

American  
Musicological  
Society

Abstracts  
Philadelphia  
12 – 15 November 2009

AMS

# *Abstracts*

# Contents

## *Thursday afternoon, 12 November*

- 28 Athanasius Kircher
- 30 Bicoastal America
- 32 Chansons and Chansonniers
- 35 Death and Transfiguration
- 37 Jazz Migrations
- 41 Music and Philosophy
- 43 Players and Listeners
- 47 Reds

## *Thursday evening, 12 November*

- 51 Music in Jewish Life During and After the Third Reich
- 52 Music for the Common Man: Handel, Purcell, and  
London's Eighteenth-Century Entertainments

## *Friday morning, 13 November*

- 53 Ars Antiqua Ars Nova
- 57 From Singer to Editor: Implications of Transferal
- 60 Looking Forward, Looking Back
- 64 Policing Music
- 67 Popular Genres in the Early Twentieth Century
- 70 Tracing the Path

## *Friday noon, 13 November*

- 74 Piano Masterworks of Mexican Nationalism
- 75 *Un deluvio di lagrime*: The Lirone and the  
Seventeenth-Century Roman Lament
- 76 Presenting the Past: Historically Inspired Improvisation in the *style galant*

## *Friday afternoon, 13 November*

- 78 Chant Topics
- 80 Men and Music
- 81 Performing Under Suspicion: Generic Conventions  
and African American Female Singers
- 86 Renaissance Italy
- 89 Schumann and Mendelssohn
- 93 Seventy-Five Years of AMS: Why Now is the Time for Ecomusicology
- 94 Stagings
- 97 World War II and its Aftermath

*Friday evening, 13 November*

- 101 Debating Musical Identity: Shifts in Aesthetic Understandings  
in Mexico from the Seventeenth to the twentieth Century
- 105 Staging the Baroque: Perils and Pleasures of  
Baroque Opera DVDs in the classroom
- 106 Transatlantic Connections

*Saturday morning, 14 November*

- 108 American Recorded Repertories
- 112 Displacements
- 116 Frankish Chant: Diverse Responses to Rome
- 120 Haydn
- 123 Music Historiography in Cold War Contexts
- 124 Performance Practices
- 128 Representation in the Third Republic

*Saturday noon, 14 November*

- 132 An Early Sixteenth-Century Mass Introduced: The  
Anonymous *Missa sine nomine* in JenaU 21
- 133 Piano Music in Vienna beyond the Second Viennese School: An Exploration  
of the Repertories in the Context of Alban Berg's Piano Sonata, op. 1
- 134 Walter Gieseke as Composer: Premieres of representative  
works from his unpublished manuscripts

*Saturday afternoon, 14 November*

- 135 American Modernism
- 139 British Topics
- 142 France: The Long View
- 146 Imaginary Landscapes
- 150 "Only Connect": The Role of Musicology in Community Engagement
- 151 Sacred and Secular Polyphony in Florence and Ferrara, c. 1430–1480
- 154 Wagner and Mahler

*Saturday evening, 14 November*

- 159 Opera and the Theater of Pluralism
- 161 Virtuoso Improvisation: Musical Practices and Musicological Discourses

*Sunday morning, 15 November*

- 162 Cage and Company
- 166 Cinematic Imagination

<i>169</i>	Colonial Consequences
<i>173</i>	Eighteenth-Century Vienna
<i>175</i>	German Chant and Liturgy
<i>178</i>	Restoration Publishing
<i>180</i>	Voices
<i>251</i>	Index of Participants
<i>255</i>	Maps

Thursday afternoon, 12 November

## ATHANASIVS KIRCHER

David Crook, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Chair

The past decade has seen a resurgence of interest in Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), a Jesuit polymath and one of the leading intellectual figures of the seventeenth century. Because of his penchant for exaggeration and his tendency to include everything he could find on a given topic—“no matter how strange or dubious”—Kircher’s reputation had already begun to wane by the late seventeenth century. Recent research by historians of science and linguistics, however, demonstrates that Kircher’s work was of critical importance to the scholarly community of his time. In addition to publishing at least forty volumes on magnetism, optics, geology, medicine, linguistics, Egyptology, and early medicine, Kircher corresponded with hundreds of scholars in more than twenty languages. Situated at the leading Jesuit college in Rome, he had unparalleled access to a global network of missionaries and researchers. A 2001 conference devoted to Kircher drew scholars from over a dozen disciplines, including luminaries such as Stephen Jay Gould and Anthony Grafton, in an attempt to comprehend his massive output. Many institutions and libraries have followed with conferences, seminars, and special events on Kircher.

While Kircher has recently begun to excite the interest of a few German and Italian music scholars, music scholarship has not been at the center of the current Kircher revival. This is all the more surprising given that music is one of the few disciplines that continued to be influenced by Kircher’s writings well after his death. Kircher devoted two of his most successful publications entirely to music, including the giant 1,200-page treatise *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), an encyclopedia of music and music theory. He also timed the publication of *Musurgia* (one of his longest works) to coincide with the Jubilee Year of 1650, thus ensuring wide exposure. Hundreds of copies were distributed around the globe, making it the most widely-distributed and influential music treatise of the seventeenth century, a treatise that continued to be used as a primary source by musicians and scholars for over 150 years.

### FATHER KIRCHER’S SINGING SLOTH (AND OTHER WONDERS OF THE NEW WORLD)

Eric Bianchi  
Yale University

Athanasius Kircher crammed his mammoth music treatise *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome, 1650) full with, apparently, everything he had ever heard about music. Courtesy of a fellow Jesuit priest stationed in South America, he brought readers face to face with a marvel from the New World: a sloth that sang—perfectly—the Guidonian hexachord. This account has subsequently been discussed as an example of Kircher’s credulity, as well as his unparalleled ability to amaze early modern readers with the strange, the exotic, and the novel.

The sloth was strange and exotic, but it was not novel—not even in 1650. Beginning in the 1520s, the animal was discussed, depicted, and dissected in dozens of printed sources. Not only musicians, but also mathematicians, clerics, explorers, and natural historians weighed in on this remarkable creature. Their accounts formed the basis of Kircher’s, despite his claims to the contrary. Few of Father Kircher’s words were actually his own.

Starting from Kircher's discussions of the singing sloth and the Guidonian hexachord, I reconstruct a largely forgotten world of seventeenth-century erudition, and suggest what place music scholarship had in it. With particular attention to visual images from early modern books, I suggest how and why Kircher fashioned his account and image as he did—and why they appeared in a music treatise at all. In that age of polymaths, music scholarship was not solely the domain of musicians, nor was it necessarily written for them. Even at his most extreme, the famously digressive Kircher (best known in his day as a mathematician, linguist, and Egyptologist) may be more representative than is generally supposed.

Kircher was drawn to the sloth by more than his love for the exotic. As the self-anointed Christian Pliny, he saw himself continuing the comprehensive natural history that the pagan Roman had begun. As the most famous professor at the Catholic world's leading educational institution (the Collegio Romano), he was expected to rehabilitate the image of Catholic scholarship and science in the wake of Galileo's condemnation. He was fascinated by Guido of Arezzo, who emerges in *Musurgia* as a Catholic superhero: a devout cleric who devised the hexachord, invented polyphony, notation, and even keyboard instruments. Guido and his hexachord were the perfect emblems for Kircher's larger intellectual project: a sacred science that demonstrated the unity of all things and the universality of the Catholic Church. But what had fascinated seventeenth-century readers seemed unscholarly and unscientific to music scholars of the eighteenth century, who responded to *Musurgia* with skepticism and derision.

## FATHER KIRCHER'S MIRACULOUS MECHANICAL MUSIC-MAKING METHOD

John Z. McKay  
Harvard University

Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (1650) is—as the title suggests—a treatise on “universal music-making.” Previous studies have emphasized the *universal* and *musical* aspects of Kircher's writing, both within his specific discussions of the Harmony of the Spheres and as a reflection of the larger project of a 1200-page encyclopedia of seventeenth-century music. Few, however, have ventured into his detailed instructions on the *making* of music. This trend is in part the fault of a more accessible 1662 German translation, which left out over two-thirds of Kircher's original Latin text. The translation retained brief discussions of philosophical and magical elements of music that bookend the treatise, but vast sections of practical theory and instructions for music-making that make up the bulk of the text were completely omitted. Among the missing portions is a 200-page description, located near the end of the treatise, of an automatic method for composition that Kircher identifies in his preface as the culmination of much of the work that precedes it. By considering the purpose, sources, and output of this compositional algorithm, my paper reevaluates *Musurgia's* practical goals in the light of new evidence that challenges the accepted view of Kircher's place within the world of seventeenth-century music and music theory.

Drawing on theoretical discussions of the *ars combinatoria* from Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (1636), Kircher proposes a more workable method for generating musical settings. Dozens of complex tables provide the raw musical material for four-part settings in seventeenth-century counterpoint. Unlike later eighteenth-century dice games that usually limit themselves to short compositions with a preset number of measures, Kircher has a much

grander vision of being able to set any text—of any length, in any language, in prose or any poetic meter—to music. Kircher even designed a “music-making ark,” a box containing wooden slats that can be arranged to produce counterpoint using his algorithm, which complemented and simplified his method for truly universal music-making. In addition to serving as one of Kircher’s many miraculous mechanical inventions to awe and amaze his patrons, the method behind this device could have been of great value to his three hundred Jesuit brethren around the globe who were given copies of the *Musurgia*, including missionaries who needed to create new hymns in native languages.

After discussing the sources and rationale behind Kircher’s compositional method, I turn to its musical output and relationship to the *Musurgia* as a whole. Using my computerized version of the algorithm, millions of potential musical settings can easily be generated. A review of the structural trends derived from these aggregate “compositions” will demonstrate how Kircher’s practical compositional priorities draw on and diverge from the theoretical ones he describes earlier in his treatise, articulating once again Kircher’s true emphasis on the actual making of music.

## BICOASTAL AMERICA

**J. Peter Burkholder, Indiana University, Chair**

### GROUNDING AN AMERICAN ICON: THE NEW LEFT, NEW HISTORY, AND CHARLES IVES

David C. Paul

University of California, Santa Barbara

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Ives of popular imagination was an archetypal American individualist, a fulfillment of the Emersonian mandate of abandoning the “courtly muses of Europe,” and a testament to the freedoms—artistic and otherwise—of the United States. In the course of the subsequent decade, a more complex image emerged. New research fettered Ives with the psychological challenges faced by Gilded Age men of his social class: he possessed their prejudices against professional artists, was forced to accommodate himself to the business culture in which they were expected to pursue careers, and shared their anxieties about the changes wrought by modernity. Gathered to celebrate the centenary of the composer’s birth in 1974, Ives scholars acknowledged the transformation, and credited some of the most ground-breaking work to cultural historians, most notably Frank R. Rossiter and Robert M. Crunden. What they missed however, and what has since gone unobserved, is that the changes in Ives reception were repercussions of larger upheavals in American culture. In my paper, I argue that the reassessment of Ives was a by-product of the “New Left” and the response it provoked amongst intellectual historians.

Musicology was little touched by the political activism of the late sixties, but in other disciplines, particularly American history, there was a self-conscious effort to rethink scholarly pursuits in light of the concerns of the day. The practitioners of what was soon to be called “New History,” a rubric immediately evocative of its synergies with the “New Left,” set about questioning the legacies of American liberalism and focusing on the peoples who had been marginalized in past narratives—migrants, workers, and minorities. Social history became

the order of the day, eclipsing the focus on political and economic history that had formerly characterized the discipline.

Based on an examination of the work of Rossiter and Crunden (both now deceased), interviews with their former colleagues, and an assessment of the extent to which their ideas became lodged in Ives scholarship, I argue that through them, the influence of “New History” left its trace on the reception of the composer. Though Ives was not a member of a disenfranchised minority, both scholars scrutinized his social milieu in a manner consistent with the emphases of “New History,” examining everything from the values implicit in the fraternity culture of Yale to the psychological crosscurrents of the progressive movement of the teens. Rossiter even went so far as to liken the social constraints that governed Ives’s life choices to the Communist Party dicta imposed on Soviet composers. This was a direct repudiation of the view of the autonomous Ives that had thrived during the early Cold War period—a view that had served the purposes of American propaganda on several occasions. I point out that while the previous generation of scholars had used Ives as a screen upon which to project their convictions about American culture, the new generation used him as a screen upon which to project their misgivings.

### SYMPHONIES FOR THE MASSES: ALFRED HERTZ AND “PEOPLE’S MUSIC” IN SAN FRANCISCO

Leta Miller

University of California, Santa Cruz

In 1912, Charles Seeger, newly-appointed chair of the University of California’s music department, argued for orchestral music “as a means of good government..., a preventative of crime..., and a force for character development.” The occasion was the first concert of the San Francisco People’s Philharmonic, which aimed to supplement the more professional (and costly) San Francisco Symphony. The symphony, founded a year earlier, had been launched with the backing of the city’s elite and hired a conductor with impeccable social credentials, Henry Hadley. The Philharmonic, during its short life, sought to effect social reform by “uplifting the common people” through the transformative power of “good” music. The people themselves hardly objected; they turned out in force for their orchestra.

In 1915 the Symphony replaced Hadley with the decidedly non-aristocratic Alfred Hertz. He instigated a budget-priced, city-funded symphonic series that packed the cavernous Civic Auditorium with an eclectic audience. The People’s Philharmonic, beaten at its own game, soon dissolved. Hertz fought an elitist faction on the symphony’s board for years and mustered wide popular support; when he attempted to resign in 1922, \$10,000 was raised in fifteen minutes from enthusiastic audience members. In the same year, Hertz conducted the Hollywood Bowl’s first season against the advice of the Los Angeles Philharmonic’s conductor, who viewed this outreach to the “masses” as demeaning.

After Hertz retired in 1930, the Symphony fell on hard times, but public support saved the orchestra through a property tax passed by the voters in 1935. Two years later Hertz came out of retirement to direct Northern California’s Federal Music Project (part of the WPA). He diversified the project’s local offerings by featuring a Bay Area Negro Chorus and engaging for the FMP’s orchestra a female conductor, Antonia Brico, to direct a series of Dime Concerts; through vibrant programming and bargain admission prices, this eight-concert series attracted an average of 7,000 people per performance.

Debates over symphonic music in pre-World War II San Francisco often revolved around the function of orchestral music in an urban community. Periodically, a series of competing orchestras emerged (such as the People's Philharmonic), aiming to "civilize" the general population by offering high-brow symphonic music at affordable prices. Far from resisting these efforts (or rejecting orchestral music as elitist), residents responded with enthusiasm, turning out in vast numbers. None of these people's orchestras survived, however, due to a lack of financial support from the very community they rejected: the society crowd.

This tension between courting the "common folk" and soliciting support from the wealthy is hardly unique to San Francisco. What is unusual, however, is the financial intervention of the government and the public, spearheaded by a conductor who remained convinced of the broad appeal (and efficacy) of symphonic music, and who was supported by large audiences. *People's World* (a Communist daily) summarized the local spirit in a four-column spread on the Dime Concerts: "Give Us Music for the Multitudes," urged its columnist. "The masses listen with the heart."

## CHANSONS AND CHANSONNIERS

Jane Alden, Wesleyan University, Chair

### "VOS AVÉS BIEN LE ROUSEGNOL OÏ": VERNACULAR WISDOM AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY *ARRAGEOIS* SONG

Jennifer Saltzstein  
University of Oklahoma

As the first minstrels in history to form a confraternity, the *trouvères* and *jongleurs* of the northern French city of Arras claimed unprecedented cultural prestige. Their Latin foundation miracle, later translated into their native *picard*, used apostolic language to describe how the Virgin choose two *jongleurs* to save all the city's inhabitants from a bout of Saint Elmo's Fire; their official seal inscribed their motto in both in the vernacular and in Latin. The confraternity worked to bestow official legitimacy to the *arrageois* *trouvères*, elevating their own status and, in turn, the stature of the vernacular language itself. It is perhaps no surprise that these *trouvères* built a uniquely *arrageois* musical tradition, a tradition that similarly endeavored to elevate the status of vernacular musical production. This paper explores the musical strategies through which this was achieved, a question best pursued through the works themselves.

A group of songs by *arrageois* *trouvères* including Baude de la Kakerie, Pierre de Corbie, and Colart le Boutellier provide an ideal laboratory within which to explore the methods of *arrageois* vernacular canon formation. I will demonstrate that these songs are connected to each other explicitly through shared refrains. The intertextual connections between the songs create networks of interrelationship that often call attention to prized *arrageois* genres such as the *jeu parti* and *pastourelle*, reinforcing the impression of a regional tradition. Further, the refrains are used to create regional authorial lineages; younger *trouvères* cite refrains from songs by previous generations. The strategy clearly imitates the Latin traditions of *auctoritas*, whereby medieval writers legitimized their own writing by citing from classical and biblical sources. In Arras, citation both elevated the cited song and conveyed the status of vernacular *auctor* upon the older *trouvère*. Through dazzling generic hybridity, these works make a compelling case for the authority of *arrageois* vernacular song: a nightingale sings a "son latin"

(actually a French refrain), offering sage advice in authoritative, proverbial language; a pastor and a knight debate the merits of good lovers, dueling through sung refrains in the manner of the *arrageois* debate poem, the *jeu parti*. Together, these *arrageois* songs evidence the use of music to foster civic identity in Arras and provide a revealing illustration of the strategies through which some of the earliest vernacular literary and musical traditions were forged.

“SHADOW CHANSONNIERS” IN THE VÉRARD PRINT *LE JARDIN DE PLAISANCE ET FLEUR DE RETHORICQUE*, C. 1501

Kathleen Sewright  
Rollins College

When the Parisian printer and bookseller Antoine Vérard published his anthology of narrative and lyric poetry *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoricque*, he was hoping to tap into a ready-made market of lawyers, state bureaucrats, and court functionaries who thronged the French capital city, and who, because of their educational level and relatively high wages, had both sufficient disposable income and an interest in literature to make his project a worthwhile venture. In this he was successful; demand for the publication was strong enough that he subsequently published another edition of the compilation.

The interest of this early print for musicologists today rests upon the 600-plus lyric poems preserved within its pages, a large number of which were at one time accompanied by musical settings in other sources. The texts and their physical disposition within the print have never been studied to determine what they can reveal about the chansons of the time. Examination along these lines reveals that the print's lyric core reflects the contents of nineteen pre-existent exemplars (“A” through “S”), each of which offers a discrete profile suggesting emanation from a particular geographic locale and/or decade.

This paper will investigate how Vérard, with the probable assistance of Regnauld Le Queux, acquired his exemplars and planned the volume as a homage to King Louis XII and, indirectly, Louis' father, Charles d'Orléans. Unrecognized until now is the fact that early in his life Le Queux was an employee of Charles d'Orléans at the court of Blois. Next, an outline will be sketched of the nineteen collections of lyric poetry contained within the print (some examples of which must have included music). After setting forth the criteria by which the parameters of the collections were determined, this paper will then take a closer look at one particular collection, Collection “P,” which can be associated with the court of Pierre II de Bourbon at Moulins, about which court virtually nothing is known. Collection “P” therefore becomes an important, if shadow, witness for increasing our knowledge of the musical culture of the court during the second half of the fifteenth century. It contains the text of Hayne van Ghizeghem's “Mon souvenir,” which has been thought to date from after 1472, as well as the rondeau text for Loyset Compère's *Au travail suis*. In *Le Jardin*, these poems are surrounded by poems dating from the decade of the 1460s, strongly suggesting that they, too, date from the 1460s, and not the 1470s, '80s, or '90s, as has previously been accepted. It has been suspected for some time that Compère was employed at the court of Moulins, based on his settings of poems by Pierre de Bourbon. The inclusion of “*Au travail suis*” within Collection “P” corroborates his presence there, possibly as early as the 1460s.

THE “FOLIA FRAMEWORK”: A LINK BETWEEN ORAL AND WRITTEN  
TRADITIONS IN SPANISH MUSIC OF THE RENAISSANCE

Giuseppe Fiorentino  
Universidad de Granada

This paper analyzes a particular harmonic-melodic framework frequently found in Spanish secular polyphonic music from the end of the fifteenth century to the second half of the sixteenth century, with variant musical readings and with different texts. I have been able to identify at least eleven vocal compositions connected to a particular form of the so-called folia framework: five in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio* (Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS. II-1335); four in the ensaladas by Mateo Flecha (*El jubilate* and *El fuego*) and Bartomeu Cárceres (*La trulla*); and two in the manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 747/1, and in the treatise *Arte de tañer fantasía* (1565) by Tomás de Santa María, respectively. These polyphonic secular works, although they share a similar harmonic and melodic structure, are not identical, but their variants can hardly be explained by a process of transmission from one source to another. However, the analysis of both text and music shows that all these secular pieces share some fixed patterns that connect the variants of musical structure with the variants of poetic structure. Thus, these works point to a compositional process that is not based exclusively on originality, but on the application of a basic musical framework to different texts. Tomás de Santa María, in his treatise *Arte de tañer fantasía*, affirmed of one of these pieces (the polyphonic song “No niegues Virgen preciosa,” found in the falsobordone chapter) that it belonged to a polyphonic repertoire characteristic of “hombres y mugeres que no saben de música” [men and women who do not know music], i.e. a kind of polyphony of oral tradition practiced by common people. Besides, Santa María states that music belonging to this “not very artistic” repertoire (“cosa de poco arte”) shared some structural features with the falsobordone genre. Thus, on the basis of this hitherto unnoticed statement by Tomás de Santa María, it is possible to suggest that all these secular works based on the same folia framework offer a glimpse of the relationship between oral and written traditions of polyphonic music in the Iberian Peninsula, and of how learned composers usually gained inspiration from this unwritten tradition, not only employing specific musical themes, but also imitating its general stylistic features.

ORIGINS OF THE CANCIONEROS COLOMBINA, SEGOVIA, AND  
PALACIO: THE CODICOLOGICAL EVIDENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF  
THE COMPILATION PROCESS IN LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Emilio Ros-Fábregas  
CSIC [Spanish National Research Council], Barcelona

A detailed codicological study of the three *cancioneros* (Colombina, Segovia and Palacio) of the time of Isabel I of Castile and Fernando V of Aragón questions previous assumptions about the compilation process of these manuscripts in late fifteenth-century Spain. The combined new evidence of watermarks, gathering structures and foliations indicates a extremely fragmentary process of compilation which contradicts the idea of *cancionero* as a unified collection planned beforehand. Curiously enough, none of the three manuscripts can be connected directly with the musical chapels of either Isabel or Fernando, and thus our knowledge about the secular polyphonic repertory performed at their courts is based only

on these fragmentary and, to a certain extent, peripheral manuscripts. The landmark study by Anglés *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos* (1941) emphasized a centralized vision of musical activity in Spain focused on the royal courts, but the compilation process of these manuscripts tells a different story.

The main copyist of Colombina (Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 7-I-28; 98 folios, copied in Seville, 1492–1494) could have hardly had a large manuscript in mind when he started his work, since he was not even capable of copying two consecutive complete gatherings with the same type of paper, and the foliation numbers appear in the upper right corner and sometimes in the upper margin with clear signs of refoliation. The only secular Spanish pieces in Segovia (Segovia, Archivo de la Catedral, s.s.) were copied by a Franco-Flemish scribe and occupy only three gatherings, two of which are incomplete; my codicological study of Segovia (with four twin watermarks, double foliation, and the identification of the “Don Rodrigo” inscriptions) questions the unified conception of the manuscript proposed by Baker, as well as her hypothesis about its date and original ownership. Palacio (Madrid, Real Biblioteca, II-1335; 261 folios), the largest source of Spanish secular polyphonic music, most likely originated with three gatherings. They are now found in the middle of the manuscript (with pieces ascribed to Juan del Encina), and were written with a pale black ink (different from the black used in the surrounding gatherings) on paper with a characteristic watermark not found in the rest of the manuscript. Since this watermark was also used in four Spanish incunabula printed in 1498–99, this evidence would support the hypothesis that Palacio originated while Encina was in Salamanca at the service of the Duke of Alba in the 1490s (as suggested by Barbieri) and not at Ferdinand’s court after Isabel’s death in 1504 (as suggested by Anglés).

This study of the three *cancioneros* presents new evidence about their origins, a different perspective on their fragmentary compilation process, and a decentralized view of musical patronage in Renaissance Spain.

## DEATH AND TRANSFIGURATION

### Lois Rosow, Ohio State University, Chair

## CHORAL LAMENT AND THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC MOURNING IN THE TRAGÉDIE EN MUSIQUE

Olivia Bloechl  
University of California, Los Angeles

Onstage communities mourn the deaths of protagonists in many *tragédies en musique*, performing lament choruses that are among the most passionate and musically adventurous numbers in the repertory. The expressivity of choral lament strengthened its potential as political drama by memorably staging a community’s response to death. In organizing an onstage polis around shared memory, feeling, and action, lament choruses mimicked the political work of mourning in real life. In this paper I ask how and why operatic choral lament staged public mourning—and thus a mourning public—as it did. I conclude that opera choruses’ “witness,” including their *silent* witness, is a primary source of their ethico-political agency in mourning tableaux, whose aim is to establish the truth of a tragic death.

Opera provided a medium for engaging with Old Regime mourning culture, by directing audience affect around collective mourning behavior. Mourning scenes sometimes accessed

audiences' shared memory of mourning by replicating particular features of state funerals, as in Lully's *Alceste* (1674) or Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* (1637), with their elaborate *pompes funèbres*. However, opera's more profound engagement with contemporary mourning was discursive, evident in basic artistic decisions concerning which deaths are mourned by opera's onstage communities, who should mourn, and how different groups of mourners should feel and act.

While opera's publics generally mourn in appropriate ways, lament tableaux also explore the limits of contemporary mourning. Most scenes involve some tension between licit and illicit mourning, and in the paper's main section I examine two such scenarios. First, I analyze the final tableau in Lully's *Atys* (1676), in which a sub-group of the choral and dance corps, the Phrygian "Corybantes," mourns in ways that are musically and affectively extreme. Voicing excessive grief lets the onstage community bear witness to the collective trauma of death, while still preserving the decorum, and thus the organization, of the group. I then turn to choral laments that elicit confessional monologues from protagonists, focusing on the dialogue between Phèdre and the bereaved chorus in act 4 of Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733). In such scenes, choral mourning raises questions of responsibility for tragic events, which culpable protagonists—almost always female—answer with confessions.

Opera's exorbitant spectacles of grief and remorse recalled the actual chaos of public mourning under the Old Regime, as well as state mechanisms for limiting its anarchic potential. Mourning scenes generally conserve the political order staged in opera: both scenes analyzed here aim at rehabilitating opera's communities following a protagonist's death, by restoring the asymmetry of power that tragédies en musique took for granted.

Public participation, even when it was relatively passive, was integral to the political outcome of state funerals, and this is one reason why opera's mimicry of a mourning public should be considered political representation. My analysis of the chorus's role as a "public witness" thus offers an alternative to the argument that this collective presence in opera does not translate into a properly *political* community. This opens a more nuanced understanding of the politics that tragédies en musique imagined.

## "WE ARE THE SHEEP OF HIS PASTURE": VIOLONS EN BASSE AS THEOLOGICAL TOPIC

Deborah Kauffman  
University of Northern Colorado

French composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made regular use of the accompanimental technique of "violons en basse," in which a high string part is used as the true bass, thereby restricting the entire musical texture to the range of a violin or viola. Recent research has shown how violons en basse in French Baroque opera represented a musical topic that evoked a locus of associations around the pastoral. However, the technique was not used solely in opera, but also in sacred music. In fact, the technique may have been first used in sacred music; while violons en basse appear in operas quite frequently after 1700, it is found regularly in sacred music in the 1680s and 90s.

An examination of the texts of a number of airs and choruses using violons en basse can help to identify the associations called up by uses of this technique in sacred music. Topical references in sacred works show some direct correlation with those in opera, most particularly in connection with the pastoral. Other uses of violons en basse are clear depictions of

allegorical figures. Another, perhaps less obvious, association is redemption: Here the technique seems to be associated with mercy, perhaps even as a mimetic reference to “above,” whence mercy derives.

A greater variety of text associations is found in sacred music than in opera, which, together with its earlier appearance in sacred music, would seem to reflect the development of violons en basse as a topic—the more it was used, the more its topical associations narrowed around familiar images of the pastoral: innocence, youth, and the purity of nature.

## JAZZ MIGRATIONS

**Kim H. Kowalke, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, Chair**

### CATFISH BLUES FROM JIM JACKSON TO JIMI HENDRIX: TRANSMISSION AND TRANSFORMATION OF A DELTA BLUES ON COMMERCIAL RECORDINGS

Charles Gower Price  
West Chester University

Like many folk blues song types, “Catfish Blues” has a rich genealogy on commercial recordings from Jim Jackson’s earliest use of the initial lyric stanza in his “Kansas City Blues, Part 3” in 1928 until the eventual recorded performances and various transformations of the song by Jimi Hendrix during the late 1960s. The distinctive tune and tonic-chord guitar riff later associated with the lyric was first recorded by Robert Petway in 1941 and later in the same year as “Deep Blue Sea Blues” by his sometimes partner and longtime Delta companion Tommy McClennan. Recollections by Delta bluesmen Big Bill Broonzy and David Honeyboy Edwards suggest that the song was in McClennan’s repertory for some time before the recordings were made. Just as the lyric stanza probably originated in the southern folk repertory long before vaudeville songster Jackson appropriated it, the melody and tonic-chord riff or some semblance of it could easily have been in existence in the Mississippi Delta before McClennan developed his version of the song. There are clear family resemblances to blues recorded earlier by McClennan’s mentor from the Delta, Charlie Patton, as well as by others.

The raw deep blues shouting of Delta bluesmen like Patton, Petway, and McClennan and their physically aggressive guitar technique are central elements in the styles of the triumvirate of post-war electric bluesmen, John Lee Hooker, Howlin’ Wolf, and Muddy Waters. The seminal 1948 recording of “Boogie Chillin’” by Hooker is an electrified tonic-chord guitar riff, and Wolf’s 1951 “Crying at Daybreak” (rerecorded in 1956 as “Smokestack Lightnin’”) moves the tonic-riff to an ensemble. Arguably the single most influential electric blues recording of the post-war period, “Rollin’ Stone” by Muddy Waters, was made with Waters’ electric guitar accompaniment in 1950. It is a remake of “Catfish Blues” that draws from both Petway’s and McClennan’s recordings and possibly other versions Waters may have heard performed earlier in the Delta. In 1951 Waters recorded a second version of the song as “Still a Fool” with a second electric guitar and bass drum accompaniment—one of his finest efforts on record. Waters’ two recordings are Hendrix’s principal sources, although he may have heard other versions of the song, such as the 1961 recording by Texas bluesman Sam Lightnin’ Hopkins.

Building on the pioneering work of blues researchers Paul Oliver, Jeff Todd Titon, David Evans, and others, this paper demonstrates through textual and sonic analysis the

transformations of the “Catfish Blues” song complex from 1940s Mississippi juke joint to 1950s Chicago south side blues club to 1960s rock concert. The sexual boasts of the traditional lyric stanzas in “Catfish Blues” are well suited to the artistic personae of both Waters and Hendrix, and their various transformations of “Catfish Blues” reflect their respective cultural milieux as well as their ground-breaking innovations in shaping the future of American popular music.

FROM THE LOWER EAST SIDE TO CATFISH ROW: “STRAWBERRIES!”  
AS CULTURAL MEDIATION IN *PORGY AND BESS* AND *STREET SCENE*

bruce d. mcclung  
University of Cincinnati

Scholars have drawn several parallels between Kurt Weill’s 1947 American opera, *Street Scene*, and George Gershwin’s 1935 folk opera, *Porgy and Bess*. Most recently, Kim Kowalke (2003) noted, “The off-stage vendor’s cry of ‘Strawberries, Strawberries,’ in *Street Scene* made an explicit intertextual reference to Gershwin’s opera.” An examination of *Porgy and Bess*’s sources, however, reveals no such character in either DuBose Heyward’s 1925 novel or he and his wife’s 1927 dramatization for the Theatre Guild. This paper unmasks the identity of *Porgy and Bess*’s Strawberry Woman, decodes the strawberry’s symbolic meaning, and posits how the fruit sellers mediate between Jewish and African American culture in both operas.

In *Porgy and Bess*, a strawberry seller arrives at a critical juncture as Bess recovers in Porgy’s room after having been sexually overpowered by Crown on Kittiwah Island. The Strawberry Woman’s entrance seems to defy the diegesis of the drama: why do none of Catfish Row’s residents respond to her sales pitch? Gershwin borrowed the melody for her cry from Harriette Kershaw Leiding’s *Street Cries of an Old Southern City* (1910), as Elizabeth Sohler (1995) has shown. *Street Scene*’s strawberry vendor appears in a similar dramatic place, at the moment of sexual infidelity within the primary love triangle. Weill embedded the street cry in a web of unmistakable references to Gershwin’s opera (e.g., identical tempo marking, soft dynamic, pedal tones, and pendular thirds). As in *Porgy*, *Street Scene*’s strawberry vendor sings out, but none of the residents of Building No. 346 “hear” the street cry.

Gershwin’s Strawberry Woman is both culturally and temporally incongruous. None of the Gullah activities on South Carolina’s sandy coastal region and barrier islands included fruit production, and hybrid strawberries are a spring crop, not a summer one. The Gershwin brothers interpolated the character either from Ira’s favorite novel, Abraham Cahan’s *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), or from the Elmer Rice’s Pulitzer prize-winning play *Street Scene* (1929), which George knew in the King Vidor film version, as Christopher Reynolds (2007) has recently demonstrated. Rice’s autobiography reveals that *Street Scene*’s strawberry seller originated from the same milieu as the street crier in Cahan’s novel: as a Lower East Side pushcart vendor.

These intertextual references explain the anachronisms of a Gullah woman selling strawberries mid-summer and the otherworldliness of Gershwin’s setting. However out-of-place on Catfish Row, the Strawberry Woman metaphorically linked the struggles of Jewish “greenhorns” on the Lower East Side to those of Charleston’s Gullah community. Such cultural mediation also suggests why Weill chose to borrow and combine the strawberry seller’s music with accompaniment figures from Sam Kaplan’s number “Lonely House” over a blues ostinato. In both operas, strawberries symbolize sexual transgression and recall Aschenbach’s

purchase of the fruit from a street vendor during his pursuit of Tadzio in *Death in Venice*, Iago's comparison of Desdemona's alleged loss of virginity to her white handkerchief "spotted with strawberries" in *Othello*, and the legend of Venus weeping over the body of Adonis with her heart-shaped tears falling to earth to create the voluptuous fruit itself.

"WE CAN SING AND LAUGH LIKE CHILDREN!": MUSIC, IDEOLOGY,  
AND ENTERTAINMENT IN THE SOVIET MUSICAL COMEDY

Peter Kupfer  
University of Chicago

In the 1920s, the Soviet Union was a young state seeking to disseminate its ideology as effectively as possible. To spread its message it turned to the cinema, that mass art form par excellence. But party ideologues were dismayed that the films the masses wanted to see were Hollywood entertainment films, which had been imported under the liberal New Economic Policy. Even after an eventual ban on the importation of "bourgeois" foreign films, there were still plans in the mid-1930s to construct a *sovetskii Gollivud*, a "Soviet Hollywood" that could make domestic films in Hollywood style. The task in domestic filmmaking thus became one of finding a balance between the entertainment desired by the masses and the enlightenment required by Communist ideology.

The coming of sound, and with it music, to Soviet cinema in 1930 did not make the process any easier. The music most popular among the masses was also an American import: jazz (or rather what was understood to be jazz). Despite attempts to create Soviet jazz—*dzhabz*—the authorities ultimately considered such music (like American entertainment cinema) to be unfit for the building of socialism. Instead, elements of classical, folk, *dzhabz*, and other popular music were channeled into the new genre of the Soviet mass song. Yet the question remained: how, with the Cultural Revolution in full gear and the Soviet Union on its way to establishing economic and cultural independence, could the demand for American entertainment cinema and popular music be reconciled with the official socialist realist aesthetic propagated by Communist ideology? Arguably, the most prominent solution to the entertainment versus enlightenment debate was the Soviet musical comedy of the 1930s as developed by director Grigory Alexandrov and composer Isaak Dunaevsky.

Alexandrov and Dunaevsky's four most famous films, *Jolly Fellows* (1934), *Circus* (1936), *Volga-Volga* (1938) and *The Bright Path* (1940), demonstrate that it was possible to attain a balance between entertainment and enlightenment in a way that pleased both the authorities and audiences. Drawing on examples from these films, I argue that it was specifically via music that they were able to fulfill one of the central goals of socialist realism—the blurring of the real-ideal dichotomy. One of the film musical's defining characteristics is music's ability to temporarily "take over" the image track, causing the reality of the diegetic world to be cast aside in favor of the ideal of the musical world (Rick Altman). In Alexandrov and Dunaevsky's films, these utopian spaces served to advertise the "coming attractions of socialism" (Sheila Fitzpatrick). However, Dunaevsky's songs were not simply ideological hackwork; they cleverly combined his well-versed background in jazz, folk, and classical idioms. Indeed, the songs were highly praised by critics, became wildly popular with audiences, and lived on well beyond the screen (many are still widely known today). In the end, these films were successful because they achieved the proper balance between Hollywood and *Gollivud*, and between jazz and *dzhabz*.

## REMEMBRANCE OF JAZZ PAST: SIDNEY BECHET IN 1950S FRANCE

Andy Fry  
King's College London

Among émigré African American musicians in France, New Orleans reedman Sidney Bechet occupies a special position. In 1919, he—and jazz—were famously acclaimed by conductor Ernest Ansermet; in 1925, he helped to launch Josephine Baker to stardom. Yet these iconic early moments hide an unlikely fact: Bechet's true rise to fame came not until a Gallic version of the New Orleans revival movement in the forties and fifties—"Bechetmania" as it has been called. In this paper, I examine this story in terms both of jazz historiography and French post-war identity, bridging the two by considering music's active role in shaping and re-shaping historical memory.

I begin by clearing some historical ground. Ernest Ansermet's "Sur un orchestre nègre" (1919) is not, I show, as trusty symbol of European critical prescience about jazz as historians have long assumed. While astute and generous, its praise of Bechet conforms to a critical tendency to view jazz musicians as "primitives." And its evolutionistic underpinnings turn out to be early signs of ideas Ansermet would later expound at great length in his *Les Fondements de la Musique dans la Conscience Humaine* of 1961, with the aid of racial theorists such as Arthur de Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. More is the point, the celebrated text was wholly forgotten for twenty years following publication. It re-emerged just prior to the war, at which point French critics happily adopted Ansermet as their forerunner. Thus not only is Ansermet absent from the celebrated pre-war French histories of jazz by Robert Goffin and Hugues Panassié, but so, more tellingly, is Bechet.

The rediscovery of Ansermet's text did, though, help to pave the way to France for Bechet after the war. In France, New Orleans Revival and bebop effectively arrived alongside one another following the liberation as competing small-group alternatives to swing. Playing "hot jazz" in the New Orleans tradition, Bechet should, by rights, have been the poster child for France's first great jazz critic, Hugues Panassié. This writer's ultra-conservatism (political as well as musical) had led him to denounce "progressive" be-bop and its supporters as "anti-jazz" and even "anti-black"—a position that Bechet often seemed to share. But Bechet's very popularity (including a one-million best seller, "Les Oignons") rankled Panassié, a man of complexly elitist and aristocratic beliefs; and his additions to the standard—and invented—repertory of the New Orleans revival eventually led him to doubt Bechet's "authenticity."

No straightforward revivalist, Bechet's versions of old Creole folk songs—or their ur-type—may have been regarded with suspicion by the critics. But they struck a chord with French audiences, generating nostalgia for a common past that may never have been. Debates that had long raged around issues of race and nation were now glossed over in a lasting myth that the French had always loved jazz. In this paper, then, musical and historical processes mirror one another, as I explore the generative as well as the regenerative aspects of memory. Bechet's creative sense of authenticity not only reimagined history, I suggest, but "played (back) into being" a Creole identity that was especially resonant in post-war France.

**MUSIC AND PHILOSOPHY**  
**Keith Chapin, New Zealand School of Music, Chair**

THE INTELLECTUAL SOURCES OF VLADIMIR  
 JANKÉLÉVITCH'S PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC

Michael Gallope  
 New York University

Since Carolyn Abbate's 2003 English translation of *La Musique et l'ineffable* (1961), Abbate herself has suggested that Jankélévitch's philosophy of music can be read as a manifesto for the temporal immediacy of musical performance (Abbate, 2004). Although this reading has strong merits on its own terms, musicologists have yet to consider the details of Jankélévitch's own intellectual history, which show the philosopher to be far more than a simple believer in the drastic powers of performance. His philosophy of music is in fact resolutely dialectical, at every moment demonstrating the *relational* and *co-constitutive* quality of both "drastic" and "gnostic" musical thought.

To argue this, I will first analyze the sources of Jankélévitch's thought as they bear upon his philosophy of music. Heavily influenced by his mentor Henri Bergson's concept of "élan vital," Jankélévitch's philosophy likewise rests on a principle of creative life. This creativity is not conditional but absolute; it is made in the very movement of life, which is always working towards the production of the singular or the consistently new. In this sense, Jankélévitch stands perfectly in line with other twentieth-century Continental philosophers who, amidst a loss of faith in a transcendent source of truth like God or reason, retain a principle of infinite singularity that serves to re-enchant finite existence. Broadly, such philosophies might include not only Bergson's élan vital, but Heidegger's "meaning of Being," Derrida's "différance," Lévinas's "other," Deleuze's "virtual," Agamben's "potentiality," and Nancy's "exposure." For Jankélévitch, the infinitely singular is a *moral* "metaempirical" or "metalogical" transcendence, found in the pure instant of a life's authentic and unconditional capacity to decide for itself. We see this exemplified in the first edition of *Traité des vertus* (1949), in which goodness comes from the singularity of an absolute beginning, outside all causal logic.

The philosophy of music he developed in dialogue with his moral thought also prized the singularity of lived time. But from his early writings on Fauré and Ravel, published in the late 1930s, to the posthumous collection, *La Musique et les heures* (1988), Jankélévitch drew this singularity of lived musical time into a dialectic with specific characteristics of composers and musical works, not performances. In opposition to the German doctrine of musical expression, Jankélévitch develops a dialectic in *La Musique et l'ineffable* called the "inexpressive *espressivo*." It first isolates specific musical attributes and topoi: non-developmental form (Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, Villa-Lobos's *Cirandas*), an objectivist imitation of noise (Messiaen's *Catalogue des oiseaux*, Bartók's "The Night's Music"), a music emulating mechanical or inhuman exactitude (Satie's *Socrate*), or an oblique expressive voice that speaks indirectly (Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin*). It is only once these inexpressive musical attributes are marked that Jankélévitch returns to the singularity of lived time, now shaping it into a renewed concept of musical expression. This particular musical expression, in dialectic with the inexpressive, has left behind the treasured authority of musical intentions to set free interpretation in an unbounded multitude.

## ON THE MUSICALLY BEAUTIFUL AND “ABSOLUTE MUSIC”

Sanna Pederson  
University of Oklahoma

Eduard Hanslick, who is said to be the main champion of absolute music by the *New Grove*, *MGG*, and Carl Dahlhaus, used the phrase “absolute music” (*absolute Tonkunst*) only once in his *On the Musically Beautiful (Vom Musikalisch-Schönen)* of 1854. Subsequently, Hanslick’s book received attention as part of the debate on musical aesthetics in the 1850s. However, “absolute music” was not part of the discourse. In fact, the term only came to be explicitly attributed to Hanslick around about thirty years later, around 1880.

“Absolute music” was instead a term coined by Richard Wagner in 1846. He used it repeatedly in his Zurich writings, culminating with *Musik und Drama* in 1851. His advocate Theodor Uhlig took up the term in his writings for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* until his death in 1853. But for the next twenty-five years or so, the term was only sparsely scattered through music criticism and books on music. When it was used, it was in Wagner’s sense, which was negative: music that was absolute was only music, lacking synergy with the other arts. For instance, in Ottokar Hostinsky’s 1877 book, *The Musically Beautiful and the Gesamtkunstwerk from the Standpoint of Formal Aesthetics*, he examined the views of Wagner and Hanslick and deduced that the highest form of music is when it is combined with other arts. Hostinsky could not understand why Hanslick would seem merely to repeat Wagner’s observation that instrumental music is pure absolute music. He understood this to be a criticism, not a positive description of instrumental music.

Around 1880, absolute music became a more prominent term, functioning as the opposite of program music in musical dictionaries and encyclopedias. These reference works attempted to provide neutrally descriptive definitions, but in aesthetic debates, absolute music was characterized by the modern proponents of program music as merely an uninspired exercise in academic procedures. Hanslick came to be associated with the term at this time.

The transformation of absolute music into a positive term involved shifting from a formalist to a metaphysical definition. Musical metaphysics were reaching their height towards the end of the century, mainly due to Wagner’s Schopenhauer-inspired writings and music. Wagnerian writers on music aesthetics elided Schopenhauer’s metaphysics of music with the metaphysics of the “Absolute,” a concept central to the idealist philosophy of Kant and Hegel. This move, while philosophically egregious, produced the suitably grand metaphysical “Absolute music.”

The first writers to advocate absolute music in a positive metaphysical sense applied it to the music of Bruckner and Wagner. These writers, Curt Mey and Rudolf Louis, claimed that absolute music had nothing to do with Hanslick, and everything to do with the music of two of Hanslick’s greatest enemies, Bruckner and Wagner. Extensive research of books, articles, reviews, and reference works from the second half of the nineteenth century reveals that the association of “absolute music” with Hanslick is much more tenuous than commonly assumed.

## PLAYERS AND LISTENERS

John Spitzer, San Francisco Conservatory of Music, Chair

## “CET ART EST LA PERFECTION DU TALENT”: CHORDAL THOROUGH-BASS REALIZATION, THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF RECITATIVE, AND IMPROVISED SOLO PERFORMANCE ON THE VIOL AND CELLO IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

John Lutterman

University of California, Davis

One of the most striking characteristics of the earliest cello treatises is that so many of them give instruction in chordal thoroughbass realization, especially the conservatory methods designed to train professional musicians. Even treatises that do not explicitly mention thoroughbass practice attach great importance to the skills that would be required for the chordal realization of a bass line, particularly the study of double-stops and arpeggiated chords, studies that are typically arranged in formulaic patterns of scales, sequences and cadential progressions, with fingerings designed to facilitate the proper approach and resolution of dissonance. Anecdotal evidence, often in the form of complaints, shows that virtuoso viol players were in the habit of improvising harmonic realizations of continuo lines, and the practices described in the cello treatises appear to reflect the type of harmonic thinking and improvisatory traditions that solo viol players had developed over the previous two centuries—ways of thinking and traditions that the many eighteenth-century viol players who abandoned the viol for the cello would almost certainly have adapted to their new instrument.

In most of the cello treatises, continuo realization is discussed as a means of accompanying, a practice routinely described as the epitome of the cellist's art, and written-out realizations of bass lines to well-known recitatives are frequently given as examples. However, as the popularity of eighteenth-century composition treatises founded on thoroughbass practices attests, continuo realization also served as a foundation of both written composition and improvised solo performance, the latter practice often referred to today as *partimento*. The chapter on *fantasieren* in C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch* is perhaps the most famous example of this practice, but more detailed and comprehensive instructions and examples are found in Friedrich Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung* and other eighteenth-century sources connected to the Bach circle. While these sources are primarily aimed at keyboard players, there is reason to believe that well-trained musicians would have employed similar techniques when improvising on the viol or cello. Indeed, traces of the practice of continuo realization may be discerned in several examples of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music for solo viol and cello, traces which offer valuable clues to the nature of idiomatic improvised solo practices on these instruments.

FROM "CHORUS MUSICUS" AND "GROSSES CONCERT"  
TO "STADT- UND KIRCHENORCHESTER": THE  
TRANSFORMATION AND MODERNIZATION OF LEIPZIG  
MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS BETWEEN 1781 AND 1843

Anselm Hartinger  
Schola Cantorum Basiliensis

Between 1781 and 1843 the organization of Leipzig town music was changed completely. In a process lasting several decades Leipzig officials managed to modernize and professionalize both Leipzig concert and church music by transforming the old privileged order of town musicians (the so-called "Stadtpeifer" and "Kunstgeiger") into a new system based mainly on a supposedly amateur institution—the "Grosses Concert"—, whose musicians in fact were highly professional. These musicians were not only the main resource of the famous "Gewandhaus" concerts reorganized in 1781 but also became the core of the "Kirchenorchester" accompanying the music performances in the main Leipzig churches and of the "Theaterorchester" playing in the opera house. During this process a small pressure group of professional musicians, town and state officials, merchants, and publishers managed to control and develop the city's entire musical life, including the boys' choir at St. Thomas, the university, the opera house (Stadttheater), and even the growing number of amateur choirs, by introducing a system of personal successorships, cross-relations, and shared responsibility among the important musical posts. The year 1843, which saw the inauguration of the Bach monument, the jubilee concert for the anniversary of the "Gewandhaus" concerts, and the opening of the newly-founded conservatory, may well be considered a point of final consolidation to that process.

These developments were doubtless the starting-point of the astonishing rise of Leipzig as a musical capital of European range in the era of Mendelssohn and a main force behind the Leipzig Bach-revival in the years after 1835. It is surprising and revealing that this system of (partly informal) cooperation among the various institutions has been maintained until today despite showing signs of stagnation since the later nineteenth century.

Despite the above-described close cooperation, the different musical institutions were able to develop and cultivate their own repertoire traditions, at the same time playing their part in the creation of a "myth" of the music history of Leipzig constructed mainly by Friedrich Rochlitz and involving the names of Bach, Mozart, and later Mendelssohn, among others.

This important process, which might serve as a case study for the interpretation of developments taking place in several German towns and regions at the turn from eighteenth to nineteenth century, has not been examined in detail for a long time. Following a thorough survey of archival documents and contemporary newspapers, my paper will outline its crucial stages and discuss its results. I will also discuss the connections of these musical developments to the economical, cultural and political changes from the Ancien Regime to the 1830/31 constitutional process and the 1848 revolution.

IGNAZ SCHUPPANZIGH AND THE “CLASSICAL”  
CULTURE OF LISTENING

John Gingerich  
Peabody Conservatory

When the violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh returned to Vienna from St. Petersburg in 1823 he founded a series of concerts unique for his time and place. While other concerts mixed instrumental with vocal numbers, and while the vast majority of instrumental offerings comprised virtuoso vehicles (divertissements, potpourris, and variations), Schuppanzigh's series was entirely instrumental, and offered public concerts organized around one genre, the string quartet. Schuppanzigh's series initiated a profound transformation of the string quartet from the leading Viennese genre of Hausmusik, functioning primarily for the edification of its participant performers, to the leading genre of public instrumental music for connoisseurs, a new listener-centered role. Further, it provided a historicist panorama of that genre, since eight out of nine works in the series were by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Numerous reviews invoked the term “classical” to celebrate Schuppanzigh's series as a bastion against the fashion for virtuosity.

Schuppanzigh's public subscription concerts for connoisseurs and their canon- and listener-centered paradigm provided a necessary precondition for the successful marketing of Beethoven's late quartets. Of his last previous quartet, composed in 1810, Beethoven had subsequently written: “N.B. The Quartett [op. 95] is written for a small circle of connoisseurs and is never to be performed in public.” His new op. 127 quartet, premiered by Schuppanzigh's ensemble in 1825, outdid even the op. 95 quartet in the difficulties with which it confronted its listeners. Not even Schuppanzigh, let alone the usual market of dilettante performers, could adequately perform the new work without prolonged study. The premiere was a fiasco, but rival violinists soon presented the new quartet in three different soirées, each time twice in one evening with no other works on the program—a challenge of sustained, concentrated listening. The competition between the three primos created a furore that attracted international publishers and allowed Beethoven to sell his next quartets for considerably higher prices. Op. 127 was soon published in score, and subsequent quartets by Beethoven were published simultaneously in score and parts—an unprecedented development that recognized both the concentrated study required to grasp the new works, as well as their instant status as “monuments.” As Adolph Schlesinger, the publisher of opp. 132 and 135 put it: “I won't collect on the interest for twenty years; but with Beethoven I have capital in my hands.—But not everyone can play it yet.”

Schuppanzigh's programming expressed more fully than any previous concerts the musical ideals of German romantics such as Wackenroder, Tieck, and E. T. A. Hoffmann, and along with Beethoven's late quartets, first promoted modes of listening that still form the premise of our concert institutions. Thirty years ago Carl Dahlhaus wrote an intellectual history of “absolute music”; the story of Schuppanzigh's concerts is an early chapter in the cultural history of “classical music” that remains largely untold.

The new evidence for this study includes nearly complete records not only of Schuppanzigh's subscription concerts, but of all other public concerts given in Vienna from 1824 through 1828.

## FROM MICROGENRES TO METAGENRES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN MUSIC AESTHETICS

Matthew Gelbart  
Fordham University

Several literary critics have proposed that the Romantics reconceived genre from a historicized “philosophical” angle, as opposed to earlier, more functional models of genre. Yet, as Jeffrey Kallberg and others have argued, in *music* the “generic contract” inherently involves the listener; and it should be noted that the listener, at least in the age of live performance, was part of an “audience”—intrinsicly a more social and functional category than the “reader” in literature. Thus musical genre conceptions have always incorporated such aspects as the performance setting and audience behavior. Focusing on German romanticism, I will argue that in the early nineteenth century, ways of thinking about genre in music—alongside more literary reconceptions of genre by the likes of Herder, Schlegel, Goethe, Schleiermacher, and Hegel—did indeed undergo a major transformation in the minds of composers, theorists, critics, and the public. However, the practical aspect of musical performance and live listening meant that romantic aspirations for synthetic and individualized genres still retained functional aspects. A spectrum ultimately developed in musical approaches to genre and function. At one end were composers and critics who retained a strong belief that pieces should follow specific sub-functions with regard to appropriate emotional content, form, and style. These people continued to make distinctions on what might be called a “micro-generic” level. A good example is Brahms, for whom a symphony and a concerto, or even a piano trio and a string quartet, might call forth different styles altogether, different precedents, and different appropriate contexts. At the other extreme, there were the so-called “avant-garde” musicians who disdained the idea that function should determine form—and often tried to ignore function in their theoretical writings altogether. I will argue, however, that they could not and indeed did not actually disregard function as some of their counterparts in literary theory could, and instead had to mask its importance by moving it from an active role vis-à-vis content to a determined role. This is especially true from the angle of reception: it was precisely the “New German” critics of Brahms who, despite their disdain for formal “epigonism,” criticized him for failing to write symphonies that were suitably “public” and accessible (they were too akin to “chamber music”). This is of course a tacit functional assumption. In other words, the disdain for genre, and hence function, in the “avant-garde” camp operated at the level of the subgenre (which determined form, etc.), while the same interpreters preserved the guiding role of social function in more stable and overarching generic categories such as “orchestral music” or “chamber music.” Finally, I will argue that it was the impulse to obscure discussions of function within the language of a shaping *poesis* and content that ultimately created a new and lasting set of “meta-genres” at the very broadest level, categories such as art music and popular music, or “serious” and “entertainment” music.

