LITURGICAL TRADITIONS
Thomas Kelly, Harvard University, Chair

BIBLICAL CANTILLATION AND SYNAGOGUE CHANT:
A REVIEW OF THE EARLIEST SOURCES

Daniel S. Katz
Jüdische Gemeinde in Hamburg

What do we know about ancient chant? How early can we trace biblical cantillation? The literary testimony of the rabbis and the church fathers offers a philosophical and theological guide to the religious role of music between 1500 and 2000 years ago. Yet despite theories of affinities between the liturgical chanting of the early church and that of the synagogue or Temple, we face a dearth of ancient sources from these institutions. The Latin manuscripts for Gregorian Chant are from Carolingian times or later. They have been studied exhaustively and are well known to musicologists. Their Hebrew counterparts are not.

The purpose of this paper is not so much to present new documentation as to lay out clearly the earliest extant musical sources for biblical cantillation and synagogue chant, including the so-called "chants from Mount Sinai," which for the core of the synagogue oral tradition and are thought to constitute one of the oldest surviving layers of Jewish music. Although selected archaeological and literary sources will set the historical context, the focus will be on Hebrew chant manuscripts, which are still generally unknown to the musicological community.

THE CEREMONIAL BOOK OF NOVGOROD'S ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL
AS SLAVO-BYZANTINE MUSICAL SOURCE

Gregory Myers
Burnaby, BC

Medieval Novgorod was perhaps the most northerly point of byzantine cultural influence. The Ceremonial Book of Novgorod's St. Sophia Cathedral, or *Chinovnik Novgorodskago Sofiiskago Sobora*, was the preeminent liturgical ordo of that town's central cathedral in the seventeenth century. Although it is a late source, in structure and content the Ceremonial Book preserves liturgical and musical practices that can be traced back to the tenth-century all-chanted offices of Constantinople's Great Church, Hagia Sophia.

Taking as specific example the service of the Washing of Feet on Holy Thursday, which this document records in considerable detail, this paper scrutinizes the various musical numbers and the description of their performance. By using a series of intermediary Greek and Slavonic rubrics for this service, which date back to the eleventh century, for comparison, this paper will attempt to prove that this document not only continued the Byzantine liturgical and musical practices of the Great Church but that they show the final evolution development of an antique custom, one that confirmed Novgorod as the last bastion of the Constantinopolitan all-chanted services.

EARLY SEQUENCE TRADITIONS AND THE DEFINITION OF GENRE

Lori Kruckenberg
University of Iowa

Since the nineteenth century, Latinists have recognized that the early sequence essentially consisted of two regional repertories. Musicologists, too, have long acknowledged the existence of two repertories, but they have tended to play down the repertorial separation in favor of a view of a unified early history of the genre. Richard Crocker's *The Early Medieval Sequence* is perhaps the most extensive attempt to bridge theses two traditions. Certainly the common pool of some thirty melodies in both traditions contributes to a perception of a common Pan-Frankish history. Still, the numerous differences between the two traditions have been minimized and even ignored in the musicological literature, while the similarities between them often have been overstated. This view of the early sequence relies on fanciful musical and historical conflations, and, while scholars concede that the sequence traditions differ from one another in their texts, they regard all sequences as constituting a single genre, a product of a collective "Frankish genius."

This paper suggests a suspension of the view of "the early medieval sequence," and attempts to appreciate more actively the differences between sequence traditions. The regional traditions of recording methods, nomenclature, and source types as well as a comparison of sequence repertories to trope repertories imply a *Rezeptionsbarriere* for sequences. This study suggest that East- and West-Frankish sequences may have been closely related but were nevertheless different realizations of a genre. The evidence leads away from a single model of the early sequence and recommends two strong, separate traditions.

THE LITANY OF LORETO, DEVOTIONAL WORSHIP AND PATRONAGE IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY (1627–1805): A DOCUMENTARY STUDY

James I. Armstrong, Jr.
The College of William and Mary

A wealth of documentary evidence suggests that, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Catholic lands north of the Alps, the litany of Mary (also known as the Litany of Loreto, *Litaniae Lauretanae*, or *Lauretanische Litanei*) played a significant role in daily religious life both as a prayer and as a genre of sacred music. To date, the Litany of Mary has received little commentary as a genre of polyphonic composition. Specialized studies have addressed small samples of the music itself—the eighteenth-century repertory at the eighteenth-century Viennese court (Riedel and Armstrong) and the seventeenth-century, Italian repertory surviving in print (Blazey). These repertories are highly varied in style and length of setting—ariety dictated in part by the diverse worship contexts for which these settings were composed.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: to examine those documents that shed light on the place of the Litany of Mary in devotional worship in Austria and Hungary from the early seventeenth century through the beginning of the nineteenth century; and second, to suggest the extent to which women, as patrons, played a significant role in the spread of the Cult of Maria Loreto, thereby increasing the demand for settings and performances of the Litany of Loreto.

Documentary evidence examined here will include *Directoria* and *Diaria*, which describe religious use for a specific location. Records of endowment will also be adduced to show when, where and sometimes by whom such litanies were performed.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY TOPICS
Leon Plantinga, Yale University, Chair

CHOPIN AND HIS IMITATORS: NOTATED EMULATIONS OF
THE "TRUE STYLE" OF PERFORMANCE
Jonathan Bellman
University of Northern Colorado

Few aspects of performance studies are as elusive as the pianism of Frédéric Chopin. Contemporaries were unanimous both in their assessment of Chopin's performance style as inimitably unique and in the idea that one truly "heard" his works only when he performed them. Understanding what Gustave Chouquet called the "true style" of Chopin performance— one very different from the Russian-derived style prevalent today—remains one of the great obstacles to understanding how Chopin's works made their original, universally acclaimed effect.

One musical genre largely ignored in this context consists of imitatively chopinesque piano pieces by contemporary admirers such as Edouard Wolff and Louis Moreau Gottschalk. Performance indications in these pieces tend to be more plentiful than in Chopin's works, and so more explicit information about Chopin's approach—regarding, for example, the shaping of *fioriture*, the varieties of articulation and where to use them, and even the addition or substitution of ornaments (Chouquet's "unpublished *traits* of the master") —may be gleaned by comparing analogous passages in Chopin's works and those of this imitators. These interpretive inflections are corroborated both in the contemporary descriptions of Chopin's playing and in his notations in the scores of his students. They were also preserved in the teaching of longtime Chopin student Karol Mikuli, who published editions of Chopin's works that include authentic annotations and ornamental variants, and subsequently found resonance in the recordings of Raoul von Koczalski, a Mikuli disciple who became the purest twentieth-century exponent of the Chopin tradition.

REJECTED TRADITIONS: ENSEMBLE PLACEMENT IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY PARIS
Donna M. Di Grazia
Pomona College

Historical investigations and the interpretations they generate are naturally susceptible to contemporary opinions and unconscious biases. Yet despite their flaws, examinations of the past remain an indispensable part of music scholarship. For more than fifteen years, Richard Taruskin has powerfully argued that "authentic" performances reveal much less about how the music of earlier times "should" sound—a claim made both implicitly and explicitly by many in the "authenticity" movement—than they reflect twentieth-century *taste*.

This paper examines a performance practice issue that, to date, has not received thorough attention: how (and why) choral and orchestral forces of various nineteenth-century Parisian ensembles were arranged for performances. Extant seating plans, iconography, newspaper accounts, and other written evidence, show that many conductors did not follow the twentieth century's "standard" arrangement, with the chorus standing behind the orchestra at the rear of the stage. Instead, nineteenth-century conductors regularly placed the chorus *in front of* the orchestra. Also considered in the paper are two practices that were the direct result of placing the chorus in front: 1) using assistant conductors and 2) having the chorus sing while remaining seated. The profound effect placement has on ensemble balance and the effectiveness of a performance makes the consideration of this aspect of historical performance practice crucial for anyone hoping to gain a more accurate idea of how music might have sounded in nineteenth-century Paris.

THE FEUERBACH ENDINGS
Greg Vitercik
Middlebury College

In 1852 Wagner sketched one of several revisions of Brünnhilde's final words in *Götterdämmerung*—the so-called "Feuerbach ending," extolling the all-encompassing power of love. He later rejected this summation of the tetrology, along with the "Schopenhauer ending" that temporarily superseded it in 1856, although he printed both as footnotes to the published score.

I would suggest that Dahlhaus was right in observing that "the really authentic ending is obviously the version of 1852," and that "[Wagner's] first conception was also his last [expressed in the music with which he ended the work in 1874]." But I would suggest that this evaluation can be applied more radically to the whole of *Götterdämmerung*, that a Feuerbachian reading of the work, from the first prose sketch to the completed score, illuminates many of the conceptual strategies from which its often perplexing action arises. Indeed, Feuerbach's influence offers invaluable landmarks in retracing Wagner's crab-like progress through the texts of the whole of the *Ring*.

But that influence leads forward as well as "backward." What is generally taken, usually with no little discomfort, to be a perversely individual interpretation of Schopenhauer that Wagner developed in the middle 1850s might, I think, be better understood as an attempt to subsume the seemingly irreconcilable poles of Feuerbach's supposedly outgrown ecstatic transcendence and Schopenhauer's equally ecstatic skepticism. The attempt eludes expression, just as the conclusion of the Ring remains, finally, unspoken and unspeakable. Wagner's most fully realized "Feuerbach ending" is the third act of *Tristan and Isolde*.

WHAT ARE ALL THOSE MUSICIANS DOING IN THE PIT?: MUSIC FOR *THE DUKE'S MOTTO*, A BRITISH-AMERICAN MELODRAMA (1863)
Michael V. Pisani
Vassar College

A cache of manuscript orchestral parts, recently discovered in an uncatalogued collection at the Harvard Theatre Library, vividly illustrates the importance of music to the continuity of state action in nineteenth-century melodrama. This extensive and elaborate music was used at London's Lyceum, New York's Niblo's Garden, and Daly's Fifth Avenue Theater to accompany productions of *The Duke's Motto* (1863), a play by the Irish actor/playwright John Brougham and based on a French swashbuckler by Feval. Though the only two surviving sets of parts are anonymous, at least one of these was brought to the United States by Brougham's manager for use in the American productions and is probably a direct copy of the music written for the original Lyceum production by the prolific English composer William Henry Montgomery. Not only is the amount of dialogue underscoring and action music extraordinary, but an investigation of the history of these parts (and one published song) shows that theatrical melodrama during the 1860s did not just rely upon generic stage music, as is often assumed, but in some cases depended upon content-specific music. The music employs themes for individual characters and reveals sophisticated nuances of narrativity that surpass in theatrical effectiveness the traditional "hurries" and "adagios" of earlier French-style melodrama. This paper, in addition to reconstructing the use of this music through unpublished promptbooks of the performances, examines intrinsic connections between the dramatic development onstage and the psychological role of the so-called "incidental" music emanating from the pit.

SCHOENBERG
Mark DeVoto, Tufts University, Chair

"IS SENTIMENTALITY EXPERIENCING A NEW BIRTH?":
SCHOENBERG AND THE AESTHETICS OF *PIERROT LUNAIRE*
Robert R. Holzer
Yale University

The music of Arnold Schoenberg has popularly been accused of many things; sentimentality is not one of them. Among the fiercest pejoratives in the German aesthetic lexicon ("when tender emotions increase to the level of an affect" in Kant's lapidary dismissal), the category was nevertheless very much in Schoenberg's mind in early 1912, a crucial moment in his career. His lecture on Mahler, for example, defends at length the recently deceased composer from the charge, while "*Parsifal* and Copyright" makes short work of mercenary businessmen "hiding behind artistic sentimentalities." At the same time, in an otherwise friendly review of Schoenberg's latest music (*The Book of the Hanging Gardens*, Five Orchestral Pieces, Six Little Piano Pieces), Ferruccio Busoni noted "repressed tears, wafting of sighs, gusts of wind through trees of sorrow" and asked archly "is sentimentality experiencing a new birth?"

In this paper I argue that concern with sentimentality profoundly conditioned Schoenberg's next work, *Pierrot lunaire*. Taking my cue from the tongue-in-cheek description (in *Heimweh)* of Pierrot having become "so modishly sentimental," I show that again and again the composer put an ironic veneer on a musical language he but recently used as a means of unmediated expression. In my reading, his parody of older genres (waltz, barcarole), his warning to performers to avoid "interpretation," his lacing of the finale with shards of tonal practice distance the work from the overwrought emotionalism to which emanci-

pated dissonance readily tended. I conclude by suggesting we view *Pierrot* less as the pinnacle of expressionism and more as a harbinger of trends that became popular after World War I.

A PROPOSED MODEL FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF THE
TWELVE-TONE IDEA, 1916–1925
Gregory S. Dubinsky
University of California, Berkeley

It has generally been assumed that composition with twelve-tone techniques was developed by a number of composers independently. Arnold Schoenberg and Josef Matthias Hauer are, of course, the most prominent among the composers cited, but names such as Fritz Heinrich Klein, Herbert Eimert, Yefim Golyscheff, and Nikolay Obukhov are often included among the "discoverers" of twelve-tone composition. I will demonstrate that these composers worked far less independently of one another than they acknowledged. In unraveling the skein of influences and appropriations among them, I will show how they assimilated their practice to what they perceived as the prevailing tendencies of contemporary composition.

The idea of constantly circulating collections of twelve tones was formulated by Boris de Schloezer in his examination of the works of Nikolay Obukhov. Schloezer published his considerations in the November, 1921, issue of the *Revue musicale*. The contents of the article could were likely communicated to Josef Matthias Hauer, for soon afterwards he began composing exclusively with twelve-tone melodies. Either Obukhov, his works, or Schloezer's essay on him exerted an influence upon Yefim Golyscheff, leading Golyscheff to adopt his notational system and probably to take up composition with twelve-tone complexes. Herbert Eimert, in turn, synthesized the efforts of Hauer and Golyscheff. Arnold Schoenberg could well have heard of Schloezer's essay on Obukhov, but it is more probable that Hauer's publicity blitz at the beginning of 1922 was responsible for the increased attention both he and Fritz Heinrich Klein paid towards composition with twelve tones.

SCHOENBERG AND HIS PUBLIC IN 1930:
THE SIX PIECES FOR MALE CHORUS, OP. 35
Joseph Auner
State University of New York, Stony Brook

The image of Schoenberg as an isolated, embattled figure standing in opposition to the defining trends of Weimar musical life is so well established that it is easy to overlook evidence of a more complex and ambivalent relationship to the new mass audience and to contemporary artistic developments. Focusing on the "Six Pieces for Male Chorus," Op. 35, and the essay "My Public"—both completed in 1930 during his tenure at the Prussian Academy of the Arts in Berlin—I will argue that Schoenberg was more divided in his stance toward the problems posed by *Gebrauchsmusik* and *Gemeinschaftskunst* than many contemporaneous and present-day representations might suggest. Of special significance is the fact that these pieces were commissioned, published, and widely performed by German workers' choral organizations. Through an examination of two movements from Op. 35, "Mercenaries" and "Bond," I will explore how Schoenberg sought common ground between his own compositional concerns and the practical demands of performance and the audience. Schoenberg's interest in bridging the "great divide" between himself and the broader public

is evident in his texts, which deal directly with the relationship of the individual to the group, and in the mediation between the tonal and twelve-tone realms in the musical settings. While there were, undeniably, fundamental ideological distinctions between Schoenberg's response to the problem of the social function of art and that of his contemporaries such as Hindemith, Krenek, and Weill, in actual practice there were significant points of contact as well.

TEXTUAL SOURCES FOR A SURVIVOR FROM WARSAW
Camille Crittenden
Arnold Schoenberg Institute, Los Angeles

This text is based partly upon reports which I have received directly or indirectly.

With this epigraph Arnold Schoenberg prefaced one of his most dramatic and emotionally moving works, *A Survivor from Warsaw*. Written in the span of thirteen days, this testament to the experience of European Jews under Nazi occupation demonstrates Schoenberg's galvanization of his creative forces to convey the terror and strength of his co-religionists. The *Survivor's* main themes are both political and religious, two well-trod approaches to Schoenberg scholarship, yet the work occupies only a small fraction of the vast Schoenberg bibliography. Often mentioned only in passing, the piece is cited by most commentators as evidence of Schoenberg's deep commitment to Judaism and his abiding empathy with those unable to escape the tragic consequences of the Third Reich. But although the work occupies a unique place in Schoenberg's oeuvre both for its extensive Hebrew text and for the composer's original text in English, its drama and intensity belie the many paradoxes of Schoenberg's personal faith. No direct sources for the *Survivor's* narrative have come to light; however, Schoenberg's correspondence with friends, former students, and family members who remained in Vienna after the Nazi *Anschluss* of 1938 provide a foundation for reconstructing his conception of life in war-torn Europe. This paper offers previously unpublished correspondence and recently catalogued manuscripts from Gertrud Schoenberg's legacy as influences on Schoenberg's text, then explores the nature of the work's autobiographical significance.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TOPICS
David Fallows, University of Manchester, Chair

RAMOS, THE PUTATIVE REVOLUTIONARY, OR, MUSIC THEORY FOR THE MODERATELY EDUCATED PERFORMER
Wolfgang Freis
University of Chicago

For some, Ramos de Pareja is no less than a revolutionary: a pioneer of syntonic temperament, critic of hexachordal solmization, and forerunner of a new practical orientation in theory—or so it seems. This paper investigates the significance of Ramos's temperament of the monochord and his claims of writing for practical musicians. Not limiting the study to lexical meanings but including the context of contemporary disciplinary and social hierar-

chies, it will suggest that Ramos did not devise a new temperament but a simplified method demonstrating temperament to those with a limited understanding of the sciences—practical musicians.

Already some of Ramos's contemporaries noted that his proposals were problematic. It has not been explained, however, how he could call on the authority of Boethius on the one hand and contradict him—albeit implicitly—on the other. Moreover, his temperament shows prominent dissonances that make it unsuitable for practical use. Ramos's treatise, thus, seems rife with contradictions. If the *Musica practica* is read, however, within the context of other sciences and the professional identities associated with them, a different picture emerges. Practitioners held a low place in the hierarchy of knowledge and were not expected to understand mathematics. Ramos's temperament, therefore, is a conscious attempt to present an easily grasped illustration of the division of the octave based on small numbers and just two kinds of divisions. More complex mathematical operations and problematic issues were deliberately avoided since they required an understanding of higher disciplines mastered only by theorists.

VERSE METER, WORD ACCENT AND RHYTHM
IN THE POLYPHONIC HYMN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
Thomas Schmidt-Beste
Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften

While much has been said and written about melodic aspects of the fifteenth-century hymn repertoire, the rhythmical and declamatory aspects have largely been neglected. This is all the more regrettable as office polyphony in general—mostly homophonic, often in fauxbourdon—constitutes one of the very few polyphonic repertoires of the time in which the relationship between words and music is sufficiently unequivocal to underlay text with some degree of certainty.

The goal of this paper is to show that the composers of the fifteenth century were keenly aware not only of verse meter and prose accent in Latin (an assertion that has been doubted at times) but also of the differences between the two. The hymn repertoire is uniquely telling in this respect, as many of its texts—often dating back to late antiquity—still distinguish to some degree between quantitative (or pseudo-quantitative) meter and word accent, with frequent conflicts. Examination of the sources yields the surprising result that the composers either paid little to no attention to the accentuation patterns of hymn poetry and instead aligned the rhythms of their settings to the quantitative meters of ancient times, or developed patterns that seem to mediate between the two conflicting principles.

Although the principle applies to the great majority of hymn settings from the earliest pieces in the Apt manuscript up to the hymn cycles of the mid-sixteenth century, this paper will center on two composers: Guillaume Dufay, as the most influential hymn composer of the century, and Josquin Desprez, as the composer with—allegedly—the greatest sensitivity for "good" text setting of the time around 1500.

THE POLITICS OF MUSIC EDUCATION
Lloyd Whitesell, State University of New York, Stony Brook, Chair

TEMPERANCE, TONIC SOL-FA AND ELGAR'S *DREAM OF GERONTIUS*

Charles E. McGuire
Harvard University

It is a common trope that, in Victorian England, the middle classes attempted to reform the lower classes by a range of movements encouraging self-improvement. One movement that had important links to contemporaneous musical developments was temperance, evangelized across the country through tent revivals and theological tracts. This movement was often extremely anti-Catholic in nature, owing to tensions between the English and the immigrant communities of lower-class Irish Catholics.

The most sustained attempt at reform through music was the promotion of singing, which depended upon the dissemination of sight-singing systems such as tonic sol-fa. Tonic sol-fa was developed by the Sunday-school teacher Sarah Glover and her advocate, the Congregational minister John Curwen, whose philosophical writings had a compelling accessibility. The resulting growth of amateur choirs strengthened participation in music festivals.

This paper will discuss unexamined links between the tonic sol-fa and temperance movements, focusing on the shared methods of evangelization and principles of self-improvement. Drawing on archival evidence, pamphlets, and periodicals, I will show some of the ideological bases for the musical system responsible for the rise of English music (1837–1914), and I will identify the anti-Catholic bias. The contradictory ideological strains in this movement will be explored in Elgar's consummately Catholic *Dream of Gerontius*, which could only enter the repertoire because of amateur choirs trained in tonic sol-fa. Even though some derided the work as "stinking of incense," and certain Anglican authorities bowdlerized its text, *Gerontius* became the most popular English oratorio of this period.

MUSICOLOGY, SEXOLOGY, AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF EDWARD J. DENT (1876–1957)

Philip Brett
University of California, Riverside

The crisis in social relations that led to the discovery of sexuality and a taxonomic drive to catalogue its variations in the nineteenth century finds remarkable parallels in musicology. The later narrowing down of legion sexual activities into the polar identity categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality is also mirrored in the focusing of musicology upon a limited set of approved practices. The threat of emasculation that sexology presented to artistic activity (by associating it with femininity and inversion) also had its undeniable effects on the development of the discipline.

The effects of this discourse can be discerned in the life of the homosexual musicologist Edward J. Dent, who entered Cambridge a year before his friend, the novelist E.M. Forster. He met Edward Carpenter, the homosexual apologist and visionary of his time; and he embraced unorthodox opinion, famously attacking the iconicity of Beethoven in 1927. He exemplifies in his work and writing the possibility within musicology of what Foucault called a "counter-discourse," for he was also uncharacteristically involved in contemporary music and in the cause of opera for the people. His approach was swept aside in the over-compensating professional impetus of musicology after World War II; but his voice has never entirely been extinguished. Compared with homosexual successors, he was able to maintain a singularity and unity of vision that the self-policing of musicology later made impossible. As mu-

sical scholarship once again embraces the critical stance he considered its lifeblood, it is time to reconsider his position.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COUNTERPOINT
Tim Carter, Royal Holloway College, University of London, Chair

ARTUSI'S RAGE: FEAR AND LOATHING IN THE *PRIMA PRATICA*
Vivian S. Ramalingam
University of Minnesota

One of the effects of the print revolution was to make available the literary works of both the ancients and the moderns in convenient "standard editions" that could be purchased by anyone. The result was the creation of an international, democratized intellectual community without precedent; one in which familiarity with the entire corpus of printed literature was possible and might be assumed by a contributor to that corpus.

In contrast with his earlier treaties, Artusi (*Della imperfettione della moderna musica*, 1603) draws on old and contemporary literary sources, exemplifying both high and low culture, to support his attack on the principles of the *seconda pratica*, as put forward by "l'Ottuso." These allusions and quotations are sometimes acknowledged in the margins, but sometimes they are not. For example, at the conclusion of this treatise, Artusi alludes to a widely popular novella by Matteo Bandello describing an incident in the life of Isabella da Luna (a notorious sixteenth-century courtesan) to compare "faulty" counterpoint, supposedly derived from improvisatory practices, to the devious practices of a "painted whore."

The present paper places the material Artusi has taken from Quintilian, Tasso, Ovid, and Horace in its proper context and examines the ways in which Artusi has altered and manipulated these borrowings in order to condemn the new music of his time as intrinsically corrupting. Restoring the context of Artusi's remarks affords us a fuller understanding of the innuendo and the factual details of his vituperative attack on the new approach to musical composition.

COUNTERPOINT AND CONTROVERSY:
MILTON, MUSIC, AND THE PSALMS
Stephen M. Buhler
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

In the cultural landscape of seventeenth-century England, polyphonic singing was both a matter of controversy and a practice that could send off political and confessional resonances. When John Milton associates polyphony with the diabolic in *Paradise Lost*, he continues the debate over music and its proper relation to words and to the Word. In the cathedrals and the Royal Chapel, the tradition of polyphonic song continued, but in reform-minded parish churches, metrical psalms of Sternhold, Hopkins, and others were sung in ways intended to preserve the intelligibility of sacred texts. One side of the debate was voiced by Milton himself, with the opposing view often presented by his sometime collaborator Henry Lawes.

Although Milton praised Lawes for his approaches to monody and homophony, the

composer departs from both in the devotional and political collection in which the poet's sonnet of tribute first appears publicly. In *Choice Psalmes*, published in 1648, Lawes aims at achieving a Royalist psalter; his settings here embrace contrapuntal polyphony. When, in the same year, Milton wrote verse paraphrases for Psalms 80–88, he made his prosodic and musical preferences of the time known by following the Sternhold-Hopkins model of Common Meter.

