

MUSIC'S INTELLECTUAL HISTORY
FOUNDERS, FOLLOWERS & FADS

RÉPERTOIRE INTERNATIONAL DE LITTÉRATURE MUSICALE

RILM PERSPECTIVES

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MUSIC'S INTELLECTUAL HISTORY
FOUNDERS, FOLLOWERS & FADS

EDITED BY

ZDRAVKO BLAŽEKVIĆ
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RÉPERTOIRE INTERNATIONAL DE LITTÉRATURE MUSICALE
NEW YORK 2009

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The book is edited according to *How to write about music: The RILM manual of style* (New York, 2006)

Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale
International Repertory of Music Literature
Internationales Repertorium der Musikliteratur

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Printed in the United States of America.
ISBN: 1-932765-05-0
ISBN 13: 978-1-932765-05-2

Layout and design by J. Graeme Fullerton
Administrative assistant: Michele Smith
Cover design by ???
Printing and bound by Port City Press, Baltimore, Maryland.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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PREFACE

For almost 45 years RILM has been abstracting and indexing the publications of hundreds of thousands of scholars from countries around the world—scholars who write on every kind of music and who follow myriad directions in music scholarship. The result has been the continual growth of *RILM abstracts of music literature*, RILM's central publication and primary *raison d'être*. In addition to our efforts to keep up with current literature, the *RILM retrospectives* series assures coverage of some key document types from the past, including, most recently, conference proceedings and *Festschriften* honoring music scholars. Together this retrospective coverage and RILM's current bibliography form a foundation supporting scholarly research and fostering the interplay and development of ideas and concepts, with the ultimate goal of furthering intellectual discourse on music.

In addition to laying solid groundwork for scholarship, there is another result of this endeavor that may not leap so readily to mind: In working with the world's music literature for many years at the RILM International Center, one begins to gain an overview of the world's scholarly output on music. Participating in the gradual, record-by-record construction of a kind of bibliographic mountain enables fascinating views from the top, so to speak. From this vantage point, currents and trends become visible. A historiographic overview begins to come into focus.

This perspective jumped out at us particularly in our work on *Speaking of music: Music conferences, 1835–1966* (2004), volume 4 in the *RILM retrospectives* series. The volume begins with the earliest paper on music presented at the first Congrès Historique Européen and ends the year before RILM's current bibliography's coverage begins. *Speaking of music* points to a multitude of topics discussed at nearly 500 conferences; its chronology provides an engrossing picture of music scholarship and its evolution over the past two centuries, reflecting countless currents of thought from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century—the heyday of Romanticism, the advent of modernism, the rise and fall of Marxism, and the emergence of multiculturalism, to name just a few. One sees how the center and the peripheries of activity have shifted among countries, how different topics have come into vogue and then been forgotten, how individual effort has gradually given way to institutionalized research, and how ideas that occupied particular scholars of the past changed at various moments in their careers.

As such, *Speaking of music* provides a particularly revealing window on intellectual history through the prism of music, and it inspired the idea that RILM should organize a conference on music historiography as a forum for the scholarly investigation of the many ideas presented in its bibliography. The conference—Music's Intellectual History:

Founders, Followers, and Fads (held from 16 through 19 March 2005 at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York)—resonated in the scholarly community; 100 scholars from around the world presented papers over the course of these four days, far more than we had anticipated, and a fascinating kaleidoscope of studies, viewpoints, ideas, and opinions emerged. It was our first conference, and it was so successful, and the presentations were so insightful, that we realized the natural partnership of RILM and historiographic investigation. It became clear to us that RILM has unique perspectives and materials to offer to the field of historiography.

Hence the inauguration herewith of the new *RILM perspectives* series, which is devoted to selected proceedings of RILM conferences. The current volume, containing 66 articles that started as presentations at the 2005 conference, disseminates the scholarship presented there. It spans an immense range of topics, views, and ideas that, together, provide an essential cornerstone of music studies, indicating the directions the discipline has taken in the past, revealing the precedents for current scholarly habits, and suggesting future paths for further pursuits. The articles are grouped into the following sections:

PERSONALITIES: MUSIC SCHOLARS profiles historical figures starting with the 16th-century Nuremberg theorist Sebald Heyden and the Venetian historian Pietro Gaetano; followed by Leopold Mozart, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Charles Burney, and John Hawkins in the 18th century; Anton Schindler, Hans Christian Andersen, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Angelo De Santi in the 19th century; and culminating with the founding figures of modern music scholarship, from Henri de Curzon, Friedrich Ludwig, Jacques Handschin, Pierre Aubry, and Curt Sachs to Dragan Plamenac, Bence Szabolcsi, and Robert Stevenson.

PERSONALITIES: COMPOSERS offers new perspectives on the reception history of Bach, Händel, Wolf, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Ligeti.

NATIONAL STUDIES explores historiographic issues pertaining to the music histories of Africa, Brazil, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, New Zealand, Romania, and the United States.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS presents methodological topics and the main lexicographical efforts of the 20th century in Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom.

PERIODICALS analyzes the significance of the German *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the Serbian *Gusle*, and the French *La revue musicale*.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ITS DIRECTIONS brings research on performance history into focus, analyzes struggles in defining the term *folk music* in the mid-20th century, considers the vogue of context studies, explores the creation and use of sonoristics and information theory in music analysis, discusses methods in writing musical biography, and examines the relationship between musicology and fiction.

It is our happy duty to thank some of those who made this volume and its related conference possible. The Graduate Center of The City University of New York has supported RILM from its infancy; it assisted RILM's efforts again by providing the venue and technical assistance for the 2005 conference. Thanks are due particularly to The Graduate Center's President, William P. Kelly, as well as to the Vice President for Research and Sponsored Programs, Brian Schwartz, for their participation and encouragement. Our neighbors in the Music Department at The Graduate Center have also helped RILM's efforts over all these years. Claire Brook has been the most determined supporter of events organized by both RILM and the Barry S. Brook Center for Music Research and Documentation, the umbrella organization of projects housed at The Graduate Center. We are grateful also to RILM's sponsoring organizations—the International Musicological Society; the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centres; and the International Council for Traditional Music—as well as to the members of its Commission Internationale Mixte for their steadfast encouragement. And special recognition is due to the tireless J. Graeme Fullerton, RILM's Production Editor, who designed the page layout and typeset the volume, and implemented countless revisions to the text over many months.

And lastly but most importantly, to all the scholars who contributed articles published herein, we thank you for your contributions. The quality and depth of research make us especially proud to be the editors of such fine work.

“Performance shifts all the time; scholarship has to change by revolutions or hardly at all.” (Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, p. 803) We invite you to read about some of these revolutions and attempted revolutions in the following pages.

ZDRAVKO BLAŽEKOVIĆ
BARBARA DOBBS MACKENZIE

PERSONALITIES: MUSIC SCHOLARS

SEBALD HEYDEN (1499–1561): THE FIRST HISTORICAL MUSICOLOGIST?

Ruth I. DeFord

HUNTER COLLEGE AND THE GRADUATE CENTER OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi*, which appeared in its third and final edition in Nuremberg in 1540,¹ has had a greater impact on modern scholarship than any other writing on mensuration and *tactus* from the 15th or 16th century. The book advocates the theory that all signs of mensuration and proportion should be governed by a single, uniform *tactus*. This *tactus* corresponds to different written values under different signs, but its speed is fixed and it is always divided into equal down and up motions. Heyden's theory was a reaction against the prevailing view that there were three types of *tactus*, which most theorists call "major", "minor", and "proportionate".² One of its consequences is that music with cut mensuration signs is always twice as fast as music with uncut signs.

Scholars of the past few decades have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that this conclusion cannot be correct.³ My purpose is not to discuss what is wrong

¹ Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi, ac vero signorum in cantibus usu, libri duo* (Nürnberg: Petreius, 1540); facs. ed., *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile II/139* (New York: Broude Brothers, [1969]); English trans. by Clement A. Miller, *Musicological studies and documents 26* (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972). The earlier editions of the book are *Musicae stoicheiosis* (Nürnberg: Peypus, 1532) and *Musicae, id est, artis canendi libri duo* (Nürnberg: Petreius, 1537). For an introduction to the history and content of the work, see Clement A. Miller, "Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi*: Background and contents", *Musica disciplina* 24 (1970) 79–99. The cultural context of Heyden's treatises and the musical examples in them are discussed in Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance music theory: Hearing with the eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 82–114.

² Definitions of *tactus* types vary from one theorist to another. The most influential version of the three-*tactus* theory was that of Nicolaus Listenius, *Musica* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1537) ch. 10. The book, which is a revised version of the author's *Rudimenta musicae* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1533), went through 46 editions from 1537 to 1583. Facsimile of the 1549 edition (Nürnberg: Petreius), ed. by Georg Schünemann. *Veröffentlichungen der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch 8* (Berlin: Breslauer, 1927); English trans. by Albert Seay. *CCMP translations 6* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1975). Listenius defines the *tactus* as *totalis, integralis, or maior* when it corresponds to a breve; *generalis, vulgaris, or minor* when it corresponds to a semibreve; and *specialis or proportionatus* when it corresponds to any other value.

³ The first study to deny the validity of Heyden's *tactus* theory was Carl Dahlhaus, "Zur Theorie des Tactus im 16. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 17/1 (1960) 22–39. Dahlhaus refined his views in "Die Tactus- und Proportionenlehre des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts", *Hören, Messen und Rechnen in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer. *Geschichte der Musiktheorie 6* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987) 333–61. Other studies that interpret mensural notation in ways that are at odds with Heyden's theory include Anna Maria Busse Berger, "The relationship of perfect and imperfect time in Italian theory of the Renaissance", *Early music history* 5 (1985) 1–28; idem, *Mensuration and proportion signs: Origin and evolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 51–86; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "The relative speed of *tempora* in the period of Dufay", *RMA research chronicle* 17 (1981) 33–51;

with Heyden's theory, but to examine how he formulated his ideas and why his views had such a powerful impact on his successors from the 16th century through the 20th. Heyden's approach to the study of musical notation was in many ways similar to that of more recent musicologists. Comparing his research methods with those of later scholars sheds light not only on his theory, but also on current debates over problems relating to mensuration and *tactus*.

Heyden was not a professional musician, but a scholar and educator for whom music formed only one strand of a more ambitious career. Born to a family of Nuremberg patricians in 1499, he studied under the noted humanist and music theorist Johannes Cochlaeus and received a master's degree from the University of Ingolstadt in 1519. From 1525 to his death in 1561 he served as rector of the school of St. Sebald in Nuremberg. The position included responsibility for the school choir, as well as teaching and administration.⁴ Heyden was widely admired for his learning and wrote extensively on education and theology, as well as music. His religious views in the 1530s, though formally Lutheran, were influenced by the teachings of Zwingli.⁵

Heyden's attitude toward music was a product of his education, social status, and religion. Following Erasmus, he grants music a role in refreshing the mind after more serious studies, but condemns those who are devoted to it excessively and expresses reservations about its use in church.⁶ He believes that the art of music is founded on rational principles and disdains both theorists who "preferred to subscribe to the opinions of others rather than to follow the definite judgment of their own carefully considered reasoning"⁷ and musicians who "if they knew anything, learned it only from practice, and not from art, so that when questioned they cannot prove their opinion with a genuine reason."⁸ His interpretations of mensuration and proportion signs were influenced by the Pythagorean aesthetic view that equates beauty with proportion. He berates musicians who vary the speed of the *tactus* on grounds that proportions can be realized only in relation to a constant standard of measure:

Through this heedlessness of various *tactus* the order and nature of proportions ... are confused and altogether deformed.... For when we see so many types of *tactus* invented only to change the speed of a song repeatedly, making it now slower, now faster, now very fast, what then, I ask, are we to think these innovators understood by proportions, augmentations, and diminutions? It is absolutely certain from the art itself that they wanted to show through diverse species of *tactus* the same thing that older musicians

Rob C. Wegman, "What is 'acceleratio mensurae'?" *Music & letters* 73/4 (November 1992) 515–24; Alexander Blachly, *Mensuration and tempo in 15th-century music: Cut signatures in theory and practice* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1995); and Ruth I. DeFord, "On diminution and proportion in 15th-century music theory," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58/1 (spring 2005) 1–67.

⁴ In Nuremberg the rector (*Schulmeister*), rather than the cantor, was responsible for the school choirs. See Bartlett Butler, *Liturgical music in 16th-century Nürnberg: A socio-musical study* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1970) 2 vols., 527–28. I thank Professor Butler for clarifying this matter and offering other helpful comments on this paper.

⁵ The most extensive biographical study of Heyden is Alfred Kosel, *Sebald Heyden (1499–1561): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Nürnberger Schulmusik in der Reformationszeit* (Würzburg: Triltsch, 1940).

⁶ Heyden, *Musicae stoiceiosis*, fols. A2^r–A2^v and A3^r–A4^r; quoted and translated in Judd, *Reading Renaissance music theory*, 93–94, n. 29; *Musicae, id est, artis canendi*, book 1, ch. 1, 2–4; and *De arte canendi*, book 1, ch. 1, 2–4 (Miller translation, 26–27).

⁷ "Qui ... aliorum opinionibus subscribere, quam certum aliquod suae exquisitae rationis iudicium sequi malverunt." Heyden, *De arte canendi*, fol. A2^r (Miller translation, 18). My translations sometimes differ in detail from the published translations cited.

⁸ "Si quicquam sciverunt, id ipsum ex solo usu, nulla vero arte ita habuerint, ut interrogati, ne quidem verisimili ratione sententiam suam possent comprobare." *Ibid.*, fol. A4^r (Miller translation, 20–21).

showed much more correctly and artfully by the completeness or diminution of signs or by proportions.⁹

He compares musicians who change the *tactus* within a piece to mathematicians who demonstrate numerical relationships with inconsistent sizes of units and carpenters who construct buildings without measuring tools.¹⁰

Heyden's theory is inextricably bound to the culture of Nuremberg in the 1530s, in which the music of Josquin and his contemporaries played a major role. Beginning in 1537 Nuremberg publishers issued a series of large anthologies of music of the Josquin era. These prints mark the beginning of the so-called "German Josquin Renaissance", which continued unabated through the 1560s and beyond.¹¹ Heyden's motive for studying the mensuration and proportion signs in this repertoire was twofold. First, the notation sometimes includes obsolete signs that singers had to understand in order to perform the music. Second, Heyden believed that old music should be performed in the historically correct way, and this objective could be met only if the original meanings of the signs were properly understood. The second motive became increasingly important as Heyden's views evolved over time. The mensural complexities that occupy most of his attention in the later editions of his treatise are rare in practice. The bulk of the repertoire that he discusses can be, and generally was, performed without benefit of his theory, but in ways that he found objectionable.

In the letters of dedication of the three editions of his treatise (1532, 1537, and 1540) to the Nuremberg patrician Hieronymus Baumgartner, Heyden informs the reader in detail about the motives and methods underlying his project. The most striking feature of his theory is that it is not a description of practices that he knew from experience, but an attempt to reconstruct the meanings of signs as he believed they were understood in earlier, more enlightened times. He was convinced that his contemporaries misunderstood and misused signs, and he aimed to restore signs to their original and correct functions. From a historical point of view this undertaking is unprecedented. Earlier theorists sometimes expressed a distaste for modern innovations, but they did not attempt to recover lost musical practices through historical research.

Heyden tells his readers "how great a labor it was... to collect definite rules on signs... and to reduce the [current] fickle license in the formation of signs to a truly definite science."¹² This labor occupied him throughout the decade of the 1530s. The

⁹ "Per eam enim temeritatem variorum Tactuuum, omnis ratio et natura Proportionum... confusa, ac omnino deformata est.... Cum enim tam multiplices Tactuuum species ob hoc tantum excogitatas videamus, ut motum cantus subinde mutarent, nunc tardiozem, nunc concitatiozem, nunc properantissimum faciendo. Quaeso ergo, quid nam illos novatozes, de Proportionibus, Augmentationibus, ac Diminutionibus intellexisse credamus? Certum utique est, ex arte ipsa, quod illi per diversas species Tactus praestare voluerunt, idem veteres per integritatem, aut diminutionem Signorum, aut Proportiones, multo et rectius, et artificiosius praestitisse." Heyden, *De arte canendi*, fol. A3^r (Miller translation, 20).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. A3^r and A4^r–A5^r (Miller translation, 20 and 22).

¹¹ On the role of Josquin's music in 16th-century German musical culture, see in particular Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962–65) vol. 1, 79–100; Patrick Macey, "Josquin as classic: *Qui habitat, Memor esto*, and two imitations unmasked", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118/1 (1993) 1–43; Jessie Ann Owens, "How Josquin became Josquin: Reflections on historiography and reception", *Music in Renaissance cities and courts: Studies in honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. by Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 271–80; and Rob C. Wegman, "Who was Josquin?" *The Josquin companion*, ed. by Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 21–50.

¹² "Quantus vero labor fuerit, ex diversissimis variorum authorum exemplis, certas Signorum regulas colligere, ac vagam illam, in Signis quidlibet fingendi, licentiam, in certam quandam artem redigere..." Heyden, *De arte canendi*, fol. A2^r (Miller translation, 18). Miller translates "vagam illam... licentiam" as "the former uncertainty and license". The word "former" in this translation does not make sense, since it is the former practice that Heyden wishes to restore, and there

three editions of his treatise present increasingly comprehensive and dogmatic versions of his theory. Before 1540 he did not emphasize fixed tempo as a defining feature of his single *tactus*. He may even have been open to the possibility that the speed of the *tactus* could vary from one piece to another as long as it did not change within a piece. In 1537 he writes:

Others teach three types of *tactus*, which the common mass of singers has accepted in singing for a long time. But if one examines the nature of this art ... more correctly, he will certainly be convinced that there is only one type of *tactus* ... For if the *tactus* is to be divided, there will not be another one resulting from it [i.e., it will not change into another *tactus*], whether it moves slower or faster itself, but rather whether it applies to more or fewer notes.¹³

This statement denies that a change of speed changes the identity of the *tactus*, but it does not exclude the possibility that the *tactus* may have different speeds in different pieces. In 1540 Heyden adds a sentence that explicitly requires a *tactus* of the same speed for all pieces:

If older musicians wanted a faster or slower song, they showed this not through a faster or slower *tactus*, but through longer or shorter values of the notes themselves.¹⁴

In the earlier editions of the treatise, the defining features of Heyden's *tactus* seem to be equal division and constant speed within a piece. In 1540 the speed of the *tactus* is also fixed, although Heyden never defines that speed in relation to an external standard of measure.

The tone of Heyden's writing becomes increasingly polemical from one edition to the next. In 1532 he explains how to measure proportions in relation to a fixed *tactus*, but he does not explicitly oppose alternative theories. In 1537 and 1540 he attacks the traditional three-*tactus* theory directly. The title of the chapter summarizing his position, absent in 1532, is changed from "On the same *tactus* for all songs and the resolution of diverse signs" in 1537 to "On the unique uniformity of the *tactus*, to be preserved in all of the diverse types of songs, and on the mutual resolution of various signs" in 1540.¹⁵ The principle of uniform *tactus* in its most extreme form had become so vital to him by the end of the decade that he devoted the entire dedication of the last edition of his work to the subject. The defensive tone of that edition suggests that the idea may have encountered more resistance than he anticipated.

Heyden rejected the testimony of earlier theorists on the subject of *tactus* on grounds that previous writers either failed to discuss the issue in detail or explained

is no word in the original text that suggests that meaning.

¹³ "Ab aliis quidem tria Tactuū genera traduntur, quae et vulgus Cantorum in cantando iamdiu recepit. Verum si quis ipsius artis ... naturam ... rectius perspiciat, utique convincetur, non nisi unicum Tactus genus esse ... Non enim, si omnino dividendus Tactus sit, ex eo alius erit, si lentius aut concitatus ipse moveatur. Sed potius, si aut plures, aut pauciores Notulas absolvat." Heyden, *Musicae, id est, artis canendi*, book 1, ch. 5, fol. F2^r-F2^v. I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his advice on the interpretation of this passage.

¹⁴ "Vetustiores Musici, si concitatiorem aut lentiozem cantum vellent, id non per celeriorem aut tardiozem Tactum, sed per ipsarum Notularum, aut protractiozem aut contractiozem valorem praesiterunt." Heyden, *De arte canendi*, 41 (Miller translation, 53).

¹⁵ Heyden, *Musicae, id est, artis canendi*, book 2, ch. 7, fol. N1^r ("De eodem Tactu omnium Cantionum, & Resolutione diversorum Signorum"), and *De arte canendi*, book 2, ch. 7, 110 ("De unica Tactuū aequilibrate, in quantumlibet diversis cantuum speciebus servanda: Deque mutua variorum Signorum resolutione"; Miller translation, 97).

it in ways that he regarded as irrational.¹⁶ He therefore turned to the direct analysis of old music, much of which was available to him in the personal library of the local patrician Ulrich Stark before the appearance of the Nuremberg prints.¹⁷ Believing that every sign had one and only one correct meaning and that composers of the past used signs in the correct way, he analyzed contrasting signs in simultaneous relations and deduced empirically the *tactus* that would coordinate the voices with different signs most effectively. He then concluded that the same *tactus* and the same tempo relations applied to the signs in nonsimultaneous contexts as well. When he encountered a combination of signs that did not work in the usual way, he attributed the anomaly to error.¹⁸ His theory works well for the majority of simultaneous signs in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Its weakness lies in the assumption that the same relations apply in successive and independent contexts as well. Since Heyden believed that logical consistency was an essential foundation of music as an art, however, he could not have regarded that assumption as one that was open to question.

Heyden chose his examples from works by composers whom he regarded as “the best and most esteemed musicians.”¹⁹ Nearly all of them were of the Josquin generation and already dead before Heyden began his work. Although his book is ostensibly an explanation of the notation of his examples, he sometimes took the liberty of changing the original notation to strengthen his points. He justifies this procedure with a disclaimer that lays bare many of the beliefs and values underlying his efforts:

In some of the examples ... I have changed the form of the notes, or in some others I have placed the note forms under different signs, applying a notation other than that used by the composer himself. In this I have no doubt that any fair judge will believe it was done properly and justly, because, despite the changes in notes and signs, the nature of the music clearly remains complete and unchanged in what pertains to contrapuntal composition and the intent of the composer.... This is done with such equity that no composer can complain that it has caused him any harm.²⁰

¹⁶ In *De arte canendi*, fol. A2^r (Miller translation, 18), he names Gaffurio, Tinctoris, and Georg Stahler (whose identity I have been unable to determine) as theorists who say little or nothing about *tactus*, although their works are exemplary in other respects. He leaves the theorists he regards as irrational unnamed. Many of the elements of Heyden's *tactus* theory are found in earlier writings, but no previous theorist combines them into a rigid, comprehensive system in the way that he does.