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

“A WORLD OF MARXIST ORTHODOXY”? ALAN BUSH’S *WAT TYLER*  
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Joanna Bullivant  
University of Oxford

The place of music in the “cultural Cold War” is the subject of burgeoning musicological interest, yet music in Cold War Britain has received little attention. Neil Edmunds has valuably related the BBC’s promotion of avant-garde contemporary music in the 1960s and ’70s to ideological concerns. Edmunds connects Glock’s pro-modernist policies at the BBC in this period to an enthusiasm for the “spirit of freedom in society” complemented by antagonism to “music composed in a regressive idiom associated with Stalinism”. In this analysis, the failure of Alan Bush’s *Wat Tyler* (1951) to secure a broadcast until 1956 and a staged performance in Britain until 1974 is perhaps unsurprising: the Stalinism of the composer and the folk-inspired score were double cause for condemnation. Yet to what extent were Cold War ideologies felt in British musical life prior to 1959? Lewis Foreman has equally noted equally that the fact that *Wat Tyler* won, with three other composers, the opera competition which formed part of the 1951 Festival of Britain, was “perceived as an embarrassment” because of Bush’s political persuasion (and the non-British nationalities of the other three winners). Equally, if Cold War politics were already operating in the 1950s, how did this intersect with perceptions of “Britishness” in music? Foreman’s assertion indicates that Bush’s music was, by political association, unsuitable for a Festival of *Britain*. However, in a review of the 1956 BBC broadcast, Hugh Ottaway emphasized the English historical theme of the opera and its consequent potential significance in the repertory of modern British opera. Moreover, Foreman asserts that Lennox Berkeley’s opera submitted to the Festival was, by contrast, eventually dismissed on grounds of its “excessive modernism.”

This paper explores the intersection of categories of “Britishness” and “modernism” with wider political and ideological concerns through an account of the performances and critical reception of *Wat Tyler* in Great Britain and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), where it was staged in Leipzig (1953) and Rostock (1955). Commanding attention in Britain over the period 1950–74, the opera offers the possibility of some consideration of changing attitudes over that period. Correspondingly, the GDR, the country in which all four of Bush’s operas were successfully staged, provides an intriguing contrast to Britain as a site of alternative ideologies and cultural programs. *Wat Tyler* offers the opportunity for a preliminary, but revealing insight into the impact of Cold War politics on attitudes to British music. Prior to Glock’s pro-modernist efforts in the 1960s, the fate of *Wat Tyler* initially suggests that in the earlier period, a significantly different set of attitudes to modernism, Britishness and politics informed reception of new music.

ELITE CONVERSATION ON ART FOR THE PEOPLE:  
MUSIC IN THE STALIN PRIZE COMMITTEE

Marina Frolova-Walker  
University of Cambridge

From the moment Stalin established a prize under his own name in 1940, the Soviet art world revolved around this annual shake-up of the hierarchies; the state's recognition of an artist was now embodied in a recognized "unit of prestige" (the title of Laureate) and a significant sum of money. It might seem puzzling, however, that Shostakovich's Neoclassical Quintet or Prokofiev's densely modernist Seventh Piano Sonata could be awarded the same honors as monumental canvases or statues of Stalin.

The explanations for such oddities most often lie in the transcripts of the Stalin Prize committee (1940–53), an expansive body of sources that remains little known and under-used. The present paper, drawing on these transcripts, seeks to paint a nuanced picture of the Soviet art world's power structures. Together with some other recent studies of Soviet culture, the paper will thus contribute to the demolition of the simple top-down model of Soviet power structures that belonged to the Cold War outlook.

The focus of my attention is the middle tier of the award process, the plenary council, which gathered shortlists of nominees from specialized sections and passed them on to the government (and Stalin personally) for approval. This body was primarily responsible for shaping the canon and thus the aesthetics of socialist realism; they had sufficient authority to override suggestions from other cultural bodies, such as the artistic unions or even the state committee for artistic affairs. I will argue that the plenary council, particularly in its early years, accompanied the exercising of its duties with a free, unguarded exchange of ideas: as one of its members claimed, "here, for the first time, we spoke only about art." But this phrase papers over the conflicts within the council, for there were often two divergent discourses: one, associated with the old intelligentsia members, was professional and measured in style, the other, from the new intelligentsia, politicized and demagogical.

One heated debate will form this paper's centerpiece: the discussion of Shostakovich's Eighth Symphony, spread over two years of meetings and ending in failure for the composer's advocates. This example, like the earlier debate over Sholokhov's novel *Quiet Flows the Don*, demonstrates the double standard in the committee's final decisions: the best artworks, in their opinion, are only suited to the sensibilities of the artistic elite, whereas the Soviet people would only be bemused, misled or corrupted by them. The committee members are even aware that aesthetics and ideology are necessarily at odds with each other, as formulated in a phrase about the Sholokhov novel: "he had no business ending the novel like this [ideologically], but to end it in a different way was impossible [aesthetically]."

The paper will also trace the degeneration of the committee into a more mundane bureaucratic institution that awarded prizes "like pensions" and whose jaded members neglected their duties. It will attempt to establish reasons for this change, taking into account, among other things, of the anti-formalist resolution's destructive impact on musical discourse from 1948 onwards.

A GENEALOGY OF POLYSTYLISM: ALFRED SCHNITTKE  
AND THE LATE SOVIET CULTURE OF COLLAGE

Peter Schmelz

Washington University in St. Louis

Alfred Schnittke is widely credited with the development of polystylism, an all-embracing approach to composition that forms a crucial trend in late twentieth-century Western music. By the 1980s the term polystylism was common among Soviet intellectuals as well as Western critics and scholars. In 1984 Russian poet Nina Iskrenko even penned a “Hymn to Polystylistics” (*Gimn polistilistike*) that some literary scholars have taken to be a unique artistic credo, ignoring Schnittke’s clear precedent. Given polystylism’s pervasiveness from the 1980s onward, it is understandable that musicologists such as David Haas and Pauline Fairclough would point to earlier invocations of the idea. Yet both read Schnittke’s formulation back on related, albeit notably different earlier concepts or terminology from the 1920s and 1930s (e.g., *raznostil’nost’*). Based upon Haas’s work in particular, others have perpetuated the notion that Vladimir Shcherbachov advocated polystylism in the 1920s, although he seems never to have used the word.

More important than any purely etymological tracing, however, is the actual development of the phenomenon masked by these purported earlier sightings of the term. As an investigation of Soviet music from the 1950s through the 1970s reveals, even as Schnittke articulated his own version of stylistic citation, adaptation, and allusion, he simultaneously affixed a name to something that already existed, and indeed was flourishing. Schnittke’s new conceptual framework was revised and adapted from an increasingly common Soviet practice stemming from the stylistic montages of the 1920s and 1930s—especially those in film—, as well as from socialist realist musical practice more generally. In a study of Shostakovich’s creative interrelationships with his students, David Fanning discusses the possible influence of Boris Chaikovsky’s quotation laden Second Symphony (1967) on Shostakovich’s own quotation rich Fifteenth Symphony (1971). He writes that “the very fact that Shostakovich’s quotations have provoked such intense curiosity suggests the lack of clear historical precedents.” Yet both Chaikovsky and Shostakovich participated in a broad network of composers similarly employing collage or related techniques. This paper maps out this network as it traces the origins and development of stylistic mixture and quotation in Soviet music, as well as the genesis and dissemination of Schnittke’s own idea of polystylism.

Finally, this paper corrects many of the misapprehensions surrounding polystylism by considering Schnittke’s likely sources both East *and* West. It surveys the important Soviet examples that had an impact on him, among them Boris Chaikovsky, Arvo Pärt, Edison Denisov, Sergey Slonimsky, and Rodion Shchedrin, as well as undeniably influential Western composers such as Bernd Alois Zimmermann and Luciano Berio. Because Schnittke’s sources were not limited to the Soviet Union or its immediate neighbors like Poland, this examination of Schnittke’s intellectual and musical forebears also suggests the deeper political, social, and musical connections behind the widespread turn to collage and quotation in the 1960s and early 1970s throughout Europe, America, and the USSR. In this sense Schnittke’s polystylism reflects not just a late Soviet trend, but also a more general late twentieth-century culture of collage.

A RED COWBOY IN THE *WHITE SUN*: AMERICAN  
 RESONANCES IN AN ICONIC SOVIET EASTERN

Katerina Frank

University of California, Davis

In this paper I will explore the music in Vladimir Motyl's 1969 film *White Sun of the Desert*. This movie has become a Russian cultural icon over the past four decades. Quotations from the movie are often referenced in casual conversation, and cosmonauts have established a tradition of viewing it before every launch. The film's action unfolds in the deserts of an untamed Russia during the last days of the Russian Civil War. Beyond its unwavering popularity, this film is significant because it reveals a cross-cultural dialogue between the USSR and the United States that informed the development of Cold War-era subjectivity of a new generation of the intellectual elite.

*White Sun* is an example of a genre colloquially labeled Eastern, which developed in the 1950s and draws inspiration from the American Western. Motyl was heavily influenced by classic films like *Stagecoach*, *The Magnificent Seven*, and especially, *High Noon*. This is evident in the long, panning shots of the Russian "frontier," a sympathetic minority character, and a silent protagonist in the vein of Gary Cooper. Even though the Soviet government heavily criticized Hollywood, it nevertheless strived to recreate the success of the American film industry at home. Therefore, regardless of the strong anti-Western sentiment of the Cold War, it is not surprising to see American influences in Soviet films. What is fascinating about this relationship, though, is how the filmmakers appropriated and recontextualized elements of American cinematography to articulate their critique of Soviet society. For example, the main character, Sukhov, became an ideal type for the Russian man despite being a decisively solitary and ironic figure. This characterization stands in contrast to a typical Soviet protagonist, who draws strength from being part of a collective.

The cross-cultural influences in Isaak Schwartz's score are not as obvious, since the music is steeped in Russian popular traditions. There are only two distinct musical pieces in the film; an instrumental work and a guitar ballad. The instrumental piece features the balalaika, whereas the song is a representative of "bard" music, a Soviet genre that originated in the 1950s. Though stylistically the song has strong ties to Russian romances, in the case of *White Sun* it can be interpreted as a type of cowboy song, expressing nostalgia for a romanticized past. In addition, Schwartz's score belongs to a post-Stalinist trend of sparsely orchestrated scores that emphasize the individual.

In this paper, I will explore the ways in which Motyl and Schwartz develop a new subjectivity through allusions to Westerns. Special emphasis will be placed on the score and how it references the American genre yet is deeply entrenched in compositional techniques of Soviet films. I will also explore tropes of masculinity, race and personal alienation in other Easterns, and trace their connections to similar themes in American Westerns. In doing so, I hope to bring attention to a dialogue that transcended the Iron Curtain.

Thursday evening, 12 November

## MUSIC IN JEWISH LIFE DURING AND AFTER THE THIRD REICH

Tina Frühauf, Brooklyn College, Organizer and Moderator

Lily Hirsch, Cleveland State University, Organizer

Michael Beckerman, New York University

Shirli Gilbert, University of Southampton

Benita Wolters-Fredlund, Calvin College

Pamela M. Potter, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Respondent

From the Nazis' accession to power in 1933 until the liberation of the last camps in 1945, and in the immediate post-war period, music continued to play a central role in the lives of European Jews. Although the exclusion, suppression, and destruction of their musical life were a Nazi goal, a range of activities from composition to performance survived the process of *Entjudung* (dejewification) in different milieus such as in the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* (an all-Jewish performing arts ensemble paradoxically maintained by the Nazis between 1933, and 1941) and in the many ghettos and camps that were established before and during the war. Music formed a part of inmates' experiences in diverse and sometimes unexpected ways. Even more surprising, Jewish musical life reestablished itself in the cultural sphere of post-war Germany.

This panel addresses the diverse transformations of Jewish musical life in response to German cultural policies. We seek therefore to explore (1) the immediate impact of the Third Reich and (2) the post-Holocaust consequences. Concrete examples will be given in brief presentations followed by a wide-ranging discussion among panelists, who have recently contributed to and established promising new directions in Jewish music research. Throughout our discussion, we seek both to gather specific evidence from panelists and to weigh how it affects our general understanding of the Holocaust's impact on the state of Jewish musical life in postmodern Germany.

Lily Hirsch discusses the transformation of musical performances in the context of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* and questions its contested post-Holocaust legacy. Michael Beckerman uses Erich Zeisl's compositions as a springboard to illustrate how his experience as an émigré affected his identity and style. Benita Wolters-Fredlund examines the performance and reception of music in concentration camps, where it was used by SS officers to torment, humiliate, deceive and control, and addresses how such a context might change the meaning and very nature of music. Shirli Gilbert argues that the remarkably heterogeneous musical activities that flourished in the transitional spaces of the Displaced Persons' camps of post-war Germany offers helpful insight into how surviving victims negotiated their understanding of what had happened to them, and their relationship to the individual and collective future. Tina Frühauf focuses on the resurgence of Jewish musical life in post-Holocaust Germany, which is shaped by musicians of both Jewish and non-Jewish descent, their historical memory and their two different Semitic experiences: anti-Semitism and philo-Semitism. Pamela Potter, who has worked on topics relating to the discrimination of Jewish musicologists and music under National Socialism, will respond.

## MUSIC FOR THE COMMON MAN: HANDEL, PURCELL, AND LONDON'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENTERTAINMENTS

Vanessa Rogers, Wabash College, Organizer  
Berta Joncus, Goldsmiths, University of London  
Zak Ozmo, L'Avventura London

The music by Handel and Purcell best known in London from 1700 to 1750 is, paradoxically, unknown to modern audiences. Across a broad range of genres both literary and musical—ballad operas, farces for fairs, entr'acte performances, pleasure garden concerts—compositions by Handel and Purcell resurfaced in guises that transformed these composers' music into common tunes. Musicologists have largely ignored the extent to which works by Handel and Purcell were commercialized to include London's lower, as well as middle and upper orders. This panel investigates why this repertory has been overlooked, why it demands more scholarly attention, and how it challenges current practices in musicology, historically informed performance, and the making of recordings.

The panel consists of members whose combined expertise covers research, performance, music editing and music journalism. Berta Joncus and Vanessa Rogers will present two position papers to familiarize attendees with this repertory. In addition to focusing on this music for doctoral studies and publications, these scholars have recently collaborated to create a new on-line resource, *Ballad Operas Online*, hosted by the Oxford Digital Library ([www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladoperas/](http://www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladoperas/); official launch 1 March 2009). They will jointly address the questions of which compositions became most popular, how their dissemination took place, and why certain works were selected for public consumption. A focus of the discussion will be the performer's role in popularizing—as opposed to canonizing—favorite compositions. Each presentation will conclude by explaining the scholarly insights gained by discarding “work-based” investigations of Handel's and Purcell's music in order to re-imagine the soundscape of eighteenth-century London's musical industry. A third position paper, delivered by music director Zak Ozmo, will explain the challenges in performing this repertory and preparing editions. Using samples from period notation, he will outline gaps between stage and page practices, and the diverse ways in which a modern editor or performer coauthors the music before or during performance. The presentations will end with music examples from his recent recordings of Handel and Purcell music for London playhouses, which are the first of this repertory ever made.

Following the position papers, the panelists will invite audience members to respond to the music heard and give their input into the issues it raises. Specifically, does hearing Handel and Purcell thus re-contextualized shift our perception of these composers or their audiences? Given that Handel and Purcell were being contemporaneously canonized, what might be the relationship between this eighteenth-century repertory and any nascent “work concept”? Does knowledge of this repertory potentially de-construct, rather than reconstruct, these composers? Does the intervention of editor and performer needed for a modern performance of this repertory violate practices standard in historically informed recordings of Handel and Purcell? Are there fundamental differences between the popular music industry nourished by Handel and Purcell and our popular music today? To close the session Berta Joncus will outline potential new avenues of research based on the ideas presented by panel and audience members.

*Friday morning, 13 November*

**ARS ANTIQUA ARS NOVA**

**Rebecca Baltzer, University of Texas, Austin, Chair**

THE COMPLETE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STARY  
SACZ MANUSCRIPT AND ITS PLACE AMONG OTHER  
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY NOTRE DAME MANUSCRIPTS

Katarzyna Grochowska  
University of Chicago

The discovery, in Stary Sacz, Poland, of manuscript fragments preserving thirteenth-century Notre Dame polyphony was announced four decades ago. Yet, even though included in collective publications or mentioned in detailed scholarly articles, the manuscript is scarcely known to musicologists. The main cause for such indifference is the fragmentary form in which the manuscript is preserved. Like many medieval parchment sources, it was cut and reused as binding material. Additionally, access to the manuscript has been inhibited by the strict entrance rules to the Clarist Convent in Stary Sacz, its rightful owner. For forty years, this situation precluded the complete reconstruction of the manuscript. Furthermore, even some of the most basic attributes of the manuscript such as its dimensions, compilation and content have remained unconsidered. Because of the manuscript's fragmentary nature and incomplete reconstruction, it has not been systematically included among the body of the thirteenth-century Notre Dame manuscripts, and for this reason discussion of it in the scholarly literature has led to only a fragmentary appreciation of it.

Using PowerPoint images, I will present the complete reconstruction of the Stary Sacz manuscript, made possible thanks to the sustained generosity of the Convent's Mother Superior. I will discuss important features that allow the precise placement of the Stary Sacz manuscript within the context of other thirteenth-century Notre Dame manuscripts. Its dimensions, established on the basis of eleven surviving folios, position it among the relatively numerous Notre Dame pocket-size manuscripts. Its content and particularly its motet fascicle situate it within the small circle of Parisian motet sources. Although the motet fascicle preserves four unica, it resembles early motet collections in which the works of Philip the Chancellor hold pride of place. However, one feature of the motet fascicle stands in sharp contrast to coeval polyphonic sources: the ordering of the motets. The twenty-four Stary Sacz motets are divided into two roughly equal-sized groups, which in turn are arranged into successive liturgical cycles. Heretofore, the motets' arrangements have always been ordered either as one single liturgical cycle or alphabetically, where in both cases compositions were thought to have been assembled by numbers of voices. I will show through a detailed analysis of the manuscript and the music how the Stary Sacz motets point to previously unconsidered criteria that drove the arrangement of the pieces, namely the intrinsic qualities of the motets' melodic lines. My conclusions underscore the significance of the Stary Sacz manuscript as, among other unique features, the only thirteenth-century Notre Dame source in which melody largely guides the ordering of its pieces. Though preserved in peripheral geographic territory, the Stary Sacz manuscript is central to an understanding of the musical criteria that may have played a role in the compilation of early Notre Dame manuscripts.

MUSIC BEYOND MEASURE: TOWARDS A COGNITIVE  
APPROACH TO THE RHYTHMS OF MEDIEVAL SONG

Warwick Edwards  
University of Glasgow

The debate on the rhythms of non-mensurally notated medieval song has raged for a century, and at the present time prospects for a resolution would appear slim. The impasse stems in part from an absence of explicit references to the issue in contemporary writings on verse and music. Interested parties today are thereby forced to draw inferences from a range of indirect pointers, and tend inevitably to follow instincts conditioned by a cultural environment very different from that pertaining many centuries ago. This has led to the adoption of a series of mutually incompatible positions.

It is notable that each such position is founded on a view of rhythm centred on the *durations* of musical notes and their associated syllables. Those who argue for the application of “modal rhythm” take their cue principally from the incidence of quasi-mensural patterns in certain chansonniers and in motets that incorporate song quotations. By contrast, advocates of a “recitative”-like approach to the declamation of words do so on the basis of “freedom” from any such system. Those who reject both approaches generally favour isochronous syllable durations.

In the present paper I argue that discussion of rhythmic matters on the basis of syllable and note durations alone is of limited value if we are to take at all seriously the idea that their musical sounds are somehow, in Johannes de Garlandia’s words, “beyond measure” (*ultra mensuram*) or, in Johannes de Grocheio’s, “not very precisely measured” (*non ita precise mensurata*). Furthermore, we need to take account of the likelihood that those who wrote about music in the thirteenth century saw the act of conceptualizing musical measure as one that was novel.

In the circumstances, it is worth considering a cognitive approach to song rhythm consistent with what we can know of a musical culture dependent on aural memory, one that saw no need to incorporate rhythmic explicitness into its notation, and indeed had only limited use for musical notation at all. In such approach an examination of how notes—or rather the syllables they articulate—might be *grouped* and *patterned* in performance proves more tractable as starting point than one tied to speculation about durations. Such basis for enquiry has resonance with numerical patterning as basis for versification, and with contemporary methodologies for recalling verses from memory. It also fits with what we can observe both in later medieval song repertoires recorded in mensural notation and in singing practices to the present day in notationless cultures that use comparable verse structures and mnemonic techniques. A characteristic of both traditions is that, once established, the rhythm of a song remains remarkably stable from one strophe to the next. I will present a few examples of medieval songs to demonstrate how a psychologically informed understanding of “music beyond measure” can be used to circumscribe the possibilities for credible rhythmic realizations.

THE MAKING OF THE HEXACHORDAL SYSTEM:  
MEDIIEVAL MUSICAL SEMIOTICS IN TRANSITIONStefano Mengozzi  
University of Michigan

Although it is generally recognized that the three-hexachord system acquired its final shape in the early thirteenth century, the precise historical circumstances and intellectual orientations that led to that result are yet to be explored. In the first century of their long history, the *ut-la* syllables were altogether marginal in practical music manuals. More importantly, in that early phase medieval theorists did not consider the six syllables as a unified entity (i.e., as a *deductio* or a *proprietas*, much less as a *hexachordum*) and had not yet developed a systematic theory of mutation, even though practitioners most likely knew how to perform it. By c. 1270 at the latest, however, Guidonian solmization had grown to become an impressive theoretical edifice, also thanks to an ad hoc technical terminology that remained in place for at least three hundred years. How did this momentous transformation—this historical *mutatio*, as one might call it—come to be? What were its music-theoretical consequences?

This presentation suggests that the making of the hexachordal system was directly linked with the contemporaneous emergence of a new figure of erudite music writer who wrote primarily for a university-educated audience, both religious and secular. The thirteenth century witnessed the coming of age of the university as the primary and most prestigious center of high education, particularly in Paris and in England. While the question of the role of music in the university curriculum of that time remains a fiercely debated subject, it is significant that the authors who recast the rules of solmization in a newly systemic guise (Jean of Garland and Magister Lambertus, but also members of the clergy and monastic orders such as Jerome of Moravia and Engelbert of Admont) either were closely linked to the university, or had significant exposure to university texts and learning.

These sociological and historical changes produced nothing less than an entirely new understanding of the Guidonian method of solmization. The new generations of university-trained authors were not satisfied with presenting that method as a practical device for sight singing, following earlier theorists of the monastic tradition. Rather, they approached it in distinctly speculative terms, or as an abstract and self-standing system to be meticulously explored in all its combinatorial possibilities. By doing so, thirteenth-century writers began portraying the six Guidonian syllables (*voces*) as indispensable signifiers (in marked contrast with earlier authors, including Guido of Arezzo, who had considered them as merely accessorial). For instance, when they described the six syllables as being sufficient for signifying a melody (“sex notae... ad significationem cantus uniunscuiusque sufficient”), they came close to arguing that musical space itself was organized into overlapping hexachordal segments. Modern musicology has often accepted such a conclusion at face value; by placing under close scrutiny the emergence of the hexachordal system, however, we have an opportunity to reassess its merit.

FROM TREES TO DEGREES: MENSURAL THEORY  
AND METAPHYSICAL QUESTIONS OF BEING

Karen Desmond  
New York University

Within the last twenty-five years a handful of scholars have emphasized the necessity of reading the texts of late medieval music theory within the context of learning at the medieval university. In this paper, I examine how two central metaphysical debates of the late thirteenth century impacted both the new systematization of mensural notation proposed by the musician and mathematician Johannes de Muris in his *Notitia*, and the subsequent attacks on this new system by Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*. While certain *ars nova* treatises circulated as guides to specific technical problems of notation, Muris's *Notitia* represents a whole-scale overhaul of mensural notation, systematizing it within a particular ontological framework. It is imperative that we have a full understanding of the frameworks within which Muris and Jacobus were operating, for only then can we hope to appreciate the proposed innovations, and the reasons for the irreconcilable issues between the two men.

The first metaphysical debate concerned the unity of form within being. The question was whether there existed a single form within man (Aquinas, Godfrey of Fontaines), or whether a plurality of forms existed simultaneously within one being (John Duns Scotus). A related debate looked at how qualities were understood to change: the plurality-of-forms proponents outlined a theory of change known as the additive theory while the unity-of-form adherents rejected this additive theory of change, believing that it assumed characteristics of qualities that were really only predicable of quantities, and proposed an alternative theory known as the succession-of-forms theory. While the references within the more well-known Book 7 of *Speculum musicae* to these debates are somewhat oblique, Jacobus makes specific and detailed references to them within chapters of Book 1 and Book 4. I analyze these passages within the context of the *Quodlibets* by Godfrey, Walter Burley's *De intensione et remissione formarum* and the *Ordinatio* of Duns Scotus. This analysis will show Jacobus clearly advocating the unity-of-form position, and a close reading of the *Notitia* in this context will show how Muris developed his new systemization for mensural notation based on the Scotist position (which was further developed by John Dumbleton) that a plurality of forms may exist within one being, and that qualities change through addition or subtraction of degrees. For Muris, there is but one species of tempus, and within this one species there is a plurality of accidental forms, which are measured along one dimension. There are not different species of times, just greater and lesser times. The individual notes are individuated by the quantity of their matter, and whether parts are added or taken away from this individuating quantity of matter. Jacobus, on the other hand, holds onto the traditional explanation of the mensural system, conceptualized as a Porphyrian tree (like the *arbor* of Johannes de Burgundia) of the different species and sub-species of note values, each being distinct in their name, definition and essence, and each having an indivisible unity of form.

## FROM SINGER TO EDITOR: IMPLICATIONS OF TRANSFERAL

Kate van Orden, University of California, Berkeley, Chair

“BELLE PROMESSE E FACTI NULLA”: LUDOVICO SFORZA,  
LORENZO DE’ MEDICI, AND A SINGER CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE

Sean Gallagher  
Harvard University

Many of the northern singers who served at Italian courts and churches in the fifteenth century are today little more than names in pay lists. Details of their careers, where these are known, derive mainly from institutional documents of various sorts. Few letters written by the musicians themselves are known to survive. Similarly, the circumstances surrounding the poaching of singers—a practice Italian rulers regularly engaged in—have mostly been gleaned from documents generated by those in power, rather than those who would have been most directly affected, the singers. To a large extent, then, we lack a singer’s perspective on what it was like to be caught between competing rulers, each intent on bolstering the status of his chapel.

Two previously unpublished letters of the northern singer Guillaume Steynsel—one addressed to Lorenzo de’ Medici, the other to the composer Gaspar van Weerbeke—offer a vivid account of the difficulties a singer could face in such circumstances and the frustrations these could engender. A member of the Habsburg-Burgundian chapel (where he sang alongside the composer Busnoys), Steynsel left the court without permission in 1481 and soon made his way to Florence. There he served as one of the “cantori di San Giovanni,” the singers responsible for polyphony at the Duomo and other churches in the city who were under the effective control of Lorenzo de’ Medici. By 1485 Steynsel had left Florence, having been lured (so he claimed) to serve in the Sforza chapel in Milan. The earlier of the two letters, written in Milan, is a response to Lorenzo de’ Medici’s attempt to bring Steynsel back to Florence. While the letter contains the expected measure of flattery, the language is not that of a polished courtier. Steynsel details the poor treatment he has received in Milan and is even rather brash in suggesting the terms under which he might return to Medici service. While he did eventually go back to Florence, the move brought with it further difficulties. Writing to Weerbeke in Milan, Steynsel describes problems the Medici have made for him in collecting money owed him for his earlier service to the Sforzas. He asks Weerbeke, whom he addresses as a dear friend, to intervene on his behalf with the Florentine ambassador. The letter mentions other members of the Sforza chapel and contains surprising details (including the presence of some of Steynsel’s relatives in Milan). Written in a mixture of Dutch, Italian, and Latin, the letter is a rare and revealing example of informal communication between two fifteenth-century musicians.

## PATTERNS OF IMITATION, 1450–1508

Julie Cumming  
McGill University

In his article on Josquin’s *Ave Maria*, Joshua Rifkin states that “imitation at the fourth or fifth itself occurs rarely not only in Milan, but pretty much everywhere before the last years of the [fifteenth] century.” While it is true that the imitative pattern alternating entries on the

first and fifth degrees ( $\hat{1}\hat{3}\hat{1}\hat{3}$ , a standard opening gambit from Mouton to Brahms) is not common in the second half of the fifteenth century, I have found many other patterns of imitation at the fourth and fifth in the period. I will discuss them with reference to techniques of improvisation, Peter Schubert's imitative presentation types, voice ranges, and formal functions.

John Milsom has shown that what he calls "stretto fuga"—two-voice imitation at the fourth, fifth, and octave after one small mensural unit—is easy to improvise with simple rules of interval choice (Peter Schubert has located the earliest account yet known of these rules in 1592, in Montanos). It is probable that most fifteenth-century musicians were taught these rules, and there are many examples of stretto fuga at the fourth and fifth from the mid-fifteenth century.

I have collected information on time and pitch interval of imitation for the beginning of the 366 partes in Petrucci's first five motet prints (printed 1502–1508, but including pieces going back to the 1470s). Duos with imitation at the fourth and fifth are a common occurrence in these collections. Three- and four-voice "periodic entries" (in which voices enter individually after the same time interval) involving fifths and octaves, and their inversions and compounds, can be generated with principles similar to those of stretto fuga. Examples in the Petrucci prints tend to use degree patterns such as  $\hat{1}\hat{1}\hat{3}\hat{3}$ ,  $\hat{3}\hat{3}\hat{1}\hat{1}$ , or  $\hat{1}\hat{1}\hat{1}\hat{3}$ . These pitch choices have to do with techniques of improvisation and the normal ranges in four-voice music of the period. Another type of periodic entry, the "stacked canon" (producing degree patterns such as  $\hat{1}\hat{3}\hat{2}$ ), is found in the middles of pieces, because of the destabilizing effect of the third pitch class in the point of imitation.

Rifkin comments that "the study of the interval of imitation and chronology remains essentially unexplored." I document the expanding use of imitation at the fourth and fifth between 1450 and 1508: from duos in mid-century to three- and four-voice periodic entries toward the end of the period. Imitation falls into a limited number of patterns that correspond to standard voice ranges and serve specific formal functions.

### MI MI, DE ORTO, AND OCKEGHEM'S SHADOW

Jesse Rodin

Stanford University

The last few decades have witnessed a lively debate surrounding Johannes Ockeghem's famous *Missa Mi mi*. There has been considerable discussion of the mass's title, which could refer to the bassus head motive (e-A-A-e-f-e), the opening melodic motion in the superius (e'-e'), or the Hypophrygian mode. Also unresolved is whether the mass employs Ockeghem's virelai *Presque transi* as a hidden cantus firmus. And the precise nature of the relationship between the *Missa Mi mi* and Ockeghem's settings of *S'elle m'amera/Petite camusette* and *Intemerata Dei mater* remains ambiguous.

Taking Martin Picker's outstanding study of the mass as a point of departure, I will consider these matters afresh from the perspective of later citations of this group of pieces, with particular emphasis on one setting Picker overlooked: an *Ave Maria mater gratie* by Marbrianus de Orto (d. 1529). This motet is modeled closely on *Intemerata* but incorporates an ostinato drawn from the opening motive of Ockeghem's *S'elle m'amera/Petite camusette*. De Orto also composed a mass alternately titled *Mi mi* and *Petite camusette* that is itself based on this ostinato, thereby engaging with this same collection of works by Ockeghem. Considered as a group, these pieces reinforce Heinrich Bessler's early proposal that Ockeghem's mass is in

fact named for its bassus head motive, and suggest that the chanson *Presque transi* has at best a limited claim to the status of *cantus prius factus*.

More significant than the matter of titles, however, is the web of connections that unifies no fewer than nine works by Ockeghem and de Orto. The latter's contributions can be read as a deliberate, thoroughgoing homage to Ockeghem of a sort rarely encountered outside the *L'homme armé* tradition. Indeed, de Orto's settings engage with Ockeghem's style not merely via melodic quotation but through a variety of procedures, ranging from outright stylistic mimicry to allusion in the context of a thoroughly un-Ockeghemian sound world. Taken together, these relationships suggest that de Orto played an important role in the reception of Ockeghem's music at the turn of the sixteenth century, and expose the imposing shadow Ockeghem's music cast on de Orto and his contemporaries.

#### IN THE EDITOR'S WORKSHOP: SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSMISSION AND TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Ted Dumitrescu  
Utrecht University

It is time for music editors and scholars to reconsider the status of some of the most basic tools employed in the creation and evaluation of critical editions. Over the past several decades, the field of textual scholarship has witnessed potent criticisms of its traditional methodologies, as well as proposals for alternative techniques rooted in the work of noted philological skeptics. The Common Error method, formalized upon the basis of the pioneering nineteenth-century work of Karl Lachmann, long enjoyed a central status as the basic means of establishing textual readings in modern editions redacted from variant versions and imperfect copies, but is increasingly viewed as insufficient and even fundamentally flawed. The attempt to strip away supposed scribal corruptions and thereby produce a single authorial "Urtext" has been argued to be historically dishonest and even deformative of the social conditions of textual production and reception, both for medieval literature (e.g., Cerquiglini and the New Philology) and for texts in the age of mechanical reproduction and publication (McGann). Newer approaches aim to demonstrate the relations of surviving textual states divorced from the idea of (original or final) authorial intentions, borrowing approaches from fields such as computational biology to resolve long-standing methodological quandaries.

Musicology, however, has for much of its history lagged considerably behind textual scholarship in matters pertaining to textual criticism, where specific methods have been first developed and first discarded. The two major manuals of music philology in current use, by Feder (1987) and Grier (1996), are recent but largely advocate the most traditionalist positions. Many music editions themselves exhibit problematic usages, tacitly sidestepping classic philological rules where they patently cannot apply to particular musical situations, but asserting their validity otherwise. This reluctance of musical scholarship to engage with modern text-critical approaches is not purely a matter of reasoned conservatism, but is also predicated upon technological working conditions. The newest textual methodologies rely increasingly upon computational models, such as the "phylogenetic" techniques of the New Stemmatology, which are readily implemented for text data whereas musical data requires significantly more complex programming groundwork.

The situation of music in information technology has fortunately been developing rapidly in the twenty-first century, to the point where sophisticated computer encoding of notation

is ever more widely standardized and used by musicologists and performers. The time is ripe for a reopening and reevaluation of text-critical methodologies as applied to musical sources, taking in the full range of recent approaches. In an investigation which will offer results applicable to a large range of musics, widely-disseminated mass settings by Josquin and Mouton, edited digitally for online publication, will serve as a test case for a concrete comparative assessment of various computational and post-Lachmannian stemmatic techniques. Among the most significant consequences of the study is the development of a new stemmatological framework specifically tailored to notated musical material.

## LOOKING FORWARD, LOOKING BACK

### Amy Beal, University of California, Santa Cruz, Chair

#### LESSONS WITH STRAVINSKY: THE *FUTURAMA SYMPHONY* BY EARNEST ANDERSSON (1878–1943) AND HIS NOTEBOOK OF 1941

H. Colin Slim  
University of California, Irvine

An unknown and quite large Stravinsky cache in a private Pennsylvania collection, restricted to family members for almost seventy years, shelters Earnest Andersson's self-titled *Futurama Symphony*, written with Stravinsky in Hollywood during 1941–42. The same collection also houses a notebook that this wealthy polymath-inventor kept in 1941 during the initial eight months of his lessons with the newly arrived-composer when they began by revising *Futurama's* two middle movements. Their sketches, short-scores, and manuscripts for *Futurama*, plus similar items for two other orchestral works by Andersson, together with relevant entries in his notebook, document Stravinsky's only prolonged compositional collaboration (not excepting one month's assistance in 1913 to Ravel on *Khovanshchina*).

By February 1942, Stravinsky thought enough of the completely revised four-movement *Futurama* to recommend it (and, as Andersson's own) to major conductors: Mitropoulos (Minneapolis), Stock (Chicago), Barbirolli (New York) and Koussevitzky (Boston). Despite the *Salt Lake Tribune* hailing Andersson the next year (his last) as "America's foremost living composer[!]," not one of them ever performed it. Only his young son-in-law, James Sample (1910–95), the recently appointed conductor of the Los Angeles WPA Symphony, did so. In the spring of 1941 Sample had already premiered *Futurama's* unrevised middle movements: "Nocturne," and "Scherzo," recording the revised "Scherzo" the ensuing October. Portions of each will be played and discussed.

Although Andersson's notebook suggests that money was not Stravinsky's prime motive in teaching (pace Robert Craft, Stephen Walsh, and Charles Joseph), it tells rather less about its owner than about teaching methods of Stravinsky, self-designated on one *Futurama* short-score as: "tutor / instruktor[Russ.]" to which Andersson added: "= teacher;" about Stravinsky's opinions on composing and of composers (dead and alive); and about his several acid judgments of contemporary performers, e.g., in Philadelphia, Stokowski: "terrible . . . prostituted his art," and José Iturbi: "a strutting stallion" (Iturbi refusing, June 1941, to conduct there if Benny Goodman made his conducting debut with the Philadelphia Orchestra in Stravinsky's *Tango*). Notebook and their joint scores also overturn Craft's hypothesis in 1978 that when Stravinsky drafted the initial movement of his *Symphony in Three Movements*, he thus

influenced Andersson. Just the opposite occurred (as will be demonstrated). Revisions made summer 1941 to *Futurama's* second movement, "Nocturne," clearly later influenced Stravinsky when drafting his own first movement, spring 1942.

Working an awe-struck but ingenuous youthful audience at Eastman in 1966, the old pro noticeably de-emphasized any past collaboration. In his taped remarks—they will be played—Stravinsky not only recalled Andersson first showing him "a very, very idiotic music," but then went on to boast: "I composed it [*Futurama*], with his themes." Scrutinized for accuracy and context, however, these and several other claims he made at Eastman are misleading. Still totally unknown, Andersson's *Futurama* demands study, publication and performance, but not just because it might be a fifth Stravinsky symphony. Informing scholars about the notebook and about *Futurama* and untangling Stravinsky's claim to it are first steps towards understanding Stravinsky's pedagogics and exploring an unprecedented collaboration.

## THE GREAT MASTERS' ROLE IN POSTMODERN MUSIC: EAST AND WEST GERMANY

Beate Kutschke

University of Hong Kong

When discussing postmodernism in music, musicologists (most recently Richard Taruskin, as well as Hermann Danuser and Jann Pasler in the 1990s) have emphasized the unusual role played by musical references to the "great masters"—i.e. stylistic and literal quotations—in the works of composers such as Berio, Rihm, and Schnittke. These investigations were implicitly driven by the idea that postmodernism is an international phenomenon; different articulations of postmodernism in music, especially the specific relationship to the great masters, were consequently considered to be manifestations of the composers' individuality. In contrast to this, I will investigate postmodern composers' specific interest in the great masters by relating their works to the particular socio-cultural conditions which prevailed in their homelands immediately before the rise of postmodernism. I will do this by comparing music from two countries: West and East Germany.

In West Germany, the anti-authoritarian impetus of the student and protest movements of the 1960s—in brief "1968"—not only stimulated a critique of Beethoven's bicentennial in 1970, but also generated a new treatment of the great masters in the works of young composers of the 1970s. This becomes most clearly apparent in comparison with the various "moderately-modern" homage-and-variation pieces composed between the 1910s and '60s, which had proved very popular on concert programs after 1945. (Composers contributing to this genre included, for instance, Blacher, Britten, Casella, Hindemith, Höller, and Stravinsky.) Whereas the latter's quotation of the great masters' music hailed their predecessors and, at the same time, put themselves on a level with them, postmodern compositions such as Wolfgang von Schweinitz' *Mozart-Variationen* (1976) and Detlev Müller-Siemens' *7 Variationen über einen Ländler von Franz Schubert* (1977/78), although similarly revolving around the great masters' work, favored an image of them that was everything but "great," focusing instead on their dark, lugubrious, even moronic and/or depressed side. Correspondingly, these new compositions were neither pompous nor glorious in the manner of Blacher et al., but instead fragmented and dissociating.

The impact of the new-leftist intellectual climate of 1968 on the treatment of the great masters was also manifested in the former GDR, where "1968" similarly marked a decisive turning

point. The crushing of the Prague Spring in August 1968 not only signified the end of the expectation that socialism with a human face would be possible, but also led to a loss of confidence in the state authorities. In light of this, several questions arise: To what degree did the new attitude toward authority manifest itself in the contemporary music of East Germany? Is the manner in which reference is made to the great masters different in works before and after 1968—especially in comparison with West German compositions and given that state coercion inhibited open protest? And if so, what significance do these changes have for the general character of the compositions? I will investigate these and similar questions by means of East German compositions such as Reiner Bredemeyer's *Bagatellen für B.* (i.e. Beethoven) (1970), Tilo Medek's *Sensible Variationen um ein Schubertthema* (1973), and Günter Kochan's *Mendelssohn-Variationen* (1971/72).

## THE ECONOMICS OF *ST. LUKE*

Lisa Jakelski

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Huge and excited crowds greeted Polish performances of Krzysztof Penderecki's *St. Luke Passion* in 1966. Western observers on the scene were quick to read the large audience turnout as a function of the work's unambiguously sacred text, a habit that has persisted in more recent musicological accounts of the *St. Luke Passion* and its impact in socialist-era Poland. Yet the story of this piece challenges conventional cold war wisdom that views Polish religiosity as a simple analogue to political resistance. For whatever headaches the *Passion's* content may have caused in closed government circles, presentations of Penderecki's new work took place well within the purview of official cultural life, during a period otherwise marked by religious repression.

The reception of the *St. Luke Passion* in Poland, I suggest, cannot be understood apart from the competing contexts of religion, politics, post-war aesthetics, and economics first activated at its West German world premiere in early 1966. Relying on journalism, archival documentation, and score analysis, this paper follows the *St. Luke Passion* from West Germany to its presentation at the 1966 Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music. West German press accounts record the work's almost immediate politicization, a distraction from the *St. Luke Passion's* religious dimension that eased its entry into socialist Poland. For Polish critics, the work's fusion of chant, tonality, serialism, and the shrieking timbres of early-1960s Polish sonorism rationalized Penderecki's earlier avant-garde techniques, a legitimizing power that extended to the musical institutions responsible for launching his international compositional career in the first place.

Most importantly, however, I demonstrate that the *St. Luke Passion* had value as an exportable good. The composition would have been inconceivable without the networks of international exchange linking Western Europe with portions of the Soviet bloc during the cold-war period. In these networks of exchange, Polish music proved capable of traversing distances that were not easily surmounted by the physical movement of ordinary citizens or the flow of shoddily manufactured Polish goods into Western markets. Foreign and domestic patronage integrated Polish music into the cultural life of Western Europe, where it generated capital for the composers who wrote it, the conductors who performed it, and through record sales. This previously unacknowledged economic dimension was just as key to ensuring the *St. Luke Passion's* success in mid-1960s Poland as the religious import of its text, the

political circumstances of its first performances, and the aesthetic draw of Penderecki's music. Able to slip back and forth between the capitalist and socialist camps of cold-war Europe, the movement of the *St. Luke Passion* likewise demonstrates the limits of current frameworks for theorizing cultural production, and as such, it invites us to re-imagine these models. This paper thus participates in an emerging musicological project to understand the cultural cold war in light of its concomitant processes of globalization, in which the circulation of ideas and musical artifacts drew together otherwise opposing spheres of power and political influence.

## THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. CONSTRUCTION AND MR. MULTICOLORED PSYCHEDELIC FLOWER

Ian Quinn  
Yale University

The majority opinion among Ligeti scholars seems to be that *Clocks and Clouds* (1972–73) isn't worth much time; in monographs, they typically rush past it in a hurry to get from the Double Concerto to *Le Grand Macabre*. Pressed to say something, anything, they will mention a selection of standard facts about *Clocks and Clouds*: it is microtonal; it uses a bizarre orchestra; it shows an influence of the music of Reich and Riley, which Ligeti had just encountered during a six-month residency at Stanford in 1972; and it is named after a 1965 essay by Karl Popper. Most will develop this last point a bit, mentioning that Popper's title refers to deterministic and indeterministic systems, respectively, and reminding us that Ligeti is interested in such things. (Only one of the monographers shows evidence of having read beyond the third page of Popper's essay—a real pity, since Popper gets into more specifically suggestive territory later on, raising questions about musical creativity, considering whether we are “forced to submit ourselves to the control of our theories,” and even describing a vividly Ligetian “nightmare of physical determinism.”)

Why the reticence? Probably they are embarrassed because it is, as Richard Toop admits, “an enormously attractive piece,” with lush orchestration, impressionistic consonances, and even a wordless female chorus. The embarrassment even bears the seal of composerly authority; Toop discloses that Ligeti worries the piece is “too simplistic . . . too obvious and undigested . . . too close to unintentional self-parody.” The two scholars who have analyzed the piece extensively, Richard Steinitz and Jonathan Bernard, determined to conclude that the piece does nothing new or interesting, both point to irreversible formal processes of expansion and decay. Both miss a very salient harmonic palindrome, technically impressive in the context of the linear processes that drive the harmony, that represents a stylistic watershed for Ligeti. But it seems that Ligeti wished for us to view the piece as a run-of-the-mill failure, reflecting (as Paul Griffiths claims) a period of uncertainty, and to pass it by without listening too hard.

This presentation will reassess the position of *Clocks and Clouds* in Ligeti's oeuvre, following three lines of inquiry. I will offer an analytical corrective to the oversights of Steinitz and Bernard, and show that *Clocks and Clouds* served as a laboratory for some genuinely new compositional ideas, which may in fact be rather well-digested influences from Reich and Riley. I will also read the piece against Popper's essay, particularly his analysis of the relationship between freedom and control, and between ideas and behavior. Finally, I will consider the crucial question whether we should read this piece as a sincere attempt to embrace the West Coast vibe, or a cynical exercise in parody; a key document here is a little manifesto Ligeti

wrote in 1972 full of overly tortured aesthetic antinomies, including the one from which I take my title: “art is construction, art is a multicolored psychedelic flower—”

## POLICING MUSIC

David Rosen, Cornell University, Chair

### “O VENT DE NOTRE LIBERTÉ”: SINGING RESISTANCE IN OCCUPIED PARIS

Colin Roust  
Oberlin College

Between February and August 1944, Christiane Poinch Famery assembled a book of songs sung by her fellow inmates in Paris’s La Petite Roquette prison, a holding pen of sorts for arrested *resistantes* before they were sent to concentration camps in Germany. This song book documents the role that music played in the French resistance during World War II. These musical practices have yet to enter the scholarly literature on World War II, since recent musicological work on the resistance (Fulcher, Krivopissko, Roust, Simeone, and Virieux) has focused almost exclusively on the intellectually oriented Front national des musiciens and its members. However, within the resistance as a whole, this was a small network whose efforts could claim only minimal impact on the broader movement. This paper, then, serves as a complement to existing scholarship by identifying the music that was actually sung by members of non-music-oriented resistance networks and examining the musical practices that made the act of singing into an act of resistance.

The principal archival source for this paper is the song book maintained by Famery, which was recently rediscovered in an archive near Paris. Of the twenty-two songs, only two have even tenuous links to the art music of the Front national des musiciens: “Le campeur en chocolat,” a children’s camp song composed by Georges Auric, and “Oh quel magnifique rêve,” which provides a new text for Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy.” Many of the songs—including “La Komsomolsk,” “Le Chant du Turkmenistan,” and “Magnitogorsk”—suggest the Communist affiliation and Soviet links of many resistance networks. Others—including “Chant des Pilotes,” “Chant des aviateurs,” and “Chant de la cavalerie”—reflect the paramilitary activities of networks like Combat and Les Francs-tireurs et partisans.

In addition to the song book, this paper will examine the publication and distribution of sheet music by the resistance. Perhaps the most significant figure in this regard was Francis Salabert, whose publishing company operated at night to clandestinely print such songs, including many of those in Famery’s book.

### PARLOR GAMES: ITALIAN MUSIC AND ITALIAN POLITICS IN THE PARISIAN SALON

Mary Ann Smart  
University of California, Berkeley

As the movement for Italian independence gained strength in the 1830s and 40s, a sizable group of Italy’s most progressive political thinkers languished in Paris, exiled after a spate of

failed uprisings early in 1831. Because of its mandate as the city's main stage for opera sung in Italian, the Théâtre-Italien became the locus of this community, and a significant number of the new works premièred at the theater boasted either a libretto or score penned by one of their number. The vitality of this group, politically and culturally, inspired one early twentieth-century historian, Raffaele Barbiera, to proclaim that "the unity of Italy was made outside of Italy, by the exiles." Early on, the political mood of the community leaned towards violent resistance and clandestine activity, following the doctrine of Giuseppe Mazzini. But by the mid-1840s, figures like Carlo Pepoli (librettist of Bellini's *I puritani*) had moved towards the center, and this shift informed both their poetry for music and their prose writings on music and aesthetics.

One aim of this paper is simply to document the tight—and little explored—ties between leading personalities in the Italian Risorgimento and the musical world of the period. But my larger hope is to advance the long-running debate about the political significance of opera—especially Verdi's early operas—in the formation of Italian national identity before Unification. This paper forms part of a larger project that excavates the political bases for Italian music during this period via attention to specific, influential personalities and the networks among them.

This paper explores a space between public and private music making that seems to have been particularly vital among the exiles. Focusing on a set of poems by Carlo Pepoli that were set as parlor songs by both Rossini and Saverio Mercadante, I suggest that musical performance in the Paris salons hosted and frequented by the exiles became a site for lively verbal and non-verbal discourse about the nature and the future of Italy. Many of Pepoli's poems stage picturesque, postcard-like scenes of rustic festivities in Naples, Venice, or the Italian Alps, and both Rossini and Mercadante respond with vivid displays of musical *couleur locale*. But in addition to depicting a nostalgic and cosmetically enhanced vision of the peninsula, the two sets of songs establish a dialogue with each other, and with Bellini's *I puritani*, whose leading characters make cryptic appearances in the parlor songs. In addition to reading the songs themselves as emblems of national consciousness, I will probe the occult nature of salon culture and its influence on political opinion. Ultimately, the paper views salon culture not as an alternative, domestic space for music making and the formation of opinion, but as a mainstream, vitally involved with the central political and aesthetic questions of the moment.

## THE END OF THE RISORGIMENTO AND THE POLITICS OF ITALIAN OPERA

Francesco Izzo  
University of Southampton

The ostensible political meanings of Italian opera during the Risorgimento have been intensely debated in recent years. Most publications on this subject, however, concentrate on the years preceding and following the 1848–49 upheavals, and do not consider the transformations that took place during the early years of the Kingdom of Italy. This paper examines the ramifications of the final phase of the Risorgimento, exploring in particular the years between 1859 and 1866, when Austrian rulers lost control over substantial areas of Northern and Central Italy and theatrical censorship dissolved rapidly. For several decades, censorship had constituted one of the central forces in the Italian operatic world, decisively affecting the creation of new operas and the circulation of old and new works across the politically frag-

mented Italian peninsula. The role of the censors during the Risorgimento is evident in the numerous, heavily altered versions of operas by Verdi and others that circulated widely in pre-unification Italy—their titles changed; their story lines, characters, and poetry often barely recognizable. In some cases, texts that were censored during the Risorgimento never returned to their original versions. In the emerging Kingdom of Italy, however, numerous works that had been altered or prohibited (re)entered the stage in their original forms. Expressions of patriotism, hostility toward oppressive foreign rulers, forceful calls to warlike action, as well as an array of images of, and references to national identity and unity were restored to the libretti of numerous operas.

In the first part of the paper I explore the repertory of opera houses in Milan, Parma, Florence, and Venice during the years that marked the end of Austrian domination and the formation of the Kingdom of Italy (1859–1866). I also examine a group of libretti printed at that time, highlighting the processes through which most formerly censored aspects and passages returned to their original versions. In the second part of the paper I turn to an obscure *Accademia musicale*, published in Turin in 1860 and bearing the subtitle of *Il 1859*, whose text contains passages from twenty-three Italian operas by the likes of Donizetti, Bellini, Verdi, Luigi Ricci, and several other composers, imaginatively and humorously assembled to depict episodes of the Second War of Italian Independence. This *Accademia musicale* serves as a case study to consider how specific texts were un-censored at the time of the Italian unification. I argue that the end of censorship in a newly unified Italy provides an opportunity to shed light retrospectively onto the political meanings of operatic texts during the Risorgimento.

## BEHIND THE POLICE CHIEF'S CLOSED DOORS: THE UNOFFICIAL CENSORS OF VERDI IN ROME

Andreas Giger  
Louisiana State University

The Archivio di Stato in Rome holds two heavily censored manuscript librettos of operas by Giuseppe Verdi: *Gustavo III* (a world premiere at the Roman Teatro Apollo, 1859, under the title *Un ballo in maschera*) and *Don Alvaro* (an Italian premiere, also at the Teatro Apollo, 1863; originally performed a year earlier in St. Petersburg under the title *La forza del destino*). While these librettos have been known for some time, they have not been studied for evidence they provide about the inner workings of censorship. It turns out that they (1) offer the key to the censors' identities and the organization of the censorial system, (2) show the meticulousness with which the censors worked, and (3) reveal a strong desire not so much to suppress as to find the best possible alternative that would at the same time protect the censors' view of the moral and political integrity of the Pontifical State.

