréades*. (These and other Masonic elements in *Les Boréades* strengthen the attribution of the libretto of this work to Cahusac.) While representations of Masonic symbols and ritual are mainly limited to the librettos, evidence will be presented that Rameau used ballet, spectacle and orchestration to represent further aspects—in particular the *frappe* or mallet stroke, the Masonic hymn, and the *colonne d'harmonie*.

RAMEAU'S *ART D'AIMER*: MUSIC AND EROTICISM IN THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Raphaëlle Legrand
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Diderot, in his erotic novel *Les Bijoux indiscrets* (1748), writes that Rameau was unrivaled in his ability to discern the "delicate nuances that lie between the affectionate and the

voluptuous, the voluptuous and the passionate, the passionate and the lascivious." Adept at applying his theoretical knowledge to depict wide-ranging passions, Rameau was prompted to give musical expression to the diverse aspects of sexuality in his operas and cantatas at a time when licentiousness was rampant in literature and the arts.

The poems that Rameau set to music abound with a veiled sexuality, which was nevertheless utterly transparent to audiences of the time. The final arias of the cantatas, such as *Orphée*, derive an amorous moral from the preceding narrative episodes. The opera prologues, notably that of *Dardanus*, frequently present an allegorical reflection on the *Art d'aimer* (harking back to the title of a poem by Gentil-Bernard, librettist of *Castor et Pollux*) by showcasing Venus, Cupid, the Pleasures, Jealousy, etc., within a short self-contained plot. In the pastorales, ballets, and *tragédies en musique*, the various divertissements explicitly celebrate respectable love, while often implicitly evoking sexuality (e.g., *Les Indes galantes*, *Dardanus*). The passages that center on the story's main couple, whether at the moment love is declared or during the ultimate lovers' reunion (e.g., *Les Boréades*), also display telling characteristics.

Rather than classify all appearances of sexuality in the texts that Rameau set to music, I intend to show how it features allusively in the lyrical genres where it cannot appear explicitly. This entails grasping the way Rameau translates the underlying eroticism into music. So far, musicologists have merely touched upon this subject, without probing the actual procedures. Insight into analyzing these passages is provided by Rameau's theoretical writings, such as the *Traité de l'harmonie* (Book II, chapter 20, "De la propriété des Accords"), where the composer expounds a refined theory of dissonance, and in both the *Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique* and the *Code de musique pratique*, where he develops a theory of modulation and cadence usage.

The question of eroticism in Rameau's lyrical works will thus be explored from three angles: poetical (in the sung text), dramaturgical (in the layout of certain divertissements), and compositional (in the music writing itself).

POSING THE QUESTION: QUEER PERFORMANCES AND POPULAR CULTURE
Nadine Hubbs, University of Michigan, Chair

THE SEXUALITY OF THE SURFACE: ANDY WARHOL, DAVID BOWIE, AND THE ART OF POSING

Judith A. Peraino
Cornell University

It is well known that David Bowie found inspiration and ideas in the pop art and public persona of Andy Warhol and his notorious entourage of transvestites. Warhol's vacuous and "swish" behavior, and his use of consumer items and pop icons in his art, contrasted with the masculinist attitude and "rugged individualism" of abstract expressionist artists such as Jackson Pollock. Similarly, Bowie's decidedly nostalgic musical styles coupled with androgynous costumes, staged homoeroticism, and proclamations of his own gay or bi sexuality contrasted with the prevailing masculinist subcultural styles that dominated 1960s rock 'n' roll. Both Warhol and Bowie played the line between art and commercial product, between earnest and

parodic expression, and between surface presentation and deeper meaning—especially via the insinuation of queer sexuality.

The scholarly approach to David Bowie and glam rock has thus far been dominated by two disciplines: British subcultural studies (Hebdige, Van Cagle, Frith), which understand glam in terms of class and generation conflict; and theater studies (Auslander), which understands glam as primarily performance art. This paper brings together musicology, queer theory, and visual culture studies in order to create a fuller picture of the discourse and commodification of queer sexuality mobilized in glam rock. In pairing Bowie and Warhol I want to work through the particularities of music and painting ("sound and vision"—to quote a Bowie song), to interrogate visual versus aural expressions of surface and depth, and then of superficiality and interiority. Moreover, I will investigate the relationship of surface and depth to sexuality. This line of inquiry leads to an interrogation of the concept of posing, as both position and imposture. "Posing" will be contrasted to Judith Bulter's concept of "performance" as a theoretical tool, and I will discuss how posing functions in Bowie and Warhol as both an aesthetic practice and an articulation of sexuality.