¹⁷ Heyden, *Musicae, id est, artis canendi*, fol. Aiii^r, reproduced in Mariko Teramoto, *Die Psalmmotettendrucke des Johannes Petrejus in Nürnberg*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 10 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983) 55. Judd, *Reading Renaissance music theory*, 94–104, discusses the music that Heyden borrowed from Stark and used in his treatises. Most of it is drawn from Petrucci prints published between 1502 and 1507. Whether Stark owned the prints themselves or manuscript copies of them is not known.

¹⁸ For example, since Heyden believed that signs of major prolation without a stroke signify augmentation, he regarded the absence of a stroke in those signs in Ockeghem's *Missa prolationum* as a scribal error. *De arte canendi*, book 2, ch. 2, 69 (Miller translation, 73).

¹⁹ In *Musicae, id est, artis canendi*, fols. Aii^r–Aiii^r, reproduced in Teramoto, *Die Psalmmotettendrucke*, 54–55, Heyden names Josquin, Obrecht, Pierre de la Rue, and Isaac as some of the “optimi ac laudatissimi Musici” from whom he drew his examples. In the letter of dedication of *De arte canendi*, fol. A3^r (Miller translation, 19), he identifies Ghiselin and Obrecht as composers who used signs in a particularly artful way.

²⁰ “Quod autem in aliquibus exemplis ... formulas notularum, aut transposuerim, aut interdum alijs, atque alijs Signis subiecerim, aliter videlicet, quam ipsius authoris formula habebat, in eo non dubito, quin aequus quisque iudex, id factum pro aequo, et iusto habiturus sit, in quo, quamlibet mutatis Notulis ac Signis, tota tamen cantionis constitutio, quod ad Contra puncti compositionem, ac autoris mentem pertinet, non mutata, sed plane integra, ac perpetuo eadem permaneat.... Idque tanta aequitate, ut interim nemo auctorum de ulla sibi facta iniuria conqueri possit.” Heyden, *De arte canendi*, fol. A5^r–A5^v (Miller translation, 22–23).

Harm to a dead composer! The notion implies a host of assumptions that have long been commonplace, but were radically new at the time of Heyden's writing: Music is part of a permanent cultural heritage that accumulates over time and is founded on the works of dead composers whose excellence has earned them the status of classics. A composer therefore has a stake in his posthumous reputation. He has one and only one intention for how his works should be performed. That intention can be recovered through historical research, even if it has not been preserved in an unbroken living tradition. Notation is a complete representation of the composer's concept; it may be transcribed from one form to another without changing the essence of the music that it encodes.²¹ Performers are duty-bound to respect the composer's intentions, because the composer in some sense owns his works even after his death.

This view of music history might have seemed self-evident to proponents of the so-called "authentic performance movement" of the 1960s and 1970s, but it would have been incomprehensible to people much before Heyden's time. The concept of "composer" itself is not much older than the repertoire from which Heyden drew his examples of classic excellence, and the idea that composers of a relatively remote past should serve as models to be emulated by those of the present was quite new.²² The view has clear parallels, however, in the humanist and religious agendas of the time. Heyden drew an explicit parallel between his goal in relation to music and the efforts of humanists such as Erasmus in "restoring liberal arts from abuse or barbarisms to their true practice and natural condition."²³ He was aware that his classic models were much more recent than the venerated writers of antiquity, but he justified the parallel on grounds that the ancients would have revered polyphonic music as a revelation from heaven if they had invented it.²⁴ He does not point out the analogy between his historical claims and those of the Protestant reformers who claimed to be restoring Christianity from its current corrupt state to an original, pristine form (and could not have done so, given the delicate relationship between Lutheran Nuremberg and the Catholic Emperor), but the relationship is too obvious to overlook. All of these enterprises share a sense of historical distance from an idealized period in the past and promote works of that period as a source of reform and renewal for the corrupt present era.

Heyden's place in this cultural context makes for an interesting comparison with that of Glarean. Superficially, the interests and beliefs of the two theorists were quite opposite. Glarean was a Catholic who developed a new system of mode and transmitted only conventional ideas about mensuration. Heyden was a Protestant who developed a new system of mensuration and transmitted only conventional ideas about mode. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two men were in many ways greater than their differences. Both were humanist scholars who received their early musical training

²¹ Heyden is to my knowledge the first scholar to change the notation of his musical examples for purposes of theoretical demonstration. His claim that this can be done without changing the meaning of the notation is one that applies implicitly to scholarly editions of old music and examples in musicological studies ever since. Only recently has the view that the graphic form of a notation is inseparable from its meaning even been considered. The issue is discussed in Margaret Bent, "Editing early music: The dilemma of translation," *Early music* 22/3 (August 1994) 373–92.

²² On the origin and cultural significance of the concept of "composer," see Rob C. Wegman, "From maker to composer: Improvisation and musical authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49/3 (fall 1996) 409–79.

²³ "De ingenuis vero artibus, ex abusu, aut barbarie, in verum usum, ac genuinam formam restituendis..." Heyden, *De arte canendi*, fol. A1^v (Miller translation, 17).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. A2^v (Miller translation, 19).

from Cochlaeus. They shared a belief in the inherently rational nature of music as an art and therefore viewed abstract logic as a valid tool for investigating music-historical questions. They idealized Josquin as a model of excellence and regarded the music of their own time as inferior. Each of them invented a strikingly new theoretical system, but justified his innovations as a restoration of lost truth. Although neither of their systems had much relation to current practice, both influenced music theory and history profoundly for centuries to come. The principal difference between Heyden and Glarean is that Glarean's goal was purely theoretical, while Heyden aimed to reform performance practice as well as theory.²⁵

Heyden's views had a significant impact on later mensural theory, especially in Germany and France in the 1550s, though they were by no means universally accepted. Their prestige was based on the logical rigor of Heyden's reasoning, the clarity and consistency of his conclusions, and his personal reputation for erudition. Later writers confirm that his theory does not conform to current practice, but they often express admiration for it nevertheless. The extent to which they accept it as a model for performance depends on how they view the relation between speculative theory and practical music-making. Gregor Faber,²⁶ Johann Zanger,²⁷ and Johannes Oridryus²⁸ echo Heyden's condemnation of performers who fail to interpret signs according to strict rules. Loys Bourgeois,²⁹ Gallus Dressler,³⁰ and Eucharius Hofmann³¹ accept Heyden's claim that older musicians used a uniform *tactus*, but advocate different alternatives for the present. Other theorists negotiate the contradictions between Heyden's theory and current practices in a variety of ways.

Heinrich Faber and Hermann Finck express respect for Heyden's theory, but make allowance for exceptions to it in practice. Faber ignores Heyden and treats the semibreve as the *tactus* of ♩ without comment in his elementary *Compendiolum musicae* of 1548.³² In his more extensive *Ad musicam practicam introductio*, which appeared in Nuremberg two years later,³³ he calls Heyden "doctissimus vir" and acknowledges that the single-*tactus* theory is correct in principle, but nevertheless allows students to use three types of *tactus* for greater ease.³⁴ He compromises with Heyden by stating that the semibreve *tactus* should be twice as fast in ♩ as in ♩ , although it is only a little faster in practice.³⁵ Finck begins the discussion of *tactus* in his *Practica musica* of 1556 by stating that there are three types of *tactus* and illustrating each of them with a musical example, then

²⁵ On the cultural context of Glarean's theory, see Sarah Fuller, "Defending the *Dodecachordon*: Ideological currents in Glarean's modal theory", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49/2 (summer 1996) 191–224.

²⁶ Gregor Faber, *Musices practicae erotematum libri II* (Basel: Petri, 1553) book 2, ch. 9, 45–47.

²⁷ Johann Zanger, *Practicae musicae praecepta* (Leipzig: Hantzsch, 1554) fol. U^r–U^r.

²⁸ Johannes Oridryus, *Practicae musicae utriusque praecepta brevia* (Düsseldorf: Baethen, 1557). Renate Federhofer-Königs, ed., *Johannes Oridryus und sein Musiktraktat* (Köln: Volk, 1957) 128–29.

²⁹ Loys Bourgeois, *Le droit chemin de musique* (Geneva: [Gérard], 1550) ch. 6, fol. C3^r.

³⁰ Gallus Dressler, *Musicae practicae elementa* (Magdeburg: Kirchner, 1571) fol. I6^r.

³¹ Eucharius Hofmann, *Musicae practicae praecepta* (Wittenberg: Schwertel, 1572) fol. Ivi^r–Ivi^r.

³² Heinrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* (Brunswick, 1548) fol. A6^r. This book was the most popular textbook in 16th-century Lutheran schools. It went through 50 editions up to 1617 and formed the basis of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendium musicae* (Augsburg: Schönig, 1591), which appeared in 13 editions to 1681, and Melchior Vulpius's *Musicae compendium latino germanicum M. Henrici Fabri* (Jena: Weidner und Birnstiel, 1608), which appeared in nine editions to 1665.

³³ Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (Nürnberg: Berg und Neuber, 1550). This book went through only five editions, 1550–71.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, part II, ch. 5, fol. S4^r–T^r.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. P2^r.

qualifies the point by saying that older musicians more correctly used only two types.³⁶ A few pages later he retreats still further, stating that “although there is clearly no use in inventing several types of *tactus* ... since it is not only convenient, but truly necessary, to use one and the same [*tactus*] in all types of songs, nevertheless, for the purpose of teaching, several types of *tactus* are used.”³⁷ I am reminded of Mantle Hood’s story of the way a Javanese musician explained the tuning of the five-note *sléndro* scale to him: “[The spaces between the notes] are all the same size.... [Jaap] Kunst explained this in his book ... but we don’t play them that way.”³⁸ Finck knew that there was only one type of *tactus* because Heyden explained the principle in his book, but the musicians he knew did not measure music that way.

Philibert Jambe de Fer and Jean Yssandon accept parts of Heyden’s theory, but misinterpret Heyden’s ideas in ways that bring them closer to reality. Jambe de Fer, who cites the single-*tactus* theory on unspecified authority in his *Épitome musical* of 1556, disapproves of the unequally divided *tactus* on grounds that only one type of *tactus* is necessary,³⁹ but does not tie the *tactus* to different written values under different signs. For him, the signs C , C_2 , and C all have the same *tactus* (presumably the semibreve) when they appear in all voices. When C is combined with another of these signs, C functions as augmentation, rather than C , C_2 , or C as diminution.⁴⁰ Yssandon, who derives much of the material of his *Traité de la musique pratique* of 1582 from *De arte canendi*, follows Heyden in applying the *tactus* to the semibreve in C and the breve in C , C_2 , and C , but interprets Heyden’s first statement about the speed of the *tactus* quoted above (p. 4–5) to mean that a slower or faster *tactus* is acceptable because speed does not affect the identity of the *tactus*.⁴¹

Other theorists give even less credence to Heyden’s theory as a model for practical performance. Some express respect for Heyden’s erudition but tacitly ignore his views on *tactus*. Glarean, for example, calls Heyden “*insignis musicus*” and uses many of his musical examples, but bases his discussion of *tactus* on common practice, not on Heyden’s theory.⁴² Ambros Wilphlingseder, who served as cantor under Heyden at St. Sebald beginning in 1550, borrows much of the text and many examples from Heyden in his *Erotemata musices practicae* of 1563, but advocates the traditional three *tactus*

³⁶ Hermann Finck, *Practica musica* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1556; facs. ed., Biblioteca musica bononiensis II/21, Bologna: Forni, [1969]), fol. Fiii^r–Gii^r.

³⁷ “Quamvis autem plura genera tactuum fingere, ut saepe dictum, plane nihil opus sit, cum unico et eodem in cantibus omnis generis uti non solum commodum, verum etiam necessarium sit, tamen docendi gratia plura genera tactuum usurpantur.” *Ibid.*, fol. Ki^r. The first part of this passage (through “verum etiam necessarium sit”) is quoted almost verbatim from Heyden, *De arte canendi*, book 2, ch. 2, 65 (Miller translation, 71).

³⁸ Mantle Hood, *The ethnomusicologist* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1982) 221.

³⁹ “Of *touchement* or *tacte* ... we have two types, although it is said that only one is necessary. I do not know where this error came from, if not from the bad habit and lack of care of musicians ...” (“Du *touchement*, ou *tacte* ... nous en avons de deux sortes, encore qu’il soit dit n’en falloir que d’un. Je ne sçay dont est procedée la faute, si non par mauvaïse coustume & nonchallance des Musiciens ...” Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Épitome musical* (Lyon: Du Bois, 1556) 43. Facsimile in François Lesure, “*L’Épitome musical* de Philibert Jambe de Fer (1556)”, *Annales musicologiques* 6 (1958–63) 341–86.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁴¹ “Some hold that there are three types of *tactus*, but in fact there is only one; whether the *tactus* is faster or slower it will be only one ...” (“Aucuns tiennent qu’il y a trois especes de batue, mais à la verité il n’en y a qu’une, soit la batue plus hastée, ou plus tarde ne sera qu’une ...”). Jean Yssandon, *Traité de la musique pratique* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1582; repr. ed. Genève: Minkoff, 1972) 17–18.

⁴² Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Petri, 1547) book 1, ch. 4, 6. Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile II/65 (facs. ed., New York: Broude Brothers, [1967]). English trans. by Clement A. Miller. Musicological studies and documents 6 ([Roma]: American Institute of Musicology, 1965) 46.

without comment.⁴³ Most theorists simply relegate Heyden's *tactus* theory to the realm of speculation by not mentioning it in books on practical music, but the iconoclastic Adrian Petit Coclico, known to musicologists through his questionable claim to have been a student of Josquin, opposes it directly. In his *Compendium musices*, published under Heyden's nose in Nuremberg in 1552, Coclico expresses open contempt for "musician-mathematicians, who have contrived an infinite number of other signs and turned away the souls of youth from the true practice of music, making something clear in itself obscure."⁴⁴ He names Gaffurio, not Heyden, as such a person, but the implication that Heyden is his more immediate adversary is obvious.

Theorists continued to cite Heyden as an authoritative figure until the early 17th century, but his *tactus* theory attracted little attention after about 1570. With the rise of historical musicology in 19th-century Germany, however, Heyden's work assumed central importance as a guide to interpreting the notation of music of the 15th and 16th centuries. The pioneering study of mensural notation, Heinrich Bellermann's *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* of 1858, is based almost exclusively on Heyden and draws thirteen of its 20 examples of relationships among signs from *De arte canendi*.⁴⁵ Bellermann opens part II of his book with a statement that the ancients measured all signs in relation to a fixed unit of time, called "Schlag" or "tactus", that was marked by lowering and raising the hand or baton.⁴⁶ Three of his examples of this principle are pieces in which Heyden altered the original notation to support his theory.⁴⁷ Bellermann did not consult the original sources of the examples that he borrowed from Heyden. He not only fails to mention Heyden's tinkering with the notation of some of them, but also explains the fact that one of his examples includes

⁴³ Ambros Wilphlingseder, *Erotemata musices practicae* (Nürnberg: Heussler, 1563) ch. 14, 320–21.

⁴⁴ "Mathematicorum Musicorum, qui alia infinita signa excogitarunt, et animos adolescentum à vero Musices usu abalienarunt, rem per se quidem claram obscuram reddentes." Adrian Petit Coclico, *Compendium musices* (Nürnberg: Berg und Neuber, 1552) fol. Gii. English trans. by Albert Seay, *Musical compendium*, CCMP translations 5 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1973) 18.

⁴⁵ Heinrich Bellermann, *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Reimer, 1858). Bellermann credits Heyden as the source of ten of these thirteen examples. He gives no source for one (p. 57) and cites Glarean as the source for two others (pp. 65 and 82), though Glarean in turn took them from Heyden. (Bellermann attributes the example on p. 62 to both Glarean and Heyden.) Using the example numbers in Judd, *Reading Renaissance music theory*, 109–14, the examples that Bellermann took directly or indirectly from *De arte canendi* are as follows:

36 Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, Benedictus (p. 58)

33 Obrecht, *Missa Je ne demande*, Qui tollis (p. 61)

42 Pierre de la Rue, *Missa L'homme armé*, Agnus II (p. 62)

41 Josquin, *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, Agnus II (p. 65)

40 N[icolaus] P[iltz], untitled (p. 67)

30 Ghiselen, *Missa Narayge*, Cum Sancto Spiritu (p. 69)

37 Josquin, *Missa ad fugam*, Benedictus (p. 71)

61 Ockeghem, *Missa prolationum*, Et in terra (p. 79)

43 Isaac, *De radice Jesse* (p. 82)

18 Ockeghem, *Missa prolationum*, Kyrie 1 (p. 88)

20 Isaac, *Missa paschali*, Sanctus (p. 90)

38 Isaac, *Coeli, terrae, maris* (p. 92)

— Brumel, *Missa ut re mi fa sol la*, Agnus Dei I (missing from Judd's table; p. 96)

Bellermann attributes three examples not found in Heyden to other theorists: Gumpelzhaimer (p. 59), Gaffurio (p. 74), and Glarean (p. 100). His remaining four examples are unidentified.

⁴⁶ Bellermann, *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen*, 55.

⁴⁷ They are Ghiselen, *Missa Narayge*, Cum Sancto Spiritu (p. 69), Josquin, *Missa ad fugam*, Benedictus (p. 71), and Brumel, *Missa ut re mi fa sol la*, Agnus I (p. 96).

only the tenor voice on grounds that Heyden “unfortunately” neglected to include the other voices in his treatise.⁴⁸

Bellermann’s book went through four editions, the last of which appeared as recently as 1963.⁴⁹ Later German scholars were heavily influenced by it, although some acknowledged its limitations. In the third volume of his *Geschichte der Musik*, published in 1868, August Wilhelm Ambros calls *De arte canendi* “one of the classic works on music, the worth of which has not been destroyed by the centuries—everywhere excellent and thorough erudition.”⁵⁰ Hugo Riemann includes Heyden as one of only six authorities from the 16th century in the chronological table of theorists in his 1878 *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*.⁵¹ On Heyden’s authority, Riemann defines cut signs without qualification as signs of duple proportion or doubling of the standard tempo.⁵² Ernst Praetorius,⁵³ Johannes Wolf,⁵⁴ and Georg Schünemann⁵⁵ take account of a wider range of sources in their studies of *tactus* and mensuration, but remain indebted to some aspects of Bellermann’s outlook. Wolf describes Bellermann’s work as an excellent textbook which, despite some deficiencies, had not been superseded in 1913.⁵⁶ Schünemann acknowledges that Heyden’s single-*tactus* theory is a simplification of earlier practices, but nevertheless maintains—contrary to Heyden’s explicit testimony—that musicians did not vary the speed of the *tactus* within a piece until the mensural system began to disintegrate toward the end of the 16th century.⁵⁷ Heyden’s biographer Alfred Kosel asserts that because Heyden was an educator who had close contact with musical practice, his theory can be taken at face value as a description of the way 16th-century music was performed.⁵⁸

The views of this German school were transmitted to the English-speaking world through the influential writings of Curt Sachs⁵⁹ and Willi Apel.⁶⁰ Apel defines *tactus*

⁴⁸ Bellermann, *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen*, 61.

⁴⁹ Bellermann, *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen*, 4th ed., ed. by Heinrich Husmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963).

⁵⁰ “Eines der klassischen Musikwerke, deren Werth die Jahrhunderte nicht zu zerstören vermocht haben—überall tüchtige und gründliche Gelehrsamkeit.” August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*. III: *Geschichte der Musik im Zeitalter der Renaissance, bis zu Palestrina* (Breslau: Leuckart, 1868) 158.

⁵¹ Hugo Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878) iii. The other 16th-century theorists in this list are Aaron, Glarean, Zarlino, Heinrich Faber, and Lucas Lossius. Riemann discusses other theorists in his text, but singles out the ones in the table as the most important.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 267–68. Riemann acknowledges that cut signs cannot represent proportions when there is no integral sign in a piece to which they may be compared, but he states that signs of diminution represent tempos twice as fast as integral signs even when they do not function as proportions.

⁵³ Ernst Praetorius, *Die Mensuraltheorie des Franchinus Gafurius und der folgenden Zeit bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihefte II/2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905).

⁵⁴ Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2 vols. Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen 8 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913–19).

⁵⁵ Georg Schünemann, “Zur Frage des Taktschlagens und der Textbehandlung in der Mensuralmusik”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10 (1908–09), 73–114, and Georg Schünemann, *Geschichte des Dirigierens* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913) 36–68.

⁵⁶ Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, vol. 1, 381.

⁵⁷ Schünemann, *Geschichte des Dirigierens*, 64–65. Schünemann estimates the presumed standard speed of the *tactus* at approximately MM 72 on the basis of a small selection of comments by theorists other than Heyden in “Zur Frage des Taktschlagens”, 87–88.

⁵⁸ “As a teacher and musician, Sebald Heyden was not a theorist removed from the world, but an educator who had the closest relationship with youth; precisely for that reason, he could express in words that which experience had taught him, and he could therefore also be a helper and adviser to others with his scholarly works.” (“Sebald Heyden war als Lehrer und Musiker kein weltferner Theoretiker, sondern er war ein Erzieher, der mit der Jugend in engster Verbindung stand, der gerade deshalb im Worte das nachschaffen konnte, was ihn die Erfahrung gelehrt hatte und der darum auch anderen mit seinen wissenschaftlichen Werken Helfer und Berater sein durfte.”) Kosel, *Sebald Heyden*, 52.

⁵⁹ Curt Sachs, *Rhythm and tempo: A study in music history* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1953).

⁶⁰ Willi Apel, *The notation of polyphonic music, 900–1600* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America,

simply as “a fixed, i.e., unchangeable unit of time,”⁶¹ omitting any reference to the physical motion to which the term applied in the 15th and 16th centuries. He claims that “variability of tempo may have been practically unknown” before the end of the 16th century; previously “there existed only one way of changing the temporal duration of a given note, that is, by proportions. Thus the proportional signs, if used simultaneously in all the parts, represent the tempo marks, nay, the metronomic marks, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.”⁶² Although he goes on to qualify this statement, he could not have taken it as a point of departure without accepting Heyden’s system as the norm in relation to which other alternatives were viewed as deviations.

Why did so many first-rate scholars take Heyden’s interpretations of signs for a description of real practices when he himself stated so clearly that his contemporaries did not follow his rules and that his theory was a reconstruction based on historical research, not a description of first-hand experience? Some of the factors that attracted later musicologists were surely the same as those that impressed Heyden’s contemporaries: his rationality, clarity, erudition, and authoritative reputation among his followers. Other factors have more to do with the preoccupations of the 19th and 20th centuries than with those of Heyden’s time. From a practical point of view, Heyden offered workable solutions to the challenging problems posed by the most complex examples of mensural notation. The assumptions and methods on which he based his conclusions did not arouse suspicion among early musicologists, because his approach to music history was essentially the same as their own. Like him, they learned about music of the past by analyzing samples of written music by “great composers” and extrapolated observations about signs from one context to another.