Officially, Rome employed three censors, one ecclesiastical and responsible to the Cardinal Vicar, one political and responsible to the director of the Police, and one "philological," representing the *Deputazione dei Pubblici Spettacoli*, a supervisory body consisting of members of the city's two chambers (the Council and the Senate). A detailed analysis of the two librettos reveals, however, that none of these censors played a significant role: *Gustavo III* includes only about forty, mostly minor emendations by the ecclesiastical censor; and *Don Alvaro* does not include a single obvious interference by any of the official censors. Nevertheless, the librettos are full of revisions, sometimes substantial, and include substitute pages with entirely rewritten stanzas or scenes.

Focusing on *Gustavo III*, this paper identifies the unofficial censors (they turn out to be the Director of the Police, a high-ranking lawyer, the impresario's right-hand man, and even the impresario himself), determines their political or religious function, and interprets some of their emendations. In addition, the paper will show that the unofficial censors worked together much more closely than we have so far believed (handing the libretto back and forth among themselves) and that they censored much more thoroughly than their official colleagues. They were not satisfied with simply eradicating problematic words or phrases but returned to the same passage time and again, hoping to improve it. In the case of *Un ballo in maschera*, where the composer and librettist had a chance to react to the censors' work, the result was on occasion surprisingly good.

## POPULAR GENRES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

David Ake, University of Nevada, Reno, Chair

### SCHEMING YOUNG LADIES: IMAGES OF FEMALE MUSICIANS IN RAGTIME-ERA NOVELTY SONGS

Larry Hamberlin  
Middlebury College

"As late as the 1920s," wrote Jacques Barzun in *Music in American Life*, "untutored popular sentiment regarded the playing of music as the occupation of wretched professionals and scheming young ladies." Ragtime-era novelty (i.e., comic) songs about female musicians, and especially singers, provide some clues as to why such a negative stereotype was both widespread and long-lived. Coinciding with the peak of the women's suffrage movement, these songs may represent an antisuffragist backlash, lampooning "scheming" women's quest to pursue careers in music, where their financial independence presented a threat to patriarchal norms.

Yet the ridicule of women singers did not end with the Nineteenth Amendment. Ragtime songs set the pattern for the still-current soprano joke, which may express other musicians' resentment of the diva's power over audiences. Moreover, the soprano voice itself may be an object of psychological discomfort that male listeners might want to defuse with humor. Yet another cause of male discomfiture is an association of female display with disreputable entertainments such as the burlesque show—self-display, even on the operatic stage, some songs imply, is intrinsically indecent.

Because so many of these songs focus on "unfeminine" ambition, voice students and other aspiring singers feature prominently among the protagonists. This paper considers in turn portraits of voice students, amateur singers, and professional singers, tracking the increasingly negative portrayals of women's aspirations, and concludes by comparing these songs with a few novelties about male singers, which suggest that vocal display was increasingly perceived as a feminine-gendered social practice.

“WOMEN IN THE BAND”: MUSIC, MODERNITY, AND  
THE POLITICS OF ENGAGEMENT, LONDON 1913”

Leanne Langley  
Goldsmiths, University of London

In October 1913 six women string players joined the Queen’s Hall Orchestra of London, making headlines as well as history. No other full-time professional British symphony orchestra allowed women at that date except as harpists, despite increasing numbers of excellent female players emerging from the nation’s conservatories. One version of this event—explaining why the six were selected, who they were, and how they fared—has been on the record for more than seventy years, in Henry Wood’s autobiography *My Life of Music* (1938). Echoing Wood, later writers agree that his bold action, reputedly indebted to Belgian precedent, created a breakthrough for British women. In reinscribing the episode as essentially a women’s performing landmark, however, commentators have missed its significance in wider period debates, from evolving labor practices and the provision of high culture for all economic groups, to modern music’s aesthetic demands and the implications of female suffrage.

My paper offers a revisionist view of the 1913 women’s hire, its circumstances, and outcomes. Using newly discovered letters, memoirs, photographs, press reports, and management strategies behind “Queen’s Hall Orchestra Limited” (1902–15), I argue that the employment of these women fulfilled clear objectives in expressing the orchestra’s progressive identity by its farsighted Liberal owner, Sir Edgar Speyer. Particularly relevant in 1912–13 were restive male orchestral players seeking to combine against effective performance of challenging new works, including Schoenberg’s, on QHO programs; the stunning international rise of Thomas Beecham as Wood’s younger rival in modern European music from Strauss to Stravinsky; and a Liberal prime minister notoriously opposed to female suffrage (Herbert Asquith), engendering suffragette militancy that made socialist politicians increasingly electable. At a stroke, on the highly visible platform of London’s premier concert hall, six female colleagues were seen, and heard, to cut across these battles by engaging both public and professional attention. Embodying modernity, they contributed to an orchestra that in quality Schoenberg himself ranked with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw and the Vienna Philharmonic, in January 1914.

Far from being a token gesture, female orchestral participation expanded in the QHO, enabling Wood to continue his pursuit of new composition and to mount full seasons of symphony, Sunday, and promenade concerts when many male players left for military service. I further trace the important role of women in the BBC Symphony Orchestra (1930, an advanced ensemble indebted in many ways to the old QHO), and uncover the roots of historiographical confusion around the 1913 episode. These include retrospective conflation of Great War contingencies with prewar modernities by some of the original QHO women themselves, and the British government’s shabby postwar treatment of Speyer, effectively obliterating his record.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE MINSTRELS

Rachel Cowgill  
Liverpool Hope University

The Metropolitan Police Minstrels—a blackface minstrel troupe made up of police officers serving in the Metropolitan Police—performed across London and its environs for over

six decades, from the early 1870s to the mid-1930s. Despite extensive recent scholarship on blackface minstrelsy, however, the activities of this troupe have escaped scholarly attention, and indeed have been virtually expunged from cultural memory, largely due to changing political sensitivities on the part of the British establishment. As this paper will show, uncovering the history of the Metropolitan Police Minstrels offers a unique perspective on musical and social constructions of “blackness” and “whiteness” in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban culture, and ways in which this performance tradition articulated tensions within/between masculinity, class, uniformity, discipline, authority, and alterity. Moreover, it offers unprecedented insights into the day-to-day activities of a British blackface troupe; for although archival materials relating to minstrelsy are almost completely lacking, the bureaucratic structures of the Metropolitan Police and the longevity of and widespread affection for its minstrel troupe ensured the survival of a substantial cache of records. This paper dwells particularly on the final decade of the Metropolitan Police Minstrels, and the impact of new media, audiences, and technologies on what was essentially a Victorian form of popular entertainment. Showing themselves to be ambitious and adaptable, the Minstrels experimented with variety, cinema, gramophone recording, and early radio—indeed, in the late '20s they seemed poised to become the public face of the British Police—before falling victim to modernizing and reforming impulses in the force, in the years leading up to World War II.

## SONGS OF THE WEST: FOLK BALLADRY AND TIN PAN ALLEY

Stephanie Vander Wel  
University at Buffalo

Popular culture's idealized tropes of the West positioned the singing cowboy as a romantic icon of American society largely through western-themed music: strophic ballads and Tin Pan Alley songs. Relying upon the insights of scholars (Peter Stanfield and Mark Fenster) who have considered the relationship between notions of folk and commercial culture, I examine the music of two of the most significant western stars of the 1930s: Gene Autry and Patsy Montana. Both Autry and Montana modeled their own songs after the conventions of folk balladry and Tin Pan Alley in order to legitimate their western personas for their audiences: Autry, the genteel cowboy, and Montana, the autonomous cowgirl of the prairie.

Beginning his career in radio as the Oklahoma Singing Cowboy, Autry performed and recorded an eclectic mix of music: blues, sentimental numbers, and folk tunes. Though Autry's blues songs explicitly depicted sexuality, his sentimental tunes (“That Silver Haired Daddy of Mine” and “Pictures of My Mother”) and cowboy songs provided nostalgic narratives about home and family. For instance, Autry's “Cowboy's Heaven” (1933) drew upon the music and imagery of the ballad “The Grand Roundup” to shape his tale of a weary and tired cowboy yearning for the “promised land.” Mitigating the common representation of masculine virility associated with the cowboy, Autry's allusion to a ballad about the afterlife contributed to an image of gentility cultivated further in his films.

Unlike Autry's gravitation to maudlin numbers, his female counterpart Patsy Montana drew upon balladry to authenticate her performance identity as an independent cowgirl. She modeled “The She Buckeroo” (1936) after the strophic song “Strawberry Roan,” a humorous tale about an experienced bronco-buster's failed attempts to tame a wild stallion. Though the cowboy in “Strawberry Roan” was unable to break the stallion, Montana exclaimed she

is more than capable in taming the unruly horse. The dialogic relationship between the two songs placed Montana in a subject position usually inhabited by the heroic cowboy.

In addition to their engagement with folk music, Autry's and Montana's inclusion of the characteristics of 1930s Tin Pan Alley songs, melodic chromaticisms supported by secondary dominants, enabled the cowboy and cowgirl to depict the West in middle-class metaphors of romance and longing. In particular, Autry's "Dear Old Western Skies" (1933) continued to map nostalgic sensibility onto the West, while Montana's "I Want to Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart" (1935) drew from diverse musical sources, cowboy tunes and popular music, to portray a female subject in the symbolic freedoms of frontier culture. The musical imagery of the autonomous cowgirl next to the morally upright cowboy occurred during an era of economic hardship, where women entered the workforce and men struggled to maintain their jobs. Drawing upon cowboy ballads and the trends of popular culture, Montana's and Autry's repertory attempted to assuage the gendered and class anxieties of the Great Depression. By situating their rural personas in the romantic myths of the West, they idealized the tensions surrounding gender roles of the 1930s.

### TRACING THE PATH

James Currie, University at Buffalo, Chair

### SCHUBERT, SEIDL, AND THE THREAT OF FINITUDE

Blake Howe

Graduate Center, CUNY

Of Schubert's fifteen settings of the poetry of Johann Gabriel Seidl, his eleven solo lieder have been well examined in the scholarly literature, several (particularly "Die Taubenpost") securing a firm position in the concert repertoire. The remaining four part songs for male quartet, however, are largely unstudied and offer an opportunity to enrich our understanding of how Schubert confronted Seidl's poetry in the process of song composition. Three of these Seidl part songs engage with an aesthetic altogether different from what is found in the more quaint poetry of the solo lieder. These partsongs—"Widerspruch," for male quartet and piano; "Grab und Mond," for male quartet, a cappella; and "Nachthelle," for tenor solo, male quartet, and piano—weigh issues of considerable heft: death, eternity, boundedness, emergence. In "Widerspruch," the poet's heart "strives for infinity" (though this soon proves terrifying); in the somber "Grab und Mond," the poet asks "whether darkness or light lives in the grave"; and in "Nachthelle," the "rich light" within the poet's heart bursts through its corporeal container: "It wants out, it must out— / The last barrier breaks." Seidl's spatial metaphors—the in/out, centripetal/centrifugal dialectic, operating within "boundary" and "rupture" schemas—illustrate the central questions (left unresolved) with which the poet is here engaged: is death an encasement or an emergence? Is infinity something to be embraced or something to be feared?

Schubert's settings of both "Grab und Mond" and "Nachthelle" date from September 1826, and while it is impossible to date "Widerspruch" with any certainty (the terminus ante quem is the date of its publication, November 1828), the part song may very well have been composed around this time. In engaging with the aesthetics of emergence in these three partsongs, Schubert uses shifts between chromatic mediant—the flatted submediant and the major

mediant—as a way to “rupture” the tonal body of a composition, often obscuring and alienating the original tonic in the process. In “Widerspruch,” for instance, modulations back to the tonic D major from its two chromatic mediant, B-flat major and F-sharp major, occur at moments in the song when the poet feels himself pulled toward infinite expansion; other musical features (dynamics, registration) contribute to the energized qualities of this musical emergence. “Nachthelle” uses similar devices but with greater complexity, moving by fifths between several different chromatic-mediator collections; when plotted on a three-dimensional *Tonnetz*, progressions between these different key areas allow us to narrate a hermeneutics of harmonic energy as the poet intensifies his desire to burst past the limits of physicality. The extensive revisions in the autograph of “Nachthelle” might speak to an uncertainty on Schubert’s part about how to proceed in this chromatic landscape: among the deletions are several highly unorthodox progressions, including a foray into B-double-flat major. Such heavy revisions—rare in Schubert—are indicative of a level of engagement with Seidl’s poetry that has little precedent in the solo songs.

## THE SPATIAL REPRESENTATION OF TEMPORAL FORM

Mark Evan Bonds

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Large-scale musical form can be conceived of temporally, as a diachronic succession of events, or spatially, as a synchronic design that attends to the relationship between a whole and its parts. These two modes are mutually interdependent yet not altogether complementary, for they developed separately and reflect very different assumptions about the nature of musical form. Spatial representations of temporal form in music were remarkably late to appear and slow to catch on. Not until 1826, when Anton Reicha depicted the “grande coupe binaire,” the “grande coupe ternaire,” and the “coupe du rondeau” in his *Traité de haute composition musicale*, did any critic or theorist use a diagram of any kind to represent musical form. Reicha’s graphic approach, moreover, would remain largely ignored for another generation. This reluctance to depict musical structures in spatial terms has much to tell us about conceptual models of form in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The spatial representation of musical form rests on two basic premises: (1) that different manifestations of the same basic form can be reduced to their common elements; and (2) that events in linear time can be represented synchronically. The first premise was already well in place by the end of the eighteenth century: reductive accounts of the large-scale structure now known as sonata form, for example (Portmann, 1789; Koch, 1793; Galeazzi, 1796; Kollmann, 1799), recognize the nature and sequence of the same basic harmonic and melodic events (modulating exposition, development, recapitulation), even if they lack a uniform terminology to describe those events. The premise of mapping temporal events of any kind onto a time line, however, was slow to gain acceptance. The first time lines to enjoy any degree of circulation had appeared in France in 1753 with the *Carte chronographique* of the philosopher Jacques Barbeu du Bourg, and in England in 1765 with the *Chart of Biography* by the scientist-historian Joseph Priestley. Barbeu du Bourg’s time line was novel enough to warrant a lengthy description in the *Encyclopédie*, and Priestley felt compelled to provide an elaborate explanation of how to relate temporal events to graphic space. The Scottish engineer and economist William Playfair experienced similar degrees of resistance and incomprehension in 1786 when he began publishing what strike us today as fairly straightforward graphs charting

the economic fortunes of the British Empire over time. As late as 1801, Playfair was still providing extended justifications and explanations of his graphic method.

These non-musical sources remind us that the idea of mapping linear time onto space was by no means self-evident before 1800, either as a general principle or as a means of conveying the relationships of parts within a diachronic whole. This in turn helps explain why diagrams of musical form were so slow to emerge and gain acceptance. In our attempts to reconstruct earlier conceptual models of how composers, theorists, and listeners of an earlier time understood musical form, the very absence of spatial representations of temporal events is itself a form of evidence to be taken into account.

## PETER SCHAT, SITUATIONIST

Robert Adlington  
University of Nottingham

Amongst the artists and intellectuals that comprised the inner circles of the Situationist movement between 1958 and 1973, musicians are conspicuous by their absence. Yet in one of the most significant Situationist journals, the irregularly published *Situationist Times*, the Dutchman Peter Schat (b. 1935) held the status of a veritable house composer. Articles and extracts of scores by Schat appear prominently in four of the journal's six issues, representing the only significant inclusion of music in any Situationist publication. This paper explores the relation of Schat and Situationism, which has been entirely overlooked both in the Situationist literature and in commentary upon Schat himself.

Schat's involvement with the *Situationist Times* resulted from his friendship with compatriot and editor of the journal, Jacqueline de Jong. De Jong joined the Situationist International in 1960, having embarked on an affair with founding Situationist Asger Jorn the previous year. With the support of Jorn and Guy Debord, she proposed a new English-language publication to convey the movement's ideas, but the journal only became a reality after she and Jorn were excommunicated from the International by Debord in 1962. The character of the *Times* reflected the divergences separating northern-European Situationists from the circle around Debord: eschewing the dense theoretical tracts and sociological tone of the French *Internationale Situationniste*, the *Times* instead presented a provocative collage of visual images, new artworks, and aesthetic commentary by prominent affiliates. Editorial statements declared the absence of a prevailing aesthetic orientation, in keeping with the *SI*'s early tenet that "there can be no situationist painting or music, only a situationist use of these means."

The inclusion of extracts from Schat's resolutely abstract serial works *Signalement* and *Entelechie II*—both composed under the tutelage of Boulez—served De Jong's purpose of embracing all manifestations of the avant-garde, in defiance of Debord's increasingly Marxist emphasis upon social engagement. Schat made no public declaration about his involvement, yet the major project of his early career, the music theatre piece *Labyrinth* (1961/64), bears its strong imprint. The labyrinth is a significant, recurrent motif in early Situationist thought, featuring prominently in writings by Debord, Jorn and Constant Nieuwenhuys. The fourth issue of the *Situationist Times* (1963) took the labyrinth as its theme, and included extensive excerpts from Schat's work-in-progress. Previously unexamined archive sources show that the labyrinthine elements of the work—its deployment of apparently unrelated levels of dramatic presentation, its stage designs, even its title—came to the fore only belatedly, at precisely the time that Schat and his librettist Lodewijk de Boer were most intimately associated with De

Jong. Schat's insistence that "the intention of the work remains an open question, which only the individual creativity of the spectator can extract" also reflects early Situationist emphasis upon "experimental life-play" as an antithesis to the passivity of the spectacle. It simultaneously marks the beginning of Schat's re-evaluation of the social role of music, a re-evaluation that was to have a defining impact on the politicization of Dutch musical life in following years.

## FROM SOUND TO SPACE: LISTENING IN/TO RYOJI IKEDA'S *MATRIX*

August Sheehy

University of Chicago

Since first garnering international attention with his album *+/-* (touch, 1996), Japanese composer and installation artist Ryoji Ikeda has been pushing the limits of both electronic music and the technologies used to create it. This paper examines *Matrix [for rooms]* (touch, 2000), arguably the most focused example from Ikeda's challenging oeuvre. *Matrix*, an exacting, hour-long collage of computer-generated sine waves, questions important concepts in musical discourse, including the role of technology, meaning, perception, and above all, notions of musical space.

The terse liner notes for the piece read, "*Matrix [for rooms]* forms an invisible pattern that fills the listening space. The listener's movements transform the phenomenon into his/her intrapersonal music." *Matrix* is thus both music and installation, and the two concepts represent extreme senses in which it can be understood. In the first case, we might speak of listening *to Matrix*, as an aesthetically consumable musical product; in the latter, of listening *in Matrix*, as an acoustically defined space that a listener can explore. As the liner notes indicate, however, the difference is not merely discursive. Rather, it is precisely the listener's *perceptual* inability to locate a sound source or to stabilize rhythm or pitch content—both shift unpredictably when the listener moves within the listening space—that draws discourses of musical space(s) into question.

I present two readings of *Matrix*. The first is broadly ecological, drawing on psychoacoustics and evolutionary psychology to explain the perceptual instabilities in *Matrix* as auditory illusions. While I find this reading essentially correct, it falls short in two ways. First, by assuming a Newtonian/Cartesian space a priori, it fails to take the conceptual challenge posed by *Matrix* seriously; second, it fails to account for the musical, phenomenological, and technological discourses *Matrix* clearly solicits. Without simply discarding empirical evidence, I propose another way of thinking about *Matrix*, in which the concept of space is more tightly entwined with these discourses, by suggesting that *Matrix* recaptures a phenomenology of pre-conceptual perception. The listener's inability to resolve temporal and spatial attributes of sonic events in *Matrix* closely simulates the poor perceptual resolution of human infants, as documented in psychological research. Extrapolating backwards, the space created by *Matrix* becomes a neo-natal world in which sounds have yet to resolve themselves into auditory objects with definite locations.

Ikeda's *Matrix* thus deconstructs rigid distinctions between physical and musical spaces, and between percept and concept. Its constantly morphing sound events also belie the binary logic of digital media, which is also often assumed to provide an accurate model for human cognition. Ultimately, I argue that *Matrix* exposes an illusory distinction between descriptive analysis and criticism by providing a phenomenological experience that defies assimilation by the terms of either discourse.

Friday noon, 13 November

## PIANO MASTERWORKS OF MEXICAN NATIONALISM

César Reyes, City University of New York

Mexican nationalism began in the first two decades of the twentieth century and moved into an indigenous nationalistic phase that lasted until the 1960s. Four major works of Mexican classical piano repertoire date back to this period, and even though they utilize different compositional devices, all four look towards creating a nationalistic depiction of the “Mexican.” In this lecture-recital, I shall perform these significant works and compare them in my talk, examining the different ways these composers chose to portray the Mexican character. For example, *Balada Mexicana* by Manuel M. Ponce combines two different folk songs of Mexican Mestizo tradition. The suite *Carteles* by Miguel Bernal Jiménez is a deeply nationalistic work that portrays various scenes of daily provincial life, in what is essentially a journey through various parts of Mexico. From the simple beauty of a Mayan melody from the Yucatan Peninsula, he then passes through the deep lyric song of the Tehuantepec Isthmus and on to the fiesta-like atmosphere of Michoacán.

Two other major Mexican nationalistic works are *Muros Verdes* by Jose Pablo Moncayo and *Costeña* by Eduardo Hernandez Moncada. *Muros Verdes* is Moncayo’s most representative piano work and also one of the longest works in the Mexican piano repertoire. This piece marks new directions for the next generation of composers. Eduardo Hernandez Moncada creates a characteristically Mexican aesthetic in his piano pieces by combining the rhythmic richness proper of the Mexican Gulf region with the sounds of the piano, resulting in the alternation of melody and percussion.

The works represent different voices of the Mexican piano repertory, their compositional elements, influences and sources. Each composer’s work stands as a tribute to Mexico’s multicultural voices. These works are both masterworks of Mexican nationalism and valuable contributions to twentieth century piano literature.

### PROGRAM

*Balada Mexicana* (1915) Manuel M. Ponce (1882–1948)

*Carteles* (1952) Miguel Bernal Jiménez (1910–1956)

-Volantín (Merry-go-around)

-Danza maya (Mayan dance)

-Noche (Night)

-Huarache (Sandal)

-Sandunga

-Pordioseros (Beggars)

-Hechicería (Sorcery)

-Parangaricutirimícuaro

*Muros Verdes* (1951) José Pablo Moncayo (1912–1958)

*Costeña* (1962) Eduardo Hernández Moncada (1899–1995)

**UN DELUVIO DI LAGRIME: THE LIRONE AND THE  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROMAN LAMENT**

**Victoria Redwood, soprano**  
**Elizabeth Kenny, chitarrone**  
**Erin Headley, lirone**  
**University of Southampton**

Lauded by seventeenth-century writers for its ability to “move the soul, instill devotion and refresh the spirit,” the lirone was particularly associated with lamenting and sublime sorrow. The mournful and alluring sound of this multi-string bowed instrument made it a particularly useful tool for the Counter-Reformation, where it accompanied tragic figures in operas, oratorios and cantatas. The lecture will reveal the lirone’s origins, geography, repertoire, surviving instruments and iconography, and will include a demonstration of technical possibilities, special effects, tunings and types of music most appropriate to the instrument.

PROGRAM

<i>Alessio, che farai?</i>	Stefano Landi
from <i>Il Sant’Alessio</i> , 1632	(1586–1639)
<i>Lamento d’Artemisia</i> (excerpts)	Marco Marazzoli
ms. from the Chigi collection	(1602–1662)
<i>Misura altri</i>	Domenico Mazzocchi
from <i>Musiche sacre e morali</i> , 1640	(1592–1665)
<i>Lamento di Maria Maddalena</i> (excerpts)	Luigi Rossi
ms. from Christ Church, Oxford	(1597–1653)
<i>Aria di Religione</i>	Stefano Landi
from <i>Il Sant’Alessio</i> , 1632	

**PRESENTING THE PAST: HISTORICALLY INSPIRED  
IMPROVISATION IN THE *STYLE GALANT***

Spontaneously devised and performed by Roger Moseley, University of Chicago with members of the Historically Inspired Musical Improvisation workshop at the University of Chicago and members of the audience who are willing to join us

PROGRAM

On improvisation in the *style galant*: topics and schemata

Improvised slow movement on themes chosen by members of the audience

On improvisation in the *commedia dell'arte* tradition: masks and *lazzi*

Improvised staged performance of Mozart's  
*Musik zu einer Faschingspantomime*, K. 446

There has been much recent interest in the theory and practice of improvisation in music of the Western past; in particular, scholars and performers specializing in "early" music have explored the creative possibilities offered by reconstructing musical elements that lie beyond the written score in ways that often intersect with jazz performance practice. Despite notable exceptions, however, the music of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has generally remained resistant to improvisatory incursions. The Historically Inspired Musical Improvisation workshop at the University of Chicago has sought to address this state of affairs by treating these musical idioms as living, breathing modes of communication. Along the way, we have found that developing improvisational facility allows for spontaneous musical expression and creativity, hones listening and performing skills, enriches historical imagination, offers new insights on familiar repertoire, and introduces a refreshing element of playfulness to the study of eighteenth-century music. This lecture-recital sets out to build on groundbreaking work by scholars and performers such as David Dolan, Robert Gjerdingen, and Robert Levin by outlining and demonstrating ways in which improvisation might grant musicians of today entry to sound-worlds of the past.

In *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford, 2007), Gjerdingen identifies eleven musical schemata that underpin the discourse of music from the second half of the eighteenth century. By assimilating and elaborating these schemata, musicians can acquire a vocabulary and fluency that allow them to form meaningful real-time "utterances" in the *style galant*. In the first part of the program, we will demonstrate how the schemata can be combined with musical dance forms and topics to generate instrumental music in various forms and genres.

The second part of the program focuses on the great improvisatory tradition of the *commedia dell'arte*, whose stock characters lurk behind the scripted musico-dramatic world of late eighteenth-century *opera buffa*. As Gjerdingen points out, it is telling that *opera buffa* was born in Naples, where there was not only a strong *commedia dell'arte* tradition but also an emphasis on musical improvisation via the imaginative realization of figured bass lines

and *partimenti* throughout the *conservatorii* where musical training was concentrated. Just as fluent and sophisticated musical phrases can be assembled from a relatively small number of schemata, so theatrical situations of comedy and poignancy can be derived from the interplay of the *commedia dell'arte* stock characters. To illustrate these connections, we will perform a *commedia dell'arte* pantomime for which Mozart composed the music and devised the plot in 1783. The pantomime, which was performed during Vienna's Carnival season, featured Mozart as Arlecchino alongside friends and relatives who played Pantalone, il Dottore, Pierò, and Colombine. Only the first violin part and the sketchiest outline of the action survives: the rest will be extemporized by members of the workshop (and perhaps even by members of the audience).

*Friday afternoon, 13 November*

**CHANT TOPICS**  
**Manuel Pedro Ferreira, University of Lisbon, Chair**

COMPOSITIONAL PLANNING AND “PROPERIZATION”  
IN THE OLD HISPANIC SACRIFICIA

Rebecca Maloy  
University of Colorado

In the past thirteen years, three major studies on Roman chant (Bernard 1996, McKinnon 2000, and Pfisterer 2002) have proposed hypotheses about the repertory’s origins through considering its patterns of organization and its relationship to the readings and prayers that form its performance context. In terminology developed by James McKinnon, “properization” refers to the assignment of chants to specific festivals. “Compositional planning” describes other structural features of the repertory, such as unity of thematic focus and the appropriateness of chants for particular liturgical occasions. Perhaps the best-known example of compositional planning is the Lenten weekday communions, which draw their texts from the psalms in ascending numerical order.

Although the Old Hispanic chant is considered one of the earliest and most important plainsong traditions, the full Old Hispanic repertory has not been subject to such a study. By exploring compositional planning among the offertory chants known as *sacrificia*, this paper takes a step toward filling this gap. The *sacrificia* exhibit organizational traits similar to those long observed in the Roman repertory. Those for the *quotidiano* Sundays, for example, draw their texts from the Old Testament salvation stories, told in chronological order, with a prominent theme of offering and sacrifice. The choices of text reflect an allegorical approach to exegesis, in which the events of the Old Testament are seen to prefigure Christian salvation. A closer look at the texts, however, suggests that they are chronologically stratified products of gradual formation. The texts draw both from the Vulgate and from the pre-Vulgate translations collectively known as the *Vetus Latina*. Many *sacrificia*, in fact, can be tied to Biblical versions of late antiquity.

Although the Biblical versions alone are not a reliable chronological index, they become useful evidence when considered in the context of other findings, such as patterns of unique and shared chants and the degree of consistency in liturgical assignment. Based on these types of evidence, I propose several hypotheses about the origins of the *sacrificia*. Despite its thematic unity, the repertory was created gradually. Because the texts referred to clearly defined topics and widely understood exegetical themes, a long period of compilation produced pieces that were very similar in theme and character. In many cases, moreover, the creation of these chants preceded their assignment to specific festivals: their composition and properization occurred in separate stages. Finally, the properization of the *sacrificia* seems to have proceeded according to the solemnity of festivals: the most important feasts had proper chants composed for them, whereas most lesser festivals were supplied with *sacrificia* for general use.

THE *HISTORIAE SANCTORUM* OF MEDIEVAL TUSCANY

Benjamin Brand  
University of North Texas

In his *De canonum observantia* (c. 1397), Ralph of Tongres distinguished between the liturgies of Italian and transalpine churches: while the former adopted the Roman Sanctoriale with little modification, the latter enriched it with proper offices (*historiae*) devoted to local saints. Yet Italians did not, pace Ralph's oft-cited characterization, eschew such musical commemorations. The cathedral chapters of Tuscany and related foundations, for instance, issued offices for no fewer than twelve of their martyrs and confessors. The composition of these *historiae* fell into two phases that mirrored the transformation of that region between 1000 and 1400. In the eleventh century, offices for the sanctified bishops in Arezzo (Donatus) and Lucca (Fridian and Regulus) underscored the centrality of local bishops as both spiritual and temporal arbiters of their cities. In the Trecento, by contrast, Florence replaced these older centers of creative activity as its episcopal father (Zenobius) and those of nearby Fiesole (Romulus, Alexander, and Donatus) emerged as objects of intense civic pride.

If the creation of the Tuscan *historiae* reflected the distinctive geography of that region, they also formed a tradition of which the origins lay in Arezzo. Shortly before the arrival of the celebrated choirmaster, Guido, in the 1030s, the cathedral canons had composed the first of two offices dedicated to their holy protector, St. Donatus. The unprecedented prestige that accrued to their church under Guido and his patron, Bishop Teodaldo, drove the exceptional diffusion of that office throughout Tuscany. The appeal of the *Officium Sancti Donati*, however, also reflected the dramatic story told by the texts of its antiphons and responsories. The former traced Donatus' childhood, ecclesiastical career, and martyrdom while the latter focused more narrowly on his miracles. This double narrative rendered the office a true "history," of which the drama and coherence was exceptional among the Tuscan offices of Phase I. It in turn provided the model for a new generation of offices of Phase II, exemplified by a second office for St. Donatus composed around 1300. Its constituent chants set rhymed texts and formed an ascending modal sequence that reinforced its narrative trajectory. They also eschewed the melodic formulae of older Gregorian plainsong, an independence precociously foreshadowed in the first *Officium Sancti Donati*. The most poignant feature of this second office, however, was its allusion to Bishop Teodaldo's transfer of Donatus' body to a newly built cathedral in 1032. The addition of this event to saint's life found visual expression in a monumental tomb constructed for the sanctified bishop in the 1360s. Ornamented with a pictorial life of St. Donatus sculpted in bas relief, it identified bishop Teodaldo with its holy protagonist in the act of constructing the cathedral in 1032. Thus music and images of the Trecento memorialized the historical, eleventh-century bishop who had ushered in an indigent Italian tradition of *historiae sanctorum*.

MEN AND MUSIC  
 Alexandra Amati-Camperi, University of San Francisco, Chair

THE GIUSTINIANA AS EVERYDAY PRACTICE:  
 MALE CONVIVIALITY IN VENETIAN LIFE

Shawn Keener  
 University of Chicago

From the 1560s on, three-voice polyphonic works called *giustiniane* or *veneziane* were published alongside other genres, in anthologies of their own, and in madrigal comedies. Scholars have interpreted the flurry of *giustiniane* published in the 1560s and 1570s as gestures of local musical pride. In this line of thinking, the publication of these dialect works not only had appeal to Venetians owing to the genealogy of the *giustiniana* rubric (traceable to the fifteenth-century Venetian poet Leonardo Giustinian), as well as to a roster of Venetian composers, but also paid homage to a vigorous musical past—a past worthy of commemoration, particularly in the wake of Willaert's death and the subsequent ascendancy of Venetians to positions of power in local musical circles.

This paper recognizes the importance of local appeal to pieces collected as “*giustiniane*” but argues from new networks of primary texts, prints, documents, and authors that the late-sixteenth-century genre represented inseparably gestures of civic pride and expressions of convivial relationships, defined through performative idioms. These networks range over the different genres of dialect literature, theater, and vernacular song, some printed and circulated as commodities in book markets and others confined to manuscript. The resulting entity was sometimes an ephemeral performance and sometimes a written score (still extant or not). In either case, it invariably represented an extension of a practice deeply embedded in a culture of convivial that united poetry, theater, and music along with conversation, intellectual pursuits, and games.

Combining this new evidence with the results of a few recent studies, mainly literary, I cast the playful intertextuality indigenous to the late-cinquecento *giustiniana* in a new light. The “fellowships of discourse” established among literary men of sixteenth-century Venice were built through the exchange of dialect poetry, whose language and ribald subjects marked these men as insiders and helped them form social bonds. The play of public and private so characteristic of these fellowships is set in high relief by the anonymous publication of works by members of Domenico Venier's academy in the dialect anthologies *La caravana* (1565) and *Versi alla venetiana* (1613). The extensive web of textual concordances I have discovered in and around the *giustiniana* repertoire locate it at the ephemeral edge of this long-lived tradition, where the lightest dialect verse slips easily into comic portrayals of *venezianità* in the guise of the Venetian Magnifico or Pantalone.

I will demonstrate how these threads converge by taking as a case study the *Libro secondo delle giustiniane* of 1575 by the Trevisan composer Giuseppe Policreti (c. 1548–1623). Drawing on the writings of the his lifelong friend, the physician, writer, and social-climber Bartholomeo Burchelati, including correspondence between the two, I will argue that the *Libro secondo* betrays an interest in Venetian literary and social “fellowships of discourse” on the part of the young composer and his circle.

## MARC'ANTONIO PASQUALINI, A CASTRATO DA CAMERA

Margaret Murata

University of California, Irvine

Each generation of opera critics has discussed the sexual equivocality of castrato singers, but the earliest generation of famous castrati began their careers as church and chamber singers, without the *frissons* of grotesqueness or transvestism we continue to associate with eighteenth-century celebrities in defined male and female operatic roles.\* Among recent characterizations of the early castrati, Roger Freitas has located them along a seventeenth-century continuum of masculine-to-womanly behaviors applicable to all men, whereas Bonnie Gordon has focused on the surgical intervention as an unsexing that led not to androgyny but to an android's destiny, a cultural role as a puppet.

Castrati no doubt first thought of themselves as child singers and then as musicians, with all the possibilities of careers and social mobility that an educated dependent of the church could imagine. A powerful patron could promote or sustain one's career in both the choir loft and palace chamber. A potential path to social status and stability in this regard could resemble one for a young seminarian aiming to become a protonotary or a prelate. Castrati like Loreto Vittori and Giovanni Andrea Bontempi became *musici* in the traditional sense—learned musicians. Vittori's appearances in court spectacles and opera were only part of his artistic achievements, one component of his social image as a *cavaliere*. Freitas has drawn a similar social portrait for the Tuscan soprano Atto Melani. A well-placed musician could almost lead the life of a gentleman.

The stage performances of Roman soprano Marc'Antonio Pasqualini paralleled Vittori's (1628–45). Not at all inclined to literature however, Pasqualini, after his principal Barberini patron left Rome in the years 1645–53, increasingly turned his hand to musical composition, especially after his own retirement from the Cappella Sistina in 1659. Extant scores of Pasqualini's oeuvre as a composer of cantatas for the chamber and the oratorio far exceed in number what survives by Vittori and Atto Melani. Nothing external compelled him to write music (his life as a wealthy individual was resented as being above his station) and, unlike Vittori and Bontempi, nothing from his hand was ever published. It appears that Pasqualini never received compensation for any of it and never sang his own works in public. An examination of several of the over two hundred works preserved from his own library in his own hand aims to determine whether the castrato was only a musical pet or boy toy, a gentleman dilettante, or a true musico, as revealed by his own voice.

**PERFORMING UNDER SUSPICION: GENERIC CONVENTIONS  
AND AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALE SINGERS**

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

In his influential work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, sociologist Erving Goffman theorizes human social behavior as a theatrical performance: a credibly staged scene leads an audience to impute a self to a performed character. Extending Goffman's theatrical metaphor to musical performance, this panel examines the often oppositional duality of a performed self and a performed character in the singing of four African-American women vocalists: Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, and Leontyne Price. The presentations historicize an African American performance historiography by challenging the prevailing

discursive narratives surrounding each woman and exposing the web of social and political interactions that these singers negotiated both on- and off-stage.

The panel reveals how reviewers, historians, and biographers set these four women's performed selves in opposition to their performed characters, a clash that leads, in Goffman's terminology, to a discrediting of their performed selves. Broadening the important work of Southern (1971), Jackson (1979), and the recent collection of essays by Hayes and Williams (2007), the panel elucidates some of the historical musical contributions of these four seminal African American women singers from the nineteenth century to the 1980s, and challenges our discipline to more fully incorporate methodologies of performance studies and more rigorously interrogate the myriad meanings of "performance."

## THE "BLACK SWAN" IN AMERICA: A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY RECEPTION STUDY OF ELIZABETH TAYLOR GREENFIELD

Julia Chybowski

University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Born into slavery decades before the Civil War, Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield toured in North America and England in 1850s and 1860s under the name of "The Black Swan." Although she is proclaimed America's first black concert singer in James Trotter's 1881 publication, *Music and Some Highly Musical People*, and subsequent histories which almost exclusively rely on Trotter's narrative, scholars have largely overlooked her mid-nineteenth century reception. Building upon my previous work on Greenfield's English sojourn and her position in the trans-Atlantic abolition movement, this presentation explores reception of her 1851–1853 American tour against the backdrop of a rising mid-century interest in slave culture among white Northerners, and legislative struggles to define race in the early 1850s.

There are many challenges involved in researching a musician who, although prominent in her lifetime, has almost been completely lost to history. We know few basic details of Greenfield's biography, and her authoritative voice is not in any way preserved. Yet, hundreds of newspaper reviews document an enthusiastic reception of her mid-century musical performances. Greenfield sang sentimental ballads, Stephen Foster songs and English versions of Italian opera arias—that is, the music of upper-class parlors where musical women in the image of Victorian "singing birds" presided, and of the concert stages that presented European prima donnas. Greenfield toured in the U.S. simultaneously with the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind, and this historical coincidence provided reviewers with fodder for poignant contrast. Not only did they judge Greenfield's accomplishments with favorable comparisons to her much more famous contemporary, but they used Lind as a foil to the "Black Swan."

This project builds upon other studies of nineteenth century female African American musicians such as Marie Selika, Sissieretta Jones, and Nellie Brown Mitchell. In order to present Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield as an important precursor to these later musicians, I will emphasize recurring themes in reviews that became long-standing conventions in review of African American female voices, such as reviewers' insistence that the African American female voice be heard as spiritual, powerful, and natural and that her evident musicality be met with qualified praise. Moreover, reviews tie their characterizations of Greenfield's voice, physical appearance, and degree of cultivation measured with the ideology of racial uplift to their speculation over her "true" racial identity. On one hand, reviewers insist on hearing her as an "authentic" slave voice, at a time when realist fiction and published slave narratives were

heightening interest in slave culture among white Northerners whose dominant source for images of black musicality was the minstrel stage. And on the other hand, reviewers continually raised suspicion about her enslaved past, even suggesting at times that she could be Jenny Lind in blackface. This study demonstrates how mid-century reviewers constructed racial difference through Greenfield's musical performance.

## HEARING AND SEEING THE BLUES: MUSICAL IDEOLOGIES, NARRATIVE CONTAINMENT, AND BESSIE SMITH IN *ST. LOUIS BLUES*

Jessica M. Courtier  
Carroll University

In 1929 Bessie Smith starred in the short sound film *St. Louis Blues*, performing the title song she had recorded four years earlier with Louis Armstrong. The narrative that frames Smith's performance as the character "Bessie" roughly parallels the subject of the song: the protagonist's lover leaves her for a more fashionable woman, and she pines for him in his absence. With Smith's a cappella and accompanied singing supported by both on- and off-screen contributions from J. Rosamond Johnson, members of the Fletcher Henderson band, W. C. Handy, James P. Johnson, and the Hall Johnson choir, *St. Louis Blues* records a collaboration by an extraordinary constellation of African American musical luminaries.

Scholarly discussions of the film often foreground the role Smith plays and *St. Louis Blues's* tired racial stereotypes, which were nearly ubiquitous in films of the period. Blues historian Francis Davis (1995) and cultural critic Angela Davis (1998), for instance, read the role of a weak "Bessie" as a personal affront to Smith, to whom they ascribe an almost archetypal power of strong black womanhood, an assessment grounded in her fiery temperament and her songs' subject matter. Such evaluations respond to white director Dudley Murphy's positioning of the blues as an utterance of personal grief in the context of humiliation and his apparent belief that *St. Louis Blues* was an almost documentary representation of African American nightlife in Harlem (Delson, 2008). These historical and contemporary perceptions of *St. Louis Blues* share an interpretive prioritization of the disempowering narrative at the expense of considering the film's musical performances. In so doing, they read "Bessie" as if she were a portrait of Smith, conflating role and performer. Both positions rely on the idea of Smith's singing merely as personal expression rather than as the deliberately shaped articulation of a professional artist: while Murphy heard the blues as pure lament without imagining a potential range of experiences informing musical choices, the present-day critics regard Smith as a figure of unwavering strength and fail to listen to Smith's voice at all.

In this paper I take these problems in reading *St. Louis Blues* as entry points for questions about music and truth telling. My consideration of the collaborative musical performances of *St. Louis Blues* reveals a complex of social relationships that extend beyond the parameters of either lamentation or heroism for Smith and establish relationships between Smith and other on-screen performers that begin to redress the degradation of "Bessie's" abandonment. I further assert that the musicians' presence in the film, with its highly problematic narrative, must be heard as reflective of the lived realities of the films' participants as professional musicians. Finally, I argue that *St. Louis Blues* and other similar short films that paired music and narrative were a ubiquitous means of conveying ideas about race and music in popular culture, and thus offer a corrective to traditional jazz and blues histories by serving as a reminder

that these musics were fundamentally popular arts maintained through both audio and visual spectacles.

STRANGER THAN FICTION: CONVENTION, COLLABORATION,  
AND CREDIBILITY IN BILLIE HOLIDAY'S *LADY SINGS THE BLUES*

Maya C. Gibson

Washington University in St. Louis

On November 10, 1956, Billie Holiday appeared in "Lady Sings the Blues (*LSTB*) at Carnegie Hall: the Songs and Story of Miss Billie Holiday." The concert recording features Holiday singing her most popular songs interspersed with five narrative selections from her recently published autobiography. Surprisingly, Holiday did not read from the autobiography—instead, *New York Times* writer Gilbert Millstein read for her. Millstein's dispassionate delivery stood oddly in contrast with Holiday's song choices, an effect that lent credence to the autobiographical importance of Holiday's singing voice over Millstein's spoken one. Against this backdrop of Millstein's dry narration, the sincerity of Holiday's singing voice astonishes. Her style imbues each song with an anthemic significance, garnering an autobiographical truth-value that far outshines the spoken text that supposedly renders her life story.

This paper uses the Carnegie Hall concert to foreground some of the critical concerns apparent in the reception of Holiday's autobiography, matters that hinge crucially upon questions of voice, credibility, agency, and race. Many of today's critics bemoan the book's trustworthiness, riddled as it is with discrepancies and factual errors. Others emphasize its performative aspects, downplaying truthfulness by situating the protagonist not as an authoritative rendering of Holiday but rather as a fictional persona she invented for the public. What remains largely unspoken in these analyses is the suspicion under which they regard Holiday's collaborator, *New York Post* journalist William Dufty. As a silent collaborator, Dufty bedevils their research and frustrates attempts to recover her veritable life story. Acting as a true ghostwriter, Dufty hides behind the text of *LSTB*, a shadowy, white, masculine figure—perfectly ghostlike—who nevertheless speaks for Holiday. Like Millstein's voice-over role in the Carnegie Hall concert, Dufty's position unsettles. His place in the text—hidden in plain sight—challenges the conventional assumption of the autobiographical endeavor whereby author, subject, and protagonist are one and the same entity. Although Holiday appears to speak within the pages of *LSTB*, it is widely rumored that she neither read nor wrote any of its contents. Our inability to determine the extent of the Dufty/Holiday collaborative relationship poses problems for untangling *LSTB*'s compositional integrity, problems that continue to arouse suspicion surrounding the political and ethical circumstances of its realization. As a piece of controversial historiography, it raises critical issues regarding our appreciation and interpretation of Holiday's life story.

This paper considers the autobiography's various generic, ontological, and music-historical implications. I discuss *LSTB*'s reliance on specific literary conventions including confession, apology, slave narrative, and nineteenth-century women's fiction. I investigate its collaborative circumstances, including some seldom-discussed sources from which Dufty drew to compile it: previously published interviews Holiday granted to the press as well as an unpublished, incomplete biographical novel authored by an *Ebony* editor known to Holiday, begun more than ten years before *LSTB*'s publication. Hence the paper begins to reconstruct Dufty's

compositional process by considering a swath of unexamined historiography that both precedes and follows *LSTB*'s 1956 publication.

## PERFORMING *AIDA* AND PERFORMING LEONTYNE PRICE

Jenni Veitch-Olson  
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Verdi's *Aida* has caught and continues to catch our imaginations. According to a quick JSTOR search, from 1876 to the present, scholarly interest in the opera reveals almost two thousand articles, from not only the music disciplines, but also those of history, literature, and cultural studies. The New York Metropolitan Opera archives boasts 1,103 performances of the opera, making *Aida* the second-most performed work in the institution's history. In collaboration with Disney Theatrical, Tim Rice and Elton John adapted the opera into a popular Broadway musical production, and, under the auspices of the PBS Great Performances series, the documentary "Aida's Brothers and Sisters" shares an history of African American opera singers. From musicology to the Disney Corporation, Verdi's *Aida* strikes a nerve, but how and why? This presentation asserts that much of the work's late-twentieth-century reception is part and parcel of the narrative of Leontyne Price, the first African American diva.

Although many women have donned the drab slave-like costume to assume the character, Price forever changed the legacy of the work with her opera debut in the title role in January 1957 with the San Francisco Opera. Twenty-eight years later, in 1985, Price received a lengthy standing ovation for her final performance at the Met in this role. That Price both debuted and retired as Verdi's Ethiopian princess is not a surprise; throughout her career and even presently in retirement, Price is almost synonymous with the character in our popular American imagination. Opera critics and admirers alike use Price's many performances of the heroine as the benchmark for other singers who assume the role. Yet the important performance legacy of Price as *Aida*, or the relationship between any singer and her character, has not been the purview of musicological opera studies.

This work broadens the recent critical conversations about *Aida* by Smart (2000), Bergeron (2002), Huebner (2002), among others, and continues to integrate performance studies methodologies into opera studies, by following in the steps of Risi (2002), Levin (2004), Duncan (2004), Schneider (2004), and Rutherford (2006). Additionally, this study sheds more light on the integral and often oppositional contributions of African Americans to opera and elite culture, and theorizes that Price's interpretation of *Aida* is an inextricable linking of a performed self and a performed character. Uniting an in-depth reading of the primary and secondary material on Price to that of Verdi's commentary on his grandest of operas, via Budden and Busch, my presentation historicizes Price's *Aida* performances, and examines why one critic from Milan commented that "our great Verdi would have found her the ideal *Aida*."

**RENAISSANCE ITALY**  
**Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Oxford, England, Chair**

RECONSIDERING DU FAY'S *SUPREMUM EST MORTALIBUS BONUM*

Michael Phelps  
 New York University

It has long been established that Du Fay's motet *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* was first heard some time in the spring of 1433. Beyond that, scholars are still engaged in spirited debate about the specific occasion for which it was commissioned. The motet was first connected with the signing of a treaty in April 1433 between Sigismund, King of the Romans, and Pope Eugene IV, subsequently known as the "Peace of Viterbo." Although the treaty settled rancorous political differences between Pope and King, only Sigismund was in Viterbo at the time, while Eugene remained in Rome. This led David Fallows to suggest that the treaty's signing was an unlikely occasion for a performance of such an important commemorative piece and that the motet was performed instead as part of the celebrations that began on 21 May 1433, when Sigismund solemnly entered Rome, and culminated days later on Pentecost Sunday, when Pope Eugene IV crowned him as Holy Roman Emperor. In this paper, I provide further evidence linking Du Fay's motet to the Roman festivities of May 1433, specifically to the actual coronation on 31 May. Further, I address issues raised by some opponents of the "coronation theory" who, for example, note that Sigismund is referred to as King, not Emperor, in the motet's text. It is my contention that Sigismund had yet to be crowned when *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* was performed during the coronation liturgy.

Evidence in support of this is found in papal ordinals that specifically note that after the singers ("cantores") have sung ("decantata") the Kyrie and Gloria, they are then to interpolate ("interpolata") a "cantilena" while the pontiff is engaged in other liturgical actions. That juncture occurs before the actual anointing by the pope that confers title on the recipient. In other words, at that point in the ceremony when the "cantilena" (in this case the motet) was being sung, Sigismund, King of the Romans, had yet to become the Holy Roman Emperor. I also offer evidence that the motet's texts, "for peace [and] for two great luminaries of the world," were entirely appropriate for that moment in the coronation liturgy.

THE FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES OF  
 BASIRON'S *L'HOMME ARMÉ* MASS

Jeffrey J. Dean  
 Royal Musical Association

The four-voice *L'homme armé* mass ascribed to "Philippon" (Philippe Basiron, c. 1450–1491), called "new" in 1484, has been fairly well known to scholars since its publication in score in 1948. But one of its most important features has gone undetected until now. I have discovered that its final section, Agnus Dei III, is for five voices, embodying a simultaneous retrograde canon on the "L'homme armé" melody. The Tenor part in the unique source, though necessary to the counterpoint, was added later to the manuscript by a different composer and a different scribe.

This discovery carries a number of far-reaching implications, three of which I shall discuss here. (1) The loss of a portion of the Tenor alone, not only in Philippon's *L'homme armé* mass but also in Tinctoris', unique to the same manuscript, implies that the transmission of polyphonic music in separate parts may have been much more common in the fifteenth century than hitherto imagined. I propose that this may have informed composers' decisions about the design of mass tenors. (2) Basiron's mass was extremely closely modeled on Du Fay's *L'homme armé* mass. I propose that Busnoys' *L'homme armé* was not uniquely authoritative in the fifteenth century, but shared authority with several other *L'homme armé* masses. (3) Philippon's mass appears to have been the earliest setting of the Ordinary of the Mass in which the number of voices is increased in the final Agnus Dei, a practice that eventually became ubiquitous (if not quite universal). The notation of Basiron's newly discovered retrograde canon sheds light on the well-known one in the final Agnus Dei of Josquin's mass *L'homme armé* "sexti toni."

ARGENTUM ET AURUM: HENRICUS ISAAC  
AND THE DIVINE ALCHEMY

Adam Knight Gilbert  
University of Southern California

In 1536, the humanist Othmar Luscinius cited a remarkable passage of dotted notes derived from a single motive in Isaac's *officio, Argentum et aurum*. As Martin Staehelin has noted, Luscinius undoubtedly refers to the Kyrie I of *Missa Argentum et aurum*, constructed on an antiphon from the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. In a circular triadic pattern derived from its chant model, four voices create a pseudo-mensuration canon in rhythmic proportions of 1:2:4:8 between the voices. This paper argues that the conceptual origins of this passage lie in combined traditions of theological, alchemical, and astrological symbolism.

The chant text of the mass quotes St. Peter (Acts 3:6), as he cures a lame beggar outside the temple gate. Just as Peter and the beggar enter the temple rejoicing, medieval and Renaissance popes ritually recreated this scene as part of the coronation ceremony, repeating Peter's words, "argentum et aurum non est mihi," while tossing coins in three directions, alluding to a complex rhetorical opposition of worldly and sacred wealth.

Although the Kyrie is in imperfect tempus, ubiquitous dots create visible but inaudible perfect tempus and prolation. The musical sign for imperfect tempus closely resembles the alchemical and astrological crescent-shaped sigil for silver and *luna*, the moon, while the circle-dot sign for perfect tempus and prolation corresponds precisely to the ancient sigil for gold and *sol*, the sun. Remarkably, the Kyrie of the mass sets only the two words of the chant "argentum et aurum." Isaac thus creates a musical representation of the chant text "silver and gold," mimicking the monetary sleight of hand of Sigismond of Tyrol's *Silver Gulden*, in which the weight of a silver coin equals a "gulden" of gold. Whether by coincidence or intention, he reenacts the wedding of the Sun and Moon, which in Hermetic tradition are conjoined by Mercury, in whose the sign the cross is prominent.

The theological implications of Isaac's curious musical emblem are illuminated in *Choralis Constantinus III*, specifically in his polyphonic paraphrase of the chant "Tu es Petrus," which sets the text "et super hanc petrum" to a fugal circle in imperfect tempus with dots of addition. This chant text (Matthew 16:18–19) refers to the moment when Christ builds his Church on the rock Peter, handing him keys to the kingdom of Heaven, a passage whose allusive qualities

offers Voragine's popular *Legenda aurea* opportunity for commentary on the four foundational stones of the Church and the perfection of gold.