Over the decades Milton participates in a cultural association of the allegedly debilitating and enthralling effects of polyphony—especially in sacred settings—with the effects of tyranny. This participation persists despite the poet's personal understanding and appreciation of music.

LATIN AMERICA
Gary Tomlinson, University of Pennsylvania, Chair

MUSIC FOR THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE IN EARLY COLONIAL MEXICO
AND THE POWER OF THE IMAGE
Grayson Wagstaff
University of Alabama

In late sixteenth-century Mexico, there were a number of Marian images that were venerated and believed to be miraculous in their power to perform tasks and grant requests to petitioners. The Lady of Guadalupe, now the most famous and the national symbol of Mexico, was one of these numerous images that competed for respect in colonial society. Since there was no acknowledged liturgy in honor of this image, music and ceremony to honor Guadalupe were developed from older Marian practices. The earliest Latin texted music to honor this image would have been based in the liturgy of the Nativity of Mary because this was the day most closely associated with the shrine at Tepeyac, where the image was housed. This study traces how elements of this liturgy and the ubiquitous *Salve* service were transformed in devotional services in honor of the Lady of Guadalupe. A group of works by Juan Gutierrez de Padilla, a composer in early seventeenth-century Puebla, are suggested as possibly the earliest surviving works that can be traced to services in honor of Guadalupe. Padilla's works include the standard items for the *Salve* service, texts from the liturgy for the Nativity of Mary, and the Marian Litany. The paper concludes with a discussion of how Padilla may have been influenced by the clerical reforms then going on in Puebla. At this time, many parishes were removed from Franciscan control and many local "Indian" images of Mary were taken from churches. Therefore, Guadalupe as a symbol of the wider "national" Church was an obvious alternative.

THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RIO DE JANEIRO: OPERETTAS, PARODIES, AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN A NEW WORLD CAPITAL
Cristina Magaldi
Towson University

Recent studies in social history have demonstrated that the consumption of imports in Latin America, today and in the past, has not been limited to certain classes or ethnic groups. As with other imported goods, the relation between the consumption of foreign and domestic music has played a central role in working out the tension between local social and ethnic hierarchies and has provided a "key context" in which local identities and images of modernity have been stated and contested.

The establishment of monarchical rule in nineteenth-century Brazil legitimized massive European immigration, made European cultural models readily available, and transformed the capital, Rio de Janeiro, into a cosmopolitan city. By the 1870s, when republican and anti-slavery agendas of an emerging middle class were confronting the status quo, the theater provided an excellent arena for social commentary through satire. Not by coincidence, Offenbach's operettas boomed as favorites in Rio de Janeiro at this time.

In this paper I examine the adaptation of French theatrical genres in the nineteenth-century Brazilian capital. I show why and how foreign musical models were selected and imitated, and how they were experienced and perceived in a new socio-cultural context. Taking Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* (1858) as a model, I focus on local satirical works, particularly on the finales of local "operetta-parodies" or *opereta de costumes* (operetta "in the local manner"), to demonstrate how both foreign and local music were reinterpreted to serve the interests of particular political groups.

Thursday evening, 29 October

STUDY SESSION
THE DIALECTICS OF VIRTUOSITY
Richard Leppert, University of Minnesota, Chair
James Deaville, McMaster University
Lawrence Kramer, Fordham University
Susan McClary, University of California, Los Angeles
Robert Walser, University of California, Los Angeles

The session will focus on current research on the subject of virtuosity by each of the five participants. In chronology, the topics range from the Renaissance to the late twentieth century; in music, from the classical to popular, the vocal to the instrumental. Virtuosity is treated as a dialectical cultural phenomenon of considerable importance in the history of Modernity, from its beginnings in the Renaissance to manifestations under the postmodern condition. Not least, virtuosity is considered as a trope central to the constructions of subjectivity, gender articulation, and musical semiotics generally, as well as a principal site for the projection and transmission of cultural meanings, whether canonical or transgressive. Finally, in various ways, all this research examines virtuosity as an embodied, material practice intended for consumption: a commodity *form.*

This session takes particular advantage of the opportunities afforded by evening special sessions for feedback and dialogue about research-in-progress. Each participant will present a twenty-minute statement about or summary of their work, after which a free discussion of the research will take place among speakers and with the audience. The results of such discussion are key to the success of the session, since the findings are considered by all participants

to be preliminary. Furthermore, the topics for this session are merely representative of the types of work being undertaken about the topic of virtuosity, and are by no means exhaustive. Thus, it is hoped that the session will not only facilitate the dissemination of specific research findings but will also encourage further exploration of virtuosity as a central cultural phenomenon.

James Deaville will share current research on the political meanings of virtuosity that looks at its practice and social significance in one particular site in the early nineteenth century, Vienna, and in the hands of one specific virtuoso, Franz Liszt. In this research, he examines its Janus faces, on the one hand as a vehicle of liberation for its consumers, on the other as a potentially dangerous practice to be controlled by the authorities. In doing so, he will present documents and records from the Viennese∕Austrian police and censorship offices, as well as other documents—reviews, letters, diaries—that help to establish the reception and effects of Liszt's virtuosity upon the audiences.

Lawrence Kramer will consider musical virtuosity as a mixed media event from a perspective both psychoanalytic and historical. Virtuosic performance produces a gap between the continuity of sound and the discontinuity of bodily activity; this, in turn, impels representations (inscribing the ephemeral event of virtuosity within the symbolic order) which reproduce in yet other media the fragmentation of the performance. The performer's body, in this process, assumes the peculiar position of that which "inflicts" pleasure on the audience by its own suffering. The performer thus becomes a kind of martyr who, Prometheus like, altruistically steals something numinous. He (rarely she) abuses the privilege claimed by the Lacanian sadist of being the one who provides pleasure to the big Other by delivering that pleasure, illicitly, and through his own suffering, to the audience.

Richard Leppert will consider the profound changes in the habits of listening that might be described under the category of discipline, concentrating in particular on the case of the virtuoso soloist performer, the various sorts of visual discourses surrounding both the "look" of such performers, and, equally important, the act of fetishized "looking at" such musicians by audiences. His remarks will be based on visual sources, contemporaneous music criticism, memoirs, concert advertising, and the like. The virtuoso constitutes a wish fulfillment for bourgeois audiences, whose repressed desires are relocated in the body of the virtuoso in public-concert performances. The public concert, experienced in the "ideologically correct" manner, was a social event organized around interiorized emotions, ideally rendered invisible to others, and psychic projection onto the musical body of the Performing Other.

Susan McClary will address the attitudes toward female and male vocal virtuosity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She will look at the social implications of virtuosic practices in sixteenth-century singing (improvisation, elaborate ornamentation), then examine what happens when women professional singers (the famed *concerto delle donne* of Ferrara) come on the scene. She will also consider the relationships between these practices and the developing star system of the seventeenth century, including most obviously the virtuoso castrato. She will argue that gender difference produces profound and long-lasting changes in the ways vocal virtuosity is regarded.

Robert Walser will present his thoughts about a specific problem of virtuosity that has arisen in the course of his work with popular music: what happens when virtuosity fails— that is, when virtuosic practices cease to be compelling to the audiences that had valued them. He will draw upon the examples of the rapid decline of heavy-metal guitar virtuosity in the early 1990s and the sudden demise of the swing bands in the 1940s. (Both events left

thousands of highly accomplished musicians stranded with technique that no longer had any purchase on the mass audiences that had encouraged them to acquire it.) He will speculate about the reasons why a musical practice compelling in one context is not compelling in others.

STUDY SESSION
BRASS AT THE PERIPHERY:
BRASS INSTRUMENTS ON THE BOARDERS OF THE
WESTERN ART MUSIC TRADITION
Jeffrey Nussbaum, Historic Brass Society, Chair
Stewart Carter, Wake Forest University
Trevor Herbert, Open University, UK
Kenneth Kreitner, University of Memphis
Keith Polk, University of New Hampshire

The last decade has seen the development of several promising new paths for research in brass instruments and music. This study session illuminates one of these paths—brass instruments on the fringes, geographically and sociologically, of the Western art music tradition. Four scholars will offer brief summaries of their work in progress in an attempt to promote an exchange of ideas and stimulate discussion.

Keith Polk will report that the tradition of heralds, trumpeters, and lyric poets intertwined for several decades in the early fifteenth century. Musical aspects are not easy to follow, as performance practice was based on improvisation. Still, study of such figures as the Bavarian Herald of the Count of Holland, Master Willem (city trumpeter of Deventer) and Hennequin Vanden Piet (trumpeter of the court of Burgundy) reveals new information concerning a rich interaction between instrumental music and poetry in the late Middle Ages.

Kenneth Kreitner will demonstrate that we have known for some time that a number of churches in sixteenth-century Spain and its New-World dominions had loud bands on their payroll. Less clear is exactly what these instrumentalists did—how often they played, which services they participated in, what duties they had in each service, whether they accompanied singers, and so forth. Among the most promising resources for answering such questions are a handful of calendars in which cathedral chapters outline the duties of church musicians over the liturgical year. The presentation, a pilot for a long-term project, examines several of these calendars in the hope of establishing some general trends and areas of variation from one church to another.

Stewart Carter will show that brass instruments played a significant role in the music-making of the Moravian Brethren in America. In the late eighteenth century most of these instruments were acquired from makers located near the Moravians' spiritual center in Herrnhut, but in ensuing decades, American makers (and dealers) entered the market. This presentation explores the paths of commerce that originally brought these instruments to America, as well as the subsequent establishment of independent brass-instrument manufacture and commerce by Moravians in the United States.

Trevor Herbert will report that in less than two decades at the end of the nineteenth century, Salvationism spread through the world. Bands were introduced as a utility to Salvationism and they matched the military metaphor that embraced all of the Salvationist ethos.

The Salvation Army also became one of the world's largest producers of musical instruments and publishers of music. How did the brass players of the Army serve the spiritual aims of the movement and to what extent was it responsible for an equally potent secular influence?

PANEL SESSION
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS:
NEW SOLUTIONS THROUGH IMAGE PROCESSING
Eleanor Selfridge-Field, Chair
Philip Brett, University of California, Riverside
Dexter Edge, Louisiana State University
William Koseluk, University of California, Santa Barbara
Patricia Hall, University of California, Santa Barbara
John Howard, Harvard University
Alejandro Planchart, University of California, Santa Barbara
Jeremy Smith, State University of New York, Fredonia

This panel investigates the methodology and purpose behind image processing in source studies. The panelists will demonstrate how readily available software can be used to decipher and collate physical data occurring in source documents from the medieval era through the present.

Alejandro Planchart will deal with two problems faced by researchers in medieval and renaissance source research: 1. Severely damaged and stained manuscripts, a problem often found in fragments used as binding—where the image may survive only as a mirror image on the binding board. Samples will be from the following sources: a) Cambrai, Bibliotheque Municipale 1328 and the added leaves discovered by Fallows; b) Lucca, Archivio di Stato 238; c) Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Tr 88. 2. Palimpsests, where much of the text and music have been erased and written over, a) Vatican, Biblioteca Apstolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 602.

Philip Brett and Jeremy Smith will discuss a computerized method of collating Thomas East's music prints of Byrd's collection, *Psalmes, Bonets and Songes*. This was East's first foray into the field of music print, and, not surprisingly, the collection was subjected to editorial changes at virtually every level. Scanned images of the editions which have been re-sized to consistent proportions will be superimposed on a computer screen. Brett and Smith will then show how this method may solve other bibliographical problems, such as the misdated or undated prints of this collection. Finally, they will argue that this procedure identifies the many variants in the music and text to effectively edit Byrd's music.

Most previous studies of eighteenth-century musical manuscripts have foundered on the practical and technical difficulties in acquiring, classifying, analyzing, correlating, and storing the extremely large volume of data about watermarks, staff-ruling, and copyist hands. Databases of high-resolution digital images offer one potentially powerful solution to the problem of managing this large body of data. Dexter Edge will demonstrate a prototype of a database of eighteenth-century Viennese copyists and paper-types, and discuss techniques of acquiring and manipulating such images. He will focus particularly on the ways in which digital images of watermarks and staff ruling can be directly superimposed to allow precise comparison of paper-types, and the tracking of the deformation of paper molds and rastra over time. His discussion will draw, in part, on images of manuscripts from Mozart's musical

estate, and from original Viennese performance material of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*.

The complexity, indecipherablity, and sheer number of sketches for Berg's atonal works forms the basis of William Koseluk and Patricia Hall's presentation. Berg created at least four stages of sketches for a single passage, and these sketches commonly feature extensive revisions and analytical overlay. Koseluk and Hall will demonstrate a database containing high-resolution images which allows users to compare sketches from two different archives, or to immediately access different stages of sketches for the same passage of the opera. In addition, they will show how a digital template of Berg's letter variants, (extracted from the sketches) can be used to decipher his difficult handwriting.

Finally, John Howard will discuss the conceptual and administrative problems of creating digital images for preservation. When images are intended to serve as permanent surrogates for physically unuseable documents, one must identify the best means for capturing information conveyed by a document and its substrate materials. This may involve special imaging techniques, and descriptive information about the document. In addition, carefully administered metadata makes possible the long-term preservation of digital data: the construction of retrieval systems to provide access to the data, and the migration of data from older to newer standard formats as time passes. Howard will illustrate these issues with imaging projects from the Harvard Digital Library.

Friday morning, 30 October

TWENTIETH-CENTURY AESTHETICS
Rose Rosengard Subotnik, Brown University, Chair

RUTH CRAWFORD'S IMAGE OF THE EAST AND HER THREE CHANTS FOR WOMEN'S CHORUS
Sharon Mirchandani
Westminster Choir College, Rider University

Ruth Crawford's Three Chants for Women's Chorus (1931) is an unusual work in which she attempted to recreate the sound of Eastern religious chanting. The contrast between the Chants and her 1931 String Quartet is striking: the Chants are Eastern, vocal, for women, and intuitive; the string Quartet is Western, instrumental, masculine, and logical. The unique image of the East created by the Chants provides a more complete understanding of this composer's artistic concerns and even her spiritual nature.

Previous scholarly work has shown that Crawford's understanding of the East developed from her reading, her discussions with other composers and artists, and her hearing of a performance by the Chinese opera star Mei Lan-fang in February 1930. This paper investigates more closely the impact of Mei's performance on Crawford's Chants through the examination of articles and reviews from the New York *Times* on Mei's performances and an attempt to transcribe his singing into Western notation by Liu T'ien-hua. It also includes discussion of Mei's importance in raising the status of women's roles, Chinese opera's emphasis on an inner world, and the contrast between Western realism and Chinese "xie yi" (roughly translated as "essentialism"). While Chinese opera and Crawford's Chants serve sharply different

purposes, the performance of Mei Lan-fang undoubtedly had an impact on the work as it contains the same focus on the spiritual, sense of mystery, and fluidity of style.

NADA-BRAHMAN: GIACINTO SCELSI AND THE AESTHETIC OF SACRED SOUND
Gregory Reish
University of Georgia

In 1948, after the completion of his formalist *La nascita del verbo*, Italian composer Giacinto Scelsi (1905–1988) suffered a mental collapse brought on by personal crises, the end of the war, and the artistic impasse he had reached in his modernist experimentation. After a four-year compositional silence, Scelsi began the formation of a musical style based technically upon the distillation of the melodic and harmonic parameters and aesthetically upon his interest in Oriental mysticism and its Western derivatives.

This paper examines Scelsi's two aesthetic texts from the period following his crisis: *Art et connaissance* (1953–54) and *Son et musique* (1953–54). A brief survey of his essays from before the crisis demonstrates how characteristically modernist was his outlook in its categorization of the musical elements and attempts to validate modernist trends historically. The two texts of the 1950s maintain his philosophical link to modernism with vestigial categorizations and increasing emphasis on artistic elitism. However, in these texts Scelsi justified his new compositional style by articulating theories of art and sound from Yoga and the Hindu Vedas—what Guy Beck calls "sonic theology" —combined with strong doses of Krishnamurti's theosophy, Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, Breton's surrealism and Bergson's theories of *durée, évolution créatrice, and élan vital*. Employing my translations of Scelsi's texts as well as my inventory of his personal library, this paper provides a fascinating case study of the modernist malaise and the general turn away from Western thinking that characterizes the second half of the twentieth century.

FRAGMENTARY FORM IN THE MUSIC OF GYÖRGY KURTÁG AND UMBERTO ECO'S AESTHETICS OF CHAOSMOS
Friedemann Sallis
Université de Moncton

The musical fragment has been an essential part of György Kurtág's work for the past forty years. Even his large-scale compositions frequently consist of strings of extremely short movements, often no longer than a few seconds each. One question posed by works of this sort is how they come to form whole entities. This problem has been approached from various perspectives in an ever-growing number of studies, particularly in German and in French, published over the past decade. My work with Kurtág's sketches, preserved at the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, has led me to believe that Umberto Eco's "aesthetics of chaosmos," presented initially in *Opera aperta* (Milan: Bompiani, 1962), speaks directly to this problem. Indeed, as a musical exemplification of Eco's theory of the open work, my findings will demonstrate that Kurtág's fragmentary forms are as appropriate as the dodecaphonic and serial works referred to in the book. This paper will examine ways in which aspects of Eco's theory intersect and illuminate the nature of Kurtág's formal procedures and his musical

thought. In particular, Eco's concept of epiphany, developed in his analysis of works by James Joyce, will be applied to specific examples from Kurtág's 'uvre to show how he uses elements inherited from the past "to give form to the chaos in which he moves" (Umberto Eco, *The Aesthetics of Chaosmos* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989], p. 30).

CARLOS CHÁVEZ AND THE USA: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STRATEGIC OTHERNESS

Leonora Saavedra
Centro Nacional de las Artes

Between 1923 and 1940 the music of the Mexican composer Carlos Chávez (1899–1978) figured prominently in a number of publications in the United States. To describe Chávez's style, the authors of these essays (which included Chávez himself) developed a series of overarching concepts and images, which have continued to resonate in virtually all subsequent literature on the composer but which now need to be problematized in light of postcolonial critical theory. Lying at the heart of these texts—which appeared in such leading journals as *Modern Music, The Musical Quarterly,* and *The New Republic*—is commentary on a number of compositions—*Segunda Sonata, Piezas Mexicanas, HP, Sinfonia india*—in which Chávez sought to construct a musical representation of both modernity and Mexican national identity, a representation that I read in this paper as a political discourse on the relationships between the two.

Thus, this paper examines the closely intertwined discourses (both musical and written) on modernism and nationalism. From an analysis of the broader intellectual context in which the writings were conceived and a consideration of the values (both overt and covert) that are implied within them, I read these texts as a strategy whereby Chávez's otherness was constructed by composers and critics in the United States, as well as by Chávez himself, who thus converted this otherness into a strategy with important political and marketing implications. Moreover, I argue that the construction of this strategic otherness served the cause of an important movement in the musical politics of the 1920s and 1930s, as a means by which pan-American composers, like Chávez, who worked in primarily non-Germanic traditions sought to obtain the musical leadership of Western culture.

APPROPRIATIONS OF THE FOLK
Bruno Nettl, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Chair

SPAIN'S "CONDE CLAROS" PIECES: FROM POPULAR SONG TO HARMONIC FORMULA

Deborah Lawrence
University of Chicago

"Conde Claros" is the title of numerous Spanish pieces from the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth centuries. Most are variation sets for vihuela from the sixteenth century, but one is a ballad setting by Juan del Encina from the late fifteenth century. The variations are significant because they are early representatives of the harmonico-melodic type—variations written on both a melody and bass line, thus early basso ostinato works. The polyphonic ballad, how-

ever, has been heretofore considered an unrelated work, linked to the variations only through its title.

In this paper I will show that these seemingly disparate pieces are, in fact, related. In doing so I will refer to the surviving "deshecha" (a song used to conclude another song) of a now lost "Conde Claros" setting by Lope de Sosa that is connected, musically and textually, to Encina's setting. Points of congruence in these pieces suggest they have a common progenitor, but they occur only at the beginnings of phrases. The sonorities found at each of these points comprise a harmonic formula upon which the later variation sets are made. This use of common head motives reflects William Entwhistle's assertion that only the beginnings of tunes were needed to establish a ballad's identity among an audience. These head motives reveal not only the link between the works but also how, in at least one case, they became a ground bass in the next century.

CHOPIN AND FOLK MUSIC? THE PLAUSIBILITY OF THE HYPOTHESIS
Barbara Milewski
Princeton University

Since the nineteenth century, historians have interpreted Chopin's mazurkas as national works rooted in an authentic Polish folk-music tradition. Yet those who have tried to isolate the distinctly Polish folk material in Chopin's mazurkas have invariably pointed to idiosyncratic elements common to any rustic-style music (lydian fourths, open-fifth bass drones, and short, repeating motives in a restricted melodic range). In this paper I first illuminate the origins of this folk myth and trace its persistent continuation and elaboration in the work of successive generations of scholars. I then review Chopin's correspondence (frequently misread to "prove" his connection with the "common folk") and consider Warsaw's musical culture in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. I demonstrate that the "national style" of Chopin's mazurkas was shaped not by unmediated, authentic folk music naively absorbed by Chopin from direct contact with the rural peasantry but rather by the stylized "folk dances" and "folk songs" inserted into Polish national operas, operettas, and vaudevilles by composers such as Kurpinski and Elsner, as well as by the "folk mazurkas" adapted to parlor piano by composers such as Szymanowska. Against conventional interpretation, I argue that Chopin's mazurkas are national works *without* an essential or pure folk content. Chopin's construction of a particular time and space in the mazurkas through formal innovation and the use of melodic fragments or traces of "folk" melodies allows these pieces to evoke the Polish nation for modern listeners.

FOLKSONG AND FLAMENCO
THROUGH TO POLYPHONY AND PLAINCHANT:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF MANUEL DE FALLA'S
MUSICAL NATIONALISM IN THE 1920S.
Michael Christoforidis
University of Melbourne

Manuel de Falla's brand of hispanic neoclassicism, achieved during the 1920s in *El retablo de Maese Pedro* and the *Concerto*, represents his construction of a distinctive musical nation-

alism that combined folk and early musics of the Iberian peninsula and reconciled his style and ideology with contemporary musical developments. Falla deliberately labeled his new idiom "Castilian," in order to emphasize his reliance on the more universal aspects of hispanic culture, although this term does not indicate the origin of the musics he employed. Falla's new language was not merely a reflection of prevailing Parisian trends but resulted from his assimilation of the writings of numerous Spanish theorists, notably Felipe Pedrell, who had posited the essence of the race's melos in its musical folklore and had stressed the interaction of folk repertory with pre-nineteenth-century and ecclesiastical traditions. These ideas were mediated by Falla's extensive contacts within the milieu of the Schola Cantorum and by his close relations with Serge Diaghilev and Igor Stravinsky during World War I and its aftermath. As had been the case in his earlier folk-inspired works, Falla relied principally on published anthologies for the folk and early music that he analyzed, quoted, or manipulated according to the conceptual dictates of each work. The assimilation of these repertories had profound repercussions on the rhythmic and harmonic parameters of his music. An extensive examination of Falla's personal library and sketch material provides insights into this creative synthesis and highlights the continuity in compositional process between his "neoclassical" and earlier styles.

PEASANT MUSIC OR "GYPSY MUSIC?"
THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE DÛVÔ ACCOMPANIMENT FOR BARTÓK'S POLEMICS
David E. Schneider
Amherst College

Bartók's discovery of pentatonically based Hungarian folk music in 1905 led to his rejection of the Hungarian national style based on so-called Gypsy music. In Hungary, the rejection of what had long been considered the soul of Hungarian music was taken as a radical act. Throughout his career, Bartók drove home his position in essays in which he argued for the artistic superiority of peasant music over "Gypsy music" —describing the differences between the two primarily in terms of melodic characteristics and their harmonic implications. When discussing his own music, Bartók consistently emphasized melodic and harmonic features that could be shown to be derived from peasant music.

In practice, however, "Gypsy music" and peasant music are not always so clearly differentiated. A case in point is their common reliance on the dûvô (from the Romany *dui*, "two"), an accompanimental pattern derived from the peasant/Gypsy method of playing the brácsa or three-stringed viola. Examples of the dûvô in peasant and Gypsy sources illustrate this common trait. Furthermore, Bartók's adoption of the dûvô in a wide range of works (including compositions written before his discovery of folk music) suggests that his polemics against "Gypsy music" were based as much on rhetorical strategy as on musical reality.

CAGE/MINIMALISM AS HISTORY
David Patterson, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Chair

JOHN CAGE IN SEATTLE: CULTURAL INTERSECTIONS
Leta E. Miller

University of California, Santa Cruz

Although John Cage worked at Seattle's Cornish School for only two years (1938–1940), he repeatedly cited this period as seminal to his development as a composer. Here he first had access to a large repository of percussion instruments, prompting him to form an ensemble that solicited works from composers on both coasts and presented concerts throughout the Northwest—including the first all-percussion concert in the nation. Cornish also offered a recording studio, where Cage conducted experiments leading to the first works in his *Imaginary Landscapes* series. His ideas on the relation of noise and music took shape in this environment and were expounded in a series of public lectures, the most famous of which was later published in *Silence* ("The Future of Music: Credo"). Contrary to previously held views, this lecture did not take place when Cage first arrived in Seattle but rather at the culmination of his years there, its ideas shaped by Cornish's interdisciplinary environment and particularly by his collaboration with dancer Bonnie Bird. Bird, who met Cage through Lou Harrison at Mills College, brought him to Seattle in the first place and involved him in a series of experimental ventures including the Seattle Artists' League and the American Dance Theatre. The present paper not only corrects some common misconceptions about Cage's lectures and percussion concerts in the Northwest but also describes interdisciplinary activities in the Seattle arts community that helped shape Cage's thoughts on the potential for electronically generated music and on the liberation of "audible sound from the limitations of musical prejudice."