Visual examples include selections of Warhol's Campbell Soup Can paintings and his silkscreens of movie actresses from the early 1960s; musical examples are drawn from Bowie's 1973 album *Pin Ups*—a collection of cover songs from Mod-era London that directly engages questions of surface and depth and sexuality in Warholian terms.

LIBERACE AND THE OSTENTATIOUS TABOO

Mitchell Morris
UCLA

In all major phases of his career, Liberace constructed a performance persona in which hyperbolic signals of effeminacy and sexual irregularity were detached from all denotative reference. Details of dress and gesture, vocal idiosyncrasies, and above all a constant barrage of innuendo in-between song banter demanded that audiences understand Liberace as homosexual; and yet in 1956, when a review implicitly outing him appeared in the British newspaper *The Daily Mirror*, Liberace sued for libel and won. This extraordinary event is interesting for many reasons, not least of which is the way it calls attention to what has been termed "the ostentatious taboo"—a particular style of (Anglophone) euphemism in which the phrase "you know who/what" is meant to signal clearly what is not being named explicitly. Though the ostentatious taboo exists primarily to allow a speaker to "say without saying," it typically accomplishes this with the support of paralinguistic gestures that establish complicity between speaker and listener. This was the foundational gesture, perhaps, of Liberace's public style. It was also one of the most important strategies of self-presentation in pre-Stonewall queer cultures.

There are abundant musical equivalents to the ostentatious taboo within Liberace's performances. This paper will take up a consideration of a fascinating medley of the first movement of Beethoven's "Moonlight Sonata" and Cole Porter's "Night and Day." Although the date of Liberace's arrangement is unknown, it can on the basis of internal evidence be placed securely within the compass of his Las Vegas performances, with all their ingratiatingly glitzy aggression. The imbrication of the two pieces is structurally persuasive, but Liberace's care with musical construction takes a back seat in the recorded perfomance to his ornamental pianism. This arrangement as performed obviously violates a multitude of binary distinctions between

the "classical" and the "popular," or the "serious" and the "frivolous," that were precious to a number of mid-twentieth century audiences and critical outlooks, but its rhetorical tone is obscure. Is this a parody or meant to be taken as a complex *hommage*? Both? Neither? To whom? The gap between the performance as a gratifying surface and its indecipherable intentions can be taken as an instantiation of the problematics of Liberace's closet—of how to be seen and unseen, heard and unheard, simultaneously.

POST-WAR BRITAIN
Andy Fry, King's College London, Chair

PURCELL AND THE PERFORMANCE OF SECRETS IN POSTWAR BRITAIN

Heather Wiebe
University of Michigan

The music of Purcell experienced a remarkable revival in the years immediately after the Second World War. The newly nationalized Covent Garden announced its opening with a production of *The Fairy Queen* in 1946, and the 250th anniversary of Purcell's death prompted a set of musical tributes. Another flurry of performances followed in 1951, when the Festival of Britain presented a whole series devoted to Purcell's lesser-known works, as well as productions of *The Fairy Queen* and *Dido and Aeneas*. Meanwhile, for both Michael Tippett and Benjamin Britten, Purcell had displaced the Tudors as a source of inspiration. Britten alone produced over thirty realizations of his songs in the late 1940s and early 1950s, as well as an edition of *Dido and Aeneas*, while works such as the *Holy Sonnets of John Donne* and the *Canticles* owe a clear debt. Purcell represented many things: the lost glories of the English musical past; a model of English text-setting and indigenous operatic dramaturgy; and a notion of music as magic and enchantment. But Purcell's music, occupied as it is with the secrets of night and dreams, also helped articulate some of the silenced anxieties of postwar British life, within the safe confines of the national past.

This paper explores two facets of the postwar Purcell revival where such anxieties played out, in a joint elaboration of the most alien aspects of seventeenth-century gendering and religious feeling. The first stopping point is the remarkable career of Alfred Deller, cathedral alto turned countertenor recitalist, whose mainstay was the music of Purcell. Early responses to Deller fixated on the strangeness of the voice. It was a strangeness of which Deller himself was painfully aware, and his biography is full of awkward attempts to assure others of his "naturalness" and his status as a "family man." It cannot have helped that his champions included Tippett and Britten, both gay men for whom Deller seems to have ventriloquized an unorthodox masculinity. Secondly, I examine Britten's preoccupation with Purcell's sacred songs: with their semi-hysterical emotional manner, their extremes of loss, need, and confusion. Far from providing the reassuring stability of the past, Britten's Purcell-inspired music was some of his most tortured, preoccupied with mourning and madness. But like Deller's, Britten's deployments of Purcell also rippled 1950s orthodoxies of gender and domesticity. The trope of domesticity askew appears frequently in Britten's engagement with Purcell: in his realizations of the devotional songs (originally for domestic use), produced for himself and Peter Pears to tour across the English provinces; and in the Second Canticle, where Kathleen Ferrier