## CIPRIANO DE RORE'S SETTING OF DIDO'S LAMENT: THE BEGINNING OF THE SECONDA PRATICA

Jessie Ann Owens  
University of California, Davis

Every student of music history encounters terms like "seconda pratica" or its cousin "contenance angloise." Musicologists use them as a short-hand for defining a period of music history or capturing features of musical style, and imbue them with a wide range of meanings. Seconda pratica is especially polyvalent, symbolizing just about any innovation of the seventeenth century, from rhythmic regularity to basso continuo. This supposedly novel and all-encompassing style is almost always associated with Monteverdi, who wrote about it at length and who occupies pride of place in most accounts of early modern vocal music.

The conventional focus on Monteverdi's music as a way to define seconda pratica neglects an important source that he himself identified. In 1607, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, amplifying his brother's statements, identified Cipriano de Rore as the founder of the second practice ("seconda pratica ebbe per primo rinnovatore ne' nostri caratteri il divino Cipriano Rore"), and explained that his brother "intends to make use of the principles taught by Plato and practiced by the divine Cipriano."

My paper argues that de Rore's setting of Dido's lament, written no later than 1559 and thus at least forty years before Monteverdi's famous statements, reveals precisely the features and strategies that Monteverdi would strive for in his new practice. A massive three-part composition for five, six and seven voices, *Dissimulare etiam sperasti* (*Aeneid* IV.305–319) presents a striking, almost textbook, example of the seconda pratica. Its text consists of a monologue in which Dido, in the classic manner of laments, passes through rage to grief in responding to the news of Aeneas' imminent departure. De Rore reworks Vergil's hexameter verses to heighten the drama of this speech, creating a form of *genere rappresentativo*. The newly created prose text (half again longer than the poetic text) is similar to Rinuccini's *Lamento d'Arianna* in its use of repetition, of structural crescendo, of dramatic outbursts. Using David Crook's concept of "normative tonal compass," we can see the subtle shifts in tonal palette that de Rore uses to portray the range of Dido's emotions. I argue that this dramatic representation of human emotion constitutes the true beginning of the seconda pratica.

The paper concludes by demonstrating Monteverdi's appreciation and even emulation of de Rore's strategies through a reading of his more famous *Lamento d'Arianna* against de Rore's lament of Dido. Seeing Cipriano de Rore as a more active protagonist in the story of the second practice challenges some of the most basic narratives of the history of seventeenth-century music and by extension of the origins of opera.

SCHUMANN AND MENDELSSOHN  
R. Larry Todd, Duke University, Chair

THE HORTICULTURAL AESTHETICS OF  
SCHUMANN'S *BLUMENSTÜCK*, OP. 19

Holly Watkins

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Discussions of Robert Schumann's little-known *Blumenstück* (Flower-Piece), a short piano work published in 1839, typically begin with apologies. Composed during Schumann's brief tenure in Vienna, the piece exhibits an accessible style perhaps geared to quick (and much-needed) sales. Suspicion of *Blumenstück* begins with Schumann himself; in various letters, he referred to the piece as "not very significant" and "delicate—for ladies." Recent writers, while recognizing that *Blumenstück* is hardly simple, tend to echo Schumann's judgments: Anthony Newcomb classes the piece as "a higher level of salon music"; John Daverio observes that the title inspires low expectations; and Erika Reiman, even after a revealing analysis, concludes that the work has "no pretensions to grandeur."

Schumann's apparent targeting of "ladies" as the consumers of *Blumenstück* helps to explain the discomfort stemming from its gendered title. Besides the long-standing trope of woman as flower, the title refers to flower-painting: in a letter to Clara from Vienna, Robert mentioned a number of small pieces he intended to name "'little *Blumenstücke*,' like one calls pictures." By the nineteenth century, flower-painting was a genre almost exclusively associated with women and, hence, little esteemed. Yet despite its domestic connotations, the flower also serves as a gateway to the metaphysical in Romantic discourse. Jean Paul's *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, for example, compares the flower's marriage of matter and spirit to that of metaphor. The dreaming artist in E. T. A. Hoffmann's tale *Ritter Gluck* listens to flowers singing in a valley, while the love-struck poet of Heinrich Heine's *Dichterliebe* (set by Schumann in 1840) hears flowers speaking in the garden. In an especially glowing review published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Schumann equated music, the "speech of flowers," and the "speech of the soul." How can we square the lofty poetics of the flower with the abject domesticity of artistic and musical "flower-pieces"?

This paper argues that the interplay between textural and melodic simplicity and formal inventiveness in *Blumenstück*—an example of the "dialectic of triviality and sublimity" Daverio finds in much of Schumann's music—gives voice to the dual trope of the flower in German Romantic culture. Wild and cultivated, feminine and masculine, natural and artificial, *Blumenstück* destabilizes familiar aesthetic categories. In response, I propose to outline an aesthetics of intermediacy inspired by horticulture, an aesthetics that celebrates the hybrid and the cultivar. *Blumenstück's* altered rondo form, in which tonal center and refrain are initially at odds, blurs the status of origins and organic development, bringing to mind the paradox Paul de Man locates in the Romantic desire for art to "originate like flowers" (Hölderlin). Natural objects like the flower possess an "intrinsic ontological primacy" in Romantic thought, argues de Man, yet the Romantic creator cannot access that transcendence: artworks must originate anew every time. Using this paradox to challenge organicism, I offer a horticultural mode of understanding Schumann's quasi-organic approach to form, his generic experiments, and music at home in either salon or imaginary museum.

THE VISUAL IMAGINATION OF A ROMANTIC SEASCAPE:  
MENDELSSOHN'S *HEBRIDES* OVERTURE REVISITED

Annett Richter  
University of Missouri, Columbia

The strong presence of a visual imagination in Mendelssohn's orchestral music has informed recent musicological writing in its pioneering attempt to unlock the programmatic content in the *Hebrides* (or *Fingal's Cave*) Overture. As Thomas Grey has suggested, Mendelssohn's *Hebrides* Overture lends itself to the identification of a "complex of visual impulses . . . that [characterize a] quintessential Mendelssohnian 'landscape' composition . . . with its masterful evocations of wind and wave, light and shade, and its play of subtly patterned textures." Grey's aligning of the visual aspects of the overture's middle section with Ossianic history paintings from the Napoleonic era makes his reading of the extra-musical content in this piece innovative. However, the relationship between the overture and these particular paintings seems to establish itself at best in their titles and in their presentation of historical figures. In addition, Grey's exploration of the visual narrative appears to be limited to the development of the overture as it evokes "a visionary, phantasmagoric battle scene." While the latter is a valuable conjecture, this paper argues that not only the middle but also the outer sections of the overture can be understood in reference to contemporary painting, specifically to British seascape painting.

Grey interprets the beginning and ending of *Fingal's Cave* as an uninhabited landscape surrounded by water—an image which does not vanish once the central "battle scene" begins. On the contrary, the presence of the sea in both the exposition and the recapitulation not only frames the visual narrative of the overture, but it takes on different moods and represents a powerful, fickle force of nature to which humankind is exposed in combat in the development section. Drawing upon pertinent works by J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), this paper establishes parallels between contemporary British seascape painting and Mendelssohn's overture, and casts new light on the context in which we might reinterpret the "battle scene." Moreover, Mendelssohn's own drawings and the letters he wrote to his family from his journey to Scotland in 1829—documents that merit more attention from a musicological point of view—become significant for rethinking the subject matter of this piece. Even though we might be inclined to hear the *Hebrides* Overture as a sounding evocation of the past and historical legends, the verbal and visual mementos from Mendelssohn's journey to the Scottish islands point instead to viewing the work as a realistic reflection of the collective impressions the composer gathered while traveling to and visiting the Hebrides by steamboat. The observations Mendelssohn repeatedly communicates here invest the overture with a subjective immediacy and actuality that strongly parallel Turner's paintings, particularly his *Staffa, Fingal's Cave*.

Through an iconographic reading of Mendelssohn's drawings (*View Towards the Hebrides, The Foot of Ben More, Falls of Moness*) and Turner's seascape paintings in close reference to the overture, this study suggests that it is not the "Ossianic manner" but rather the realistic and precarious nineteenth-century sea voyage that is central to the musical narrative in the *Hebrides* Overture.

## ROBERT SCHUMANN AND THE AGENCIES OF IMPROVISATION

Dana Gooley  
Brown University

During his student years (1827–31) Robert Schumann improvised avidly at the piano and developed some of his early compositions out of his spontaneous fantasies, to the delight of friends and audiences in Heidelberg and elsewhere. In his later years, by contrast, he advocated and strove for a mental approach to composition that implicitly critiqued the values of improvisation-fed composition. This paper takes a close look at Schumann's early improvisations, as evinced in his diaries and contemporary accounts, in order to reconstruct (to the limited extent possible) his improvisational practices, set them in the context of the virtuoso-composer tradition he aspired to be a part of, and examine traces of them in his early compositions. Traces of improvisation can be demonstrated for several early pieces (the Variations op. 5, the Toccata op. 7, the Allegro op. 8, and the F-sharp minor Sonata op. 11), but my main case study will be the finale of the Abegg variations op. 1, which is marked "alla Fantasia." Musicologists have tended to rely on stylistic markers of the free fantasia in identifying improvisational influence (especially in the case of the Fantasia op. 17), but improvisation was a far more generalized practice among pianist-composers and could manifest in a wide range of genres and forms. The Abegg finale, though containing no traces of the free fantasia, bears several marks of "postclassical" improvisation, such as the recurrent dominant pedal tone, the multiple reiterations of a simple chord progression, and the near-total lack of melodic or motivic content in favor of figuration. The finale is also set in the fast triple-pulse meter that Schumann demonstratively gravitated toward in his early improvising.

The latter part of the paper examines Schumann's eventual renunciation of improvisation as part of his gradual self-identification as a "composer." Whereas the roles of composer and improvising performer were essentially united in figures such as Hummel and Moscheles, whom Schumann admired immensely in the 1820s, the influence of the ideology of *Bildung* produced a "sorting out" of these functions so that improvisation and composition, process and product, came increasingly to be seen as antithetical. Schumann not only absorbed this ideology but also played a leading role in articulating its implications for the musical world in journalism. I historicize the developing critique of improvisation by drawing parallels to Hans Christian Andersen's breakthrough novel *The Improviser* (1835). The novel's hero is a gifted young poetic improviser who learns, after a long period of wandering and experimentation, that he must transcend the frivolous entertainment of salon patrons by channeling his extemporaneous talent toward public and productive ends. Schumann articulated similar values when he dismissed certain early piano works as "too small and too rhapsodic to make any great impact."

## HOME AND ALONE: CHILDREN'S MUSIC AS POETICS OF EXILE

Roe-Min Kok  
McGill University

Spatial allusions are embedded in the imaginative titles of Schumann's instrumental music (Hoeckner 1997, Jost 1989), perhaps most densely and consistently in his works for children. Probed beyond the surface, references to seasonal rites (winter evenings by the hearth, Sylvester), mythic figures of yore (Knecht Ruprecht, Haschemann, Sheherazade) and musical genres

(Lied, Romanze, Melodie) point conspicuously to one space in particular: the bourgeois home. Co-mingled with the ideology of family, the home was integral in the early romantic era to a paradigmatic sense of selfhood, belonging and identity, but also to experiences of exile, departure and loss (Chaudhuri 1997). In Deleuze's and Guattari's haunting observation, "Now we are at home. But home does not preexist: it was necessary to draw a circle around that uncertain and fragile center." (2002).

This paper argues that children's music by Schumann is permeated with a complex and contradictory discourse of home. Critics (Kok 2006; Appel 1994, 1998) have noted links between the lives of the Schumann children and titles in *Album für die Jugend*, yet no one has addressed domestic space as the overarching framework under which the majority of titles in the *Album* and other works—*Kinderszenen*, *Lieder-Album für die Jugend*, and *Zwölf vierhändige Klavierstücke für kleine und grosse Kinder*—fall. The degree to which the idea of home is de-literalized in these works invites analysis and contemplation. As I show in several case studies, home is not always a concrete, static entity; it may also be a discursive field laid out in such a way as to dramatize emotionally a sense of psychological homelessness.

Exilic consciousness underlies the narrative arc of *Kinderszenen*, for instance. The copious correspondence between Schumann and Clara Wieck in 1838 about *Kinderszenen*, composed while she was away in Vienna, speaks of their desire to "belong" emotionally, to form a domestic unit together. Like the Child she once told him he was, he donned children's garb and dashed off "thirty neat little things" from which he chose "twelve" [*sic*] for her. Yet already in the first of these, "Of Strange Lands and People," spatial stability is disrupted, communicating, through an image of static exilic consciousness, his homesickness for her all the way from Leipzig. Towards the cycle's end, after what Schumann described as a series of "adventures," the Child falls into slumber (no. 12). Unlike lullabies bounded by spatial security, this lullaby deconstructs what might otherwise be a sentimentalized authentic homecoming with accented syncopations, unusually low registral timbres, and an unstable final sonority (minor subdominant). Ultimately, the couple's imagined home is banished to the realm of myth, for in no. 13, "The Poet Speaks" not once, not twice, but as fairy-tale hero/ines do: thrice, with two varied repetitions of the opening statement.

Engaging the trope of home across the four works cited above fruitfully reveals that in Schumann's musical discourse, the concept "child" encoded physical spaces yearned for, in which unresolved feelings about belonging and legitimacy, conflict and loss were repeatedly played out, negotiated, and transformed.

## SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AMS: WHY NOW IS THE TIME FOR ECOMUSICOLOGY

Sponsored by the Ecocriticism Study Group

Aaron S. Allen, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, Chair  
Mitchell Morris, University of California, Los Angeles, Keynote  
Suzannah Clark, Harvard University, Respondent  
Emily Doolittle, Cornish College, Respondent  
Helmi Järviluoma, University of Eastern Finland, Respondent  
Thomas Peattie, Boston University, Respondent

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the AMS is an opportune time to reflect on the objectives, tasks, and social responsibilities of the musicological community. In this spirit, the Ecocriticism Study Group (ESG) will probe the significance and relevance of ecomusicology, i.e. the intellectual and practical connections between the studies of music, nature, and culture. The growing interest in music and ecology is hardly surprising, considering that environmental concerns are and have been a focus in public discourse, the sciences, and the humanities. While past ESG panels have emphasized pluralistic perspectives and approaches to ecomusicology, the format of this session will be somewhat different: a keynote lecture, preceded by an introduction and followed by a panel response. Thereafter will follow what promises to be a constructive and lively discussion aiming to clarify—but perhaps even further confounding—the sub-discipline of ecomusicology.

Mitchell Morris' keynote, "Ecologies of Mind, Economies of Desire," will explore the parallels between ecomusicology and gender/sexuality studies in music, two areas that have contributed to significant transformations in musicology over the last few decades. To address and contribute to the varying interpretations and disputes in these fields, Morris will outline their shared features, such as: 1) enquiry that balances aesthetic and epistemological concerns with ethical questions; 2) commitment to expanding the range of subject positions and situated bodies of knowledge that receive disciplinary endorsement; and 3) a willingness to recognize the contingencies and potential ephemerality of the life of mind and art.

Aaron Allen's introduction, "A Brief History of Ecomusicology," will contextualize both ecomusicology and Morris' paper. He will provide a brief historiographical sketch of various instances of ecomusicology, ranging from distant historical attempts to more recent creative and academic initiatives (including the ESG), and then outline some challenges facing ecomusicology. After Morris' keynote, four distinguished scholars will provide position statements and responses to the previous perspectives. Theorist Suzannah Clark's interest in ecocriticism pertains to how tonal theorists have used ideas of nature to construct tonality and explain the rudiments of music. Composer and biomusic researcher Emily Doolittle explores the relationship between bird and other animal songs and human music by drawing on tools from biology, philosophy, and anthropology as well as music. Ethnomusicologist Helmi Järviluoma is interested in gender/sexuality and popular music studies and is also a leading figure in acoustic ecology and soundscape studies. Musicologist Thomas Peattie's recent research focuses on Gustav Mahler's conception of nature from the perspective of fin-de-siècle urban culture. Together, the six scholars involved in this session represent many of the areas of musicological inquiry, both traditional—e.g., anthropology, composition, history, music theory,

philosophy—and cutting edge: biology, cultural studies, ecology, environmental studies, and gender/sexuality studies.

The goals of this session are to offer perspectives on the contemporary state of ecomusicology and demonstrate its timeliness and possibilities, to provide a framework for further interrogating the methods and goals of music scholarship, and to imagine future possibilities for research in a flourishing sub-discipline that has taken root within the history of the AMS.

## STAGINGS

**Philip Gossett, University of Chicago, Chair**

### MOZART'S THEATER AND ITS ITALIAN CONTEMPORARIES: *LA CLEMENZA DI TITO* IN PRAGUE AND TURIN

Margaret Butler  
University of Florida

The impresario Domenico Guardasoni, who put together Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* for Prague's Nostitzsches Nationaltheater, operated according to the conventions of a long-standing managerial tradition that governed impresarial theaters in the eighteenth century. Turin's Teatro Regio operated under a very different managerial system, one that reflected its hybrid character as both a court and a public theater. In Turin, a group of nobles functioned as a collective impresario, making production decisions collaboratively. Metastasio's libretto for *La clemenza di Tito* was one of Turin's favorites, receiving three settings there during the century, twice before and once after Mozart set Caterino Mazzola's revision of the popular libretto in 1791 (1739 by Giuseppe Arena; 1759 by Baldassare Galuppi; 1797 by Bernardino Ottani).

Production practices at the respective theaters significantly influenced their settings of *La clemenza di Tito*. This paper examines aspects of the production process and managerial models of the two theaters and their implications for musical style. It compares factors such as the recruiting and hiring of personnel, the place of each work within its theatrical season, the time frames for rehearsals, the role of finances and need for profit, and the dynamic interplay among the impresarios (single and collective), sovereigns, audiences, performers, and composers in each theater. Newly discovered extensive manuscript additions to a copy of the Turin libretto for Galuppi's 1759 setting reveal significant alterations (changes going beyond customary revisions of Metastasian librettos) that revise our understanding of the shape of the work as actually performed at the Teatro Regio. Evidence from a manuscript score of Galuppi's setting that bears the hands of the Turin copyists, which has not yet been thoroughly studied, further enhances our view of the work's content.

Following Franco Piperno's analysis of organizational and administrative models of eighteenth-century theaters, and by comparing new evidence from the Turin libretto and score to Mozart's opera as explored by John Rice, Sergio Durante, and others, this paper demonstrates the extent to which the theaters in Prague and Turin as institutions influenced their widely divergent settings of Metastasio's libretto. Daniel Hertz, in his seminal essay "Mozart and His Italian Contemporaries," demonstrated that we can learn much about Mozart by inserting him into a musical context; playing on Hertz's title, I argue that the same holds true for the theatrical context in which he and his contemporaries functioned.

RECOMPOSING MONTEVERDI: ERNST KRENEK'S  
*L'INCORONAZIONE DI POPPEA*

Benjamin Thorburn  
Yale University

In 1936, Ernst Krenek produced an adaptation of Monteverdi's *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* for a repertory company known as the Salzburg Opera Guild to perform on its tour of the United States the following year. In its first professional performances in the U.S., Monteverdi's last opera was presented in a form quite different from that given in its surviving sources, with a reduced cast of characters, two acts rather than three, and Krenek's freely contrapuntal elaboration of the score for modern orchestra. In his review for the *New York Times*, Olin Downes declared that "a musical antiquarian would be likely to condemn this scoring lock, stock and barrel," though the performance as a whole earned his praise. While Krenek revered Monteverdi's music for its psychological expressivity, he sought to improve on the weaknesses he saw in Busenello's libretto by eliminating scenes and characters that he deemed inessential to the dramatic action. Key events such as the attempted murder of Poppea were altered, and in certain places Krenek composed new text. In sum, his revisions surpass the task of a practical adaptation and amount to a dramatic and musical reshaping of the opera.

Using the musical score as written artifact, I consider how Krenek's revisions affect our interpretation of the drama, especially in the characters of Seneca and Drusilla, both of whom recent scholarship has regarded as central to the opera's morality. Through his writings on the adaptation, I show that Krenek's reconception of the roles of Drusilla and Poppea reflects the ideal of the "eternal feminine" that prevailed in Viennese literary circles of his time. I also place Krenek's *Incoronazione* in relation to the strands of political crisis and controversy in his career. It occupies a position between two critical events: in 1934, the politically motivated cancellation of the premiere of his anti-nationalist opera *Karl V*, and the annexation of Austria in 1938, which precipitated his emigration to America. Elements of *Incoronazione* resonate with the later opera *Pallas Athene weint* (1952–55), to Krenek's own libretto. Set at the decline of Athens, it is a political parable in which Socrates, a lone voice of reason and morality not unlike Seneca, is sentenced to death by a tyrannical ruler.

That such a forward-looking composer as Krenek would take an interest in Monteverdi may be surprising, but it is far from unique. As a composer who edited or adapted Monteverdi's works, he stands among many others including D'Indy, Malipiero, Orff, Dallapiccola, Henze, and Berio, all of whom sought in some way to move forward by looking to the past. This paper thus will situate Krenek's adaptation within this broader context of Monteverdi's twentieth-century reception.

REPRODUCING OPERA: EMERGENT  
MEANINGS IN JANÁČEK ON STAGE

Jennifer Sheppard  
University of California, Berkeley

Recently, the most exciting productions of operas have attracted attention by rebelling against established ideas of the opera's text and stagings—Peter Sellars' New York settings of Mozart operas are just one example among many. Likewise, the most stimulating developments in opera criticism have been in the area of performance, where a much-needed

sharpening of opera-production theory has formed around such extraordinary re-stagings. This focus on performance is a welcome one, particularly for opera, where the visual component is of no less importance than the aural. Yet the nearly exclusive attention on extraordinary productions and a concomitant valorization of the provocative is troubling. Such selectivity, particularly when founded on loaded criteria such as “strong” and “innovative” runs the risk of creating more “great works” or “great men” narratives.

This paper will seek to redress some of the problems with current methodologies for studying opera productions, illustrated by examples drawn from productions of Leoš Janáček's *Káťa Kabanová*. My thinking on this subject has been filtered through work on Janáček's operas which, I have found, fit uneasily into existing models of opera studies. Unlike the Italian, German, and French operas that form the canon of opera criticism, Janáček's were notoriously slow starters. Only the premieres of his last few operas could be considered important musical events and even then only within the Czech Republic. Works such as *The Makropulos Case* and *From the House of the Dead* have acquired significance in international opera houses only relatively recently. The unusual relationship these pieces have with the operatic performance canon required developing new approaches to their study. First, I propose supplementing any examination of opera production with the very different information reception history provides. Alone, neither production nor reception can completely represent the impact of performance: on the one hand, the visual traces of productions, particularly those pre-dating video recording, are frustratingly ephemeral; on the other, the written texts that usually comprise reception history tell only part of the story. Bringing the two together can fill in some of the pieces missing in either alone. Second, the myopic effect caused by focusing on single productions should be countered: as Gundula Kreuzer has recently argued, studies of newer productions often lack historical perspective. Thus I suggest along with Kreuzer that the chronological purview of any such study be radically expanded to include stagings from the premiere up to recent years. Lastly, I suggest a shift in focus from difference to sameness. Reception histories in music have typically concentrated on changes in a work's meaning as indicators of shifts in broader historical, social, or political contexts. The problem with looking exclusively for difference is that a work's meanings may become so unstable as to render them meaningless. Tracing sameness or, to borrow from Jan Broeckx, “residual layers of receptional insight” through the history of an opera's production and reception not only reintroduces stability through continuously regenerated meanings of the work, but also provides us with new insights.

## LIVE OPERA ON SCREEN: TEXTUALIZATION AND LIVENESS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Emanuele Senici

University of Rome La Sapienza

About thirty years after the arrival of VHS and ten after DVD, the consumption of opera now takes place mostly on screen. In some ways, we can see this as a democratizing move: many more spectators have access to a production on video than could see the same production live. But this recontextualization also affords new modes of viewing and consumption that deserve to be considered by contemporary scholarship. In this paper, I ask how the perception and reception of “live” performance can be reconfigured by video, and in what ways it is distinct from the opera films and studio recordings that have been the subject of previous

scholarship. How is the “liveness” of staged spectacle shaped by the mediation of the camera’s eye and the new conditions of viewing it affords?

I begin by examining the different media through which live opera has been disseminated on screen: television, VHS, DVD, and the recent so-called “HD live simulcast” to movie theaters. After comparing their modes of consumption, I focus on DVD as by far the most popular medium at the present time. Drawing on the work of theater scholars, I reflect on the “textualization” of live performance effected by the digital medium, and the impact of this textualization on the interaction between spectator and recorded performance. To name just one significant aspect, the segmentation into “chapters” of a DVD is bound to influence the structural perception of the opera in question.

In the second part of the paper I discuss video recordings of live performances in the context of what are usually considered the other categories of opera on screen, opera films and studio production. Examination of the criteria according to which these categories have been established reveals how the type of medium (film, TV, video) usually constitutes the starting point, followed by mode and process of production. I suggest possible additional and perhaps alternative criteria, first among them the degree to which any given video recording acknowledges the conditions of performance. Next, I examine the different modes of perception encouraged by different directorial and commercial strategies in this respect. In the case of live performances, their liveness emerges, perhaps surprisingly, as a by no means undisputed value, some video recordings ignoring it altogether.

Finally, I explore how the consumption of live opera on screen is shaped by the different visual, cultural, and social contexts in which video recordings are produced, distributed, and viewed. My hypotheses are tested through a comparative look at the DVDs of two productions of Rossini’s *La pietra del paragone*, both released in 2008: Pier Luigi Pizzi’s for the Teatro Real, Madrid, and Giorgio Barberio Corsetti and Yannick Sorin’s for the Théâtre du Châtelet, Paris. Different productions of the same opera are seen through—or, better, shaped by—videos that invoke diverging filmic traditions, thus pointing toward different aesthetic and interpretive directions.

## WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH

**Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Ohio State University, Chair**

### “MORE MUSIC FOR THE KINOHALLE!”: JÓZEF KROPIŃSKI’S COMPOSITIONS FROM BUCHENWALD CONCENTRATION CAMP

Barbara Milewski  
Swarthmore College

Josef Kropiński was one of the most prolific composers in the Nazi concentration camps. From the time of his transport to Buchenwald in March 1943, until his last days there in April 1945, Kropiński—a violinist, music teacher, and choral conductor before World War II—composed over a hundred original works in a wide range of styles and genres, including songs, marches, character pieces, dances, orchestral and chamber works, operetta, and an opera. (He also created nearly four hundred arrangements of previously composed music.) Most of these works were intended for performances staged by camp inmates in the Kinohalle (the camp cinema) between the end of 1943 and the spring of 1945, with approval from the SS command.

A smaller number of Kropiński's compositions were written solely for the pleasure of his closest friends and performed clandestinely in the barracks.

Kropiński himself smuggled approximately 120 of these works out of the camp, carrying them with him during a forced death march; these eventually made their way to various archives in Poland, Germany, and the U.S. after the war. Yet despite the value of this music to an understanding of the cultural life of Buchenwald camp, and twentieth-century Polish musical culture more broadly, Kropiński and his music remain virtually unknown to scholars today.

In this paper, I will bring to light a selection of Kropiński's compositions and explore their genesis, style and performance contexts. I will consider the conditions that fostered Kropiński's astonishing creativity in Buchenwald, and his subsequent total withdrawal from musical composition after the war. I will also compare Kropiński's musical activities to those of prisoners in other Nazi camps who turned to music as a form of psychological escape and survival. By doing so, I wish to demonstrate that music making in the camps, although to date almost exclusively represented by materials and testimonies from the "so-called" model camp, Terezin, was a much more widespread phenomenon than most scholars realize. An examination of Kropiński's music thus offers the opportunity to consider the similar coping strategies that various prisoners turned to despite differing circumstances of imprisonment at the hands of the Nazis.

## SIBELIUS AND THE SS

Timothy Jackson  
University of North Texas

There is, even among "serious" scholars, a strong tendency to excuse, even suppress and falsify, information about heroes, especially those who, like the internationally famous Finnish composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), have inspired a small country like Finland (with all too few gods in its Pantheon). Looking through the biographies and works lists of famous and not-so-famous twentieth-century composers in the *Grove Dictionary*—and even the new German music encyclopedia *MGG* (not to mention the old *MGG*)—frequently does not tell the real story of what they did—and did not—do during those infamous twelve years 1933–1945. But if we assume that Propaganda Minister Goebbels was correct that the artist had to take a position vis-à-vis the National Socialist revolution, then it is unlikely that Sibelius could remain "unpolitical." Drawing upon a wide range of previously unknown sources, primarily drawn from German archives, the paper cites documents showing that Sibelius himself was not a passive "unpolitical" observer but an enthusiastic, active proponent of the political use of his music by the Nazi regime. There are many indicators of Sibelius's sympathetic attitude to Nazism and the SS. After the Nazis assumed power in 1933 and the wind was blowing from a different direction, Sibelius repeatedly broke his promise to assist the half-Jewish composer Gunther Raphael (1903–1960), even though he was the grandson of his esteemed teacher Albert Becker, falsely claiming that he never wrote recommendations. The tendentiousness of Sibelius's excuse is shown by the fact that he did provide references for the SS conductor Dr. Helmuth Thierfelder (1897–1966) in 1938, which helped him to assume the directorship of the Lower Saxony Symphony Orchestra that year, and continued to collaborate with Thierfelder throughout the war. The normally highly-reclusive Sibelius allowed himself to be interviewed in his home by SS war reporter Anton Kloss in mid-1942, and Kloss's interview resulted in various publications in 1942 and '43. Of special interest are Kloss's activities up to the time of

the interview, since tracing his career in the SS affords insight into the kinds of experiences that he brought to the discussion of current affairs with Sibelius. During the year when Kloss had been based in Radom, i.e., from November 1939 to December 1940, the SS Death's Head units operating in the rear of the regular army were responsible for torturing and murdering huge numbers of the Polish intelligentsia, Catholic clergy, aristocrats, as well as Jews. Kloss's particular unit—the Eleventh SS Death's Head Standard—became notorious and was singled out for special blame by General Blaskowitz in a written complaint to Hitler, later used as evidence in the Nuremberg trials. Additionally, the paper will reproduce bank records from the Deutsche Bank in Berlin disclosing that Sibelius remained on the Nazi payroll right up until the end of the war: he was even prepared to put aside growing moral qualms about Nazi anti-Semitism in order to continue to receive substantial sums. If several generations of post-war historians and musicologists have behaved as sanitizers—collectors of the detritus of history—so that nothing should mar pristine images of musical heroes, the task of this paper is to present the truth about Sibelius's actions and let listeners draw their own conclusions.

## WILLIS CONOVER MEETS POLISH JAZZ: COLD WAR CULTURAL POLITICS AND THE BIRTH OF AN EASTERN AVANT-GARDE

Zbigniew Granat

Nazareth College of Rochester

The story of Polish jazz offers a fascinating glimpse into the reception and transformation of American jazz on the East side of the Iron Curtain. This process began with an extensive imitation of American models, which in this part of Europe was hampered by censorship and other restraints imposed by socialist regimes. In the same way that secret tunnels built under the Berlin Wall—as depicted in the Roland Richter movie *Der Tunnel* (2001)—symbolized for East Berliners the roads to freedom, Willis Conover's radio program *Jazz Hour* broadcast by the Voice of America represented the main channel through which “the music of freedom” unabashedly traveled across the borders to all corners of the Eastern Bloc. This unusual form of jazz education was instrumental in the development of many different European styles of jazz.

This paper focuses on the intersections of political and artistic influences, both foreign and domestic, which contributed to the creation of the Polish jazz idiom. In the mid-1950s Poland functioned as a meeting place of two politically opposed trends: the American propaganda that used jazz as a “secret sonic weapon” to promote the superiority of the West, and the socialist propaganda, which, as early as 1955, officially embraced jazz in an effort to project a progressive image to the outside world. This relatively open political climate created an environment in which artists such as Krzysztof Komeda, Tomasz Stańko, and Andrzej Trzaskowski could recast the received brand of American jazz as an experimental art music combining free jazz, avant-garde techniques of composition, and Polish folk music. This unique style of free jazz, paralleled by similar radical developments in Polish art music of the 1960s, played crucial roles in the shaping of Poland's modern cultural identity defined by the country's unique position between the East and the West.

OPPOSING THE HYBRIDS: NICOLAS NABOKOV, ALAIN  
DANIÉLOU, AND THE MUSICAL COLD WAR

Harm Langenkamp  
Utrecht University

In the spring of 1961, Tokyo provided the stage for what was announced as “a confrontation of unprecedented breadth and significance in the history of music”: the “East-West Music Encounter.” Organized as a conference-festival, nearly a hundred composers, musicologists and music critics from Western Europe, the United States, and various parts of Asia discussed problems of cross-cultural understanding and contemporary musical life during the day, and by night reveled in high-profile performances of, among others, the New York Philharmonic, the NHK Symphony Orchestra, and prominent interpreters of Indian, Thai, Korean, and Japanese traditional music. The driving spirit behind the Encounter was Nicolas Nabokov, composer and secretary-general of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), a worldwide coalition of intellectuals united from across a broad political spectrum in a network of committees and institutions which had been founded in the early 1950s with the stated aim of defending artistic and intellectual freedom against totalitarian oppression, and which would be exposed in the mid-1960s as a CIA instrument designed to lure non-aligned intellectuals away from the blandishments of Soviet-style Communism.

Predicated on the conviction that “the preservation of the various traditional systems of music” had become a “world problem,” the conference adopted an outline of what would become the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies. Founded in 1963—with support from the Ford Foundation—in the enclave of the “free world,” West Berlin, and led by one of Nabokov’s creative partners, the Indologist Alain Daniélou, the Institute devoted its resources to the study of “the practical means of integrating the musical achievements of Asian and African cultures into world culture” in an effort to oppose “the influence of hybrid forms of music” that (supposedly) constituted a threat to “the continuation and preservation of authentic traditions.”

Based on archival research and the correspondence between Nabokov and Daniélou, this paper discusses the troublesome gestation of the Encounter and the Institute against the political background of the late 1950s and early 1960s: the global competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for the allegiance of decolonizing nations in Asia and Africa, the foundation of the Non-Aligned Movement led by India, and a wave of anti-American demonstrations in Japan. The CCF’s investment in musico-cultural preservation will be interpreted as a strategy to win over the intelligentsia of what in 1952 had been coined the “Third World” for the “First World.” Subsequently, it will be argued that this strategy emerged from a general concern for what many CCF members saw as the threat of “middlebrow culture,” the type of media which emphatically encouraged accessibility and hybridization, and which was, therefore, much to the distress of Nabokov, deployed by the Eisenhower administration for its cultural diplomacy programs. By considering the various, and at times conflicting, agendas held by participants, institutions, and sponsors engaged in “East meets West” events, this study aims to contribute to the wider debate on both enabling and disabling tensions of globalization that to a large extent emanated from Cold War ideology and taste politics.

*Friday evening, 13 November*

**DEBATING MUSICAL IDENTITY: SHIFTS IN AESTHETIC  
UNDERSTANDINGS IN MEXICO FROM THE  
SEVENTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**  
**Leonora Saavedra, University of California, Riverside, Chair**

Sponsored by the Hispanic Study Group

Recently, scholars have suggested that we should no longer consider narratives of musical style as alluding to a crystallized set of essential morphological and formal attributes of music that become passively adopted by people in different geographical regions. Rather, they advocate for an understanding of style as an organizational principle that is in dialectical relationship with institutional frameworks, and that is influenced by social, political, and economic factors that produce unique ideological and aesthetic claims to narratives of representation in cultural processes. In this regard, music is understood as a structured form of sensibility in which style acquires cultural value and meaning. Under this rubric, style offers an opportunity to analyze how the adaptation and transformation of European semiotic models in Mexico is relevant to issues of hegemonic anxiety due to shifts in centers of power, colonial desire, and the modern rise of the nation, among other themes. In the first part of this session, the panel will analyze institutions, specifically the church and the state, and their influence on social perceptions and meanings. While it is true that the socio-cultural narratives associated with these institutions do not explain completely the wide spectrum of colonial social experience, the structures of social and political organization that they forged, nonetheless, had a decisive impact in the construction of colonial aesthetic sensibilities. In the second part of the session, the panel will explore how the embrace of institutionalized approaches to more a cosmopolitan music aesthetic inspired individuals to articulate models of identity according to an imagined sense of “Mexicanness.” The presentations in this session contribute in an important way to the historical analysis of musical constructions of identity in Mexico as they broadly encompass four major periods in Mexican history: the Habsburg period, the Bourbon period, the nineteenth century leading up to post-independence, and contemporary Mexico.

**NEGOTIATING DIFFERENCE: IGNACIO DE JERUSALEM AND  
HABSBURG CONFSSIONALISM AT THE CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO**

Jesus A. Ramos-Kittrell  
Southern Methodist University

On August 3, 1759, on the heels of a heated controversy, Ignacio de Jerusalem became the first Italian chapel master at the cathedral of Mexico. This constituted a turning point in the cathedral’s musical life, as it signaled the incursion of an all-pervasive Baroque Italianness into a Neo-Hispanic religious institution. For ecclesiastical authorities and musicians, Jerusalem’s arrival represented a clash of aesthetic ideologies. The Italian composer became the center of a debate about what constituted true knowledge and proficiency in music. Above all else, the

Hispanic clergy was concerned about hiring someone alien to Hispanic aesthetic sensibility, and especially somebody who was Italian.

In spite of the attention that music from the New World has received in recent years, the colonial repertoire of the Americas (and of Spain, for that matter) continues to be neglected in the canon of music history. One of the best known reasons for such neglect relates to the “dark legend of the Counter-Reformation” according to which Spain remained stubbornly rooted in medieval thought and opposed to the stylistic changes that emerged in Italy and spread to other parts of Europe during the Baroque period. Nevertheless, if we consider the critical tension created by attempts to reconcile religious principles of socio-political order with the spread of secular rationalist ideologies in early modernity, then the Hispanic position emerges as not simply retrograde, but rather as a legitimate cultural response to the historical context of the time.

Scholars have proposed a stylistic consensus in the Baroque that is derived from two of the most important trends of the period: the consolidation of absolutism and the rise of the national state. The fact that scholars consider polyphonic and polychoral practices the basis of Hispanic musical identity in this period alludes to the importance given to style as a reflection of the political and cultural character of the early modern period. The controversy surrounding the appointment of Ignacio de Jerusalem as chapel master of the cathedral of Mexico likewise serves to illustrate how confessionalization of cultural difference can reflect socio-political structures, and how sensitive musical practices are to the ideological and aesthetic battles waged in the political arena of musical style.

## THE POLITICS OF MUSICAL STYLE AND THE STYLE OF MUSICAL POLITICS IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MEXICO CITY

Dianne Lehmann  
Northwestern University

There are few watershed moments in the history of music where one may detect a noticeable change between musical styles. However, the year 1750 is one such moment in the history of Novohispanic music. In November of that year an Italian, Ignacio de Jerusalem y Stella, was officially hired as chapel master at the Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral, thus inaugurating the *galant* epoch in Mexico. The change in style was dramatic, and felt as soon as Jerusalem started composing for the services. A short six years later, a new immigrant composer arrived in the capital. When Matheo Andrés Tollis de la Rocca y López applied for a job at the Mexico City Cathedral, he was admitted—without the usual *examen de oposición*—ostensibly as Jerusalem’s assistant. Interestingly, Tollis de la Rocca did not typically refer to himself as being affiliated with the Cathedral, but was the one commissioned to write Queen María Barbará’s Requiem mass in 1759, among other works. The two composers’ music was similar in style, though there were slight variations. The main difference between these two men and their situations within the *capilla* was their nationality and political backing. Most scholars make the understandable mistake of assuming Tollis de la Rocca was Italian; in fact he often spelled his name in an Italian way. In truth, he was Spanish, originally from Madrid, and had political backing from the recently-installed viceregal couple, especially the *virreina* María de Ahumada y Vera, thus insuring Tollis a place in the musical establishment of the capital.

The purpose of this paper is to unpack and examine the tense and sometimes hostile relationship between these two composers through the problematic lens of stylistic identity. The

use of this lens is particularly tricky when dealing with the mid-eighteenth century because of the homogenization and internationalization of the Neapolitan *galant* style. This lens was negatively employed by Robert Stevenson in his *Music in Mexico*. It was his view that “Ignacio Jerusalem . . . carried into the cathedral the vapid inanities of Italian opera at its worst.” However, one can no longer say that Mexico was invaded by “second-rate” Italians who brought the operatic style into the cathedral, and that the effect was only reversed with the hiring of Spaniard and more conservative composer Antonio de Juanas. No: this *galant* style had been subsumed into Spanish musical culture by the mid-eighteenth century and brought to Mexico City by both an Italian and a Spaniard, thus becoming truly internationalized. Indeed, it can be argued that the Neapolitan style transcended the Spanish/Italian identity.

## MEXICAN MUSICAL IDENTITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A CONTEXTUAL APPRECIATION OF JOSÉ ANTONIO GÓMEZ

John Lazos

Université de Montréal

In 1821, after three centuries of Spanish dominion, the newly formed Mexican nation anticipated better times ahead. Instead its political landscape was one of social upheavals, constantly changing governments, foreign invasions, civil wars and the loss of half its territory. In the middle of this period of turmoil the confrontation between Church and State continued until the proclamation of the Laws of Reformation of 1857. José Antonio Gómez y Olguín (1805–1876), widely referred to in the music literature as one of the most important nineteenth-century Mexican musicians, lived through these years. Gómez’s works, including theoretical treatises, methods and compositions, are dispersed throughout several Mexican archives including eighty located at the Mexico City Cathedral, where he served as first organist from the 1820s to 1865. Part of my current Gómez research focuses on this historical period wherein political and religious conflicts seem to overwhelm all aspects of cultural life.

This paper examines Gómez’s participation in the construction of Mexican identity using three examples: two compositions and one historical reference. The first work dates from 1823 by a young and idealistic composer. The *Pieza Histórica sobre la Independencia de la Nación Mexicana* is a programmatic work that praises the political figure of Agustín de Iturbide, a former hero of the Independent movement whose downfall was to declare himself the first Emperor of Mexico. It was not until 1843 that Gómez presented this composition to the public through biweekly publications, although its circulation came to an abrupt end with a change of government. Relatively little is known of this musical work and its reception. The *Variaciones sobre el tema del jarabe mexicano*, written for the piano in 1841, is by contrast to the *Pieza Histórica* Gómez’s most well-known piece. It is considered to be the first composition in Mexico for the concert stage based on a popular theme. The jarabe had in fact been outlawed by the Church late in the eighteenth century because of its provocative rhythms. As a symbol of defiance, this popular dance became associated with the Independence movement.

To date Gómez’s most recognized contribution to Mexican music history was his appointment to the National Anthem Committee. In 1854 President Santa Anna opened a competition to select a national anthem to accompany a prescribed text. As head of the Anthem Committee, Gómez was responsible for having established one of the three central Mexican symbols. Mexican music from the early nineteenth century is practically unknown. Existing scholarship and music histories include entries for Gómez. To date most of them are incomplete and

address neither his varied musical career nor his significant contributions to Mexican music. Gómez's contribution is a key factor to an understanding of this period.

## “MEXICAN ESSENCE” AND THE COSMOPOLITAN IDEAL IN THE MUSIC OF MARIO LAVISTA

Ana Alonso-Minutti  
University of North Texas

During the second half of the twentieth century a group of composers, most of them students of Carlos Chávez, consciously avoided nationalist models that had been carried over from the time of the Revolution through the 1960s. This generation, labeled “post-nationalist” or “transition” generation, questioned nationalist principles while aiming towards musical internationalism. This departure from nationalist tendencies was a drastic move, since Mexican music was starting to be labeled outside the country precisely because of its perceived “Mexicanness.” This break brought with it a reevaluation of *lo mexicano*, which was reflected in the conscious omission of any folkloric material, or any “national” traits, and the appropriation of both European and American avant-garde techniques, such as serialism and indeterminacy. An ideal construction of a Mexican self was promulgated by a circle of intellectuals and artists of which Octavio Paz and Rufino Tamayo were some of its main proponents. During the 1950s, Paz was redefining “Mexicanness” while pursuing a broad internationalism that benefited many artists from the younger generation, among them composer Mario Lavista (b. 1943).

Lavista initiated his public career with a free twelve-tone composition. The use of serialism not only guaranteed immediate recognition, but also opened the door for Lavista to achieve internationalism. The French government granted him a scholarship from 1967 to '69 to study in Paris, where he continued exploring serialism, as well as *musique concrète*, electronic music, and open forms. The appropriation of avant-garde techniques, according to Lavista, was an exploratory phase on the way to finding his “own” voice. I would add that subscribing to European avant-garde models was necessary in order for him to enter the circle of artists pursuing universality. Even though Lavista's music does not show conscious borrowings from Mexican popular or folk music, the composer creates, in the form of paratexts and extra-musical associations, his own imaginary sense of *lo mexicano*. In public interviews his response to issues pertaining to “Mexican identity” are commonly resolved in the fact that, for him, his music is Mexican in so far as he *is* Mexican. But close examination of his music reveals a more complex response. How is this Mexican “essence” constructed? How does the composer navigate between regionalism and cosmopolitanism? In this paper I explore how Lavista both subscribes to and distances himself from the discourse of Mexicanness, focusing primarily on two chamber works: *Cuicani* (1985), which in Nahuatl means “singer or poet,” for flute and clarinet, a work inspired by Toltec poetry; and *Responsorio* (1988), for bassoon and percussion, which, in the words of the composer, is a sonorous recreation of an imaginary funeral procession of “remote villages of Mexico, where a small musical band guides the coffin to the graveyard.”

## STAGING THE BAROQUE: PERILS AND PLEASURES OF BAROQUE OPERA DVD<sub>s</sub> IN THE CLASSROOM

Rose Pruiksma, Lewiston, Maine, Organizer  
Amanda Winkler, Syracuse University  
Mauro Calcagno, Stony Brook University  
Olivia Bloechl, University of California, Los Angeles  
Wendy Heller, Princeton University

Until recently, video recordings of baroque opera, especially of seventeenth-century works, were relatively rare, so the recent spate of baroque opera productions available on DVD has been especially welcome, including recent productions of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, Lully's *Persée*, Purcell's *King Arthur*, Rameau's *Les Indes Galantes*, and Handel's *Giulio Cesare*. These productions incorporate changing notions of historically informed performance practice with approaches to baroque theater that run the gamut from postmodernist pastiche to attempts to combine elements of baroque theatrical gesture and conventions with enough twenty-first century awareness to engage current audiences.

For musicologists these performances are potentially exciting resources, opening windows into musical and theatrical works formerly known, studied, and loved in the abstract world of the scholarly imagination. The vivid immediacy of a staged theatrical performance brings new insights, but presents as many perils as pleasures in the classroom.

Unlike standard repertory in which novel stagings might be understood against a conventional norm, in many instances these productions are the only video materials available, thus shaping perceptions of baroque culture in the public imagination. In some instances, directors are creating productions that open new possibilities for understanding a quite familiar work, such as Mark Morris' *Dido and Aeneas*; in other instances, directorial decisions arguably obscure a work, as in Thomas Grimm's *Les Boreades* (Rameau).

Focusing on video excerpts from selected productions, this panel discussion addresses questions of what it means to "stage the baroque," whose "baroque" is being staged, what a particular production's rhetoric regarding notions of "authenticity" is, and how available video materials shape perceptions of early opera. What happens to a production when modern dance is introduced? What happens when we stage works that were created for a specific cultural context that is for the most part foreign to most of our students? What do we want students to take away from their encounters with baroque opera on video? Finally, how might stagings that would seem to counteract the drama as originally imagined be useful tools for teaching baroque opera in the college classroom?

The panelists are all specialists in baroque theatrical music, whether opera, ballet, or semi-opera whose teaching and research has brought them to grappling with the issue of performance practice and staging and the real force that all of these works had in performance in their historical contexts. Early Italian opera specialist Mauro Calcagno, who has recently taught a course examining Monteverdi stagings, will discuss available productions of *L'Orfeo*; English theatrical music scholar Amanda Eubanks-Winkler will address the Harnoncourt production of *King Arthur* and productions of *Dido and Aeneas*; Olivia Bloechl, who focuses on the politics of representation in French and English theatrical music, especially with respect to Native American culture, will discuss Les Arts Florissants' production of *Les Indes Galantes*; and Wendy Heller, whose substantial work on Italian opera spans Monteverdi to Handel, will discuss problems in staging Handel opera, including *Giulio Cesare*. As panel organizer and

specialist in French baroque dance music, Rose Pruiksmá will address productions of Lully's *Persée* and *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

## TRANSATLANTIC CONNECTIONS

**Philip Olleson, President, Royal Musical Association, Chair**

Sponsored by the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* and Routledge

The topic of "Transatlantic Connections" has been chosen to highlight patterns or aspects of musical-cultural exchange between Europe and North America, a developing research area that links several forthcoming articles in the *Journal* and recent publications generally (such as Nicholas Temperley's *Bound for America: Three British Composers* [University of Illinois Press, 2008]). The intention is to explore this theme in relation to a broad range of musics and across two centuries.

## FEDERALS AND CONFEDERATES: BRITISH AUDIENCES AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Brian Thompson

Chinese University of Hong Kong

This paper explores Henri Drayton's stage work *Federals and Confederates, or, Everyday Life in America*. The Philadelphia-born Drayton was well known on both sides of the Atlantic as a leading baritone of his era. He had travelled to Europe to study singing in the 1840s and afterwards settled in London to pursue a career in opera. In the 1850s, he created his Parlor Opera Company, which featured himself and his wife, the soprano Susanna Lowe, in newly composed one-act works. Following their success in Britain, the impresario P. T. Barnum brought the Draytons to New York, where they became a sensation. A tour of the South was less successful and the Draytons returned to Britain in the spring of 1861, just as war was breaking out in the U.S. Some eighteen months later, Drayton premiered *Federals and Confederates*. The highly political work, in the style of Henry Russell's "entertainments," proved to be a hit with British audiences. Based on a close study of the libretto, several published songs, and performance reviews, I shall discuss the structure, style, and politics of *Federals and Confederates*, retrace Drayton's many engagements that year, and attempt to explain some of the reasons for his success.

## AMERICAN MUSIC IN AND AROUND NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRISTOL

Stephen Banfield

University of Bristol

England enjoyed and encouraged American musical imports for most of the nineteenth century. Yet it is easy to overlook what arrived when, and how, and to make assumptions about popular song in particular based on twentieth-century patterns of exchange. The newly digitized pages of the *Bristol Mercury* document phases of often forgotten influence in a representative city. First, blackface minstrelsy rapidly increased the awareness of and market for American songs, performance tropes, and cultural images, though later British minstrelsy was hardly a showcase for American popular music (a designation never used). Then the Civil War

flagged popular songs as political metonyms. Arguably, though, the most precipitate musical influence of the century, vehicle for a revolution in taste pregnant for the twentieth century, came with Sankey and Moody's gospel hymns, rarely out of the Bristol news after 1873. Finally, preceded by Gilmore's band in 1878, the first "sound of America" sensation arrived in the 1890s with the two-step (the *Washington Post*) because this decade reflected new economic and political strategies. Since American art music remained below the horizon throughout the century except at its aesthetic margins, another "second story" of the nineteenth century here emerges.

### EXPLORING THE EFFECT OF PROKOFIEV'S MOVE TO AMERICA ON HIS PIANO WRITING

Gary O'Shea  
University of Sheffield

A stylistic development is noticeable in the piano-writing of Serge Prokofiev between his time studying at the St. Petersburg Conservatory and his move from Russia to America in 1918. The paper will draw upon the progressive looking *Sarcasms* op. 17 (1914), and *Visions Fugitives* op. 22 (1915–17), which demonstrate heavy influences from Stravinsky and Debussy, and consider why, after he moved to America, he opted for a simpler and less harmonically daring style in the *Tales of an Old Grandmother* op. 31 and *Four Pieces* op. 32 (both 1918).

To establish what may have prompted Prokofiev to change his approach, I draw on his newly published diaries to analyze his compositional processes at the time, and to discover whether the stylistic change came about through personal choice or necessity. Prokofiev had to make a living primarily as a performer, so was it this that caused him to write simpler music for the more conservative American audiences? To assess the audience reactions of the time, I will present extracts from newspaper reviews of Prokofiev's recitals.

### IMPROVISING EDUCATION: LEARNING JAZZ IN 1920s BRITAIN

Catherine Tackley  
Open University

Following the introduction of jazz to Britain, transatlantic connections became increasingly important for British musicians who wished to develop their jazz skills. Although American jazz recordings were obtainable in Britain, the extent to which improvisation was fully understood as an integral part of the music was initially limited. Crucially, American musicians provided live experiences of jazz as well as more direct education for musicians that allowed a more nuanced interpretation of jazz recordings.

Contact between British and American musicians was controlled by increasingly restrictive governmental policies on visiting musicians from both sides of the Atlantic, culminating in a near-total reciprocal ban from 1935. Initially, however, the British government encouraged the employment of individual American musicians rather than whole bands. This was immensely beneficial in encouraging much greater interaction between British and American musicians, which defines a formative period in British jazz. This paper will explore the formal and informal activities of American musicians in Britain during the 1920s, and their impact on the development of British jazz. Ultimately, these instances of "jazz in Britain" provided a basis for a more self-sufficient "British jazz."

*Saturday morning, 14 November*

**AMERICAN RECORDED REPERTORIES**  
**José Bowen, Southern Methodist University, Chair**

**“MITCH THE GOOSE MAN”: MITCH MILLER AND THE  
INVENTION OF MODERN RECORD PRODUCTION**

Albin Zak  
SUNY, Albany

In a *Metronome* editorial of July 1950 entitled “Mitch the Goose Man,” Barry Ulanov likened Mitch Miller’s production style to camouflage: “Borrowing a trick or two from the army engineers, Mitch applied camouflage to the efforts of singers willing to lose their identity to the sound-effects man.” Miller was the hottest record producer of the day, and his influence reverberated through a mainstream pop music industry in uncertain transition. His choices of song, arrangement, and sonic treatment were aimed at creating what he called a sense of “excitement,” some kind of sonic thrill that might cut through the din of the crowded pop marketplace. The conventions of musical form, melody, and harmony manipulated with deftness and subtlety by the masters of Tin Pan Alley were increasingly replaced by a simpler, more straightforward kind of song—unambiguous and instantly hummable. In the place of the big bands that had accompanied so many pop singers of the 1930s and 40s, Miller invented ad hoc groups, one-off ensembles put together in a recording studio for a particular session, or even a single song. His records sounded like novel sound worlds filled with what his one-time mentor, John Hammond, called “phony effects” and “electronic fakery”—exaggerated reverb, overdubbed voices, odd sound effects, and instrumental balances entirely dependent on recording engineers’ intervention at the mixing console.