CAGE AND THE ULTRA-MODERNISTS
David Nicholls
The College of William and Mary

In 1937, the twenty-five-year-old John Cage delivered a short lecture entitled "The Future of Music: Credo" to an arts society in Seattle, WA. Unpublished until 1958, the lecture retrospectively took on the appearance of a radical manifesto, in many ways apparently prophetic of the ultimate course of Cage's aesthetic and technical developments during the 1940s, 1950s, and beyond. Yet a closer examination of the "Credo," as well as of Cage's compositions written during this formative period, shows that both were considerably indebted to the music and ideas of the self-styled American ultra-modernists. The high priest of the ultra-modern movement was Cage's teacher, Henry Cowell, whose music and writings provided Cage with a plethora of possibilities for his own development. But through his various activities as publisher, protagonist, and provocateur, Cowell also provided Cage with an entree to the wider ultra-modern musical world, which included such composers as Edgard Varèse and Carlos Chávez, and which ultimately connected with the earlier ideas of the Futurists, notably Luigi Russolo.

This paper will demonstrate how Cage's music and ideas—not least in 'The Future of Music: Credo" —were, in the crucial gestational decade prior to 1940, to an almost alarming degree influenced by the extant work of Cowell, Varèse, Chávez and other ultra-modernists, as well as their own precursors in the European avant garde.

MINIMALISM AS CULTURAL PRACTICE
Robert Fink

Eastman School of Music

Minimalism has usually been seen as rarefied speculation into the boundaries of Art, a fastidious reaction against the tawdry spectacle of post-war consumer society. Yet it is striking how many of the features of minimal music—lowering of affect; blankness; externalization of relationships; featureless, harmonious surface; erasure of depth; and most spectacularly, a collapse of authentic desire and subjectivity—are described, and often decried, by contemporary sociological studies of that same society.

Minimalism reflects the appearance of new conceptual relations between desire and subjectivity in post-war America. Keynsians (Gaibraith) and post-structuralists (Baudrillard) agreed: in the new society of affluence, *homo economicus,* the subject whose desires motivated both production and consumption, was dead. Galbraith's *revised sequence* had taken over: the logic of production came first. Desire for consumer goods could be mass-produced with the precision of the goods themselves.

While sociologists and economists wrestled with the theoretical implications of the revised sequence, advertising men were rolling up their sleeves, and getting down to practicalities. New journals of "advertising research" disseminated mathematical models of desiring-production. Their most powerful weapon? *Repetition.*

The repetitious processes of minimal music act to create and discipline desire in the same intricate, systematic way as the advertising campaign. The similarities are not at the level of content (that's Pop Art) but at the more abstract level of form. Media planners work with repetitive ostinatos, pulsed rhythms, and polyrhythmic patterns of buys across publications and broadcast media. Hermeneutic analysis of music by Reich and Andriessen will show how musical artworks reflect this highly redundant, totally pervasive phenomenon of the late-capitalist media environment.

TOWARD A NEW CLASSIC PHASE: MINIMALISM'S AFTERMATH
Kyle Gann
Bard College

Theorist Leonard Meyer has described three phases in the historical evolution of a musical language: a heavily redundant preclassic phase, a classic phase, and a nonredundant, meaning-saturated mannerist phase. If minimalism represented the preclassic phase of a new era, then it should be possible, 20 years later, to locate music building on a minimalist foundation that is richer and less redundant. Such music does exist, found primarily in two subsequent, far-flung movements. The first, *postminimalism*, began around 1980 with works by William Duckworth, Janice Giteck, Paul Dresher, and Daniel Lentz. The second, often called *totalism*, followed closely after (starting around 1984) but came from a younger generation: Mikel Rouse, Michael Gordon, Lois Vierk, Ben Neill.

Though little recognized in the critical literature to date, each style is marked by easily recognizable characteristics that remain remarkably consistent from composer to composer. Post-minimalism is characterized by diatonic tonality, a steady beat unit, and additive or process-oriented structures, though never deployed with the obviousness of minimalism's arithmetical exoskeleton. Totalism is a rock- and world-music-influenced idiom of great rhythmic complexity, also beat-oriented, but with intricate tempo structures, and with harmonies that may range from extreme dissonance to extreme consonance but are generally fairly static

within one work. This paper will demonstrate how these richly complex musical styles evolved from minimalist principles, with examples of music by the composers named.

FILM, PATENTS, AND COPYRIGHT
Wayne Shirley, Library of Congress, Chair

"A SONG GOES `ROUND THE WORLD": THE GERMAN *SCHLAGER* AS AN ORGAN OF EXPERIENCE
Brian Currid
University of Chicago

Schlager, or hit songs, took on a newly important public function with the transformation of the mass media (technologically and ideologically) in the late Weimar Republic. Becoming less a simple index of popularity and more emblematic of popularity itself, the *Schlager* was not only the subject of political discourse of Left and Right, but also dominated the production of the early sound films with genres like the *Sängerfilm*.

Many commentators have argued that the *Schlager* represented a primary zone of mass manipulation. But this understanding of music's ideological role in mass culture fails to theorize the nature of ideology, mobilizing a "representationalist" conception of its effectivity. In my paper, I will rethink this question, by looking at the ways *Schlager* constituted in the 1920s and 30s what Negt and Kluge have termed an "organ of experience," a historical transformation of the subjects of publicity. I will relate this new mode of social experience to transformations in the political and affective public sphere of the period.

VOICE-OVER/VOICE UNDER. OR, THE NOT-SO-SILENT STAR OF BILLY WILDER'S *SUNSET BOULEVARD*
Stephan Prock
University of Virginia

As Amy Lawrence and Kaja Silverman have demonstrated, *Sunset Boulevard* is a classic example of how Hollywood cinema creates gendered vocal hierarchies that place men (by means of voice-over) in a position of authorial power over women (who speak only from within the diegesis). As long as analyses of sound in *Sunset Boulevard* focus on speech, we almost inevitably read Norma Desmond as trapped in a fixed power relationship within the film's audio hierarchy. But this approach ignores the effects created by Franz Waxman's musical score. As a critical investigation of the film's *entire* soundtrack reveals, music creates a subject position for Norma that previous readings of gender, voice, and authorship deny her.

On the surface, Waxman's music seems merely to supplement the visual and spoken narrative: Norma's music, exotic and tied to the past, positions her as Hollywood outsider, a relic, a repulsive yet strangely attractive "other"; Joe's music, by contrast, has a jazzy, contemporary undercurrent that locate him in the masculine world of present action. But as the film charts Joe's feminization and downfall, his music loses its individuality and is drawn into Norma's realm; and in this way Norma herself becomes linked—through music—to a position of power outside the diegesis that parallels and challenges the position created for Joe through voice-over. In *Sunset Boulevard*'s famous final scene this aural conflict reaches its

most acute moment as Norma's music and Joe's voice directly vie with each other for primacy. And yet, though music has gradually become an agent for Norma's empowerment across the course of the film, reaching its culmination in this transgressive moment as a metaphorical voice for Norma, the film and its makers manage a startling reversal, as music itself finally contains and effaces Norma and reestablishes the gender hierarchy it has earlier threatened to dismantle.

A TROVE OF HIDDEN SECRETS: MUSIC IN THE *PLIS CACHETÉS* AT THE FRENCH SCIENTIFIC ACADEMY

Albert Cohen
Stanford University

A responsibility assumed by the French Scientific Academy in 1699 was the authority to issue patents for new inventions. From 1735, it instituted a process of *plis cachetés*, whereby individuals not prepared to make formal proposals could nevertheless establish primacy for their inventions by having submissions sealed and dated until they were prepared to make them formal. After the Revolution, a new process for patent approval was established through the Minister of the Interior, but inventors continued to submit proposals to the scientific academy through *plis cachetés* until 1896, when the practice was discontinued. Few inventors who took advantage of this system, in fact, returned to formalize their proposals, leaving the Academy with a large number of unclaimed documents in its files. In 1976, a Commission was established to systematically open and examine these proposals. This task is now nearing completion, and the materials uncovered have recently been made available for study.

Among the hitherto-sealed submissions are many in the field of music, made not so much by musicians and builders as by scientists and engineers, who applied their novel ideas and technological innovations to musical purposes. Examples include: novel musical instruments and manufacturing methods for existing instruments; new systems of notation and musical typography; a means of embossing music for the blind; mechanical replication of the human voice; and extended studies of the nature of sound and musical acoustics. These and other musical proposals will be discussed in the context of developing technologies and important aesthetic changes of the time.

PROPERTY VS. PRIVILEGE: IGOR STRAVINSKY, NEOCLASSICISM AND FRENCH COPYRIGHT LAW

Catrina Flint de Médicis
McGill University

In a footnote in *Memories and Commentaries*, Igor Stravinsky claimed that, "the injustices of copyright laws and non-laws would add a complicated chapter to my 'life' and demand a reinterpretation of some of my composing activity." Indeed, Stravinsky's correspondence with his publishers as well as his postwar revision and republication of works, testify to the validity of this outburst and prompt an investigation into the relationship between intellectual property laws and the writings of music. Specifically, an understanding of French copyright law during the 1920s and 1930s allows a revaluation of Stravinsky's neoclassical

aesthetic as presented in his prose writings.

Debates surrounding the unjust copyright "law" intersect and sometimes collide with Stravinsky's neoclassical ideas. First, the contentious issue of *property vs. privilege* recalls his neoclassical view of the composition as object. Second, the legal ruminations over music's putative *nature immatérielle* meet sharp rebuke in Stravinsky's insistence on the self-sufficiency of the score. Third, a juridical supposition equating composers with mere purloiners of a *fonds common* is challenged by Stravinsky's work ethic, his discarding of the idea of "inspiration" in favor of the "lucky find," and his "Avertissement" concerning borrowed musical materials.

The unfair "non-laws" in Stravinsky's footnote may refer to a regulation that controlled unauthorized performances. It was a *privilege*, separate and distinct from the copyright law, requiring the musical works it protected to be "expressive." Yet in his neoclassical writings the vehemently anti-expressivist Stravinsky often manages to secure the *privilege* of this discriminating "non-law" even while maintaining his claim to the potential *property* rights of the "law."

BACH, MOZART, AND *AFFEKT*
Robert Marshall, Brandeis University, Chair

THE IDENTITIES OF THE TRIUMVIRATE IN BWV 38/5 REVEALED: THE INFLUENCE OF LUTHER'S BIBLICAL EXEGESIS ON BACH'S COMPOSITIONAL CHOICES IN A SACRED TERZET
Mary J. Greer
Columbia University

In my paper I demonstrate how the biblical commentaries of Martin Luther exerted a decisive influence on the design and structure of the sacred terzet *Wenn meine Trübsal als mit Ketten*, BWV 38/5. Specifically, I show how Luther's exegesis of Psalm 130, which, indirectly, served as the basis of the text, and other related biblical passages, influenced Bach's choice of a three-voice setting as well as specific aspects of the musical texture and form.

Bach's regard for Luther is evident from the fact that he owned two full sets of Luther's writings as well as a copy of Luther's German translation of the bible, published in 1681–82 by Johann Abraham Calov. Bach's annotations in his personal copy of the Calov bible reveal both his affinity for the psalms, which are an important source of imagery for the texts of the cantatas, as well as his precise attention to numerical references found both in the Scripture and in Luther's commentaries. This interest in numbers has a direct bearing on the compositional process.

The identification of concrete connections between certain theological constructs and visual imagery contained in Luther's writings and the choice of vocal scoring and musical design in BWV 38/5 not only enables us to understand this work with a greater degree of depth and clarity than has ever been possible in modern times but also may serve as an important new model for further investigation of Bach's sacred vocal music.

GENRE AND INVENTION IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC: SONATAS AND CONCERTOS

FROM THE BACH CIRCLE
David Schulenberg
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Bach's mixing of genres and their possible semantic significance are recurring topics in recent writings concerned with formal and stylistic conventions in early eighteenth-century instrumental music. This study considers contemporary writings, original titles, and formal analysis of relevant works to show that historical genre categories can suggest intertextual references different from those proposed by modern writers.

Ritornello form is now often understood as a genre marker specifically of the concerto. But forms based on stylistic and/or textural opposition also occur in numerous examples of other genres from early in the century (e.g., in Corelli's sonatas Op. 5, Bach's praeludia), and Jeanne Swack has shown that what are now viewed as hybrid forms remained common afterward. This suggests that Bach's apparent mixing of genres in the Brandenburg Concertos, duo-sonatas, and other works was often an imaginative deployment of common stylistic elements that only later became associated with particular instrumental genres. A close reading of J.A. Scheibe's account of the *Sonate auf Concertenart* (1740), cited in recent studies, indicates that it represents a theorist's normalizing reading of certain works, based on structurally superficial elements—not a generally acknowledged genre category. A work such as Bach's flute sonata BWV 1032 might equally well have been described (like several of Graun's) as a *Sonata mit zwei Themata*

Examination of vocal devices imitated in a number of Bach-circle instrumental works suggests that the opera-seria aria was a frequent referent, particularly in compositions using ritornello-like designs.

ON THE PERFORMANCE OF QUIA RESPEXIT...OMNES GENERATIONES
FROM J.S. BACH'S MAGNIFICAT
Robert M. Cammarota
New York

Because of a number of overly edited nineteenth-century performing editions, the "Quia respexit...omnes generationes" section of J. S. Bach's Magnificat has taken on a character quite different from what Bach intended. Instead of representing one continuous (adagio) movement without a change in tempo (as specified in the autograph scores), most editions of the Magnificat (including that of the NBA) imply two independent movements (erroneously numbered 3 and 4) and change the tempo to allegro at "omnes generationes" —obfuscating the theological meaning and rhetorical properties of the text and ignoring the compositional tradition.

I will show that Bach's setting of this verse of the canticle is strictly in keeping with Leipzig tradition (as evidenced by the settings of Schelle, G. M. Hoffmann, Telemann, Kuhnau, and Graupner) and with early eighteenth-century compositional practice; that the verse must be understood theologically, as a unit, and that the change in musical texture at the words "omnes generationes" is a rhetorical device, not "dramatic effect"; and, finally, that there is no change in tempo at the words "omnes generationes" either in Bach's setting or in any other from this period. This understanding of the early eighteenth-century Magnificat tradition

out of which Bach's setting derives should help editors and performers interpret "Quia respexit . . . omnes generationes" as Bach intended.

"THE ORCHESTRA SPEAKS FOR HIM":
THE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN MOZART'S ACCOMPANIED
RECITATIVES
Laurel E. Zeiss
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In his dictionary entry on accompanied recitative, Jean Jacques Rousseau makes a remarkable assertion concerning the role of the orchestra in accompagnato:

[Accompanied Recitative] . . . The actor agitated, transported with a passion which does not permit him to say all, interrupts himself, stops, breaks off, during which time the orchestra speaks for him, and these silences, thus filled, affect the audience infinitely more than if the actor himself spoke all that the music makes them understand.

Rousseau was not alone in his assertion that the orchestra "speaks" to listeners in a more eloquent manner. Many other late eighteenth-century theorists echo his claim. Krause, for example, states the instruments "still portray distinctly and communicate even more effectively the *Affekt* of the singing to the listener." When words fail the characters, according to these writers, the orchestra steps in. What it conveys is equal to or beyond words.

Using examples from Mozart's operas, I will discuss how and when the orchestra "speaks" during accompanied recitatives and explore the role the genre plays in the changing perceptions of the value of instrumental music during the late eighteenth-century. While the theorists do not overtly state that the orchestra's music is superior to the texted vocal music, they do suggest that it has the power to express feelings in a more cogent fashion. In an age that consistently criticized instrumental music as "inarticulate" and "vague" these assertions are striking.

Friday afternoon, 30 October

AFTER HANSLICK: THE PROBLEM OF MUSICAL MEANING
IN GERMAN MUSICOLOGY CA. 1900–1930
Glenn Stanley, University of Connecticut, Chair

ARNOLD SCHERING'S THEORY OF MUSICAL SYMBOLISM
Glenn Stanley
University of Connecticut

The rejection of Arnold Schering's methodologically indefensible Beethoven criticism (suppressed textual programs for the instrumental music) has had the unfortunate side effect of prejudicing opinion about his highly important contributions to the problem of symbolism in music. Schering developed a theory of musical symbolism in essays devoted to Bach, Beethoven (these are distinct from the Beethoven work analyses), and general topics such as the origin and development of symbols. These were written in the 1920s and 1930s, when the

discussion of symbolism occupied a central place in psychology and aesthetics, (Johannes Volkelt, Schering's philosophy teacher in Leipzig), art history (Erwin Panofsky), and philosophy and cultural theory (Ernst Cassirer), all of which, as I will discuss, figure prominently in Schering's thought. The "symbol" was the principal concept for the construction of a non-formalist aesthetics and hermeneutics. The prominent and influential Schering was an outspoken and polemical representative of content-aesthetics in musicology.

In Schering's typology, the most extensive of its kind, musical symbols range from the most elementary to the most complex, from the most sensory to the most abstract. Symbols may consist in pure sound or rhythm, in affects, in musico-rhetorical tropes and figures, in citations of pre-existent material with extra-musical meaning, and in particular techniques (canon). Musical symbols originate through the transfer of transferable properties of a concrete intellectual idea or emotion, or a material phenomenon, into a musical form that can be perceived as the sensory image of those properties. The degree of musical meaning in a given work depends upon the amount and nature of symbolism. Lacking symbolic content, music is reduced to mere play and forfeits aesthetic relevance.

I will also comment on responses to Schering's symbol theory by Edward Lippmann, Manfred Bukofzer, H. H. Eggebrecht, Friedrich Blume, and (indirectly) Susanne Langer.

THE TEMPEST SONATA CONTROVERSY: PAUL BEKKER, AUGUST HALM, AND ARNOLD SCHERING
Albrecht Riethmüller
Freie Universität Berlin

In German-speaking countries at the turn of the century, Hanslick's influential mid-nineteenth century music aesthetics had a strong impact on the early stages of music analysis with respect to meaning and content. At that time, Beethoven's piano sonatas constituted one of the chief battle grounds for differing analytical methods. In his Beethoven monograph of 1911, Paul Bekker's commentary on the "Tempest" Sonata op.31, no.2 prompted harsh criticism by August Halm in 1920, who in turn was criticized by Arnold Achering in 1929.

The ensuing debate unveils the distinctions between journalism (the domain of the music critic Bekker), music education (Halm's main area, composition being secondary), and musicology (as taught in universities, to which Schering belonged). In musical life Bekker was understandably more present, well-known, and read than the other two. But his writings contained certain emotional nuances that were a direct provocation of Hanslick's rejection of "Gefühlsästhetik." In the twenties, Halm became increasingly shocked by what he called the psychodramatization of music, accusing Bekker of writing on music in an obsolete as well as inadequate manner.

The paper will examine the theoretical and methodological positions of Bekker, Halm, and Schering by focusing on each of their practical strategies of description. It will also question whether Halm subconsciously felt threatened by Bekker.

"BEDEUTUNG" (MEANING) AND "INHALT" (CONTENT) IN THE MUSIC AESTHETICS OF AUGUST HALM
Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen
Freie Universität Berlin

August Halm's music aesthetics is based on a technique of musical analysis for which the pre-condition is the Schopenhauerian idea of a "Wollen der Form." But this apparent preference for the category of form does not exclude the concepts "Sinn"/"Bedeutung" and "Inhalt"/"Gehalt" from his aesthetics. Instead, Halm tries to use these concepts, which are fundamental to hermeneutics, in order to argue for a decidedly anti-hermeneutical view of music. This attempt, which may be compared to Schenker's calls for a "better and more true hermeneutics," aroused the vehement opposition of Arnold Schering.

Similar to Schenker, Halm rejected an "extra-musical" notion of musical content but was more rigorous than Schenker in his effort to replace the idea of "meaning" with that of function. (This is particularly clear in his response to Paul Bekker's interpretation of the Tempest Sonata, which will be discussed by Albrecht Riethmüller in his paper in this session.) Traditional hermeneutics represent an illegitimate "art of translation." Only the comprehension of the artist's "will to form" ("Formwille") as observable in the "technical" aspects of a work can expose the ways in which the "artistic laws," governing music assume form and are preserved in the work. Thus are uncovered the "real idea, meaning and content" of a work.

Halm's *exclusively musical* aesthetics is the most ambitious attempt since Hanslick to integrate content and form in an analytical method. Thus, he can be regarded as the most important precursor of the "dynamic" phenomenological music aesthetics of Ernst Kurth and Hans Mersmann, and he even anticipates aspects of Adorno's synthesis of sociology, hermeneutics, and philosophy within the immanently musical concept of "Material."

DISCIPLINING MUSIC: HUGO RIEMANN'S MUSICAL AESTHETICS AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY
Chien-chang Yang
University of Chicago

Though generally known as the inventor of the theories of functional harmony and metric periodicity, Hugo Riemann's theoretical enterprise went beyond the regulation of analytical tools. The real foundations of his theory, as Riemann insisted, were his aesthetic ideas that form the basis of practical theories, ideas that "bring together the sciences of beauty and the sciences of understanding through the investigation of the elements of the life of sensations." Probably because of his concentration on the formal elements of music, Riemann's aesthetic ideas were usually understood as offshoots of Eduard Hanslick's formalism.

However, this line of argument conceals the real motivation of Riemann. Instead of an answer to the form/content debate, Riemann's aesthetic theory was a response to contemporaneous scientific research on music that defined musical natures in physiological and psychological terms. In short, it is not the definition of musical beauty but the nature of the activity of musical listening that is the center of Riemann's query. In historical terms, Riemann's project was a part of what Wilhelm Dilthey has called "psychological aesthetic," which was closely associated with nineteenth-century German psychologists such as Gustav Fechner, Hermann Lotze, and Wilhelm Wundt.

In addition to providing a general context for Riemann's aesthetics, this paper also analyzes Riemann's notion of the "movement of the soul [*Seelenbewegung*]," an idea of fundamental importance, which has so far escaped serious scholarly attention. To demonstrate how Riemann shared presuppositions with contemporaneous physiology and psychology,

this paper argues that Riemann's "soul" was actually a corporeal part of the human body, and its movements were not metaphorical but real. For Riemann's listeners, the meaning of music comes not from the perception of sounds but from an active recreation of the same *Seelenbewegung* that existed in the mind of the composer.

AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSIC
Ingrid Monson, Washington University, Chair

THE MUSICAL WORK IN *JAZZ*:
BILL EVANS'S FORMAL CONCEPT OF "NARDIS"
Zbigniew Granat
Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts

"I almost wish, sometimes, I could line up about twenty of our performances of [a solo] and put out a four-album set. They take fifteen minutes each. Just so that the jazz listener knows the extent of the resourcefulness of some musicians" (The Bill Evans Interview, *Coda Magazine*, Feb., 1985).

This paper is based upon the analysis of fifteen different renditions of the theme "Nardis" recorded by the late pianist Bill Evans over a twenty-year span. The examples reveal a unique process of transformation of a simple performance pattern into an extended formal arrangement, which allows for multiple, and yet unrepeatable, realizations of the musical work.

When viewed against the concept of a musical work developed in the Western classical tradition, a performance scheme based upon a series of improvisations framed by the statements of a theme may appear old-fashioned and unoriginal, but, in fact, the history of jazz is full of examples where this very scheme has been varied in highly original ways. Evolving works by Miles Davis ("My Funny Valentine") and John Coltrane ("My Favorite Things") will be adduced to set my view of "Nardis" into context.

This paper suggests that the analysis of jazz need not be limited to selected aspects of jazz syntax but can be carried out on yet another level; by seeking to explain how the various components of jazz vocabulary combine to shape larger structural entities, it can account for the ephemeral and evolving manifestations of the work-concept in jazz.

THE FALL OF PACE AND HANDY, 1920–1924
Elliott S. Hurwitt
Graduate Center, City University of New York

The Pace and Handy Music Publishing Company, founded in Memphis in 1913, was the seminal African-American musical enterprise of the vaudeville or commercial blues era. At its peak, Pace and Handy published several of the period's top hits, including "St. Louis Blues" and "Beale Street." The company dissolved in New York at the beginning of 1921, when Harry Pace founded Black Swan, the first African-American record company, issuing blues, spirituals, and classical recordings until 1923. W. C. Handy reorganized as Handy Brothers Music Company, maintaining a catalogue of standards that fueled the worldwide blues and jazz boom of the 1920s. His publishing company continues to operate today.

For decades little was known about the breakup of the Pace and Handy partnership

beyond Handy's vague statement that the two had "business practice differences." Previously unexamined letters and documents now shed light on the true nature of these differences. They reveal that the Pace and Handy dissolution was marked by bitter personal acrimony, ultimately by legal action. Yet the former partners sporadically made their peace, commiserated, and sometimes did business with each other in the aftermath of their official disassociation.

Pace and Handy's relationship was a meeting of unlike minds, and the two men embodied competing models of black achievement. In the correspondence that marked their bitter parting can be traced the contrasting strengths that had made their collaboration unique. Even their estrangement could not reverse the revolution they had wrought in American musical life.