played the sacrificial son to Pears's tormented Abraham. And when Britten's opaque domestic arrangements were satirized in a 1954 radio play, *The Private Life of Hilda Tablet*, Purcell appeared there too. But if that play made light of such "eccentricities," perhaps the most striking aspect of this postwar British engagement with Purcell is a kind of outrageous seriousness, an indulgence in otherwise unacceptable extremes of anxiety and morbidity for which tradition served as the ideal veil.

"BRING ALL UP AND MIX 'EM GOOD": EXPERIMENTAL SOUND COLLAGE IN EARLY BRITISH RADIO

Louis Niebur
University of Nevada, Reno

The specifically auditory nature of radio has consistently encouraged radical musical techniques. Whether manifested by John Cage in his work for four radios tuned to different frequencies, the anarchic tantrums of Antonin Artaud, or the *musique concrète* works of Pierre Schaeffer and Pierre Henry, by removing the visual element in art, the medium forces listeners to construct form out of abstraction. Before all of these artists, however, the experimental tendencies of the earliest radio producers at the British Broadcasting Corporation in England encouraged the development of techniques that would emerge thirty years later in avantgarde musical circles outside the UK. In particular, the developments of live "Kaleidoscopic" radio dramas in the mid-1920s—multi-studio, free form experimental works, especially those by radical producer Lance Sieveking—introduced to British listeners abstract sonic collages that not only broke down the boundaries of traditional narrative but blended musical cultures as well. Sieveking and others pureed classical music, jazz and other popular musics together by means of primitive mixing boards linking numerous live broadcasting studios, creating auditory montage-like sculptures. The mixing board at the heart of this musical leveling, the "Dramatic Control Panel," Sieveking considered a virtuoso instrument not unlike a pipe organ, and, in an obvious parallel to contemporary DJ practices, felt his contribution as "virtuoso performer" during live broadcasts as the equivalent of any more conventional musician.

This paper explores the issues Sieveking and his contemporaries raised by introducing such radical sonic options to radio audiences. While neglected by musicologists until now, these works demonstrate a unique and influential British form of modernism, one that exerted a strong force on later British art, both dramatic and musical. In particular, Sieveking and other's productions foreshadow the vital role drama was to take in the development of electronic music as it unfolded in Britain. These forgotten radio pioneers of the 1920s and 1930s created an equally forgotten art form, the live sound collage, but by examining the ideas and philosophies behind these "Kaleidoscopes" in closer detail, the relevance to contemporary artists and art forms reveals itself.

FINGS AIN'T WOT THEY USED T'BE: BRITISH MODERNISM AND LONDON'S SOHO MUSICALS

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Although the history of London's West End theatre often resembles that of New York's Broadway during the same period, the late 1950s saw an astonishing and vibrant moment of iconoclasm and modernism in the genre of the British musical. Spearheaded by such intellectual directors as Joan Littlewood and her Theatre Workshop company, a number of dark, cynical, and experimental musicals were produced in the last seasons of the 1950s. Dominated by the American style and content of musical theatre, British theatre professionals and audiences had been searching for the "great British musical," a style of show that would set them apart from their American counterparts. A handful of musicals, known as the "Soho" musicals after the low-life characters who inhabit them, attempted to bring this new and particularly British voice to the West End. In these works, we see tensions between the traditional and modern, younger and older generations, and particularly British and American interests both in the world of theatre and in the larger political relationship between these nations, known historically as the "special relationship." Although much has been written on early British musical theatre and the era of Andrew Lloyd Webber, this Soho repertoire, which falls chronologically between, is crucially important to the development of musical theatre in Britain and has drifted for the most part into musical and academic obscurity.

One fascinating aspect of the Soho musicals is their portrayal of Americans and Americanness within their plots. As a way of negotiating cultural and political space, of setting themselves apart, British composers and lyricists reserved a special place for Americans in their works which distance themselves from perceived American values while at the same time send up those values. These characters usually do not play important or central roles but instead frame the Britishness of the main characters and plot lines. Exploring three examples, from *Make Me An Offer, The Crooked Mile*, and *Fings Ain't Wot They Used T'Be*, reveals the musical, theatrical, and intellectual issues these works raise, especially as they sharply contrast with more traditional and optimistic musicals of the same period. Primary material from the Lord Chamberlain's collection of the British Library and London's theatre museum shed new light on this series of remarkable works, virtually unknown in North America.