In 1953 the *New York Times* jazz/pop critic, John S. Wilson, noted that “popular music has been going through a frantic search for what recording people consider ‘new sounds’ in recent years.” Criticizing the trend towards novelty pop records, for which “tune and talent have frequently been secondary to accompaniments that snap, crackle or pop, [and] singers who gasp or shriek,” Wilson pointed to Miller as “one of those most responsible for the present interest in sounds per se.” The comment summarized a central problem in the transition between the swing and rock eras. As the musical economy shifted its basis from music writing to sound recording, specific sounds took on new importance and unfamiliar musical meanings. Miller’s production philosophy proved dizzying to an industry whose orientation remained the natural sound world (hence the contemporary mania for hi-fi), breaking with high-pop conventions in ways many found outrageous and tasteless. But Miller, himself an accomplished classical musician, insisted that any trick of performance, instrumentation, arrangement, or sonic treatment was acceptable “so long as it [made] the result more palatable to the ear.”

In answer to the question, “When is a gimmick not a gimmick?” Miller said, “When it’s an essential part of the record. A gimmick is only a gimmick when it has failed to complete the conception of a record.” The notion that record production involved a creative concept, overstepping the bounds of dutiful workmanship, flew in the face of all sorts of musical traditions, yet would become a commonplace of pop record production. This paper explores the historiographically obscure origins of some of modern pop’s core creative principles.

“THIS IS AMERICA”: JIMI HENDRIX’S TWO-YEAR FASCINATION  
WITH THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL ANTHEM

Mark Clague  
University of Michigan

Jimi Hendrix’s August 18, 1969 performance of “The Star-Spangled Banner” elicits either hagiographic praise or disgust. It is not only the climactic icon of Woodstock, but is arguably the most powerful symbol of rock’s potential for protest. The Hendrix Banner is rock. Long before it was posted to YouTube or videogamers could relive the experience on *Guitar Hero 2*, the performance was ingrained in America’s living cultural memory, propelled by commemorative recordings as well as the 1970 documentary film *Woodstock*. Yet its very status as legendary also serves to obscure, resulting in both an exaggeration of the Woodstock Banner’s influence as well as a fundamental misunderstanding, and possibly a gross underestimation, of the political potential of Hendrix’s art. Hendrix’s Banner is so well known as to be unknown. Its reputation has propelled the event far beyond the bounds of history into the realm of legend with its attendant misinformation and misrepresentation.

By revisiting the Woodstock Banner not as a single, ecstatic improvisation, but as a particular realization of an ongoing two-year relationship with the song, the full range and subtlety of Hendrix’s artistic engagement with the anthem, both musical and political, comes into better focus. Rather than a single explosive event, the Hendrix Banner should be thought of as a simmering process of celebration and commentary brought forth in more than fifty performances, beginning in August 1968, over a year before Woodstock, and continuing through August 1970, shortly before Hendrix’s death on September 18, 1970. This broader analysis reveals the Hendrix Banner to be an ongoing reframing of the anthem’s symbolism in a flexible rearrangement deployed most frequently in live concerts but also in studio recordings to depict the United States of America and thus reify its tensions to make them more vivid and thus inspire attempts at resolution. For Hendrix, “The Star-Spangled Banner” might be thought of as a kind of sonic national snapshot, taken repeatedly and often to catalog the state of the nation and suggest the need for change.

Based in over forty surviving recordings (most from underground audience recordings), this paper mines the little-known Hendrix performances of the anthem for evidence that helps locate their meaning. Using formal analysis of the broad variety of arrangements combined with contextual evidence including the guitarist’s stage banter and the position of the Banner within his set repertoire, I conclude that Hendrix’s Banner operates on three competing levels: musical showmanship, social critique, and patriotic hope. I dispel several myths surrounding the Hendrix Banner, including that it was a singular, improvisatory event, that it is a solo (in fact, it is a duet with drummer Mitch Mitchell), and that it is meaningless (a claim made at times by Hendrix himself). The historical and aesthetic trajectory of Hendrix’s Banner enriches not only our understanding of a compelling and highly original work of art, but offers a case study in the political power of music.

“STAR ME KITTEN”: WILLIAM S. BURROUGHS’  
MUSICAL RECORDINGS, MARLENE DIETRICH, AND  
THE AESTHETICS OF HIS DARK AMERICANA

Melissa Ursula Dawn Goldsmith  
Nicholls State University

A prominent figure of the New York City beats along with Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs (1914–97) was best known for his novel *Naked Lunch* (1959), one of the most influential works of the twentieth century. Despite the numerous analytical studies of Burroughs, literary and music scholars tend to ignore his recordings with music. *William S. Burroughs at the Front: Critical Reception, 1959–1989* (published in 1991) features notable writers John Ciardi, Edith Sitwell, and James Grauerholz, none of whom discuss the recordings. The critical introduction to *Naked Lunch: The Restored Text* (2001) focuses only on history, reception, and writing techniques. This presentation will fill the gap by exploring the musical dimension of Burroughs’ recordings. Although Burroughs rarely mentioned music in his writing, even though he recorded throughout his career with music, his recordings offer a glimpse into his influences, aesthetics, and creative processes.

In 1992 Burroughs recorded R.E.M.’s “Star Me Kitten” as a studio outtake for the CD *Automatic for the People*. He prefaced this performance by explaining that it “evolved from” Marlene Dietrich and her version of “Lili Marleen,” Norbert Schultze’s tragic song about a soldier haunted by his lost love. Burroughs’ recording could be perceived as a tribute to Dietrich, who died five months before the album’s release, or as a tribute to her performing “Lili Marleen” near enemy lines after the song was banned in Germany. Having traveled to Europe just after the Weimar Era and having enlisted in the army in 1942 (bearing in mind the bombing of Pearl Harbor), Burroughs would have been familiar with the performance.

In 1996 his performance of “Star Me Kitten” was included on the *X Files* compilation *Songs in the Key of X*. Its inclusion seems appropriate not because it was in any *X Files* television episode or film footage, but because of the spirit of the beat writer’s eerie performance, as well as his well known writings for the space age, his distrust of the government, and his belief in a magical universe. In his recording, Burroughs makes R.E.M.’s song his own through “doing his thing”: combining beat, expressionist, and ethereal aesthetics.

In contrast to the serious atmosphere of early recordings like *Call Me Burroughs* (1965) and *Break Through in Grey Room* (recorded in the 1960s and 1970s), Burroughs’ late recordings like *Dead City Radio* (1990), and his performances on *Automatic for the People* and *Stoned Immaculate: The Music of the Doors* (2000) represent a kitschy reinvention of the elderly beat writer. The earlier recordings are informed by stark black and white photo covers, somber performances of Burroughs’ writings, demonstrations of his cut-up technique, experiments with electroacoustic music, and collaborations with musicians (e.g. Ornette Coleman and Brian Jones). The later recordings feature color photos, humorously deadpan performances of his and others’ writings, and *singing*. Nonetheless, the late recordings, of which “Star Me Kitten” is truly representative, amount to biographical clues and artifacts of his musicality.

LUXE POP: THE SIX DEGREES OF SEPARATION FROM JAY-Z AND  
THE HUSTLER SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA TO SYMPHONIC JAZZJohn Howland  
Rutgers University, Newark

This paper considers the long-standing practice of merging popular music idioms with lush string orchestrations and other markers of musical sophistication. Most manifestations of orchestral pop are connected by what I call “acts of conspicuous symphonization,” in which the streetwise music of non-orchestral pop, rock, country, R&B, hip hop, and jazz acts have been juxtaposed against luxuriant orchestral backing arrangements. By this term, I mean to underscore entertainment parallels to the idea of “conspicuous consumption,” wherein luxury goods and services are acquired for displays of social status, cultural sophistication, and/or wealth. A modern colloquialism that conveys a similar social meaning is “bling,” a hip hop slang term that refers to outward displays of an ostentatious lifestyle that involves ironic stylistic tensions through juxtapositions of lowly street culture and high-status symbols of social power. Ideal examples of simultaneous bling displays in music, fashion, and performance can be found in recent adoptions of live string sections by various hip hop acts. Such tensions, for example, permeated Jay-Z’s lavish 2006 concert at New York’s Radio City Music Hall in which he was backed by the so-called Hustler Symphony Orchestra. Though performed live, the plush backing arrangements of this event still closely adhered to the sample-based, audio bricolage foundations of the original recordings of this music. Under this audio production aesthetic, a given performance (in terms of both samples and the resultant mix of musical conventions, gestures, instrumentation, language, etc.) is often overtly set in a rich intertextual dialogue with both pop music history and other forms of cultural expression. Much orchestral pop functions in a similar manner. Indeed, the often conflicting stylistic markers in this music can trigger a dense fabric of associations with a range of music genres, meanings, media, and cultural identities. For instance, there are clear entertainment connections between this bestringed, spectacle-oriented hip hop event and the image constructions, performance practices, and musical-style and genre-based sound worlds of earlier orchestral pop trends. This paper appropriates a structural conceit borrowed from the pop-culture notion of “six degrees of separation” (the theory that each of us is no more than six “steps”—i.e., personal connections—away from anyone else). Through this fanciful device, I trace a brief history of the “luxe pop” aesthetic from Jay-Z back to 1920s symphonic jazz, a seminal orchestral pop genre, but an idiom that period “highbrow” critics frequently disparaged as “the very essence of musical vulgarity” in its overloading of interwar jazz and pop with “gilded, exotic, orchestral effects” and a “perfect fusion of the pretentious and commonplace.” Through this trajectory, this paper will consider artists as diverse as Frank Sinatra, Isaac Hayes, Burt Bacharach, and Tommy Dorsey, as well as various media manifestations of luxe pop idioms, ranging from interwar radio to the soundtracks of the James Bond and Shaft film series. I will articulate ways in which this aesthetic has transmuted, and how it has ultimately accrued a range of social meanings that extend well beyond the original middlebrow, mongrel cultural aesthetics of symphonic jazz.

**DISPLACEMENTS**  
**Lydia Goehr, Columbia University, Chair**

“ALLONS EN PAIX, REBATIR NOS MAISONS”:  
 STAGING THE *RÉFUGIÉ* EXPERIENCE

Rebekah Ahrendt  
 University of California, Berkeley

In 1707, impresario, novelist, and spy Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chénée produced livrets for two operatic works: *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, *tragédie en musique* and *La Bataille de Ramelie ou Les glorieuses conquêtes des Alliez*, *pastorale heroïque*. He dedicated them to the burgomasters of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, respectively, in a last desperate attempt to succeed on the operatic stage after a career full of misadventures. Both works laud Grand Alliance victories, but from a particular perspective—that of a French Protestant exile.

The Battle of Blenheim (13 August 1704) was Marlborough's first victory, and that of Ramillies (23 May 1706) was his greatest; together they resulted in the most significant French defeats of the War of the Spanish Succession. Louis XIV lost many of his territorial gains, and Maximilian II Emanuel was ousted from both Bavaria and the Southern Netherlands. Regime change had come.

The new order significantly impacted one group of civilians—Huguenot refugees. Maximilian II Emanuel's alliance with Louis XIV had made life very difficult for Huguenots. Quesnot, then resident in the Southern Netherlands, was especially sensitive to this. Although his onstage battles are part of a long spectacular tradition, they are perhaps the only celebrations of Allied victories in French. Furthermore, rather than reinforcing the political status quo, these works advocate the embrace of a new political regime.

One of the most striking things about these works is their representation of civilians. In *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, the peoples of Swabia are portrayed as emblems of fear, stylized victims ready for rescue by the benevolent Marlborough, whose advent is heralded by Queen Anne herself. In *La Bataille de Ramelie*, the inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands are depicted in the pastoral mode as shepherds, rustics, and drunks, yet their houses have been burned and their lands ruined by “forageurs.” Quesnot's explicit representation of the civilian plight, as well as his invocation of a sort of fantasy island where the “bergers fugitifs et réfugiés” will be able to rebuild their homes, speaks not only to his own refugee experience, but to the importance of communicating it to audiences far removed from the battlefield.

No music survives for these works—or does it? These operatic battles seem to display more of an affinity with the Dutch *oorlogspel* or German occasional works than with French opera, as might be expected considering the intended audience. However, as I demonstrate, Quesnot's generic designations and prefaces not only create a certain set of expectations for his readers, but also provide clues as to his source materials. It seems that these works are based on parodies of famous airs from French opera.

Utilizing a number of archival documents and early prints heretofore unstudied, this paper brings to light an alternate world of French operatic performance, one that catered to those displaced whether by choice or by force and that demonstrates the repurposing of Lullian operatic conventions in a framework opposed to absolute monarchy.

“KITTEN ON THE KEYS”: FROM PLAYER PIANOS TO  
POETISM, OR HOW NOVELTY PIANO CAME TO PRAGUE

Derek Katz

University of California, Santa Barbara

Jazz, Ragtime and American dance music permeate the life and works of Erwin Schulhoff, from the foxtrot that begins the 1919 *Fünf Pittoresken* for piano to his writings about jazz for *Der Aufakt* in the mid-1920s and his performances as pianist for the cabaret orchestra of the Liberated Theater in the early 1930s. These compositions and activities are rich in aesthetic and political associations. The earliest works, written under the sway of the George Grosz circle in Berlin, were intended as Dada provocations. After returning to Prague in 1923, Schulhoff attempted both to fuse popular and art musics and to provide a musical component of the “laughing world” promoted by Karel Teige and the Prague Poetists. Schulhoff’s sources for his conception of jazz ranged from the music that he danced to in bars to the symphonic jazz of Paul Whiteman. Around 1926, though, Schulhoff’s main enthusiasm was for the “novelty piano” style of Zez Confrey, to whom the first of Schulhoff’s *Jazz-Etuden* was dedicated, and whose “Kitten on the Keys” was the basis of the toccata that concludes the set.

Although only present on the peripheries of recent histories of jazz and ragtime, Confrey’s rags were enormously popular and influential in the 1920s. Confrey shared top billing with George Gershwin at Whiteman’s notorious 1924 Aeolian Hall concert, and “Kitten on the Keys” sold over a million copies within a year of its publication in 1921, eventually becoming the second best selling rag of all time. For many composers and critics, like Aaron Copland, Gilbert Seldes and Henry Osgood in America, and Schulhoff, Alfred Baresel and Theodor Adorno in Europe, Confrey’s compositions were representative of the best and most recent developments in jazz piano. Although his rags eventually sold well as sheet music, Confrey wrote his most famous works while in the employ of the QRS piano roll company. Their heritage as fodder for player pianos is preserved both in titles like “You Tell ’em Ivories” and by rapid tempi and flashy figuration that foregrounded the automatic mechanism and supradigital dexterity of the player piano. Confrey referred to his style as “Modern,” and it shared the harmonic characteristics, including chromatically descending parallel ninth chords and extended passages in parallel fourths, of “modernistic” jazz compositions by composers from Matty Malneck to James P. Johnson; characteristics that were loosely derived from European Impressionist compositions.

Schulhoff’s infatuation with novelty piano provides an addition to standard accounts of the transmission of jazz and dance music from America to Europe and of jazz’s functions as a social signifier. Schulhoff depended on sheet music and etude books, exploiting a repertoire attractive for its associations with mechanical reproduction and use of stylistic devices derived from European art music. This allowed Schulhoff, however briefly, to create music that both paid homage to jazz as part of the fashionable modern life promoted by the Prague avant-garde and that was consistent with the more hermetic stylistic modernism of the art music world.

MODERNS ON THE MOVE: TOWARD A  
HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AVANT-GARDE DIASPORA

Brigid Cohen

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Many of the practices of modernism and the avant-garde have been the work of exiles, emigres, and refugees. The history of the twentieth century is one of violent political catastrophes, massive dislocations of peoples, and unprecedented crossings of cultural boundaries. Given the unprecedented instability of the human situation in recent times, it is not surprising that Michel Foucault described modernity as more than just a “break with tradition” or “period of history,” but rather as a “mode of relating to contemporary reality [in which] the high value of the present is indissociable from a desperate eagerness . . . to imagine it otherwise than it is.” In this context, Edward Said and Raymond Williams have suggested how significant it is that modernism’s major innovators—from Zora Neale Hurston to Joseph Conrad to Arnold Schoenberg to Gertrude Stein, etc.—were themselves migrants and emigrés whose own uprooting brought special intensity to imagining the world “otherwise.” Yet despite the clear centrality of displacement to modernist narratives, questions of migration are not addressed in prevailing theories of modernism—both in musicology and elsewhere—and they are only marginally treated in many histories of the avant-garde.

In this talk, I examine the conditions of this surprising lacuna and suggest possibilities for a historiography that better accounts for musical modernisms and avant-gardes as phenomena of dislocation. Toward this end, I explore three related mid-century case studies—George Russell, Stefan Wolpe, and Yoko Ono—in tandem with a consideration of recent cosmopolitanism theory in postcolonial scholarship. Methodologically, this talk aims to bring detailed historical scholarship—based on interviews, archival documents, secondary sources, and interpretive analysis—into dialogue with new historiographical models.

A primary challenge to the study of displacement in musicology lies in the humanities’ long-standing investment in national frameworks of historical and aesthetic interpretation, as described by Benedict Anderson. Indeed, the national imaginary has overwhelmingly oriented many existing exile studies, which often strongly position emigres in relation either to their nations of origin or to their adopted homelands. Displacement here is typically conceived as linear transfer, extension, or assimilation. In contrast, recent cosmopolitanism theory, especially the work of Homi Bhabha, Bruce Robbins, and Edward Said, broadly describes displacement as a much more agonistic and multivalent process through which migrants attach to heterogeneous practices and communities, nearby and afar, in response to their uprooting. These mixed identifications have the potential to play out in provocative ways in avant-garde practice, as the familiarity with multiple cultural contexts renders conventions malleable and open to critique. Russell, Wolpe, and Ono can be understood as limit cases whose music exemplifies such impulses in very different ways. Though working in disparate genres, their creative circles partially overlapped, and by mid-century their poetics centered on questions of cultural plurality and difference. They may be regarded as limit cases of migrant cosmopolitanism that illuminate the work of other moderns in displacement. At the same time, they point toward ways of understanding modernism and the avant-garde that gesture beyond national imaginaries or aspirations toward autonomy.

HIP HOP TRANSNATIONALISM AND DIASPORIC IDENTITY:  
KOREAN AMERICAN HIP HOP AND THE POLITICS OF BELONGING

Hyun Chang

University of California, Los Angeles

What are the stakes when hip hop crosses national borders? This paper explores the way Drunken Tiger, a group of two Korean American men who launched a hip hop career in Seoul in 1999, negotiate cultural and ethnic identity within the contradictory sociocultural contexts of South Korea. Analyzing texts, sampling, and CD visual art, I will outline the ways Drunken Tiger have positioned themselves in relation to two hegemonic visions: first, anti-American Korean nativism, which exerts assimilationist pressure on the group; and second, a hip hop globalism rooted in African American iconography and styles.

In their first album, Drunken Tiger have portrayed themselves as the first voice of true hip hop in Seoul. Backed by a large South Korean entertainment corporation and big-time popular music entrepreneurs in Seoul, their first album showcased their capability to improvise rap in African American English and publicized their former hip hop and DJ careers in Los Angeles and Chicago. Similarly, the CD jacket evoked African American hip hop by featuring a number of youths standing defiantly against the backdrop of a graffiti-filled wall and dancing on urban dance floors in baggy jeans. These qualities distinguished Drunken Tiger from most Korean popular music groups, who did not make fine distinctions between popular music genres but instead focused on heavily scripted and synchronized dance moves. Drunken Tiger's popularity with South Korean youth shows the extent to which claims of genre authenticity matter for an audience increasingly familiar with the stylistic and iconographic features of African American hip hop.

On the other hand, Drunken Tiger's subsequent choice to revise their earlier image and forge new forms of identification with South Korea provides insight into the politics of the local internalized by the group. Fashioning this new image has involved incorporations of nativist tropes and symbols, including folk guitar songs that were used to protest South Korea's authoritarian regimes in the 1970s. For their album art, the group members posed in Seoul's urban slums and captured images of the working class, translating the idea of hip hop as a voice of marginality into the local (Korean) context. The chauvinistic criticisms that challenged the group's "Koreanness" may explain the group's shift.

Finally, in their most recent album titled "Liberation 1945" (Korea was liberated from Japanese colonialism in 1945), Drunken Tiger problematize ethnic and cultural nationalisms through ethnic drag and dis-identification. For example, they parody anti-Japanese sentiment, which constitutes the foundation of Korean nationalism, by rendering it as discursive and by parroting nationalist rhetoric in playful ways. Caricatures of liberation songs in the style of Bob Marley and of nationalist melodies serve as the sonic background.

Drawing on the theories of Shu-mei Shih and José Esteban Muñoz, my paper can be read as a case study of the process by which "nonwhite Western" persons become a "problem" in the East and of the creative ways in which these uniquely situated minorities articulate the relationship between the local and the global.

## FRANKISH CHANT: DIVERSE RESPONSES TO ROME

Charles M. Atkinson, Ohio State University, Chair

We still lack a clear idea of what the Franks did to liturgical chant: the story told by every specialist and in every textbook is different. We know that they imposed a tonal system (the octoechos of eight tones) on an essentially modal repertory; we know that they conceptualized a system of musical notation which would show how to sing a memorized melody (rather than the pitch detail of the melody itself) and how that melody was tied to a specific text; we know that they brought order to the singing of chant in the liturgy celebrated north of the Alps, by directing that the *cantus Romanus* should be adopted. But we do not know whether the melodies that they were singing were more-or-less Roman (McKinnon, 2000), or fundamentally Frankish (Levy, 2003) or a Frankish adaptation of Roman practice (Hucke, 1981). Nor do we have more than suggestive accounts of why and how the music of the Frankish church was fundamentally altered in the period between 750 and 900.

In our session, new studies of Carolingian manuscript sources will stimulate sharper and more nuanced perceptions of Frankish engagement with older forms of liturgy. The Frankish need to accommodate the liturgical chant inherited (earlier or later) from Rome represents a starting point for explorations of its reception. Significant in their shared approaches is a rejection of monochromatic conceptualizations of liturgical practice, including music, as either “Roman” or “Frankish.” Our interrogation of the evidence follows dual paths: on the one hand, we shall trace procedures for the adaptation of liturgical materials in order to render them functional in liturgies formulated according to Frankish requirements. On the other hand, we will demonstrate the manner and extent to which intellectual conceptions of music, deriving from its place among the arts of the trivium and quadrivium, permeated both music as sound and as visual object. This parallelism allows links between music as theorized and music as practiced to be exposed as fundamental—to a extent not previously suspected.

The dissemination of an officially sanctioned liturgy throughout the Carolingian empire belonged to the greater Frankish program to establish the Christian ethos as central to the concept of society. Consequently, liturgy, as Christian worship, and music, as an artistic means by which to formulate that worship, embodied an essential means of expression. As a group, these papers underline the overwhelming significance of the centralized drive to elaborate Christian practice in quite specific ways; yet they also reveal the nature and extent of diversity in achieving the desired ends as well as the manifold steps which had to be negotiated in order to reach them. Together they expose a layered and complex picture of the historical processes which shaped music in this earliest period of its formulation as a European art music repertory.

### THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF ORDO ROMANUS 1 AND THE FRANKISH RECEPTION OF ROMAN CHANT

Peter Jeffery

University of Notre Dame

*Ordo Romanus 1*, written in early eighth-century Rome, is the earliest description of how the Pope celebrated Mass. Many medieval musical practices are described there for the first time. The text circulated widely in Carolingian Europe, where it was used as the basic guide for how to celebrate Mass the Roman way. The manuscripts display numerous textual variants, reflecting local adaptations that were made as the Roman rite spread across the continent. More

extensive revisions gave rise to the texts now known as *Ordo Romanus* 2, 3, 4, etc., and many other medieval authors demonstrate knowledge of and dependence upon these texts.

*Ordo Romanus* 1 is not well known today because there are no competent modern translations in any language. The Latin is rude and obscure, showing why the Carolingian Renaissance was needed, and the many variants are problematic. But the first modern English translation is now in preparation, and this paper grows out of that project. Comparison of the original text with its many variants, adaptations, and revisions illustrates some of the changes that took place as Roman chant was acclimatized in the north. The Roman *schola cantorum* consisted of boy singers, assisted by adult *paraphonistae* and *subdeacons*, but adaptations in other parts of Europe redistributed some roles and job titles differently, even eliminating the boys. For the responsorial and antiphonal chants of the Proper of the Mass, as well as the *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei*, the original text reports practices and terminology that were altered in the course of transmission; it is the revised and adapted forms that are closer to the familiar medieval Gregorian chant. Some of the later manuscripts even introduce obvious Gallican practices, such as the singing of *laudes* litanies in honor of the bishop celebrating the Mass. The result is a completely new window on the historical processes by which Roman chant was brought to the Frankish world and became Gregorian chant. And since many variants and revisions can be connected to specific regions or places, we can observe the Carolingian synthesis making its way across Europe with unprecedented detail.

## THE OKTOECHOS AND CAROLINGIAN ARCHITECTURE: NEW EVIDENCE

Michel Huglo

Paris, CNRS; University of Maryland, College Park

Circa 786, when Charlemagne's new octagonal Palatine chapel began to replace his father Pippin's basilica, other changes of major consequence were in preparation. Charlemagne had met Alcuin, who would join his court in 786 to implement the educational reforms that were expressed in the king's *Admonitio generalis* of 789. In this decade, Charlemagne's politics turned eastwards—he challenged the abolition of images in the Eastern Church and sought to restore unity to Christendom through a projected marriage to the Byzantine Empress, Irene. My purpose here is to demonstrate that music was also a central concern at this time, and that the importation of the *octoechos* from Byzantium, or possibly Jerusalem, under Charlemagne, whose advisors titled him “David,” was not only part of the plan to reform psalmody, but also found its manifestation in the architectural plan of his octagonal chapel.

It is known that Angilbert, abbot of St.-Riquier since 790, had the “Psalter of Charlemagne” prepared for the king's visit (with Alcuin) to St.-Riquier on Easter Sunday, 19 April 800. A short tonary copied at the end of the psalter after the *Laudes regiae* implies that the *octoechos* had already been introduced in the West: the names of the tones are transliterated from Greek, but the order is Western. Indeed, as a consequence of Charlemagne's politics, seventeen Byzantine embassies came to Aachen, where Byzantine liturgical celebrations took place. Thus, the West received the “system of the eight tones,” with their intonation formulas, *Noeane*, *Noeagis*.

Charlemagne's octagonal plan for his chapel was evidently important, because it replaced the model of St. Peter in Rome. As the ninth-century inscription encircling the inside of the octagon reads, the chapel was built entirely on a plan of even numbers. The numbers underlie

Carolingian mosaics, the bannisters of the second floor, the bronze doors, and the structure itself. That the Carolingians attributed rich symbolism to the number eight is known; Alcuin emphasizes that number in a letter. Precedents for the octagonal plan have also been identified. Yet there is other evidence that the numbers of the plan were intended to represent the eight tones, the octave, and its division into fourth and fifth—the foundation of the psalmody that would bind Charlemagne’s kingdom in a rebirth of Christian faith. For example, John Scot Eriugena’s verses composed for the dedication of the octagonal chapel at the palace of Compiègne in 877, the chapel of Charles the Bald, grandson of Charlemagne, explain the meaning of the number eight in this way. Furthermore, floor tiles of identical design as those in Aachen, and octagonal spires, existed at St.-Riquier, the destination of Charlemagne’s tonary. Finally, the theoretical explanations of the consonances and division of the octave were known to Charlemagne’s advisers from Calcidius’s Commentary on Plato’s *Timaeus*, copied at Corbie or St.-Riquier. Plato’s view that arithmetic proportions were the basis of harmony and the “Soul of the World,” commented upon by Calcidius, could thus be applied to produce the harmony of Charlemagne’s architecture.

## MONASTIC LITURGY IN NINTH-CENTURY FRANCIA AND THE CHANTS OF THE DIVINE OFFICE

Jesse Billett  
University of Cambridge

Much of the Gregorian chant repertory is for use in the Divine Office, the round of liturgical services that punctuated daily life in medieval religious communities. In later medieval books, the Divine Office always conforms to one of two patterns: a “secular” Office used by priests, canons and friars, and a “monastic” Office used by monks and nuns. This arrangement only came about through a series of early medieval developments. One possible reading identifies three main stages: an initial imitation of “Roman” liturgy in Frankish churches in the eighth century; the imposition of a Roman form of the Office on the whole Frankish Church (both secular and monastic) during the reigns of Pippin III and Charlemagne; and finally, under Louis the Pious, the promotion for exclusive monastic use of a form of the Office based on the Rule of St. Benedict.

It is not at all clear that current theories of the origins of Gregorian chant, which aim primarily at an account of the proper chants of the Mass, are adequate as explanations of the chants of the Office. The simpler chants of the Office offer striking examples of the changes that might have been expected to occur in a process of oral transmission from Rome. Ninth-century liturgists remark on the “great variety” or even “corruption” of local Office repertories. Moreover, hypotheses of a royally sanctioned “archetype” of chant sit uneasily with the emerging secular and monastic forms of the Office, a boundary separating two streams of the oral tradition.

Among the surviving ninth-century sources of Office chant, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1245/597 has been almost completely ignored in the musicological literature (noted by Siffrin (1949) and Huglo (1971), but ignored in Hesbert’s *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* and Stenzl’s 2006 list of early antiphoners). A monastic “choirbook,” it contains several roughly contemporary sections, all copied around the 860s and bound together at the Abbey of Prüm before 899. It includes a table of Office chants for the whole year, arranged in liturgical order. This table probably predates the two earliest witnesses to the complete annual cycle of Office

chants (the Compiègne and Albi gradual-antiphoners). It is also the earliest example of a fully “Benedictine” Office liturgy, not otherwise attested until the tenth century. It would seem that Prüm was especially prompt in obeying the command of the Aachen Synod of 816 that all monks should celebrate the Office “according to what is contained in the Rule of St. Benedict” (canon 3). The presentation of the chants in Trier 1245/597 as short incipits, a format widely attested in early chant books, raises questions about how any “archetypal” repertory of Office chant, if such existed in Louis’s reign, could be transmitted and controlled. The textual flexibility characteristic of unnotated early sources of Office chant would seem to preclude melodic stability. What can it really have meant for the inmates of a ninth-century Frankish monastery to sing the “Roman” music of the Office?

## TO SPEAK WELL AND TO SING WISELY: LITURGICAL CHANT AND THE CAROLINGIAN PRINCIPLE OF “CORRECTIO”

Susan Rankin

University of Cambridge

The poet-monk Gottschalk of Orbais ended his life imprisoned at the abbey of Hautvilliers close to Reims. During that confinement (849–868) he composed a grammatical treatise, including a substantial commentary on the grammar and theology of chants sung in the divine office. Since the earliest extant office antiphoner dates only from the 870s, Gottschalk’s earlier commentary is a source of enormous interest for liturgical historians—yet it remains almost unnoticed in musicological literature. It is not for its liturgical significance, however, but for what it conveys about how a mid-ninth-century Carolingian scholar responded to chant texts that I use it to introduce this paper.

Musicologists have studied the history of liturgical chant in the period 750–900 almost exclusively through musical questions, enquiring into the source of the melodies of the Gregorian chant (Rome or the Frankish north, or a combination) and the supposed oral and written means of transmission of those melodies. Evidence provided by the early, unnotated chant books about what was being disseminated/received and when has been largely ignored. Yet these early books reveal a process of editing the chant over a prolonged period, and open up a new view of how the Carolingians treated the chant they inherited—one more complex than has yet been envisaged in the scholarly literature.

Carolingian articulation of the relation between formal learning and the Christian faith reveals a central concern with Latinity, as the basis for the expression of correct doctrine. For our understanding of the history of the Gregorian chant, shifting the focus of enquiry from the dominant scholarly concentration on transmission to Carolingian concerns with correct language is crucial: it offers powerful new tools for exploring Carolingian treatment of chant melodies. Carolingian effort invested in establishing new forms of chant texts inevitably shaped their treatment of the melodies. Rational discourses about music based not on antique number-based knowledge but on linguistic grammar were developed by Carolingian music theorists (now set out with detail and clarity in Atkinson’s *Critical Nexus*). Reading ninth-century music theory texts alongside the central Carolingian texts on language, and especially on language in the liturgy, makes tangible the ways in which grammatical and rhetorical concepts were transferred to the practice of music.

Moreover, if tools analogous to the grammar of language could be used to control good musical performance then our scrutiny of the relation between Gregorian chant and Carolingian

*correctio* has wider historical significance. The idea that liturgical reform was an inevitable requirement for the unity of a highly diverse empire has long been questioned by historians; surely we should now consider—through chant studies—the possibility that it was not unity through ritual sameness but through notions of “correct” ritual performance that the spiritual health of the empire was to be protected.

## HAYDN

Elaine Sisman, Columbia University, Chair

### “HIN IST ALLE MEINE KRAFT”: COMPLETING HAYDN’S OPUS 103

William Drabkin

University of Southampton

Haydn never finished his last string quartet. After completing the quartets for Count Erdödy (op. 76), he embarked on a new set of six, for Prince Lobkowitz, and finished two of these by 1799. Overburdened by other commitments, and in declining health, he made little further progress during the next few years: by 1803 he had composed only an *Andante grazioso* and minuet for a third work. Eventually, he agreed to have these movements published as a separate work, together with the musical motto from his visiting-card with the explanatory text: “All my strength is gone, I am old and weak.”

On their own, the *Andante* and minuet do not, in my view, make a satisfactory composition. It is not so much that they are in different keys: rather, the character of a Classical cyclic instrumental work is determined largely by its outer movements. As these were not composed, the soul—if not the literal heart—of op. 103 is missing. The publication in 2003 of two short sketches in D minor, however, provided a window through which we could glimpse the composer’s idea for a movement that the *Andante* and minuet could have followed. It was, to be sure, the narrowest of windows, comprising just four bars at the beginning and a further four-bar sketch for a cadence in the relative major. (Another, longer quartet sketch, which came to light only a year later, was intended for a different movement, possibly the finale of the same work.)

With an understanding of Haydn’s quartet style, it is, I believe, possible not only to make a plausible connection between the two four-bar sketches but also to complete a sonata exposition closing in F major, to develop these materials across a more wide-ranging tonal canvas, and to devise a recapitulation that imaginatively revisits earlier events. Such a completion would recognize that, while Haydn’s sonata forms usually lack the symmetrical planning of parallel passages as found in Mozart and Beethoven, he nonetheless recycles certain procedures from earlier works. I have adopted some of the generic traits—enharmonic ambiguity just before the first double-bar, bravura decoration of an unstable harmonic progression in the development, and expansion of the first part of the recapitulation—to mark the stylistic boundaries that I have set for the movement (and within which I have tried to work). Yet I also keep in mind the composer’s almost unlimited resourcefulness with regard to form and texture, his ability to add something to our understanding of Classical style with each new work.

Illustrations for my paper will include a live performance of the completed first movement.

ENCOUNTERING THE “MIGHTY MONSTER”:  
HAYDN’S ENGLISH SEA SONGS OF 1794–95

Karen Hiles  
Muhlenberg College

On New Year’s Day, 1791, Haydn crossed the English Channel on his way to London and experienced the vast open sea for the first time in his life, at the age of 58. In a letter a few days later, it is evident that the crossing made a significant impact on him: “I remained on deck during the whole passage, so as to gaze my fill at that mighty monster, the ocean (“das ungeheure Thier das Meer satsam zu betrachten”) . . . Towards the end, when the wind grew stronger and stronger, and I saw the monstrous high waves rushing at us, I became a little frightened, and a little indisposed, too. But I overcame it all and arrived safely.”

Haydn’s impression of the crossing, as well as his continued exposure to the sea, sailors, and ships during his four concert seasons in London, indicate that the sea continued to exert a deep fascination for him. Amidst his hectic concert schedule, he met naval officers and made notes about his visits to port cities and shipyards. His notebook even includes a sketch of a “freship” with its two masts and special cross-beams. The sea found its way into his music from this period as well, always via English texts: the sea songs within the twelve English canzonettas, the aria and chorus from the incomplete cantata *Invocation of Neptune*, and later the cantata “Lines from the Battle of the Nile” composed during Admiral Nelson’s visit to Eisenstadt in 1800.

My paper offers a close reading of Haydn’s two sea songs from the canzonettas, the “Sailor’s Song” and “The Mermaid’s Song.” In investigating this music, I pursue two guiding questions: What can the texts and settings reveal about Haydn’s newfound fascination with the sea? And how did Haydn contribute to musical conceptions of the sea, Britishness, and war during the 1790s? The canzonettas, published in 1794 and 1795 as two sets of six songs for solo voice and keyboard, were some of Haydn’s most popular works in the bustling British amateur music market through the end of his life. Prominently positioned at the head of each set of six canzonettas, the sea songs differ textually and musically: the mermaid, speaking directly through the singer, flirts among rolling waves, shimmering triplets, and sparkling runs in the keyboard, inviting the listener to follow her down, Lorelei-like, to her treasure, while the sailor, whom the singer sings about rather than through, inhabits a more dangerous world above the sea, filled with noise, chaos, martial topoi, and an explicitly British brand of courage. Together, the sea songs paint two complementary visions of Britishness: one emphasizes a delightful prosperity, the other stalwart heroism, but both visions are inextricably connected to the sea.

HAYDN’S COSMOPOLITAN SCOTS

Richard Will  
University of Virginia

When Scottish publishers commissioned Joseph Haydn to write accompaniments for songs like “Cauld Kail in Aberdeen” and “John Anderson My Jo,” titles now considered classics of Scottish folk song, one might have expected him to use the drones, open fifths, and other elements of his familiar rustic manner. Instead, the nearly four hundred keyboard and string accompaniments he furnished between 1791 and 1804 adopt a style of English popular and theater song dating as far back as Purcell. Active, contrapuntal bass lines, replete with

imitations of and suspensions against the melodies, generate textures and harmonies that sound less folksy than urbane, and somewhat archaic by late eighteenth-century standards. Haydn's choice has provoked controversy. Scholars of Scottish music accuse him of distorting folk melodies with inappropriate ornamentation and classical harmony, while Haydn specialists praise his sympathy for the "spirit" of the tunes and their often "non-classical" structure.

My paper argues that Haydn's fidelity to his sources is less significant than the politically fraught tension his accompaniments express, a tension between national distinctiveness and imperial cosmopolitanism that characterizes many eighteenth-century representations of Scotland. As literary historians have emphasized, following the 1707 Act of Union with England Scottish intellectuals strove at once to preserve a sense of national identity and to capitalize on their newfound access to British imperial markets (Leith Davis, Steve Newman, Katie Trumpener). Matthew Gelbart and others have shown that song collections played an important role in this two-edged project, producing a heroic-pastoral image of Scotland that could be sold in England and beyond as well as at home. The mixed goals of the collections are evident in the song texts, which are rarely traditional lyrics but rather revisions or entirely new texts by Scottish poets including Robert Burns. They adjust Scots dialect and subject matter to suit contemporary, English-speaking tastes.

Likewise in the music, many of the tunes set by Haydn had been altered or newly composed within the preceding few decades. His accompaniments in effect continue the process of re-invention, assimilating "folk" characteristics such as plagal cadences and "dual tonics" (e.g., scale degrees 1 and 6 in major modes) into what is otherwise an unmistakable, if somewhat outdated style of "art music." As his publishers undoubtedly hoped, the musical adaptation reinforces the artful rewriting of the song texts. Clothing the melodies in a sophisticated, historically resonant musical style remakes them into the kind of venerable high-art legacy the Scottish intelligentsia wanted to claim for the nation, especially after Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775) declared that Scotland had no culture worth preserving. At the same time, the international familiarity of Haydn's textural and harmonic language de-emphasizes the songs' "Scottishness," rendering them suitable for any salon or musical society that cultivated English-language keyboard song. In that sense the accompaniments stage the artistic and economic integration of Scottish culture into a broader, "British" identity.

## ORCHESTRAL REVOLUTIONS: HAYDN'S LEGACY AND THE HISTORY OF EFFECT

Emily I. Dolan  
University of Pennsylvania

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Haydn was the most famous composer in Europe; he was praised in verse and awarded medals. By the end of the century, by contrast, he had transformed into an affable father figure, an innocuous musical prankster who was respected from a distance; his relevance waned and performances of his works became less frequent. In being marked as the father of the symphony, Haydn became a mere precursor to Mozart and Beethoven, unable to transcend history. Scholars have explored the historical circumstances, myths, and assumptions that allowed Haydn to slip into irrelevance. For Leon Botstein and others, the overwhelming reason for Haydn's waning popularity in the nineteenth century was the demise of what he dubbed "philosophical listening." Botstein argues that Haydn's music contributed to the "philosophical quest for a true, valid and therefore

objective aesthetic experience” manifest most clearly in Kant’s *Critique of Judgment*. Historians, however, would be hard pressed to find evidence that the music of Haydn was celebrated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for its Kantian manifestation of “pure thought.” Indeed, early nineteenth-century histories of music such as de Bawr’s *Histoire de musique* (1823) and Kiesewetter’s *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländische oder unsrer heutigen Musik* (1834) praised Haydn as the leader of dramatic musical revolution that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. This notion is hardly new: scholars routinely turn to this period to show the birth of a new discourse about music; in present-day histories this shift is frequently cast as a by-product of emerging idealist and formalist aesthetics. Nineteenth-century historians, by contrast, emphasized specific changes within musical practice. Haydn’s style of orchestration, which used the wind instruments in new and spectacular ways, fundamentally changed the orchestra’s capacity to create meaning, while his international reputation ensured his works circulated widely. Haydn, according to early historians, trained the European ear to a new mode of listening that was attuned to instrumental “effects.” Indeed, this concept permeates early nineteenth-century discourse; effects were simultaneously praised and criticized: when used well, they transformed the orchestra into a powerful and dazzling ensemble; when misused or abused, they threatened to reduce music to mere noise. Effects therefore became something that critics and composers alike had to either tame or suppress. I examine the legacy of Haydn’s orchestral style, its eventual suppression in later scholarship, and how that suppression altered Haydn’s reception in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

## MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY IN COLD WAR CONTEXTS

Sponsored by the Cold War and Music Study Group

Laura Silverberg, A-R Editions, Organizer

Lee Bidgood, University of Virginia

Elaine Kelly, Edinburgh University

Heather Wiebe, University of Virginia

Hon-Lun Yang, Hong Kong Baptist University

Marcus Zagorski, University College, Cork

Nearly two decades have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the demise of communism in Eastern Europe, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The passing of time has enabled musicologists to approach the Cold War with increasing critical distance, and recent publications and conference presentations offer more nuanced perspectives on the relationship between musical, social, and political developments after the Second World War. Yet Cold War prejudices still risk coloring scholarly investigations into the music of this era.

The assembled panelists will discuss a web of themes relating to music historiography and the Cold War. In particular, this session will consider constructions of the past that emerged after 1945, present-day musicological narratives of the Cold War, and competing conceptions of the musical canon. Panelists will draw from their own research to address the following questions: How did composers and musicians conceive of their musical past, and how did they position their own activities within these carefully constructed historical trajectories? How have authoritarian regimes defined and appropriated the musical heritage? What processes enabled certain musical works to be accepted as part of a musical canon during the Cold

War? Finally, what are effective strategies for studying the music of authoritarian regimes, where access to information is carefully controlled?

The research of the assembled panelists reflects diverse geographic regions, methodologies (from archival research to participant observation), and musical genres. Marcus Zagorski (“Historical Narrative and Aesthetic Judgment: Serial and Post-serial Music in West Germany”) will examine how composers active in West Germany during the 1950s and 1960s believed that the techniques with which they worked were prescribed by history rather than subjectively chosen. His paper cites examples of this conception of history and outlines its effects upon aesthetic judgments in the period. Elaine Kelly (“Conceptions of Canons in a Post-Cold War Climate: Interpreting Narratives of the Past in the GDR”) will explore the limitations of assessing East German music according to aesthetic criteria shaped by the hegemonic “western” canon. In the process, she will suggest alternative means of interpreting narratives of the past in Cold War and post-Cold War contexts. Heather Wiebe (“Britain’s Cold War”) will examine how some of the Cold War’s most pressing issues were addressed in a specifically British context. Focusing on Britten’s treatment of themes of communication and freedom, as posed against the forces of both capitalism and totalitarianism, she suggests that the particularity of British cultural responses to postwar modernity complicates familiar dichotomies of populist and avant-garde, East and West. Lee Bidgood (“Czech Bluegrass Music, Ethnography, and the Liminal Presence of the Past”) will examine how three generations of Czech bluegrass musicians active both during and after the Cold War conceived of their music in terms of an imagined “American” past. Drawing from her research experience in the People’s Republic of China, Hon-Lung Yang (“Researching Music in the People’s Republic of China”) will reflect on the contemporary challenges of studying music of an authoritarian regime, dealing with government censorship, and confronting the socialist worldview ingrained in Chinese historiography.

## PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

**Elisabeth Le Guin, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair**

### PERFORMANCE HISTORY AND BEETHOVEN’S STRING QUARTETS: SETTING THE RECORD CROOKED

Nancy November  
University of Auckland

Scholars of recording history have emphasized a trend towards increasing homogeneity and normalcy in the recording age: the feedback-loops of recording, it has been argued, have inspired increasingly narrow performance traditions at the expense of innovation, especially in the performance of canonic Western classical repertoire. In recent scholarship, early recordings have been held up as touchstones for those seeking more varied, nuanced approaches to performance today.

This study considers the case of Beethoven’s string quartets. Cellist Robert Martin speaks of the “undeniable hold” of performance traditions on performers of these quartets, especially in the recording age. Yet a discographical study of these works gives rise to numerous counter examples to the predicted normalizing trends: departures and anti-trends are equally as important. Data obtained from numerous recordings of these works, spanning an eighty-year

recording history, are summarized and graphed in various ways. This includes qualitative and quantitative data on topics such as tempo, phrasing, vibrato, and bow articulation. Case studies are drawn from the String Quartets op. 18, Nos. 1 and 4; op. 59, No. 1; op. 95; opp. 131; and op. 132. The data on the two late Beethoven quartets are particularly significant: in recordings of these most revered works we might expect certain unwritten performance procedures to have solidified especially readily into standard practice. This is by no means clearly the case. Results for op. 18 and op. 59 are equally various.

To be sure, there are certain trends to observe in recordings of the Beethoven quartets; these occur in movements of a programmatic nature in particular, and in passages that otherwise seem to reach into extra-musical territory: the Adagio from op. 18, No. 1 and the slow movement from op. 131 are considered. The sphere of historically informed Beethoven performance is another area in which we find a certain homogeneity of approach: recordings by the Eroica Quartet and Quatour Mosaïques are discussed. In general, though, the various “voices” of mainstream performers have increasingly opened, rather than closed, these works’ hermenutic windows.

This study reveals a need to maintain a distinction between ideas about how Beethoven’s string quartets should be performed on one hand, and the ways in which performers actually do perform the works on the other. The former reflects what we would like or need to believe about this genre. A brief history of the ideology of string quartet performance is traced, showing recurrent tropes of “selflessness” and “purity” from the early nineteenth century to our time. This a special case of the phenomenon described recently by Mary Hunter, whereby ideals of performance have remained in discourse about performance, although the original socially-based motivation for these ideals is no longer operative.

The persistence of this performance ideology today reflects the perceived need to maintain a stable canon of classical chamber “masterworks,” understood to be embodied in the score. Yet this canon is formed equally around the interests in and of professional quartets: desiring to make their marks in the performing canon, these players seek innovative interpretations.

## “ARTICULATING” THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SLUR

Stephanie Vial

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Confusion concerning whether the role of the slur is one of *articulation* or *punctuation* (i.e. phrasing) prevails among the musical correspondences and theoretical writings of the late nineteenth century. Joseph Joachim, in a letter to Brahms, states the case plainly. In the legato, he explains, it is awkward to distinguish where the slur simply indicates a bow stroke or where it signifies a division of the note groups according to sense. Matthis Lussy, while he takes great care to define the slur as it is characteristically described among eighteenth-century treatises (with a gentle release of the final note), then proceeds to treat such “articulations,” even when they consist of only two notes, as points of punctuation (inserting commas and semicolons directly into the musical notation). Hugo Riemann, after initially rejecting the idea of using the legato curve (*Legatobogen*) as a phrasing guide (because it is too easily confused with the slur symbol) becomes the phrasing slur’s preeminent champion. Yet in formulating what he terms the “new office” for the slur—the “articulation” of musical thought (themes, periods, movements) into its natural divisions (phrases)—Riemann continues to assert a sharp distinction between the domains of *articulation* and *phrasing*. The former is mechanical and technical,

and the latter (much loftier) is ideational (*ideelles*) and perceptual (*perceptuelles*). It is also in the late nineteenth century that the very concept of *musical articulation* begins to make its way into dictionaries, encyclopedias, and method books, both as a standardized category encompassing staccato and legato expressions, and as a synonym for phrasing.

I explore both how evolving concepts of the nineteenth-century slur impact interpretations of earlier works (for instance Lussy's analysis of Mozart's Piano Sonata, K. 332), as well as compositions contemporary with the evolution itself, particularly the layered slurs in the opening solo cello passage from the Andante of Brahms' Piano Concerto No. 2, op. 83 (which I will demonstrate on the cello). I argue that for modern performance and analysis, the ultimate triumph of the phrasing slur (in spite of Schenker's 1925 call to abolish it) has resulted in the treatment of articulation as a kind of subcategory of phrasing which not only limits articulation's (and particularly the slur's) expressive power, but also one's ability to phrase effectively.

SHORT OCTAVES *MÜSSEN SEIN!* HANSWURST, SAUSCHNEIDER,  
AND HAYDN'S CAPRICCIO IN G MAJOR, HOB. XVII:1

Tom Beghin  
McGill University

Admired for its forward-looking harmonic language, contrapuntal prowess and original formal proportions, Haydn's 1765 Capriccio on "Acht Sauschneider müssen sein" ("It Takes Eight to Castrate a Boar") has been called a "watershed in the history of keyboard music" (Brown, 1986) or a "turning point in Haydn's composition of keyboard music" pointing to "a new way forward" that was "partly illuminated by the writings of C. P. E. Bach" (Somfai, 1995). Less concerned with historiography of genre (where notions of "turning points" or "new directions" unavoidably start infusing one's prose), this paper suggests a more conservative stance. The Capriccio, rather than "looking forward," reconnects with Haydn's old activities in the 1750s as a theatrical collaborator with comic genius Kurz/Bernardon. The roots of the piece, furthermore, are quintessential Viennese or Austrian.

Acknowledged, though not yet fully explored in the literature, is the fact that Haydn specifically intended this piece for a keyboard with a "Viennese short octave." Exactly this feature on a newly constructed harpsichord (Pühringer, 2005, after Leydecker, 1755) brings out striking connections with the Austrian folk song, where, from one verse to the next, eight become seven, and seven six, until the one remaining Sauschneider (lit. pig-cutter) manages to "catch, hold, bind, and make the cut" (Frier, 1932). Similar sarcasm and vivid imagination permeate the Capriccio—both tangible and visible. An initial illusion of power (the physical capacity to play wide spans with the left hand) makes way for embarrassment, as the short octave, through subsequent sections, becomes more and more a handicap. Is the performer victim of the situation, or can she regain control and become stage-worthy actor herself?

I will suggest a narrative that casts the performer as Hanswurst, the popular comic figure on the early-to-mid-eighteenth Viennese theater stage, who embodied the same ambiguity between naive and skilled. That Hanswurst's creator Stranitzky had borrowed more than just a costume from the stereotypical Salzburg Sauschneider or peasant (Melton, 2007; Rommel, 1952) adds to an interpretation of Haydn's Capriccio as a pantomimic exercise, along the lines of his own previous collaborations with Kurz/Bernardon.

Improvisation has been stressed more for Mozart (his variations) or C. P. E. Bach (his fantasies) than Haydn, whose "fantasizing at the keyboard" has typically been studied in connection

with composition (“hitting upon an idea and sustaining it according to the rules of art”; Webster, 2005; Wheelock, 2008). This paper explores the rough sides of Haydn’s improvising. But in the same way as acting *aus dem Stegereif* was perceived as threatening and eventually banned by Habsburg authorities, I will argue that the 1788 print of the Sauschneider Capriccio carried with it a certain degree of “censorship.” An intriguing post-scriptum, in this respect, is provided by Haydn’s own C Major “Fantasy” Hob.XVII:4, published shortly after the Capriccio print and written “in a most humorous hour” in exploration of his new square piano on a text (largely unexplored in the literature) about a farmer’s wife, her husband, their cat, and a mouse—had memories of slapstick comedy and sexual innuendo been kindled?

## BUILDING “AUTHENTICITIES”: BOSTON SCHOOL HARPSICHORD APPRENTICES AND THE REVIVAL OF MANUAL LABOR

Jessica Wood  
Duke University

In 1946, fresh back from World War II, harpsichord maker to-be Frank Hubbard enrolled in the English Ph.D. program at Harvard. Months into his studies, he began feeling what he called “a sort of general malaise” and found himself increasingly off-task and browsing the stacks in Widener Library’s organology section. He soon learned that one of his old Harvard classmates, Bill Dowd, was at the moment toying with the idea of building a harpsichord. So, Hubbard and Dowd put their heads together and decided to “authentically” reconstruct all the instruments of the Baroque orchestra, tackling first the harpsichord. Hubbard dropped out of the English program and, after brief apprenticeships for existing harpsichord makers, he and Dowd began production on Tremont Street in Boston’s South End, building and selling based on seventeenth and eighteenth century prototypes. They were promptly swamped with orders and known to the Northeastern media as the “Boston School” of harpsichord making, central to the region’s burgeoning Early Music scene.

During the 1950s, ’60s, and ’70s, New England newspapers and weeklies ran frequent human-interest stories on the “Boston School,” on the former Harvard students who traded intellectual for manual labor. By the 1960s, after Hubbard and Dowd split into two different shops, hundreds of applications poured in from Northeastern youth hoping to land apprenticeships in harpsichord building. In 1972, Dowd reported receiving 150 applications a year and in 1978, that he still received several letters a week.