WHOSE "BLUES IN THE MISSISSIPPI NIGHT?":
FRAME MANAGEMENT AND THE CONTEXT OF THE BLUES
Christopher Smith
Indiana University

In 1946, folklorist Alan Lomax sat down in a chilly New York radio studio with three Mississippi-born musicians, Sonny Boy Williamson, Memphis Slim, and Big Bill Broonzy, to conduct an interview whose agenda was contained in Lomax's opening question: "Tell me what the blues is." Lomax published a "semi-fictionalized" transcript in 1948, and in reissuing the recording, added real names and interpolated music "for illustrative purposes." Lomax claims that *Blues in the Mississippi Night* contained "the legend of the birth of the blues, out of the mouths of three great bluesmen who lived the story themselves."

I suggest that Alan Lomax was hoodwinked: that his informants, recognizing the preconceptions be brought to the interview, tailored their responses to give Lomax what he wanted. His questions betrayed his expectations: his interlocutors, skilled at coping with white presumptions, made sure those expectations were met.

Blues in the Mississippi Night is a fascinating document for more reasons than Alan Lomax realized: Broonzy, Williamson, and Memphis Slim employed techniques of frame management to transform the interview-as-performance environment. Drawing on Goffman, Bauman, and other performance scholars, I analyze these improvised techniques, connecting their use to larger issues of African-American social and musical performance. Finally, I argue that despite Lomax's clumsy and distorting inquisitive stance, Broonzy, Williamson, and Memphis Slim successfully transformed the interview context to one more conducive to the practice of their musical skills.

OF SCHERZOS AND TRICKSTERS:
A NARRATIVE FOR THE SCHERZO OF WILLIAM GRANT STILL'S
AFRO-AMERICAN SYMPHONY
Catherine Parsons Smith
University of Nevada

Little of the scholarship to date on Grant Still's *Afro-American Symphony* (composed 1930, first performed 1931) pays much attention to the Scherzo beyond mentioning its dance-

like character, the presence of the tenor banjo, and Still's use of Gershwin's "I Got Rhythm" as a counter-melody. Yet the Scherzo now appears in the third edition of the *Norton Anthology of Western Music* (1996), hinting at its impending canonization.

I propose that Still intended a serious meaning for this lightest of the symphony's four movements. Still's quotation of a couplet by Paul Laurence Dunbar suggests this; so does the movement's unlikely progression from the major mode to its parallel minor with no modulatory diversion. Newly available sketch material reveals Still's initial plan for the whole symphony. He discarded his first concept for the Scherzo ("depicting janny sect"), replacing his initial theme with another, earlier theme labeled "Hallelujah!" in the 1924 theme book from which it is taken—the only movement so altered. Still's process of devising a series of "treatments" for his theme is shown in the sketch material. The Scherzo may be seen as depicting a triumphant progress from a representation of the "minstrel mask" to a richer style in which the uncomplicated major mode of the opening is, well, emancipated. My reading may explain Still's quotation of Gershwin's song as well as suggesting something about the transmission of musical ideas in New York City in the 1920s.

BAROQUE OPERA
Robert Shay, Lyon College, Chair

COMIC OPERA IN FLORENCE DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:
FROM THE ACADEMY TO THE EUROPEAN STAGE
James Leve
Yale University

Seventeenth-century comic opera has received little critical attention, probably because the earliest works of this nature were isolated local theatrical events and together fail to define a unified genre. Comic opera emerged simultaneously in Florence and Rome around 1655. Robert Lamar Weaver has studied the Florentine works but lumps them together for their provincialism without considering the diverse ways in which the music and text denote different types of comedy. An examination of sixteen works written between 1657 and 1699, however, illustrates two distinct phases in Florence, the first reflecting primarily local tastes, the second a more cosmopolitan attitude. Comparing the two phases, this paper illustrates the evolution of comic opera in Florence from local entertainments ridiculing characters unlike the audience, mostly academicians with philological interests, to a more middle-class, streamlined comedy with a much wider appeal. The earliest comic-opera librettos, mostly by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, exploit various linguistic patterns to distinguish a numerous *dramatis personae*. In Moniglia and Jacopo Melani's *Il potestà di Colognole*, for example, servants adopt authentic Florentine idioms and rustic melodies that strongly contrast with the music of the upper-class *innamorati*. A second phase is introduced by the librettist Giovanni Cosimo Villifranchi, who, using Giovanni Battista Ricciardi's spoken comedies as a basis, designed the model for a newer type of comic opera after 1680. Servants and lovers are less clearly distinguished, as they both sing serious and comic arias, depending on the situation, and display linguistic uniformity. These newer operas, with music by various composers, including Alessandro Stradella, anticipated eighteenth-century *opera buffa*, the first authentic comic-opera genre.

REFORMING ACHILLES: GENDER, OPERA SERIA, AND THE RHETORIC OF THE ENLIGHTENED HERO

Wendy Heller

Princeton University

At the climax of Metastasio's *Achille in Sciro*, the hero participates in a telling condemnation of contemporary opera. Disguised as a woman in King Lycomede's court and commanded to sing for Ulysses and company, Achilles asserts his masculinity in a single violent gesture by discarding his lyre and embracing the instruments of war. While Achilles's predicament is exacerbated by female clothing, the problem with which he contends—how to sing, make love, and embody appropriate male virtues—is one shared by numerous opera heroes of the period and their critics, for whom the inherent femininity of the genre had become increasingly problematic. By trading a dress for armor and lyre for sword, Achilles abandons the gender ambiguity that was integral to the conventions of *seicento* opera and that has so discomfited modern commentators.

This paper proposes that Achilles's rejection of both song and female attire is symptomatic of a reconstitution of operatic masculinity that became a driving force in the reform of Italian opera in the early eighteenth century. I will demonstrate that concern with gender played a central role in the testimony of opera's most virulent and influential critics—Muratori, Gravina, Crescembeni, and Maffei—whose heated rhetoric masked a profound anxiety about opera's sexual content that not only reflected a more fundamental shift in gender ideology but also precipitated the most basic features of opera reform. Finally, I will show that these transformations empowered Achilles—and his operatic companions—to erase the effeminacies of the past and reclaim opera for the newly enlightened hero.

PSYCHE AND THE ORIGINS OF ENGLISH OPERA

Andrew R. Walkling

University of Oregon

The opera *Psyche* of 1675 (words by Thomas Shadwell, music by Matthew Locke) played a pivotal role in the creation of English dramatick opera. Accounts of its production and the origins of English opera traditionally cite several well-rehearsed facts, including the impresario Betterton's trip to France in 1673 to observe theatrical conditions there, the indebtedness of *Psyche* to Lully's *ballet de cour* of the same name, and Shadwell's and Locke's insistence that the combined play-with-musical-episodes format of their versions be considered "more proper to our *English* genius." Yet the political and artistic context within which *Psyche* was created and performed have been little examined, and neither text nor music has been systematically analyzed in order to enable a fuller understanding of *Psyche*'s place in the history of English musical theater.

This paper will examine the generic conditions prevailing in court-sponsored opera in the early 1670s and how the public theaters sought to respond to the court's attempts to define and control the new genre. Central to this endeavor is a consideration of *Psyche* as an integrated theatrical entertainment, illustrated with textual and musical examples. Shadwell's famous assertion that "I chalked out the way to the composer" will serve as a starting point for an evaluation of the larger musical and dramatic structures of the opera and an analysis of

its text. Having established a clearer sense of the opera's meaning and context, the paper will conclude with an exploration of Dryden's poem *Mac Flecknoe* and its place in the history of the *Psyche*'s reception.

DRAMATICK OPERA AND THE 1698 DEBATE OVER THEATRICAL REFORM
Kathryn Lowerre
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

John Dennis's *Rinaldo and Armida* and Peter Motteux's *The Island Princess*, staged by rival London theater companies, are significant both to the history of dramatick opera and to contemporary debate over the theater. Early in 1698, Jeremy Collier published *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, attacking plays by Congreve, Dryden, and D'Urfey. Among passages castigating racy dialogue, Collier also warns against music, calling it "almost as dangerous as gunpowder" and noting "a publick Regulation might not be amiss." Within six months Dennis and Motteux had responded both in prose and in their librettos.

In *The Usefulness of the Stage*, Dennis insists that the theater, an approved outlet for the passions, is essential for Englishmen. In his dramatick opera, set to music by John Eccles, Dennis attempts to unite the potentially subversive powers of music with the moral function of tragedy. In contrast, Motteux responded to Collier by translating arguments from Continental debates, while his libretto for *The Island Princess* is based on a stock play and employs music by several composers. Its musical entertainments resemble those of popular works (such as D'Urfey's comical, bawdy *Don Quixote*), which Collier found particularly objectionable.

In the context of contemporaneous theatrical debate, Dennis's *Rinaldo and Armida* offers a model for the reform of post-Purcellian dramatick opera, providing a unified musical and dramatic experience intended to instruct, while Motteux's *The Island Princess* demonstrates the even greater appeal of the "patchwork" opera, designed to entertain.

CONDUCTUS AND MOTET
Craig Wright, Yale University, Chair

AURELIANIS CIVITAS: A CONDUCTUS AND STUDENT UNREST IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE
Thomas B. Payne
Columbia University

In the Spring of 1236, approximately 100 university students were massacred in the town of Orléans. A monophonic *conductus* that alludes to this event, *Aurelianis civitas*, survives in the Parisian music manuscript now housed in Florence, I-Fl: Plut. 29.1 (F). The text of this song vehemently denounces the bloodshed occasioned by the Orléans confrontation yet concludes with a tribute to the city of Paris. It remains generally unrecognized, however, that the historical circumstances behind *Aurelianis* also extend to a long line of events prompted by the growth of the schools of Paris in the 1220s and 1230s. This process, which also included

riot and carnage, culminated in a university-wide strike from 1229 to 1231, which effectively emptied the capital's schools and furthered the growth of education in towns such as Orléans. Thanks to this new historical context, the author of this anonymous text (and possibly of its music) can now be posited with a great deal of assurance. By evaluating the location of this *conductus* in its unique source, and correlating its content to a sermon delivered in Orléans during the Parisian walkout, Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236), then overseer of the Paris schools, emerges as the most likely candidate for crafting this lyric, possibly one of his last efforts. This attribution complicates our assessment of Philip's position toward the university's growing autonomy, deepens our awareness of historical and musical interaction, and suggests wider implications for reading, hearing, and evaluating thirteenth-century Parisian *conducti*.

DRYING RACHEL'S TEARS: THE *CONDUCTUS* AS MIXED FORM
Mark Everist
University of Southampton

The *conductus* is a mixed form with much in common with medieval literary texts that mix different discursive modes. The history of these literary texts (generically called *prosimetra*) mirrors that of the *conductus*. Correspondences between *prosimetrum* and *conductus* encourage a view of the *conductus* as an interaction of different discursive modes and that brings into focus the unique qualities of each of the nearly 400 works that constitute the *conductus* repertory.

Research into the *conductus* has been preoccupied with questions of function and rhythm at the expense of those of compositional process or analysis. Whether the *conductus* was destined for paraliturgical use, as a substitute for the Benedicamus Domino or as a musical statement about "conduct" and how music *cum littera* was performed and how it should be edited, are important questions; these concerns have however eclipsed such basic issues as how the poet and composer engaged with the composition of a *conductus*, or how a contemporary recipient might have grasped such a work. Apart from a few attempts at a broad typology of the entire repertory or the minute dissection of technical matters, the analysis of the *conductus* has almost completely been ignored.

The music and poetry of the *conductus* exhibit three different discursive styles: music *cum littera*, music *sine littera*, and the *punctus organicus*. However heated the discussion concerning the rhythm of sections *cum littera*, there is no doubt that these three discourses are mutually exclusive (both in musical and poetic terms) and that their interaction is central to the creation of musico-poetic structures in the *conductus*.

Late antique and medieval *prosimetra* played off prose, *metrum* (quantitative verse), and letter against each other to create a range of complex structures. The twelfth-century reception of Boethius and Martianus Capella, as well as the composition of new *prosimetra* in the twelfth century, gave a striking impetus to this form just at the same time as the *conductus* was taking shape as a genre. The extensive scholarship on *prosimetra* and the structures that their varying discursive modes create are clear pointers to considering the *conductus* as an interaction of discursive modes. An analysis of the two-part *conductus* from the seventh fascicle of the Florence manuscript (Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1.) *Luget Rachel iterum* shows how such a work shares structural principles with contemporary *prosimetra*.

Viewing the *conductus* as a mixed form helps to situate the genre in the history of music in the period 1150 to 1300. It sits alongside *organum duplum* as a mixed form and apart from

the motet. During the course of the thirteenth century, both *conductus* and *organum* under-
went modification that neutralized their mixed nature. In the same way that the *prosimetrum*
was reconstituted in a way that removed the co-existence of different discursive modes, the
conductus—by bringing the entire composition within the domain of modal rhythm—aban-
doned its principal character, and the mixed form was lost to western music for centuries.

MAKING AND BREAKING PATTERNS IN MACHAUT'S MOTETS

Alice V. Clark
Pennsylvania State University

How do fourteenth-century motets end? The structural use of isorhythmic techniques
in many of these works would seem to provide an easy answer: at the end of the last talea. Not
all motets do conclude at the end of an isorhythmic talea, however, and the additive nature of
isorhythm could lead to a series of taleae following one another potentially without end. This
paper will examine the ways a composer could signal closure, suggesting musical reasons for
the close of a given motet at the end of one talea and not another. Strategies used by four-
teenth-century composers such as Guillaume de Machaut range from the use of asynchro-
nous rhythmic and melodic cells in the tenor that only come together at the end (Machaut's
motet 8), to upper-voice rhythmic patterns carefully created and just as carefully broken in
the final talea (many motets), to subtle motivic combinations and transformations (Machaut's
motet 11). Also important is the use of a hierarchy of cadential types, as Sarah Fuller has
demonstrated, creating different levels of closural strength. Even features of the melodies
chosen as tenor sources can contribute: one melody, for example, moves entirely by step until
the penultimate note, which, by repeating the previous pitch, breaks the pattern (Machaut's
motet 4). What most of these strategies have in common is that they create changes in the
final formal unit of the motet, changes that break previously created patterns and signal the
motet's end.

MOTET-CYCLE OR MOTTETI MISSALES: A REAPPRAISAL OF JOSQUIN DESPREZ'S VULTUM TUUM DEPRECABUNTUR

David Kidger
Harvard University

This paper is concerned with the group of seven motets by Josquin Desprez in Petrucci's
Motetti libro quarto (1505²), beginning with the motet *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*. There are
several difficult problems for this group of motets, especially in the areas of chronology,
provenance, and liturgical function. Many scholars have concluded that they are *motteti
missales*, yet the evidence for this is problematic. Recently Patrick Macey has suggested that
Josquin's *Ave Maria . . . benedicta tu* may also be part of this group.

A possible liturgical context for this group of motets can now be located in a set of five
antiphons for the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in an antiphoner now
located in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Ivrea. This discovery provides evidence in favor of
Macey's hypothesis, for the antiphon *Ave Maria...benedicta tu* is the first of the five antiphons
in the cycle. The provenance of this antiphoner, within the area ruled by the Sforza northeast
of the city of Milan, is also of interest, since it furnishes more evidence in favor of a Milanese

context for this group of motets.

Alongside the possible liturgical source, an investigation of the manuscript and print sources for the motets in this group (the seven motets headed by *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur* in 1505², along with *Ave Maria . . . benedicta tu*), helps to explain the confusing transmission of this set of motets, both as a group and as individual motets. A curious example, the motet *Mente tota*, the fifth of the group in 1505², is not part of the set of five antiphons. However, it was the most popular of the motets in the group, found individually in many manuscripts from Germany and central Europe. Fevin and Willaert also used this motet in imitation masses that must have been composed by 1515 and 1521, respectively.

SKETCHES
Lewis Lockwood, Harvard University, Chair

"THE SPIRIT OF THE DEVELOPMENT": DEVELOPMENT AND CODA SKETCHES FOR THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF BEETHOVEN'S SYMPHONY NO. 9, OP. 125
Jenny Kallick
Amherst College

In his Ninth Symphony monograph, Schenker remarks that at the beginning of the coda "the spirit of the development still hovers about to a certain extent." This provocative image of the development's spirit, its essential embodiment haunting the coda, underscores the unmistakable kinship between these two sections. Uncannily, as my paper will demonstrate, a close dialogic compositional process can be documented through a detailed study of the sketch material for these sections. Continuity drafts attest that Beethoven worked toward a clear identity for these structurally correspondent sections in a reciprocity of compositional process. His working back and forth between the two sections resulted in a remarkable reversal of identities: initial continuity drafts for the development ultimately predict the shape of the coda, while continuity drafts first assigned to the coda resemble most closely the final form of the development.

In light of the compositional evidence, I will consider the formal issues that define this movement's distinctively *sui generis* sonata structure. I will argue that the compositional evidence focuses attention on the composer's plan to have the arrival of the coda intensify an initially bewildering sensation of undifferentiated repetition, which leads ultimately to an emerging sense of meaningful closure. I will also suggest that performances can greatly influence our experience of this remarkable formal arrangement. Finally, I will explain my discovery, while working on-site with the sketch materials, of Beethoven's systematic use of different writing implements to distinguish, for his own reference, the multiple layers of revision.

UNRAVEL THE RIDDLES OF THE *RING*: RETURN TO THE MANU-SCRIPTS!
Susan Sharkey
Manchester University

This presentation will highlight the inaccuracies recorded in commentaries on the

Leitmotiv in Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, owing to authors' successive acceptance of traditional assumptions. It will demonstrate the necessity of returning to the most important sources—the manuscripts—if these inaccuracies are to be corrected.

One misleading assumption is that Wagner did not label his motives. Reference to the manuscripts proves otherwise. Labels to be discussed include, *Rheingold*, *Liebesfluch*, *Welterben*, *Natur*, and *Wotans Unmut*. Relevant manuscripts will be shown, with kind permission of the Wagner Archiv, Bayreuth.

Wagner's labels will be compared, in tables, to various authors' interpretations, showing that none follow Wagner's labelling pattern.

It is too easily assumed that the plethora of published information is accurate. Rather than accepting unsubstantiated theories, it is time to return to the manuscripts, and to question the published assumptions in search of Wagner's truths.

THE COMPOSITIONAL GENESIS OF THE SCHERZO
OF MAHLER'S SECOND SYMPHONY
John R. Palmer
University of California, Davis

Important connections between the only known sketch for the Scherzo of Mahler's Second Symphony and the piano/vocal manuscript of his *Wunderhorn* Lied, "Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt," have thus far escaped notice. I show that while Mahler constructed the third movement of his Second Symphony, he made markings on the sketch page for the movement that correspond to markings over particular passages in the song manuscript. This method provided Mahler with a "shortcut" during the composition of the symphonic Scherzo. Also, I compare the different openings the composer drafted for the Scherzo, explaining that these versions are the result of the movement occupying different positions within the symphony. Mahler changed the order of the symphony's inner movements four times prior to publication, and sources hint that the composer did so because he was unsure of which movements to include in the work. Furthermore, manuscript evidence suggests that Mahler, a year after completing the orchestral draft of the Scherzo, returned to the score to insert a passage that strengthens the movement's relationship with the Finale. Such late-stage emendation is part of the history of each of the five movements of the Second Symphony, and, in the case of the Scherzo, it creates unity within a symphony that was, in part, assembled from disparate movements composed over a seven-year period. I conclude by suggesting that the shifts in movement order, plus the re-composition of sections of the Scherzo, must inform our perception of the symphony and, especially, Mahler's programs for the work.

THE SKETCHES FOR GUSTAV MAHLER'S "O MENSCH! GIB ACHT":
TEMPORALITY UNBOUND
Marilyn L. McCoy
Arnold Schoenberg Institute, Los Angeles

From his imaginative rendering of a suspended "time before time" at the opening of his First Symphony, to the evanescent added sixth chord that evokes time unending at the close of *Das Lied von der Erde*, Gustav Mahler repeatedly strove to conjure unusual varieties of

static temporality in his compositions. These passages, which uncannily prefigure the "moment time" and atmospheric textures of subsequent twentieth-century works, fascinate because of their subversion of the forward propulsion normally associated with tonal music. Although Mahler had to redefine conventional musical language to achieve this aim, he usually left little clue in the documentary record that would explain why he pursued, or how he attained, such unconventional compositional priorities.

The orchestral song "O Mensch, Gib Acht," however, fortunately proves an exception to this rule. Perhaps inspired by its Nietzschean text, which is permeated with ideas about time and temporal experience, the work is one of Mahler's most ambitious attempts to unbind music from its typical restraints of meter and linear momentum. Supported by insights from analysis of the work's text, music, and plentiful sketches, I intend to demonstrate how Mahler translated the text's contradiction between rigid chronometry and our more flexible inner clock into a tension between competing musical formal principles of expanding disintegration and contracting coalescence. As we witness how Mahler devoted the bulk of his revisions to disrupting, nullifying, or even erasing metric patterning and harmonic impetus, we discover, perhaps surprisingly, one aspect of his style which aligns his music with modernism.

Friday evening, 30 October

SONDHEIM
Alejandro Planchart, University of California, Santa Barbara, Chair

"I HATE BRECHT!": *LOVE LIFE*, SONDHEIM, AND THE CONCEPT MUSICAL
Kim H. Kowalke
University of Rochester

Various Brecht-related projects occupied Stephen Sondheim during the decade between *Gypsy* and *Company*, and Harold Prince's biographer asserts that "the Brecht-Weill idea of musical theater has filtered into the American mainstream primarily through the Sondheim-Prince collaboration." Yet both protest (under considerable anxiety of influence) that they find Brecht humorless, obvious, "didactic in the worst way." "I like the *Threepenny Opera* but not really anything else," Sondheim declares, "and actually I prefer Weill's American to his European work." In particular, "*Love Life* has been a useful influence on my own work."

Subtitled "A Vaudeville," Alan Jay Lerner and Weill's *Love Life* (1948) uses the lens of American "economic and social progress" to chronicle a never-aging couple and their two children over a period of 150 years. The scenes are commented upon by parallel, "pastiched" vaudeville numbers, which traverse the history of American popular music. A radio strike and recording ban crippled the show's initial run, and then Lerner refused to authorize stock and amateur licensing. Its subsequent obscurity may have encouraged the next generation to emulate, adapt, and extend its many innovations. Boris Aronson, who designed *Love Life, Cabaret*, and five of the Prince-Sondheim shows, declared that "there were enough ideas in *Love Life* for twenty musicals."

While *Love Life's* impact on Prince's *Caberet* and Fosse's *Chicago* and *All That Jazz* have

been noted, its continuing resonance in Sondheim's works has not. Utilizing published oral histories, correspondence, recordings, videotapes, and music, this paper will address the "use" Sondheim made of this model in *Company* (subject matter and structure), *Follies* (frame and finale), *Pacific Overtures* (historical panorama around two central figures), and especially *Assassins* (a dark vaudeville utilizing popular music as a mirror of America's social ills). Such memorable descendants have rendered prophetic Weill and Lerner's comment in the souvenir program of *Love Life*: "Today's invention is tomorrow's cliché."

SONDHEIM'S *ASSASSINS* (1991) AS SHOW AND SYMBOL
John Andrew Johnson
Syracuse University

Across his 40-year career, Stephen Sondheim (b. 1930) has continued to find ways to bring renewed sophistication to the tradition of the American musical, which is all the more remarkable given the general decline of the genre in the post-War era. Due to the scope and success of his works, Sondheim is unquestionably a single heir to the tradition of the "classic" musical theater of the 1920s–1950s, yet his work has been created in a different, postmodern age, in which tradition is not first sought but is continually questioned. In *Follies* (1971), *A Little Night Music* (1973), *Sweeney Todd* (1979), and other works, Sondheim openly confronts the musico-dramatic past as a means to produce something new. Yet these shows are not merely glosses for entertainment effect; rather, they are mature meta-dramas emanating ultimately from the composer's own stylistic self-assessment. He has remained idea- and not tune-driven, selecting a dramatic "problem" and solving it musically. In *Assassins* (1991), one finds a score that is at once a "show" in a traditional sense and a "symbol" of its inner and outer aesthetic environment. In this case, Sondheim confronts his maturation anew in a historical theater piece akin to the more "operatic" works of John Adams, Anthony Davis, Philip Glass, John Moran, and others.

"TELL HIM WHAT I SEE":
PERSPECTIVE AND VOICE IN *PACIFIC OVERTURES*
Heidi Owen
Eastman School of Music

Edward Said's influential 1979 publication, *Orientalism*, asserted that all Western-produced images of the East are implicated by colonialism and unequal power relations. How, then, should we view a cultural product created during the current post-colonial age, when the oriental subject and style of presentation are expressly chosen to criticize the colonial policies of the West? I explore this question with respect to the musical *Pacific Overtures* (1976), which depicts the impact of American Commodore Perry's 1853 visit to Japan. The musical's creators—Stephen Sondheim (music and lyrics), John Weidman (book), and Hal Prince (direction) —intended their musical to differ from previous popular musical theater representations of the East. Presenting their story from the point of view of a mythical Japanese playwright, they borrowed freely from several Japanese theatrical styles and techniques, supported the show's concept by casting only Asian performers, and constructed what they dubbed "an American kabuki." This framing device generates a complex web of issues involving representation (who has the right to represent whom) and voice (whose voice do we

hear when a character speaks). I explore several threads as they are manifested in the plot, style, and music of the show, supporting my discussion with slides, the original Broadway cast recording, and a video of that production, hitherto broadcast only on Japanese television. To conclude, I propose that the creators of *Pacific Overtures* may have suggested their answer to these issues in the song, "Someone in a Tree," which illustrates that a dialogue of multiple points of view—what Gary Tomlinson has recently termed a "parallax perspective" —is both necessary and inevitable in any construction of history.