Aesthetic and historical beliefs also influenced the reception of Heyden’s theory among musicologists of the past 150 years. Heyden’s uniform *tactus* functions as an abstract coordinator of tempo relations and often obscures or conflicts with the rhythmic grouping of the notes that it measures, especially when Heyden “resolves” relatively complex notations into simpler forms. For example, when he transcribes \bigcirc to ♠ by doubling the note values (and transferring the *tactus* from the semibreve to the breve), he removes the notational representation of the ternary grouping of *tactus*.⁶³ His resolutions of more complex notation, such as the transcription of major prolation to C in Ockeghem’s *Missa prolationum*,⁶⁴ obscure still further the mensural structures implied by the original notation. Early musicologists seized on this feature of Heyden’s theory to bolster their image of mensural rhythm as free-flowing and devoid of accentual quality. This image was a key factor in the Romantic notion of the pure spirituality of the so-called Palestrina style. Schünemann insists that the *tactus* was a purely external means of time measurement with no relation to accent or rhythmic grouping, and that the absence of accents was what gave mensural music its “proper churchly character.”⁶⁵ Sachs

1942). The book went through five editions from 1942 to 1953; the fifth edition was reprinted with revisions in 1961.

⁶¹ Willi Apel, *The notation of polyphonic music, 900–1600* (5th ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953) 147. Paraphrases of this definition recur on pp. 190 and 191.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 189–90.

⁶³ Heyden illustrates this procedure in *De arte canendi*, 75–79 (Miller translation, 77–79).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 69–70 (Miller translation, 73–74).

⁶⁵ Schünemann regards the absence of barlines as support for the view that mensural music was without accents. “What is striking ... is ... the absence of barlines, which ... gave [the music] that purely musical rhythm, fully liberated from the earthly, which so often lent works their proper churchly character.” (“Das Auffallende ... ist ... das Fehlen der Taktstriche, das ... [der Musik] jenen vom Irdischen ganz losgelöste, nur rein musikalische Rhythmik gab, die den

rejects the concept of accent-free mensural rhythm as a “pious legend”, but nevertheless maintains that *tactus* was unrelated to rhythm and that accents had nothing to do with mensuration.⁶⁶

For some musicologists, concepts of rhythm inspired by Heyden’s theory also served to distinguish the newly defined “Renaissance” from the preceding “Gothic” and the following “Baroque” historical eras. Ambros, the first scholar to apply the term “Renaissance” to a historical period in music, stresses fluidity as the defining feature of Renaissance rhythm. He praises Heyden for demonstrating how to transcribe \circ to ♩ , accepting without question Heyden’s contention that the procedure has no effect on the meaning of the notation.⁶⁷ Schönemann contrasts the alleged tempo stability of classic mensural music with the expressive tempo variability that inaugurated a new historical era toward the end of the 16th century.⁶⁸ Sachs characterizes the difference between “Renaissance” and “Gothic” rhythm as “simple, sober clarity versus complex involution and dimness; free, creative imagination versus the engineering spirit and delight in technical feats; and satisfaction to the eyes and the ears against satisfaction to reason and reckoning.”⁶⁹ At the other end of the chronological spectrum, he sees foreshadowings of the “Baroque” in the “clean-cut two-beat *tactus*” of late 16th-century *canzonette* and *balletti*—a beat of a wholly different type from the rhythmically neutral *tactus* of the “Renaissance.”⁷⁰

In 1960 Carl Dahlhaus called attention to the conflicts between Heyden’s theory and the music that it purports to explain and concluded that the principle of uniform *tactus* “does not clarify the older system of mensuration and proportion, but contradicts it.”⁷¹ Since then, scholars have become increasingly open to the view that mensural notation was not a static, uniform, and logically consistent system, as they have come to appreciate the diversity and cultural relativity of human beliefs and practices more generally. It is as easy for us to be skeptical of Heyden’s claim for the universal validity of his system as it was impossible for him to doubt it. Nevertheless, Heyden’s view remains to this day the orthodox standard against which alternative interpretations are forced to contend. The entry on Heyden in the current edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* goes so far as to claim that Heyden’s work is distinguished by its closeness to musical practice!⁷²

Heyden’s unquestionably brilliant theory may tell us little about what mensuration and proportion signs meant to Josquin, but it provides rich insights into the beliefs, values, and musical practices of Nuremberg in the 1530s. The lasting influence of his ideas on later musicology sheds similar light on the beliefs and assumptions underlying

Werken so oft den ihnen eigenen kirchlichen Charakter lieh.” Schönemann, “Zur Frage des Taktschlagens”, 95–96. The fact that mensural music was as often secular as sacred did not concern him.

⁶⁶ Sachs, *Rhythm and tempo*, 241–57. For a contrary view of the relation between mensuration and rhythm, see Graeme M. Boone, “Marking mensural time”, *Music theory spectrum* 22/1 (spring 2000) 1–43.

⁶⁷ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 3, 130–35.

⁶⁸ Schönemann, *Geschichte des Dirigierens*, 64–65. Schönemann applies the term “Renaissance” to the 17th century and refers to the music of the 15th and 16th centuries simply as “mensural music”, but he agrees with Ambros and Sachs in distinguishing each of these time spans as a distinct historical era.

⁶⁹ Sachs, *Rhythm and tempo*, 234.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁷¹ “Sein [Heydens] Irrtum aber zeigt, dass die Tactustheorie Sebald Heydens das ältere Mensuren- und Proportionensystem nicht erklärt, sondern ihm widerspricht.” Dahlhaus, “Zur Theorie des Tactus”, 39.

⁷² Bear A. Föllmi, “Heyden, Sebald”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Personenteil*. Ed by Ludwig Finscher (2nd ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002) vol. 8, col. 408.

our more direct musicological heritage. Paying attention not only to the content of Heyden's thought, but also to the beliefs and values on which it is based, can enable us to appreciate his work for what it is, rather than mistaking it for what it is not. In this light, Heyden emerges not as a witness for the notational practices of his time, but as a pioneer of the field that we now call historical musicology.

MUSICAL TRANSMISSION OF GARCILASO DE LA VEGÁ'S POEMS IN CERVANTES'S TEXTS

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Every musical adaptation allows us to understand and explain how the related literary work has been recreated and transformed during a particular epoch.¹ Cervantes's works have provided composers with excellent material for their compositions, and this has to be taken into account in understanding the reception of his works.² At the same time, with frequent references to musical instruments and performances, dances and *bailes*, *romances* and songs, there cannot be any doubt that Cervantes's works faithfully reflect the Spanish musical world of the 16th and 17th centuries. His works not only depict the unique and picturesque environment in which his characters evolve; they also add a particular semantic value to each musical element.

Among the participants in this galaxy of musical performance are representatives of all walks of life, from the highest noble to the lowliest peasant. Cervantes's interest in *romances* and other forms of vocal music often led him to discourse not only on the manner of their interpretation, but also on the aesthetics of the vocal art and on the role of music in society. He saw reflected in music the expression of all man's hopes, longings, travails, and achievements. The power of music—more specifically that of the human voice—to stir the sense and emotions, and to enrich poetic meaning to a higher state of emotional catharsis, was fully recognized by Cervantes. His writings are replete with numerous examples of accurate descriptions of singing and its effect upon him, and he even suggests ways to take care of the voice. He delighted in listening to “a voice of great

¹ See Silvia Alonso, *Música, literatura y semiosis* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2001); Jean Louis Backès, *Musique et littérature: Essai de poétique comparée* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994); Albert Gier and Gerold W. Gruber, *Musik und Literatur: Komparatistische Studien zur Strukturverwandtschaft* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 1995); and Walter Bernhart, Steven P. Scher, and Werner Wolf, eds., *Word and music studies: Defining the field. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Word and Music Studies, Graz 1997* (Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999).

² See Juan José Pastor, *Música y literatura: La senda retórica. Hacia una nueva consideración de la música en Cervantes. I: Nuevos materiales para el análisis de la música en Cervantes y, para el estudio de la recepción musical de su obra* (Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2004); María Rosa Calvo-Manzano, *El arpa en la obra de Cervantes: Don Quijote y la música española* (Valladolid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999); Susan Jane Flynn, *The presence of Don Quixote in music* (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1984); Kurt Pahlen, “Don Quijote in der Musik”, *Europäische Mythen der Neuzeit: Faust und Don Juan. Gesammelte Vorträge des Salzburger Symposions* (Anif: Müller Speisser, 1993), 689–98; Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *La música en las obras de Cervantes: Prólogo de Juan Sedó Peris-Mencheta* (Barcelona: Comitalia, 1948).

beauty”, “a mellow voice”, “a harmonious voice”, “a sweet and dainty voice”, “a gentle and tuneful voice, sweet and low” as well as to “a loud and resounding voice”.³

When dramatic or lyric situations demanded, Cervantes composed an appropriate *romance* in the traditional style; many times he borrowed a text from another poet that had been set to music previously and was consequently widely known and easily recognized by his readers. His writings, particularly *Don Quijote*, are studded with these lovely ballads sung by various characters who accompany themselves on the appropriate instrument: a vihuela,⁴ a rebec, or a harp. Lines from ballads appear in the text many times. Don Quijote himself recites them, especially lines from ballads of the Carolingian cycle, an excellent source of material used by musicians in their courtly compositions. It is interesting how three chapters of the first part of *Don Quijote* begin with a sung poem. Many chapters in both parts begin with one, two, or several “accidental verse-lines”—prose lines that may be read, and consequently sung, as endecasyllables, octosyllables, heptasyllables. Indeed, there are so many that we must assume they are not there by chance, but are instead used deliberately. One of the most striking examples can be found in chapter nine of the second part of *Don Quijote*, which begins with a ballad line that determines a precise moment in time: “Media noche era por filo” (It was on the stroke of midnight).⁵ This is the first line of Count Claros’s ballad, whose extremely popular melody was known to all and was frequently used by vihuela performers in their compositions (I could mention here the popular variations or *diferencias* written by Spanish composers such as Narváez, Milán, or Valderrábano).⁶ It should not be

³ We can see the following examples in writings by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: “alzaron las voces con alegres acentos”, *Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid: José Antonio de Castro y Ediciones Turner, 1993) I, VI, 442; “una voz blanda y suave”, *ibid.*, IX, 453; “estorbó otra voz o voces que llegaron a nuestros oídos, bien diferentes que las pasadas, porque eran más suaves y regaladas”, *ibid.*, II, XV, 604; “buena voz”, *Los baños de Argel*. Cervantes. Teatro completo (Barcelona: Planeta, 1987) verse 1360; “erguida voz”, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, *ibid.*, verse 992; “clara voz”, *La Numancia*, *ibid.*, verse 2408; “voz sutil y quebradiza”, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Novelas ejemplares (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001) 205; “única y estremada voz”, *La española inglesa*. Novelas ejemplares, 252; “voz trocada”, *La fuerza de la sangre*. Novelas ejemplares, 311; “voz atiplada”, *El celoso extremeño*. Novelas ejemplares, 338; “voz entre ronca y baja”, *ibid.*, 358; “tal es la suavidad de la voz”, *Don Quijote* (Barcelona: Crítica; Instituto Cervantes, 1998) I, VI, 86; “tan estremado en la voz como doloroso en los gemidos”, *ibid.*, I, XXVII, 302; “voz grave y sonora”, *ibid.*, II, XXXVI, 934; “suavisima y clara voz”, *ibid.*, II, LXIX, 1187.

⁴ During the period in which Spanish tablatures were printed (1536–76), vihuela performance practice is more attentively documented, after which our knowledge again becomes hazier. Although manuscript sources after 1580 that document a continued practice exist, it was nevertheless the period in which taste and musical styles began to change radically in Spain, and vihuela playing declined in favor of the guitar. In the early 17th century its waning fortunes are aptly portrayed in Sebastian de Covarrubias’s *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española* (1611), in a definition more heavy-hearted than customary in lexicography: “His instrument has been highly esteemed in our time, and there have been most excellent players, but since the invention of the guitar, there are only few who devote themselves to the study of the vihuela. It has been a great loss, because on it could be played all kinds of notated music, and now the guitar is no more than a cowbell, so easy to play, especially in the strummed way, that there isn’t a stable boy who is not a guitarist.” Quoted by John Griffiths, “The vihuela: Performance practice, style, and context”, *Performance on lute, guitar and vihuela: Historical practice and modern interpretation*, ed. by Victor Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 158–79: 160–61.

⁵ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. by Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Crítica, 1998) 695.

⁶ This song was quoted and remade in the following musical sources: Francisco Salinas, *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca, 1577), modern edition by Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta in *Colección Opera omnia* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1983) 597; Alonso de Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela* (Sevilla, 1546), modern edition by Emilio Pujol (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949); Luis de Narváez, “Diferencias sobre el Conde Claros”, *Los seys libros del Delphin de música de cifra para tañer vihuela* (Valladolid: Diego Hernández de Córdoba, 1538) 19–29, modern edition by Emilio Pujol, *Los seys libros del Delphin de música de cifra para tañer vihuela* 3 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Instituto Español de Musicología, 1945) 82–85; Diego Pisador, “Doce maneras sobre Conde Claros”, *Libro de música de vihuela* (Salamanca, 1552), 1r–2v; Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de música de vihuela, intitulado Silva de Sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547), modern edition by Emilio Pujol, “Treinta y siete diferencias sobre Conde Claros” and “Diferencias sobre Conde Claros”, *Monumentos de la música española* 22 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1965) vol. 1, 54–56; vol. 2, 75–91; Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva*

overlooked that chapter one of *The first part of Don Quixote* also begins with a ballad line to identify the place where Don Quijote lived: “En un lugar de la Mancha” (In a place in La Mancha). Although in this last case we have no evidence or proof of its musical performance, it is easy to imagine that Cervantes might have conceived the beginning of his novel as an epic poem composed to be sung.⁷

These musical quotations add another layer of meaning to the work. One of the most striking examples comes from the musical and literary relationship between Garcilaso de la Vega and Cervantes. This paper will explain how Don Quixote's author borrowed lyrical and pastoral texts from Garcilaso's works and made his characters sing them in different literary contexts (especially in *Don Quijote* and *La Galatea*). To understand Cervantes's works as a source for music history, we can also consider the structure and the influence of the original Garcilaso poems, their transformation to musical compositions, and finally, their adaptations by Cervantes using the literary techniques of irony and parody.

Garcilaso was one of the most important Spanish Renaissance poets whose texts were set by 16th-century composers of polyphony, including Pedro and Francisco Guerrero, and even by composers of vihuela music such as Alonso Mudarra. Considered a major poet, his work is important for introducing the so-called “Italian style” into Spain, using in particular the courtly conventions of Petrarch. Extant compositions by Garcilaso comprise two elegies, an epistle to Boscán in free verse, five songs, 38 sonnets, and three eclogues. For his own and succeeding generations, Garcilaso represented the Renaissance ideal of the courtly poet-soldier: a man of arms and learning, quick to love yet wise enough to resign himself to love's loss.⁸

It must be said that Garcilaso de la Vega demonstrated, too, his musical skills as a harp and vihuela player. Fernando de Herrera, in his *Prologue* to Garcilaso's works, describes the poet as a gifted and skillful musician who played the harp and the vihuela

para tecla, harpa y vihuela (Alcalá: Iona de Brocar, 1557), modern edition by Higinio Anglés, *Monumentos de la música española 2* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944) 186–88; *Cancionero musical de Palacio*, modern editions by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1890) and Emilio Casares, *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri. Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI* (Málaga: Departamento de Publicaciones del Centro Cultural de la “Generación del 27”, 1987), no. 329, musical setting by Juan del Encina; Francisco Salinas, “Retraída está la infanta”, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, 606, with the same music of *Conde Claros*; James Trend quotes an old version in Catalan established by Agiló y Fuster, “Mitra nit er i passava”: See James Trend, *The music of Spanish history to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926).

⁷ “Estos dos ejemplos nos han de servir para plantear el hecho de que el mismo Cervantes se sirve de tópicos que, aún aventurando la hipótesis de que él mismo no conociera, indudablemente son musicados por sus contemporáneos y el desarrollo de idénticos conceptos nos permite ponerlos en relación, de tal modo que, embebidos en el texto, nos interrogan sobre las fronteras entre prosa y poesía en el Siglo de Oro.” Pastor, *Música y literatura*, 345. See Domingo Ynduráin, “La poesía de Cervantes”, *Edad de Oro 4* (1985) 165–77.

⁸ See Jorge Aladro-Font and Ricardo Ramos Tremolada, “Ausencia y presencia de Garcilaso en el *Quijote*”, *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 16/2 (1996) 89–106; José Manuel Blecuá, “Garcilaso y Cervantes”, *La poesía de Garcilaso: Ensayos críticos*, ed. by Elías L. Rivers (Barcelona: Planeta, 1974) 367–79; Jean Canavaggio, “Garcilaso en Cervantes (‘Oh dulces prendas por mi mal halladas’), *Busquemos otros montes y otros ríos: Estudios de literatura española del Siglo de Oro dedicados a Elías L. Rivers*, ed. by Elías L. Rivers, Brian Dutton, and Victoriano Roncero López (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1992) 67–73; Darío Fernández-Morera, *The lyre and the oaten flute: Garcilaso and the pastoral* (London: Tamesis, 1982); Antonio Gallego Morell, ed., *Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentaristas* (2nd rev. ed., Madrid: Gredos, 1972); Elías Rivers, “Cervantes y Garcilaso”, *Homenaje a José Manuel Blecuá* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983) 565–70; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Obras completas*, ed. by Elías L. Rivers (Madrid: Castalia, 1981); Garcilaso de la Vega, *Obra poética y textos en prosa*, ed. by Bienvenido Morros (Barcelona: Crítica, 1995); José Ignacio Sanjuán Astigarraga, “Música y poesía: El mito de Orfeo en Gracilazo”, *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: Homenaje al profesor Luis Gil*, ed. by Luis Gil Fernández, José María Maestre Maestre, Joaquín Pascual Barea, and Luis Charlo Brea (Alcañiz: Excelentísimo Ayuntamiento de Alcañiz; Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1997) I, 363–70.

extremely well: “fue muy diestro en la música, y en la vihuela y harpa con mucha ventaja.”⁹ Garcilaso’s regard for music manifested in his poems that were conceived to be sung could have been the principal reason for his success with the courtly musicians of the 16th century.

If we study Cervantes’s works closely, we will see Garcilaso’s lyrical texts quoted throughout. One example is enough to show the admiration felt by Cervantes for the poet: In *The second part of Don Quixote* alone Garcilaso’s verses appear at least 15 times and, in the rest of his works, over 100 times.¹⁰ It would be reasonable to believe that our novelist knew Garcilaso’s poems by heart, and I would like to emphasize that one of the most striking features is how many of these quotations are in a musical context. Three examples will show the way that Cervantes chose to introduce them in his works, searching out their roots in the Garcilaso texts previously set to music. I invite you also to listen to the musical versions of these examples.¹¹

The first instance in which the author introduces a fitting poem borrowed from Garcilaso with an appropriate musical setting occurs near the end of *Don Quixote de la Mancha*’s adventures. He and Sancho find themselves again at the Duke’s palace, and once more poor Sancho must undergo penance for the mockery of Altisidora’s death:

And now, from underneath the catafalque, so it seemed, there rose a low sweet sound of flutes, which, coming unbroken by human voice (for there silence itself kept silence), had a soft and languishing effect. Then, beside the pillow of what seemed to be the dead body, suddenly appeared a fair youth in a Roman habit, who, to the accompaniment of a harp which he himself played, sang in a sweet and clear voice these two stanzas:

While fair Altisidora, who the sport
Of cold Don Quixote’s cruelty hath been,
Returns to life, and this magic court
The dames in sables come to grace the scene,

And while her matrons all in seemly sort
My lady robes in baize and bombazine,
Her beauty and her sorrows will I sing
With defter quill than touched the Thracian string.¹²

⁹ See Garcilaso de la Vega and Fernando de Herrera, *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera* (Sevilla: Alonso de la Barrera, 1580); facsimile ed. by Antonio Gallego Morell (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973).

¹⁰ See Aladro-Font, “Ausencia y presencia de Garcilaso en el *Quijote*”, 97.

¹¹ Examples are included on a CD: Juan José Pastor and Sergio Barcellona, *Por ásperos caminos: Nueva música cervantina* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2005).

¹² Comenzó en esto a salir al parecer debajo del túmulo un son sumiso y agradable de flautas, que por no ser impedido de alguna humana voz, porque en aquel sitio el mesmo silencio guardaba silencio a sí mismo, se mostraba blando y amoroso. Luego hizo de sí improvisa muestra, junto a la almohada del al parecer cadáver, un hermoso mancebo vestido a lo romano, que al son de una harpa que él mismo tocaba cantó con suavísima y clara voz estas dos estancias:

En tanto que en sí vuelve Altisidora,
muerta por la crueldad de don Quijote,
y en tanto que en la corte encantadora
se vistieren las damas de picote,
y en tanto que a sus dueñas mi señora
vistiere de bayeta y de anascote,
cantaré su belleza y su desgracia,
con mejor plectro que el cantor de Tracia.

Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II, LXIX, 1186–87. Quotations translated from Spanish by the author.

Immediately Don Quixote recognizes the verses sung by the “fair youth” and reveals that they have come from Garcilaso’s poetry:

“Of a truth”, said Don Quixote, “your worship has a most excellent voice; but what you sang did not seem to me very much to the purpose; for what have Garcilaso’s stanzas to do with the death of this lady?”

“Don’t be surprised at that”, returned the musician; “for with the callow poets of our day the way is for every one to write as he pleases and pilfer where he chooses, whether it be germane to the matter or not, and now-a-days there is no piece of silliness they can sing or write that is not set down to poetic licence.¹³

The original Garcilaso sonnet was set to music by Francisco Guerrero in his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, published in Venice in 1589 (fig. 2).

While rose’s charming blush and lily’s white

Are still the colours radiant on your face,
And while your fiery gaze with candid grace
Still checks the burning flame it set alight,

And while your flaxen hair, still gleaming bright,

Mined from some vein of gold, falls out of place
(Your neck—that marble pillar!—to embrace)
By wayward breezes spread and set in flight,

The ripening harvest of your happy spring
Now gather in, before destructive Time
Lays waste with snow the summit of your head.

Cold winds will blast the rose now in its prime,
And fickle Age will alter everything,
So not to change his own old ways instead.¹⁴

The central theme of the poem, the *carpe diem*, the fleeting nature of life, is used by Cervantes as a lyrical and musical echo that provides us with a satirical context. In this way we are alerted by the author, from the first verse of this rewritten poem, of

¹³ Por cierto – replicó don Quijote–, que vuestra merced tiene estremada voz, pero lo que cantó no me parece que fue muy a propósito; porque, ¿qué tienen que ver las estancias de Garcilaso con la muerte desta señora?

– No se maraville vuestra merced deso respondió el músico, que ya entre los intonsos poetas de nuestra edad se usa que cada uno escriba como quisiere, y hurte de quien quisiere, venga o no venga a pelo de su intento, y ya no hay necesidad que canten o escriban que no se atribuya a licencia poética.