Taken from one of the most difficult but complex periods of the modern musical theatre, the Soho Musicals reveal much about their time, place, and the fascinating relationship between Britons and Americans during the Cold War. Although *Oliver!* will arguably remain the best-known British musical of this era, it does not match the complexity and ambition of the Soho musicals, now part of a very particular period in musical theatre, a time of experimentation, social commentary, and modernity.

A COHESIVE SHAMBLES: THE CLASH'S *LONDON CALLING* AND THE NORMALIZATION OF PUNK

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One of the most critically acclaimed rock albums of all time, *London Calling* (1979), was the product of a desperate moment in The Clash's creative life, a desperation reflecting a

problem bigger than the group itself. So far punk had defined itself as a largely nihilistic and anti-aesthetic subculture—its boundaries policed and managed carefully to maintain a sort of isolationist purity. At least as a musical phenomenon, such a movement could by definition not last, nor be assimilated into mainstream culture or aesthetics; it could only implode upon itself. With the tragic self-destruction of the Sex Pistols, exactly this seemed to have happened. The Clash, who had always approached punk without the nihilism, now faced the question of how to continue, especially since their second album had proved unsatisfactory to the group and fans alike. After a hermetic retreat to the recording studio, they produced *London Calling*—an immediate success both critically and artistically.

In this paper, I argue that *London Calling* normalized punk, allowing it to be more than an "event": punk could henceforth be assimilated into traditional musical discourse and aesthetics. As a careful balancing act between punk street-cred and mainstream musical values, *London Calling* allowed a double-reading. Punk fans could find in it what they sought: anti-establishment anger and at times a messy, disdainful approach to traditional musicianship. At the same time critics and listeners who had come since the late 1960s to assimilate rock into a romantic (or post-romantic) system of "art" values could find in it what *they* sought: stylistic growth, organic coherence, originality, and even a "universal" narrative of struggle, triumph and redemption. *London Calling* is basically a "concept album"—with a loose progression from an aggressive, nihilistic opening to a feel-good ending. Along the way, various themes (apocalypse, outlaw antiheroes) are revisited from changing angles. It is possible to isolate not only a story, but musical connections between the songs (keys, recurrent motives and *topoi*) all laid out in a logical manner. However, unlike concept albums in the 1970s progressive rock style against which punk reacted, *London Calling* calls attention *away* from its musical coherence, and even its textual coherence, rather than toward it. The musical links are hidden or developed within small "closed" song forms, and the thematic narrative is disrupted, fragmented, and non-linear. Indeed, the ultimate "anti-coherent" gesture is injected at the end: the addition of an extra track as an afterthought seems to disrupt the patterns and themes established within the album.

I will cite examples of the two different ways of reading this album to suit different ends: as anti-"musical" and as "musical." But I finish by considering the ways in which these two readings have intersected and combined. Both draw heavily on the trope of the band/composer as triumphant hero and on the romantic idea of organically connected fragments. It is these intersections—pioneered in the way this album was presented and received—that ultimately allowed punk to work as a normalized musical movement.

ROCK AND COUNTRY UNDERGROUND
Robert Walser, UCLA, Chair

PERSPECTIVES ON JIM MORRISON FROM THE UNDERGROUND:
JIM MORRISON AND THE *LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS*

Melissa Ursula Dawn Goldsmith
Nicholls State University

How did the *Los Angeles Free Press*, the largest circulating underground newspaper in the history of journalism, impart a record of Jim Morrison's milieu and the rise of the poet-singer

who fronted The Doors? Morrison's cult continues today, through pilgrimages to his grave (a major tourist attraction in Paris), many fans, Oliver Stone's film *The Doors* (1991), videos broadcast on the Internet via *YouTube*, rediscoveries of recordings, and new discoveries of unreleased recordings, lost films, and unpublished manuscripts of Morrison's poetry. How did the *L. A. Free Press* contribute to Morrison's images, legends, and myths? This presentation will explore the relationship and exchanges between Morrison and the newspaper examining local perspectives on Morrison's milieu, the counterculture of Los Angeles, the city he loved.