In their letters, prospective apprentices wrote of disenchantment with modernity’s cultural “decline,” of the drudgery of their professional livelihoods, of being divorced from the tangible results of their labor and chained to predictable life paths dictated by their social circles. Some described the appeal of immersing themselves in the technology and the carpentry methods of a previous age and of championing and reviving an instrument decimated during the Industrial Revolution. Feeling themselves to be “outsiders” displaced by modern shifts in technology and culture, they developed personal investments in the story of the harpsichord’s displacement by the modern piano.

Drawing on upon Hubbard and Dowd company correspondence, 1970s shop footage, news and magazine articles, as well as oral histories among former employees, this paper outlines how in the 1960s and ’70s, harpsichord building facilitated forms of subtle resistance for the upwardly mobile, enabling the subversion of modern professionalism, of the efficient management of time and money. Attending to apprentices’ discourse surrounding different tasks

(such as planing soundboards, voicing, tuning, regulating, or painting), I show that these young men and women located themselves outside the “mainstream” by reorienting their everyday around the temporal discipline of slow, painstaking, historically-derived processes and thwarting modernity’s temporalities of 24-hour clocks and accelerated productivity schedules. Ultimately, I contend that the apprentices linked this type of labor to an ideology of “outsider authenticity”—the authenticity of living and working outside the trajectories of technological progress, professional advancement, middle class domesticity, and capital accumulation.

## REPRESENTATION IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC

Jane Fulcher, University of Michigan, Chair

### DELIBES AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRADITIONS

Carlo Caballero

University of Colorado, Boulder

Although historians take Bizet’s *Carmen* as a turning point (or point of no return) in the history of French opéra comique, this narrow focus has detracted from understanding Parisian comic operas of the same period. The richness of Delibes’s *Le roi l’a dit* (1873, revived 1885) stems precisely from its masterful exploitation of a century of accumulated conventions. If Bizet’s work retains the normal framework of an opéra comique but explodes its aesthetic effect, Delibes’s work treats the conventions of the genre so virtuosically as to make its historical and political mechanisms manifest. The effect is one of “functional” or “bifocal” historicism, because the formal and vocal conventions the work embraces had an unbroken history. Yet while they remained modern at the Opéra-Comique, their manipulation in the piece highlights their long-standing historical status. This landscape of continuities between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, already subtle, is further charged by moments of archaism prompted by the opera’s seventeenth-century plot.

Delibes had a particular aptitude for identifying with older styles and aesthetic values, not only in *Le roi l’a dit*, but also in *Sylvia* (1876) and *Le roi s’amuse* (1882). Indeed, in his readiness to adopt long-standing traditions and constraints of the theaters he worked for, Delibes (like Auber and Adam) sometimes seems to operate as if he were an eighteenth-century composer. This overall traditionalism has perhaps disguised those moments properly described as historicist, where the evocation of past styles serves to underscore changed circumstances.

*Le roi l’a dit* takes the concept of “noblesse” in particular as an object of comic reversals and commentary. Gondinet’s libretto unhinges nobility from its premises in birthright and civilized character in order to allow it to shift location through the course of the plot. The Marquis is of ancient family but cannot achieve distinction in any of the noble arts; Javotte, a servant, has the social graces of a noblewoman; and the bumbling peasant Benoit wishes for, acquires, and finally discards the mask of nobility. Such juggling with social categories is deeply rooted in the traditions of comic opera. But Delibes treats the musical symbols of his genre with peculiar precision in relation to such musical relics as the minuet (the score offers no less than three of them) and gavotte, as well as the modern waltz. Delibes also exploits the eighteenth-century hierarchy of musical meters with Mozartian acuteness, now working from long tradition, now developing new possibilities (as when the stymied quartet marking Benoit’s sudden and unjustified elevation to nobility is set in a lopsided 5/4). This quartet, a

linchpin of social disorder in the opera, poses a very nineteenth-century question about aristocracy in the form of a seventeenth-century fiction. Although set in the Versailles of Louis XIV, the opera's ironic treatment of nobility also reflects the political history of nineteenth-century France and the persistent social authority of the aristocracy in the period around the founding of the Third Republic.

## RESTORING LOST MEANINGS IN MUSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF EXOTIC "OTHERS"

Ralph Locke

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Western art music abounds in works that evoke an exotic locale or culture. But, with the passing years and the fading of cultural memory, any work tends to lose its connection to the contexts and accepted images that shaped it. Recent discussions of musical exoticism (or, as some put it, exotic musical "topics") by Bartoli, Bellman, Betzwieser, Bohlman/Radano, Born/Hesmondhalgh, Dahlhaus, Day-O'Connell, Locke, Monelle, Scott, Taylor, Taruskin, and Whaples have not adequately addressed the ways in which two types of contexts—(1) musical and (2) extramusical—can help recover lost meanings of an exotic work.

1. A given exotic work often relies upon a listener's (critic's, scholar's, performer's) familiarity with well-established musical signifiers of Otherness. Prior exotic pieces that are particularly relevant to the work in question can help us listen with something closer to a "period ear." The unprecedented heterophonic opening of Beethoven's chorus of Turkish-Muslim dervishes (from *The Ruins of Athens*, posthumously published in 1846) is, I propose, closely echoed in the opening of Balakirev's *Islamey* (1869) and of Musorgsky's *Night on the Bare Mountain* (1867, a work never mentioned as having exotic resonances).

2. Many exotic works specify their intended locale through a title or program, or (in stage works) through sets and costumes. Yet exotic portrayals in music—e.g., symphonic poems or ballets—are often performed and disseminated with no reference to these basic clues. CD booklets for Ketèlbey's *In a Persian Market* regularly fail to reproduce the composer's published (and closely narrative) program. Likewise, concerts including Ravel's "Laideronnette, impératrice des pagodas"—from *Ma Mère l'Oye*—rarely provide the audience with the score's vivid seventeenth-century epigraph about chattering little East Asian gods and goddesses.

The second half of my paper examines in detail the exotic resonances of important passages from two major ballet scores of 1911–13.

—In Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*, exotic meanings (proposed by Kramer, 1995) can be made more specific in regard to the war dance of the (North African, I argue) pirates.

—In Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, moments associated with the Moor and with the Asian Magician have gone unnoticed or else have been misconstrued by critics and scholars. Danced performances also have mangled crucial dramatic details (e.g., what *Petrushka* should mime during the manifestly Eastern-sounding passages in the famous tableau where he is alone in his dark cell).

Evidence to be considered regarding the intended exotic overtones in both ballets includes (in accord with point 1 above) closely comparable musical features from six exotic works as well as (point 2) drawings and photos of the original stagings and sets. The six exotic works that I adduce as particularly relevant were all well familiar to musicians and music lovers at the time: Mozart's Rondo alla turca, Beethoven's Turkish March (from the aforementioned *Ruins*

of Athens), Verdi's *Aida* (Nile Scene), Borodin's *In the Steppes of Central Asia*, and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sheherazade* and (from *The Golden Cockerel*) "Hymn to the Sun."

## DEBUSSY, VILLON, AND THE *ODE À LA FRANCE*

Marianne Wheeldon  
University of Texas, Austin

In 1928, Debussy's *Ode à la France* was premiered at a gala commemorating the tenth anniversary of the composer's death. Unfinished in 1918, this patriotic cantata for soprano, chorus, and orchestra was to dramatize the execution of Jeanne d'Arc, using a libretto written by Debussy's friend, the musicologist Louis Laloy. Initially thought to be lost, the manuscript was later rediscovered by Emma Debussy who, along with Laloy, contracted the composer Marius-François Gaillard to complete and orchestrate the work. In anticipation of the premiere, Laloy published several articles explaining the circumstances surrounding the realization of the *Ode* and his involvement in its completion. In each of these articles, Laloy states that the *Ode à la France* "flows from the same inspiration as *Le martyr de Saint Sébastien*, in as pure a style and with even more poignant feeling."

Following Laloy's lead, many commentators have continued to link these two works. But this connection is misleading, as the surviving text and music of the *Ode à la France* reveal that the influence of the fifteenth-century French poet François Villon was far more important to the work's conception. Laloy's opening verses accurately imitate the form and syllabic structure of Villon's *Ballades*, while Debussy's music offers tangible connections to his other Villon-inspired works: the *Trois Ballades de François Villon* (1910) and the second movement of *En blanc et noir* (1915), originally subtitled *Ballade de Villon contre les ennemis de la France*. Moreover, this scenario allowed Debussy in 1917 to comment upon the current wartime situation, via the parallels to the French fifteenth century, its national heroine and her battle with a foreign invader. But the *Ode à la France* also represents the culmination of the composer's efforts to link himself to a national heritage. Debussy delved deep into the past to associate his name with a renowned medieval poet and the preeminent emblem of French nationhood.

Why, then, has the link to Villon all but disappeared in the reception of the *Ode à la France*, and why was Laloy complicit in this obfuscation? One reason may have to do with the changed cultural climate of 1920s France, where the wartime jingoism of works like the *Ode* now seemed distasteful. Another reason had to do with the details of the *Ode's* completion. The textual and musical additions made by Laloy and Gaillard to the latter portions of the composition—insertions that were never disclosed—overwhelmed the presence of Villon in the first part of the work. However, by comparing the manuscript with the piano score published in 1928, it is possible to distinguish Debussy's music from these later additions, and to recover his original conception of the *Ode à la France* from its posthumous realization.

## EROTIC AMBIGUITY IN RAVEL'S MUSIC

Lloyd Whitesell  
McGill University

In discussing the performance of his piano music, Ravel once explained to Vlado Perlemuter how "a mocking smile must sometimes stifle lyrical ardor." His maxim reflects a modernist stance of ironic detachment—inflected, I would argue, by a queer perspective. As

is commonly known, in life the composer adopted the aloof public personae of dandy and bachelor-artist, presenting himself as an aesthetic project free from sexual entanglements. Ravel's avowed commitment to bachelorhood should be read in light of the strong currents of suspicion brought to bear on the unmarried in the later nineteenth century, as Jean Borie has shown in *Le célibataire français*. The question remains how such a nonconformist orientation may resonate in Ravel's creative expression. I draw theoretical insight from the phenomenological approach of sociologist Henning Bech. Bech has analyzed the modern homosexual condition in terms of personal "tunings" related to social stigma and incongruity. In his account the experience of an ill fit with social norms leads to a variety of possible reactive strategies (including aloofness, avoidance, fantasizing, provocation), many of which I find suggestive of aesthetic strategies as well.

Armed with this insight, I develop a characterization of Ravel's posture of ironic aloofness as heard in three pieces: the song cycle *Shéhérazade*, and the piano pieces "Ondine" (from *Gaspard de la nuit*) and *Valses nobles et sentimentales*. Focusing on the representation of erotic desire to make the queer connections more cogent, I consider dramatic scenarios, gestural patterns, and climactic passages, paying particular attention to rhetorical effect and expressive tone. Rather than offering detailed readings of individual pieces, I identify an array of tropes (self-containment, paradox, teasing, evasion) bespeaking an ironic conception of desire.

*Saturday noon, 14 November*

**AN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MASS INTRODUCED:  
THE ANONYMOUS *MISSA SINE NOMINE* IN JenaU 21  
Zoe Saunders, University of Illinois**

Gravitación: Ensemble for Early Music (Urbana-Champaign):  
Sherezade Panthaki, Jay Carter, Daniel Carberg, and Matthew Leese

Anonymous works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represent a fascinating repertory that has not, hitherto, received much attention from scholars or performers. In my dissertation, *Anonymous Masses in the Alamire Manuscripts: Toward a New Understanding of a Repertoire, an Atelier, and Renaissance Courts*, eight anonymous masses are edited and analyzed for the first time: my work has involved the anonymous masses in the so-called Alamire manuscripts, related to the Burgundian-Habsburg court in the early sixteenth century. In this lecture recital I will discuss, and Gravitacion will perform, one of these masses: the *Missa sine nomine* preserved uniquely in Jena, Universitäts und Landesbibliothek, MS 21. This four-voice mass is representative of the anonymous repertory in the Alamire manuscripts, which includes twenty-two masses.

The lecture explores the context of the mass within Jena, Universitätsbibliothek 21, its only source, and its musical style. Unlike other Alamire manuscripts, the relatively plain JenaU 21, one of eleven Alamire manuscripts owned by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, has no obvious unifying repertorial theme, and none of its masses are found in any other manuscript in the complex. The first five, by Josquin, La Rue, and Pipelare, date from the early sixteenth century, while the latter three, by one Io. de Pratis (interpreted as Josquin, but arguably another composer), Weerbeke, and this anonymous composer, were composed much earlier.

The anonymous *Missa sine nomine* in JenaU 21 is characterized by pervasive imitative duos, parallel motion, close imitation at the openings of sections, and heavy reliance on sequential writing, especially at the ends of sections. Its composer was particularly sensitive to text setting, regularly changing texture or introducing new motives at new phrases of text, lending particular emphasis to text relating to Christ. Using a rather conservative style, the composer skillfully combines paired imitative duos with homophonic passages, often following them with shorter, homophonic, paired duos, resulting in a textural stretto. These compositional traits suggest a date before the 1510s, which would put the anonymous composer in the same generation, and probably the same milieu, as Weerbeke and the different anonymous composer of the *Missa Alles regretz* sometimes attributed to Josquin, with which it was evidently copied into JenaU 21.

The composer's masterly handling of counterpoint, sensitivity to text setting, eloquent use of sequence, and inventive but consistent use of melodic material demonstrate that this *Missa sine nomine* is of high quality and should be included in our canon of Renaissance sacred polyphony. With this performance, the next stage—that of introducing these masses to the concert repertory of early music and the public—begins.

**PIANO MUSIC IN VIENNA BEYOND THE SECOND VIENNESE  
SCHOOL: AN EXPLORATION OF THE REPERTORIES IN THE  
CONTEXT OF ALBAN BERG'S PIANO SONATA, OP. 1**  
Seda Röder, Harvard University, piano

PROGRAM

Mazurka— <i>im Carneval</i>	Richard Heuberger (1850–1914)
Piano Sonata, op. 88	Robert Fuchs (1847–1927)
Three Piano Pieces, op. 9	Egon Wellesz (1885–1974)
Piano Sonata, op. 23	Conrad Ansoerge (1862–1930)
Piano Sonata, op. 1	Alban Berg (1885–1935)

Two significant compositional trends and their continuous conflict mark the turn of the century in Vienna. On the one hand we observe a group of composers around Schoenberg that builds upon and expands the musical language of the so called “New German School.” On the other hand we observe composers who form a counterpart to these developments by following in the footsteps of Brahms and the “Old German School” that was associated with him.

While the continuation of the “New German School” paved the way for the so called “Second Viennese School” and made its way into the canon of music history, the repertoires that glorified and built upon a Brahmsian romanticism have not been paid much attention by scholars.

This concert program revives four pieces from these unexplored repertoires of fin-de-siècle Vienna and juxtaposes them with Berg’s Piano Sonata, op. 1.

Each of these pieces was composed and published in the years between 1908 and 1911, when Berg composed his sonata and Schoenberg published his Three Piano Pieces, op. 11. While the pieces by Heuberger and Fuchs demonstrate how composers who made up the Brahmsian front were situating themselves within a conservative musical tradition, the works by Wellesz and Ansoerge exhibit two models of connecting these Brahmsian modes of composing with the newer understanding of expanded tonality. This approach of fusing old and new—also a prominent aspect of the Piano Sonata, op. 1—had a remarkable influence on the development of Berg’s compositional style throughout his career and shaped our view of him as the most “conservative” composer of the “Second Viennese School.”

By exploring these unknown repertoires, I hope to offer a more comprehensive picture of early-twentieth-century music in Vienna and contribute to a better understanding of the compositional development of young Alban Berg.

**WALTER GIESEKING AS COMPOSER:  
PREMIERES OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS  
FROM HIS UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS**  
**Frank R. Latino, University of Maryland, College Park**

With performers from the University of Maryland School of Music  
Maxwell Brown, piano; Joy Mentzel, piano;  
Michael Mentzel, baritone; Alyssa Moquin, cello;  
Onyu Park, soprano; Shelby Sender, piano

Walter Giesecking (1895–1956) became one of the most celebrated pianists of the twentieth century, yet little is known about his life and even less about his compositions. Over the past decade there has been an upsurge of interest in his music, including the republication of his 21 *Kinderlieder*, the second of his *Drei Tanz Improvisationen* for piano (published as a “Tempo di Charleston”), and the first publication of his *Divertimento* for Clarinet in A and String Quartet, but a large body of his work has remained unknown. In this lecture-recital, we explore Giesecking as composer by examining unpublished works and other materials recently discovered in his personal archives in Wiesbaden, Germany. This vast collection, which is privately maintained by the Giesecking family, includes clippings, correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, programs, scrapbooks, and a myriad of other memorabilia. Until now, these rare documents have never been made completely available for research, and slides of many items will be presented publicly for the first time.

Giesecking’s first works date back to 1903, and his manuscripts show that he continued to compose until his final years. He took this purported “hobby” most seriously, with the intention of having his music printed and performed. He periodically played his own music at home and abroad, often with distinguished colleagues (the muses for his works in many cases), and a number of his compositions were sold by three German publishers and Hawkes & Son in London. He also had his 21 *Kinderlieder* (1934–35), settings of poems by Richard and Paula Dehmel, issued privately, doubtless to circumvent the Nazi restrictions on publishing texts by Jewish authors.

An avid promoter of contemporary music, especially during the first half of his career, Giesecking succeeded in developing a personal, modern yet tonal compositional style. The quality of his output is convincing and illustrates his largely unknown creative talent. The program comprises solo piano works, a piece for piano duet, a variety of Lieder, a melodrama for speaker and piano, and a set of variations for cello and piano, and all will receive their first public performance. These compositions enable us to trace Giesecking’s development as a composer through six periods: (1) the conservatory years, (2) the World War I years (when he served as a military musician), (3) the Weimar era, (4) the National Socialist era, (5) the World War II years, and (6) the post-war era. An accompanying look at Giesecking’s memorabilia, memoirs, correspondence, and other primary source materials enhances our understanding of his life and career during each period and allows us to place his output from each era into its proper context.

Giesecking’s unpublished works demonstrate his wide-ranging interests as a composer and ability to write in multiple genres. When we consider his unpublished music alongside the published, we discover a dedicated composer, whose fine works are well worthy of revival.

*Saturday afternoon, 14 November*

**AMERICAN MODERNISM**  
**Carol J. Oja, Harvard University, Chair**

HENRY COWELL AS SYSTEMATIC INNOVATOR: THE EARLY  
DEVELOPMENT OF “DISSONANT COUNTERPOINT”

John D. Spilker  
Florida State University

Locating a composer's notebooks or sketchbooks remains among the most significant discoveries for scholars interested in tracing the progression of a particular work or perhaps even the cultivation of a specific compositional style. The importance of such a finding multiplies when it also allows for the reconsideration of a larger historical narrative. Henry Cowell's notebook devoted to “dissonant governed counterpoint” is one of eleven counterpoint notebooks contained in Box 31 of the Henry Cowell Papers at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. The significance of this new source is threefold. First, it provides information about dissonant counterpoint during the earliest stage of its development. Second, the notebook documents Cowell's active involvement in developing a compositional practice that has heretofore been exclusively attributed to Charles Seeger. Finally, the document reveals insights about Cowell that challenge existing biographical narratives about the composer. Thus, the Cowell archive, which was made available to the public in 2000, becomes a source for rewriting the historical record.

Cowell studied with Seeger at the University of California, Berkeley from 1914 to 1917, during which time they both worked on developing “dissonant counterpoint,” a systematic approach to using dissonance based on subverting the conventional rules of counterpoint. The compositional practice was one of many developed during the early twentieth century, when composers were searching for new musical techniques. Other examples include Claude Debussy's parallel successions of tertian-based seventh and ninth chords, Aleksandr Skryabin's non-triadic “mystic chord,” and Arnold Schoenberg's twelve-tone method.

Scholarly sources anecdotally mention that Cowell wrote musical exercises in personal notebooks during his work with Seeger. Ten of the eleven surviving notebooks in the Cowell archive contain exercises using standard contrapuntal practices and demonstrate Cowell's careful study of traditional techniques. The other notebook contains written instructions for using dissonant counterpoint along with forty-three exercises that explore the method. The exercises are written using one of three different cantus firmi and the five species associated with counterpoint pedagogy. The notebook begins with twenty-six two-voice exercises, which progress in order from the first through the fifth species. These are followed by seventeen three-voice exercises, which also follow the same systematic progression through the five species. The only other surviving source that discusses dissonant counterpoint shortly after its early development is Cowell's book, *New Musical Resources*, which was completed in 1919, two years after his work with Seeger, and published in 1930. It offers a prose description of the method and only one musical example of the technique.

In addition to containing valuable information about dissonant counterpoint, Cowell's notebook provides evidence of his work habits and values. Cowell was a systematic and

tenacious innovator, who revered tradition as well as experimental techniques. He also placed a strong emphasis on the practical application of new ideas in addition to their theoretical development. These traits, which made Cowell the ideal candidate to disseminate the compositional practice from the late 1910s through the late 1950s, challenge current scholarly depictions of the composer as an undisciplined bohemian.

THE COMPOSER AS WAR CORRESPONDENT:  
*MODERN MUSIC* DURING WORLD WAR II

Beth E. Levy  
 University of California, Davis

In September of 1944, Minna Lederman wrote to Aaron Copland, “News from Europe is all that people want right now.” Her words are noteworthy in part because they show her in editorial command of the cadre of American composer-critics (including Henry Cowell and Virgil Thomson) who manned the journal *Modern Music*, active in New York from 1924 to 1946. More remarkable still is the type of “news” that Lederman had in mind—not critical reportage on Parisian premieres or analysis of the latest Viennese stylistic trends, but news of the most baldly political sort: the latest edicts from Hitler’s Germany, accounts of American soldiers “from the front,” and human interest stories from occupied France. On Lederman’s wish list were reports from “London, Paris, Rome and any other place you can think of that’s being what we call liberated. . . . If we could only have from all those countries and eventually Germany and Austria a story of music under the swastika!” Lederman got what she wanted. With regular columnists stationed in major European capitals, *Modern Music* was well positioned to cover the conflict. In the process, however, the journal was radically transformed in ways that even Lederman may not have foreseen.

Through close reading of *Modern Music* and broader engagement with the cultural histories of the 1930s and ’40s, this paper will explore three such transformations. Most striking is the sheer volume and powerful framing of war news, including articles with dramatic titles like “Suicide in Vienna.” Recent emigrés chose to contribute under pseudonyms like “Fugitivus” or “X-1941” in order to protect their associates. The journal’s readers knew precisely when it became unsafe to have a Jewish wife under the Third Reich, and just how difficult it was for Germaine Tailleferre to find both staff paper and food as the war unfolded. Lederman also sought to capture the experiences of the many musician-soldiers who found themselves on the European front. Perhaps unintentionally, such coverage quickly broadened the stylistic scope of the journal, which began to cover band music, radio arrangements of swing, and surveys of favorite army entertainments. The journal’s newly patriotic tone is proclaimed in stars-and-stripes advertisements preserved at the Library of Congress: “music is a weapon of modern war!” In my view the most far reaching side effect of *Modern Music*’s wartime coverage involved the treatment of racial and national categories by American music critics. Horrified by the Aryanism of Nazi Germany and its attendant politicization of musical style, American critics became much more squeamish in their own references to typically “Jewish” traits, the influence of “Latin blood,” or the musical habits of the Anglo-Saxon “race soul.” The demise of the journal in 1946 makes it impossible to say whether its attention to popular music and current events would have survived a transition to peacetime journalism. But the trenchant attacks it published on the evils of “nationalism” (by Roger Sessions, Alfred Einstein, and

Manfred Bukofzer, among others) have remained a touchstone for contemporary music journals to this day.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE COMPOSERS' COLLECTIVE:  
MUSICAL OR POLITICAL FIASCO?

Maria Cristina Fava

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

The search for an American identity in music that characterized the years of the Great Depression coincided with the end of the “roaring twenties” and its jazz age, and with a widespread demand for a music that could instill and sustain faith in a brighter future. Some composers tried to build this new national image by seeking inspiration in the mythology of the American West. Less well known today, a group of young artists of leftist persuasion living in New York—including among others Charles Seeger, Elie Siegmeister, Earl Robinson, Lan Adomian, Marc Blitzstein, Norman Cazden, and Henry Leland Clarke—sought inspiration in the political value of music. An increased interest in radical politics and the growing importance of the labor movement throughout the 1930s characterized their turn to the left, encouraging them to pursue the development of an art music that would be free of many of the (perceived) constraints of European traditions. Under the sway of the Communist Party, they envisioned proletarian music as an emerging musical style comparable to Classicism or Romanticism. Looking for a musical language that could communicate with the masses and give voice to their needs, they aimed to establish an “American proletarian music.”

There were two inherent problems, one aesthetic and the other political, that prevented the radical movement from reaching its objectives. The compositional modernist path previously pursued by most of its members clashed with the goals of a “proletarian composer” who would have to utilize a simpler language to connect with the working class and meet the needs of its performers and listeners. My paper addresses this dichotomy through the analysis of some striking examples of the “new” musical style included in two *Workers Song Books*, compiled by the Composers' Collective and published by the Workers Music League in 1934 and 1935. But equally accountable for the demise of proletarian music is the Communist Party that, following the new directives of the Popular Front culture politics, in 1935 abandoned the promotion of music as a weapon in the class struggle. The analysis of articles and editorials published in 1934 and 1935 in the *Daily Worker* shows that without political support the dream of an American proletarian musical style, of a musical language that could communicate with wide audiences and give voice to their needs, vanished.

In conclusion, I demonstrate that, in their attempt at embracing proletarian music, these composers proved unable to divest themselves of a degree of intellectual and aesthetic elitism. Nonetheless, they were able to create a distinctive moment in American music history and, even if their trajectory was as ephemeral as the tail of a comet, it offers a unique perspective on the intersection between musical, political and social life during the Great Depression. Ultimately, they contributed in their own way, and as substantially as the ultra-modernists, the neo-romantics, and the cowboy-style Americanists to the kaleidoscopic musical world of the 1930s in New York City.

SERIAL “TYRANNY” WITH A CHUBBY CHECKER  
TWIST: SCHUMAN’S SEVENTH SYMPHONY AND  
QUESTIONS OF HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Steve Swayne  
Dartmouth College

I discuss four interrelated topics that emerge from the compositional history and reception of William Schuman’s *Symphony no. 7* (1960): the traces of the Philadelphia Orchestra as the work’s original commissioner; the impact of serialism in America in the late 1950s; the concurrent impact of popular music in Schuman’s life and work; and recent attempts to reinterpret those forces upon music from this period in American history.

In October 1954 the Koussevitzky Music Foundation, on behalf of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, commissioned Schuman to compose a work in honor of the Orchestra’s seventy-fifth anniversary. Schuman initially imagined a work for chorus and orchestra, but by 1958 he had decided on a piece for instruments only. The work itself was premiered in October 1960, its delay explained in part by Schuman’s decision to accept a commission from the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1959. Through letters, holographs, and the music itself, I will first explain how and why this never-performed Philadelphia work mutated into the *Seventh Symphony*.

Second, I will discuss a previously unknown and contemporaneous manuscript in which Schuman experimented with serial techniques. This period also finds Schuman writing to two other composers who were employing serialism at the time (George Rochberg in his *Second Symphony* of 1956 and Aaron Copland in his *Piano Fantasy* of 1957). The manuscript, the correspondence with Rochberg and Copland, Schuman’s personal study of the music of Webern in 1959, and occasional references to twelve-tone organization in the *Symphony* all show Schuman struggling to essay serialism’s place in late 1950s America.

Third, I will position Schuman against the revisionist historiography advanced by Joseph Straus in his articles and book about twelve-tone music in the United States. As Straus himself states, “we should focus on providing thicker descriptions of the full range of musical activity—histories that acknowledge modernist styles, including twelve-tone serialism, as vibrant strands within the postmodern musical fabric.” (Straus, 2008: 390) In revealing the tensions Schuman expressed and experienced during these years, I will assert that, while a serial “tyranny” may not ineluctably emerge from the documents and performances of the day, a certain serial agita was undeniably felt and transmitted by Schuman at the time.

Lastly, I will look at some of the serial gestures found in Bernstein’s contemporaneous theater music as well as correspondence from Schuman to the publisher of one of his Tin Pan Alley songs and show that Schuman, like Bernstein, hoped to expand the repertoire of popular music of the day. I will join with Straus in arguing against a Darmstadt model for serialism in the United States and argue that, for American composers of the late 1950s, the rise of rock presented a competing challenge to serialism. I will conclude with a final examination of the *Seventh Symphony* and consider how intersections of twelve-tone and popular sounds in this work as well as in the lives of Schuman and other composers from this era allow for multiple approaches to interpreting this music.

## BRITISH TOPICS

Byron Adams, University of California, Riverside, Chair

AH MONEY MONEY! THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN  
MUSIC INDUSTRY IN RESTORATION LONDONAndrew Pinnock  
University of Southampton

Though the importance of concert promoting ventures, of music publishing activities and of commercial investment in “semi-opera” has long been appreciated (semi-opera was a multimedia play-cum-concert format, essentially), the degree of business integration achieved by closely collaborating music entrepreneurs in Restoration London is only now emerging.

Court musicians also worked in the theatre. Court-subsidized rehearsal kept the theatre’s music budget within bounds. Court-sponsored experiments in orchestration fed through to the theatre via overlapping personnel, stimulating consumer interest in instruments, instrumental lessons and sheet music. Instrument makers like Pierre Jaillard (“Peter Bressan”) and William Bull, pedagogues like John Banister II and John Lenton—likely members of Purcell’s theatre orchestra—were paid to advertise their own merchandise. Famous theatre singers pulled crowds (at double the ticket prices charged for standard plays), inspired amateurs to copycat action, helped to sell song books and, by making repertoire selection increasingly fashion-sensitive, fuelled demand for singing lessons: there were more new songs to keep up with.

As composer, musical director, self-publisher, private tutor, and skilful exploiter of someone else’s royal warrant (“Their Majesties’ Theatre” doubled as his business headquarters), Henry Purcell had both opportunity and incentive to re-engineer time-honoured producer-consumer relationships. In the space of a generation he and his associates replaced the familiar patronage model with one of restricted (as far as possible monopolistic) commercial supply to the fast-expanding musical public in London and beyond—a revolution in cultural politics and cultural economics with implications deliberately downplayed by those responsible. They flattered old-style patrons in traditionally deferential terms, hoping that patrons’ money would continue to flow, while working to develop new market-based means of income augmentation.

This paper uses modern cultural-economic theory to explore the business strategies pioneered by Purcell and a number of key contemporary figures: rent-seeking theory in particular. It shows how commercial considerations shaped Purcell’s approach to composition, in the last five years of his life especially; and explains why, once recognizably modern music business behaviors had been adopted, an “economy of prestige” introducing superstar (winner-take-all) distortions was the near-inevitable corollary. These distortions are easier to correct when their socio-economic causes are understood. And Purcell’s posthumous reputation—“a greater musical genius England never had”—seems even more impressive when his own role as agent building that reputation is adequately fleshed out.

“MISTAKING THE PERIWIG FOR THE FACE BENEATH”: PASTICHE,  
THE BRITISH, AND THE RECEPTION OF CONTINENTAL  
NEO-CLASSICISM DURING THE 1920s AND '30s

Deborah Heckert  
Stony Brook University

In his classic polemic, *Music Ho!*, Constant Lambert hilariously satirizes Stravinsky, Diaghilev, and continental Neoclassicism as a whole, but his irreverent treatment only slightly masks a more serious unease with what Lambert terms Stravinsky's “synthetic” techniques. Lambert is consistently suspicious of what he calls the “time-traveling” predilections of contemporary music, which he sees as the predominant characteristic of the period. Lambert was not alone in this ambivalence; I find this attitude echoed in much English music criticism during the '20s and early '30s, exemplified most cogently, perhaps, by Vaughan Williams' reference to Stravinsky as “that Russian monkey-brain” in a 1935 letter to Elizabeth Maconchy. While Stravinsky's influence cannot be denied, there is a curious reluctance to give him much critical space or to engage with issues regarding the uses of the past surrounding faddish neoclassical trends. At the same time, English cultural production, music included, was obsessed with England's past. The definition, manipulation, and recasting of the canon, and the insistence on the canon's necessary importance seems to be a consistent concern for English modernist agendas. Lambert, Vaughan Williams, and contemporaries within the English critical scene seem both fascinated and repelled by pastiche, parody and other gestures towards the music of the past, characteristic of much of the music from the Continent. Paradoxically, English composers frequently drew upon these self-same techniques—particularly in nationalistically-inflected musical works—against the broader backdrop of strong popular interest in the Tudor and Elizabethan periods, rococo revivalism and other stylistic fads based on the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Focusing on two masques composed during the period, Vaughan Williams' *Job* and Lambert's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, my paper will argue that the difficulties in assimilating English neoclassicist works into the continental framework are because of the unique status England's cultural heritage held for the English people, and that this had a strong effect on the music of the English Musical Renaissance between the Wars. The paper will explore how the status of cultural heritage in England had at least three important elements that constructed an interconnectedness and dependency with the past worth investigating. First is the conservative nature of English historiography, clinging to a past tradition of thinking of the past in terms of exemplars and constructed moral narratives. Second is the use of national culture by English modernists to create versions of English identity which pose a nostalgic, idyllic past with contemporary reality. And third is the strong populist component, dependent on and complicit with the ways in which mass culture was being sold on many levels to the middle and working classes just before and after the First World War through the formation of tourist attitudes which turned the past into spectacle. Music, whether art music or folk music, serves as an important element in these three areas of inquiry, and as such, English uses of the music of the past are necessarily complicated by the competing and conflicting attitudes of continental neoclassicism.

“IN POINTED AND DIAMETRICAL OPPOSITION TO THE  
RULES OF TRUE TASTE”: THE GOTHICK MUSICAL STYLE  
AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF BRITAIN

Ardal Powell  
Pendragon Press

The Gothick strain in the literature, painting, architecture, and decoration of the newly-United Kingdom portrayed a mythic national past rooted in an imagined era of passion and disorder. Encompassing, in Sir Walter Scott’s phrase, “whatever was in pointed and diametrical opposition to the rules of true taste,” the style provided distinctively native antithesis to continental classical purity.

This paper outlines a parallel but hitherto unremarked movement in music, manifested in professional and domestic performance as well as in British musical discourse. It focuses on the practices of amateur flute-playing among middle-class men during a surge in the flute’s popularity during the 1820s, and on the controversial style of their Wellington, the English flutist Charles Nicholson (1795–1837).

The first native professional instrumentalist to achieve star status in Britain, Nicholson presented a manly, sentimental, and heroic persona sharply distinguished from those of non-native artists, especially the polished French instrumentalists who visited London in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. I argue that aspects of his repertoire and performance practice that contemporaries identified as “Gothick” provide the key to appreciating Nicholson’s distinctiveness, to understanding the polemics over his “taste and judgement,” and to evaluating discourse on musical ideals and practice during a formative period of the British national self-image.

With precise reference to musical notation and to instructions for performance practice, I illustrate a distinction between “embellishment” and “expression” that privileged pathos and sentimentality over classical structure and bravura. I refer to the distinctive techniques of “expression” Nicholson documented in unprecedented detail in several tutors and study volumes published from 1816 to 1836, in particular his painstakingly-notated version of the Scotch air “Roslin Castle,” to show how the Gothick taste was manifested and perceived in the precise execution of tone, ornaments, inflections, articulation, and playing posture. Contrasting these practices with those of foreign flutists visiting London, as documented both in published criticism and in French and German method books, I make clear the wide gulf between British and continental tastes.

I argue that Nicholson’s reputation as “our first English artist on his instrument” (*The Athanæum*) rests not only on his birth and his distinctively British style but also on enterprises in publishing and instrument manufacture that made his practices imitable. The special flute design he licensed for manufacture, together with his method books, notated expression, public concerts, and private lessons, afforded a host of male amateur flutists a script for re-playing his distinctive sounds, actions, and body, and thus to enact a uniquely British, male, Protestant, middle-class set of manners and feelings at a time when the distinction of this emergent social class from foreigners, women, Catholics, and the aristocracy held acute political and social significance.

DERBYSHIRE'S *AMOR*: A GLANCE INSIDE THE  
MIND OF AN ELECTRONIC PIONEER

Louis Niebur  
University of Nevada, Reno

Delia Derbyshire occupies a central place in the history of British electronic music. While working for the BBC's electronic studio, the Radiophonic Workshop, over a fifteen-year period, she composed and arranged hundreds of signature tunes, most famously *Doctor Who*. While there she also composed more serious electronic works, including a series of projects with poet Barry Bermange in the mid-1960s. In the days before synthesizers, Derbyshire's methods involved splicing together thousands of little pieces of magnetic tape, using techniques derived from Parisian musique concrète combined with electronic sine wave generators to guide the assembly of her sound collages. However, her pivotal role in the development of British electronic music has until recently been a largely forgotten one, due primarily to a lack of access to her works. When Derbyshire died in 2001, her personal archive was boxed away and largely forgotten until the University of Manchester acquired it on permanent loan in 2007. The collection included letters and documents, but most importantly, 268 uncataloged and unordered reel-to-reel audio tapes of her compositions and experiments from her earliest years as a composer.

While organizing and digitizing the surviving material in 2007 and 2008, I discovered to my surprise that many of the decaying tape reels contained not only final versions of famous and popular works, but Derbyshire's original make-up material. In other words, in addition to completed versions of electronic pieces, she kept multiple stages of a work's completion, in which it is possible, for example, to identify the sources of concrete sounds, before they were subjected to later sonic treatment. It is also possible to hear monophonic sound elements before they were layered together in complex polyphonic structures. One production, *Amor Dei*, a 1964 radio meditation on spirituality, for which Derbyshire composed the music in collaboration with Barry Bermange's text, is richly represented in her archive. Using these newly discovered materials, this paper follows the working-out process of this work from start to finish, using Derbyshire's make-up tapes, written notes, and internal BBC correspondence. This material grants scholars and audiences an understanding impossible before now of the creative process behind radiophonic music in the 1960s, the access of which enables an even stronger respect for the pioneering spirit that forged it.

**FRANCE: THE LONG VIEW**

**Georgia Cowart, Case Western Reserve University, Chair**

SINGING THE COURTLY BODY: THE CHANSON LASCIVE AND THE  
NOTION OF OBSCENITY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Jeanice Brooks  
University of Southampton

In *The Reinvention of Obscenity: Sex, Lies and Tabloids in Early Modern France*, Joan DeJean argued for a new configuration of sexuality, print and censorship that led to the creation of a modern concept of obscenity in seventeenth-century France. But this concept was already

emergent in French culture in the previous century, when new forms of sexually transgressive material invaded the print market and the new word “obscène” or existing ones such as “lascive” or “impudique” were deployed in a rapidly developing debate over the moral acceptability of sexual vocabulary and images. Secular vocal music played a role in this discourse, evident in Protestant polemic that identified the French royal court as a prime location for the performance of *chansons lascives* that encouraged illicit thoughts, and worse, the translation of those thoughts into immoral actions. These accusations are supported by the large number of chansons with sexually explicit texts published by the royal music printers, who obtained most of their repertory from court sources. But we know little about the performance contexts for such pieces, under what circumstances they might be considered either morally legitimate or obscene, and how they might figure in a broader history of obscenity in early modern France.

In this paper, I first approach these questions through the elaborate wedding scene that closes Jacques Gohory’s novel, *Le trezieme livre d’Amadis de Gaule* (1571). Gohory describes the large-scale public festivities that celebrate the wedding, then moves on to depict a banquet during which several songs with explicit lyrics are performed. The chanson texts are included, and he provides detailed descriptions of listeners’ reactions, making careful distinctions according to the auditors’ gender and social rank, and emphasizing how the songs inspire shock or laughter, or spur participants to enact the erotic content of their texts. Although fictional, Gohory’s episode has links with the real wedding of Charles IX, celebrated at the French court the previous year. And the chanson texts overlap significantly with those in the *Musique* (1570) of the royal musician Guillaume Costeley, including its juxtaposition of classicizing epithalamium with erotic chansons. Dedicated to Charles IX, the collection features prefatory material by Gohory, suggesting that we can look to Costeley’s music for further insights into how the performance of sexually transgressive pieces contributed to the blurring of representation and action promoted by their texts.

Court festivities emerge as a convincing context for the sexually explicit songs that circulated in contemporary French song prints. These events often featured play around the limits of decency, serving important functions in defining court practice and affirming courtly identities. I argue that rather than representing a species of Bahktinian carnivalesque in which normal social distinctions are levelled, as has sometimes been claimed, these songs were used to mark and reinforce courtly hierarchies of class and gender. They also brought music into a broader debate around the moral character of court life, in which the *chanson lascive* figures as a potential battleground for contemporary debates on the nature of the obscene.

## THE HISSING OF PAGIN: DIDEROT’S APOSTLE MEETS THE CABAL AT THE CONCERT SPIRITUEL

Beverly Wilcox

University of California, Davis

The French violinist André-Noël Pagin, one of Tartini’s prize pupils, was hissed at the Concert Spirituel on Easter Sunday in 1750, and never played in public again. The concert review in the *Mercure de France* concealed this scandal by listing the entire program and then saying that “most of” the pieces “obtained repeated applause from the brilliant and numerous assembly.” Two years later, in the incipient stages of the *querelle des bouffons*, an anonymous pamphleteer demanded to know “for what purpose the nation, ungrateful to such a sublime

talent, dared to humiliate him publicly.” An astonishing variety of famous writers replied, among them Grimm, Rousseau, d’Aquin, Ancelet, Burney, d’Alembert, Boisgelou, Choron, and Fétis. They offered conflicting answers: that Pagin played in the Italian style, that he played too much Tartini, and that the public was not yet ready to hear him.

Each of these explanations reflects attitudes that were present in Paris in the turbulent 1750s, but none is entirely satisfactory. It is true that Pagin played and composed in an Italian style, but so did the Italian singers and Italian-trained violinists who had appeared at the Concert Spirituel ever since it was founded in 1725. And although the *Mercure* reviews confirm that Pagin played music by his teacher Tartini, they also show that he played Vivaldi and Locatelli. As for the public being unready to hear him, the reviewers, who often divided the public into “connoisseurs” and “amateurs,” agreed that connoisseurs enjoyed his playing, but an examination of the use of the term “connoisseur” reveals that it may have served as a code word denoting partisans of Italian music.

An alternative explanation for the hissing of Pagin was put forward by Denis Diderot, in his satirical dialogue *Le Neveu de Rameau*. But because this work was not published until the nineteenth century, its concealed references to Pagin have remained unrecognized. By showing that the Pagin story corresponds to passages in the *Neveu*—the pantomime of the violinist and the remark that “the first to play Locatelli was the apostle of the new music”—I place the *Neveu* as the eighth and last in a series of provocative and deliberately mysterious references to the Pagin affair, the other seven of which appeared in *querelle des bouffons* pamphlets. What is different about Diderot’s account is that he paints an exquisitely detailed picture of the cultural context for the event, so that Pagin’s offense is clarified: as a Frenchman playing in the virtuosic Italian style, he was participating in, and profiting from, the destruction of French cultural patrimony.

## CHERUBINI AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SUBLIME

Sarah Hibberd

University of Nottingham

Meyerbeer’s grand opera *Le Prophète* (1849) concluded with a highly charged melodramatic tableau that engulfed the entire cast in an exploding palace. This “sublime” tableau of chaos and destruction was received by many as collapsing political and aesthetic ideas of 1848 into those of the 1790s, and as confirming the end of Revolutionary idealism. Such cataclysmic tableaux were a feature of clusters of French operas in the 1790s (during and immediately after the Terror), in the mid-1820s (in a climate of building tensions that were to culminate with the July Revolution in 1830), and in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution. At these moments, specific political anxieties were played out in the cultural sphere in what may be understood as a peculiarly French conception of the sublime.

As established in the eighteenth century, the sublime was understood to combine two dynamic tensions: first (as described by Burke, building on Longinus), the trajectory from an overwhelming power that arrests the attention, through rapture and absorption, centered on emotions of pity and terror; second (following Kant’s 1790 *Critique of Judgment*), the simultaneous experience of violence and pleasure and a new sense of moral and spiritual transcendence. French political orators were using similar language to articulate their (diverse) feelings about the experience of revolution during the 1790s, and as David McCallam has shown, using the volcano as a “sublime” metaphor to signal, variously, the abstract power of

revolution, the eruption of the people's might, elitist oppression, the judgment of God. Volcanoes, storms, avalanches and explosions were also a popular trope in theatrical tableaux that were intended and received as metaphors for recent experiences: in the first boulevard melodramas the intense moral struggle between good and evil was writ large in visual and aural scenes of chaos and destruction. Such tableaux have been understood as both gesturing towards the unrepresentable nature of revolutionary experience and acknowledging its power.

In this paper I build on the work of Michael Fend and Michael McClellan, and situate the cataclysmic tableaux of two Cherubini operas from the 1790s (*Lodoïska* (1791) and *Médée* (1797)) in this context of specifically French discourses about the sublime during the Revolutionary decade. I outline some of the political debates and theatrical examples alluded to above, and then examine the characteristics of music and *mise en scène* deployed in Cherubini's works and the intended effect on the spectator. Finally, I consider their reception in the press. I conclude that Cherubini and his collaborators were exploring similar issues about the relationship between the empirical and the transcendental to those being examined by Kant in his *Critique*—in a manner that was to leave its mark on French opera for the next half century. Moreover, such tableaux contribute to a (French) conception of the sublime rooted in Revolutionary experience that complements the German Idealist view that has tended to dominate nineteenth-century studies.

## TONALITY BEFORE AND AFTER

Thomas Christensen  
University of Chicago

In a series of popular music lectures attended by the elite of Paris society in 1832, François-Joseph Fétis made the startling announcement that the birth of modern tonality could be precisely dated; it was the year 1605, and the chrysalis for this new musical language was none other than Monteverdi's fifth book of Madrigals. For Fétis, *tonalité moderne* was characterized above all by the affective tendency of the leading tone to define a central tonic. Prior to Monteverdi's "discovery," he argued, Western music was characterized by a primitive form of diatonic tonality ("tonalité du plainchant") devoid of any attractive (or "appellative") force. But could all music prior to 1605 really just be consigned to a single category of plainchant tonality? For a number of skeptical audience members, tantalizing signs of modern tonality could surely be found in some early music repertoires, thus suggesting that modern tonality had a longer and more complex evolution than that proposed by our Belgian musicologist.

As with almost any intellectual debate in France during this period, the question of musical tonality and its beginnings inevitably became politicized. For many Republican sympathizers, traces of nascent tonality were to be found in much early music—particularly of vernacular folk origins. (It was just at this time that scholars such as Julian Tiersot and Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin were compiling their massive anthologies of French folk melodies, music that suggested unambiguous tonal orientation.) Still, the issue was not clear cut. For the chant lexicographer Joseph d'Ortigue, just the opposite conclusion could be drawn when one analyzed the most primitive folk tunes and peasant intonations he had observed among the peasantry of Brittany and the Pyrenees.

On the other side of the political spectrum, many of the first, pre-Solesmes generation of church musicians active in the reformation and restitution of chant practice were adamant that all sacred chant must be purged of the affective, worldly taint of modern tonal practice.

And these convictions heavily shaped editorial choices in their many antiphonaries and gradu-als. Above all, we can observe in their transcriptions a concerted effort to avoid the use of raised leading tones, melodic periodicity, triadic contours and other markers that might suggest the insidious contamination of *tonalité moderne*.

We find much the same philosophy guiding the jurist Edmond de Coussemaker in his transcriptions of fourteenth-century polyphony drawn from the recently uncovered Montpellier Codex. Coussemaker was reluctant to impose *musica ficta* with anything but the lightest touch lest it corrupt the modal delicacy of this music through an over-saturation of appella-tive leading tones. Still, it was telling that the Montpellier manuscript also included several *trouvère* melodies and secular pieces that Coussemaker acknowledged as unimpeachable har-bingers of the tonal spirit.

## IMAGINARY LANDSCAPES

Richard Leppert, University of Minnesota, Chair

### IMAGINING THE LISTENER THROUGH AMERICAN EXPERIMENTAL MUSIC: NPR'S *RADIOVISIONS*

Louise Chernosky

Columbia University

In the 1980s, National Public Radio (NPR) supported experimental music through pro-gramming that both consolidated a tradition and commissioned new works. *RadioVisions*, broadcast nationally, was the first major series on NPR designed to introduce listeners to new music. (*RadioVisions* was produced by Steve Rathe, Real Art Ways and NPR member stations WGBH-FM/Boston in association with NPR, Connecticut Public Radio, and NPR member stations WFCR-FM/Amherst and WNYC-FM/New York.) It presented an impres-sive pageant of music by over fifty American composers, including Laurie Anderson, Leonard Bernstein, Anthony Braxton, John Cage, Aaron Copland, Ornette Coleman, Henry Cowell, Peter Gordon, Lou Harrison, Joan La Barbara, Conlon Nancarrow, Steve Reich, and Virgil Thomson. Composer/conductor Gunther Schuller acted as host for each of the fourteen, hour-long programs, and helped listeners draw connections between broadcasts. *RadioVisions* was celebrated in the *New York Times* as “the first important broadcast vehicle to focus on new music—new American music, specifically.” The show defined “new American music” primar-ily as “American experimental music.”

This paper examines the American experimentalism of *RadioVisions* within the context of the relationship between public radio and its listeners. I concentrate first on the construc-tion of experimentalism that can be heard in *RadioVisions*. Through its didactic introductory segments, composers' self-portraits, and the show's rejection of “academic” composers, the series characterized experimental music as non-European, innovative, eclectic, populist, and Cageian. Yet this characterization did not always hold sway: an expanded notion of experi-mentalism could be heard in *RadioVisions*'s coverage of musical activities in Cincinnati and Pittsburgh (cities typically ignored in favor of New York's downtown); its presentation of more accessible, traditional orchestral music; and its feature on experimental “jazz and cre-ative music.” I demonstrate how *RadioVisions*'s experimentalism was related to a discursive construction of public radio listeners. This is most evident in a broadcast called “The Chal-

lenge,” the first segment of *RadioVisions*, which dealt specifically with public radio and its support of American avant-garde and experimental arts. I posit that *RadioVisions*’ experimentalism allowed NPR to market an American individualistic—yet simultaneously diverse and populist—music as a product, while making space for ideal listeners who would value such programming.

## MEMORIAL UTOPIANISM IN LATE TWENTIETH-CENTURY EUROPEAN COMPOSITION

Seth Brodsky  
Yale University

In the Europe of autumn 1989, “New Music” does not occupy center stage. But it is staging something nonetheless, and in the month or so before the Wall comes down and the official re-zoning of Western utopias begins, it is possible to find some of the continent’s most established and performed composers covertly waxing utopian as they introduce their new works. September 23rd: György Ligeti describes the first of his second book of piano études, “Galamb borong,” as an “imaginary gamelan-style music, native to a foreign island that one won’t find on any map.” September 28th, Geneva: Helmut Lachenmann imagines his II. Streichquartett as an attempt to extract, from behind the “façade” of “dead tone-structures,” the “object of experience, now restored to life”—“a plea, if you permit, for the fantasy of the emperor’s new clothes.” October 22nd, the Donaueschingen Musiktag: Wolfgang Rihm asserts in a note about his work for two sopranos and orchestra, *FrauStimme*, that “freedom in art is immediately eliminated as soon as it is ‘realized’ outside of its utopian location. There isn’t one, but it’s the only motivation for art that I can understand.” October 30th, London: Luciano Berio directs the Philharmonia in the first performance of *Continuo*, “an adagio, ‘distant and descriptive’ . . . a hardly habitable, a non-permanent, contradictory building; one that is virtually open to a continuous addition of new wings, rooms and windows.”

A non-existent island, an improbable resurrection, an unrealizable location, a hardly habitable building: four scrupulously ambivalent images of utopian thinking, staging themselves in certain “no-places” of European life just as its split political center is imploding. Utopian fantasies are hardly alien to postwar European musical modernism, whose self-mythology recollects dreams of a “music degree zero” and a “Vollkommenheit of orderings” as often as the names of Boulez and Stockhausen. The visions conjured above by Ligeti, Lachenmann, Rihm, and Berio imply a different story. They insinuate a double move of proposition and retraction, in which the concept of utopia itself stands trial. They position their authors less as followers of the heroic Darmstadt days than as its melancholic revisionists.

This paper argues that these premieres, otherwise so aloof from the radical political shifts of their moment, are nonetheless exemplary of a much wider cultural directive in late twentieth-century European “New Music,” one which regulates critical and institutional recognition, pride of place in archives and textbooks, and inclusion in the canon of contemporary artists allowed to speak for a Europe whose political and economic pragmatism buffers itself with a culture of ambivalent “memorial utopianism.” According this logic, to be considered at the turn of the millennium as both a great composer and a European (in Milan Kundera’s sense: “one who is nostalgic for Europe”) is to have successfully constructed oneself as an artist for whom composing is an insoluble problem: simultaneously a fabulist and masochist of the European dream of the best world.

MOTIONLESS SPHERICAL MIRROR ON TOP OF THE HILL: TORU  
TAKEMITSU'S TWO EARLY WORKS IN POSTWAR JAPAN

Tomoko Deguchi  
Winthrop University

In this paper I discuss my analyses of two of Toru Takemitsu's (1930–1996) earliest works in relation to two individuals by whom Takemitsu was influenced in the early stages of his composing career during the postwar era in Japan, and also how the musical attributes seen in these works developed in his later compositions. At first glance, Takemitsu's compositional style seems to change throughout his career. However, the two pieces under consideration, *Distance de Fée* for violin and piano (1951) and *Pause Ininterrompue* for solo piano (1952, '59) demonstrate that Takemitsu maintained the same artistic individuality throughout his output. Both pieces were inspired by two poems with the same titles by Japanese surrealist poet Shuuzou Takiguchi.

Takiguchi (1903–1979), who became a spiritual leader to young Japanese artists, was active as an avant-garde surrealist poet and visual artist as early as the 1930s. His poems *Pause Ininterrompue* and *Distance de Fée* foreshadowed the dark age of military domination and reflected strained feelings of oppression. Takemitsu identified with these poems, which echoed his own situation. He felt the pressure from his predecessors (his first publicly presented piece received harsh criticism as “pre-music”), and the new wave of academic music (i.e. the rigorous European-style serialism). These two pieces seem to strive for the surrealist's principles: to deny continuity and transparent communication, and to advocate for coexistence of conflicting realities.