¹⁴ **En tanto que de rosa y d’azucena**
se muestra la color en vuestro gesto,
y que vuestro mirar ardiente, honesto,
con clara luz la tempestad serena;
y en tanto que’l cabello, que’n la vena
del oro s’escogió, con vuelo presto
por el hermoso cuello blanco, enhiesto,
el viento mueve, esparce y desordena:
coged de vuestra alegre primavera
el dulce fruto antes que’l tiempo airado
cubra de nieve la hermosa cumbre.
Marchitará la rosa el viento helado,
todo lo mudará la edad ligera
por no hacer mudanza en su costumbre.

the mockery of Don Quixote.¹⁵ We discover, too, in this example that the harp was used mainly as an instrument of accompaniment by youths and females, and then only those belonging to the aristocracy. At the same time, in this burlesque scene, the song that announces Altisidora's death is accompanied (shown in the woodcut taken from



1. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Vida y hechos del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (London: J. & R. Tonson, 1738) vol. 4, 326. Texas A&M University (Proyecto Cervantes).

the Tonson edition; fig. 1) by the same instrument that the young woman had previously chosen to entice and bewitch the gallant knight-errant. She is urged on by her friend and accomplice, Emerencia: "Sing, my poor grieving creature, sing and join the melting music of your harp to the soft accents of your voice." When she finally consented to sing her amorous serenade to the great Knight of La Mancha, "she touched her harp so sweetly, that Don Quixote was ravished." Consequently we see that Cervantes linked the two scenes by the same instrument in order to stress the satiric meaning of the second. At the same time, borrowing one of Garcilaso's well-known lyrical poems, setting it to music by a great composer like Francisco Guerrero, and transforming its poetic sense into a parody, the novelist allows the reader to enjoy Altisidora's trick and to participate in a new context created by all these elements connected together by music in its new role.¹⁶

¹⁵ "La pormenorizada presentación del túmulo que figura al principio del capítulo 69 culmina, en efecto, con la intercalación de dos *estancias* cantadas, otra vez con acompañamiento de arpa, por el 'hermoso mancebo vestido a lo romano' que no tiene empacho en apropiarse una octava completa de Garcilaso para integrarla en su homenaje fúnebre a Altisidora. Y la conversación que ésta sostiene con don Quijote, luego de su resurrección milagrosa, se encuentra enmarcada, por un lado, por la ya referida canción fúnebre y, por otro, por la breve discusión que suscita la descarada aplicación al caso de Altisidora de unos versos que se compusieron para otras circunstancias. La tesis que a continuación voy a exponer es que existe una correlación entre el abandono de la poesía burlesca, aprovechada hasta entonces a título de máscara verbal en las sucesivas apariciones de Altisidora, y las circunstancias conflictivas en que Garcilaso aparece citado de manera tan llamativa y con más abundancia que en cualquier otro lugar de la obra cervantina." Monique Joly, *Études sur Don Quichotte. Textes et documents du "Centre de Recherche sur l'Espagne des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles"* (CRES) 6 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996) 195–96.

¹⁶ "Volviendo a mi punto de partida, lo excepcional no es, pues, que Garcilaso aparezca citado en la canción fúnebre interpretada en honor a Altisidora sino que aparezca citada con una abundancia totalmente inusitada. Una octava real completa, que según señalan todos los editores corresponde a la segunda de la *Égloga* III, ocupa también el segundo y, en este caso, último lugar, en la canción que aquí me interesa. El fenómeno, además, se complica, en la medida en que la otra octava, con la que se da por lo tanto comienzo a la actuación del poeta, también se encuentra estructurada en su totalidad en torno a reminiscencias procedentes de Garcilaso. Del soneto 23 está tomado, en efecto, el empleo recurrente del 'en tanto que', con el que se inicia de un modo solemne el poema y la alusión al cantor de Tracia con la que por otra parte se cierra esta primera estrofa remite a la *Égloga* III, de la que, según ya se ha dicho, la otra está trasladada sin el menor retoque. Se combinan o se contaminan, de este modo, dos tipos de parodia: la primera clarísima, apoyada en el empleo recurrente de rimas en /-ote, arrastradas por la referencia al nombre del protagonista; encontramos al final del segundo verso y en el tratamiento bufo dado al tema del luto dueñesco; más elíptica y descarnada la segunda, en la medida en que lo único que incita a asignar un valor burlesco a la octava tomada a la letra de Garcilaso es la novedad de su contextualización." *Ibid.*, 201. The sonnet used by *Don Quixote's* author in Jordi Savall's version is recorded on: Jordi

En tanto que de rosa y açuena

En tan - to que de ro - sa y a - çu - çe - na se mues - tra
 En tan - to que de ro - sa y a - çu - çe - na se mues - tra
 En tan - to que de ro - sa y a - çu - çe - na se mues - tra
 En tan - to que de ro - sa y a - çu - çe - na
 En tan - to que de ro - sa y a - çu - çe - na,
 la co - lor en vues - tro ges - to, en vues - tro ges - to,
 la co - lor en vues - tro ges - to, en vues - tro ges - to, y que vues -
 la co - lor en vues - tro ges - to, y que vues - tro mi - rar ar -
 se mues - tra la co - lor en vues - tro ges - to,
 se mues - tra la co - lor en vues - tro ges - to, y que vues -
 y que vues - tro mi - rar ar - dien - te, ho - nes - to,
 tro mi - rar ar - dien - te, ho - nes - to, ar - dien - te, ho - nes - to, en -
 dien - te, ho - nes - to, ar - dien - te, ho - nes - to, en -
 y que vues - tro mi - rar ar - dien - te, ho - nes - to,
 tro mi - rar ar - dien - te, ho - nes - to, en - cien -

2. Francisco Guerrero, *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice, 1589).
 “En tanto que de rosa y açuena”, modern transcription by Juan José Pastor.

Another instance of the musical transmission of Garcilaso de la Vega's poems will be taken from two Cervantes's texts, *La Galatea* and *Don Quixote*. In his *Eclogue I* (from verse 57), Garcilaso wrote a long lament in which the shepherd Salicio moans about the cruelty and harshness of his beloved Galatea. The poem begins with the verse “Oh, harder far than marble to my plaints!”, and it was set to music by several composers. We have a polyphonic version of the poem preserved in the *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, written by Pedro Guerrero (1517–86),

Francisco Guerrero's brother (fig. 3).¹⁷ This song became well-known, and we can confirm the existence of three more musical settings of this poem: one composed by Julio Severino,¹⁸ another preserved in Portugal and composed by an unknown chapel master from Juan II's court,¹⁹ and the last a musical adaptation from Guerrero's song, composed for vihuela and voice by Miguel de Fuenllana and published in his book *Orphénica lyra* (1554; fig. 4).²⁰ We must remember that the fashion for polyphonic songs spread from one country to another and to centers of music farther afield by using adaptations for lute or, in Spain, for vihuela and voice or for vihuela alone. Vihuela players looked for a more independent means of musical expression. Working towards technical virtuosity; they created new forms, and in fantasies and preludes, they reached new levels of musical creation. At the same time these kinds of musical adaptations allowed people to enjoy polyphonic compositions in their homes during the late 16th century: It's no surprise to find evidence for this kind of musical practice within Cervantes's circle of family and close friends. So let us present Garcilaso's poem:

O harder thou than marble to my plaints,
 And to the lively flame with which I glow,
 Cold, Galatea, cold as winter snow!
 I feel that I must die, my spirit faints,
 And dreads continuing life; for, alienate
 From thee, life sinks into a weary weight,
 To be shook off with pleasure; from all eyes
 I shrink, ev'n from myself despised I turn,
 And left by her form whom alone I yearn,
 My cheek is tinged with crimson; heart of ice!
 Dost thou the worshipped mistress scorn to be
 Of one whose cherished guest thou ever art;
 Not being able for an hour to free
 Thine image from my heart?

¹⁷ See Alejandro Luis Iglesias, "Andanzas y fortunas de algunos impresos musicales españoles del siglo XVI: Fuenllana y Pedro Guerrero", *El libro antiguo español: Coleccionismo y bibliotecas (siglos XV–XVIII)*, ed. by M^a Luisa López Vidriero, Pedro M. Cátedra, and M^a Isabel Hernández González (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca; Patrimonio Nacional. Sociedad Española de Historia del Libro, 1998) 461–503.

¹⁸ See Higinio Anglés, "El archivo musical de la Catedral de Valladolid", *Anuario musical* 3 (1948) 59–108.

¹⁹ Manuel Morais, *Vilancetes, cantigas e romances do século XVI*. Portugaliae musica 47 (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986) 89–91.

²⁰ Miguel de Fuenllana, *Libro de música para vihuela intitulado ORPHÉNICA LYRA en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas obras* (Sevilla: Martín de Montedoca, 1554; modern ed. Genève: Minkoff, 1981). Spanish vihuelist and composer, Fuenllana was born in Navalcarnero, near Madrid, and died between 1553 and 1578. He was blind from birth. The earliest evidence of him is the printing licence for *Orphenica lyra* (Seville, 1554): see Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphenica lyra*, ed. by Charles Jacobs (repr. ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). The license was issued on 11 August 1553 by crown prince Philip, which affirms his presence at court in Valladolid. On 29 March 1554, now resident in Seville, Fuenllana contracted with Martín de Montedoca to print 1000 copies of *Orphenica lyra*. The edition was completed on 2 October, though Wagner has shown the surviving copies to represent two variants of the same impression. In 1555 Fuenllana is described as a citizen of Seville in a legal action initiated to suppress a fraudulent edition of the book. According to Bermudo (*Declaración*, 1555), Fuenllana was in the employ of the Marquesa de Tarifa at this time, but he would have left her service by 1559 after the appointment of her husband, the Duke of Alcalá, as viceroy of Naples. From 1560 until June 1569 he served Isabel de Valois (d.1568), third wife of Philip II, with an annual salary of 50,000 maravedís. On 15 May 1574 Fuenllana entered the service of Don Sebastián of Portugal in Lisbon, with an initial contract for three years and an annual salary of 80,000 reales. Contradictory evidence clouds his life after 1578. Anglés claimed that Fuenllana's descendants received retrospective payment from the court in 1591 for money owed to their deceased father, while Jacobs cites a petition of 20 August 1621 presented to Philip IV by Doña Catalina de Fuenllana claiming that her father served Philip II and Philip III for more than 46 years, thus perhaps until 1606. Fuenllana's instrumental mastery was recognized by Bermudo, who had seen him perform and cited him as a "consummate player", praise echoed by Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa (*Plaza universal*, 1615).

This dost thou scorn? In gentleness of woe
Flow forth, my tears, 'tis meet that ye should flow!²¹

Where is this text quoted by Cervantes? The most striking example that we have found comes from *La Galatea* (written 30 years before the publication of *The second part of Don Quixote*). The shepherds and shepherdesses of Cervantes's *La Galatea* sing their songs, sonnets, eclogues, and madrigals accompanied by rebecs, flutes, and pipes. In book VI Lenio sings, accompanied on a rebec, a desperate chant uttering Garcilaso's verse like a refrain: "Oh, harder far than marble to my complaints!"

Who thee impels, cruel, who thee diverts?
Who thee withdraws from the beloved intent?
Who in thy feet doth wings of speed create,
Wherewith thou runnest lighter than the wind?
Wherefore dost thou my true faith lightly hold,
The noble power of thought depreciating?
Whyt dost thou fly me, why abandon me?
Oh, harder far than marble to my complaints!

Am I perchance of a so mean estate
That your sweet eye disdains to look on me?
Poor am I? Am I covetous? hast found
Aught false in me since I knew how to look?
My first condition is no way changed,
From less than from the tresses to depend
My soul; why the do your elude me so?
Oh, harder far than marble to my complaints.²²

²¹ ¡Oh, más dura que mármol a mis quejas,
y al encendido fuego en que me quemo,
más helada que la nieve, Galatea!
Estoy muriendo, y aún la vida temo;
témola con razón, pues tú me dexas,
que no hay, sin ti, el vivir para qué sea.
Vergüenza he que me vea
ninguno en tal estado
de ti desamparado
y de mí mismo yo me corro agora.
¿De un alma te desdeñas ser señora,
donde siempre moraste, no pudiendo
salir d'ella una hora?
Salid sin duelo, lágrimas corriendo.

Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera (Sevilla: Alonso de la Barrera, 1580).

²² Y, puesto que Lenio los vio subir, no hizo otro movimiento alguno si no fue sacar de su zurrón su rabel, y con un nuevo y extraño reposo se tornó asentar; y, vuelto el rostro hacia donde su pastora huía, con voz suave y de lágrimas acompañada, comenzó a cantar desta suerte:

¿Quién te impele, crüel? ¿Quién te desvía?
¿Quién te retira del amado intento?
¿Quién en tus pies veloces alas cría,
con que corres ligera más qu'el viento?
¿Por qué tienes en poco la fe mía,
y desprecias el alto pensamiento?
¿Por qué huyes de mí ¿Por qué me dejas?
¡Oh, más dura que mármol a mis quejas!

¿Soy, por ventura, de tan bajo estado
que no merezca ver tus ojos bellos?
¿Soy pobre? ¿Soy avaro? ¿Hasme hallado

The first time this poem appears in *Don Quixote* is in the second part of *The wedding of Camacho* episode—a pseudo-pastoral episode in which we encounter a lot of popular musical instruments, even Moorish instruments, that are played in the marriage ceremony when the narrator tries to describe how Quiteria reacts and responds to Basilio's tricks (he pretends to be mortally wounded):

At once all assailed Quiteria and pressed her, some with prayers, and others with tears, and others with persuasive arguments, to give her hand to poor Basilio; but she, **harder than marble and more unmoved than any statue**, seemed unable or unwilling to utter a word, nor would she have given any reply had not the priest bade her decide quickly what she meant to do, as Basilio now had his soul at his teeth, and there was no time for hesitation.²³

Then, Cervantes makes a reference to this verse when Altisidora tries to seduce Don Quixote:

Such a one am I, Señor Don Quixote of la Mancha, crushed, conquered, love-smitten, but yet patient under suffering and virtuous, and so much so that my heart broke with grief and I lost my life. For the last two days I have been dead, slain, by the thought of the cruelty with which thou hast treated me, obdurate knight,

O harder thou than marble to my plaint

Or at least believed to be dead by all who saw me; and had it not been that love, taking pity on me, let my recovery rest upon the sufferings of this good squire, there I should have remained in the other world.²⁴

It is worth stating at this point that these three texts are all connected by the same musical reference. It is essential to realize that 16th-century readers understood Cervantes's intentions and saw this musical and literary intertextuality as a heightening of the parody, adding a pastoral meaning to some of the scenes from Cervantes's novel *Don Quixote*. Guerrero's composition was probably known by Cervantes (they lived in the same city, Seville, for a time); it introduces Garcilaso's poem in a specific musical context. The beginning of this composition, set in a homophonic style, allows the listener to understand easily the sense of the words; then it develops in a highly contrapuntual way.²⁵

en falsedad desde que supe vellos?
La condición primera no he mudado.
¿No pende del menor de tus cabellos
mi alma? ¿Pues, por qué de mí te alejas?
¡Oh, más dura que mármol a mis quejas!

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *La Galatea* (Alcalá: Juan Gracián, 1585).

²³ "Luego acudieron todos a Quiteria, y unos con ruegos, y otros con lágrimas, y otros con eficaces razones, la persuadían que diese la mano al pobre Basilio, y ella, más dura que un mármol y más sesga que una estatua, mostraba que ni sabía ni podía ni quería responder palabra: ni la respondiera si el cura no la dijera que se determinase presto en lo que había de hacer, porque tenía Basilio ya el alma en los dientes, y no daba lugar a esperar irresolutas determinaciones." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II, XXI.

²⁴ "Yo, señor don Quijote de la Mancha, soy una destas, apretada, vencida y enamorada, pero, con todo esto, sufrida y honesta: tanto, que por serlo tanto, reventó mi alma por mi silencio y perdí la vida. Dos días ha que con la consideración del rigor con que me has tratado,

Oh más duro que mármol a mis quejas,
empedernido caballero, he estado muerta o a lo menos juzgada por tal de los que me han visto; y si no fuera porque el amor, condoliéndose de mí, depositó mi remedio en los martirios deste buen escudero, allá me quedara en el otro mundo." *Ibid.*, II, LXX.

²⁵ See Pastor and Barcellona, *Por ásperos caminos*, track 8.

O más dura que mármol a mis quejas
 Cancionero Musical de la Casa de Medinaceli P. Guerrero

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Tiple, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "¡O más du - ra que már mol a mis que sas - y al en cen di do fue go en que me que - y al en cen di do fue go en que me que mo, en cen di do fue ga en que me que mo que me que - y al en cen di do fue go en que me que -".

3. Pedro Guerrero, "Oh, más dura que mármol a mis quejas", *Cancionero musical de la Casa Medinaceli* (S. XVI), ed. by M. Querol Gavaldá (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1949).

To illustrate the pastoral conception of the novel, let us examine the last instance. In *La Galatea* the same shepherd, Lenio, sings a sonnet whose first line and topics are borrowed from Garcilaso's Sonnet VI:

By rugged ways I reach towards a burn
 Which awes me not, and if I strive to slack
 My usual pace, or for a change draw back,
 There am I dragged with cruel unconcern;
 But still, with death and hand, for life I yearn,
 And seek fresh means my footsteps to reverse;
 I know the better, I approve the worse,
 Either from evil custom, or the stern
 Fatality of woe. Yet, my brief time
 The wandering process of my wayward years
 Alike in manhood as in early prime,
 My will (with which I war not now) in fact,
 Sure Death, whose peaceful slumber dries all tears,
 Make me not care the harm to counteract.²⁶

²⁶ "Y con esto se querían despedir de Damón y de Elicio, si ellos no porfiaran a querer ir con ellas; y ya que se encaminaban al aldea, a su mano derecha sintieron la zampoña de Erastro, que luego de todos fue conocida, el cual venía en seguimiento de su amigo Elicio. Paráronse a escucharlo, y oyeron que, con muestras de tierno dolor, esto venía cantando:

Por ásperos caminos voy siguiendo
 el fin dudoso de mi fantasía,
 siempre en cerrada noche oscura y fría
 las fuerzas de la vida consumiendo.
 Y, aunque morir me veo, no pretendo

Sonetos a quatro. Orphenica Lyra. Guerrero. Libro quinto.

Comiençan los Sonetos y Madrigales de Pedro Guerrero, en lēgua Castellana. Soneto a quatro. F.

Mas dura q̄ marmol
a mis q̄xas y al encendido fue
go en q̄ me quemo mas elada q̄ nieue
Galatea estoy muriē do ya un la vida te
mo te mola con raxon ij.

4. Miguel de Fuenllana, "Oh, más dura que mármol a mis quejas", *Libro de música para vihuela intitulado ORPHÉNICA LYRA en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas obras* (Sevilla: Martín de Montedoca, 1554) book 5, vol. 123

salir un paso de la estrecha vía;
que en fe de la alta fe sin igual mía,
mayores miedos contrastar entiendo.
Mi fe es la luz que me señala el puerto
seguro a mi tormenta, y sola es ella
quien promete buen fin a mi viaje,
por más que el medio se me muestre incierto,
por más que el claro rayo de mi estrella
me encubra amor, y el cielo más me ultraje."

Garcilaso's sonnet had been published in 1543, and three years later was set to music by Alonso Mudarra in *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Seville, 1546; fig. 5):²⁷

It is by rugged paths like these I'm taken
 Moreover, I am kept still by fear;
 And if I try to take one step,
 I'm taken back to where I was.
 With death beside me
 I would be no worse;
 I seek new guidance for my life;
 I know what is best but I do what is worst,
 Owing to bad habits or my fate.
 Besides this, the short time I have left,
 And the mistaken course of my years,
 My desire for the one I no longer trust,
 Moreover, I am kept still by fear;
 And the certain death that ends
 So much suffering make me neglect myself, and my remedy.²⁸

Alonso Mudarra was educated in Guadalajara (near Alcalá de Henares, the city where Cervantes was born), at the Ducal Palace of the Infantado, one of the most important and illustrious Castilian courts. As Canon in Seville he was in a close contact with Francisco Guerrero and other writers connected to Cervantes's circle, like Gutierrez de Cetina. Once more Cervantes quotes and develops in a musical context a poem that

²⁷ Mudarra, *Tres libros de música*, 101–03. Alonso Mudarra was a Spanish vihuelist and composer (ca. 1510–Seville, 1 April 1580). Raised in Guadalajara in the household of the third and fourth dukes of the Infantado, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1461–1531) and Íñigo López de Mendoza (1493–1566), it is likely that Mudarra traveled with the latter in the entourage that accompanied Charles V to Italy in 1529. He subsequently entered the priesthood, probably in Palencia, becoming a canon at Seville Cathedral on 18 October 1546, less than two months before the publication of his vihuela book. During the following 34 years he played an important role in cathedral affairs, arranging the annual Corpus Christi celebrations, hiring wind players, negotiating the purchase and installation of a new organ, and consulting in 1572 with Francisco Guerrero at the request of the chapter concerning the music commissioned from Guerrero for the coming Christmas season. From March 1568 he served as major-domo of the cathedral, in charge of all disbursements. After his death the 92,000 maravedís raised from the sale of his possessions was distributed to the poor according to the provisions of his will. His songs are without parallel in 16th-century Spanish literature. They include romances, villancicos, canciones, and sonnets by Garcilaso, Boscán, Petrarch, and Sannazaro. Latin settings include two psalms, texts by Horace, Ovid, and Virgil, in addition to intabulated mass sections by Josquin and Févin, and motets by Gombert, Willaert, and Escobar. Vocal parts are notated either on a separate staff, or marked in the tablature with apostrophes, used to indicate fast, medium and slow tempos. Mudarra's preface also discusses plucking technique, both thumb-index alternation and the plectrum-like *dedillo* stroke. See John Griffiths, "La *Fantasia que contrahaze la harpa* de Alonso Mudarra; estudio histórico-analítico," *Revista de musicología* 9 (1986) 29–40 and idem, "Luis Milán, Alonso Mudarra y la canción acompañada," *Edad de Oro* 22 (2003) 7–28.

²⁸ Por ásperos caminos soy llevado
 a parte que de miedo no me muevo,
 y si a mudarme a dar un passo pruebo,
 allí por los cabellos soy tornado;
 mas tal estoy, que con la muerte al lado
 busco de mi vivir consejo nuevo,
 conozco el mejor y el peor apruebo,
 o por costumbre mala o por mi hado.
 De la otra parte, el breve tiempo mío
 y el errado proceso de mis años,
 y el errado proceso de mis años,
 mi inclinación, con quien ya no porfio,
 la ciertamente fin de tantos daños
 me hacen descuidar de mi remedio.

had been previously set to music. Thirty years later, in *The second part of Don Quixote*, the knight-errant assumes his condition like a pilgrim of love and says:

I know that the path of virtue is very narrow, and the road of vice broad and spacious;
I know their ends and goals are different, for the broad and easy road of vice ends in
death, and the narrow and toilsome one of virtue in life, and not transitory life, but in
that which has no end; I know, as our great Castilian poet says, that

It is by rugged paths like these they go
That scale the heights of immortality,
Unreached by those that falter here below.²⁹

5. Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela* (Sevilla, 1546) book 3, fol. 28.