A LITTLE NIGHT MUSIC AND THE MYTH OF THE WALTZ MUSICAL
Steve Swayne
University of California, Berkeley

Sondheim's decision to write the score of *A Little Night Music* (1973) in metrical multiples of three has led pundits into labelling *Night Music* a "waltz musical." This designation can be traced back to *Night Music's* creators and earliest commentators ("The music is a celebration of three-quarter time, an orgy of plaintively memorable waltzes," Clive Barnes, *New York Times*, 1973) and continues to appear in current Sondheim scholarship ("*A Little Night Music* is the apotheosis of a suite of waltzes," Stephen Banfield, *Sondheim's Broadway Musicals*, 1993). While Sondheim has referred to the waltzing aspects of *Night Music*, he also clearly marks some of the music, by means of tempo markings and rhythmic contour, as evocative of dances other than the waltz. Using Wye Jamison Allanbrook's work on Mozart and rhythm as a point of departure, I will demonstrate how the various songs in *Night Music* that are not identified as waltzes employ particular rhythmic gestures borrowed from dance and concert music and how these rhythmic gestures can illuminate characters in terms of class, education, achievement, and desire. The isolation of these non-waltzes then allows for a more precise interrogation of how the waltz functions in *Night Music*—who waltzes, when do they waltz, and why. I will conclude by examining *Night Music's* most famous song, "Send In The Clowns," showing how a rejection of the waltz musical myth and a consideration of the nuances of rhythmic gesture offers greater interpretive insight into this song and the entire musical.

STUDY SESSION (INTERNATIONAL HISPANIC STUDY GROUP)
THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM IN MUSICOLOGICAL DISCOURSE:
ITS IMPACT ON IBERIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN MUSIC HISTORY
Emlio Ros-Fábregas, Boston University, Chair
Juan José Carreras, Universidad de Zaragoza
Walter Aaron Clark, University of Kansas
Malena Kuss, University of North Texas
Cristina Magaldi, University of California, Los Angeles
Carol Robertson, University of Maryland

Five contributors will discuss the present state of nationalist conceptions of Iberian and Latin American music history. Kurt von Fisher suggested ("Zum Begriff NATIONAL in Musikgeschichte und deutscher Musikhistoriographie," 1979) that the concept of "national music," since its appearance in Hermann Mendel's *Musikalische Conversations-Lexikon* (1877),

implied an opposition to the "universal." Following him, the first contribution to this session will explore the construction of national "difference" in hegemonic discourse and its impact on music historiography. The second presentation will propose that narratives of Spanish music history originated around the myth of the "true and authentic" Spanish music (preserved in Spanish folklore), miraculously recovered by Albéniz, Granados, and Falla in the late nineteenth century, after a long period of decadence following the Golden Age of Spanish Renaissance music. The negative role that Italian opera and virtuosi had in the writings of Pedrell and other historians reflected, to a certain extent, their own frustrations as composers of music for the theater. The third contributor will examine late nineteenth-century constructions of "Spanishness" found in the reception of Spanish performers in England, Germany, and France. In London, impetuosity was considered the essential hallmark of Spaniards, whom the *Pall Mall Gazette* found "ready to languish at one moment and stab the next." The fourth contribution will discuss in which ways the writings of the Brazilian nationalist scholar Mario de Andrade (1893–1945) and his preoccupation with the "Brazilian psyche" continue to shape current interpretation of the Brazilian musical past. The last presentation will explore contemporary constructions of indigenous identities in the Chiapas region (Mexico) and Perú.

Saturday morning, 31 October

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY THEORY AND PRACTICE
Herbert Kellman, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Chair

PETER PHILIPS AND THE SECRET SERVICE:
THE COMPOSER'S ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF 1593 RE-EXAMINED

Rachelle Taylor
McGill University

During his trip back home from Amsterdam to Antwerp in September of 1593, English composer and Catholic exile Peter Philips was intercepted and denounced by an English informer as being involved in an assassination plot against Queen Elizabeth. Another Englishman found in the company of Philips, Robert Poley, was also denounced by the informer, whose name was Roger Walton. Philips, Poley, and Walton were arrested by Dutch authorities and questioned. Philips spent several weeks in prison, but was eventually exonerated.

This incident is mentioned primarily in connection with the composer's *Pavana and Galliarda Dolorosa*, presumed to have been written in prison. However, recently uncovered archival material, namely a notarial act of succession dated 1601 in Antwerp and identifying Philips' wife and the circumstances of her death, permits an alternative explanation for the title of this piece. Furthermore, there is enough circumstantial evidence to conclude that Philips was not simply a victim of the informer's imaginings. Various British state papers as well as modern studies of Elizabethan intelligence operations identify both Poley and Walton as government agents and infiltrators of insular and continental recusant circles.

I will provide three theories concerning Philips's arrest, including the real possibility

that Philips, Poley, and Walton staged the incident together to "prove" Philips's Catholic allegiance and later plant him at the Catholic court of the Spanish Archdukes in Brussels.

If Philips was indeed recruited by agents of Elizabeth's councillors, he was not alone. The object of this re-examination of the 1593 events is to point out the peculiar and significant plight of British artists engaged in intelligence operations to supplement their insufficient and unreliable income.

DALLA CASA'S "MADRIGALI DA CANTAR": ANACRUSIC ORNAMENTATION OF POETRY
Alan A. Luhring
University of Colorado, Boulder

Girolamo Dalla Casa's eight ornamentations entitled "Madrigali da cantar in compagnia, & anco co'l liuto solo" from *Il vero modo di dimiuir* are fascinating examples of late sixteenth-century thought. Because he was a Venetian cornettist, Dalla Casa's ornamentations traditionally are discussed purely in instrumental terms. Brown characterized Dalla Casa's *passaggi* simply as "sporadic and rhapsodic bursts of small notes." By contrast, this paper maintains that in these treble-dominated works (Einstein's "pseudo monody"), Dalla Casa employs a technique in which ornamentation creates an anacrusis to the arrival of a poetic verse or phrase. The ornaments, neither word painting nor emphasis upon strong syllables, are used in the following situations:

(a) The penultimate is ornamented if arrival is on the last syllable.

(b) The antepenultimate is ornamented if arrival is on the penultimate syllable.

(c) The mid-line caesura may be ornamented in an eleven-syllable line.

These anacrusic ornaments reinforce the composer's structuring of the text, creating the oratorical delivery advocated by Newcomb and Razzi. They, however, recommend only dynamic and tempo fluctuations, not considering that ornamentation can heighten the *orazione* that creates expression.

Dalla Casa's style is related to the solo falsobordoni and simpler than Italian technique of the early seventeenth century. By analyzing madrigals, poems, and ornamentation reinforces the musical structure of a poem.

"SOME FORMALITIE OR MEANING IN YOUR WAIE": THOMAS MORLEY'S ACCOUNT OF MUSICAL COHERENCE, 1597
Elizabeth Crownfield
New York University

The preface to Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* promises to teach "any of but meane capacitie" to "sing, make discant, and set partes well and formally togither." Throughout the book, "formal" and "formality" describe choices that give coherence or "meaning" to music. His use of "formal" with reference to musical style is consistent with Cawdrey's 1604 definition, "following the common fashion," but Morley's employment of the term extends further into musical aesthetics and concerns elements as disparate as imitation, scales, cadences, voice spacing, melodic elegance, and "key." Each element must be "formal" in itself and contribute to "formality" in the whole; the result is audible coherence, with the "ear" as judge.

Although Morley's phrase "formal closes" has some antecedents in Continental musical theory, the general importance of "formality" apparently does not. It does, however, appear in some English rhetorical and literary criticism, and seems to have a loose connection with philosophical notions of "form" as completeness or whole.

Characteristically, Morley's usage invites no single, rigorous definition, but allows the meaning to emerge from musical examples, apposition or contrast with other words, and varied musical techniques joined by a single rubric. One striking passage links *imitative* counterpoint with a *scalar* melodic passage as equivalent "formal" responses to the same plainsong: an unusual equation of dissimilar techniques.

Morley's language is articulate if not rigorous, requiring intuitive leaps that ultimately enhance the student's understanding of what lies beyond the rules. As such, it simulates the process of musical learning represented in his dialogue.

TOWARD A STYLISTIC DEFINITION OF "COUNTERPOINT" IN THE LATE RENAISSANCE
Russell E. Murray, Jr.
University of Delaware

In this paper, I explore the question of musical style in improvised polyphony of the Renaissance and propose a definition of that style as it was practiced in the churches of northern Italy in the late sixteenth century. The central source for my discussion is Pietro Pontio's *Ragionamento di musica* of 1588. In it, Pontio provides a stylistic definition of the genre—comprising rhythmic practice and contrapuntal procedure—that separates it from the written practice of "composition," what Pontio refers to as "duos" and *terzetti*. I will connect Pontio's stylistic definition with his discussion of the intervals and their use. Here Pontio makes a clear distinction between those *passagi* allowable in counterpoint (be it on a cantus firmus or a figured song) and those appropriate for composition. These distinctions will first be illustrated by referring to Pontio's own musical examples, some of which illustrate the unwritten tradition as defined by Pontio, while others illustrate compositional style. Then, I will place these in relationship to other evidence of this tradition: the writings of other theorists and the practical tradition as preserved in the counterpoints of Costanzo Pesta and pieces labeled "duos" in Italian manuscripts of the time. The result is a more practical understanding of counterpoint as a performance practice rather than a theoretical and pedagogical tool, and one that will open new avenues of investigation as well as provide guidance for performers wishing to explore this practice.

WOMEN, AGENCY (AND FRENCH OPERA)
M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, Duke University, Chair

WOMEN TAKE THE BOW: GENDERED CELLO MUSIC IN THE 19TH CENTURY
Birgit Lodes
Universität München

In 1845 Lisa Cristiani gave the first public cello recitals by a woman that attracted widespread attention. Several factors allowed her and other female musicians to achieve success on an instrument long considered inappropriate for women. These are found in general music culture, increasing emancipation, and new trends in clothing allowing more freedom of movement (Hoffman, 1991; Leppert, 1989 and 1993). Additional factors relating specifically to the cello are 1) the invention of the movable endpin (Russell 1987), 2) the incorporation of the high "more feminine" register through the use of the thumb and harmonics, 3) shifts in the performance repertory.

The question of repertory has not been discussed in the literature and will be my primary focus. My point of departure is Beethoven's music for cello and piano: in the Variations on "Bei Maennern, welche Liebe fuehlen" (WoO 46), the assignment of Pamina to the piano and Papageno to the cello is not just limited to the theme itself but becomes a compositional principle for the entire cycle. Against this background of masculine cello connotations, the repertory question for a female cellist was crucial: concert reviews reveal that women cellists avoided popular "male" virtuoso showpieces and favored sentimental, lyrical pieces that often had female subjects or connotations, e.g., Mendelssohn's "Lied ohne Worte" for cello and piano (Op. 109, dedicated to Cristiani) or an arrangement of Schubert's "Ave Maria".

With their choice of repertory and their widely praised, sensitive performance style, the early female cellists played a decisive role in the development of the cello as the elegiacal "instrument of expression" par excellence.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY OPERA BY WOMEN
Robert M. Adelson and Jacqueline Letzter
University of Utah

"A young woman writing a grand opera! Why not?" —Castil-Blaze (1836)

Our recent archival research has uncovered a hitherto neglected phenomenon in French opera: the unprecedented explosion of opera by women composers and librettists during the French Revolutionary period. At first view, it seems surprising that eighteenth-century women would have composed opera. Opera was the most public arena in late eighteenth-century French culture; it was the locus of cabals, intrigue, and eruptions of invective in print—some of which became major esthetic *querelles*. The stigma attached to "public" women, women who stepped out of bounds by participating in a sphere reserved for men, discouraged many women from composing operas. Nevertheless, women were enormously successful; among the forty operas composed by women between 1770 and 1820, two ranked among the ten most-performed works in Paris in 1793 and 1795; Julie Candeille's *Catherine, ou La belle fermière* and Constance de Salm's *Sapho*, respectively.

After briefly reviewing the musical, political, and cultural factors that made this explosion possible, we will show how the phenomenon of women's opera influenced both the institution of opera and the genre of opéra-comique. Women were able to tap into audiences' desire for domestic and sentimental settings that revealed more about the authors' personal lives. We will also demonstrate that the presence of women in a dominantly male world influenced the notion of author (and composer). By repopulating the historical landscape with the forgotten women opera composers of the French Revolutionary period, our paper

suggests that it would be useful to consider eighteenth-century French opera in this new light.

PÉLISSIER, PRURIENCE, AND THE IDEOLOGY OF OPERA
Charles Dill
University of Wisconsin, Madison

In recent years, scholars such as La Gorce, Cowart, and Howard have shown that late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera critics created a negative association between women, especially female singers, and the Paris Opéra. As yet, however, there has been insufficient evidence to indicate what such an association might have meant in particular cases. Street songs collected by Maurepas and still available only in his manuscript chansonniers, afford us the opportunity to observe the treatment these so-called "filles de l'opéra" received during one of their periods of greatest notoriety, from roughly 1728 to 1732.

Specifically, these manuscripts direct our attention to the sexual misadventures of the talented singer Pélissier. The French public's obsessive fascination with Pélissier and some of her cohorts coincided with concerns over new performing styles, such as that of the dancer Camargo, also well documented in the chansonniers. As we know from the Aïssé letters, Pélissier was, during this same period, also associated with a controversial new style of singing that emphasized technique over drama. There was, then, a strong link in the public's mind between the immoral behavior of certain performers and concurrent transformations in operatic content.

In effect, Pélissier and the "filles" figure the French public's well-documented but little-discussed anxieties over the function of opera in the years just prior to Rameau's emergence as an opera composer in 1733. Their behavior mirrored the increasing popularity of entertaining genres, such as the *opéra-ballet*, at the expense of the more ideologically significant *tragédie en musique*.

THE GYPSY BEFORE *CARMEN*:
GALLI-MARIÉ AND FRENCH *OPÉRA COMIQUE*
Mary Jean Speare
Washington University

Explorations of Bizet's *Carmen* usually give little attention to the woman who first created the title character, Célestine Galli-Marié, although scholars have long acknowledged both her contribution to the shaping of Carmen and her refusal to tone it down for the genteel Opéra-Comique audience. The present study considers *Carmen* in light of Galli-Marié's independent personality and career at the Opéra-Comique, from what one writer, upon her death in 1905, termed her "impish" charm in the 1860s, to the "robust virility" manifest in *Carmen* in 1875. Although the blatant sexuality that shocked critics in Galli-Marié's portrayal of Carmen has no obvious precedent in her earlier pants roles, pictures of her in several of these *opéras comiques* reveal sexually appealing adolescents of ambiguous gender (such as brown-skinned tomboys), who, unlike the mature Carmen, are eventually tamed. In her role as the boy Vendredi in Offenbach's *Robinson Crusoé* (1867), for example, a titillating affiche shows an obviously female figure in short pants kneeling at Crusoe's feet. In this role and in many of her other mezzo-soprano pants roles, examination of musical num-

bers from Galli-Marié's repertoire reveals how she tended to upset Opéra-Comique tradition by stealing the show from her soprano rivals on the strength of her dramatic talents, thus paving the way for a starring mezzo-soprano such as Carmen. It also uncovers little-known forerunners of *Carmen*, refuting the commonly held belief that Bizet's opera had no precedents at the Opéra-Comique.

LATE-MEDIEVAL THEORY
Thomas Mathiesen, Indiana University, Chair

THE CICONIAN HEXACHORD
Stefano Mengozzi
University of Chicago

Johannes Ciconia had little use for the Guidonian hexachord. In his treatise *Nova musica* (ca. 1410), he discusses basic diatonic structures—such as intervals, consonances, and modes—by referring to the seven letters and Greek pitch names, but without ever mentioning a single solmization syllable. Ciconia does write about the *exacordum*, but only as one part of the octave, also called *exaden* (either *major* or *minor*). Furthermore, while he quotes extensively from Marchetto's *Lucidarium*, he avoids the lengthy section of this treatise that is dedicated to illustrating the practice of hexachordal mutation.

It is significant that one of the most important composers of the late Middle Ages disregards the Guidonian system so decisively in his musical theory. Far from treating the hexachord as a fundamental diatonic structure, Ciconia downplays its validity even as a pedagogical device for the training of singers.

This paper proposes that *Nova musica* may be seen as part of a select group of fifteenth-century treatises from Northern Italy that also includes Legrense's *De ritu canendi* and Ramos's *Musica practica*. As they take issue—more or less explicitly—with the theory and practice of the Guidonian hexachord, these authors emphasize the primacy of the octave (i.e., of the seven letters) in their musical systems, thus calling into question current theories on the role of the Guidonian hexachord as a space-definer for medieval and Renaissance musicians.

ARISTOTLE AND THE *POMERIUM* OF MARCHETTO OF PADUA
Meonora M. Beck
Lewis and Clark College

Marchetto of Padua's influential treatise, the *Pomerium* (1318–1319), is saturated with references to musical objects existing "by nature" ("via naturae") or "by art" ("via arte"). For Marchetto, the essence of mensural music, which for him are the notes themselves, exists "by nature," while the accessories of mensural music, any additions to the notes, exist "by art." For example, the value of the neumes within the tempus is "naturally" more perfect toward the end, while the addition of a tail "artificially" displaces the perfection to the beginning and the neumes.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the complexities of the nature/art dichotomy in the *Pomerium*. It will be demonstrated that the terms are appropriated from the study of *scientia naturalis* as exponded in Aristotle's *Physics and Metaphysics*. The University of Padua was renowned for its natural science faculty in the early Trecento. Philosophers, including

Albert the Great and Witelo, attended classes in the city. Peter of Abano was the most famous Paduan to embrace the study of Aristotle and was dubbed by Savonarola "a second Aristotle." A capable music theorist, Abano referred to Aristotle's science of nature when describing music in his *Conciliator* (1303) and *Exposito Problematum Aristotiles* (1310). It will be argued that Marchetto's *Pomerium* appropriates Aristotelian terms and methodology cultivated by Paduan natural scientists. An exploration of Aristotelian underpinnings of the *Pomerium* will place the treatise at the forefront of pre-humanist scientific thought of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Italy.

MUSICA FICTA IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HEXACHORDAL THEORY
Mariamichela Russo
Pisa

Until now, the hexachordal theory of the thirteenth century and its implications for *musica ficta* have not been investigated in detail. Tischler bases his study of thirteenth-century *musica ficta* on evidence from music notation, not from theory. Those scholars who have emphasized the theoretical background in their studies of *musica ficta* focus on later periods, and their references to thirteenth-century theory are mostly incidental.

The investigation of thirteenth-century hexachordal theory reveals two different perceptions of *musica ficta*, as either the "illness" or the "remedy." Both Salomon and the author of *Summa Musice* oppose it, associating it with the singing of false intervals; on the contrary, other theorists, such as Lambertus, regard *musica ficta* as the way to correct false intervals.

For a number of theorists of this era, *musica ficta* (or better, *falsa musica*, according to thirteenth-century terminology) appears to be closely related to one of the major aspects of hexachordal theory: mutation. This is particularly evident in the discussions about *falsa mutatio* found in Lambertus, Jacques of Liège, and several anonymous treatises.

On the other hand, the treatments of *falsa musica* provided by Jerome and Odington do not relate directly to hexachordal theory. In particular, Jerome's discussion of *synemmena*, based on a tetrachordal division of the gamut, which does not comply with the hexachordal structure, should not be interpreted as an antecedent of the fourteenth-century *conjuncta*.

CONTRA "MI CONTRA FA":
CHALLENGING THE HARMONIC "RULE OF MUSICA FICTA"
Peter Urquhart
University of New Hampshire

The phrase "mi contra fa" alluded to in the title is the oldest of the so-called "rules of musica ficta," the set of assumptions used by editors when adding accidentals to polyphonic music before 1600. The difficulties encountered in applying these rules to the repertoire have long been answered by favoring certain rules over the others—the "mi-contra-fa" or harmonic rule is generally favored, and statements by theorists such as Tinctoris have been taken as support for this choice. The purpose of this paper is to show that this choice is the wrong one; that "mi contra fa" should never have been included among the rules we use to represent performers' practice. The reasons for this claim are theoretical, repertorial, and practical. The emphasis in this presentation will be on the theoretical literature, beginning with the earliest use of the terms *musica falsa* or *ficta*. While "mi contra fa" as an expression first arises in

connection with *musica ficta*, it must be emphasized that the term *musica ficta* did not refer to performers' accidentals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Grouping the modern invention rules for performers' accidentals under the rubric of "musica ficta" is a strictly modern invention, and is the source of much of our difficulty today.

Overturning the "mi contra fa" rule has, of course, major consequences for our understanding of the voluminous modern literature on "musica ficta," as well as for the sound of the music.

OPERA AND THE PIANO
Jeffrey Kallberg, University of Pennsylvania, Chair

CHOPIN AND MEYERBEER'S *ROBERT LE DIABLE*
David Kasunic
Princeton University

While Chopin's passion for opera is a tenet of Chopin studies, how this passion was translated in his instrumental compositions remains relatively unexplored. Subsequent to his early formative exposure to the operas of Rossini, Chopin was most affected by the operas of Meyerbeer and Bellini. If discussions of a Bellinian influence in Chopin's music are cursory (at best), even the mention of a Meyerbeerian influence is rare. And yet when Chopin first arrived in Paris in the fall of 1831, the opera that elicited his warmest praise was Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*.

This paper will posit certain gestural correspondences between three of Chopin's early nocturnes and the climatic lyrical moment of *Robert*, Isabelle's cavatine, "Robert, toi que j'aime." Alongside the more overt homage of *Robert* that was the *Grand Duo concertant*, these covert homages raise the issue not only of Chopin's stylistic development after his arrival in Paris but also of the dating of these pieces (for which there are no extant autograph scores). Lastly, I will argue that such gestural correspondences compel us to reevaluate the adequacy of the attempt to understand Chopin's piano music through a purely instrumental logic alone.

DRAMATIC PROCEDURE IN THALBERG'S OPERA FANTASIES
Isabelle Bélance-Zank
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

The critical reception of the opera fantasy was unfavorable in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Recent scholarship shows that this genre's association with commercial profit and with popular musical taste contributed to the harsh criticism heaped upon the works of pianist-composers like Sigismund Thalberg. Thalberg's perceived reliance on technical virtuosity has diverted attention away from other significant aspects of his efforts in this genre. While the causes of disfavor toward the opera fantasy have been examined, the works produced by pianist-composers—particularly Thalberg—have not been assessed justly. A reappraisal of Thalberg's opera fantasies reveals a problematic mixture of commercial and aesthetic interests. An unacknowledged aesthetic aspect of Thalberg's piano fantasies, that of dramatic potential, will be the focus of this paper.

Analysis of the formal and compositional aspects of Thalberg's fantasies reveals his reli-

ance on the classic-romantic traditions of tonally grounded structure, and of thematic, even motivic, development—conventions already in use by the late eighteenth century to convey dramatic tension in instrumental works. Thalberg's choice and treatment of themes (which maintain the dramatic content associated with the opera's plot and characters) clearly convey the dramatic aim of his compositions, and their virtuosic aspect—no mere technical display—also serves as a tool for dramatic expression. Unlike the early forms of the genres (such as potpourri-variations), which merely assembled well-known themes as a vehicle for virtuosity, Thalberg's fantasies constitute veritable readings of operas, revealing an original interpretation of each opera and reflecting Thalberg's dramatic insight.

AMERICANS IN POST-WAR GERMANY
Stephen Hefling, Case Western Reserve University, Chair

HISTORY, MEMORY, AND THE OBOE CONCERTO OF RICHARD STRAUSS
Peter Bloom
Smith College

On Sunday, April 29, 1945, the day on which allied troops liberated the death camp at Dachau, the day before Adolf Hitler committed suicide, soldiers from the U.S. Army moved through the resort area of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, sixty kilometers south of Munich, home to Richard Strauss. Looking for respite, men from the 103rd Division came upon the Strauss mansion, recognized the composer of *Der Rosenkavalier*, tacked an "off limits" sign to his door, and bivouacked nearby.

The next day, Alfred Mann, soon to embark upon a distinguished career at Rutgers University, arrived in Garmisch as a "special agent" attached to the 10th Armored Division. Shortly thereafter, John de Lancie, soon to become the distinguished principal oboist of the Philadelphia Orchestra, arrived as a Staff Sergeant in the Office of Strategic Service. Introduced by Mann to the Strauss household, de Lancie, enamored of the elegant oboe writing of the operas and tone poems, raised with the eighty-year-old composer the subject of a solo concerto for oboe. Six months later, on September 14, 1945, Strauss completed the short score of a *Konzert für Hoboe und kleines Orchester*.