At the same time, indebted to his mentor and fellow composer Fumio Hayasaka, Takemitsu retained a subtle but unmistakable Japanese quality in his music. Hayasaka (1914–1955) was a nationalistic composer who advocated for Japanese qualities in Japanese compositions, and to search for simple and primitive beauty on which Japanese culture was founded and developed.

As Takemitsu was strongly influenced by Messiaen, his *Distance de Fée* and *Pause Ininterrompue* incorporates Messiaen's modes of limited transposition, especially the octatonic collection. As I will show in the analyses, the surrealist qualities manifest themselves in his music as ambiguous metric groupings or the perception of periodicity, and also as ambiguous referential pitch resources. Harmonic and melodic constructions are obscured by means of invariances and by superimposition of two different octatonic collections as pitch derivations. However, the melodic writing in *Distance de Fée* exhibits the Japanese quality of ceaseless repetition of similar patterns, which Hayasaka calls the “eternal form.” The same melodic writing is further developed in the *Requiem*, which led Takemitsu to national acclaim. In *Pause Ininterrompue*, the quasi-dodecaphonic style approaches to a more pointillistic Webernian style.

“Motionless spherical mirror on top of the hill” is the final line in Takiguchi's *Pause Ininterrompue*, depicting the isolation he has been feeling as society becomes oppressive toward him. Takemitsu, when referring to his compositional inspiration, talks about gazing into the Western and Eastern mirror. However, “the spherical mirror” might symbolize Takemitsu's mirror that has no direction of reflections as Western or Japanese, and results in his music exhibiting the coexistence of the two different worlds: Western but also retaining an unmistakable Japanese quality.

UNWRAPPING THE BOX: FRANK GEHRY'S DISNEY  
CONCERT HALL AS POSTMODERN SPACE

Robert Fink

University of California, Los Angeles

"In fact, [the original] rooms [of Gehry's Santa Monica house] are preserved as in a museum: untouched, intact, yet now somehow "quoted" and without the slightest modification emptied, as in the transformation of something into an image of itself, of its concrete life, like a Disneyland preserved and perpetuated by Martians for their own delectation and historical research." (Frederic Jameson)

Extravagant claims have been made on behalf of Frank Gehry's Walt Disney Concert Hall (1988–2003), commissioned by Los Angeles County as both the crown jewel of a revitalized city center complex and a new, world-class space for the presentation and consumption of acoustic sound. For many critics, Gehry's hall is the quintessential "symphony in steel," its shiny, billowing surfaces perfectly correlative to the *tonend bewegte Formen* of abstract symphonic music.

But the hall's high-fidelity sound and dynamic façade were not achieved without struggle. Gehry's original prize-winning design for the hall, inspired by the irregular "vineyard" shape of Hans Scharoun's 1963 Berlin Philharmonic, was quickly abandoned as the intersecting demands of acoustics and economics forced the architects to adopt a scaled-up version of the traditional rectangular concert hall. The original design, in which the exterior shape of the hall was a simple functional reflection of the auditorium within, was no longer workable.

Thanks to a remarkable documentation effort by the Getty Institute, it is possible to eavesdrop on the recorded discussions between the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Frank O. Gehry & Associates, and the Japanese consulting firm Nagata Acoustics; and to trace the ongoing evolution of Gehry's design for the auditorium and the surrounding hall through hundreds of freehand sketches, elevations, and scale models. The evidence shows with unusual clarity the ideological matrix—the contradictory set of hopes and fears about classical music at the turn of the twenty-first century—which Gehry's design would have to negotiate.

As sketches and audio-visual records show, Gehry, forced into a more conservative mode of building than he had envisioned, fell back on the postmodern gesture that had made him famous: he wrapped an old-fashioned architectural box in a new skin whose radical geometry cut across and through it. In 1978, the existing box-like rooms of his "cute, dumb" Santa Monica bungalow were ruthlessly transected with jagged, angled walls of glass, corrugated metal, plywood, and chain-link fencing; ten years later, the stolid box that is the classical concert hall was given an exoskeleton of computerized curves. The effect of this virtuoso wrapping is to transform a pre-existing spatial logic into a simulation of itself: the eye-catching hyperboles of Disney Hall's façade no longer reflect, but are used to *disguise* the necessary architectural "dumbness" of the acoustic box underneath. The resulting building is a tense sandwich of interlocking positive and negative spaces which concretize and materialize the complex, contradictory relations between the Box (the hierarchical, ordered space of classical music) and the postmodern spaces Outside.

**“ONLY CONNECT”: THE ROLE OF MUSICOLOGY  
IN COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT**

Sponsored by the Pedagogy Study Group, with the Committee on Career-Related Issues and the Philadelphia Orchestra

Jessie Fillerup, University of Mary Washington, Co-chair

Anne-Marie Reynolds, SUNY Geneseo, Co-chair

Ayden Adler, Philadelphia Orchestra

Marisa Biaggi, Metropolitan Opera

Richard Freedman, Haverford College

Susan Key, San Francisco Symphony

Michael Mauskopf, University of Michigan

James Steichen, Princeton University

In this panel and discussion session, the AMS Pedagogy Study Group, The Philadelphia Orchestra Association, and the Committee on Career-Related Issues will juxtapose the engagement of adult audiences with the stated aim of the AMS—to advance “research in the various fields of music as a branch of learning and scholarship.” How can we, as musicologists and teachers, most effectively interact with interested non-professionals, both within the university and without? How can we redefine the role of musicology in relation to these audiences by turning the notion of community “outreach” to a “drawing in”? Considering perspectives in musicology, education, performance, and arts management, panelists will explore ways of engaging general audiences through musicological research, while initiating a dialogue about musicology’s potential to encourage audiences to think differently about the repertoire they hear.

Richard Freedman, longtime presenter of pre-concert programs for The Philadelphia Orchestra and the Philadelphia Chamber Music Society, and Susan Key, educational director for the San Francisco Symphony’s *Keeping Score* project, will discuss Tchaikovsky’s Fourth Symphony, to be performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra on the weekend of the Annual Meeting. While the Fourth Symphony typically attracts audiences with its impassioned emotional drama, scholars usually contest its meaning and significance by addressing the work’s programmatic associations, purported autobiographical content, and stylistic references to Beethoven. This perceptual gap between audiences and scholars may be bridged by exploring the music-making process through interaction with musicians, primary sources relating to the composer’s biography and culture, and the listener’s personal connections to the music via active reflection. Ayden Adler, Director of Education and Community Partnerships at The Philadelphia Orchestra, will similarly discuss inventive forms of engagement derived from her experiences as a performer, musicologist, and educational manager.

James Steichen and Marisa Biaggi, Creative Content Manager for the Metropolitan Opera Company, will co-present innovative approaches to scholarship and performance on and off campus. Steichen reverses the traditional question of how to bring musicology to the public by asking instead how to bring the public to musicology. His case studies include the University of Chicago’s *Artspeaks* series, which invites artists for a short-term residence of public events and classroom activities, and a recent opera production at Princeton University that occurred in tandem with a scholarly conference. Biaggi, a musicologist working in arts

management, will discuss efforts by the New York Metropolitan Opera to reach general audiences, challenging fellow musicologists to look beyond traditional scholarly media and make their work more accessible to the broader public.

Michael Mauskapf describes the collaborative efforts of the University Musical Society and Arts Enterprise (both associated with the University of Michigan) in two ventures: the series *Who is . . .*, which seeks to demystify the artists who create musical works, and *Masterpieces Revealed*, which invites a “host” musicologist and graduate student performers to share their passion and knowledge regarding some of history’s musical masterworks. Both of these programs combine the live performance experience with innovative interdisciplinary and intergenerational approaches that engage the university community.

**SACRED AND SECULAR POLYPHONY IN  
FLORENCE AND FERRARA, C. 1430–1480**  
**Craig Wright, Yale University, Chair**

The half century indicated in this session’s title is the core period of Torrefranca’s *Segreto del Quattrocento*, the once-held view that Italian music all but disappeared as the vogue for transalpine polyphony reigned unchallenged. We do not so much challenge details of this position as abandon its conceptual basis, belief in a general mid-century acceptance and cultivation of mensural polyphony in a widespread area of Europe—England, Franco-Burgundian and Franco-Flemish centers, and parts of Germany, notably the Imperial court—with Italy lagging behind. But we should recall that many of the chief surviving polyphonic sources of the period are (apart from the Trent codices) Italian, in part but surely not wholly a coincidence. We might also ask in what ways mensural music written to Latin, French or Italian texts and by Northern musicians in Italy should be classified, or how treatises mixing details of Italian thought and practice within the framework of French mensural theory (de Muris, principally) should be considered. A broadly conceived and on the whole well received international style was developing in Italy, coexisting with regional, even local practice of polyphony that was rarely written down, was partly rough and partly smooth, and was not always “properly” mensural.

**THE 1438 CREATION OF A POLYPHONIC CAPPELLA IN FLORENCE  
CATHEDRAL AND ITS ROLE IN THE CITY’S MUSICAL CULTURE**

John Nádas  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

We have long known of the hiring of four professional singers in December 1438 by the operai overseeing the Duomo of Florence, constituting the first polyphonic chapel at that august institution. Yet that event, tied to preparations for the 1439 church council to be held in the city, has not been fully understood in the context of powerful Medici involvement and political manipulation that goes back to the family’s return from exile in 1434, and includes an extended Florentine residence by Pope Eugenius IV’s curia, the lavishly executed papal consecration of the cathedral in 1436, and the very move of the great church council from Ferrara to Florence. Nor has the appointment of those four singers, three of whom were oltremontani, been appropriately analyzed with regard to their individual backgrounds and careers,

particularly as members during the earlier 1430s of two other important Florentine musical institutions: the oratory of Orsanmichele and the Baptistry of San Giovanni.

Our fresh archival work drawing on unpublished and published documents offers a detailed and coherent picture of Florentine (sacred) musical culture during the period surrounding the Florence council. The major figure among the musicians is “Benotto da Francia” (Benedictus Sirede), whose surprisingly early (1432) presence as a teacher and laudese at Orsanmichele and cantore di San Giovanni was key to his 1438 appointment—first as the magister of young clerics and then as leader of the other three professional singers at the Duomo: Beltramus Feragut, Johannes de Monte, and Francesco Bartoli. Of special interest to us are the recorded deliberations of the operai in breaking with the established performance tradition at the Duomo and the impressive efforts undertaken by Benotto and his companions in satisfying the liturgical requirements of their new positions—highlighted by the preparation and completion of a major collection of early fifteenth-century polyphony (Mod B). This climax in Quattrocento Florentine musical culture, favorably competing for recognition with the best of Italian institutions, was unfortunately not to last beyond the piecemeal disbanding of the original cappella in the early 1440s and Benotto’s eventual departure for Ferrara in 1448.

#### THE COMPILATION AND COPYING OF MOD B (MODENA, BIBL. EST., MS $\alpha$ X.1.11)

James Haar

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

One of the most attractive and interesting collections of sacred polyphony in the Quattrocento is the volume known to scholars as Mod B. The manuscript is usually described as Ferrarese in origin and c. 1450 in date, but both date and provenance have been questioned, as they will be here. The bulk of the volume, indeed all of its original contents, is written in a single hand—or hands, if the suggestion that the music and text hands may be the work of two people is favorably received (there is no internal indication of scribal identity).

Our interest was sparked by Pamela Starr’s remark that the singer Benotto or Benoit might be a “promising candidate” for such an identification. Our work has since led us to conclude that Mod B is Florentine (copied c. 1435–45), destined for the chapel of the Duomo, and that only after completing work on it did its compiler-copyist take it to Ferrara. We have found no “smoking arquebus” but are convinced that it is indeed the work of Benotto/Benoit. Our reasons for this conclusion are summarized here.

i) Watermark evidence supports Florentine origin; one mark is even found in paper used in the 1430s by the Opera del Duomo. The musical hand has been called French, but neither text nor music hands can as yet be identified. ii) The first half of Mod B, consisting of hymns, antiphons, and Magnificat settings, fits perfectly with the purpose for which the Duomo chapel singers were hired, namely the performance of Vespers on feast days. iii) Even the twenty folios that follow, designated “motetti” in the volume’s index, could have been used, possibly after Vespers. iv) The last third of Mod B is devoted to English music (not so indicated), motets and antiphons for varied use but not excluding Vespers, the latter viewed in this regard less as liturgical observance than as a public occasion for performance of sacred polyphony. v) This section has been thought of as evidence for Ferrarese provenance, showing the importance of English clerics, nobles, and young students in Ferrara. Here our argument turns negative, pointing out the lack of connection between such groups and the contents of Mod B.

vi) The volume contains thirty-one works by Dunstaple (eleven unica), dwarfed only by the extraordinary number of forty-eight by Dufay (eleven unica). We are persuaded by various pieces of evidence, such as inclusion of Dufay's isorhythmic motets dating from the 1430s and composition of one such motet by Benoit (not in Mod B) from the same period, that Dufay and Benoit must have been acquainted with each other and that the English music in Mod B may have been sent to Dufay and shared with Benoit. vii) Mod B once in Ferrara remained there; gaps in the manuscript were filled in by other hands at various points up to the 1470s, and the book was used as a source for at least one other manuscript of the period.

## UGOLINO OF ORVIETO AND HIS FIFTEENTH-CENTURY READERS

Evan MacCarthy  
Harvard University

In a passage of his *Italia Illustrata* (c. 1453) extolling the great men of Forlì, the fifteenth-century humanist and historian Biondo Flavio praises Ugolino of Orvieto as surpassing all the musicians of his time. He claims that Ugolino's book on music "will eclipse the labors of all who have written before him, just as the works of [Guido] Bonatti have caused the writings of ancient astronomers to fall into neglect." This statement commending Ugolino's encyclopedic *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* and its place in the history of music is written by a native of Forlì and fellow apostolic secretary who not only knew Ugolino personally but likewise his writings. Given Ugolino's presence at many important centers and events in the early fifteenth century including the Councils of Constance and Ferrara/Florence, the light in which Ugolino was seen by his contemporaries is a topic worthy of closer study.

The early development of Ugolino's musical style must have been shaped by his time in the chapel of Gregory XII and as a biscantore at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. Lacking precise evidence for his intellectual training, we must instead turn to his correspondence, his proximity to some of Europe's leading humanists at the Este court, his collection of books, and his understanding of or reference to the writings of Marchetto da Padua, Johannes de Muris, Prosdocimo de Beldemandis, and Boethius, among others. His *Declaratio* in its scholastic approach to music, both theoretical and practical, stands out as a milestone in the writing of music theory, belonging to the generation preceding that of Johannes Tinctoris and its topic-specific theoretical works concerning counterpoint, mensuration, mode, notation and so forth. Closely considering the intellectual setting for the writing of Ugolino's *Declaratio*, I will propose a new context in which to understand surviving early sources of the text. The complete and near-complete copies of the *Declaratio*, most recently examined thoroughly by Albert Seay fifty years ago, deserve renewed attention in light of more recent work by historians of manuscript illumination and archival work on the Ferrarese court and cathedral: Lewis Lockwood, Enrico Peverada, and Adriano Franceschini.

The practice of glossing and copying derivative treatises in the fifteenth century shall also be discussed, with special emphasis on the theoretical writings found in the mid-fifteenth-century Ferrarese manuscript Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, MS 714, a source of particular significance given its combination of music theory and sophisticated polyphony, including several unique chansons of Guillaume Du Fay. The relationship of Porto 714 to other contemporary glosses of music theory will shed light on this scholarly practice and provide us with new perspectives on the very early readers of Ugolino's writings.

ANNA INGLESE: THE CAREER OF A PROFESSIONAL  
WOMAN SINGER IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Bonnie J. Blackburn  
Oxford University

We know very little about women musicians in the fifteenth century, and just about nothing beyond descriptions such as “she sang sweetly and suavely, and her voice appeared to be not human but divine.” Most of these reports concern performances at court, under the patronage of music-loving rulers, and the women are usually court ladies, sometimes named, but mostly anonymous. Of professional women musicians there is hardly a trace. Yet they did exist, as proved by the extraordinary life of an English singer called “Anna.” Drawing on fleeting references and unpublished documents, I trace the trajectory of her career over at least thirty-four years, from Ferrara in 1465 (and perhaps Venice in 1455), by way of Milan and Monferrato in 1468, to Naples from 1471 to at least 1499. Anna, who had her own ensemble, including a tenorista, was clearly an entrepreneur. She was on familiar terms with the Marquis of Monferrato, the Duke of Milan, and Eleonora d’Aragona, the daughter of the King of Naples and future wife of Ercole I d’Este. What did it mean for a woman to be a professional musician in the fifteenth century, and a foreigner in Italy at that? Was she connected with one of the English musicians in Italy, who clustered around the court at Ferrara in the 1450s? What music did she sing? The music of her compatriots Roberto and Galfrido de Anglia, such as found in the Porto MS? These questions cannot be answered definitively, but the availability of a professional woman singer opens a new perspective on the performance of fifteenth-century music.

WAGNER AND MAHLER

John Deathridge, King’s College London, Chair

ÉDOUARD DUJARDIN WAGNÉRIEN

Steven Huebner  
McGill University

The writer and critic Édouard Dujardin (1861–1949) is remembered principally as the founder of the *Revue wagnérienne* (1885–88) and the author of the novel *Les Lauriers sont coupés* (1888) which exhibits the first use of stream of consciousness prose (called *monologue intérieur* by Dujardin). James Joyce later explicitly recognized Dujardin’s little-known book as an influence on his own work. Well after Joyce became a literary star, Dujardin posited links between Wagnerian leitmotivic writing and *monologue intérieur*. Because Dujardin had several years of formal training in music and composition, his comments command particular interest, and the first goal of this paper will be to evaluate his self-analysis and put it in context. (The perspective of literary historians on this has been limited by disciplinary focus; see McKilligan 1977, Furness 1982, Suter 1991). On the one hand, rational webs of leitmotifs do not map well on to the chaotic nature of stream of consciousness; on the other, Dujardin argued that leitmotifs feed an impression of spontaneity by communicating “impulses of the soul,” as he called them, an orthodox use that he said even Wagner himself often betrayed.

The paper then turns to the much earlier period of the 1880s when Dujardin actually developed stream of consciousness prose. Rather than viewing it in isolation against a Wagnerian foil as Dujardin himself did, I situate the technique within a broad range of his little-studied literary practices at that time and show similarities of syntax and diction between stream of consciousness prose and other genres that he produced. These include: literal translations of Wagner's librettos; an important "paraphrase" of Amfortas' monologue in the first act of *Parsifal*; and prose poems and free verse on Wagnerian subjects. They also include Dujardin's song cycle to his own *vers libres* called *Litanies, six mélopées pour chant et piano* (1888), virtually unnoticed by critics then and now. The choice of "mélopée" is provocative: often applied with derision to Wagner's post-*Lohengrin* works by hostile French critics, here it appears as an implicit marker of healthy experimentation. The local-level formlessness implied by the term is its very link to stream of consciousness writing.

In sum, the paper will illustrate how the origin of stream of consciousness prose lies in the same pool of resources explored by Symbolist writers in Wagner's wake. In broad narratives of music history, progressive French culture at the fin de siècle is often described as both an extension of Wagner's art and reaction to it. One thinks, for example, of Debussy's claim to write music *après* Wagner (and not *d'après* Wagner) or Mallarmé's musings on Wagner's limitations. Dujardin's *Litanies* are as bold as any piece by Debussy or Satie in this period, his heterogeneous writings as cutting-edge as those of the leading Symbolists. Yet he voiced little anxiety about Wagner as an influence, favoring welcoming embrace over Oedipal response.

#### "TRISTAN FÜR ANFÄNGER": IRONIC SELF-PARODY IN *DIE MEISTERSINGER*

Christopher Alan Williams  
Bowling Green State University

To paraphrase Hans Sachs's famous *Flieder-Monolog*, *Die Meistersinger* is a work that is difficult to grasp yet impossible to forget. This elusive, "unermesslich" difficulty partly lies in the fact that listeners are distracted by its apparent harmonic and melodic clarity and episodic simplicity, especially compared to its endlessly-discussed predecessor, *Tristan und Isolde*. After all, how can the tunes, set-pieces, and unremitting C-major of *Meistersinger's* last act betoken something as worthy of attention as the previous opera's relentlessly difficult philosophical and chromatic probing? This goes double for scholarly commentators, who recently have fixated on its overtones of nationalism and undertones of anti-Semitism, to devastating effect. These aspects played an undeniable role in the work's reception, especially during the Nazi and post-war eras (for opposite reasons), but they deflect attention from the work's oft-vaunted "humanity" and its central theme: the role of modern art in bourgeois society. In *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*, John Deathridge even explains his avoidance of discussing *Meistersinger*, not just because of his personal distaste for "singing contests," but because that eminent Wagnerian feels that the work's "smug" complacency puts it on a lower level of achievement than his other works. Yet, given *Meistersinger's* long gestation, Wagner's obsession with spinning his operas into cohesive wholes, and his evident pride in the work, it seems unlikely that he had lessened his seriousness of purpose significantly after *Tristan*, despite its sunny, comedic atmosphere.

Ironically, the episode that causes Hans Sachs and the other masters the most consternation is among the least examined episodes in the entire opera: Walther's trial song, "*Fanget*

an!” Certainly, the scene is discussed in synopses, and Millington reminds us that Beckmesser interrupts Walther because he mistakes the form of the song. But, surprisingly, the scene has not been analyzed as central to understanding the work as a whole. If, however, one hears “*Fanget an!*” as a deliberate intrusion of the *Tristan* style, with harmonic language and melodic tropes drawn explicitly from that opera’s act 3, then one finds specific musical support for the argument that Walther is an intruder from the world of modern music, and, suddenly, a hermeneutic window opens upon the opera as an ironic gloss on the *Tristan* experiment. Walther’s trial song is an exasperatingly self-involved exercise in uncontrolled chromatic improvisation, from which even Wagner is now ready to take whimsical distance. The *Flieder-Monolog* finds Wagner, through Sachs, listening to *Tristan*, triangulating “*Fanget an!*” with the more straightforward “*Am stillen Herd*” in order to point the way to the eventual winning prize song, and thus creating the kind of structural bridge among moments that characterizes Wagner’s mature operatic style. Hearing “*Fanget an!*” as a parody of the *Tristan* style further renders Sachs’s famously ironic act 3 quotation of *Tristan*’s opening phrase, and the King Mark motive, as more significant and characteristically organic than if they were mere passing references. The deepest parody in Wagner’s great comedy is thus of Wagner himself.

#### WHEREFORE THE HARP?: AN OPERATIC MODEL FOR MAHLER’S ADAGIETTO

David Kasunic  
Occidental College

During the summer of 1901, while at work on the Scherzo movement of what will become his Symphony No. 5, Gustav Mahler shares the following with his friend Natalie Bauer-Lechner: “There is nothing romantic of mystical about [this symphony]; it is simply an expression of incredible energy. It is a human being in the full light of day, in the prime of his life. It is scored accordingly; no harp or English horn. The human voice would be absolutely out of place here. There is no need for words; everything is expressed in purely musical terms. Furthermore, it will be a regularly constructed symphony in four movements, each of which exists for itself and is self-contained, linked to the other solely by a related mood.” By the time he completes this symphony, in 1902, Mahler has added what he calls a “love letter” to Alma, the famous *Adagietto* movement, which he has placed after the Scherzo third movement as a prelude to the Rondo-Finale fifth movement. While the *Adagietto* still preserves Mahler’s earlier characterization of the symphony by not supplying any singing, it alludes (as others have observed) to Mahler’s songs and arguably quotes the “glance music” from the second act of Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*. And while we have no night-evoking, Tristanesque English horn, the harp plays throughout the movement. But if this is not the sound of Orpheus’ nocturnal wailing (an association Mahler seems intent on avoiding), then wherefore the harp?

This paper answers this question by examining an area of compositional influence overlooked by Mahler scholars, and that is the influence that Mahler the opera conductor exerted on Mahler the symphonic composer, an influence that Mahler himself hints at in his remarks to Bauer-Lechner. By considering the operas that Mahler championed and conducted as possible compositional influences, a likely inspiration for the *Adagietto* springs forth: the Intermezzo from Pietro Mascagni’s *Cavalleria rusticana*. Mahler was the first to conduct this opera outside of Italy, and after Leoncavallo’s *Pagliacci*, it was the second most performed opera during his directorship of the Vienna Hofoper, from 1897 to 1907, with 131 performances.

Like the Adagietto, which Deryck Cooke calls a “quiet haven of peace in F major,” the Intermezzo is in F major, features harp and strings, and channels, as Michele Girardi has observed, “all [of] the tension that has accumulated up to this point.” Both the Adagietto and the Intermezzo follow fast movements that alternate between D major and F minor, and both give way to major-key music marked “allegro giocoso.” That the Intermezzo’s melody derives from the preceding scene’s “Regina coeli” (“Queen of Heaven”) recommends it as an inspiration for Mahler’s love-letter melody, while the drinking scene that follows the Intermezzo perhaps explains Mahler’s *giocoso* treatment of the Adagietto’s main theme in the Rondo-Finale. That Mascagni’s Intermezzo has never been put forth as one of the possible inspirations for the Adagietto speaks, I will argue, to larger scholarly and musical-aesthetic dividing lines that this paper will attempt to soften.

“STEHT ALLES IN DER PARTITUR”: GUSTAV MAHLER’S  
AESTHETICS OF OPERATIC PRODUCTION AND HIS WORK WITH  
ALFRED ROLLER AND ANNA VON MILDENBURG IN VIENNA

Stephen Thursby  
Tallahassee, Florida

Gustav Mahler’s tenure as director of the Vienna Court Opera (1897–1907) was a period of reform and significant artistic achievement. In addition to improving the precision and expressivity of the musicians under his control, he crafted model productions of the works of Wagner and Mozart with stage designer and Secession artist Alfred Roller. One of his leading sopranos was Anna von Mildenburg, who became famous for her portrayals of Wagnerian heroines such as Brünnhilde and Isolde. Mahler always stressed that the music should remain the dominant element in any operatic production, even though he hired a visual artist whose striking use of light and color diverted the attention of some critics from the music. Mahler wanted stage gestures or choices of color and lighting to reflect the spirit of the music at any particular moment. His favorite phrase, according to Roller, was “steht alles in der Partitur” (“everything is in the score”).

Focusing on the 1903 Court Opera production of *Tristan und Isolde*, I contend that Roller and von Mildenburg were ideal collaborators for Mahler, because both conceived their roles within this production in close consideration of the music. To support this thesis, I examine source materials that have not been thoroughly discussed in the scholarly literature. These include Mildenburg’s vocal score for *Tristan* (housed in the Mildenburg Collection in the Austrian National Library), her published guide to interpreting the role of Isolde, and a series of previously unpublished sketches for the production by Roller (housed in the Roller Archive of the Austrian Theater Museum).

The vocal score contains a handwritten note on the title page stating that the markings within were made by Mahler and were intended to help von Mildenburg learn the role of Isolde. Markings include simple blocking diagrams and indications of specific stage gestures. Her published ideas on interpreting the role include precise instructions connected with specific bars and even individual notes within the score. Roller’s sketches were made in black and white paint on paper and present dramatic, close-up views of specific scenes from Acts I and II. Six of these include short musical excerpts in staff notation, drawn by hand just below the image, clearly indicating the context for those scenes. The sketches are unique among those prepared for this production. Instead of colorful depictions of stage scenes devoid of humans,

these show individual characters in dramatic focus. They are the only sketches for the production that include musical notation, most likely in Roller's own hand. The inclusion of musical excerpts would have indicated to Mahler that Roller was intimately familiar with Wagner's score and had an original visual conception of the work closely tied to the music.

These sources deepen our understanding of the close connection between stage demeanor, visual design, and music that existed in the minds of Mahler's collaborators. By employing Mildenburg and Roller for his 1903 *Tristan*, Mahler demonstrated a firm commitment to Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal. All production aspects were to be interconnected, with music as the unifying element.

*Saturday evening, 14 November*

**OPERA AND THE THEATER OF PLURALISM**  
**Paul-André Bempechat, President, Lyrica Society, Chair**

Sponsored by the Lyrica Society

CREATIVITY IN CAPTIVITY: VIKTOR ULLMANN'S  
*DER KAISER VON ATLANTIS*

Rachel Bergman  
George Mason University

Viktor Ullmann (1898–1944), a Jewish, Austro-Hungarian composer who was killed in the Holocaust, spent the final and perhaps most productive years of his life in Theresienstadt (Terezin), a “model” concentration camp just north of Prague that allowed, and eventually encouraged, musical activity. Ullmann’s music from this period reflects his greater preoccupation with death and with his Jewish identity, as seen most clearly in, though not limited to, his choice of texts.

Ullmann’s chamber opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder der Tod dankt ab* (*The Emperor of Atlantis or Death Abdicates*) is arguably his most momentous Theresienstadt work. The extraordinary circumstances surrounding the opera’s creation are reflected on many levels, ranging from the unusual orchestration (including banjo and harpsichord) to the incorporation of a distorted, minor key version of the Nazi anthem “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles.” Perhaps most poignant is the highly allegorical story, written by librettist and fellow inmate Peter Kien, depicting a world where life and death no longer have any meaning.

Throughout the opera Ullmann draws heavily on themes of death portrayed in the German and Czech musical literature, references that are fraught with potent meaning for both Ullmann and his Theresienstadt audience. In building upon this rich musical tradition, Ullmann sees himself as part of a larger continuous musical heritage. This work is a testament to the power of art to serve as spiritual resistance against the dehumanizing conditions of a concentration camp.

*LE PETIT MACABRE*: THE PERSONIFICATION OF  
DEATH IN ULLMANN’S *DER KAISER VON ATLANTIS*  
AND LIGETI’S *LE GRAND MACABRE*

Peter Laki  
Bard College

In Viktor Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, Death gets tired of his job and decides to go off duty. In György Ligeti’s *Le grand macabre*, Nekrotzar is a charlatan who becomes too drunk to carry out his work. Ligeti started work on his opera in 1974, the year before the *Kaiser*’s posthumous premiere; therefore no case for a direct influence can be made. The parallels between the two works are, rather, on a different level. These two portrayals of Death stand out among the many other known examples in their satirical intent. Ullmann’s opera shows death as a natural part of life—a statement that was never more true than in Theresienstadt. Ligeti,

whose father and brother had died in the concentration camps, mocked Death with the sarcasm of one who had also looked the Grim Reaper in the face. Despite the obvious differences in style and all external factors, there is an astonishing number of similarities between the two operas that I will attempt to explain by tracing the intellectual histories of the two librettos and invoking the theory of the absurd.

BERND ALOIS ZIMMERMANN'S *SOLDATEN*, TEMPORAL  
PLURALISM, AND THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE:  
RE-VOICING LENZ, BÜCHNER, BERG

Christopher Alan Williams  
Bowling Green State University

When Bernd Alois Zimmermann's opera *Die Soldaten* premiered in February, 1965, it was hailed as a masterpiece of postwar modernism, and as an ideal distillation of the composer's style, technique, and ideals, the most vivid embodiment of what he termed "musikalische Pluralismus." But problems were also cited: the extraordinary difficulties it presented for performers, for audiences through its relentless loudness and morbid despair, and, for some American commentators, its uncomfortable fusion of serialism with "post-modern" evocations of jazz and multi-media collage techniques. From the standpoint of a German avant-garde then dominated by the pronouncements of Karlheinz Stockhausen and his circle (for American academics the most influential mouthpiece for European developments), a further problem resided in the work's use of historical forms and "conventional" dramaturgy, which suggested a moribund dependence on tradition. Despite these many obstacles, the opera has benefited from repeated revival on both sides of the Atlantic, in at least five major productions, most recently in 2008, more than any other postwar opera not firmly rooted in the tonal tradition.

Somewhat buried in debates about its genesis, contemporary significance, and reception is the fact that the work's strong ties to its source text and musical models invoke a tradition of anti-militarist theater rooted in its source play. An experiment in presenting simultaneous action unfolding in different physical spaces, transgressive to the point of incurring a bitter and devastating reaction from Goethe, Jakob Michael Reinhard Lenz's 1776 *Die Soldaten* in turn served as a source for Büchner's fragmentary *Woyzeck*, itself the source of Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*, the most direct musical model for Zimmermann's conception. This paper traces a path of transformation from Lenz to Büchner to Berg to Zimmermann, focusing on an episode that Zimmermann apparently modeled on act 1, scene 1 of *Wozzeck*. By strengthening the connection between his "pluralistic" opera and historical models exploring similar themes and the temporal disunity of its source play, Zimmermann extends his definition of pluralism from style into the temporal dimension, and in so doing created an artifact embodying resistance not only to militarism and the arc of German history from the "humanistic" age of Goethe and Schiller to the present, but to a facile iconoclasm that had become the dominant voice in the German musical avant-garde.

## VIRTUOSO IMPROVISATION: MUSICAL PRACTICES AND MUSICOLOGICAL DISCOURSES

Mai Kawabata, University of East Anglia, organizer  
Dana Gooley, Brown University  
Elisabeth Le Guin, University of California, Los Angeles  
Nina Sun Eidsheim, University of California, Los Angeles

This panel proposes new frameworks for explaining virtuoso improvisation in Western music from about 1550 onward—starting with the recognition that improvisation cannot be meaningfully theorized without historicizing it, and moving beyond the classic studies by Ferrand and Schleuning. Our panel will include live demonstration as we examine the practice and performance of early modern musical improvisation—the period of the first great flowering of soloistic virtuosity for its own sake—forward into the legacies of Boccherini, Paganini, Ernst, Liszt, Chopin, and Schumann, through to contemporary improvisers such as Apap and Ratkje. This will entail a consideration of the intersections and conflicts among “theatricality,” embodiment, subjectivity and its performance, gestural semiotics, the lexicalization of expressive codes, and ideas about the expression of self in music, drawing on recent developments in theatre studies, dance, and gender scholarship (Joseph Roach, Susan Foster, Judith Butler). The interdisciplinary emphasis of our approach reflects the fact that many of the issues raised by improvisation are not exclusive to music. Improvisation also problematizes musical meaning in the nineteenth century as it comes to be seen as oppositional to the act of composition, with significant consequences for its position in musicology. By identifying and unpacking such historical dichotomies, and facing the challenge of accounting for meaning in an art form that is by its nature ephemeral, we seek to illuminate this neglected aspect in the history of performers. In so doing, and as practitioners ourselves, we hope to enrich and complicate the dialogue between musicology (which too often elides performance into score) and performance studies (which too often fails to account for the sonic dimension).

Dana Gooley will track the increasing value placed on “improvisatoriness” in nineteenth-century critical rhetoric about performers and compositions. Why did improvisation become a figure of praise at the moment when it was most declining as a practice? This talk gives special attention to Wagner’s essay “On the mission of opera,” which establishes Shakespeare and Beethoven as privileged sites of improvisational artistic creation.

Elisabeth Le Guin will examine antecedents to Romantic improvisational ethics in early treatises on virtuoso improvisation of poetry and music, dating from sixteenth-century Italy and Spain. These works (Ganassi, Ortiz, Rengifo) constitute a transition to written transmission of formerly oral improv practices, and as such can be understood as opening the rift between text and act that was to widen into a chasm by the nineteenth century; but in fact they are as interesting for what they do not theorize or textualize, as for what they do.

Mai Kawabata will focus on the ironic parallels between the improvisatory practices of Paganini’s generation and violin virtuosos today (Gilles Apap, Tracy Silverman, Mark O’Connor), with reference to the Romantic notion of authentic self-expression and the post-Cartesian attribution to the body of selfhood.

Nina Sun Eidsheim will address vocalists’ millennia-old pursuit in creating new sounds through extending the vocal apparatus and modifying space. While briefly contextualizing such practices in historical terms, contemporary music in which the voice is modified by electronic devices is the focus. With live demonstration of some of the techniques in question, this presentation specifically discusses the practices of Norwegian improviser Maja Ratkje.

*Sunday morning, 15 November*

**CAGE AND COMPANY**  
**David Bernstein, Mills College, Chair**

“THE SPIRIT INSIDE EACH OBJECT”: JOHN CAGE, OSKAR  
FISCHINGER, AND “THE FUTURE OF MUSIC”

Richard H. Brown  
University of Southern California

Late in his career, John Cage often recalled his brief interaction with German abstract animator Oskar Fischinger as the primary impetus for his early percussion works. In interviews Cage repeated a phrase he attributed to Fischinger describing the “spirit inside each object” as the breakthrough for his own move beyond tonally structured composition toward a “Music of the Future” that would encompass all sounds. Further examination of this connection reveals an important technological foundation to Cage’s call for the expansion of musical resources. Fischinger’s theories and experiments in film phonography (the hand manipulation of the optical portion of sound film to synthesize sounds) mirrored contemporaneous refinements in recording and synthesis technology of electron beam tubes for film and television. On the audio portion of a sound film a clear visual representation of sound wave structure appears. The visual nature of this phenomenon inspired numerous theories on the indexical relationship between sound and image and its implications for a composite “visual music.” Technological innovations such as these empowered composers to explore new methods of temporal organization of sound in a tactile visual interface.

New documentation on Cage’s early career in Los Angeles, including research Cage conducted for his father John Cage Sr.’s patents, explain his interest in these technologies. Concurrent with his studies with Schoenberg, Cage fostered an impressive knowledge of the technological foundations of television and radio entertainment industries centered in Los Angeles. Cage’s later interaction with László Moholy-Nagy furthered his interest in establishing a library of “sound effects” recorded on film and organizing them according to established film techniques. Adopting the term “organized sound” from Edgard Varèse, Cage compared many of his organizational principles in percussion music to film editing techniques. An examination of his earliest percussion work, “Quartet” (1935–36), reveals one possible connection. Cage’s manuscript for this work bears a distinct resemblance to the animation scripts Oskar Fischinger used on the set of his films. Written in a unique form of graphic notation, Fischinger’s scripts represent one of the earliest examples of approaching music from its sonic structure. Applying his knowledge of the indexical structure of sound waves, Fischinger plotted musical patterns over time and according to frequency, enabling him to map out correlating animation shapes in strict temporal synchronization with the musical structure.

As Cage proclaimed in his 1940 essay “The Future of Music,” advancements in technology not only allowed for an expansion of musical resources and compositional techniques, but also demanded that music itself be redefined. Film phonography and, later, magnetic tape provided the conceptual foundation for many of Cage’s aesthetic views, including the inclusion of *all* sounds, the necessity for temporal structuring, and the elimination of boundaries between the composer and consumer.

## MURDER BY CELLO: JOHN CAGE MEETS CHARLOTTE MOORMAN

Benjamin Piekut  
University of Southampton

The cellist and performance artist Charlotte Moorman (1933–91) was one of the most important organizing forces of experimental music in New York City, and her catalytic role in galvanizing the avant-garde in the 1960s and '70s has never been adequately assessed. Her signature work was John Cage's 26' *I.1499* "for a String Player," a challenging score from the mid-1950s that is representative of the general modernist impulse to disarticulate musical sound into its component parts (pitch, duration, timbre, and amplitude). Although each of these properties might imply specific relationships to others in traditional musical composition (for example, a rise in pitch is often accompanied by a brighter tone and louder volume), Cage isolates and treats each separately. The result is a complicated graphic notation that significantly denaturalizes the performer's relationship with her instrument.

The composer further variegates his sonic texture by notating a layer of (nonspecified) noises and sound effects to be added by the instrumentalist. This direction allowed Moorman and her collaborator, Korean-born composer Nam June Paik, to transform 26' *I.1499* into a sonic and theatrical register of the most important themes of its time: flower power, the women's movement, black nationalism, the Vietnam war, consumer culture, the sexual revolution, rock 'n' roll, free speech, and Watergate. Moorman expressed these themes in the form of text recitations, tape and phonograph playback, and a number of theatrical gestures. Although Cage himself embraced a certain theatricality in his performances of this period, he was not an admirer of Moorman's interpretation—in a 1967 letter, he referred to this composition as "the one Charlotte Moorman has been murdering all along." What did he find so "wrong" about this performance? Using Moorman's heavily annotated copy of the score, her correspondence, and other non-textual documents from the 1960s and '70s, this presentation reconstructs Moorman's interpretation of 26' *I.1499* to uncover the basis of her disagreements with the composer of the work. The conflict seems to have turned on the question of what is properly included in the category of "everyday life." Could it include politics? Sexuality? Bodies of every type?

Furthermore, I use insights from Foucauldian ethics and feminist theory to answer the common claim that such disruptive performances automatically constitute feminist resistance or transgression. I argue that Cage's score is an example of what Foucault termed *problematization*: "the motion by which one detaches oneself from [thought], establishes it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem." If 26' *I.1499* was a tool for disassembling the customary method of playing the cello, framing "proper" technique as an object of reflection, then Moorman used the score correctly, albeit toward unforeseen ends. The limited vocabulary of resistance fails to register the ways in which, in the words of anthropologist Saba Mahmood, "norms are not only consolidated and/or subverted, . . . but performed, inhabited, and experienced in a variety of ways."

“UNWRAPPING” THE VOICE: CATHY BERBERIAN’S  
AND JOHN CAGE’S *ARIA* (1958)

Francesca Placanica  
University of Southampton

Cathy Berberian is widely known as the “Muse of Darmstadt,” an epithet she earned following her marriage to Luciano Berio, for whom she was the earliest vocal model. The couple lived in Milan from 1950 to the early Sixties, when the Studio di fonologia musicale had become the obligatory stop for composers traveling from all over the world to Darmstadt. In this artistic milieu, Berberian played a fundamental role, becoming the irreplaceable linguistic bridge that favored intellectual exchange among international artists. Her vocal and histrionic skills eventually inspired composers to fashion new compositions on her unique voice and intelligence.

In this paper I examine the role of Berberian in avant-garde music, exploring unpublished primary sources preserved in the Cathy Berberian Los Angeles Archive (CBLA) maintained by Berberian’s daughter, Cristina Berio. The CBLA contains autograph scores, journals, handwritten annotations, notebooks, drawings in Berberian’s hands, and a lengthy unedited interview given by the singer in 1981 and recorded on twenty-one tapes. My study of these hitherto neglected materials sheds new light on the structural role of Berberian’s performance choices in numerous avant-garde compositions and on the interaction with the composers who had her as their performer of election.

In particular, I focus on the fertile friendship and collaboration between Berberian and John Cage, which resulted in the *Aria with Fontana Mix* (premiered 1958), composed at the Berios’ in Milan and explicitly dedicated to the American singer. Supported by unpublished evidence, such as Berberian’s recorded voice, annotations, and performance markings on the autograph score of *Aria* preserved in the CBLA, my paper traces the story of the composition of *Aria* from the perspective of the singer who inspired it, and first faced the challenge of performing it. Indeed, Berberian assisted Cage suggesting and providing numerous original linguistic, vocal and dramatic devices, which eventually became structural part of the piece, deeply affecting its compositional and performing plan.

What emerges from my study is that Berberian’s contribution to the avant-garde vocal output, as with Cage’s and Berio’s works, was twofold. First, Berberian drove the composer’s hand while he was writing, suggesting linguistic, dramatic and vocal devices, and assisting him in molding the written work on her histrionic and vocal skills. Well aware of her own vocal and dramatic strengths, she was pivotal to the success of the work, as she had the ability to interpret, embody and deliver at the top of her potential the composer’s intentions. But to a greater extent, her personal commitment to the performance of a piece, her own research on and reinvention of the composition once it was “completed,” allowed her to extend the creative act well beyond the work of the composer himself, taking it all the way to the stage and the performing momentum.

CHOREOMUSICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN MERCE CUNNINGHAM'S  
*SECOND HAND* AND THE AESTHETIC OF INDIFFERENCE

Daniel Callahan  
 Columbia University

Merce Cunningham and his critics, whether writing from a formalist or critical-theoretical perspective, have consistently maintained that his mature choreography expresses nothing but kinesthetic integrity itself. According to this view, Cunningham's choreography is not inspired by music, narrative, or ideas; it is driven only by the possibilities of the body in space and time. Art critic Moira Roth has termed this retreat from expression, meaning, and politics in the works of Cunningham, his partner John Cage, and the visual artists in their intimate circle as the "aesthetic of indifference." My paper will explore the history behind and the choreomusical relationships in Cunningham's *Second Hand* (1970, revived 2008) in order to complicate this long-standing characterization of Cunningham's oeuvre. Using new and previously unpublished sources, I will provide the first sustained account of choreomusical relationships and programmatic content in a Cunningham dance.

Beginning in the summer of 1969, after avoiding such an approach for thirteen years and (to date) never repeating it, Cunningham choreographed a dance, *Second Hand*, to the "phraseology" of music. The music was Erik Satie's *Socrate*, a "symphonic drama" on the life and death of the philosopher scored for vocalists and chamber orchestra, and a piece long beloved by Cunningham and Cage. Cage prepared a two-piano arrangement for the company's early 1970 première. Because of an eleventh-hour refusal of performance rights by the publisher, however, Cage was forced to prepare *Cheap Imitation* for the première, a partly chance-determined piano version of *Socrate* that maintained Satie's rhythms and tempi but altered his melodies.

While company members in 1970 and later critics suspected a programmatic content following the suppressed *Socrate*, no one has yet connected the choreographic specifics of *Second Hand* to the programmatic specifics of *Socrate*. Similarly, no one has recognized the significance of Cunningham re-presenting his 1944 solo *Idyllic Song* as *Second Hand's* first section. *Idyllic Song* had been Cunningham's first dance to Satie, specifically to Cage's piano reduction of *Socrate's* first movement, and a very early collaboration between the two men. Cunningham's programmatic concern in *Idyllic Song* was antithetical to the critique of the heteronormative family (specifically Cage's, as I will show with reference to Cunningham's overlooked libretto) that the two men had provided in their first collaboration, *Credo in Us* (1942), a dance tellingly and sardonically subtitled *A Suburban Idyll*.

Drawing on Cunningham's 1969 notes, the sole performance of *Second Hand* filmed with sound, observation of the revival in rehearsal and performance, and interviews with past and present company members, I will suggest that *Second Hand's* choreography is far from "indifferent," but instead at times directly expresses Satie's libretto and music. Placing these formal and programmatic connections against the background of the queer history of the Cage-Cunningham relationship and the place of Satie and *Socrate* in it, I will argue that *Second Hand* represents a moment of retrospective ambivalence about the aesthetic and the collaborative model that would cement the canonical status of Cunningham and Cage in the American avant-garde.

## CINEMATIC IMAGINATION

Daniel Goldmark, Case Western Reserve University, Chair

PAUL HINDEMITH AND THE CINEMATIC IMAGINATION:  
FROM *IM KAMPF MIT DEM BERGE* TO *HIN UND ZURÜCK*Alexandra Monchick  
Harvard University

Premiered at the Baden-Baden Festival in 1927, Paul Hindemith's one-act musical sketch *Hin und Zurück* (1927) with a text by Marcellus Schiffer, has consistently been referred to as a cinematic work, but with little discussion as to why it was perceived this way beyond its inherent palindromic structure. The musical form of *Hin und Zurück* is inherently different from earlier operas in that it is not structured around fixed numbers or a comprehensive network of leitmotifs. Instead, *Hin und Zurück* is composed of tiny independent units of music that are strung together in a coherent order.

It is well known that Hindemith's contemporaneous work on mechanical music and film at the Baden-Baden Music Festivals (1927–29) contributed to the conception of *Hin und Zurück*. The influence of Hindemith's work with popular cinema in the early twenties, on the other hand, has been overlooked. Under the pseudonym Paul Merano, Hindemith wrote one of the first original film scores to Arnold Fanck's film *Im Kampf mit dem Berge* in 1921. Discovered after the composer's death and reconstructed in the late 1980s, Hindemith's only film score for live orchestra has remained neglected by scholars. Indeed, original film scores were rare in the early 1920s, as synchronization technology was still in its nascent stage. A conductor had the burden of watching the film, the score, and the orchestra at the same time, which made it difficult, if not virtually impossible, to perfectly synchronize the music with the events on the screen at every showing. Yet, Hindemith's score provides insight into the ingenuity with which he solved such timing and synchronization issues between the music and the film.

Through a musical analysis of the work and an exploration of Hindemith's other early attempts at film music, this paper elucidates *Hin und Zurück's* strong connection to the music of silent film. The way in which the text and music are set together and then reversed, phrase by phrase, is akin to the practice of synchronizing small musical units to pre-existing films when composing original film scores during this period. Moreover, several musical motifs in *Hin und Zurück* bear a striking resemblance to those used by silent film keyboard accompanists at the time, as evidenced in Erdmann and Becce's *Kinothek*, a contemporary handbook for film accompanists that contains musical motives suggested for specific dramatic situations on the screen.

Hindemith's innovations in *Hin und Zurück* inspired H. H. Stuckschmidt to claim in "Short Operas" (*Musikblätter des Anbruch* 10, 1928) that new opera should depend on "a plentitude of plots [and] short scenes," and that "the same principles dictate the structure of another modern art form: the film." This synergistic view of opera and film, pioneered by Hindemith, would directly influence the work of other composers such as George Antheil, Darius Milhaud, and Alban Berg in the years to come.

POLITICS, WAR, AND DOCUMENTARY FILM MUSIC: ROY  
HARRIS AND THE PROBLEM OF *ONE TENTH OF A NATION*

Julie Hubbert  
University of South Carolina

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, scoring non-Hollywood films provided many emerging American composers with the chance to participate both in film medium and in left-leaning political and social causes. A League of Composers concert at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City on January 12, 1940, illustrates how significant these twin interests had become in the pre-war compositional landscape. The concert featured excerpts from six documentary film scores: *The Power and the Land* (Douglas Moore), *Valley Town* (Marc Blitzstein), *The City* (Aaron Copland), *The River* (Virgil Thompson), *One Tenth of a Nation* (Roy Harris), and *Roots in the Earth* (Paul Bowles). Each film excerpt was prefaced by introductory remarks from the score's composer.

While recent scholarship has focused significant attention on Thomson's and Copland's scores, and some work has been done on Blitzstein's, Moore's, and Bowles' scores, virtually nothing has been said about Roy Harris' score for *One Tenth of Our Nation*. This silence may be due to the troubled conception and reception the film experienced. The film focused on the highly sensitive issue of Negro education in the South. While filming, the crew's cameramen were arrested as "fifth columnists." When the film premiered at the Chicago Negro Exposition in October, 1940, its tone and content were so troubled that the film was shelved until revisions could be made. Harris, for various reason, was not engaged in the project until late in the process. Far from resolving or neutralizing the film's internal conflicts, Harris's score plays a significant role in heightening them. By viewing and analyzing sequences from this rarely seen film, this paper will shed light not only on Harris's only film score, and complicate his reception as America's "log cabin" composer, but create a more complete picture of the significant role "serious" composers played in the documentary and sponsored film boom of the late 1930s and early '40s.

ALFRED SCHNITTKE'S FILM MUSIC AND  
HIS CONCERTO GROSSO NO. 1

Michael Baumgartner  
Boston, Massachusetts

Alfred Schnittke's copious musical oeuvre for the cinema has been virtually neglected by musicologists and film scholars, a surprising fact since Schnittke wrote roughly sixty scores for—among others—such influential directors as Elem Klimov, Larisa Sheptiko, Aleksandr Mitta and Chris Marker. These scores are of particular importance since Schnittke considered his film work a laboratory for experimenting with a variety of musical concepts and compositional techniques. In this respect, Sheptiko's World War II-epos *Ascent* (1977), Mitta's light-hearted comedy *How Czar Peter the Great Married off His Moor* (1976) and Klimov's Rasputin "biopic" *Agony* (1975) are at a crossroads regarding Schnittke's further music-aesthetic development.

Since the early 1970s Schnittke had increasingly occupied himself with a number of twentieth-century compositional devices such as polystylistic forms, chromatic microintervals, timbral relationships and modulations, static forms, use of rhythm to overcome meter and

chordal structures based on clusters. Schnittke's intense research culminated in the Concerto Grosso No. 1 (1977). In this seminal work he had united these diverse devices into one composition that initiated a new direction in the composer's subsequent output.

Since Schnittke had already put such compositional techniques to the test in Sheptiko's, Mitta's and Klimov's films, it is hardly surprising that he incorporated thematic material from the three films into his Concerto. Through an act of intertextuality he links the Concerto to the three films, which in reverse become an essential part of the *Concerto* themselves. Schnittke integrates the stylized, baroque-influenced principal theme from *How Czar Peter* into the "Toccata" and "Rondo" and the tango from *Agony* into the "Rondo" movement. He inserted even more prominently the main theme from *Ascent* into the Concerto by making it the central motif of the "Preludio," "Recitativo," "Cadenza" and "Postludio."

With these three themes from different musical traditions Schnittke constructs the polystylistic fabric of the Concerto and enriches the work with layers of multiple meanings. The numerous semantic spheres can however only be revealed by analyzing the function of each of these themes in the contrasting three films in terms of their topics and styles. *Ascent* deals with a partisan unit in German occupied Belorussia during World War II and ends with the merciless torturing and brutal execution of two soldiers from the unit. The Pushkin adaptation *How Czar Peter* is a fantastic costume farce in which Peter the Great arranges a marriage for his Ethiopian servant Hannibal. Finally, *Agony* tells the story of the wandering Siberian monk Rasputin who vigorously induced the court of Nicholas II with his religious fanaticism.

Taking these extra-musical references into consideration, the Concerto contains the kernel of the grand narrative of recent Russian history. It juxtaposes three significant events, the carefree lifestyle of the aristocracy during the reign of Peter the Great with the plight of the Soviet Union during World War II and the turmoil before the Russian Revolution. Schnittke's first Concerto Grosso, therefore, marks not only the beginning of the composer's polystylistic phase, but equally embodies a microcosm of Russian history.