The treatment that Mudarra gives the sonnets, both Italian and Spanish, is very similar: In this case an elegant and simple melody is supported by a discreet polyphonic accompaniment. Mudarra offers a carefully constructed melody, set in the framework of a continually developing instrumental polyphony, evident from the initial bars.

²⁹ "Pues con saber, como sé, los innumerables trabajos que son anejos al andante caballería, sé también los infinitos bienes que se alcanzan con ella; y sé que la senda de la virtud es muy estrecha, y el camino del vicio, ancho y espacioso; y sé que sus fines y paraderos son diferentes, porque el del vicio, dilatado y espacioso, acaba en muerte, y el de la virtud, angosto y trabajoso, acaba en vida, y no en vida que se acaba, sino en la que no tendrá fin; y sé, como dice el gran poeta castellano nuestro, que

Por estas asperezas se camina
de la inmortalidad al alto asiento,
do nunca arriba quien de allí declina."

Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II, VI (Cervantes quotes Garcilaso de la Vega).

The composer does not care to astound with virtuosic displays, but aims rather for expressiveness and eloquence with an aristocratic simplicity.³⁰

In conclusion, everything that has been said illustrates how, through these three musical references taken from Garcilaso—"En tanto que de rosa", "Oh más dura que mármol a mis quejas", and "Por ásperos caminos"—Cervantes incorporates decidedly pastoral elements in both of the *Don Quixotes*, suggesting at least a superficial link between them and his first book, *La Galatea*. Some episodes and characters of *La Galatea* seem to be repeated in episodes of both *Quixotes* (Marcela, Grisóstomo, and Ambrosio mirror Gelasia, Galercio, and Lenio of the pastoral novel, as do Basilio, Quiteria, and Camacho). It seems pertinent to consider the pastoral in Cervantes—the textual tradition borrowed from Garcilaso—as an integral aspect of a personal, holistic world view intimately linked to the music. In this way the pastoral with its musical expression becomes the unifying element of the author's corpus. His novels, then, can be shown to progress along what I would call a pastoral continuum, successfully created by Cervantes through careful adaptations of musical and lyrical poems borrowed from Garcilaso. We will finally remember that at the end of *The second part of Don Quixote*, Alonso Quixano attempts the literary pastoral as a Quijotiz, and he imagines himself playing pastoral instruments—"By god, what a life we shall lead, my dear friend Sancho. What a melody of churumbelas [oboes] will resound in our ears; what a mixture of gaitas zamoranas [Zamora bagpipes], tambourines, morrice bells, and rebec will fill the air!"—and singing, as we have seen, Garcilaso's texts of everlasting yearnings and sad laments of unrequited love.

³⁰ Pastor and Barcellona, *Por ásperos caminos*, track 2.

TO WRITE HISTORICALLY ABOUT MUSIC DURING THE 16TH CENTURY: PIETRO GAETANO

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One may wonder whether it is necessary or not to open once again the topic of the relationships between humanism, Renaissance, and music, and specifically, to consider these relationships from the point of view of historical consciousness and historical practice. The history of historical awareness and its various modes of expression have been studied by historians and critics since the 1930s. To read them again and extend their observations to the field of music would help to ease a debate (sometimes idle) that was addressed by Strohm in a recent issue of *Acta musicologica*.¹ Less studied are the ways 16th-century theoreticians of music understood or neglected history. To do so we should not confuse the narration of history with the philological frenzy of some Italian scholars studied by Palisca.² Even though the taste for ruins—and music of antiquity is a kind of ruins—demonstrates a type of historical awareness, it does not belong, properly speaking, to the genre of historical discourse.

Two criteria are necessary for the existence of a historical approach in the domain of artistic production.³ The first is formal: The history of music would begin with the recognition of principle and the application of a method allowing the manifestations of musical creation to acquire a network of references in time and space. It has existed ever since several authors became aware, in the 15th and 16th centuries, of the importance of artistic creation in the history of music, by establishing those lists of composers.⁴ These first perfunctory histories nevertheless do not rely upon the founding criteria of a genuine historical spirit: That calls for a second criterion.

The second substantial criterion is based on an opposition between normative discourse and historical discourse. This second criterion is markedly more difficult to

¹ Reinhard Strohm, "Musik und Humanismus", *Acta musicologica* 76/2 (2004) 135–57. See also Philippe Vendrix, "L'impossible Renaissance musicale: Les débats sur l'histoire de la musique de la Renaissance au XX^e siècle", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 66/1 (2004) 7–22.

² Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance musical thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

³ Philippe Vendrix, "Concezioni diverse della storia musicale", *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Torino: Einaudi, 2002) 591–610.

⁴ Jessie Ann Owens, "Music historiography and the definition of 'Renaissance'", *Notes* 47/2 (1990) 305–30.

solidify in the musical domain. Musicologists take refuge, in an overly naive manner, behind the eminently rhetorical nature of the writing of history. It is not because Tinctoris offers an all-in-all banal application of the Ciceronian concept of *translatio artium* that he is counted among historians.

Does it mean there is no history of music during the 16th century? Does it also mean that historical awareness is a fragile notion for the same century? This kind of assertion is too radical: A study of neglected sources is called for. It is this game I will play in describing an almost unknown text from an almost insignificant individual: the *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* of Pietro Gaetano.⁵

The single archival document that refers to Gaetano's career calls him simply a "singer" at Saint Mark's in Venice in the 1550s. Fortunately, however, a text is conserved in Venice that speaks at greater length about this "singer", allowing him thereby to avoid sinking into oblivion. This document is none other than a relatively long handwritten oration entitled *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* (Museo Correr, Provenienza Cicogna no. 1049). Signed by Gaetano, who presents himself therein as a singer in Venice, the oration claims as well that he was a student of Jean Lhéritier.

The *Oratio* nevertheless has greater value as evidence of a socio-intellectual attitude than as a source of information about an admittedly rather secondary personage. Gaetano dedicates the Venetian exemplar of his oration to Guidubaldo II, Duke of Urbino. The name of this duke does not appear in the pantheon of patron princes in 16th-century Italy, and in terms of patronage at Urbino, the role of Federico da Montefeltro is better known. Yet Guidubaldo showed himself to be relatively interested in music, and what we know about this interest is confirmed by the comments of Gaetano. Before diving into the turmoils of the duchy of Urbino, nevertheless, an often neglected detail needs to be brought up. In reality Gaetano did not dedicate his oration to Guidubaldo; he dedicated to the duke only the copy preserved in Venice. Initially the *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* was destined for Maximilian II. This dedication is relatively surprising, and only makes sense when we try to find a precise date for the writing of the oration. I will come back later to this question.

The oration of Gaetano is not fundamentally an innovative text. It firstly forms part of the venerable tradition of praises of music (*laus musicae*): a kind of profession of faith that blithely mixes pagan and Christian tales, that repeats (sometimes naively) the network of analogies fully justifying the position of music among the liberal arts. These commonplaces, however, fit into a new context that affects the wording and organization of the oration, and that also presupposes the introduction of elements unknown until then. Among these, the sense of history occupies a new position.

In spite of the abundance of praises of music, a single text written before the oration of Gaetano openly announces similar intentions: the *De usu et inventione musices* of Johannes Tinctoris.⁶ Earlier, and during the first half of the 16th century, some theorists

⁵ Leeman Perkins, *Music in the age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999) 50–53.

⁶ The treatise has been known since the 19th century, but it was not until the second half of the 20th century that it was the object of a detailed study and critical edition. Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris und sein unbekannter Traktat "De inventione et usu musicae"* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961). The documentary perspective is expanded in Ronald Woodley, "The printing and scope of Tinctoris' fragmentary treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*", *Early music history* 5 (1985) 239–68.

contented themselves with a brief chapter on the “discoverers” (*inventores*) of music, sometimes responding with just a brief sentence to the traditional question, “*Quis sit inventor musicæ?*” The title chosen by Gaetano, like that of Tinctoris, immediately makes reference to Ciceronian discourse. It is not solely a matter of enumerating, but above all of demonstrating, within the time of a discourse, the reasons for the invention of music, that which Tinctoris calls “*usu*”, and Gaetano “*dignitate*”.

Before being a history of music, the oration of Gaetano is firstly a vast praise of music and its effects. It belongs, therefore, to the tradition of the *encomium musicæ*. Writing in this genre was admittedly practiced throughout the Middle Ages. It follows a relatively traditional format that, for centuries, displayed only minor variations. It can be described as follows: Music—that is, the theory rather than the practice—is one of the liberal arts, undoubtedly the most important. Esteemed by all since long ago, it was invented by Linus or Orpheus and then acclaimed by extraordinary men: Socrates learned to play the lyre. Epaminondas was a musician. In addition Plato and the Pythagoreans teach that the universe is constructed “musically” and that the human spirit is in the image of this sonorous construction. Consequently music exercises an undeniable influence on the movements of the soul and on the body. It distances one from decadence and extravagance (Asclepiades), it reinforces courage (Timotheus), cures apparently incurable diseases (Terpander, Arion, Ismenias). Not only does music have effects on individuals, it can also play an important role in community life (Lycurgus, Terpander). Its point is to be natural: Does one not use it in praising the gods?

Those are the main outlines of the praises of music such as appear in medieval treatises. They are, however, converted, implying a division into distinct chapters, as is the case in the *Summa musicæ* of Johannes de Muris: (1) definition of music; (2) derivative uses of the term; (3) the inventors; (4) the uses of music.

In a way Gaetano is no exception with regard to this format—at least in the general outlines. However, both in the method and in the goals, there are but few points in common between the numerous praises written during the Middle Ages and that of the Venetian singer.

The first element that distinguishes the *Oratio de origine et dignitate musicæ* from its antecedents is its documentary richness. Where his predecessors were content to mention Jubal, Pythagoras, or Orpheus, sometimes adding David and one or another figure from classical mythology, Gaetano offers a veritable encyclopedia of musical myth-history.⁷ Since he does not cite his sources, it remains difficult to know where he drew such a repertoire of names and anecdotes. Even in bringing together the most elaborate texts concerning music, it seems unlikely that he could have produced such a result. As for general histories, they approach music only in an anecdotal manner—with one exception, and an important one: the *De rerum inventoribus* (1499) of Polydore Vergil, which the famed historian had dedicated to Guidubaldo I della Rovere.

In its form as well the *Oratio* distinguishes itself. For Gaetano it is no longer a matter of dividing a clearly more impressive mass of documentation into distinct chapters, but rather of fusing the whole into a single section. Undoubtedly it is this formal innovation that explains the disorder of the oration, which, even if it presents itself under the guise

⁷ Philippe Vendrix, “Jubal, Orphée, Pythagore confrontés: Le mythe des sons originels à la Renaissance”, *Art & fact* 15 (1996) 8–15.

of the Ciceronian model, proves to be far from equally effective. The desire to create something new shows through from the dedicatory letter onward.

The introductory letter that precedes the *Oratio* is not without interest from a literary point of view, for we have here a long preface in which praises, references to antiquity, and demonstrations of modesty abound. The epistolary genre occupied a relatively important place in humanist culture from the end of the 15th century onward.⁸ Tinctoris seems to have made use of this mode of writing in his *De inventione*. The manuscript of Gaetano as well perfectly matches the spirit of those treatises preceded by a letter of presentation whose content exceeds that of a simple dedication. Gaetano shines in this exercise of style, sprinkling his flatteries with judicious comparisons with mythological tales. In several pages he plunges the dedicatee of the manuscript into the erudite atmosphere that will be seen in the oration, and he does it sometimes with a certain humor.

Gaetano made use of no direct model; no treatise devotes more than a few lines to mytho-historical tales. He did, however, draw on two first-rate models: the *Naturalis historia* of Pliny and the *Le vite delle più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* by Giorgio Vasari, the first edition of which had appeared in Florence in 1550. From Pliny Gaetano could draw several lessons. Firstly, the literary text assures art and artists of a new permanence. The text confers immortality. Secondly, the *Naturalis historia* is packed with mythological tales which a skilled reading could bring together under another form in order to confer a new meaning onto them—in the present case, that of a history of music. Pliny is likewise an inexhaustible source of critical vocabulary applied to art. Finally, the Roman historian provides criteria for the definition of inventiveness, a notion that plays a role of primary importance in Gaetano's narrative. Gaetano also borrows from antiquity the very genre in which he writes: the oration. The first paragraphs of his text are exemplary in this regard. There the singer of Saint Mark's shows himself to be Ciceronian both in form and in spirit.

Gaetano, preferring to leave out a description of the musical art that he does not feel capable of producing, in as much as it would presuppose knowledge in every domain, delves like an archeologist into ancient tales in order to draw out the most convincing testimonies:

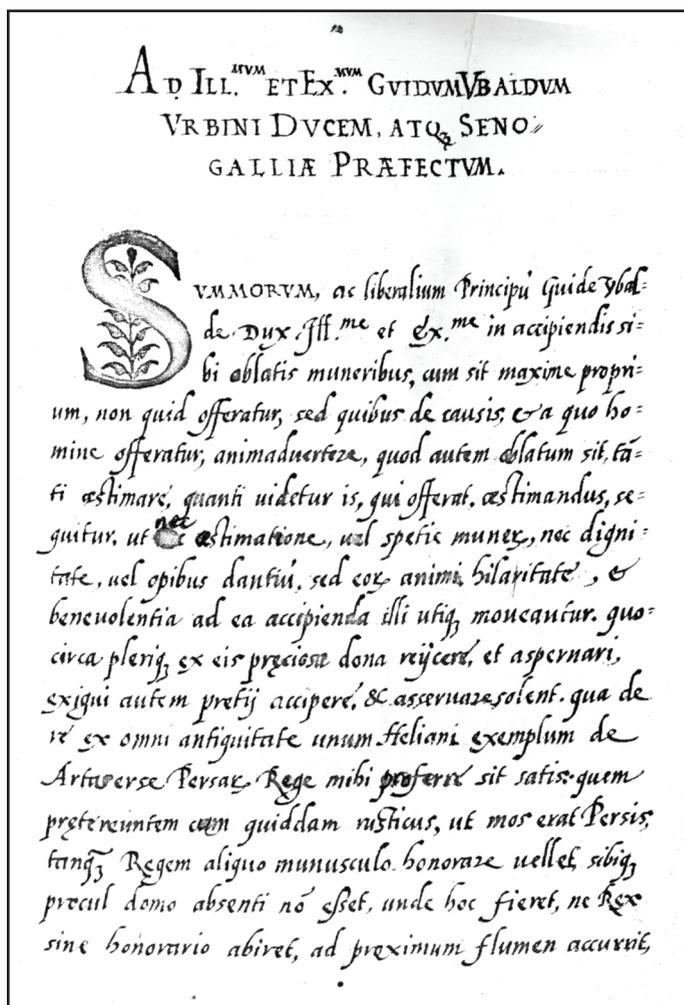
Consequently, from fear of leaving in the shadows any longer the superiority and excellence of this art, to which I grant all credit, I have entered as far as I could into the times when it was in its infancy; I have revealed its excellence, hidden and concealed in the stories of the ancient writers.

With this phrase, Gaetano does not claim to be a historian, but a collector of information. This modesty is but a rhetorical figure. There is above all a program that distinguishes Gaetano from his predecessors and contemporaries.

Gaetano, however, does not necessarily mark a radical change. The problem arises from the difficult reconciliation of a Pythagorean vision of music with a concern for historical explanation of a causal nature. The oration is firstly Pythagorean by its allegiance to the principal of *musica mundana* and *musica humana*. Gaetano emphasizes on several occasions the divine origins of the harmonic proportions and affirms, like his

⁸ Cecil Clough, "The cult of antiquity: Letters and letters collections", *Cultural aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. by Cecil Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976) 33–67.

predecessors, the similarity that exists between these proportions and the human soul. More revealing yet of his Pythagorean allegiance is his conviction that the human being possesses the power to perceive this nature of things. The difficulties crop up when Gaetano attempts to study the *musica instrumentalis*. Abandoning the general concepts, he goes into a historical perspective.



Pietro Gaetano, *Oratione de origine et dignitate musices*.

First page of the manuscript.

Venice, Museo Correr, Provenienza Cicogna, no. 1049.

Although he recognizes the impossibility of determining the identity of the first musician, he situates the origins of music at the beginning of the history of humanity, demonstrating thus the civilizing role of music. After these few conjectures, Gaetano proceeds to the traversal of history. There is nothing particularly extraordinary at the start, in the few comments he makes about the music of the Greeks, of the Romans, and then of the beginnings of Christianity. This historical traversal, however, takes on a different appearance when the author weaves links between those ancient times and the current state of music. His intention is clearly to demonstrate the superiority of the

Italians in this art. The case of sacred music serves him admirably: The Greeks, once their theoretical learning was lost, adopted Gregorian chant; Charlemagne, after having conquered the Lombards, returned to the North and brought Italian singers with him who created the musical splendor of his empire. And if one is not convinced by these two examples, it suffices to look into the inventions of Guido of Arezzo—notation and solmization—with which no one in the 16th century can dispense.

Gaetano does not draw all the conclusions possible from his historical view. He even abandons it in favor of a praise of the musical patronage of the Habsburgs, modeled on *The republic* of Plato. Taking up his initial comments again, he emphasizes the “natural virtues” of the Habsburgs, which are displayed most intensely in their support of harmony, both political and musical.

In spite of the brevity of his oration, Gaetano manages to modify the usual design of praises of music through the insertion of a historical dimension that rests on elaborate documentation of mythical tales, of Greek theory, and of the identification of causal systems linking chronological stages. A common practice in music theory since the end of the 15th century was to briefly recount musical developments since the beginning of that century. Owens has shown that many borrowed the categorization of the recent past of musical practices from Tinctoris. Gaetano does not depart from the rule, nor does he submit to it. The lone factual borrowing that he relates is that of the musicians of what he calls the “second generation”. And there, abandoning the gravity of the Ciceronian tone, the only argument he finds to discredit this generation is the strange sound of these composers’ names:

But if you ask their names, since they are just as horribly ugly to hear as their compositions are harsh and bitter to sing, I fear lest you be frightened at the sound of them. Who indeed is of such bold heart that he not be terrified by these monstrous names, that is to say, Duffai, Demomarto, Busnois, Héloi, Barbugan, Binthois, and others alike?

We possess few texts of the 15th and 16th centuries that express aesthetic judgments about music.⁹ Gaetano forms no exception to the rule, once again. His vision of the history of modern music opens with optimistic perspectives: The musical art has attained its perfect state in Venice with the chapelmasters who have followed each other at Saint Mark’s, namely, Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore. As for Zarlino, he deserves credit for codifying the novelties introduced by his predecessors and transmitting them with an exceptional pedagogical talent. Perfection thus manifests itself in practice and in theory. No subsequent attempt is worthy of attention unless it fits into the continuity of Venetian practices.

Gaetano makes an exception of musical talent—an exception that justifies the rarity of exceptional composers. For Gaetano, music distinguishes itself from the other disciplines in that study alone does not permit one to produce an extraordinary result. If devoting oneself to study suffices for distinguishing oneself in the arts and sciences, for music, one must be gifted, or, in Gaetano’s words, to be “favored by the benevolence of the arts and of nature”. Such an assertion could in some way contradict Gaetano’s evident desire to demonstrate the omnipresence of music in the history of civilization.

⁹ There are, of course, the treatises of Tinctoris, to which one could add several rare texts analyzed in particular by James Haar in *The science and art of Renaissance music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

With quite a skillful maneuver, he qualifies the position he has taken. If exceptional talent is rare, nature has nonetheless endowed a great number of individuals to practice music for the good of society, for music is able to produce beneficial effects.

If, as has sometimes been done, we had to read Gaetano's *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* from the reductive angle of its contribution to musical historiography, we would without doubt be relatively disappointed. At the same time, we would bypass that which makes it an important text, indicative of the position of music in humanist thought. Finding the most evident traces of the presence of music in humanism is an act that passes through those theoretical texts that attempted to reread texts belonging to the classical heritage with new eyes, both well-known and recently unearthed.

At the end of the manuscript Gaetano clearly wrote 1561. This is a strange date when one considers certain events mentioned by the author in the course of the text. For example, in his evocation of the musical life of Venice Gaetano emphasizes the pedagogical contribution of Zarlino when he was appointed head of the chapel of Saint Mark's. Now Zarlino only took up the post after the departure of Cipriano de Rore in 1565. Leeman Perkins already mentioned this point, but in any case did not propose a more precise date than the range of 1565–72.¹⁰ I would like to suggest here a more precise date of 1567–69.

This oration was originally addressed to Maximilian II, who became emperor in 1564. At that point he had in his service as chapelmaster Jacobus Vaet,¹¹ who kept his post until his death in 1567. Then a period of searching and intrigues began. Did Gaetano seek to win the favor of the emperor? Did he give the original copy of his oration to the very active Viennese ambassador in Venice,¹² who perhaps did not consider it worthwhile to pass on? Every hypothesis is possible, and none can be proven. Did Gaetano really send a copy to Maximilian? Did he not use the exemplar that was destined for the latter, adding a dedication adapted for a new dedicatee, Guidubaldo? His conclusion certainly deals with the Austrian imperial family at great enough length. What interest would Guidubaldo have had in reading these lines of base flattery?

Why did Gaetano suddenly decide to send his *Oratio de origine et dignitate musices* to Guidubaldo? The court of Pesaro actually found itself in a more or less identical situation to that of Vienna. Paolo Animuccia had succeeded Phinot in 1558 as the head of the duke's musical establishment. In 1569 Animuccia died, and for nearly three years his post remained unoccupied, before finally being given to Leonard Meldert in 1572. When he mentions the duke's musician, Gaetano hesitates between the present and the past; it is impossible to know, therefore, whether his praises of his colleague hide some vague desire to succeed him.

It remains difficult, therefore, to date the oration precisely; it could certainly be between 1565 and 1569 if Gaetano speaks of Animuccia in the present. The duke's musician is not the only personage active at Pesaro whom Gaetano mentions. At the end of his dedicatory letter, the singer of Saint Mark's praises a famed singer then in the service of Guidubaldo: Virginia Vagnoli. Thanks to recent research by Franco Piperno, we have a better idea of the political stakes represented by Vagnoli in the relationship

¹⁰ Written communication. I am grateful to Professor Perkins for having provided me with his information about Gaetano, even if I do not reach the same conclusions.

¹¹ Vaet had replaced Jean Guyot.

¹² Franz von Thurn, who died in 1566, was succeeded by Vitus von Dorimberg in April 1567.

between Guidubaldo II and Maximilian II. Around 1560 this native of Siena was living in Venice. She then entered into the service of the Duke of Urbino. The singer delighted the ducal court; for five years (1564–69) she was engaged to Lodovico Agostini. Then, in 1570 Maximilian II came on the scene to recall the singer to Vienna, even promising her an apparently profitable marriage to one of his musicians, the cornettist Luigi Zenobi. We do not know Vagnoli's reaction to this tactless offer, but the fact remains that in June 1571, the Vagnoli were ousted from their position at the court. Virginia would nevertheless find a husband in the person of Alessandro Striggio.