"Trembling with fear" (over how the Allied victors would regard him) is the way Michael Kater (in *The Twisted Muse*) describes Strauss at the time. On the basis of personal conversation and correspondence with Alfred Mann, with Milton Weiss (who identified himself in late 1997 as the American soldier who first confronted Strauss at his home in Garmisch), and with John de Lancie, my own oboe teacher at the Curtis Institute of Music, who has made available his correspondence with Richard Strauss (the composer's grandson), this paper reconstructs the "paradoxical" atmosphere in the spring of 1945, when the seeds of the Oboe Concerto were planted in the composer's mind, "paradoxical" because, if personal admiration of his music, expressed by Hitler and Goebbels, was partly responsible for Strauss's "fall" in the nineteen-thirties, so, too, was personal admiration for his music, expressed by Mann and de Lancie, to say nothing of understanding, shown by Weiss (a Jew from the Bronx), partly responsible for his "rescue" in 1945.

On the basis of further documentary evidence, the paper examines problematical as-

pects of the oboe concerto, whose post-history includes a version by John de Lancie himself that has been sanctioned by the Strauss family.

NEGOTIATING CULTURAL ALLIES:
AMERICAN MUSIC IN DARMSTADT, 1946–1956
Amy C. Beal
University of Michigan

The context of German patronage and reception history is a central, yet unexplored issue in the history of American experimental music. West Germany's New Music apparatus, though initiated through American financial support during Germany's post-war transition to democracy, reacted with curiosity and reserve to new American music. However, documents from the reconstruction years suggest that a canon of American music, centering primarily on the work of Ives, Varèse, Cowell, and Cage, was being constructed in Germany. Furthermore, by 1954, an inherent tension between academicism and experimentalism in American music was widely acknowledged in Germany, thus contributing to growing interest in non-systematic composition. Ultimately, the initial exposure to new American music prepared the ground for John Cage's explosive visit to Darmstadt in 1958, and foreshadowed the ideological confrontations which characterized the following two decades.

The *Darmstädter Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*, a post-war forum for intense interaction with American music, illustrates the roots of this complex relationship. My paper weights the catalytic role of American music in Darmstadt between 1946 and 1956, and examines Darmstadt's ambivalent reception of American music during that time. Discussions of Darmstadt *Ferienkurs* history include 1) lectures on American music, 2) American financial support and the administrative role of military officers, and 3) performance and reception of American music. Conclusions are based on archival research and interviews conducted in Germany, as well as on unpublished correspondence of U.S. military officers Everett Helm and John Evarts, Darmstadt director Wolfgang Steinecke, German musicologists H. H. Stuckenschmidt, composers Edgard Varèse and Stefan Wolpe, and pianist David Tudor.

Saturday afternoon, 31 October

CHAPELS IN THE SEICENTO
Jeffrey Kurtzman, Washington University, Chair

MARCO DA GAGLIANO IN 1608:
CHOICES, DECISIONS, AND CONSEQUENCES
Edmond Strainchamps
State University of New York, Buffalo

Through a series of documents drawn from archives in Florence and Mantua, this paper examines the remarkable events that surrounded the appointment of Marco da Gagliano as *maestro di cappella* of the Medici court and Santa Maria del Fiore, the cathedral of Florence, in 1608. These dual appointments, which determined the central position Gagliano would hold in Florentine music for the next thirty-five years, also affected appointments and

directions taken by the Gonzaga court in Mantua and can be seen as well to have had a bearing on relations among several Gonzaga princes (later dukes) and musicians in their employ.

The documents to be examined, largely unknown, are for the most part letters from, among others, Ottavio Rinuccini, Ferdinando Gonzaga, Gagliano himself, and several court secretaries representing their princes. They make clear the complexity of the competing negotiations that vied for Gagliano's service in Rome, Mantua, and Florence, even within the calculated ambiguity that is characteristic of the exchanges between Florence and Mantua on the matter. What is uncharacteristic and startling is the angry outburst that was the ultimate reponse of Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga at his failure to win Gagliano for his own service.

In addition to new light on a central figure in early Seicento music, this paper adds to our understanding of the advantages and dangers of the patronage system for artistic development within Italian courts of the period. It indicates, as well, how a knowledgeable musician could stretch the system's limits to determine opportunities for the direction of his own career.

ASPRILIO PACELLI, LODOVICO VIADANA AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ROMAN *CONCERTO ECCLESIASTICO*
Noel O'Regan
University of Edinburgh

The publication of Lodovico Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* in 1602 has long been seen as a turning point in the development of Italian sacred music, doing for the sacred repertory what the publications of Caccini, Peri, and Caralieri did for secular. Recent work, in particular that of John Walter Hill, has pointed to a flourishing Roman-Neapolitan tradition of composition in the secular sphere for one or more solo voices from at least the 1570s onwards, predating, and to a large extent independent of, developments in Florence. Evidence for an analogous and contemporary phase in Roman sacred music will be reviewed in this paper, using archival evidence about performance practice in some of the city's institutions, as well as evidence from prints and manuscripts. Such evidence supports a notion of flexibility in abstracting one or more voices, with organ accompaniments, from nominally multi-voiced unaccompanied polyphony.

Discussion will focus, in particular, on Asprilio Pacelli's *Chorici psalmi et motecta*, published in Rome in 1599, which pre-figures much that has been thought exclusively characteristic of Viadana's *Concerti*. Pacelli was undoubtedly one of those "clever imitators" mentioned by Viadana in his preface as having been in competition with him. An examination of Pacelli's own preface, in which he positively advocates leaving out at least one voice and transposing others, and of the music in his 1599 publication, will cast new light on the relative claims of both composers to precedence in the development of the "new" ecclesiastical style.

THE ROMAN SOLO MOTET AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SACRED CONCERTO IN GERMANY
Mary E. Frandsen
University of Notre Dame

The anonymous Jesuit mystical texts set as solo motets by Giacomo Carissimi and Bonifazio Graziani express in evocative, almost erotic language, the recurring *topos* of desire and longing for Christ which the Roman composers sought to capture musically in luxuriant arioso passages and arias. While the Roman solo motet subsequently enjoyed a rapid diffusion into Germany, scholars have thus far overlooked its decisive stylistic impact on the Schützian sacred concerto then in vogue at most Lutheran musical establishments.

In 1656, two disciples of Carissimi and Graziani, the Roman composers Vincenzo Albrici and Marco Giuseppe Peranda, secured much-coveted positions at the renowned court of Dresden. Their arrival closely coincided with the accession of Elector Johann Georg II, a music-loving and extravagantly self-indulgent Italophile, who immediately granted the septuagenarian Heinrich Schürtz's longstanding wish to retire, and replaced him with the newly arrived foreigners. A series of remarkably complete court diaries—which record the titles, composers, and performance dates of several hundred works performed at court during his reign—enable us to reconstruct with astonishing specificity the radical transformation in musical style these two composers effected within a span of barely four years. Successfully introducing texts rooted in the Jesuit mystical tradition at this bastion of Lutheran orthodoxy, the two Italians expanded the stylistic parameters of the traditional sacred concerto by incorporating solo arioso-aria pairs derived from the Roman solo motet model. Before long, German composers with first-hand access to the music of Albrici and Peranda—Christoph Bernhard, Christian Geist, and David Pohle—began adding arias to their sacred concertos.

Based on a systematic examination of court diaries and previously unedited musical scores of the works mentioned therein, this paper seeks to demonstrate the seminal role that the Roman solo motet played in reshaping the sacred concerto into a genre that anticipates the sacred cantatas of Bach and his German contemporaries.

L'ANNO SANTO AND FEMALE MONASTIC CHURCHES:
THE POLITICS, BUSINESS AND MUSIC OF
THE HOLY YEAR IN ROME (1675).

Kimberlyn Montford
Rutgers University

The *Anni santi* or Jubilees of the Counter-Reformation Church bore a formidable challenge and opportunity: demonstrating to the world—represented by the innumerable pilgrims to the Holy City—the magnificence, glory, and splendor of the Holy Roman Church. Every papal, diocesan, parish, monastic, and lay organization was mobilized to contribute to this solemn and spectacular celebration.

The convent churches were the *loci* of tensions particular to their importance in Rome. The religious, artistic, and musical lives of the convents and their churches often reflected the status and prestige of the families connected with them. Conversely, authorities of the church wished to keep untainted the special holiness associated with a community of virgins dedicated to God. Thus, they issued increasingly severe edicts enforcing cloister. The Jubilee year, however, allowed the convent churches an unusual degree of freedom. Accounts of the Holy Year of 1675 note that the pastronal feasts of many of the convents were celebrated with the aid of many noted Roman musicians, among them Antonio Foggia, Alessandro Melani, and Antonio Masini.

How were the artistic programs of the female monastic churches used in this extraordinary promotion of the Church? An examination of the relationship between the nuns' music, the status of their convents during the 1670s, and the rhetoric of the authorities indicates a closer connection than has generally been assumed. Public monastic music suggests a complex political context that quite willingly takes advantage of the normally restricted, and thus more tantalizing, sensory pleasures of female monastic music.

MEMORY AND SCHUBERT'S INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC
Walter Frisch, Columbia University, Chair

THE INNER VOICE OF ABSENCE: SCHUBERT'S D-MINOR QUARTET AND THE LIED "DER TOD UND DAS MÄDCHEN"
Beate Perrey
Christ's College, Cambridge

Schubert's late String Quartet in D Minor (D. 810) inherited the name of his earlier Lied "Der Tod und das Mädchen" (D. 531) because the second movement recalls and, through variation form, even insists upon the striking first theme of the Lied. If the material connection is evident, the meaning of the procedure has, however, remained unclear. What are the aesthetic and structural implications of the transformation of the Lied into purely instrumental writing?

Taking into consideration the early Romantic notions of a divided mind (*der dividierte Geist*) and inner self-division (*innere Selbstscheidung*), as adumbrated by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, we can understand the highly dramatized vocal dialogue of the song not as quasi-operatic but rather as interior and imaginary in nature. The figure of Death becomes the Maiden's phantasmatic Other who, speaking as her inner voice, generates a musically and poetically intriguing conflict between anxiety and desire, dismemberment and union.

Instead of considering the quartet as the *mise-en-scène* of the Lied, the paper presents a different view based on a two-fold argument combining analysis and early Romantic hermeneutics. First, the change of genre from Lied to quartet transforms drama into pathos, silencing text and the Maiden alike. Thus, only Death remains as the memorable voice invoking the absent Other, in the manner of Romantic song more generally. Second, the quartet movement firmly carries this central musical idea of the Schubert song within itself by seizing it as structural. Now displaced by the strings, the human voice, because of its very absence, attains an even greater presence than in the original song.

"YOU MUST REMEMBER THIS": MEMORY AND STRUCTURE IN SCHUBERT'S G-MAJOR QUARTET, D. 887
Walter Frisch
Columbia University

In certain instrumental works from his maturity, Schubert recalls material between movements in a way unique in the Classical-Romantic repertoire. The reminiscences are neither literal nor "cyclic"; nor do they function as in late Beethoven, where earlier themes may reappear in their original form just before the finale. Schubert's techniques reflect the

change around 1800, as articulated by Schlegel, Novalis, and Wordsworth, from viewing memory as a tool for learning (*ars memoria*) to acknowledging it a subjective, creative phenomenon.

The inner movements of the String Quartet in G Major, D. 887, provide two compellingly different examples of how memory can seem to determine musical structures at a very basic level. The first episode of the Andante arrives as an interruption: elements of the first movement flood in, in the manner of what psychologists call an "involuntary" memory. The earlier key, a rhythmic figure, and harmonic and thematic gestures are jumbled, as if being recalled in a distraught emotional state. By contrast, the Trio of the Scherzo, in this quartet and other pieces by Schubert (e.g., the G-Major Piano Sonata, D. 894) becomes a locus for idealized recollection, a kind of "invented" memory. The scoring, profile, and initial harmonic progression of the Trio conflate the second theme of the first movement and the main theme of the Andante into a pastoral reverie.

Such passages convey what the psychologist Daniel Schacter has characterized as the "fragile power" of memory. Schubert is perhaps the first composer to acknowledge through music that memory is never the precise record of a past event, but is shaped by—and actively shapes—the context in which the remembering occurs.

"ONE MORE BEAUTIFUL MEMORY OF SCHUBERT": SCHUMANN'S CRITIQUE OF THE IMPROMPTUS, D. 935

John Daverio
Boston University

The appearance in print of several of Schubert's larger works in the 1830s was greeted by near silence from contemporary critics. One notable exception was Robert Schumann, who during the same period published several critiques of Schubert's late keyboard and chamber music in his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Among them is a review of the Impromptus, D. 935, several of which, in Schumann's opinion, originally formed part of a sonata. While the review is frequently cited in the Schubert literature, its contents merit a closer reading than they have hitherto received.

This paper explores the implications of Schumann's conviction that while the remnants of a sonata embedded in this collection may not constitute a complete work, they at least offer us "one more beautiful memory of Schubert." Schumann's remark is interpreted in two ways. First, it is taken as a figurative expression for Schubert's uncanny ability to imbue the fabric of his music with the quality of a reminiscence—a characteristic that Schumann found to be especially pronounced in the first Impromptu, in F minor, and that will be demonstrated here through analysis. Second, the remark can be understood as an even broader metaphor for Schubert's infusion of the F-Minor Impromptu with reminiscences of a whole array of musical genres, including the sonata, the impromptu of the virtuoso-variation type, the "poetic" miniature as cultivated by the Czech composers Tomásek and Vorísek, and *Hausmusik* for a growing market of amateur consumers.

Finally, it is argued that Schumann's own attempts to impart a recollective aura to such compositions as his *Humoreske*, Op. 20, and *Novelletten*, Op. 21, form a crucial aspect of his reception of Schubert.

REMEMBRANCE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN

SCHUBERT'S C-MAJOR STRING QUINTET
John M. Gingerich
Wesleyan University

Schubert's C-Major String Quintet embodies, more radically than any of his earlier instrumental works, conceptions of memory and consciousness that were new to the early nineteenth century. Memory was newly appreciated as identity-constructing—and the Quintet, like the contemporaneous settings of "Der Atlas" and "Der Doppelgänger," bears the divided self as a burden of memory.

The last movement invokes the memory of all the music that has come before, and to that extent the Quintet marks Schubert's most pervasive use of inter-movement reference. No music is quoted: within a context of vernacular Viennese and Hungarian musics the central first movement theme reappears like a mirage, shimmering on the horizon of recognizability, while the middle movements are "named" in the very last measures by the ÙII-I relationship of their constituent sections (the same key relationship that pervades the Heine songs). The ÙII-I ending is unmotivated by previous events in the Allegro.

This paper explores the meaning of this unanswerable recall of the drastic conflicts between sections of the two middle movements of the Quintet, and suggests that, like the objectified "proud heart" and ghostly double of the Heine songs, it represents a new awareness of loss—the loss of innocence, of the unproblematic unified self—that results inevitably from introspective (and retrospective) self-consciousness.

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND POPULAR MUSIC
Don M. Randel, Cornell University, Chair

"BLACK OPERA": THE ANTEBELLUM BLACKFACE MINSTREL SHOW AND EUROPEAN OPERA
Renee Norris
University of Maryland, College Park

This project assesses the form and function of blackface minstrels' appropriations from European opera between 1843 and 1860, placing the minstrel show's opera-derived pieces within the larger framework of the distribution and reception of opera in the United States.

American blackface minstrels employed materials from European opera in a variety of ways, including the comic forms of parody and burlesque as well as simple borrowing. The minstrels implemented various musical and textual devices to accomplish their appropriation.

Minstrel parodies of European opera retained at least the melodies of the original versions. Other aspects, such as complicated ensemble parts, were simplified, while the dramatic context was usually preserved. An example is "The Phantom Chorus: A Parody from La Sonnambula." The 1848 sheet music version of the piece quotes the melody and accompaniment of a piano/vocal version of *La Sonnambula*. The minstrel parody maintains the dramatic context of the original, "Sapete, che l'ora s'avvicina," but presents it in comic form. Retention of poetic rhyme is another example of minstrels' methods of appropriation. This is most readily evident in parodies of English opera, for instance, "De Lip Hung Down," a

minstrel parody of "The Heart Bowed Down" from Michael Balfe's popular opera *The Bohemian Girl.*

This study focuses on a repertoire neglected by twentieth-century scholarship and explores the minstrel show as a reflection of antebellum society. Particular areas of significance are minstrels' opera appropriations as vehicles for expressing frustration toward non-native entertainment forms, opera's increasing associations with the upper classes during the 1850s, and the consideration of opera appropriations in the context of minstrelsy's central fact: parody of the black race. Discussion of these issues is an essential aspect of this project that will aid the understanding of the "Americanization" of European opera through the blackface minstrel show.

BLACK VOICES/WHITE SOUNDS: RACE AND REPRESENTATION IN VIRGIL THOMSON'S *FOUR SAINTS IN THREE ACTS*
Lisa Barg
State University of New York, Stony Brook

Soon after its celebrated six-week run on Broadway in 1934, Virgil Thomson's opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* on a libretto by Gertrude Stein was hailed a landmark for American musical modernism. This was no small claim for a work conceived and composed in Paris, mixing dadaistic aesthetics and musical Americana, all animated by a sizable cast of African American singers and dancers performing as sixteenth-century Spanish saints. Of all the elements in this apparently incongruous mix, it was the presence of African American performers that proved decisive, generating not only much of the opera's "crossover" appeal but also the lavish critical attention that the work attracted at the time. Notwithstanding the sensation of the 1934 performance's racial spectacle, issues of race and representation in the opera's production and reception, in particular the relation of these issues to historical structures of power and domination, have been little theorized. Through examining critical and journalistic accounts, photographs, and autobiographical statements, this paper argues that the modalities (visual, musical, linguistic) through which race was figured and performed in the 1934 production played a central narrative function, one that rearticulated the historical codes and racial mechanisms associated with blackface minstrelsy within a high art discursive terrain . Here Thomson's desire for what he called the singers "racial qualities" and his conviction that his opera could realize its expressive identity only through the medium of black voices is entirely symptomatic. It underscores how Thomson's own modernist identity was bound up with notions of black musical difference and, more generally, how processes of racialization came to bear on the construction of Euro-American modernist subjectivity.

"FROM REPRODUCTION TO COMPOSITION: SOUND RECORDING AND THE INVENTION OF ROCK AND ROLL"
Albin Zak
University of Michigan

When Sam Phillips auditioned Elvis Presley as a potential recording artist for Sun Records, he did not simply want to hear him sing. He was interested in Presley's recorded presence. He instructed guitarist Scottie Moore to bring Presley to the studio so they could "see what he sound(ed) like coming back off of tape" (Peter Guralnick, *Last Train to Memphis: The Rise of*

Elvis Presley [Boston Little, Brown & Co., 1994], p. 93). This concern with the particular qualities manifested by a performer on a sound recording is central to the identity of rock music. The shift in aesthetic criterion from the sound of the performance to the sound of the recording is one of the defining moves in the invention of rock and roll.

From the beginning, rock and roll records were looked upon not simply as reproductions of performances, but as things in themselves, musical artifacts composed in recording studios. Rock music's very existence has always been based upon a creative interface among songs, performances, and the sound shaping tools and methods of the recording studio. Although rock and roll borrowed both repertory and performance styles from musics such as R&B and country, it distinguished itself stylistically through its engagement with technology, and aesthetically in its preoccupation with the making of musical works. This paper explores the role of studio processes in the invention of rock and roll, how recordists exploited existing technological possibilities—and created new ones—to fashion the unique sound worlds that mark the genesis of a new musical idiom.

STRICTLY BALLROOM? THE USE OF RUMBA, BOLERO, AND CHA CHA CHÁ IN ROCK 'N' ROLL TO 1963
George Torres
Cornell University

The eclectic nature of early rock 'n' roll points to the appropriation of different styles by musicians of the period, some well known and others rarely discussed. This paper examines one of these ancillary manifestations previously undiscussed by critics: the incorporation of Latin ballroom rhythms into early rock 'n' roll.

In the 1950s Latin social dances enjoyed international popularity in the ballroom. Experienced players of the period grew up learning all the standard Latin rhythms. Musicians took elements from ballroom dance music and incorporated it into the rhythm sections of their own rock 'n' roll bands. This practice of borrowing Latin rhythms and incorporating them in the new genre of rock 'n' roll was widespread and remains undiscussed by rock critics.

I first outline the basic Latin rhythms by playing and discussing examples of their most characteristic features. I proceed by examining the rhythms of popular holding patterns using examples from the drifters, Chuck Berry, Bo Diddley, and other artists in order to demonstrate that much of early rock 'n' roll's eclecticism was a result of direct borrowing from Latin American models. I will demonstrate that dance rhythms such as rumba, bolero and cha cha chá found a prominent place in the lexicon of rhythms used in the 1950s and early 60s.

This reconfigured view carries with it suggestions for a challenge to our perception of early rock 'n' roll influences and thus enables us to refine our view of rock 'n' roll's stylistic evolution.

TEXTS, INTERTEXTS, AND "READERS" IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
Margaret Bent, All Souls College, Oxford, Chair

SONG AND INTERTEXTUALITY: IMPLICATIONS OF A MEDIEVAL VOICE

Anne Hallmark
New England Conservatory

A little song to Mary, praising her roles as heavenly ruler, human consoler, and mediator between the two communities, appears in a manuscript from the Austrian abbey of Wilhering, near Linz. Its survival may have been accidental or significant: it survives as flyleaf to an early copy of St. Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs. The presence of a Marian song in a Cistercian community is no surprise, however, given her status within that order.

Another manifestation of *Imperatrix supernorum civium* forces a shift of perspective, hitherto unexplored. It is embedded as motetus voice within the otherwise highly secular motet, *Tres joliement/Imperatrix supernorum civium/Cis a cui* (Tischler 272), found in the seventh fascicle of the Montpellier Codex. The male triplum extols the beauty of his dark-haired beloved. The refrain-cento tenor speaks of her beloved with a rare female voice. I will argue that the dialogic language of these voices is drawn from the Song of Songs, and that the language of this bilingual motet is not contrasting but unified, with Mary mediating human and heavenly love.

Drawing on the work of theologians and literary historians—especially Leclerq, Bec and Pranger; Bynum, Dronke and Huot—and musicological approaches to thirteenth-century song and motet—most recently, Fassler, Everist, Page, and Pesce, I will argue that this minor character in the repertory opens another window onto (in Bynum's words) notions of gender and religion and sexuality in the Middle Ages, notions vastly more complex than some recent attention has suggested.

MACHAUT'S EARLY MOTETS AND THE MEDIEVAL MYSTICAL TRADITION

Anne W. Robertson
The University of Chicago

How can we comprehend Machaut's early, bilingual motets (Nos. 1–17, 20)? With their French texts informed by the *Roman de la rose* and their Latin tenors shaped by the liturgy and the Bible, some suggest that each motet implies both a courtly and a religious interpretation. This paper offers a new explanation: that the secular-and-sacred exterior signals an unsuspected background and source for these pieces—the writings on medieval mysticism. This highly emotional literature inherently blended earthly with heavenly themes, and it was available to Machaut in the library of Reims Cathedral. Reading Machaut's motets through the eyes of the mystics clarifies their curious order, frequently explains their subject matter, and points to a central theme around which they were conceived.

The key lies in the tenors of the pieces. These affective words/phrases ("I sigh," "I hoped," "I am sick with love," etc.) recall more than ritual and Scriptures. They quote the impassioned vocabulary of the mystics, particularly writers on the subject of Wisdom (Richard of Saint-Victor's *Benjamin Minor*, the anonymous *Pursuit of Wisdom*, and especially Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* and his *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*). The Lover in the motets (= the Disciple in the mystical treatises) endures all the tribulations of *amour courtois* (=steps of spiritual renewal) in his pursuit of the Lady (=Wisdom, that is Christ), from the moment he

embarks on his intensely painful ("extremely bitter," Motet 1 tenor) journey of unrequited love (=way of the cross) to the time when he is finally undeceived ("sees the Lord," Motet 15 tenor). The apparent anomalies of Machaut's early motets—the one Latin piece (Motet 9), the feminine voice in Motets 7 and 16, the macaronism of Motets 12 and 17, the French tenors in Motets 11, 16, 20, and certain numbers in the music—are all resolved via the mystics. Through allegory, then, the vernacular conveys not only themes of courtly love, but heavenly truths, much as it does in the bilingual sermons (Nicholas de Byard), French dream visions (Ruteboeuf, Guillaume de Diguilleville), and vernacular theological and moral writings that Machaut knew. The seeming confrontation between *fin'amor* and pious devotion fades as the two realms together underscore the fervent, compelling spirituality of these works.

LYRICS FOR READING AND LYRICS FOR SINGING: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHANSON AND POETRY REPERTORIES IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Yolanda Plumley
University College, Cork

The relationship between late fourteenth-century chanson texts and the contemporary lyric poetry repertory has yet to be fully explored. Many questions remain to be answered concerning the autonomy or otherwise of these two repertories. Did song texts have an independent existence as poems to be read or recited, or is their inclusion in poetry collections merely a further indicator of their celebrity as songs? Did fourteenth-century composers of songs write their own texts, or was there a division in labor between poets and composers after Machaut as has generally been proposed? And how much can a song text tell us about the provenance and whereabouts of individual composers? Musicologists have been eager to extrapolate autobiographical information from song texts but have tended not to look beyond the individual text, or at best, the chanson repertory. This paper will demonstrate that consideration of the work within the broader context of the lyric repertory in general may enable a richer and more accurate understanding of both the poetic intentions of the work and the cultural milieu from which it emerged. Various cases will be discussed where intertextual relations between a song and other lyrics from the chanson and/or poetry-only repertories allows a reevaluation of the sense and provenance of the individual work, as well as shedding light on the relationship between the two repertories.