Wallace Fowlie discussed the influence of Rimbaud on Morrison's life, songs, and poems in *Rimbaud and Jim Morrison: The Rebel as Poet* (1993). He also describes Morrison's other sources of inspiration—theatrical, philosophical, mythological, and literary, tracing the links to Antonin Artaud, Nietzsche, Joseph Campbell, and Beat poets like Kerouac. Although Fowlie mentions contemporary countercultural influences on Morrison, he does so in less detail, usually to draw parallels between Rimbaud and Morrison as rebel artists. In their biography *No One Here Gets Out Alive* (1980), music journalist Jerry Hopkins and Morrison's sometime protégé Danny Sugerman refers to several *L. A. Free Press* articles and reviews. Sugerman worked as an assistant in the publicity office; he later became a promoter for the Doors and after Morrison's death in 1971 a manager for keyboardist Ray Manzarek. In his autobiography *Wonderland Avenue: Tales of Glamour and Excess* (1989) Sugerman explains that *L. A. Free Press* editor John Carpenter was Morrison's friend.

There has also been a steady stream of biographies of Morrison since his death, some more reliable than others, but none has surveyed the *L. A. Free Press* fully or considered its impact on Morrison himself and viewpoints of him during his life and after his death. The *L. A. Free Press* gave many accounts of Doors concerts and contained advertisements for their concerts, as wells as criticism, reviews, and interviews. It also included poems, leftist views of news, columns about politics, letters about art, literature, music, and theatre, and advertisements for events that appear to have had a significant influence on Morrison's artistic and literary interests, aesthetics, and creative output. This presentation provides new avenues for analyzing Morrison's songs and poems and their history. For example, the song "The End" is an heir to poems with oedipal themes, but it also echoes the anti-Vietnam sentiments of letters and articles as well as the "hate poetry" by Beat poets and others that appeared in the *L. A. Free Press*. The song "Not to Touch the Earth," in addition to its evocation of William Blake and sitar music made popular by Ravi Shankar, shares with "The End" a connection to the *L. A. Free Press*.

"UP AGAINST THE WALL, REDNECK MOTHER": CONFRONTING STEREOTYPES AND CARICATURES IN MERLE HAGGARD'S "OKIE FROM MUSKOGEE"

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The meaning of Merle Haggard and Roy Edward Burris's 1969 hit song "Okie from Muskogee" has long been the subject of debate among scholars, fans, and detractors of country music alike. Written from the perspective of the conservative Silent Majority, it disparages the contemporaneous hippie counterculture by challenging the masculinity and American-ness of its members. Although Haggard has claimed that the song was intended as an innocuous satire of his parents' reaction to the hippie counterculture, the song quickly drew the ire of

liberal commentators who believed the song to be a shameless representation of the racism, misogyny, and xenophobia that they were fighting against.

This paper examines the reception history of "Okie from Muskogee," revealing how the song became a symbol of conservative resistance to the social upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s. "Okie from Muskogee" was released at a time when liberal observers, most of whom hailed from northern urban centers, were becoming increasingly scornful of country music. Because of its close association with white southerners, many critics viewed country music as a symbol of racist oppression in the wake of the ongoing Civil Rights Movement. These feelings were justified when several of the patriarchs of Nashville's Music Row publicly endorsed and campaigned for ardent segregationist George Wallace during the 1972 presidential campaign. Although an overwhelming majority of the country songs written, recorded, and released in the late 1960s and early 1970s make no statement about the social changes that were underway, liberal commentators nonetheless heard country music as the oppressive and violent soundtrack of white resistance to the Civil Rights Movement. That the speaker of "Okie from Muskogee" blatantly criticizes the counterculture only exacerbated liberal contempt for country music.

The strongest reactions against "Okie from Muskogee" came, not surprisingly, from musicians themselves, many of whom were associated with countercultural music scenes in San Francisco and Austin. Songwriters Ray Wylie Hubbard, Kinky Friedman, and Charlie Daniels, among others, composed songs that forced the Okie and the hippie to confront one another in a rural bar. These songs—most noteworthy among them Hubbard's "Up Against the Wall, Redneck Mother"—caricature the Okie as ignorant and apelike, exaggerating the stylistic signifiers of honky tonk music, while casting the hippie as an innocent victim of the Okie's violence and subhuman intelligence. At the same time, other musicians associated with the hippie counterculture, including Willie Nelson, incorporated "Okie from Muskogee" into their live and recorded repertoires, often pairing Haggard's hit with the songs of Hubbard, Daniels, and Friedman. These musical reactions reveal in microcosm the mutual distrust, misunderstanding, and contempt among conservatives and liberals. "Okie from Muskogee" thus became a powerful symbol for both sides in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, Second-Wave Feminism, and the Vietnam War.

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