For a long time Maximilian had been trying to secure the talents of Virginia Vagnoli. From the end of 1569 his ambassador in Venice had been responsible for trying to convince her, in vain. Did Gaetano intervene in this dispute, having known the singer in Venice? Once again nothing can be affirmed. However, the facts come together. We could hazard a summary of the origins of the oration as follows: Maximilian, in his tireless quest to secure the talents of Vagnoli, orders his ambassador in Venice to make every effort to convince her to leave the Duke of Urbino. The ambassador then likely turns to Gaetano, a cultured singer who knows Vagnoli. Gaetano, thus better informed of what is happening in Vienna thanks to his contacts with the ambassador, hears of the vacancy arising from the unexpected death of Vaet. He knows that Maximilian is leaning toward a composer of Italian origin. Unable to claim the reputation of a composer, Gaetano perhaps decides to draft a theoretical text that shows him to be informed of literary fashions and the possessor of undeniable learning. Meanwhile Maximilian has changed his mind: He considers it better to choose a composer of Flemish origin than an Italian. In 1569 he appoints Philippe de Monte. That same year, Gaetano, who is well-acquainted with the court of the Duke of Urbino in Pesaro, learns of the death of Animuccia. He then makes a copy of his oration destined for Guidubaldo, taking care to preserve the allusions to Maximilian in order to show that he is not merely a singer at a prestigious institution. The oration arrives in Pesaro but apparently yields no favorable result. These are only conjectures, but the content of the oration could confirm them.



This long description of the *Oratio's* writing and context is not simply anecdotal. It shows how it is not self evident for a writer on music to consider the writing of music history. Gaetano is not Vasari. Neither is he Conrad Gesner,¹³ whose contribution to musicology has not been reevaluated since Bernstein's article published in a 1973 issue of *Acta musicologica*.¹⁴ This reevaluation could show that the sense of history—for music, of course—comes to light in voluminous encyclopedia. The *Bibliotheca universalis* and the *Pandectæ* pretend to be historical studies,¹⁵ where Gaetano's intentions are not clear

¹³ The Zürich doctor Conrad Gesner, born in 1515, is known today above all for his great works on natural history, and particularly on zoology. He died in 1565 at the age of 50, leaving behind the rich oeuvre of a multitasking humanist and compiler: He wrote on all manner of subjects, translated many works from Greek, and compiled various dictionaries, partly for pleasure and partly for his belly—for he possessed no fortune. One of his most ambitious works was the *Bibliotheca universalis*, published in Zürich by Christoph Froschauer in 1545 and supplemented three years later by the *Pandectæ*, with the same publisher.

¹⁴ Lawrence Bernstein, "The bibliography of music in Conrad Gesner's *Pandectæ* (1548)", *Acta musicologica* 45/1 (1973) 119–63.

¹⁵ This encyclopedic knowledge is articulated according to "the division of philosophy". This division makes the following distinctions: (1) philosophy includes the "preparatory" and "substantial" arts and sciences; (2) the "preparatory"

at all. But Gaetano's diversity of intentions is symptomatic of how impossible it was—for a singer who became, at the time of the oration, a theoretician—to show historian's intentions. Many arguments confirm the ambiguity of Gaetano's historical perception (and the perceptions of Tinctoris and Heyden as well). For Gaetano the present state of music is an accomplishment that distinguishes itself from the past through quality and not through chronology. In this his argument is similar to Tinctoris. But contrary to Tinctoris, Gaetano tries to integrate a notion of organic evolution, even though he is still dependent on a genealogical vision (the enumerations of composers) limited in its teleological dimension. Finally, Gaetano sketches a historical periodization that allows him to think of the "new art" almost as a period among others (which is not the case in Tinctoris).

It is thus necessary to open once again the topic of relationships between music, a sense of history, and the Renaissance. The relationship of music to history is not an easy one for theoreticians. It is only when theoreticians write on the history of theory that they are practicing a kind of history that accepts and integrates the idea of a "Renaissance". It is certainly necessary to open the topic again, and this time not by looking at texts (such as Tinctoris's) that do not show any presence of the second criterion—the substantial one of the two that I described at the beginning—but in scrutinizing neglected sources; sources of secondary importance for the history of music itself but crucial for discovering the founders of a discipline, those founders who have opened the path to Printz, Bontempi, and Brossard, to Sartori, Lesure, and Brook.

(trans. by Ted Dumitrescu)

disciplines are divided into "necessary" and "decorative"; and (3) the "necessary" disciplines are divided into "discursive" (the disciplines of the *trivium*) and "mathematical" (the disciplines of the *quadrivium*, including music, books V to IX of the *Pandectæ*). Gesner affirms that history has a "decorative" character. This assertion is not justified in the *Pandectæ*; it is, on the other hand, in an autograph manuscript text preserved in Zürich (Zentralbibliothek, MS C.50) concerning "the benefit which the various disciplines can draw from the study of history and geography, in as much as these latter constitute above all a heritage of experiences and models." This is the reason that the *historiarum ratio* (which means "historical discourse" as well as "historical method") is, as Gesner specifies, "useful for nearly all philosophy and for all the arts." History "adorns" and "decorates" the other disciplines. In this regard, it is interesting and significant to note that Gesner does not consider history an art of discourse (*ars sermocinalis*). Another question arises: Does the specific history of each discipline come under general history, or under the knowledge of the discipline in question? Actually, both at once. There again, Gesner has had to make a choice, justified by reasons of convenience: "Certain illustrious men have been situated with their professions: the war captains in the section on war of book [XVIII] concerning politics; the musicians in book [VII] concerning music."

“LEOPOLD MOZART ... A MAN OF MUCH ... SAGACITY”: THE REVIVAL OF HUMANIST SCHOLARSHIP IN HIS GRÜNDLICHE VIOLINSCHULE (AUGSBURG, 1789)

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In Memory of Claude V. Palisca (1921–2001)

Among the many founders and followers in music’s intellectual history, Leopold Mozart (1719–87),¹ known in the annales of music history as the author of a famous treatise on violin playing,² the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756),³ and

This paper focuses on several chapters from the third revised edition of Leopold Mozart’s *Gründliche Violinschule*, including “Der Einleitung zweyter Abschnitt Von dem Ursprunge der Musik, und der musikalischen Instrumenten” (*Violinschule*, 10–13), “Versuch einer kurzen Geschichte der Musik” (*Violinschule*, 13–19), and “Des ersten Hauptstücks erster Abschnitt: Von der alten und neuen musikalischen Buchstaben und Noten, wie auch von den itzt gewöhnlichen Linien, und Musikschlüsseln” (*Violinschule*, 20–26). An English translation of the corresponding passages is found in Editha Knocker’s *A treatise on the fundamental principles of violin playing by Leopold Mozart* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1937; repr. ed. 1985), specifically “Introduction — second section II. Of the origin of music, and musical instruments” (17–19), “A short history of music” (19–24), and “Chapter II. Of the old and new musical letters and notes, together with the lines and clefs now in use” (25–30). I am grateful to Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie for their invitation to the RILM conference. I also wish to thank Richard Green (Manhattan School of Music) and Graeme Fullerton (RILM) for their insightful comments and Michael Beckerman (New York University) for chairing the conference session.

¹ On Leopold Mozart’s biography, see, for example, Otto Müller, “Der Vater”, *Mozart: Wesen und Wandlung*, ed. by Erich Valentin (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1953); *Leopold Mozart, 1719–1787: Bild einer Persönlichkeit*, ed. by Ludwig Wegele, issued under auspices of the Deutsche Mozartgesellschaft (Augsburg: Die Brigg, 1969); Erich Valentin, *Leopold Mozart: Portrait einer Persönlichkeit* (München: Paul List, 1987); Erich Valentin, *Leopold Mozart: Eine Biographie*, Insel Taschenbuch 2224 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1998); Werner Pieck, *Die Mozarts: Porträt einer Familie* (s.l.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, [1998]). On the early stages of Leopold Mozart’s career, see Josef Mančal, “... durch beyhülff hoher Recommendation...: Neues zu Leopold Mozarts beruflichem Anfang”, *Festschrift 36. Deutsches Mozartfest Augsburg, 21.–31. Mai 1987* (Augsburg, 1987) 23–36; also in: *Leopold Mozart: Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 1, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1994) 157–69.

² For an overview of Leopold Mozart’s contributions to the *disciplina musicae*, see, for example, the entry “Mozart, Leopold”, Constant Würzbach von Tanenberg, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* (Wien, 1868) vol. 19, 287–91; Constantin Schneider, *Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Salzburg: R. Kiesel, 1935; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1977) 105–08.

³ *Leopold Mozarts Versuch einer gründliche Violinschule, entworfen und mit 4 Kupfertafeln sammt einer Tabelle versehen* (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1756; subsequent revised editions with altered title: as *Leopold Mozarts Gründliche*

his resultant notoriety as a pedagogue,⁴ perhaps less as a composer,⁵ but foremost as the father of his *Wunderkind* Wolfgang Amadeus (1756–91)⁶ and of Anna Maria (or Nannerl) (1751–1829),⁷ needs to be accorded a special niche. As provocative as this

Violinschule, mit vier Kupfertafeln und einer Tabelle, 2nd rev. ed. (Augsburg: Johann Jakob Lotter, 1769, also 1770); 3rd. rev. ed. (Augsburg: Johann Jakob Lotter und Sohn, 1789); 4th ed. (Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig: [no publisher], 1791); also Augsburg: J.J. Lotter und Sohn, 1800); repr. of 1st ed., with pref. by Bernhard Paumgartner (Vienna: Carl Stephenson, 1922); repr. of 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: H.L. Grahl, 1956); also ed. by Hans-Joachim Moser (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1956); also ed. by Greta Moens-Haenen (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995); repr. of 3rd ed., with explanation and commentary by Hans Rudolf Jung and pref. by David Oistrach (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1983); see also *Leopold Mozart: Gründliche Violinschule—Erstausgabe der zweiten Auflage von 1769 in moderner Schrift und angepasster Rechtschreibung*, ed. by Matthias Michael Beckmann, with rendition of text by Gottfried Franz Kasparek (Salzburg: Polzer, 2007). For a facs. repr. of the title page of the first edition, see Ludwig Wegele, ed., *Leopold Mozart, 1719–1787*, plate 48; and Karl Arnold, *Mozart in Italien: Ausstellung in der Wiener Urania, 28 October 1971–16 January 1972* (Wien: Jugend und Volk, 1971) facs. 3, see also p. 43. For an English trans. of this treatise, see Leopold Mozart, *A treatise on the fundamental principles of violin playing*, trans. by Editha Knocker. Early music series 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937; 2nd ed. 1949; repr. ed. 1985). A copy of the original print of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1756) is preserved in the private collection of Helmut Nanz; see Marion Neugebauer and Georg Zauner, ed. with a preface, *Musikerautographen in Sammlung Helmut Nanz: Katalog*, with a preface by Axel Beer (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998, 2nd ed., 2005) 75. For a comprehensive overview of the editions of Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*, see François Lesure, *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*. Répertoire international des sources musicales B/6 (München: G. Henle, 1971) vol. 2, 600–02. See also Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, "Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule ...," Review in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Vol. 3 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1757) 160–63; Milton Steinhardt, *Leopold Mozart's Violin Method* (M.M. thesis, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1937).

⁴ Erich Valentin, "Was der Schüler beobachten muß: Zu Leopold Mozarts Lehrtätigkeit," *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch*. Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben 62–63 (Augsburg: M. Seitz, 1962) 321–32; Thomas R. Adunka, *Leopold Mozart–Wolfgang A. Mozart. Die Regeln vom Vater zur Musik vom Sohn: Von einer praktischen Anwendung der Violinschule Leopolds auf das A-Dur Violinkonzert Wolfgang's* (M.M. thesis, Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien, 1989); Sonja Puntischer-Riekmann, "Der Mensch als Kunstwerk des Menschen: Gedanken zum ästhetisch-pädagogischen Projekt Leopold Mozarts," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 17–21.

⁵ See, for example, Max Seiffert, ed., *Ausgewählte Werke von Leopold Mozart*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern IX/2, ed. by Adolf Sandberger (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908); see also Max Friedländer, "Leopold Mozarts Klavier-sonaten," *Die Musik* 4/1 (1904–05) 38–40; Willi Renz, "Leopold Mozart als Komponist," *Die Musik* 16/23 (1904–05) 351–61; Georg Schünemann, "Leopold Mozart als Komponist," *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 36/52 (December 31, 1909) 1039–40; Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, "Un oratorio sconosciuto di Leopold Mozart," *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, Jan La Rue and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) 187–95; David Moris Carlson, *The vocal music of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787): Authenticity, chronology and thematic catalogue* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976). On the preservation of Leopold Mozart's works in Augsburg, especially in the Dominikanerkloster Heiligkreuz, the Mozart-Gedenkstätte Augsburg, the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, and the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, see Josef Mančal, *Mozart-Schätze in Augsburg*. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 3, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart-Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1995) 95f.

⁶ On the relationship between Leopold Mozart and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, see, for example, Florian Lanegger, *Mozart: Vater und Sohn. Eine psychologische Untersuchung* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1978, 2nd ed., 1978); see also Josef Mančal, "Mozart: Zum Verhältnis Leopold Mozarts zu Wolfgang 'Amade' Mozart: Prolegomena zur Strukturbestimmung einer personalen Beziehung und der Wirklichkeitsorganisation im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung: (1) Hinweise zu einer Archäologie des Jahres 1759," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 84 (1983) 191–245. On the conscious imitation (*Nachahmung*) of Leopold Mozart by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, see Josef Mančal, "Mozart: Zum Verhältnis Leopold Mozarts zu Wolfgang 'Amade' Mozart. Prolegomena zur Strukturbestimmung einer personalen Beziehung und der Wirklichkeitsorganisation im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung: (2) Rückblick, Hinweise zu einer Archäologie des Beziehungsraumes der Jahre 1759–1785," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 85 (1992) 239–71, especially 255–60; Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart family: Four lives in a social context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 141–227. On the relationship between father and son in the context of Salzburg society, see Gunda Barth-Scalmani, "Vater und Sohn Mozart und das (Salzburger) Bürgertum oder 'Sobald ich den Credit verliere, ist auch meine Ehre hin'," *Genie und Alltag: Bürgerliche Stadtkultur zur Mozartzeit*, ed. by Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, and Ernst Wangermann (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1994) 173–202; see also Peter Feddersen, ed. with commentary, *Allerliebster Papa! Mozarts Briefwechsel mit dem Vater, September 1777–Januar 1779* (Zurich, Mainz: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 2005). So pronounced was the relationship between father and son that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in turn had a similar relationship with his son Franz Xaver Wolfgang; see Rudolf Angermüller, "Des Vaters Name war es eben, was deiner Tatkraft Keim zerstört: Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart. Wie lebte er mit dem Erbe seines Vaters," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 46/3–4 (1998) 29–48.

⁷ Walter Hummel, *Nannerl: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Schwester* (Zürich: Amalthea, 1952); Walter Hummel,

quest might seem from the outset, there is ample reason in the history of reception to support this thought, especially in light of the sparse biographical coverage of his life and accomplishments in comparison with the manifold contributions to the genre of literary writing for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.⁸ Some 100 years ago the critic, philologist, and writer Josef Hofmiller (1872–1933) summarized Leopold Mozart's contribution bluntly in the cryptic remark that "Leopold Mozart left the world his Wolfgang, his Nannerl, and a school on violin playing".⁹ In the literature on Leopold Mozart, two other statements by Leopold's own contemporaries are cited frequently, occasionally even without the proper attribution. In a letter dated 30 September 1769 (Vienna), the grand master of 18th-century Italian opera, Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), wrote to his friend Giovanni Maria Ortes (1713–90)¹⁰ in Venice: "I have made the acquaintance with a certain Mr. Mozart, Kapellmeister of the Bishop of Salzburg—a man of spirit, well educated and of a worldly character, who, as I believe, understands things very well, both in music and otherwise."¹¹ A second comment, one that is equally revealing of the personality of Leopold Mozart, comes from the pen of Cajetan Rupert Hagenauer (1746–1811), since 1769 known as Pater Dominikus Hagenauer,¹² Abbot

Nannerl Mozarts Tagebuchblätter mit Einträgen ihres Bruders Wolfgang Amadeus (Salzburg: Das Bergland Buch, 1958); Rudolf Angermüller, "Testament, Kodizill, Nachtrag und Sperrrelation der Freifrau Maria Anna von Berchtold zu Sonnenburg, geb. Mozart (1751–1829)", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1986) 97–133; Eva Rieger, *Nannerl Mozart: Leben einer Künstlerin im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1990, 2nd ed., 1991). On the relationship between Leopold Mozart and Anna Maria Mozart, see, for example, *Leopold Mozarts Briefe an seine Tochter*, ed. by Otto Erich Deutsch and Bernhard Paumgartner (Salzburg: A. Pustet, 1936); Otto Erich Deutsch, "Eine neuer Brief Leopold Mozarts an seine Tochter", *Wissenschaft und Praxis: Eine Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Bernhard Paumgartner*, ed. by Eberhard Preussner (Zurich: Atlantis, [1958]) 57–58; Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart family*, 442–564.

⁸ For a survey, see Simon P. Keefe, "Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus. Biographies", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 337–39; see also William Stafford, "The evolution of Mozartian biography", *The Cambridge companion to Mozart*, ed. by Simon P. Keefe. Cambridge companions to music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 200–11; Matthias Schmidt, "Musiker—Erzieher—uomo politico: Leopold Mozart und die Botschaften der Aufklärung," *Mozarts Lebenswelten*, ed. by Laurenz Lüttken and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008).

⁹ "Er [d.h. Leopold Mozart] hinterließ der Welt seinen Wolferl, seine Nannerl, und eine Violinschule"; also reproduced in Wolfgang Plath, "Leopold Mozart 1987", *Leopold Mozart: Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 1, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1994) 171–95, especially 176. This article is also published in *Leopold Mozart und Augsburg* (Augsburg: Mozartgemeinde Augsburg, 1987) 11–25; *Wolfgang Plath: Mozart-Schriften*, ed. by Marianne Danckwardt, Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991) 379–89; see also Josef Hofmiller, "Der alte Mozart und seine Violinschule", *Sammler*, supplement to the *Augsburger Abendzeitung* (4 and 8 June 1892); repr. in: *Versuche: Schriftenband 1* (Leipzig, 1938; 3rd ed. 1943). Further on Hofmiller, see Erich Valentin, *Leopold Mozart: Eine Biographie*, 12f.

¹⁰ Further on Giovanni Maria Ortes, see Cliff Eisen, "Hasse, Johann Adolph", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 210; see also Cliff Eisen, "Mozart, (Johann Georg) Leopold", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 300.

¹¹ "Ho fatto qui conoscenza con un tal Mr. Mozart, Maestro di Capella del Vescovo di Salisburgo, Uomo di spirito, fino, e di mondo; e che credo sappia ben il fatto suo in nella Musica, come in altre cose"; as cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, collected and ed., *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, repr. from *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Werkgruppe 24: supplement, series 10, issued under auspices of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961) 84; as reproduced in Wolfgang Plath, "Leopold Mozart 1987", 176.

¹² Elected Abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg in January 1786, Kajetan Hagenauer was invested into the priesthood as Pater Dominikus on 15 October 1769. For the latter occasion, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote the Mass in C major for soprano, alto, tenor, bass, choir, two oboes, two horns [added ca. 1775–76], four trumpets, timpani, and strings, K.66 ("Dominicus-Messe") premiered that day; see Peter Clive, *Mozart and his circle: A biographical dictionary* (New Haven; Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1993) 67. Further on Pater Dominikus Hagenauer, see Franz Martin, *Hundert Salzburger Familien* (Salzburg, 1946); see also G. Barth, "Die Hagenauers: Ein Salzburger Bürgergeschlecht aus Ainring", *Ainring: Ein Heimatbuch* (Ainring, 1990); Rudolph Angermüller, "Der Mozart-Freund Johann Lorenz Hagenauer", *Mozart Studien* 17 (2008) 359–72.

of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg (since 1786)¹³ and a longtime friend of the Mozart family who recorded in his diary on 28 May 1787 that,

The father [i.e., Leopold] who died today was a man of much wit and sagacity, who would have been capable of rendering good service to the State even apart from music. He was the most correct violinist of his time, to which his twice-published Violin School bears witness.¹⁴

Though independently conceived, both passages recognize and extol the professionalism, diplomacy, and multiple skills of Leopold Mozart—in essence qualities not unique to him¹⁵ but shared by many musicians of the 18th century, foremost by those masters whose legacy has been elevated to that of a father figure by virtue of their embracing spirituality and magnanimity not only for the immediate family but also for a wider family of admirers and followers, such as in the case of Johann Sebastian Bach.¹⁶

In the case of Leopold Mozart, his legacy has hardly received an independent assessment, but instead has been discussed largely in the shadow of his son Wolfgang. Here the comments by the eminent traveler Charles Burney (1726–1814), who met Leopold Mozart and his son on the occasion of a celebration at the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna on 30 August 1770,¹⁷ may serve as a poignant illustration, referring to the qualities of the *Wunderkind* which have been recounted in the secondary literature:¹⁸

¹³ On the importance of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter as a principal center of musical composition, music making, and the repository of scores (including performing parts), see *Das Benediktinerstift St. Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts: Musik und Musiker. Kunst und Kultur*, ed. by Pater Petrus Eder and Gerhard Walterskirchen; issued under auspices of the Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Universität Salzburg (Salzburg: Verlag St. Peter, 1991). Further on a comprehensive account of the cultural milieu in Salzburg, see Manfred Hermann Schmid, in collaboration with Petrus Eder OSB, *Mozart in Salzburg: Ein Ort für sein Talent* (Salzburg: Anton Pustet, 2006); Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The early years, 1756–1781* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006); Cliff Eisen, “Salzburg,” *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 431–43; see also Cliff Eisen, “Mozart and Salzburg,” *The Cambridge companion to Mozart*, ed. by Simon P. Keefe. Cambridge companions to music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 7–21.

¹⁴ “Der heut verstorbene Vater war ein Mann von vielen Witz und Klugheit, und würde auch ausser der Musick dem Staat gute Dienste zu leisten vermögend gewesen seyn. Seiner Zeit war er der regelmessigste Violinist, von welchem seine zweymal aufgelegte Violinschule Zeugniß gibt. . . .”; as cited in: Otto Erich Deutsch, collected and ed., *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, 258, as reproduced in Wolfgang Plath, “Leopold Mozart 1787,” 177. The English trans. is taken from Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A documentary biography*, trans. by Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965) 293. The only other essay to address this aspect is Erich Valentin, “Ein gelehrter Musicus,” *Acta Mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 34/3 (August 1987) 49–54.

¹⁵ See, for example, Josef Maňal, “Mozart: Zum Verhältnis Leopold Mozarts zu Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart”.