BIBLICAL CHANT AND EXEGESIS IN FAUVEL'S MOTET *AMAN NOVI\HEU FORTUNA SUBDOLA\HEU ME*

Antonella Puca
New York University

Recent studies of the late-medieval motet have pointed out the importance of the textual and liturgical source of the tenor as a key to establish patterns of musical and literary intertextuality in the piece. Identifying the scriptural passage and the liturgical chant from which the tenor is drawn is the first step to recall the full context of the tenor text and of its liturgical association.

Drawing upon an analysis of the tenor of Vitry's Motet *Aman Novi\Heu Fortuna*

Subdola\Heu me (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, F.Fr.146, Roman de Fauvel, fol. 30ᵛ), my paper expands on current notions of borrowing and referentiality in the motet. I suggest that through the use of a tenor chant with a text drawn from scriptures, the composer not only evokes its original full scriptural and liturgical context, but also the exegetical tradition that is attached to the quoted biblical chant. The reference to the exegetical tradition (in this case, Jerome's Homily 41 on Psalm 119) establishes an additional layer of intertextuality in the motet, with implications for the numerical construction of the upper voices, for the relation among the apparently independents texts of the tenor and of the other parts, and for the insertion of this motet in the Fauvel's narrative.

WAGNER'S SHADOW
Thomas S. Grey, Stanford University, Chair

LISZT'S AN DIE KÜNSTLER:
MUSIC, TEXT AND THE IDEOLOGY OF "ZUKUNFTSMUSIK"
Vera Micznik
University of British Columbia

Liszt's *An die Künstler* for male soloists, male chorus, and orchestra, on a text by Schiller, is known primarily from its performance along with the *Faust Symphony* and the symphonic poem *Die Ideale* (also based on Schiller) at the Weimar Court on 5 September 1857, as part of a centenary celebration of the birth of Grand Duke Carl August, patron of Goethe and Schiller. The qualities of this "cantata" are stylistically not as innovative as Liszt's other works form the same period; yet the work is valuable for the insights it gives us into the political and ideological function of Liszt's music at the Weimar Court, into his use of rhetoric in music with text, and, in particular, into the aesthetic divergences between him and Wagner.

A discussion of the text, along with a comparison of the two different versions of the work (one performed in Karlsruhe in June 1853 ending in a fiasco, and the later revised version performed first in February 1854, and subsequently at the 1857 celebratory concert, achieving enormous success) will show that among the reasons for the rejection of the first version was Liszt's struggle for a more effective words/music rhetoric, in view of the inflammatory power he wanted to give to Schiller's text. Besides documenting Liszt's activity as a "Fest Gesang" composer, this work also sheds light on the uneasy relationship between Liszt and Wagner. Responding to the former's request for comments on the first version, Wagner was extremely critical of Liszt's entire enterprise: the choice of the text, the choral medium, the text setting, and, especially, the bombastic style. A discussion of Wagner's comments will reveal once again how fundamentally different his musical and ideological attitudes were from Liszt's, and, just as in his "Letter on Liszt's Symphonic Poems," how uncomfortable, yet pointed, he was in stating his detachment from his friend's aesthetics. This recognition demands a reconsideration of the political and ideological agendas that artificially connected Liszt and Wagner under the banner of *Zukunftsmusik*."

VINCENT D'INDY AND THE MESSIANIC PROMISE
Anya Suschitzky
University of California, Berkeley

It is a truism that after encountering Wagner, French composers were troubled by questions of individual and national identity—attracted and repelled, they absorbed his influence in seemingly contradictory ways that elude explanation to this day. This paper discusses one aspect of Wagner's influence: his role in the formation of French national identity. Focusing on d'Indy's *Fervaal* (1898), I examine connections between dramatic and musical narratives of renewal in the final scene on the one hand, and d'Indy's views on Wagner, French music, and religion on the other. D'Indy sets the hero's proclamation of a new nation to the Gregorian melody *Pange lingua* first in wordless, whole-note strict counterpoint, then in verse with dance rhythms, and finally in triadic harmonies with folk-style pentatonic vocalise. This passage, I argue, marks the nation as a religious folk, and is a corollary to d'Indy's theory about music history, which locates music's origins in French traditions of Gregorian Chant and folk music, advocating their revival in modern opera. Most reviews of the première either condemn or celebrate Wagner's influence. However, given d'Indy's expressed support (in letters and essays) for Wagner's antisemitism and his messianic hero Parsifal, I suggest that the end of *Fervaal* attempts to resolve the problem of Wagner's influence by translating it into French terms and reinstating religious music and Catholicism as the only viable future for French culture.

In the early 1900s, d'Indy changed his view of theatrical and religious music. Reacting against legislation that reduced the Church's influence, he advocated a reduced role for theatrical music in favor of religious music in a religious environment. Heralding oratorio as the genre of the future, he interpreted Wagner as a religious composer; and in *La Légende de Saint Christophe* (1915) —a quasi-oratorio—treated religious plot and plainchant literally not symbolically, emphasizing the Church as a Bayreuth-like refuge from Jewish immorality.

HEARING DEBUSSY'S READING OF MALLARMÉ: RECOVERY AND LOSS OF ROMANTIC ADDRESS IN THE *PRÉLUDE À L'APRÈS-MIDI D'UN FAUNE*

David Code
University of California, Berkeley

We know that Mallarmé's poetry and Wagner's music are the crucial influences on Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, and that this piece is particularly inventive in its form and orchestration. But neither these influences nor these musical aspects have been adequately interpreted. In this paper I argue that all of these aspects of the *Prélude* are interrelated, and that all can be opened to criticism through a reading of Mallarmé's *L'après-midi d'un faune*.

Mallarmé's poem, subtitled "Eglogue," draws on the *Eclogues* of Virgil to enfold a moment of romantic address, "je t'adore," that refers to Baudelaire's *Chanson d'après-midi*. Replacing Virgil's shepherds with a divided mythological speaker, a faun, Mallarmé stages a loss of Baudelaire's lyric voice. The poem's thematic contrast between visual and tactile experience becomes a faun-like split between ways of reading: a reading for sensual music recovers an embodied lyric address; a reading for understanding, on the other hand, senses a loss of direct address to what Mallarmé called the "reciprocal reflections of words."

Debussy's *Prélude* creates a similar, faun-like split in the listener. Berlioz's treatise on instrumentation supports my hearing of a contrast between distanced, poetic wind sound

and immediate, tactile violin sound. I interpret four marked sonorous rifts as readings of the poem's four main rifts between visual and tactile experience. The *Prelude* calls up the "Tristan chord" as a symbol of desire, but attempts, in a lush string scoring of simpler harmonies, to reach through Wagner for a more direct equivalent of "je t'adore." As in the poem, intertextual "reflections" undercut this address even as it is uttered.

RICHARD STRAUSS AND "THE END OF MUSIC": *FEUERSNOT*, METAPHYSICS, AND THE LEGACY OF WAGNER
Morten Kristiansen
Yale University

Although Richard Strauss's opera *Feuersnot* (1901) remains largely unknown, it in fact supplies us with information that is crucial to the currently emerging revisionary under- standing of Strauss's anti-Romantic aesthetic. Germanic musical aesthetics of the 1890s was dominated by a concept elevated to the status of dogma by Wagner's interpretation of Schopenhauer: music as a metaphysical agent in the expression of a *Weltanschauung* with *Erlösung* (redemption) as a central concept. Despite his admiration of Wagner's music, Strauss set out to replace an aesthetic he considered ill suited for a "modern" world with a non- metaphysical one influenced by Nietzsche. This attack on musical metaphysics was incipient in his first opera *Guntram* (1893), continued in the tone poems of the 1890s, but finally erupted unequivocally in *Feuersnot*, with its mockery of the aesthetic of *Erlösung*. In reaction, one critic even commented: "Strauss bedeutet in seinen Konsequenzen das Ende der Musik."

Strauss's anti-metaphysical aesthetic was inextricably linked with issues of musical style. An analytical investigation of *Feuersnot*—particularly of its reliance on multiple, contrasting styles and its foreshadowings of later operas—fosters a new understanding of Strauss's com- positional aims at the turn of the century. The essential technique involved the application of a fluid continuum of "older" and "newer" styles called for by the subject of a given scene (or even moment): the subject determines the style. Recognizing this multi-styled aesthetic chal- lenges the simpler view of Strauss's career as one of unilinear "progress" up to *Elektra* followed by "regression" in *Der Rosenkavalier*.

Saturday evening, 31 October

SHOSTAKOVICH AND *TESTIMONY*
Anne C. Shreffler, University of Basel, Chair

KHOVANSHCHINA AND BABI YAR: MUSSORGSKY, SHOSTAKOVICH, AND THE JEWS
Timothy L. Jackson
University of North Texas

In a passage little discussed—or debated—in the literature, the Shostakovich of *Testi- mony* draws a parallel between Mussorgsky's opera *Khovanshchina*, which he orchestrated in 1959, and his own *Babi Yar* Symphony, completed in 1962: "Working with Mussorgsky clarifies something important for me in my own work. . . . Something from *Khovanshchina* was

transferred to the Thirteenth Symphony. . . . But for a true musicologist, with a musical education and musical goals, [investigating] this [these connections] could be fruitful, albeit hard, work. That's all right, let them sweat a little."

Much of the literature on the "Jewish" element in Shostakovich's music has focused on the so-called "Jewish" works composed during the latter part of the WW II and the immediate post-war period, but Shostakovich's preoccupation—one might almost say—obsession with the Jews and their destiny continued through his last period. For example, the second movement of his "autobiographical" Eighth String Quartet (1960) is dominated by the "Jewish" theme from the Finale of his Piano Trio, Opus 67 (1944). So what *is* the parallel between *Khovanshchina* and the *Babi Yar* Symphony? It is possible that, in Shostakovich's "Aesopian" semantics whereby the unacceptable signified is dressed up as a legitimate signifier, the Jews become the point of intersection between the two works: Mussorgsky's Old Believers, compelled to commit mass suicide by Peter's troops, become Shostakovich's Jews murdered by the Nazis at Babi Yar, and Mussorgsky's heroine Marfa is transformed into Yevtushenko's and Shostakovich's Anne Frank. In light of this "Jewish" reading of *Khovanshchina*, the paper explores Shostakovich's multifaceted interpretation of the opera and the symphony's first movement as expressed, in part, by his newly composed postlude to the Mussorgsky and the last movement of the *Babi Yar* Symphony ("A Career").

THE "*TESTIMONY* AFFAIR":
AN ANSWER TO THE CRITICS

Allan B. Ho
Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville

Testimony, the memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich, remains one of the most controversial books in the history of music. Initially praised in the West for its insights into Shostakovich's life and works, it was then denounced when a review by Laurel E. Fay in 1980 was believed to "conclusively" demonstrate that *Testimony* was not what it purported to be. Fay's review gained the endorsement of Richard Taruskin and Malcolm H. Brown, and for nearly two decades it appeared that "the case was closed." Indeed, in 1989, Taruskin concluded: ". . . as any proper scholar could plainly see, the book [*Testimony*] was a fraud."

The leading American scholars of Shostakovich's life and music have failed to report evidence that corroborates *Testimony* and vindicates Volkov: for example, (1) that the composer's children now strongly endorse *Testimony* and praise Volkov; (2) that Shostakovich's confidant Flora Litvinova corroborates the genesis of *Testimony* based on what the composer himself told her; (3) that former staff members of *Sovetskaya Muzyka* report knowing about the Volkov-Shostakovich meetings as they were in progress and of even reading chapters of *Testimony* as they were approved by Shostakovich; and (4) that many of the once-controversial revelations in *Testimony* now have been confirmed by Shostakovich's family and friends and by documentary evidence.

The purpose of this paper, based on five years of exhaustive research involving interviews with Solomon Volkov, Galina and Maxim Shostakovich, and others "in the know," as well as careful consideration of documentary materials, is to correct past inaccuracies, and, in particular, address specific issues raised by Laurel E. Fay in 1980, including her questions about the Shostakovich-Volkov relationship, allegations of errors and contradictions in *Testimony*, and the suggestion that Volkov plagiarized from previously published articles by the

composer. Numerous concrete examples will demonstrate how the case against *Testimony* was built up out of incomplete and selective presentation of evidence.

SHOSTAKOVICH THE ANTI-COMMUNIST: CONFIRMING *TESTIMONY*
Dmitry Feofanov
Naperville, IL

One of the principal reasons musicologists doubt the authenticity of *Testimony* is that it presents an unfamiliar image of Shostakovich—not the Soviet Union's "most loyal musical son," but a secret dissident and anti-Communist. Indeed, in his public pronouncements (as opposed to his music), Shostakovich appeared to follow the Party line. He condemned Western "formalists," apologized for "anti-people" tendencies in his own music, fully supported various "peace offensives" undertaken by the Soviet authorities, and the like.

When first published in 1979, *Testimony* came as a shock (especially to those musicologists who concern themselves primarily with formal analyses rather than the meaning of Shostakovich's works). However, nearly twenty years later, a wealth of material has emerged which confirms the anti-Communist image of Shostakovich and his music.

Chief among these new sources is the anti-Stalinist satire *Rayok*. Its premiere in 1989 forever shattered the saccharine image of Shostakovich maintained by the Soviet authorities and accepted by some academic authorities in the West. *Testimony* and *Rayok* are, in fact, twins in mind and spirit, and the numerous parallels between these works—both ideological and stylistic—provide powerful confirmation of *Testimony*'s authenticity. Even though these parallels are plainly visible, the detractors of *Testimony* have rarely mentioned *Rayok* and have never dealt with its explosive content. This content, and significant parallels with *Testimony*, will be analyzed in detail in this paper.

Additional sources confirming Shostakovich's sometimes open anti-Communism include a collection of his letters published by his confidant Isaak Glikman. These letters are replete with Aesopian language, leaving no doubt about Shostakovich's true feelings toward the regime. Further confirmation comes from Shostakovich's friends, such as Flora Litvinova and Edison Denisov, who report Shostakovich being explicit in his rejection of the Communist ideology and Soviet regime.

After considering all of the sources available after the collapse of the Soviet Union, one must conclude that the image of Shostakovich presented in *Testimony* matches reality. This, of course, is powerful proof of the book's authenticity.

STUDY SESSION
GERMAN GALLIARD SONGS:
SOME PERFORMANCE CONSIDERATIONS
Dianne McMullen, Union College, Chair
Ken Pierce, Union College

Galliards for instrumental ensemble, solo harpsichord, and solo voice plus lute are well known. Less well-known are the many galliards for four and five voices composed by German composers at the turn of the seventeenth century. Hans Leo Hassler, Valentin Haussmann,

Christoph Demantius, Nicholas Rosthius, and Johann Staden are among the composers who continued to the genre, although few of the galliard songs are currently available in modern editions. The songs are of interest to musicologists, dance historians, and linguists for the ways in which music, dance, and poetry intersect. These intersections form the basis for the study session.

A vocal ensemble, directed by Dianne McMullen, will perform selected pieces, as Ken Pierce, specialist in Renaissance dancing, demonstrates possible choreographies. While there is no proof that these particular pieces were actually danced, there is none that they were not, and it is a known fact that contemporaneous Italians danced to their galliard songs. Among the roughly 100 German galliard songs that survive in complete parts, one observes vast stylistic differences. Rosthius's "Ich und du sind die allerschönsten Zwu," characterized by four-measure phrases, would have suited even the most amateur of galliard dancers. His "Ein Hertz nach Gottes Willen," with alternating four- and three-measure phrases, would have required more choreographic finesse. Likewise, Demantius's "Annelein, höchster Schatz auff Erden," filled with polyphonic cross-accents in the final measures must have challenged some dancers. In some dances the audience will be invited to participate.

PANEL SESSION
MUSICAL GENRE AND SPACE
Adam Krims, University of Alberta, Chair
Henry Klumpenhouwer, University of Alberta
Mitchell Morris, University of Alberta
Tamara Schwartzentruber, University of Alberta
Cathy Den Tandt, University of Alberta

Much recent musicology concerns itself with relating aspects of music to broader social processes; but little work in music studies engages the large body of social theory concerned with the spatial organization of people and objects (such as urban geography, especially the work of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Soja, Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, and others). Scholarship connecting these worlds has tended either to confine itself to the past (e.g., studies of music in Renaissance cities) or to overlook questions of musical style and organization (e.g., Austin-Broom [1995] and Gondola [1997]). This panel will argue that contemporary genre systems of music—involving all possible kinds of music, including classical, popular, and traditional—work to distribute composers, performers, marketers, and consumers in (principally urban) space, and furthermore, that the spatial arrangements of musical involvement affect, and are affected by, broader spatial distributions of urban centers. So, the study of space and musical genre may provide an important link between musical style and the social effects of music generally, and thus turn out to cast significant light on recent concerns in musicology.

The panel is selected from among those involved in the newly forming Institute for Popular Music at the University of Alberta and is comprised of scholars across several different disciplines, studying several different genres. The first speaker, Henry Klumpenhouwer, specializes in both "art" musics and social theory; his paper, "Topologies of Musical Genre and Social Class," will introduce the problematic of musical genres and social geography. The second speaker, Cathy Den Tandt, is an established expert on Caribbean studies and Latin

American popular musics; her paper, "Global Citizens/Local Consumers? Pop Music and the Question of Status in Puerto Rico," explains how popular music genres in Puerto Rico (such as Dominican merengue, Mexican rock, US and Puerto Rican rap, and US pop music) are used to stabilize symbolically identities otherwise disrupted by migration and other forms of spatial displacement. The third speaker, Adam Krims, specializes in cultural theory and has published on both "art" and popular musics; his paper, "Musical Genre and Urban Geography in Boston," will relate the spatial distribution of musical genres (including classical music) in Boston to the broader socio-geographic organization of that city. The final speaker, Tamara Schwartzentruber, is one of the few musicologists specializing in cyberspace; her paper, "Music, 'Space,' and Cyberspace," explores relations of virtual spaces to other spatial representations and senses of place in recorded and live performance, taking websites of Radiohead and Sarah McLachlan as examples. The respondent, Mitchell Morris, was chosen for his knowledge and published work across genres (including several classical genres and popular musics), his expertise in relating musical style to social processes, and his ability to stimulate lively conversation.

Sunday morning, 1 November

MUSIC AND IDEOLOGICAL INSCRIPTIONS
IN NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY EUROPE
Annegret Fauser, City University, London, Chair

THE REQUIEM MASS AND MODERN NATIONAL MEMORY
Michael P. Steinberg
Cornell University

This paper will offer an interpretation of the cultural power and legitimacy of the musical Requiem Mass in the late nineteenth century, through brief analyses of the Requiems of Brahms (1868), Verdi (1874), and Dvorák (1890).

Historians of nineteenth-century Europe know the model whereby religion returns in the modern, secular guise of nationalism. The late nineteenth-century musical Requiem Mass offers a compelling example of critical resistance to this process.

In different ways, I will argue, these works share a common project of defining a popular voice that is national but not nationalistic; sacred in reference but secular in foundation. With elaborate and sincere reference to religious doctrines and liturgy from which they are also culturally and aesthetically removed, these works share the agenda of defining and actually uttering a collective, popular voice, a "vox populi," through a symbolic discourse that resists absorption into nationalist postures. They accomplish this task through a formal rhetoric involving the relation between works and music. Brahms balances his German setting with an emotional context of privacy and inward emotion. Verdi and Dvo•ák use the Latin text but invest the music with an irredentist radicalism that is specific but not limited to national context.

All three works resist nationalist posturing by "arguing" for the following principle. In modern culture, "the people" as an aesthetic assertion, an utterance of collective subjectivity by real bodies, exists only in music. The vocalization of the people, the self-voicing of a

collectivity, becomes a musical act that is not translatable into a non-aesthetic context. As identity and national identity become ever more fused in the last decades of the century, collective subjectivity is attached to a popular voice that insists on an outsider status to the voice of the nation. As some composers honor the cultural pressure to fuse choral writing with the voice of the nation, others resist this pressure toward musical interpellation. Paradoxically, the late nineteenth-century resistance to the nationalist appropriation of subjectivity comes through a return to an older tradition of interpellation: religion. In finding, through the Requiem Mass, a contemporary popular, national voice, these three works also offer a critique of nationalism.

BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT:
IDEOLOGICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN FRENCH INTER-WAR NEOCLASSI-CISM
Jane Fulcher
Indiana University

The question of an ideology inherent in Neoclassicism has recently provoked debate, as musicologists have claimed it to be bourgeois, fascist, or stressed its xenophobic and nationalistic associations. This paper, focusing on France, contends that a single ideology is not distinct in the style; historically, several were ascribed to it and inscribed in its variants, making it a locus of political contestation.

The source of Neoclassicism in France wartime propaganda, adapted from the Classical doctrine of the "Action Française," and imposed in all the arts. By examining government documents, discourse, and programs, this paper illuminates the way in which the Neoclassical style was associated not only with the national but, concomitantly, with racial and cultural "purity." Since to repudiate Classicism was considered traitorous throughout wartime, composers resistant to this aesthetic of exclusion could comment only through subtle stylistic interpretations or inflections. The paper, thus, analyzes the political statements implicit in key works of Satie and Ravel as they manipulated stylistic elements associated with ideological meaning within current codes.

The analysis then turns to the post-war period, when the Neoclassical remained virtually synonymous with "the French," but now became a matrix for ideological debate as the Left developed its own interpretations of the "national," the Classic, and the canon. Here the paper compares the "universalist" Classicism proposed by writers like Gide to that of the traditional and "liberal Right," as articulated respectively by Boulanger and Cocteau. Within this context it considers the works and reception of Stravinsky, Satie, and Ravel, and the actual tension between models in "Les Six," as opposed to the framing rhetoric of Cocteau.

RE-APPROPRIATING WAGNER FOR THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC:
THE KROLL OPERA AND THE "NEW BAYREUTH" STYLE
Daria A. Depa
Indiana University

Recent scholarship has elicited a strong interest in the area of music and politics in Berlin, but there has not been a more than cursory study of the relationship of Weimar

politics to operas. Yet, opera played a crucial role in the *Musikpolitik* of the Prussian Ministry of Culture during the Weimar Republic, being vital to the new state in quest of legitimacy through a re-definition of German patrimony. Opera was assigned an eminently "revolutionary" role in Weimar: radical new stagings of the standard repertory and attempted to re-focus and thus re-appropriate canonic works.

The Kroll Opera was the creation of Leo Kestenberg and the Prussian Ministry and was intended to embody the party's socialist principles. Using newly uncovered sources from the archives of the Kroll Opera in Berlin, this paper will show that Otto Klemperer and his associates at the Kroll Opera anticipated the now-current tendency of presenting canonic works as socially relevant, particularly in their new *Inszenierungen* of Wagner and Beethoven. It will show that not only Beethoven became a cultural icon, as David Dennis has shown, but that Wagner, too, was emphasized by the *Musikpolitik* during Weimar as expedient to rescuing Germany from the chaos after the war. This work will focus on the figure of Wagner and the unconventional stagings at the Kroll. Using sources from the state and opera archives, it will also examine historical insights from contemporary musicologists, such as Paul Bekker, Adolf Weissmann, and Theodor Adorno. The goal of this paper is to understand not only how Weimar's cultural institutions appropriated Wagner but the audience reactions to this appropriation, particularly the conservative response to the Kroll's "profanation of a German cultural monument" and its implications for reactions under the Third Reich.

Finally, this paper seeks to demonstrate that there was an important precedent for the "new Bayreuth" style and the innovative, socially relevant stagings of Wagner in post-war Germany, as presented in the current radical productions at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin.

THE POLITICIZATION OF HANDEL'S ORATORIOS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY GERMANY
Pamela M. Potter
University of Wisconsin

As Martin Zenck has demonstrated, Handel reception in nineteenth-century Germany revealed incipient tendencies of highlighting Handel as a symbol of German national unification. This paper will show how in the twentieth century Handel and his works—especially the oratorios—took on a more explicit party-political significance and served differing purposes in three subsequent systems (the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and East Germany).

The Handel Renaissance of the 1920s was strongly influenced by the Social Democratic political agenda and called attention to the oratorios for their glorification of the common folk. The oratorios continued to attract attention in the Third Reich: Nazi party ideologue Alfred Rosenberg extolled them at the celebration of Handel's 250th birthday, and the government explicitly encouraged their performance, even those apparently glorifying the Jews. The works were heralded as manifestations of Handel's true Germanness, allegories for Nordic military strength, and attacks on the parliamentary system. After major Handel research facilities ended up in the Soviet sector of occupied Germany, a new Handel renaissance took place in East Germany in the 1950s, reviving the 1920s slogan of extolling Handel's oratorios as dignifying the proletariat and further designating them as prototypes of socialist realism.

The politicization and popularization of the oratorios resulted in liberal treatments of the works, including elaborate stagings in the Weimar Republic, the "dejudaizing" of the

texts in the Third Reich, and the secularization of German translations in East Germany. The usefulness of Handel's oratorios for German political agendas rests on their monumentality, accessibility for amateurs, and elements of allegorical nationalism and militarism in their subject matter.