## BEHIND THE CURTAIN: INGMAR BERGMAN'S MUSICAL CONCEPTION IN *HÖSTSONATEN*

Per F. Broman

Bowling Green State University

When asked in 2005 if he believed in God, Ingmar Bergman replied, "I believe in other worlds, other realities. But my prophets are Bach and Beethoven; they definitely show another world." An *ex post facto* rationalization, perhaps, but with the addition of Chopin and Mozart as prophets, nothing in his oeuvre contradicts the statement. Bergman frequently referred to himself as unmusical, even tone deaf, perplexing accounts that cast him as one of the most unmusical musical geniuses of the cinematic history. Despite the frequency with which his 1975 *Magic Flute* production is discussed and despite the short studies on Bergman's music by Michael Bird (1996), Elsie Walker (2000), Chadwick Jenkins (2006), and Charlotte Renaud (2007), the music of his films has gained little attention. Bergman has been seen as the ultimate inventor of breathtaking images and deformed mirrors of human anxiety on screen, rather than, say, as a creator of *Gesamtkunstwerken*. In his mature, existential dramas from the 1960s and '70s, Bergman had moved far from his early films' conventional use of music by composers such as Erik Nordgren, Dag Wirén, and Karl-Birger Blomdahl. Instead, music by Bach, Mozart, and Chopin frames a limited number of scenes. Bergman's fourth wife,

Swedish-Estonian concert pianist Käbi Laretei and her teacher Maria-Luisa Strub-Moresco, were decisive in this change of approach. Through her practicing and performing, Laretei introduced him to a wide repertoire and Bergman attended numerous lessons with Strub-Moresco, discovering a pianistic world that provided inspiration for several films, especially *Höstsonaten* (Autumn Sonata, 1978).

Drawing from sources in The Bergman Archives, Stockholm and The Swedish National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images, and from interviews with Laretei, I will examine the role music plays in *Höstsonaten*, which features works by Chopin and Bach. In *Autumn Sonata*, the central scene of the film revolves around concert pianist Charlotte's (Ingrid Bergman) performance of Chopin's A-major Prelude for her daughter Eva (Liv Ullman) following their reunion after years of neglect and emotional abuse. Bergman's archival "behind the camera" film from the shootings shows the significance of the scene: how Ingrid Bergman and Ullman were coached by Laretei, and how important Bergman considered the scene to be, especially Charlotte's monologue during the performance. Ingmar Bergman lets Charlotte emphasize his nonconforming, stern understanding of Chopin—an understanding that represents Charlotte's complicated relationship to her daughter. Laretei also found his reading intriguing from a musical perspective and recorded the piece in two different versions, a romantic one for Charlotte and a *Neue Sachlichkeit*-inspired one for Eva, which offer insights into the aesthetics of both Chopin and Bergman. My analysis diverges from Hollywood-derived scholarship of film music, deemphasizing the functional categories *underscoring* and *diegesis*. Music and drama become one, and the film places the musical work in the aesthetic and formal center challenging the perception of Bergman as a camera-centered film creator.

## COLONIAL CONSEQUENCES

Jann Pasler, University of California, San Diego, Chair

## INDEXING AFRICA IN CHRISTMAS SEASON VILLANCICOS

Drew Edward Davies  
Northwestern University

Relationships among music, race, and representation count among the most difficult issues facing the interpretation of viceregal music repertoires from New Spain, in particular villancicos produced for Christmas and Epiphany during the seventeenth century. Packed with popularizing signifiers drawn from peninsular Spanish theater, Christmas season villancicos often portray stereotyped African personages who travel in groups to Bethlehem to adore the Christ child through dance and song. Such pieces feature asymmetric rhythms and hemiola patterns seemingly evocative of popular musics and have been categorized into subgenres such as the *negrillo* and *guineo*.

For decades, scholars following the Stevenson tradition have interpreted such villancicos as indicative of "ethnological impulses" or retentions of African musical practices. In fact, members of the performance community tend to assume a literal and direct relationship between *negrillo* villancicos and the musical practices of enslaved or free African populations in New Spain, even though such pieces were composed specifically for cathedral ritual. However, citing *negrillo* villancicos from Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla's cycles of Christmas villancicos from

1653 and 1655 Puebla, as well as comparative examples from Spain and Bolivia, this paper argues that *negrillo villancicos* work at the allegorical rather than literal level, derive from contemporaneous European modes of representation, and can not serve as ethnographic documents. (The present is a timely moment to discuss these issues, since *negrillo villancicos* have recently entered two well-known score anthologies used to teach basic music history.)

Theoretically, this paper will draw upon perspectives voiced in Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* and Ronald Radano's *Lying Up a Nation: Race and Black Music* in order to situate mid-seventeenth-century *negrillo villancicos* amid peninsular Spanish and Italian visual and literary sources, the cathedral performance context, and the aesthetics of representing blackness allegorically in church media. It intends to show that the African personages portrayed in works such as Gutiérrez de Padilla's *Ah siolo Flasiquiyo* were exactly that; stereotypes used as allegories that index simulacra of Africanness for narrative purposes. Although the works would undoubtedly have acquired distinct meanings in viceregal contexts where African people contributed to the multi-ethnic social reality, they can not be separated from European traditions. For example, *negrillo villancicos* employ stock characters and stereotyped African dialects previously presented in plays by Lope de Vega (e.g., *La madre de mejor/El santo negro*, 1610), and they parallel the concepts portrayed in the European iconographic topos of the Adoration of the Magi, in which painters such as Rubens depict the youngest Magus as of Ethiopian origin. Ultimately, such *negrillo villancicos* for the Christmas season serve to underscore the central messages of the Christmas story: that Christ was born amid humble surroundings, yet the magnitude of that event inspired even distant "Others" to celebrate.

## TRANSCRIBING TOURISM: THE MUSICAL TRAVELOGUE OF FRANCISCO SALVADOR DANIEL

Kristy Riggs  
Columbia University

In 1848, France declared that Algeria was an "integral part of France," and, therefore, no longer just a colony. The French military finally defeated the insurrections of Abd al-Qadir, yet Kabyle revolts under the direction of Bou Baghla still plagued the French settlement efforts throughout the 1850s. An elected civilian government ruled briefly until 1852, when Napoléon III returned Algeria to military control. The following year the French musician and composer Francisco Salvador Daniel traveled to Algiers. From 1853 to 1857, Salvador collected folk songs throughout North Africa. After his return to Paris, he published several books and articles devoted to Arab and Kabyle music, and Napoléon III commissioned him to deliver a series of lectures on the subject. Through these publications, Salvador earned a reputation as an expert on North African music.

This paper explores Salvador's *Album de Chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles* (1863), a collected volume presenting twelve songs transcribed by the composer during his travels. The collection reflects two prevalent phenomena relating to mid-nineteenth-century French colonialism: (1) travel journals published by European artists and explorers describing North African tourist destinations as well as strategic sites for the French military and (2) the French colonial policy of assimilation practiced during the early years of the occupation. Salvador's collection exhibits characteristics similar to those of nineteenth-century French travel journals. The collection results in a kind of musical travelogue: that is, a composition or collection

of music that depicts specific locales or events, thereby providing a musical tour of a certain region. The musical travelogue allowed European audiences to travel to foreign locales without leaving the recital hall and offered composers a means by which to market their music. Through the incorporation of songs from popular tourist locations and strategic military bases, Salvador created a musical map of North Africa.

At the same time, Salvador's travelogue is no mere Orientalist fantasy; the mix of French, Arab, and Kabyle attributes within the composition creates a hybrid collection of songs. I connect this hybridity with the civilizing mission and policy of assimilation of the French government in Algeria. Unlike the imaginative expressions of the Orient by other nineteenth-century composers, Salvador composed a musical depiction of Algeria that appealed to both the French public's interest in tourism and the government's colonialist agenda. Through his *Album de Chansons*, Salvador presented a unique collection that allowed the European public to musically cross the Mediterranean and experience the cultural and political climate of French Algeria.

## REVISITING NINETEENTH-CENTURY COLONIALISM: WESTERN MUSICAL INTERVENTIONS IN OTTOMAN PALESTINE

Rachel Beckles Willson  
Royal Holloway, University of London

In line with pioneering work by the late Edward W. Said, research into music and colonialism has tended to concentrate on the mechanisms of representation, and its contextualization within the ideologies of reigning powers. Said's influence on musicology can also be traced in the predominant focus on artistic products of singular, fully-fledged colonial powers such as those of the British and French empires. These two Saidian trends, however, leave a great many questions about music unaddressed. We know very little, for instance, about the reverse flow of musical imperialism from colonizer to colonized. Furthermore, we are uninformed about times of competition between potential, but as yet unestablished empires, and we lack information about non-state forms of cultural domination such as those practiced by religious groups. Only very recently, as seen in work such as that by Guillermo Wilde (2007) for instance, have scholars started to probe these matters.

My paper contributes to filling the gap by presenting research into the Protestant rediscovery of Palestine during the nineteenth century. In the wake of the late eighteenth century's religious revival, and in consequence of nineteenth-century millennialist desires to repatriate Jews to "the Holy Land," travelers from Europe and America flocked to Palestine in numbers unmatched since the Crusades. They set out to reclaim the territory from the prevailing Islamic administration both in terms of its discursively constructed significance and its actual religious practices, and to this end they engaged in research, education, and preaching. They have left us a vast archive of textual material illuminating both their encounters with music they found on the land, and the consequences of their bringing music to it.

In the paper I examine the publications of three contrasted visitors. First, Swiss physician Titus Tobler (1806–1877), one of the leading European authorities on Palestine in the nineteenth century; second, film-maker American Dwight Elmendorf (1859–1929), who published a book of photographs of Palestine; and third, German theologian Gustav Dalman (1855–1941), who alongside undertaking missionary work also collected peasant music and researched local customs. Although I will argue that these visitors all projected interpretations

of the Bible onto the local people, the three case studies disrupt any monolithic notion of a unified “west.” Indeed they allow me to suggest that music was entangled in paradoxical practices of both importing and projecting conflict, while simultaneously being associated with an imaginary interpolation of peace.

Although my paper can offer insight only into a very particular historical moment, I will strive through it to make broader methodological suggestions about how historical research into musical colonialism might shift beyond representation into intervention and engagement.

### “CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION”: NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH MISSIONARIES AND THE CONTROL OF MALAGASY HYMNOLOGY

Charles McGuire  
Oberlin College

This paper will explore the hymns Malagasy Christians composed in the 1870s and the musical and bureaucratic systems that officials from the London Missionary Society (LMS) used to stop them, by attempting to exercise cultural dominance over Protestant Christianity in Madagascar, via Tonic Sol-fa notation and “reform” of Malagasy hymnology. LMS missionaries, when returning to Madagascar in 1862—the field had been closed to European evangelization in 1828—discovered a vibrant indigenous Christian church, surviving in secret for several decades. The missionaries initially greeted the indigenous Malagasy church with enthusiasm, using it to forward a martyr’s narrative of early Christians there. However, as the missionaries attempted to establish new churches and schools in the island nation, conflicts began over control of this church.

Scholars such as Bernarr Gow and Rachel Rakotonira have shown that LMS missionaries in Madagascar used the idea of “Christianity and Civilization”—building British-style schools and houses, encouraging their Malagasy converts to wear British-style clothing, and the like—to take control of the indigenous church by separating themselves and the “reformed” Christians from non-Christians and unreformed Christians. This paper will expand Gow and Rakotonira’s work to a discussion of the LMS missionaries’ use of music, showing how it became the missionaries’ most effective method of cultural control.

In the years when the field was closed to European missionaries, Malagasy Christians held onto hymns taught to them in the 1820s by LMS missionaries, disseminating them orally. Malagasy musicians adopted such hymns to their own aesthetic, through slowing down the rhythm, adding call-and-response structures to the execution, and providing them with lavish vocal ornamentation. When the mission field reopened, LMS missionaries viewed these Malagasy additions as threats to their proscribed rituals, and attempted to reform the indigenous hymn-singing through teaching Tonic Sol-fa and using current hymns, such as those by Ira Sankey and Dwight Moody, to replace the ones in use by the Malagasy Christians. LMS missionaries proclaimed that such hymns made Malagasy Christians more “civilized.”

Malagasy musicians quickly learned Tonic Sol-fa and the new music, and used both to create new hymns. Rather than celebrating these new compositions as enthusiastic acceptance of Christian traditions by the Malagasy, the LMS moved to quash these new hymns through both publication and regulation. The LMS organized a conference in 1878 with indigenous Christian participation to create two new hymnals: one for use by Malagasy church congregations,

the other for indigenous Christian schools. Eventually, to strengthen a strict paternalistic rule of the converts, the LMS missionaries presented these two new hymn books without Malagasy consent or contribution. LMS control of hymn composition and publishing became an incredibly effective way to assert technological dominance over Malagasy Christians.

**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA**  
**Mary Hunter, Bowdoin College, Chair**

“...LES DANSES CONFÉDÉRÉES”: MULTINATIONAL  
BALLET ON THE VIENNESE STAGES, 1740–1776

Bruce Alan Brown  
University of Southern California

In a 1773 pamphlet on ballet published in Venice, the anonymous author (Sara Goudar?) criticizes the vogue for exotic ballets, and then lists eleven European nationalities and their choreographic stereotypes, adding “J’évitèrois les danses confédérées, surtout les pas de trois”; such a dance (she says) would result in a confusion of styles, and adversely affect the overall plan of a ballet. Yet multinational ballets were common during the eighteenth century, nowhere more than in Vienna, the capital of a multi-ethnic realm bordering on the Ottoman Empire. The Viennese ballet repertoire of the middle decades of the century (from the ascension of Empress Maria Theresia to Noverre’s final Viennese engagement) is vast, with musical sources, descriptions, and visual depictions surviving in sufficient numbers for one to be able to analyze the phenomenon of multinational ballets with some precision, at least locally.

From such a study several characteristics and trends emerge as regards these ballets’ subject matter, construction, and musical treatment. While hardly devoid of stereotypes, national ballets in Vienna could be highly specific (in contrast to those of which Goudar complained), judging from contemporary praise for the accuracy of their settings and costumes, and surviving stage designs. Multiple nationalities were sometimes announced in a ballet’s title (as in Salomone and Starzer’s *Le Pilote anglais dans le port hollandois*, of 1754/5), but are often evident only from programs or other accounts. Conspicuous among such works are ballets set in fairs, markets, or ports, which naturally attracted persons from different nations (as in Hilverding and Starzer’s *La Foire de Zamoytsch* of 1757/8, with its encounters between Polish fur merchants, Jews, and a Cossack). One port/market ballet by Giuseppe Salomone, performed in Vienna’s German theater (Kärntnertortheater) in August of 1763, can be identified as the subject of Jean Pillement’s painting “Market Scene in an Imaginary Oriental Port” (now at the Getty Museum). Its depiction of Moorish and Chinese dancers performing together may conflate separate dances within the work (the music of which is lost), but the conjoining of two exotic nationalities is symptomatic of the Viennese habit (described recently by Michael Yonan) of subsuming artworks of various non-European countries under the single rubric of “indianisch.” Another key work is Hilverding and Starzer’s Spanish/gypsy ballet *La Force du sang* (1757), with its *pas de trois* featuring three simultaneous sentiments (closely analyzed in a contemporary newspaper account) at the crux of the action.

Far from being avoided, “confederated dances” were avidly cultivated in Vienna, not only by Joseph Starzer (and his choreographic collaborators) but also by Christoph Gluck, his successor as ballet composer. Multinational ballets were not without effect on Gluck’s operas—as

in the confrontations of peoples in the Viennese *Paride ed Elena* and the Parisian *Iphigénie en Tauride*.

PREACHING (GERMAN) MORALS IN VIENNA:  
THE CASE OF MOZART AND UMLAUF

Martin Nedbal

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Tales and statements admonishing vice or promoting virtue have always been a common feature of opera; these elements, however, became particularly important in the singspiels performed between 1778 and 1783 at Joseph II's National Theater in Vienna. The libretti for most of these works were adapted from those of pre-existing operas that originated in places outside of the imperial capital. For example, Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger based two of his most successful libretti from this period on French and North German sources: *Die schöne Schusterin* (1779) originated as an opéra comique and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782) as a North German singspiel. In adapting the two works, Stephanie omitted or modified passages that he considered sexually suggestive. He also inserted moral maxims into the original texts: generalized statements that prompted the audience to emulate exemplary deeds of onstage characters, such as acts of mercy, fidelity, truthfulness, and beneficence. In their settings of Stephanie's texts Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ignaz Umlauf used recurring musical tropes that supported a restrained approach to sexuality and emphasized the inserted maxims, a fact that scholars have not adequately appreciated. These tropes involved such techniques as a drastic change of musical texture at the onset of a maxim and unusually intense word-painting.

This paper argues that the unusually strong emphasis on moral uprightiness and on explicit didacticisms in *Die Entführung* and *Die schöne Schusterin* resonated with contemporaneous concepts of German national identity. Throughout the eighteenth century, German intellectuals and theater aestheticians continually expressed opinions that the Germans were becoming (or had already become) morally superior to other nations and their cultures. These ideas figured prominently in the writings on theater by Viennese authors who wanted to present their city as the center of an emerging German national culture. The notion of German moral superiority found an especially strong advocate in Joseph von Sonnenfels. Throughout his *Letters on the Viennese Theater*, published in 1767–69, Sonnenfels repeatedly pointed to the risqué plots and lack of moralistic reflection in the French and Italian works performed in Vienna during that period. He claimed, moreover, that these dramaturgical characteristics reflected the lax moral character of the French and the Italians. A decade later, the directors of the National Theater entertained similar ideas, as rarely cited archival documents (handwritten "Protokolle") from around 1780 testify.

The suppression of sexual innuendo and emphatic presentation of (added) moral maxims in these two Viennese singspiels therefore conveyed not only a humanistic agenda, but also a German-nationalist one. Placing Mozart's and Umlauf's singspiels into the context of eighteenth-century German nationalism provides an alternative for the widely accepted views that these pieces mainly responded to the cosmopolitan, universal tenets of the Enlightenment. Instead, it opens up the possibility that these works, and the institution of the National Theater in general, also participated in more exclusivist (perhaps even chauvinist) streams of eighteenth-century thought.

GERMAN CHANT AND LITURGY  
Elizabeth Upton, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair

“DEO FORTIUS CANTANDO SERVIANT”: LITURGICAL  
PRACTICE AND SOCIO-MUSICAL ORGANIZATION  
IN ANNA VON BUCHWALD’S *BUCH IM CHOR*

Alison Altstatt  
University of Oregon

The so-called *Buch im Chor* was written by Prioress Anna von Buchwald from 1471–1487 for the Benedictine women’s community of Kloster Preetz in the diocese of Lübeck. This unique manuscript—a combined customary, ordinal, and chronicle of convent life—records significant events in the cloister’s history and gives extensive information about the music, ritual and social organization of the convent. This study will examine the *Buch im Chor* for what it reveals about how the convent’s liturgy was practiced, particularly the individual singing roles of children, nuns and priests. I will demonstrate how the cloister’s children participated in the liturgy and how their presence served as a symbolic reflection of its theological significance. Furthermore, I will discuss musical education within the cloister, presenting evidence that indicates a pedagogical shift from aural learning to a preference for musical literacy. I will then consider Anna von Buchwald’s division of singing duties between the cloister’s nuns and resident priests. I will show that while the two forces typically sang the same number of masses per week, the women were assigned material that was more varied and required more extensive musical preparation. I will suggest that one goal of Anna’s musical division of labor may have been to negotiate between conflicting singing practices of the women educated within the cloister and the men trained in outside traditions. Finally, I will consider the liturgical reforms included in the book, arguing that Anna von Buchwald’s aim was not to simplify Kloster Preetz’s practice or to make it conform to an outside model, but rather to ensure a high standard of musical performance within the convent. This study is the first musicological examination of the *Buch im Chor*, an unparalleled source for understanding Benedictine women’s musical and liturgical practice in the late fifteenth century. It allows us to see the active role that Prioress Anna von Buchwald took in shaping the musical and ritual life of her community. It is also the first investigation of unpublished musical manuscript sources in the Kloster Preetz archive. As such, it represents the first effort to reunite Anna von Buchwald’s writings with the musical repertoire of her community, and to contextualize them within the practice of the diocese of Lübeck. It provides a significant case study in understanding the musical and ritual life of women’s monastic communities in the late Middle Ages. Finally, it is significant as a local study, expanding our knowledge of the diversity of repertoire and practice within late medieval chant.

SALVE REGINA/SALVE REX CHRISTE: THE LUTHERAN  
APPROPRIATION OF THE MARIAN ANTIPHONS IN  
THE ERA OF NEW PIETY (NEUE FRÖMMIGKEIT)

Mary E. Frandsen  
University of Notre Dame

Between c. 1640 and 1700, musical settings of the four Marian antiphons, particularly the *Salve Regina*, with texts that had been “de-Marianized” and re-addressed to Christ, assumed a significant presence in the Lutheran repertoire. While the practice of altering these supplicatory Marian texts to bring them into conformity with the Lutheran view of Christ as the sole mediator dates back at least to Seybald Heyden’s 1523 revision of the *Salve Regina* (as *Salve Jesu Christe, Rex misericordiae*), and altered texts circulated in northern hymnals into the 1560s, the most intense Lutheran engagement with these antiphons, albeit in modified form, occurred more than a century after the Reformation. In the context of a larger study on music and Lutheran devotion, I have identified nearly eighty such works, both extant and lost. The vast majority of these are revisions of the *Salve Regina*, which required substitute phrases in just four lines, while the other three texts necessitated extensive rewriting. Examples appear in anthologies of Italian music published for the Lutheran market by Ambrosius Profe (1641, 1646, 1649) and Johann Havemann (1659), in Matthias Weckmann’s manuscript anthology of sacred vocal music, Lüneburg KN 206 (c. 1647), in the Düben, Grimma, Luckau, and Bokemeyer collections, and in numerous inventories of lost collections (where they may often be identified through their title incipits). The majority of these de-Marianized pieces are motets and sacred concertos by seventeenth-century Italian Catholic composers, beginning with Monteverdi and Grandi, but a few settings of the revised texts by Lutherans (such as Capricornus) also appear.

At first glance, this appropriation of settings of such cherished Catholic texts smacks of confessional politics, and suggests that Lutherans sought to present these de-Marianized pieces in public liturgies as assertions of doctrinal superiority. I will argue, however, that these works have far more to do with Lutheran spirituality than with confessionalism. As I will show, they appear as part of the musical response to a development in seventeenth-century Lutheran spiritual life known to church historians as “new piety” (*neue Frömmigkeit*), which was marked by the cultivation of an intense life of prayer and meditation as well as a mystically-infused devotion to Christ. During the era of new piety (c. 1620–1680), Lutherans authored hundreds of devotional manuals, prayer books, sermons, and new hymns, and also developed a considerable body of sacred art music with Christocentric devotional texts—some 700 to 800 pieces—much of which they borrowed directly (without textual intervention) from the contemporary Catholic repertoire. Thus it seems that Lutherans of this era employed these de-Marianized pieces—indeed, sought them out—chiefly as musically-rendered prayers of supplication to Christ. In the broader devotional repertoire cultivated by Lutherans, these pieces offered a contrast with the settings of rapturous expressions of adoration for Christ and ardent appeals for mystical union with Him that the Lutherans also prized.

SOUND, SPACE, AND CATHOLIC IDENTITY IN THE  
GERMAN LITANY OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Alex Fisher

University of British Columbia

Music and sound were vital means of defining religious space and etching confessional boundaries in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Germany. While Protestant communities had long cultivated vernacular religious song to express their confessional identity, Catholic elites also used sound—including music, bell ringing, and gunfire—to augment rituals dramatizing confessional differences, particularly urban theatrical processions and pilgrimages whose shrines and routes defined the Catholic confessional landscape. As the genre of prayer and music most closely connected to thaumaturgical ideas of sanctoral intercession, the litany was the most distinctive and widespread musical marker of Catholic identity in Counter-Reformation Germany. Ranging from simple monophonic intonations and responses to elaborate polyphonic compositions by composers like Orlando di Lasso and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, litanies were widely disseminated and found the most varied uses in Catholic ritual.

Despite its ubiquity in German Catholic devotional practice around the turn of the seventeenth century, the litany north of the Alps has largely eluded scholarly attention. This paper explores the litany as an aural medium for the definition of Catholic space, and focuses on three aspects in particular. First, litanies lent a distinctive sonic profile to Catholic processions in urban areas: together with military music and gunfire, the characteristic call-and-response form of litanies helped to appropriate Catholic space aggressively in majority-Protestant cities like Augsburg and Regensburg, even if only for a short time. Second, litanies were a fundamental sonic component of pilgrimages that traced the sacred geography of Catholic Germany. The rhythm of intonation and response regulated the movement of the pilgrims across rural landscapes, and in turn influenced the structure of vernacular songs that were sung as the marchers approached their holy destinations. Third, the litany's inherent structure encouraged composers of polyphonic settings to shape interior spaces aurally by exploiting polychoral effects, often mimicking the prayer's spatial separation of intonation and response. Several examples will be drawn from the largest contemporary printed anthology of the genre, the *Thesaurus litaniarum* ("Treasury of Litanies"), published in Munich in 1596 by Georg Victorinus (d. c. 1632), music director at the Munich Jesuit college and church of St. Michael. Compiling dozens of settings of Christological, Marian, and Sanctoral litanies by Lasso, Palestrina, and other lesser-known contemporaries, Victorinus dedicated his collection to the Jesuit-organized Marian Congregations, which helped to stoke popular Catholic devotion in Germany from the 1580s onward. The stylistic range of the *Thesaurus*—spanning the simplest falsobordone formulas to massive quasi-polychoral settings for up to twelve voices—suggests the remarkable versatility of the litany in Catholic devotional culture and its vitality as a distinctive "confessional" genre in a fragmented religious landscape.

LUDWIG SCHNEIDER'S BUTTERFLY EFFECT: HOW  
AN OBSCURE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PRIEST SET  
THE HILDEGARD INDUSTRY INTO MOTION

Jennifer Bain  
Dalhousie University

The year 1857 heralds the beginning of the modern revival of Hildegard of Bingen. Ludwig Schneider, parish priest for the previous seventeen years of the former Abbey Church of Hildegard's daughter house in Eibingen, made it his life's work to promote Hildegard's reputation. In 1857 Schneider provided the evidence for the authentication of Hildegard's relics and planned an elaborate celebration for her Feast Day that September 17, including the first modern procession of her relics and their translation to a new altar, largely paid for by Schneider himself (J. Ph. Schmelzeis, 1866). As described in the printed devotional booklet that Schneider produced for the occasion (1857), the celebration also included the first modern performance of music by Hildegard, Schneider's transcription published posthumously in 1866 and 1867. According to Schmelzeis (1866), Schneider's successor in Eibingen and biographer after his death, Schneider had planned to write a book-length biography and study of Hildegard. But Schmelzeis himself would draw on Schneider's exhaustive research to produce in 1879 the standard single-volume study on Hildegard's life and works, which includes, as an appendix, musical transcriptions by Raimund Schlecht (author of the chapter on Hildegard's music). It is to Schmelzeis that all scholars refer for many years, and to these scholars that prominent English sources have referred. Gmelch's facsimile edition (1913), in particular, becomes the primary mode for the circulation of Hildegard's music, significantly referred to by Christopher Page in the 1982 liner notes of his seminal, award-winning, and highly influential LP, *A Feather on the Breath of God*.

In a recent book on Hildegard, journalist Fiona Maddocks (2001) describes in brief the retrieval and authentication of Hildegard's relics, but mentions Schneider only three times in passing in the book. She suggests that Schneider's role in the revival of Hildegard was limited to inscribing her bones with the words "Os Stae Hildegardis, 1858." Through an examination of numerous archival documents and rare printed sources, I argue that Schneider's role went well beyond inscribing Hildegard's bones. His dedication to Hildegard, arguably largely fuelled by political events that saw the dissolution of her Eibingen Abbey during his early years, contributed profoundly to a ripple effect that eventually would lead to the astounding commercial success of Hildegard at the end of the twentieth century.

**RESTORATION PUBLISHING**

**Kathryn Lowerre, East Lansing, Michigan, Chair**

PURCELL AS SELF-PUBLISHER: OR, WHY *THE PROPHETESS*  
"FOUND SO SMALL ENCOURAGEMENT IN PRINT"

Rebecca Herissone  
University of Manchester

It is well known that the music-publishing industry in England flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century, thanks mainly to the stationer John Playford, who established

a thriving business printing books for the musical amateur. The solution Playford and his successors found for the practical difficulties of music printing—the expense of the process and relatively limited market—was to concentrate on repertory they were confident of selling, predominantly producing multi-composer anthologies of popular tunes and songs for the domestic market, in which the repertory and practical uses to which the music could be put were more significant than the identity of the composers. Since intellectual property rights were not recognized at the time, composers had little or no say in what appeared in print and may have benefited little from the publication of their music in such volumes.

In this context, it is significant that some composers, including Purcell, undertook the financial risk of self-publishing some of their music without the involvement of a stationer. Analysis of music books of this sort produced in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century suggests that self-publication was undertaken for a number of quite specific purposes. The books include the only operatic scores published in England during the seventeenth century: Locke's *The English Opera* of 1675, Grabu's *Albion and Albanus* of 1687, and Purcell's *The Prophetess* of 1691. None of these substantial volumes had an obvious practical use, and they all sold poorly, but it is clear that the motive for publication was not primarily commercial, at least for Locke and Grabu: rather they used the medium of print to make a statement about their works' status, as the title of Locke's score suggests. Purcell's print of *The Prophetess* was in turn intended as a response to Grabu's score, allowing him to claim the status of England's national theatre composer. So why was this score singled out among the three as a renowned commercial disaster to which reference was still being made eleven years later?

To discover why *The Prophetess* earned this reputation, this paper considers closely the surviving copies of the score, Purcell's own response to his publication, and the broader context of his self-publishing activities, thus uncovering the extent of his very personal involvement in the production of the print. The evidence suggests that—despite the clear links between his score and those of Locke and Grabu—Purcell was confused about the distinct and mutually exclusive functions of music printing in the period, which led him to misunderstand how he might appropriate the medium for his own benefit, a failure that perhaps indicates that his transition from traditional employment to musical entrepreneur did not run entirely smoothly.

### “AN ANTIDOTE AGAINST MELANCHOLY”: DECODING HIDDEN ROYALIST PROPAGANDA

JoAnn Taricani  
University of Washington

The well-known collection titled *Wit and Mirth, Or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* is celebrated as a repository of entertaining songs. Edited and published by Thomas D'Urfey in 1719–20, its six volumes contained over 1,100 songs, the tunes of which subsequently acquired new life in satiric ballad operas produced in 1730s London.

The roots of this massive collection are found in a 1661 poetic miscellany titled *An Antidote against Melancholy: Made up in PILLS*. The relationship of this miscellany to *Wit and Mirth* has been variously interpreted, but a clear chain of editions links the two publications. However, the original political significance of this corpus of British song has been unacknowledged in scholarly literature. Its cheerful poetic surface hides the passionate political undertone of its publisher, the Royalist sympathizer John Playford, who disguised his identity with a cipher.

Playford's 1661 *Antidote* has long been considered a jocular collection of poems about drinking. But several elements of the 1661 edition link it directly to the coronation of Charles II, published to capitalize on that event. Moreover, the titles listed in the index are a compilation of Royalist poetry in circulation in the 1650s. Although tunes often are not listed, or listed in an oblique manner, the poems were well known as musical ballads, and the tunes are identified with Royalist causes.

This becomes a key to reinterpreting other poetic miscellanies of the 1650s as well as the 1719 *Wit and Mirth* when the 1661 *Antidote* is comprehended first as a musical anthology (without musical notation) and second as a partisan political document. In other Royalist poetic miscellanies that have not been viewed as musical anthologies, we find a number of concordances to the poems in the *Antidote against Melancholy*—despite the lack of any indicated tunes in other miscellanies.

In 1650, following the issuance of an arrest warrant for his perceived Royalist publications, Playford began to issue his earliest musical publications, which have often been viewed as having Royalist leanings. Recently, his non-musical clientele has undergone scrutiny, revealing apparent continuing support for the Royalist cause. With his shop in the law district, he appears to have targeted sympathizers who would have been well attuned to the subtexts of the songs he was publishing.

In a century and country filled with ciphers and codes, it is significant that Playford himself apparently attempted to disguise his identity with a cipher in the *Antidote*. But viewed in the context of this Royalist text and the Restoration, his cipher (unnecessary by 1661) almost calls attention to the hidden meaning of the collection. Understanding it as Royalist propaganda provides a key to the coded meaning of the 1661 songs that were preserved in layers of the 1719 collection and conveyed into the public arena of ballad operas. This paper will point to the uninterrupted use of some of John Playford's musical signals and symbols by politically motivated authors, composers, and audiences from the 1650s to the 1730s.

## VOICES

**W. Anthony Sheppard, Williams College, Chair**

### GALLI-CURCI COMES TO TOWN: THE PRIMA DONNA'S PRESENCE IN THE AGE OF MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION

Alexandra Wilson  
Oxford Brookes University

London: October 1924. A general election was looming, but the British press was more preoccupied by the imminent visit of the celebrated prima donna Amelita Galli-Curci. Although the soprano had never previously set foot on British soil, her two forthcoming concerts at the Royal Albert Hall had sold out some eight months in advance, thanks to the immense popularity of her recordings. As critic Herman Klein remarked in *Gramophone* magazine, "a feat such as this is entirely without precedent; and the reason it has never happened before is because the conditions which have rendered it practicable did not exist prior to the era of the gramophone." Excitement reached a fever pitch as Galli-Curci's London debut approached, but the soprano ultimately failed to live up to the hype. Audiences both in London and in the

cities she visited on her subsequent tour of the British Isles were disappointed and perplexed at the differences they perceived between her performance in the concert hall and on record.

The figure of the prima donna has attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent years. However, most historians have tended to concentrate upon singers of the long nineteenth century and earlier periods; the cultural significance of the prima donna in the twentieth century is a topic that remains relatively unexplored. This paper explores the circumstances and discourses that surrounded Galli-Curci's 1924 visit to London, as a way of illuminating how the commercial recording industry was beginning fundamentally to change prima donnas' careers, their relationship with their audiences, and the public's perception of them. Foreign singers had arrived in Britain as ready-made celebrities in previous eras (one thinks most obviously of Jenny Lind's visit in 1847), but the emerging concept of the voice as a material artifact, and the way in which recordings allowed listeners to feel close to a singer in the absence of his or her bodily presence, meant that the experience of subsequently hearing that singer in the concert hall was subtly but significantly transformed. Galli-Curci's British concerts act as a sort of test case, revealing at an early stage in the history of recording the potential disjunction between recorded and live performance, and illuminating how listening practices were changing by the early twentieth century. I will also examine the publicity "machine" surrounding and controlling popular singers and demonstrate how Galli-Curci's status as a quasi-"crossover" artist raised questions about a blurring of cultural boundaries that the musical establishment in 1920s Britain found deeply troubling. This paper is part of a larger project on ideological debates surrounding opera and opera singers that took place in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century.

### CRYING IN THE CHAPEL: RELIGIOSITY AND MASCULINITY IN EARLY DOO-WOP

Philip Gentry  
College of William and Mary

In the early 1950s, as a diverse assortment of African American musical styles began to coalesce into the category of "rhythm and blues," one small subset of this new genre began to strike into unusual terrain. Vocal groups, rooted in the pop quartet tradition of the Mills Brothers and the Ink Spots but inflected with a new post-war sensibility that would later be called "doo-wop," went through a short fad of singing on religious, or at least pseudo-religious, lyrical topics. The most famous such example was the Orioles' "Crying in the Chapel," which made it to number thirteen on the pop charts, but the Cadillacs, the Drifters, and many others contributed similar songs as well. It might be easy to associate this fad with the contemporaneous popularity of gospel quartet singing, but these R&B musicians were performing in avowedly secular context, and from their own perspective there was little confusion between gospel music and their own pop creations.

This paper therefore attempts to understand the popularity of religious subject matter in early doo-wop. I approach the question from two angles: first from the songs themselves, showing the important musical differences between these pop numbers and similar songs understood as being "actually" religious. Secondly, however, I look more broadly at one important market for this music, the so-called "black bourgeoisie" of the United States prior to desegregation. Examining magazines, fanzines, and oral histories, I argue that rather than a statement on religion—even in the heightened discourse of religiosity in the early Cold War—

this use of spiritual topics was a means by which some African American men constructed for themselves an alternative masculinity, differentiated from the more overt sexualization of others on the R&B charts.

Ultimately, I find that the use of religious topics in this early doo-wop is a precursor to a more well-known later fad—the adoption of de-sexualized lyrical subjects and increasingly younger singers as a means by which to counter public fears of African American masculinity. This topic is important not only in and of itself; it also address one of the major points of inquiry in post-war African American music—the shifting duality of the secular and the sacred. It also provides insight into the relationship of music and politics in the early Cold War, and the complex cultural work behind the famous push for desegregation triggered by *Brown v Board of Education* in 1954.

## RECALLING THE VOICE OF JULIUS EASTMAN

Ryan Dohoney  
Columbia University

In the past decade the musical practices of the downtown New York City art scene have garnered increased scholarly attention. From Bernard Gendron to Kyle Gann, music historians and composer-critics have begun assessing the legacy of Downtown in the period of roughly 1974 to 1987. Downtown is notable for its geographic compactness as well as the sheer diversity of musical practices that flourished there. New wave rock, post-minimalist classical music, disco, and loft jazz are just the first names on a long and varied list of styles that flourished there. Accounting for this heterotopia is no small feat for music historians and requires attention to the contingencies of the urban landscape and the ease with which numerous musicians moved from style to style, venue to venue, while often leaving little evidence of their work in either score or recorded form. However, the proximity of Downtown's heyday to our present moment allows for some recuperation of the past through ethnography and the still-living memory of musicians active in this milieu. Doing the history of downtown is meticulous, genealogical, and ineluctably social.

This paper presents an account of one path of Downtown's socio-musical network and recovers part of the history of a central, yet nearly forgotten figure: the composer-performer Julius Eastman (1940–1990). Most well known for his recording of *Eight Songs for a Mad King* by Peter Maxwell Davies, Eastman began his career with the Creative Associates at SUNY Buffalo as a protegee of Lukas Foss. At Buffalo he performed with many of the most important composers of the late twentieth century including Morton Feldman, Lejaren Hiller, and Frederic Rzewski. Eastman left the Creative Associates in 1976 and settled in New York's East Village in the thick of Downtown's cultural ferment.

From 1976 until his death in 1990 Julius' model of musicianship expanded to include free jazz, improvisation, new wave rock, disco, as well as his own composed music that is marked by intense repetition and political aggressiveness. An account of this diversity and the possibilities for a musical identity that it suggests is the focus of the latter portion of my paper. Working from interviews with Eastman's friends and collaborators, including Meredith Monk, Mary Jane Leach, and Peter Kotik, I show the importance of Eastman's performances, particularly his vocal performances, to the collaborative music-making of Downtown.

I follow Eastman's voice to the varied sites of music-making in the geography of Downtown: experimental music at the Kitchen, improvisation at the Experimental Intermedia

Foundation, and the avant-disco spun at the Paradise Garage. What emerges is a view of his increasingly flexible musical identity that moved deftly among styles while still preserving the constituent features of those styles. This is a performance practice distinct from what we might think of as hybrid musicianship. What Eastman shows us is a type of networked musicianship founded upon the flexibility of a voice emerging from the refuse and rubble of New York City.

## MUSIC, CULTURE, AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION: FROM BEIJING OPERA TO MODEL OPERA

Yawen Ludden  
University of Kentucky

The Cultural Revolution (1966–76) was denounced in 1978 by the Chinese government as a decade of disaster and roundly condemned by intellectuals as the darkest decade in Chinese history. Academic research on the Cultural Revolution was strongly discouraged, and—along with novels, poems, dances, films, and other cultural products—all kinds of music from that period disappeared from radio, TV, and the concert hall.

Although a thaw in this restriction and growing interest in China has produced a growing body of literature, very little deals with music from that period, most especially the central role of model opera (*yangbanxi*)—a special term introduced in 1964 by the *Liberation Army Daily* to designate art works approved by Madame Mao (Jiang Qing) and other government officials. A brief revival in the early 1990s of Chairman Mao's quotation songs sold millions of CDs. But to this day only model opera has retained its vast audience in both China and overseas. For example, *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, *Azalea Mountain*, *The Red Lantern*, and *Spark Among the Reeds* were all performed by the Shanghai Beijing Opera Company during its 2008 international tour. Yet both the origins and evolution of model opera remain scarcely chronicled, much less understood.

This paper (based on my extensive first-person interviews with direct participants) addresses that gap by focusing on the chief architect, composer, theorist, and proponent of model opera, Yu Huiyong. Tapped by Jiang Qing for ever greater responsibilities, his unexpected but meteoric rise from worker-peasant to Minister of Culture illustrates the remarkably complex cultural interactions between Western traditions and the new revolutionary China. Far from a blanket condemnation of the Western musical apparatus, Yu Huiyong's one year of Western-oriented study at the Shanghai Conservatory in 1949–50 set the stage for both his assimilation and appropriation of Western practices in the service of this new mass genre.

Yu replaced the *sandajian* (three groups of traditional Chinese instruments that accompanied singing) accompaniment of Beijing Opera with full orchestral accompaniments in a balanced and colorful mix of traditional Chinese and Western instruments. He broke away from the rigid, tripartite, and highly stylized melodic system (melodic formulas [*qiang*], metrical types [*banshi*], and modes [*diaoshi*]) of traditional Beijing opera and enriched it with a broad synthesis of Chinese folk music and Western melodic/harmonic/rhythmic elements. Furthermore, he codified model opera in Western notation and organized it along the lines of Western opera, complete with arias, ensembles, choruses, stylized dance, and even an extensive use, in works such as *Azalea Mountain* (1972), of Wagnerian-style leitmotifs.

Yu's reforms constitute far more than the unilateral musical whims of a power-hungry bureaucrat; they speak to broader issues of cultural configuration that are still poorly understood

in both China and the West. Far from simple propaganda, the re-purposing of Western practices in model opera underscored a revolutionary shift in values. It served the goals of a new social order that replaced emperors and empresses with workers, peasants, and soldiers. Hence model opera functioned paradoxically as both mass and avant-garde entertainment.

## *Index*

- Adams, Byron, 139  
Adler, Ayden, 150  
Adlington, Robert, 72  
Ake, David, 67  
Alden, Jane, 32  
Allen, Aaron S., 93  
Alonso-Minutti, Ana, 104  
Altstatt, Alison, 175  
Amati-Camperi, Alexandra, 80  
Atkinson, Charles M., 116
- Bain, Jennifer, 178  
Baltzer, Rebecca, 53  
Banfield, Stephen, 106  
Baumgartner, Michael, 167  
Beal, Amy, 60  
Beckerman, Michael, 51  
Beckles Willson, Rachel, 171  
Beghin, Tom, 126  
Bempechat, Paul-André, 159  
Bergman, Rachel, 159  
Bernstein, David, 162  
Biaggi, Marisa, 150  
Bianchi, Eric, 28  
Bidgood, Lee, 123  
Billett, Jesse, 118  
Blackburn, Bonnie J., 154  
Bloechl, Olivia, 35, 105  
Bonds, Mark Evan, 71  
Bowen, José, 108  
Brand, Benjamin, 79  
Brodsky, Seth, 147  
Broman, Per F., 168  
Brooks, Jeanice, 142  
Brown, Bruce Alan, 173  
Brown, Maxwell, 134  
Brown, Richard H., 162  
Bullivant, Joanna, 47  
Burkholder, J. Peter, 30  
Butler, Margaret, 94
- Caballero, Carlo, 128  
Calcagno, Mauro, 105
- Callahan, Daniel, 165  
Carberg, Daniel, 132  
Carter, Jay, 132  
Chang, Hyun, 115  
Chapin, Keith, 41  
Chernosky, Louise, 146  
Christensen, Thomas, 145  
Chybowski, Julia, 82  
Clague, Mark, 109  
Clark, Suzannah, 93  
Cohen, Brigid, 114  
Cook, Susan, 81  
Courtier, Jessica M., 83  
Coward, Georgia, 142  
Cowgill, Rachel, 68  
Crook, David, 28  
Cumming, Julie, 57  
Currie, James, 70
- Davies, Drew Edward, 169  
Dean, Jeffrey J., 86  
Deathridge, John, 154  
Deguchi, Tomoko, 148  
Desmond, Karen, 156  
Dohoney, Ryan, 182  
Dolan, Emily I., 122  
Doolittle, Emily, 93  
Drabkin, William, 120  
Dumitrescu, Ted, 59
- Edwards, Warwick, 54  
Eidsheim, Nina Sun, 161
- Fava, Maria Cristina, 137  
Ferreira, Manuel Pedro, 78  
Fillerup, Jessie, 150  
Fink, Robert, 149  
Fiorentino, Giuseppe, 34  
Fisher, Alex, 177  
Fosler-Lussier, Danielle, 97  
Frandsen, Mary E., 176  
Frank, Katerina, 50  
Freedman, Richard, 150

- Frolova-Walker, Marina, 48  
 Frühauf, Tina, 51  
 Fry, Andy, 40  
 Fulcher, Jane, 128
- Gallagher, Sean, 57  
 Gallope, Michael, 41  
 Gelbart, Matthew, 46  
 Gentry, Philip, 181  
 Gibson, Maya C., 84  
 Giger, Andreas, 66  
 Gilbert, Adam Knight, 87  
 Gilbert, Shirli, 51  
 Gingerich, John, 45  
 Goehr, Lydia, 112  
 Goldmark, Daniel, 166  
 Goldsmith, Melissa Ursula Dawn, 110  
 Gooley, Dana, 91, 161  
 Gossett, Philip, 94  
 Granat, Zbigniew, 99  
 Grochowska, Katarzyna, 53
- Haar, James, 152  
 Hamberlin, Larry, 67  
 Hartinger, Anselm, 44  
 Headley, Erin, 75  
 Heckert, Deborah, 140  
 Heller, Wendy, 105  
 Herissone, Rebecca, 178  
 Hibberd, Sarah, 144  
 Hiles, Karen, 121  
 Hirsch, Lily, 51  
 Holford-Strevens, Leofranc, 86  
 Howe, Blake, 70  
 Howland, John, 111  
 Hubbert, Julie, 167  
 Huebner, Steven, 154  
 Huglo, Michel, 117  
 Hunter, Mary, 173
- Izzo, Francesco, 65
- Jackson, Timothy, 98  
 Jakelski, Lisa, 62  
 Järviluoma, Helmi, 93
- Jeffery, Peter, 116  
 Joncus, Berta, 52
- Kasunic, David, 156  
 Katz, Derek, 113  
 Kauffman, Deborah, 36  
 Kawabata, Mai, 161  
 Keener, Shawn, 80  
 Kelly, Elaine, 123  
 Kenny, Elizabeth, 75  
 Key, Susan, 150  
 Kok, Roe-Min, 91  
 Kowalke, Kim H., 37  
 Kupfer, Peter, 39  
 Kutschke, Beate, 61
- Laki, Peter, 159  
 Langenkamp, Harm, 100  
 Langley, Leanne, 68  
 Latino, Frank R., 134  
 Lazos, John, 103  
 Leese, Matthew, 132  
 Le Guin, Elisabeth, 124, 161  
 Lehmann, Dianne, 102  
 Leppert, Richard, 146  
 Levy, Beth E., 136  
 Locke, Ralph, 129  
 Lowerre, Kathryn, 178  
 Ludden, Yawen, 183  
 Lutterman, John, 43
- MacCarthy, Evan, 153  
 Maloy, Rebecca, 78  
 Mauskapf, Michael, 150  
 Mazo, Margarita, 47  
 mcclung, bruce d., 38  
 McGuire, Charles, 172  
 McKay, John Z., 29  
 Mengozzi, Stefano, 55  
 Mentzel, Joy, 134  
 Mentzel, Michael, 134  
 Milewski, Barbara, 97  
 Miller, Leta, 31  
 Monchick, Alexandra, 166  
 Moquin, Alyssa, 134

- Morris, Mitchell, 93  
 Moseley, Roger, 76  
 Murata, Margaret, 81
- Nadas, John, 151  
 Nedbal, Martin, 174  
 Niebur, Louis, 142  
 November, Nancy, 124
- Oja, Carol J., 135  
 Olleson, Philip, 106  
 O'Shea, Gary, 107  
 Owens, Jessie Ann, 88  
 Ozmo, Zak, 52
- Panthaki, Sherezade, 132  
 Park, Onyu, 134  
 Pasler, Jann, 169  
 Paul, David C., 30  
 Peattie, Thomas, 93  
 Pederson, Sanna, 42  
 Phelps, Michael, 86  
 Piekut, Benjamin, 163  
 Pinnock, Andrew, 139  
 Placanica, Francesca, 164  
 Potter, Pamela M., 51  
 Powell, Ardal, 141  
 Price, Charles Gower, 37  
 Pruiksma, Rose, 105
- Quinn, Ian, 63
- Ramos-Kittrell, Jesus A., 101  
 Rankin, Susan, 119  
 Redwood, Victoria, 75  
 Reyes, César, 74  
 Reynolds, Anne-Marie, 150  
 Richter, Annett, 90  
 Riggs, Kristy, 170  
 Röder, Seda, 133  
 Rodin, Jesse, 58  
 Rogers, Vanessa, 52  
 Rosen, David, 64  
 Ros-Fabregas, Emilio, 34
- Rosow, Lois, 35  
 Roust, Colin, 64
- Saavedra, Leonora, 101  
 Saltzstein, Jennifer, 32  
 Saunders, Zoe, 132  
 Schmelz, Peter, 49  
 Sender, Shelby, 134  
 Senici, Emanuele, 96  
 Sewright, Kathleen, 33  
 Sheehy, August, 73  
 Sheppard, Jennifer, 95  
 Silverberg, Laura, 123  
 Sisman, Elaine, 120  
 Slim, H. Colin, 60  
 Smart, Mary Ann, 64  
 Spilker, John D., 135  
 Spitzer, John, 43  
 Steichen, James, 150  
 Swayne, Steve, 138
- Tackley, Catherine, 107  
 Taricani, JoAnn, 179  
 Thompson, Brian, 106  
 Thorburn, Benjamin, 95  
 Thursby, Stephen, 157  
 Todd, R. Larry, 89
- Upton, Elizabeth, 175
- Vander Wel, Stephanie, 69  
 van Orden, Kate, 57  
 Veitch-Olson, Jenni, 85  
 Vial, Stephanie, 125
- Watkins, Holly, 89  
 Wheeldon, Marianne, 130  
 Whitesell, Lloyd, 130  
 Wiebe, Heather, 123  
 Wilcox, Beverly, 143  
 Williams, Christopher, 160  
 Williams, Christopher Alan, 155  
 Will, Richard, 121  
 Wilson, Alexandra, 180

Winkler, Amanda, 105  
Wolters-Fredlund, Benita, 51  
Wood, Jessica, 127  
Wright, Craig, 151

Yang, Hon-Lun, 123

Zagorski, Marcus, 123  
Zak, Albin, 108

# Sheraton Hotel

## Top Floor

Horizons Rooftop Ballroom

## Second Floor

Parlor Rooms A, B, C, D

## First Floor

Seminar Rooms A, B, C, D

## Ballroom Level

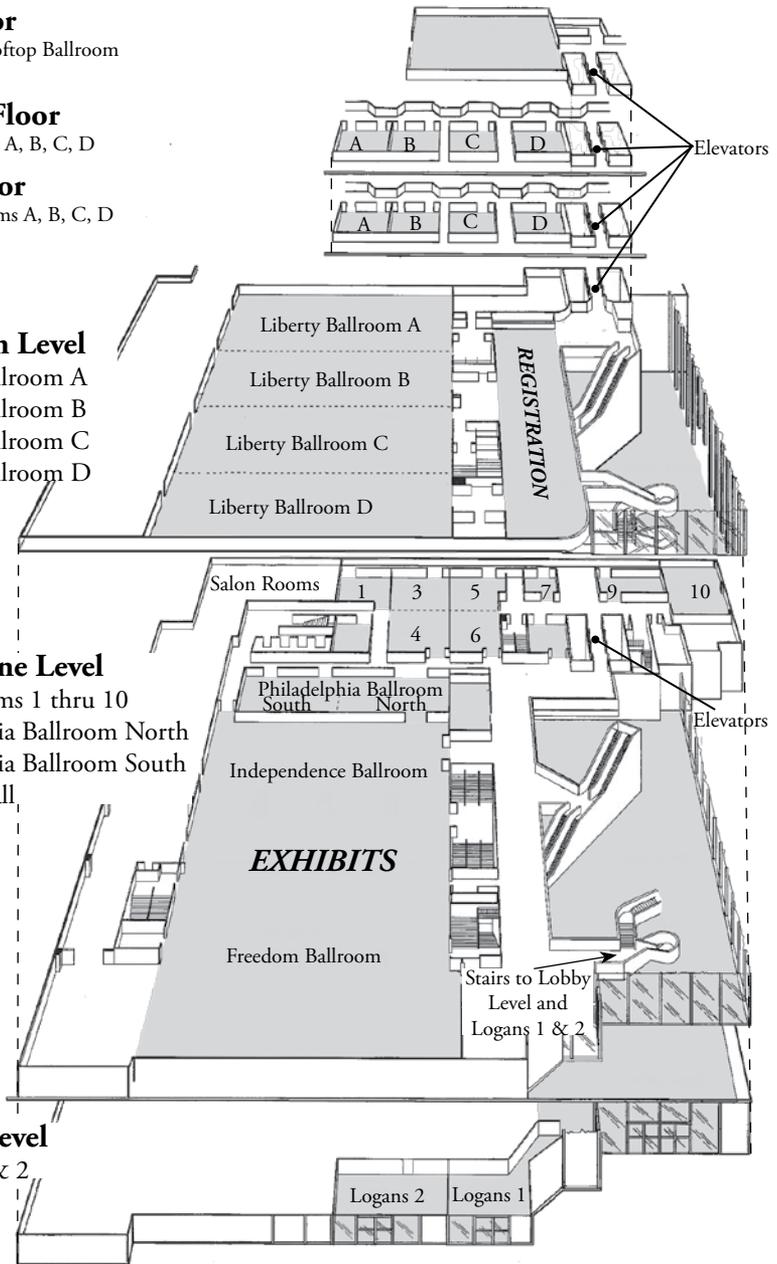
Liberty Ballroom A  
Liberty Ballroom B  
Liberty Ballroom C  
Liberty Ballroom D

## Mezzanine Level

Salon Rooms 1 thru 10  
Philadelphia Ballroom North  
Philadelphia Ballroom South  
Independence Ballroom  
Exhibit Hall  
Freedom Ballroom

## Lobby Level

Logans 1 & 2



# Downtown Philadelphia