¹⁶ See, for example, Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, eds., *Bach und die Nachwelt*, 5 vols. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997–2000); see also Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, in collaboration with Andreas Krause, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Gegenwart: Beiträge zur Bach-Rezeption, 1945–2005* (Köln: Dohr, 2007).

¹⁷ This meeting is also mentioned in Karl Arnold, *Mozart in Italien*, 43–44.

¹⁸ See, for example, [anonymous], “Vom Wunderkind zur Meisterschaft,” *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin* 21 (February 1906) 379–89; Ann M. Lingg, *Mozart: Genius of harmony* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1946); Kurt Pahlen, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Seine Leben und seine Zeit* (Zürich: Schweizer Verlagshaus, 1985, repr. ed., Herrsching: Manfred Pawlak, 1991). Further on the notion of the *Wunderkind*, see, for example, Karl Kobald, *Alt-Wiener Musikstätten*, Amalthea-Bücherei 6 (Zurich: Amalthea, 1919) 100; Alec Hyatt King, “The nature of Mozart’s genius: Some analogies and reflections,” idem, *Mozart in retrospect: Studies in criticism and bibliography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955, 2nd rev. impression, 1956) 188–97; Günther Bittner, “Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Die Erziehung eines Genies,” *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Genie und Musik*, ed. by Wolfgang Lipp (Würzburg: Ergon, 1992) 27–68; Franzpeter Messmer, *Musiker reisen: Vierzehn Kapitel aus der europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1992) 93–131 (“Wunderkinder reisen: Maria Anna und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Westeuropa”); Petra Milhoffer, “Mozart—ein ewiges Wunderkind? Nachdenken über Erziehung und Werdegang eines Genies,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 40/1–4 (1992) 1–22; David Henry Feldman, “Mozart as prodigy, Mozart as artifact,” *The pleasures and perils of genius: Mostly Mozart*, ed. by Peter Ostwald and Leonard S. Zegans. Mental health library 2 (Madison, Conn.: International University Press, 1993) 29–47; also in German trans. as “Mozart als Wunderkind, Mozart als Artefakt,” trans. by Florian Langegger. *Mozart—Freuden und Leiden des*

I must acquaint my musical reader, that at the performance just mentioned, I met with M. Mozart and his son, the little German, whose premature and almost supernatural talents somuch astonished us in London a few years ago, when he had scarce [sic] quitted his infant state. Since his arrival in Italy he has been much admired at Rome and Naples, has been honoured with the order of the *Speron d'Oro*, or Golden Spur, by his Holiness, and was engaged to compose an opera at Milan for the next Carnival.¹⁹

Leopold's position, one undoubtedly inferior to that of his son, is also confirmed in the secondary literature.²⁰ Beyond that, the published survey on music conferences worldwide, covering deliberations before 1966,²¹ attests to the apparent lacuna in musicological scholarship, with the two conference contributions including little more than a peripheral mention of the contribution of Leopold Mozart, and that remarkably about his compositions.²² In the more recent scholarly discourse of Gerhard Allroggen,²³

Genies, ed. by Peter Ostwald and Leonard S. Zegans (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1997) 39–55; Gerhard vom Hofe, "Die Konstellation des Genies: Raffael und Shakespeare in Mozart: Mozarts Kunstgeist in parallelisierender Deutung des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts", *Mozart: Aspekte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Mannheimer Hochschulschriften: Staatliche Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Heidelberg-Mannheim 1, ed. by Hermann Jung (Mannheim: Palatium, 1995) 23–43; Annette Richards, "Automatic genius: Mozart and the mechanical sublime", *Music & letters* 80/3 (August 1999) 366–89; William Stafford, "Genius", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 190–95; *Porträt des Genius: W.A. Mozart*, with an essay by Jacques Brenner (Paris: Hermes; Hamburg: Marion von Schröder, n.d.); Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Das 'Wunderkind Mozart' als Lehrer seiner selbst," part of Symposium III: "Der junge Mozart—Kammermusik", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2006) 367–79. Various mythical accounts have been constructed about the scenario of the *Wunderkind*; for a summary and clarification of this topic, see, for example, William Stafford, *The Mozart myths: A critical reassessment* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991). Various mythical accounts have been constructed about the scenario of the *Wunderkind*; for a summary and clarification of this topic, see, for example, William Stafford, *The Mozart myth: A critical reassessment* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991). With regard to the notion of the genius, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart does not represent an isolated case; see, for example, Tia De Nora, *Beethoven and the construction of genius: Musical politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); see also Paula Higgins, "The apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and other mythologies of musical genius", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57/3 (fall 2004) 443–510. For an examination of a broader context of the genius in modern historiography, see, for example, Nico Schüller, ed., *Zu Problemen der "Herren" und der "Genie"-Musikgeschichtsschreibung* (Hamburg: Bockel, 1998).

¹⁹ Charles Burney, *The present state of music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket, J. Robson, G. Robinson, 1773); facs. repr. *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile II: Music literature 70* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969) 236–37; see also note 678.

²⁰ See, for example, Bernhard Scholz, "W.A. Mozart und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der Musik: Festrede bei der Mozart-Feier des Dr. Hochschen Konservatoriums in Frankfurt a. M. am 6. Dezember 1891", Bernhard Scholz, *Musikalisches und Persönliches* (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1899) 3–18; Erich Valentin, *Mozart and his world* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959, 2nd. ed., New York: The Viking Press, 1970); Erich Valentin, *Mozart: Weg und Welt* (München: Paul List, 1985); Max Becker, ed., *Mozart: Sein Leben und seine Zeit in Texten und Bildern* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1991); Walther Siegmund-Schultze, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Ideal–Idol–Idee* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1994); Armin Raab, "Im Lichtkreis seines Sohnes, ohne den er im Dunkeln stünde: Leopold Mozart im Verständnis der Mozart-Biographik", *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg* (1994), ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 2, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 191–201; see also Adolf Layer, "Leopold Mozart im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen", *Schwäbische Blätter für Heimatpflege und Volksbildung* 20/3 (October 1969) 84–88.

²¹ James R. Cowdrey, Zdravko Blažeković, and Barry S. Brook, eds., *Speaking of music: Music conferences, 1835–1966*. RILM retrospective series 4 (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2004) nos. 1724, 1881.

²² *Ibid.*; Guglielmo Barblan, "Le orchestre in Lombardia all'epoca di Mozart", *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Wien Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. by Erich Schenk (Graz: Böhlau, 1958) 18–21; Fausto Torrefranco, "Influenza di alcuni musicisti Italiani vissuti a Londra su W.A. Mozart (1764–65)", *Bericht über den Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß in Basel*, issued under auspices of the Neue Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925) 336–62.

²³ Gerhard Allroggen, "Mozarts Lambacher Sinfonie: Gedanken zur musikalischen Stilkritik", *Festschrift für Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Thomas Kohlhase and Volker Scherliess (Stuttgart–Neuhausen: Hänssler Verlag, 1978) 7–19; also in: *Leopold Mozart: Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 1, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1994) 119–30; see also Anna Amalia Abert, "Stilistischer Befund und Quellenlage: Zu Mozarts Lambacher Sinfonie KV Anh. 221 = 45a", *Festschrift Hans Engel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Horst

Robert Münster,²⁴ and Neal Zaslaw²⁵ on the so-called “Lambacher” symphony in G major, K.45a (Anh. 221), transmitted under the name of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, confirmed his authorship as a result of the surfacing of a second set of parts with a title page including Leopold Mozart’s handwritten remark speaking to the authenticity of this work emanating from the hand of his son. The comparison of this authenticated work with another symphony in G major by Leopold Mozart, the “New Lambach” symphony,²⁶ has placed greater significance, indeed much deserved attention, to the compositional craft of father Leopold, owing to the compositional superiority of the latter composition.²⁷

This lacuna in the musicological examinations, which has also been confirmed in a bibliographical survey of Leopold Mozart,²⁸ is reflected in his overall biography. As noted in his manifold correspondence with a number of people,²⁹ including members of both his immediate family³⁰ and the professional world—among them fellow musicians³¹ and his publisher Johann Jakob Lotter (1726–1804)³²—Leopold Mozart was generally discontent with life in Salzburg from his perspective as the teacher of his children and the manager of his finances (related to both his family and to the publishing of his violin treatise and his compositions).³³ He undoubtedly saw himself as the center of the biography of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.³⁴ During the first trip to Italy with his son in

Heussner (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1964) 43–56.

²⁴ Robert Münster, “Neue Funde zu Mozarts symphonischem Jugendwerk”, *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 30 (1982) 2–11; also in: *Leopold Mozart: Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, 131–41, especially 138f.

²⁵ Neal Zaslaw, “The ‘Lambach’ symphonies of Wolfgang and Leopold Mozart”, *Music and civilisation: Essays in honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. by Edmond Strainchamps, Maria Rika Maniates, and Christopher Hatch (New York; W.W. Norton, 1984) 15–28; also in: *Leopold Mozart: Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, 143–56; see also Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart’s symphonies: Context, performance practice, reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 129f.

²⁶ For a modern edition of this work, see Anna Amalie Abert, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sinfonie in G* (“*Neue Lambacher Sinfonie*”) Nagels Musik-Archiv 217 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965). For a discussion of the “New Lambach Symphony”, see, for example, Cliff Eisen, *The symphonies of Leopold Mozart and their relationship to the early symphonies of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: A bibliographical and stylistic study* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1986) 192f.; Cliff Eisen, preface to *Leopold Mozart: Ausgewählte Werke. I: Sinfonien*. Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg 4 (Bad Reichenhall: Comes, 1990) xvi–xxviii; Wolfgang Gersthofer, *Mozarts für Sinfonien (bis 1772): Aspekte frühklassischer Sinfonik*. Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993) 31f.

²⁷ For a more recent discussion of this topic, see Marianne Danckwardt, “Nochmals zu den beiden ‘Lambacher Sinfonien’”, *Bericht über das Mozart-Symposium zum Gedenken an Wolfgang Plath (1930–1995), Augsburg, 13. bis 16. Juni 2000*, ed. by Marianne Danckwardt and Wolf-Dieter Seiffert as *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2001* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003) 163–79.

²⁸ Christian Broy in collaboration with Johannes Fenner, “Leopold-Mozart-Bibliographie”, *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2005) 264–98.

²⁹ [anonymous], “Die Familie Mozart in Salzburg in ihren persönlichen Beziehungen”, *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin*, ed. by Rudolph Genée 3/1 (April 1907) 12–20.

³⁰ See, for example, Otto Erich Deutsch and Bernhard Paumgartner, ed., “Leopold Mozart: Briefe an seine Tochter”, *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1 (1941) 49–78; Alois Kozár, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) im Spiegel der Briefe seines Vaters Leopold Mozart: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Graz, 1955); Peter Branscombe, “Mozart as letter writer”, *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 335–37; see also Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart family*.

³¹ On the identification of Leopold Mozart’s contacts, see Peter Clive, *Mozart and his circle: A biographical dictionary* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); see also Heinz Schuler, *Mozarts Salzburger Freunde und Bekannte: Biographien und Kommentare*. Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft 119, ed. by Richard Schaal (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1998).

³² Adolf Layer, “Lotter und Mozart: Die Geschichte einer Freundschaft”, *Die sieben Schwaben* 14 (1964) 152–54, 156; Adolf Layer, “Johann Jakob Lotter, der Jüngere, Leopold Mozarts Augsburger Verleger”, *Leopold Mozart, 1719–1787: Bild einer Persönlichkeit*, ed. by Ludwig Wegele (Augsburg: Die Brigg, 1969) 117–28; also see Adolf Layer, “Die Augsburger Musikaliendrucker Lotter”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 34 (1964) 258–63.

³³ Ernst Hintermaier, “Sie wissen, wie mir Salzburg verhasst ist”, *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 61/7 (July 2006) 58–63.

³⁴ See, for example, Leopold Mozart, *Reise-Aufzeichnungen, 1763–1771*, ed. by Arthur Schurig (Dresden, 1920); Paul Angerer, *Mozart auf Reisen: Die Reisebriefe Leopold Mozarts, Wien 1762/63, 1767–1769, 1773*, ed. by Richard Pils.

1770,³⁵ Leopold saw his esteem relegated to a secondary position in the biography of his son, whose life was then rapidly unfolding with unprecedented accomplishments,³⁶ some of which were directly connected with Leopold Mozart's own carefully contemplated involvement. An example of this is Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's preparation of his own thematic catalogue under the guidance of his father.³⁷ Notwithstanding this observation of Wolfgang Plath,³⁸ Leopold Mozart, by 1770, could already reflect with some pride on his own accomplishments, on the one hand as a recipient of a broad humanist-based education, and on the other as achieving success in his compositions. His successful works included both sacred music, much inspired by the *stile antico* tradition,³⁹ and secular music,⁴⁰ frequently in the *stile galant* idiom,⁴¹ in which he was influenced by

Bibliothek der Provinz 1 (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2000–05).

³⁵ Erich Schenk, "Neues zu Mozarts erster Italienreise", *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch* 3 (1942) 22–44; Elisabeth I. Luin, "Mozarts Aufenthalt in Rom", *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch* 3 (1942) 45–62. Further on the first Italian trip, with stops in Rovereto, Verona, Mantua, Milan, Lodi, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Mitridate, Venice, and Padua, as well as on the second and third Italian trips by the Mozarts, see Karl Arnold, *Mozart in Italien*, see also Iwo and Pamela Zaluski, *Mozart's Europe: The early journeys* (Sussex: The Book Guild, 1993); Heinz Schuler, "Mozarts Konzertreisen 1762: Ein biographischer und topographischer Kommentar zu den Reiseberichten", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 41/1–2 (1993) 23–58; Rudolph Angermüller in collaboration with Geneviève Geffray, *Delitiae Italiae: Mozart Reisen in Italien* (Bad Honnef: K.H. Bock, 1994) 17–197; Rudolph Angermüller, "Delitiae Italiae: Mozarts Reisen in Italien" *Acta Mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 41/1–2 (March 1994) 46–50; Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig and Josef Wallnig, "Reisen zur Mozart-Zeit—die Mozarts auf Reisen", *Genie und Alltag: Bürgerliche Stadtkultur zur Mozartzeit*, ed. by Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, and Ernst Wangermann (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1994) 11–33; Iwo and Pamela Zaluski, *Mozart in Italy* (London: Peter Owen, 1999); Ulrich Drüner, *Mozarts große Reise: Sein Durchbruch zum Genie, 1777–1779* (Wien: Böhlau, 2006).

³⁶ See, for example, Hildigund Kröplin, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, 1756–1791: Eine Chronik* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990). On Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's relationship with his colleagues, especially during his travels, see, Ulrich Drüner, "Mozarts Beziehungen zu seinen Berufskollegen", *Acta Mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 40/1 (March 1993) 4–15.

³⁷ Albi Rosenthal, introduction and transcription, *Mozart's thematic catalogue: A facsimile. British Library Stefan Zweig MS 63* (London: The British Library, 1990); see also "Mozarts Verzeichnis seiner seit dem Jahre 1784 geschriebenen Tonwerke, vollständig nach der Handschrift abgedruckt", *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin* 16 (November 1903) 187–219.

³⁸ Wolfgang Plath, "Leopold Mozart 1987", *Festschrift 'Leopold Mozart und Augsburg'* (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1987) 11–25; also in Wolfgang Plath, *Mozart-Schriften: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. by Marianne Danckwardt. Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991) 379–89; also in *Leopold Mozart: Auf dem Weg zu einem Verständnis*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 1, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1994) 171–82.

³⁹ See, for example, Manfred Schuler, "Zum *stile antico* in Leopold Mozarts kirchenmusikalischem Schaffen", *Beiträge der Internationalen Leopold Mozart Kolloquiums Augsburg* (1994), ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 213–18. On the presence of the *stile antico* in the works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, see Sharon Choa, "Stile antico", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 492–93.

⁴⁰ Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Zu den Klaviersonaten von Leopold Mozart", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 23–30; reprinted in *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under auspices by the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 47–55. Further on Leopold Mozart's compositions, see David M. Carlson, *The vocal music of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787): Authenticity, chronology and thematic catalogue* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976); Ernst Ludwig Theiß, *Die Instrumentalwerke Leopold Mozarts nebst einer Biographie* (Ph. D. diss., Universität Gießen, 1942), parts printed in *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch* 62–63 of *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* (Augsburg: M. Seitz, 1962) 397–468; Cliff Eisen, *The symphonies of Leopold Mozart and their relationship to the early symphonies of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: A bibliographical and stylistic study* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1986).

⁴¹ On the presence of the *stile galant*, see, for example, Thomas Hochradner, "Meistens nur um eine Uebung in der Radierkunst zu machen: Leopold Mozarts kompositorisches Erstlingswerk: Die *Sonate Sei* (1740)", *Beiträge der Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg* (1994), ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 29–46. The *stile galant* is also exhibited in Leopold Mozart's concerto in G major for flute and orchestra, which I premiered with Markus Vorzellner on fortepiano (12 November 1994) on the occasion of the

Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741),⁴² whose music he knew from publications already released by Johann Jakob Lotter.⁴³ In addition, Leopold's interest in music pedagogy culminated in the completion of his *Violinschule*, a document made famous by its wide circulation as witnessed in its dissemination in multiple editions,⁴⁴ including among members of the Freemasonry.⁴⁵ But such interest did not cease with this publication,

Internationale Leopold Mozart Kolloquium, in a program entitled "Leopold Mozart und seine Zeit", at the Leopold Mozart-Haus in Augsburg, Germany. This important work is preserved in the Nikola Udina Algarotti collection housed at the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in Zagreb, shelf number XXXIII.F. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Ernst Hintermair, director of the Erzbischöflichen Konsistorialarchiv, Salzburg, for kindly making available to me a microfilm of the work. For the only modern edition of this work, see Leopold Mozart, *Konzert G-Dur für Flöte, 2 Violinen, Viola und Bass*, with piano reduction by Martin Müller, ed. by Nikolaus Delius (München: Ricordi, 1994).

⁴² Wilhelm Riedel, *Galanter Stil im Schafen von Johann Joseph Fux*. Jahressgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 19 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1996).

⁴³ Adolf Layer, ed., *Katalog des Augsburger Verlegers Lotter von 1753*. *Catalogus Musicus: Eine musikbibliographische Reihe* 2, issued under auspices of the International Association of Music Libraries and International Musicological Society (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964); Hans Rheinfurth, *Der Musikverlag Lotter in Augsburg (ca. 1719–1845)*, ed. by Rudolf Elvers. *Musikbibliographische Arbeiten* 3 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1977); Adolf Layer, "Lotter", *Music printing and publishing*, ed. by Donald W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie. *The Norton/Grove handbooks in music* (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1990) 325; see also Liesbeth Weinhold and Alexander Weinmann, *Kataloge von Musikverlegern von Musikalienhändlern im deutschsprachigen Raum, 1700–1850: Verzeichnis mit Fundortnachweisen und einem historischen Überblick*. *Catalogus musicus* 15 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995) 60–67; Josef Mančal, "Zum Augsburger Druck-, Verlags- und Handelswesen im Musikalienbereich am ausgehenden 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert", *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997) 873–907; Josef Mančal, "Augsburg als Herstellungs- und Handelszentrum für Druckmedien im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel Leopold Mozart", *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997) 909–45. On the dissemination of Leopold Mozart's first composition, his *Sonate Sei*, by Lotter beginning in 1748, see Josef Mančal, *Mozart-Schätze in Augsburg*, 65–67.

⁴⁴ Further on the editions, see note 3. Leopold Mozart sent several copies of his *Violinschule* to Padre Martini; see Karl Arnold, *Mozart in Italien*, 43.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Manfred Hermann Schmidt, "Ein freimaurerischer Geschäftsbrief von Leopold Mozart zur *Violinschule*", *Mozart Studien* 5, ed. by Manfred Hermann Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995) 213–23; reprinted in *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 2, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 83–90; see also Karl Albrecht-Weinberger, Sylvia Mattl-Wurm, and Ferdinand Zörner, eds., *Zirkel und Winkelmaß: 200 Jahre Große Landesloge der Freimaurer. Katalog der 86. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien* (Wien: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1984). For an overview of the members of the *Freimaurerloge "Zur gekrönten Hoffnung"*, including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, see Gerald Fischer-Colbrice, "Die Mitgliederliste der Freimaurerloge 'Zur gekrönten Hoffnung' aus Mozarts Sterbejahr gefunden", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 41/3–4 (1993) 35–48; see also A. Fellner, "Mozart als Freimaurer in der Wiener Loge 'Zur gekrönten Hoffnung'", *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin* 14 (October 1902) 115–18; H.C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and the Masons: New light on the lodge 'Crowned Hope'*, The Walter Neurath memorial lectures 14 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1982, 2nd rev. ed. 1983). On Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's devotion to freemasonry, see Brigitte Richter, "'Zum Zeichen wahrer ächter Freundschaft': Mozarts musikalisches Albumblatt für einen Leipziger Logenbruder", *Mozart in Kursachsen*, ed. by Brigitte Richter and Ursula Oehme in collaboration with Rat der Stadt Leipzig, Gewandhaus zu Leipzig, Oper Leipzig and Stadtgeschichtlichen Museum Leipzig (Leipzig: s.n., 1991) 145–56. Further on Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and freemasonry, see Richard Koch, *Bruder Mozart: Freimaurer und Illuminaten—nebst einigen freimaurerischen kulturhistorischen Skizzen, nach geheimen Dokumenten und Quellen im Museum Carolino Augusteum zu Salzburg* (Bad Reichenhall: Verlag des Reichenhaller Kurfonds und Sanatoriums, Milde Fr. Stiftung, 1911); [anonymous], "Neues über Mozart als Freimaurer und Illuminaten (Milde Fr. Stiftung)", *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin* 33/1 (May 1912) 27–28; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart und die Wiener Logen: Zur Geschichte seiner Freimaurer-Kompositionen*, issued under the auspices of the Großloge von Wien (Wien: Wiener Freimaurer-Zeitung, 1932); Paul Nettel, *Musik und Freimaurerei: Mozart und die königliche Kunst* ([Eßlingen]: Brechtle, 1956); Paul Nettel, *Mozart and masonry* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957, repr. ed. New York, Da Capo Press, 1970); Katherine Thomson, *The masonic thread in Mozart* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977); Philippe A. Auxtixer, "Freemasonry", *The Mozart compendium: A guide to Mozart's life and music*, ed. by H.C. Robbins Landon (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990; also New York: Macmillan, 1990) 132–34; Heinz Schuler, "Mozart, der Freimaurer", *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Summa summarum — Das Phänomen Mozart: Leben, Werk, Wirkung*, ed. by Peter Csobádi (Wien: Paul Neff, 1990) 79–84; Wilhelm Kreutz, "Mozart und die Freimaurer der Kurpfalz", *176 Tage W.A. Mozart in Mannheim*, ed. by Karin v. Welck and Liselotte Homering (Mannheim: Reiß-Museum der Stadt Mannheim; Edition Braus, [1991]) 76–83; Heinz Schuler, *Mozart und die Freimaurerei: Daten — Fakten — Biographien*. Taschenbücher

as Leopold engaged in the preparation of two further editions of this foundational document on string pedagogy. His prime interest in pedagogical instruction is also apparent in his compilation, in 1759, of the *Nannerl Notenbuch*⁴⁶ and subsequently the *Londoner Skizzenbuch* ("di Wolfgang Mozart à Londra 1764").⁴⁷ These documents served as a fertile testing ground for many of Leopold's own ideas on pedagogy⁴⁸ and his versatile approach to the teaching of music and rhetoric,⁴⁹ which was partly inspired by the thoughts on education first articulated by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78),⁵⁰ compiler of a *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768).⁵¹ French Enlightenment thought⁵² and

zur Musikwissenschaft 113, ed. by Richard Schaal (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1992); Edith Rosenstrauch-Königsberg, "Zur Philosophie der österreichischen Freimaurer und Illuminaten mit Blick auf Mozart", *Genie und Alltag: Bürgerliche Stadtkultur zur Mozartzeit*, ed. by Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, and Ernst Wangermann (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1994) 317–50; Guy Wagner, *Bruder Mozart: Freimaurer im Wien des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Amalthea, 1996); Peter Branscombe, "Freemasonry", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 177–82; see also Dolf Lindner, *Ignaz von Born: Meister der Wahren Eintracht—Wiener Freimaurerei im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986); Hans-Josef Irmen, *Mozart: Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften* (Mechernich: s.n., 1988; 2nd rev. ed., [Züllich]: Prisca, 1991). On the importance of freemasonry in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, see Lajos Abafi Aigner, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich-Ungarn*, 5 vols. (Budapest: L. Aigner, 1890–99).