REPRESENTATIONS OF NATION
Michael Beckerman, University of California, Santa Barbara, Chair

RE-VIEWING *OKLAHOMA*!:
MUSICALS, MODERNITY, AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS.
Graham Wood
University of Minnesota

Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* is generally regarded as the first truly "integrated" Broadway show: the first musical in which all constituent elements (music, text, dance, costume, scenic design) worked together to produce a unified whole. While useful in some respects, this view does not address the show's symbolic relationship to American history and its role in the formation of American national consciousness.

Combining iconographic, choreographic, and musical analysis, this paper argues that embedded within *Oklahoma!* are the characteristic themes of Western expansion: the conquest of Nature, the resulting encroachment of civilization, and a tense negotiation between emerging modernity and an agrarian past resolved through a shared vision of nationhood. In particular, the paper examines three aspects of *Oklahoma!*: 1) the stylized set designs of Lemuel Ayers, iconographically linked to the regionalist modernism of artist Thomas Hart Benton; 2) choreographer Agnes de Mille's fusion of country square dance and Broadway tap in the "Kansas City" number as a symbolic representation of the merging of old and new worlds; and 3) Rodgers's pointed deployment of "anachronistic" song forms—specifically his placement of verse/refrain and parallel period structures—to evoke styles more prevalent earlier in the century.

When combined with a historicized view of popular song forms, this multilayered analytical approach provides a complex reading of *Oklahoma!* as a work that replays American folk history in its documentation of the cultural consciousness of a nation grappling with issues of modernity and national identity.

SINGING SAYONARA:
MUSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF JAPAN IN 1950S HOLLYWOOD FILM
W. Anthony Sheppard
Williams College

In the 1950s, Hollywood sought to create a new image of Japan in the American imagination, one that would replace the racist image that it had nourished during World War II with depictions emphasizing the cultural refinements of the Japanese. Music played a central role in this transformation, as it had in earlier anti-Japanese propaganda. This paper investigates the representation of Japan through Western and Japanese music in the 1957 film *Sayonara*.

Sayonara is ripe for the study of musical exoticism in American popular culture. The

desire to present "authentic old Japan" was repeatedly compromised by a need to satisfy Hollywood's aesthetic ideals. Sketches and correspondence reveal how this dilemma played out in the creation of the soundtrack. Multiple forms of "Japanese" music are heard, creating a complex and contradictory musical portrait. Numerous Japanese performing art forms are briefly encountered, with significant modifications. Franz Waxman's score employs Irving Berlin's "Sayonara" and numerous Japanese folk tunes, and it offers original music for Japanese instruments, as well. Japanese composers provided additional music during the filming. Tracing the sources of the soundtrack forces us to consider what constitutes "Japanese" music.

The paper explores not only what is heard in the film but how it is presented. In Orientalist fashion, Japanese performances are framed within a highly charged erotic context, revealing an intense fascination with the gender ambiguities inherent in these traditions. However, Orientalist and cultural imperialist critiques ultimately fail to capture the complexity of American/Japanese cultural encounters that such works as *Sayonara* reveal.

REPRESENTATIONS OF "NATION:"
A CASE STUDY BASED ON FOUR EARLY CHINESE NATIONAL ANTHEMS
Maria Chow
University of Chicago

Traditionally, nationalism in Western music refers to a composer's asserting his national/ethnic identity by incorporating musical characteristics of his native tradition into his compositions. Recent studies challenge this view. Many "native musical materials" used by nineteenth-century composers have proved to be not at all native; nationalistic sentiments, as in post-1870 France, are shown to have caused some composers to embrace musical styles of an enemy country. Yet underlying the latest discussions of musical nationalism is a more fundamental issue that remains unarticulated, i.e., the concept of "nation." The nation, as many have noted, is an imagined community; nationalism seldom originates from *the nation*.

This study shows how different communities in a nation represent the nation musically in different ways by examining four early Chinese national anthems. Promulgated between 1911 and 1921 by four political regimes, these four national anthems each represented China; yet musically they comprise: a pentatonic, folksong-like melody (Chinese notation); a four-voice chorale by a Frenchman (in a notation invented by the composer); a Westernized *kun* opera aria (both Chinese and Western notations); a chorale by a German-trained Chinese musicologist. Thus, the four national anthems increasingly represented China with Western-style music. In discussing the discourses about these national anthems, this paper illuminates that nationalism in an oppressed nation often seeks, in the political arena, to assert not the nation's uniqueness but its similarity (equality) with those that oppress it. The paper concludes by considering how such an adopted "national" music challenges our vocabulary in discussing national styles of music.

CONSTRUCTING IRELAND: CULTURE AND POLITICS
IN STANFORD'S *SHAMUS O'BRIEN*
Jean Marie Hoover

Indiana University

Vaughan Williams praised *Shamus O'Brien* (1896), an opera by his former professor, Charles Villiers Stanford, as a work which sprang, as it were, from the Irish soil. The plot concerns a Catholic peasant who participated in the Irish rebellion of 1798. An analysis demonstrates that it is emotionalized by an Irish- inflected musical style and by stage representations of peasant traditions. This paper argues that Stanford crafted a double-voiced work, whose ambiguity between a cultural and a political perspective allowed its initial success in both England and Ireland. Those who had no interest in politics read *Shamus* as an exotic entertainment. This interpretation, typical of English criticism, focused on the "quaint" nature of Irish traditions. Nationalists, however, viewed the opera as an endorsement of independence. According to historians, the Irish increasingly invested the cultural with political meaning as the prospects for self-government declined following the 1893 defeat in Parliament of the Second Home Rule Bill. The libretto's abandonment of many stage-Irish stereotypes provided a degree of realism, which encouraged such a reading. As Home Rule again became a controversial issue in the 1910s, the potential to interpret the work in light of the period's political ferment increased. Stanford, a Unionist, prohibited his opera's performance. The work, which critics had hailed upon its premiere as inaugurating a new tradition of English-language opera, found itself a victim of its equivocal construction and of the politics that disturbed Irish "soil" in the twentieth century.

VERDI
James Hepokoski, University of Minnesota, Chair

A TALE OF FIVE CITIES:
THE PEREGRINATIONS OF VERDI'S AND SOMMA'S *GUSTAVO III*
David Rosen
Cornell University

Even before Verdi could set Somma's *Gustavo III* libretto to music, Neapolitan and Roman censors changed its setting from Stockholm to Stetin (Pomerania), then Florence, then Gothemberg; renamed *Un ballo in maschera*, it finally landed in Boston. Recently discovered material in the Rome Archivio di Stato—including the only known copy of the *Gustavo III* libretto, together with the Roman censors' "correzioni" transforming it into *Il Conte di Gothemberg*—sheds light on both the Roman censorship and the genesis of *Ballo*.

Once the Roman censors' suggestion to set the opera in the English colonies in North America had been accepted, Somma set about altering about sixty lines they had vetoed; that Verdi ignored many of these changes accounts for the extraordinary number of textual variants between score and printed libretto. (*Ballo* is a poster child for the case/cause that critical editions of operas should include a libretto.) And independently of the censor's demands, Somma worked to add the sense of place lacking in his earlier Swedish and Pomeranian versions; e.g., making Ulrica "di razza negra" and strategically planting phrases like "Addio, diletta America." This should perhaps restrain producers who, following Edward J. Dent, would "restore" the Stockholm setting (even though Verdi never set *Gustavo III* to music). Moreover, the work of specialists in colonial American cultural history suggests that, despite the criticism leveled against it, Boston at the end of the seventeenth century is an appropriate

setting for *Ballo*, although not quite as satisfactory as that found in a libretto in Verdi's hand: "Boston in the first half of the eighteenth century."

VERDI AND THE PERGOLA'S "EUROPEAN" SCENE: FROM *ROBERTO IL DIAVOLO* (1840) TO *MACBETH* (1847)
Gloria Staffieri
University of Rome

Current opera scholars agree in considering *Macbeth* to be a turning point within the ambitus of Verdi's creative process while, at the same time—given the novelties of the language and the unified conception of the opera as a whole—they see it as an *unicum* within the Italian operatic scene of the mid-1800s. And yet, when it was performed in Florence in 1847, *Macbeth* was not considered an original work but rather an imported product, as it showed the influence of the transalpine musical theater and Meyerbeer's *grand opéra* in particular. The new ideals of the Italian *Risorgimento* soon sacrificed such eclecticism at the altar of Verdi's *italianità*: It was thought that Verdi reformed nineteenth-century *melodramma* from within a local tradition that owed nothing to foreign models. In fact, the myth of originality seems to still prevail in recent studies of Verdi. These, while relegating the Florentine productive context of the 1840s to a neutral background, ascribe the original profile of *Macbeth* almost uniquely to the fortunate encounter between Verdi and Shakespearian dramaturgy: to adhere to the latter, Verdi is thought to have forged new stylistic and formal modules.

The aim of this paper is to show—also on the basis of the discovery of new documents in Florentine archives—that the uniqueness of *Macbeth* is attributable not only to the novelty of the subject, but also to two main factors.

1. The favorable circumstances at the Pergola in the 1840s: the impresario Lanari played an active role in the birth of the opera, as *Macbeth* was the result of a strategy inaugurated in 1840 by Lanari himself with the Italian première of *Roberto il diavolo* and continued with other important premières (*Gli Ugonotti*, *La regina di Cipro*, *Der Freischütz*).

2. Verdi's "intentional" encounter—for both contextual and artistic reasons—with Meyerbeer's *grand opéra* and, in particular, with *Roberto il diavolo* (to which Verdi's opera was directly connected, due to its subject matter): analysis of the scores of *Macbeth* and *Roberto il diavolo* shows that Verdi drew not only elements of musical expression of the demonic but also certain structural solutions—such as the technique of the recurring motives and the use of mirror and rondo structures—in order to unify the heterogeneous dramatic material of Shakespeare's work. By grafting such formal elements onto the more traditional schemes of Italian Opera, Verdi developed a highly innovative language: *Macbeth*, therefore, does not *foreshadow* but does *inaugurate* Verdi's middle period.

VERDI'S *I LOMBARDI ALLA PRIMA CROCIATA* AS CATHOLIC-LIBERAL ROMANTIC OPERA
Jonathan Cheskin
University of Chicago

Verdi's 1843 *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* is often described as a "Risorgimental opera." Based on Tommaso Grossi's 1826 epic poem about the adventures of Lombard warriors on the first crusade, the opera is often seen as an allegory for the struggle of nineteenth-century

Italians against their Austrian oppressors. Audiences were said to have reacted with patriotic fervor, and contemporary critics likened the work to Vincenzo Gioberti's quintessentially Risorgimental document, *Del primato morale e civile degli italiani.*

This story has been questioned by Roger Parker, who suggests that the "Risorgimental" element in early Verdi has been overemphasized. This paper, furthermore, argues that *I Lombardi* may be understood in a quite different way through an examination of the literary genre of its source. Both Grossi's and Gioberti's works come from what the eminent nineteenth-century literary critic Francesco De Sanctis called the "Catholic-Liberal" school of Romanticism. Instead of exhorting citizens to revolt, authors of this school generally cautioned Italians against impertinent action contrary to God's will. Verdi's *I Lombardi* actually mixes two different types of Catholic-Liberalism: Grossi's metaphor of Italy as a resigned heroine and Gioberti's notion of Italian moral primacy as the home of Catholicism. The literary genre, not invoked by Verdi after *I Lombardi*, was often set by contemporaries such as Errico Petrella, Giuseppe Apolloni, and Amilcare Ponchielli. Verdi's *I Lombardi*, while at odds with his later moral and aesthetic sensibilities, is representative of a genre of opera that needs to be recognized and better understood.

TOSCANINI AND A TWENTIETH-CENTURY AESTHETIC OF OPERA PERFORMANCE
Elizabeth Hudson
University of Virginia

Arturo Toscanini's conducting career encompassed a tremendous shift in the performance practice of Verdi's operas, of which he himself was one of the principal exponents. In a fascinating move of appropriation, Toscanini demanded the effacement of the performer's voice by asserting the ideology of fidelity to the score; the conductor's particular identification with the music, person, and politics of Verdi then allowed him to position his own style of musical interpretation as an extension of the composer's authorial voice. Through this invocation of Verdi's authority, now resituated and enacted by a (male) performer, he managed to institute the primacy of his own musical voice, becoming the composer's spokesman even while changing the performance practice of Verdi's works in ways that might well have been unrecognizable to Verdi himself. And yet, the aesthetic Toscanini instituted continues to be received as a valid representation of Verdi's intentions.

Through a study of Toscanini's recording of *La traviata* with Licia Albanese, I will explore the effect of this performance ideology of the effacing self on the representation of Violetta. As I will demonstrate, Toscanini's legendary enforcement of this ideology on the singers, coupled with his simultaneous insertion of his own voice at a different level of the musical discourse, basically altered the musical relationship of singers to the text, as well as interacting with the dramatic material of *La traviata* in disturbing ways that continue to have repercussions for our understanding of Violetta's musical characterization today.

WRITERS AND COMPOSERS
Ian Bent, Columbia University, Chair

I: Stendhal and Rossini

STENDHAL, ROSSINI, AND THE PARISIAN *HOMME DE LETTRES:* AN "ECOLE DES JOURNALISTES"

Janet Johnson
University of Southern California

Studies of French music criticism in the first half of the nineteenth century have traditionally focused on major figures, the music periodicals for which they wrote during the 1830s, and the mainly French music they championed. Stendhal's earlier reviews of productions at the Théâtre Italien for the daily *Journal de Paris* (signed "M" and republished posthumously under his principal pen name as *Notes d'un dilettante*) have attracted the passing interest of a few French literary historians, as has the *Vie de Rossini* they were intended to complement. But "reading" his criticism, an implicit, coded dialogue between the author, variously disguised, and his anonymous interlocutors, requires a frame of reference lost even to the distinguished editors of his correspondence, who, for example, interpreted a reference to the [Salle] "Louvois" —the building that housed the Théâtre Italien, where Stendhal called himself "Lemoine" —as a discreet anglicism for, apparently, a bordello called the "Maison de *Love*."

The present paper explores the underground network of Parisian *hommes de lettres* who, like the more musically and linguistically qualified Lemoine/Stendhal, wrote anonymous reviews of Italian opera during the decade or so between the retirement of Julien-Louis Geoffroy, the epigrammatic "Pere Feuilleton" who preceded Castl-Blaze and Berlioz at the *Débats*, and the professionalization of the discipline. Based upon study of the Théâtre Italien's regularly updated lists of journalistic entrées, contemporary biographical dictionaries, and a little known genre of didactic, parodistic plays called "Ecole des journalistes," I have been able, in the language of the time, to "unveil" several dozen such critics—the detractors and devotees of Italian opera such as "Le Causeur" and "Le Vieux Mélomane" at whom Stendhal aimed his polemical salvos. A close reading of their criticism in conjunction with Stendhal's own will shed insight into critical codes and conventions and the ways in which key works by Rossini were presented and received.

DECIPHERING HYPERBOLE: STENDHAL AND *TANCREDI*

Benjamin Walton
University of California, Berkeley

In *La vie de Rossini*, Stendhal declares that a conventionally jaunty four-measure cabaletta melody from *Tancredi* is "la plus belle chose" that Rossini has ever written. The comment could easily pass by as one more lapse into overheated enthusiasm in the context of a book whose dominant mode is hyperbole. However, the praise lavished on this apparently insignificant detail functions instead as an abbreviation for unspoken and unspeakable levels of feeling and thought. Taking the three adjectives with which Stendhal continued his description of the melody: "noble", "vrai" and "neuf," I will seek in my paper to decode Stendhal's enigmatic overstatement, proceeding outwards from the music to reveal implied meanings in two directions: towards Stendhal by way of his musical aesthetics and his visions of French and Italian politics, and towards *Tancredi* as emblematic of the remarkable prestige of Rossinian opera in Paris in the mid-1820s. Roland Barthes accused Stendhal of lapsing into uninformative superlatives whenever he tried to explain the power of the Italian landscape. Music pos-

sessed the same capacity to silence his critical mind, and it was the combined perception of a musical embodiment of Italy in the cabaletta that led Stendhal to his extravagant description. In the martial vigor of this single passage, Stendhal saw the crystallization of a new Italian national consciousness. And in the voice of Giuditta Pasta (singing the title role), he heard the Italy of his imagination reborn in Paris, her voice capable of transforming even the most commonplace musical fragment into a moment laden with multiple significations.

II: Jean Paul and Schumann

VOLLGLÜCK IN DER BESCHRÄNKUNG/HAPPINESS WITHIN LIMITS: SCHUMANN'S AND JEAN PAUL'S IDYLLIC VISION
Erika Reiman
University of Toronto

In the late 1830s, Schumann produced three one-movement piano works, the *Arabeske, Blumenstück,* and *Humoreske*, which share many stylistic traits with his earlier, better-known piano cycles, but which also deviate from them in many respects. These three works paradoxically combine the digressive, self-reflexive, and often cryptic style and structure of works such as *Carnaval* with a placid, repetitive contentment that seems outwardly simple, even simplistic. Although there has been some fine scholarly work on these pieces, notably Bernhard Appel's dissertation on the *Humoreske*, as yet little consideration of their literary and cultural context has appeared in print.

A possible structural and stylistic model for these works comes from Jean Paul Richter, novelist, essayist, satirist, and Schumann's literary idol. Jean Paul's novels are of unparalleled structural and cultural scope; however, a number of Jean Paul's shorter works, which he called "Idyllen," somehow manage to contain his wildly unconventional style within a smaller framework. Both thematically and structurally, the idylls explore the notion of living within limits. In this paper, which builds on existing work showing Schumann's indebtedness to Romantic literary ideals generally, the *Arabeske, Blumenstück, and Humoreske* are linked for the first time to specific literary models, which shed new light on the structure and meaning of these works.

EXPLICATING JEAN PAUL: ROBERT SCHUMANN'S PROGRAM FOR *PAPILLONS,* OP. 2
Eric Jensen
Worthington, Ohio

The association of *Papillons* with the masked-ball finale of Jean Paul's novel, *Flegeljahre,* is widely known. Two primary sources serve as its basis: references in six letters written by Schumann in 1832 and 1834, and Schumann's copy of *Flegeljahre*, in which are marked in his own hand passages related to the first ten of the twelve pieces comprising *Papillons*. Neither source, however, offers precise indications of Schumann's design, and left unresolved is what type of program was intended—a general allusion to Jean Paul's novel (as the letters would seem to imply) or a detailed but incomplete musical narrative created as a counterpart to it (as the marked passages seem to indicate).

There have been numerous attempts to decipher Schumann's intentions, most notably by Wolfgang Boetticher (1941), Edward Lippmann (1964), Jacques Chailley (1984), and Akio Mayeda (1992). But none has provided a convincing explanation for all of Schumann's references or has been able satisfactorily to determine the relationship between Jean Paul's text and Schumann's music. As a result, John Daverio has concluded in his recent biography of Schumann that there is no specific programmatic association between *Papillons* and *Flegeljahre*.

However, an analysis of the musical and literary sources provides a logical solution to the puzzle of *Papillons*. Schumann created for *Papillons* a comprehensive narrative program unique among his compositions. The key is provided by Schumann himself, who stated that "only the last [section, that is, the final two *Papillons*] . . . was inspired by Jean Paul." The conclusion of *Papillons* would have been associated in his mind with the conclusion of *Flegeljahre*—left unmarked in his copy because it provided the impetus for the work. In fact, the appearance in the concluding *Papillons* of polonaise rhythms, simulated tolling of bells, and the "Grossvater Tanz" can be directly traced to Jean Paul's text. After creating his finale, Schumann adopted a nonsequential compositional process, many of the remaining *Papillons* being assembled from sketchbooks with appropriate passages in *Flegeljahre* marked as correspondences to them. Each reflects with astonishing precision their literary concordances, including devices such as canon (in the third *Papillon,* illustrating an "imitative" costume) and self-quotation (the tenth *Papillon* cites the sixth as a representation of role reversal in *Flegeljahre).*

REVISITING ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL SOURCES
Thomas H. Connolly, University of Pennsylvania, Chair

H.J.W. TILLYARD'S STUDY OF BYZANTINE CHANT
AND THE POLITICS OF THE MODERN GREEK IDENTITY
Alexander Lingas
University of Oxford

Out of earshot of most musicologists, twentieth-century study of Byzantine chant has been riven by sharp conflicts between Western and Greek scholars over the utility of the received tradition of Greek Orthodox chanting for interpreting musical sources prior to the notational reforms of the early nineteenth century. Some disagreements were inevitable, for medieval Byzantine neumatic notation cannot unambiguously convey rhythmic subdivision and chromaticism. The present paper, however, shows that the bitterness of the disputes may be attributed to how they impinged upon politically sensitive debates over the cultural identity of modern Greeks, including those over their relationship to Classical Greece and Byzantium after centuries of Ottoman occupation. This is accomplished by following the methodological development of H.J.W. Tillyard (1881–1968), the only founder of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae (MMB) to have studied the living chant tradition. First, the decisive influence of his teacher John Sakellarides—a controversial Athenian cantor who angered traditionalists by proffering a Westernized version of the contemporary repertory that, among other things, had been purged of perceived orientalisms—is examined. The emergence of the MMB's own restorationist agenda is then traced through Tillyard's early writings. In these, he progresses from a cautiously positive attitude toward the living tradition—reflected in attempts to transcribe medieval melodies in the light of contemporary

performance practice—to the orientalist stance he adopted in consultation with Egon Wellesz, dismissing modern Byzantine chanting as degenerate and hopelessly compromised by Arabo-Turkish influences.

STRAVINSKY
Elliott Antokoletz, University of Texas, Austin, Chair

PETRUSHKA'S END
Simon Morrison
Princeton University

On 27 April 1905, the poet Aleksandr Blok took a train from St Petersburg, the Russian capital, to Shakmatovo, a family estate on the edge of a vast state forest. Due to the political turmoil in the city, his university exams were canceled. Blok was not perturbed: like other apocalyptic thinkers of his time, he viewed the unrest as an infernal incantation.

The poetry he wrote that spring is replete with images from Russian folk theater, the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, and his private fantasy world. On the suggestion of Vsevolod Mierkhol'd, he transformed his poem "Balaganchik" ("The Puppet Booth") into a play. It uses several meta-theatrical effects. The rogue Harlequin leaps through a window on the set into the void of the real world. The decorations are then whisked away as if in a whirlwind, leaving the hero Petrushka to lament the loss of his beloved but unfaithful Columbine.

This play directly informed a later masterpiece of modernist art: Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. The stock characters and the setting are the same. Stravinsky and Alexandre Benois (like Blok before them) affirm that at the turn of the nineteenth century, when rumors of civil strife filled the air, St Petersburg took on the character of a giant puppet theater, one in which the creator of the puppets (the populace) had died and they had run amok. I will assess this and two other Blokian aspects of the score: the puppet Petrushka's return to life and ridicule of the Magician, and the illusory music at the end, evocative of a hall of mirrors with no exit.

THE TWO WORLDS OF STRAVINSKY'S *ORPHEUS*
Maureen A. Carr
Pennsylvania State University

No one has ever explained the nature of Stravinsky's compositional process for *Orpheus*. It is my contention that Stravinsky used an "emblematic sonority" in *Orpheus*. {I have defined the "emblematic sonority" for Stravinsky's *Orpheus* as a five-note pattern (5-22), which contains a major and a minor triad separated by a half-step}. Stravinsky's technique of juxtaposing and superimposing elements of this sonority in *Orpheus* resembles his approach to the "Petrushka chord." But the uniqueness of *Orpheus* results from the distinctive ways in which Stravinsky used the elements of his "emblematic sonority" to illustrate the two worlds of Orpheus and his struggle between the two worlds.

My hypothesis that Stravinsky shaped and reshaped elements of this "emblematic sonority" for dramatic purposes within *Orpheus* is substantiated by the sketches. (As a scholar in residence at the Paul Sacher Stiftung, I transcribed all of the existing sketches for *Orpheus*. I made four return trips to Switzerland to study and transcribe sketches for *Apollo, Oedipus Rex*, and *Perséphone*.) While I was studying and transcribing the sketches for *Orpheus*, I no-

ticed that on the first page, Stravinsky experimented with various melodic and harmonic fragments that prefigure seemingly disparate passages within the ballet. After a careful analysis, however, I discovered that these fragments are unified by certain elements of the emblematic sonority. In the published edition of *Orpheus*, these passages became: *rehearsal 2* (where Orpheus is weeping for Eurydice as friends pass by bringing presents and offering sympathy), *rehearsal 28* (Dance of the Angel of Death), *rehearsals 4 and 17–18* (Air de Danse), *rehearsal 72* (Dance of the Furies). In addition to these identifiable excerpts on the first page of the sketches, there are other segments that are mysterious, improvisatory, and reminiscent of certain fragments from *Apollo*.

It should be no surprise that Stravinsky's initial sketches (October, 1946) predict the unique musical network that I have observed in *Orpheus*. After all, the original *scenario* handwritten by Stravinsky and Balanchine (summer, 1946) focused on Orpheus's entanglement between two worlds. Cocteau's play *Orphée* (1926), which utilized mirrors to dramatize the passage of Orpheus between two worlds, might also have had an influence on the Stravinsky/Balanchine collaboration. Furthermore, Stravinsky was pre-occupied with the character of Death in at least two previous works—the *Nightingale* and *Perséphone*.

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