⁴⁶ Wolfgang Plath, ed., *Die Notenbücher. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. IX: Klavierstücke, Werkgruppe 27*, published in collaboration with the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982) 3–96 ("Notenbuch für Maria Anna [Nannerl] Mozart, 1759"); Erich Valentin, ed., *Nannerl Notenbuch, 1759* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1969). Further on the importance of the *Notenbuch*, see, for example, Petrus Eder, OSB, "Nannerl Mozarts Notenbuch von 1759 und bisher unbeachtete Parallelüberlieferungen", ed. by Ernst Hermann Schmid, *Mozart-Studien 3* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993) 37–67; Petrus Eder, OSB, "Neues zu Nannerl Mozarts Notenbuch", *Maria Anna Mozart: Die Künstlerin und ihre Zeit*, ed. by Siegrid Düll and Otto Neumaier (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2001) 73–84; Rudolph Angermüller, "Notenbuch für Maria Anna (Nannerl)", *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, ed. by Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller in collaboration with Andrea Blöchl-Köstner (Bad Honnef: K.H. Bock, 2005) 359–60; see also Alfred Mann, "Leopold Mozart als Lehrer seines Sohnes", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 31–35.

⁴⁷ Wolfgang Plath, ed., *Die Notenbücher. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, 99–168; see also Ulrich Kaiser, *Die Notenbücher der Mozarts als Grundlage der Analyse von W.A. Mozarts Kompositionen, 1761–1767* (Ph.D. diss., Universität der Künste, Berlin, 2007).

⁴⁸ On the lengthy tradition associated with the discipline of pedagogy, see, for example, Anton Fr. Walter, "Die ethisch-pädagogische Würdigung der Musik durch Plato und Aristoteles", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1890) 388–415. On Leopold Mozart's larger vision with regard to music pedagogy, see Sonja Puntcher Riekman, "Der Mensch als Kunstwerk des Menschen: Gedanken zum ästhetisch-pädagogischen Projekt Leopold Mozarts", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 17–21; see also Christian Thomas Leitmeier, "Leopold Mozarts Versuch einer Anweisung ein Klavierkonzert zu komponieren: Zur Entstehung und Funktion der Pasticcio-Konzerte KV 37, 39, 40 und 41", *Mozart Studien* 16, ed. by Manfred Hermann Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007) 49–90.

⁴⁹ The latter area of teaching was inspired by formulations with recourse to rhetoric, as found in the treatises of Heinrich Christoph Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (1782–93) and Daniel Gottlob Türk's *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende mit kritischen Anmerkungen* (Leipzig, 1789). For an analysis based on principles of rhetoric, see John Irving, *Mozart's piano sonatas: Contexts, sources, style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); see also Gunthard Born, "Mozarts Rhetorik in der G-Dur Serenade (Eine kleine Nachtmusik), KV 525 und der C-Dur-Symphonie, KV 551", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 38/1–4 (1990) 103–10.

⁵⁰ Bin Ebisawa, "III. Leopold's theory and practice of educating and training Wolfgang with reference to Rousseau's pedagogical thought", idem, *Mozart and Japan: Selected papers* (Tokyo: Nihon Art Center, 2001) 74–79; see also idem, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Preliminary remarks on their relation* (Tokyo: Kunitachi College of Music, 1996); Günther Noll, *Untersuchungen über die musikerzieherische Bedeutung Jean-Jacques Rousseaus und seiner Ideen: Allgemeiner Überblick und spezielle Darstellung seiner Ziffernschrift als Anfang einer modernen Musikmethodik. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Geschichte* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Berlin, 1960).

⁵¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: Chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768; repr. ed., New York: Johnson Reprint, 1969); see also English trans. by William Waring as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Complete dictionary of music: Consisting of a copious explanation of all words necessary to a true knowledge and understanding of music* (New York: AMS Press, 1975). On the significance of this dictionary, see T.W. Hunt, *The Dictionnaire de musique of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Ph.D. diss., North Western Texas State University, 1967); see also Cynthia Verba, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Radical and traditional views on his *Dictionnaire de musique*", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 7 (1989) 303–26; Claudia Maurer-Zenck, "Die frühe Druckgeschichte von Jean-Jacques Rousseaus *Dictionnaire de musique*", *Die Musikforschung* 54 (2001) 131–53.

⁵² Cynthia Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment: Reconstruction of a dialogue, 1750–1764* (Oxford: Clarendon

German discourse on music theory,⁵³ especially the writings of Joseph Riepel (1709–82)⁵⁴ and Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749–1816),⁵⁵ formed the basis for much of

Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); see also David Schroeder, "Enlightenment," *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 153–58. Further on Rousseau and his thoughts on music in the context of the French Enlightenment philosophy, see, for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essay on the origin of languages and writings related to music*, trans. and ed. by John T. Scott. The collected writings of Rousseau 7, ed. by Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly (Hannover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998); Albert Jansen, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau als Musiker* (Berlin: G. Reiner, 1884; repr. ed., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971); Arthur Pourgin, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, musicien* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1901); Georges Cucuel, "Notes sur Jean-Jacques Rousseau musicien," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 13 (1911–12) 287–92; A. d'Angeli, "J.-J. Rousseau musicista," *Rivista pedagogica* 6 (1912) 371–94; R. Lalo, "Rousseau musician," *Revue critique. Idées* 17 (1912) 691–703; Julien Tiersot, "Concerning Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the musician," *The musical quarterly* 17 (1931) 341–59; Alfred Pochon, *J.J. Rousseau musicien et la critique: Essai de mise au point* (Montreux: Les Éditions du mois Suisse, 1940); Eric Taylor, "Rousseau's conception of music," *Music & letters* 30 (1949) 231–42; Samuel Baud-Bovy, "Rousseau musician," *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. by M. Berenstein (Neuchâtel: A la Baconnière, 1962) 51–66; Roger Cotte, "Bemerkungen über das Verhältnis Jean-Jacques Rousseau zur Musik," trans. by Waltraud and Johannes Klare, *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1963) 81–96; Jean Robert Armogathe, "Écriture et musique chez Rousseau," *Beiträge der Romanischen Philologie* 10 (1971) 5–12; Colm Kiernan, "Rousseau and music in the French enlightenment," *French studies: A quarterly review* 26 (1972) 156–65; Trudy Gottlieb Ertelson, *Rousseau's writing on music: A quest for melody* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974); Roger Cotte, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, le philosophe musicien* (Braine-le-Comte, 1976); Françoise Escal, "Rousseau et l'écriture musicale," *Littérature* 7 (1977) 75–84; John F. Strauss, "Jean Jacques Rousseau: Musician," *The musical quarterly* 64/4 (October 1978) 474–82; Peter Gülke, *Rousseau und die Musik, oder von der Zugständigkeit des Dilettanten*, ed. by Richard Schaal. Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft 98 (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1984); D. Paquette, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau compositeur et théoricien de la musique* (Geneva, 1986); Samuel Baud-Bovy and Jean Jacques Eigeldinger, eds., *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et la musique* (Neuchâtel: A la Baconnière, 1988); Marie-Élisabeth Duchez, "J.-J. Rousseau, historien de la musique," *La musique du théorique au politique*, ed. by Hugues Dufourt and Joël-Marie Fauquet. Domaine musicologique 7 (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres; Diffusion Klincksieck, 1991) 39–111; Claude Dauphin, *Rousseau musician des Lumières* (Montréal: Louise Courteau, 1992); Michael O'Dea, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Music, illusion and desire* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1995); see also Robert Wokler, *Rousseau on society, politics, music and language: An historical interpretation of his early writings*, Political theory and political philosophy (New York: Garland, 1987); Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the origins of language: Theories from the French Enlightenment*. New perspectives in music history and criticism, ed. by Jeffrey Kallberg and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jean-Marc Vasseur, *Monsieur Jean-Jacques Rousseau copiste-musicien: Suivi de la notation musicale chiffrée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Notes brèves sur l'inspiration musicale du "Philosophe de Genève"* (Paris: Institut de France, 1999). On a broader conception of the Enlightenment, especially in the context of Johann Mattheson's new ideas with regard to the musical syntax and related compositional procedures, see Laurenz Lütteken, "Musik in der Aufklärung: Musikalische Aufklärung?" *Musiktheorie* 14/3 (1999) 213–29. The Enlightenment, central to Leopold Mozart's philosophy, also left an impact on Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's personality, including his compositional process, as disclosed in the secondary literature; see, for example, Georg Knepler, "Mozart und die Ästhetik der Aufklärung," *Mozart und die Ästhetik der Aufklärung: Dem Wirken Georg Kneplers gewidmet*, ed. by Heinz Stiller, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR: Gesellschaftswissenschaften 11 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989) 7–19; Harry Goldschmidt, "Aufklärung als Methode: Zu Mozarts 'Entführungs'-Ouvertüre," in: *ibid.* 29–45.

⁵³ Further on this issue, see Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Das Menuett Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts unter dem Einfluß von Franz Joseph Haydn's gantz neue besondere art": Zur Phrasenstruktur in den Menuetten der 'Haydn-Quartette', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1991): Bericht über den Internationalen Mozart-Kongreß Salzburg 1991, 2 vols., ed. by Rudolph Angermüller, et al., issued under auspices of the Zentralinstitut für Mozart-Forschung der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992) vol. 2, 655–64; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Motivische Arbeit: Aspects of sonata form in the minuets of KV 421 (=417b) and KV 458 and their relationship to the scherzi of Joseph Haydn's opus 33, Hob. III:37–42," *Studies in music from the University of Western Ontario* 19–20 (2000–01) 199–256.

⁵⁴ See appendix, document 81.

⁵⁵ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition (mit einem vollständigen Register zu allen 3 Bänden)*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme; Rudolstadt: Löwe, Erben und Schirach, 1782–1793; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2004). For an English trans., see Nancy Kovaleff Baker, trans. with intro. and annotations, *Heinrich Christoph Koch: Introductory essay on composition*. Music theory translation series, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983).

Leopold's teaching,⁵⁶ first of his son⁵⁷ and his daughter.⁵⁸ This teaching is consistent with his discourse in the *Violinschule*, as indicated by the single leaf containing Leopold's interval table from 1761,⁵⁹ though in a highly abbreviated form. This information had first appeared in the fifth paragraph of the *Dritte Hauptstück* of his *Violinschule*.⁶⁰ In fact, with these pedagogical documents, Leopold Mozart was accessing a market that witnessed a rapid influx of musical discourse on performance practice.⁶¹ Decades later, after his arrival in Vienna in 1780,⁶² Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart continued in the pedagogical footsteps of his father,⁶³ completing a number of works aimed at responding to his sister's need for continued instruction in music theory.⁶⁴ These works included the sonata in C major for piano four hands (K.19d),⁶⁵ the sonata in D major for piano four

⁵⁶ Franz Posch, "Leopold Mozart als Mensch, Vater und Erzieher der Aufklärung," *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1941) 49–78; see also Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Das Menuett Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts unter dem Einfluß von Franz Joseph Haydns gantz neue besondere art", 656.

⁵⁷ Alfred Mann, "Leopold Mozart als Lehrer seines Sohnes," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 31–35; Bin Ebisawa, "III. Leopold's theory and practice of educating"; see also [anonymous], "Mozarts musikalische Erziehung und ein bisher unbekannt gebliebenes Notenbuch, das Leopold Mozart dem sechsjährigen Wolfgang widmete [i.e. Notenbuch von 1762]," *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin* 25/3 (March 1908) 71–83; Sergej Ivanovič Tanejev, "Der Inhalt des Arbeitsheftes von W.A. Mozarts eigenhändig geschriebenen Übungen, mit den Unterweisungen durch seinen Vater im strengen Kontrapunkt und reinen Satz," *Jahresbericht der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg* (1913) 29f; Hermann Abert, "Leopold Mozart Notenbuch von 1762," *Gluck-Jahrbuch* 3 (Leipzig, 1917) 51–87; Hellmut Federhofer, "Mozart als Schüler und Lehrer in der Musiktheorie," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1971–72) 74–79; Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Leopold Mozart e la 'Ausbildung' di Wolfgang," *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg* (1994), ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wisfner, 1997) 105–06.

⁵⁸ Wolfgang Plath, "Leopold Mozart und Nannerl: Lehrer und Schülerin," *Festschrift Arno Forchert zum 60. Geburtstag am 29. Dezember 1985*, ed. by Gerhard Allroggen and Detlef Altenburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986) 127–30; also included in Wolfgang Plath, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. by Marianne Danckwardt. Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991) 375–78; Wolfgang Plath, "Leopold Mozart und Nannerl: Lehrer und Schülerin. Fragmentarische Bemerkungen zu zwei Fragmenten," *Maria Anna Mozart: Die Künstlerin und ihre Zeit*, ed. by Siegrid Düll and Otto Neumaier (Möhnesee: Bibliopolos, 2001) 85–91.

⁵⁹ Erich Valentin, "Was der Schüler beobachten muß...", 323.

⁶⁰ Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, 66–68.

⁶¹ Theophil Antonicek, "Musik in Pädagogik und Unterricht des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Genie und Alltag: Bürgerliche Stadtkultur zur Mozartzeit*, ed. by Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, and Ernst Wangermann (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1994) 295–315.

⁶² On Mozart's sojourn in Vienna, see, for example, Géza Rech, *Das kleine Mozartbuch* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1964) 81–96; Alfred Orel, *Mozart in Wien*. Kleinbuchreihe Südost. Feldpostausgabe 94 (Wien: Wiener Verlag, 1944). After more than two decades as a resident of Salzburg, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his father Leopold had to adjust to a more mercantile society of Vienna. For a discussion of Viennese society, see, for example, Ingrid Mittenzwei, "Zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Wiener Wirtschaftsbürger am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Genie und Alltag: Bürgerliche Stadtkultur zur Mozartzeit*, ed. by Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, and Ernst Wangermann (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1994) 203–20.

⁶³ Frank Ziegler, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart als Kompositionslehrer. Unterrichtsmaterialien in den Handschriftenbeständen der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek," *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Ein Beitrag zum 200. Todestag – Aufführungspraxis – Interpretation – Edition – Konferenzbericht der XVIII. Wissenschaftlichen Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 14. bis 17. Juni 1990*, ed. by Günter Fleischhauer, Walther Siegmund-Schultze, and Eitelriedrich Thom. Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 44 (Michaelstein, Blankenburg: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 1991) 45–50.

⁶⁴ Walter Hummel, ed., *Nannerl Mozarts Tagebuchblätter und Eintragungen ihres Bruders Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Salzburg: Das Bergland Buch, 1958); see also Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Nannerl Mozart und ihr musikalischer Nachlaß: Zu den Klavierkonzerten im Archiv St. Peter in Salzburg," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1980–83) 140–47.

⁶⁵ Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Die Klaviermusik," *Mozart Handbuch*, ed. by Silke Leopold in collaboration with Jutta Schmoll-Barthel and Sara Jeffe (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005) 534. On the first edition of this sonata, see Gertraud Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, 2 vols. Musikbibliographische Arbeiten 10, ed. by Rudolf Elvers (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986) vol. 1 (Bibliographie, Textband) 75; vol. 2 (Bibliographie, Bildband) 12; see also Wolfgang Plath, "Kleine Mozartiana. I: Mozarts erste composition auf 4 Hände; II. Zu Mozarts Niederschrift des 'Miserere' von Gregorio Allegri" *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ernst Hertrich and Hans Schneider (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1985) 397–406; Cliff Eisen, "Mozart and the four-hand sonata K. 19d," *Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven: Studies in the music of the Classical period. Essays in Honour of Alan Tyson*, ed. by Sieghard

hands (K.381 [=123a]),⁶⁶ the sonata in B major (K.358 [=186c]),⁶⁷ the concerto for two pianos four hands in F major (K.242 Anh.),⁶⁸ and the prelude (K. deest).⁶⁹

With the publication of four principal mid-18th-century treatises on performance practice⁷⁰—namely, Johann Joachim Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752);⁷¹ a treatise inspired by the chamber music of Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767);⁷² Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753);⁷³ and Johann Friedrich Agricola's *Anleitung zur Singekunst* (1757)⁷⁴—

Brandenburg (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998) 91–99.

⁶⁶ Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Die Klaviermusik", *Mozart Handbuch*, 534. For a description of the autograph of this work, which survives as a fragment, see Hans-Günter Klein, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Autographe und Abschriften*. Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Kataloge der Musikabteilung. I: Handschriften 6, ed. by Rudolf Elvers. Edition Merseburger 1154 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1982) 75–76; see also Wolfgang Rehm, "Miscellanea mozartiana. II: 1. A catalogue of musical manuscripts; 2. Zum Autograph der Sonate in D für Klavier zu vier Händen KV 381 (123a); 3. Das Autograph zum Klaviertrio in G KV 496", *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, Jan LaRue, and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) 141–54. On the first edition of this sonata, see Gertraud Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, 2 vols., *Musikbibliographische Arbeiten* 10, ed. by Rudolf Elvers (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1986) vol. 1 (Bibliographie, Textband) 176–77; vol. 2 (Bibliographie, Bildband) 131–32.; see also Ernst Fritzsche, "Neue Quellen zu Mozarts Werken", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1956) 35–45.

⁶⁷ Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Die Klaviermusik", *Mozart Handbuch*, 535; Joachim Brüggel, "Solowerke für Klavier", *Mozarts Klavier- und Kammermusik*, ed. by Matthias Schmidt. Das Mozart-Handbuch 2, ed. by Gernot Gruber in collaboration with Dieter Borchmeyer (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2006) 109–63, especially 114.

⁶⁸ In this particular version, the work is preserved in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 15468; furthermore, a version for two pianos six hands is in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Mus. Ms. 15468/2. Mozart wrote this work originally as a concerto in F major for three pianos and orchestra, K. 242. On extant copies of this work, see Hans-Günter Klein, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Autographe und Abschriften*. Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Kataloge der Musikabteilung. I: Handschriften 6, ed. by Rudolf Elvers. Edition Merseburger 1154 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1982) 348–49. Further on the anonymous copyist, see Wolfgang Plath, "Beiträge zur Mozart-Autographie. I: Die Handschrift Leopold Mozarts", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1960–61) 105.

⁶⁹ Wolfgang Brunner, "Mozarts Klaviermusik für die 'allerliebste Schwester' ...", *Maria Anna Mozart: Die Künstlerin und ihre Zeit*, ed. by Siegrid Düll and Otto Neumaier (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2001) 93–104; see also Christoph Wolff, "Mozarts Präludien für Nannerl: Zwei Rätsel und ihre Auflösung", *Festschrift Wolfgang Rehm zum 60. Geburtstag am 3. September 1989*, ed. by Dietrich Berke and Harald Heckmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989) 106–18; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Das Präludium als Übergangsform vom Hochbarock zum Empfindsamen Stil: Zu Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Klavierpräludium (ohne Köchel-Nummer)", *Revista de musicologia*. 16 (1993): *Actas del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología "Culturas musicales del Mediterraneo y sus ramificaciones"*, Madrid, 3–10 April 1992, ed. by Alfonso de Vicente, 3439–57.

⁷⁰ For an overview, see Ingeborg Harer, "Der musikalische Vortrag um 1750, dargestellt am Beispiel der Instrumentalschulen von Johann Joachim Quantz, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Leopold Mozart", *Musikerziehung* 44/1 (1990) 14–23.

⁷¹ See appendix, document 79; see also Edward R. Reilly, "Further examples for Quantz's *Versuch*", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964) 157–69. On the significance of the treatise, see, for example, Arthur Henry Christmann, *Johann Joachim Quantz on the musical practices of his time* (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1950); Edward R. Reilly, *Quantz and his Versuch: Three studies*. Studies and documents 5 (New York: American Musicological Society, 1971); Wolfram Sauter, *Die frühen Querflötenschulen und ihre musikhistorische Einordnung*. Schriften zur Kulturwissenschaft 16 (Hamburg: Kovac, 1998).

⁷² Ingeborg Allihn, *Georg Philipp Telemann und Johann Joachim Quantz: Der Einfluß einiger Kammermusikwerke Georg Philipp Telemanns auf das Lehrwerk des Johann Joachim Quantz "Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen"*. Magdeburger Telemann Studien 3 (Magdeburg: Arbeitskreis Georg Philipp Telemann, 1971).

⁷³ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre art, das Clavier zu spielen: Erster und zweiter Teil*. Faksimile-Nachdruck der 1. Auflage, Berlin 1753 und 1762, ed. by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Leipzig: Königliche Hof-Buchdrucker Christian Friedrich Henning, 1753; 4th reprint ed., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1978). For an English trans. see *Essay on the true art of playing keyboard instruments*, trans. by William Mitchell (New York: W.W. Norton, 1949). On the significance of this treatise, see, for example, William J. Mitchell, "C.P.E. Bach's 'Essay': An introduction", *The musical quarterly* 33 (1947) 460–80; William J. Mitchell, "Modulation in C.P.E. Bach's 'Versuch'", *Studies in eighteenth-century music: A tribute to Karl Geiringer on his seventieth birthday*, ed. by H.C. Robbins Landon in collaboration with Roger E. Chapman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) 333–42; Ralph Kirkpatrick, "C.P.E. Bach's 'Versuch' Reconsidered", *Early music* 4/4 (October 1976) 384–92.

⁷⁴ Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Anleitung zur Singekunst* (1757), zusammen mit dem italienischen Original von P.F. Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni, o sieno, Osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* (1723) (Berlin: Georg Ludwig Winter,

contemporary performers and scholars alike witnessed a codification, in written form, of many diverse trends underlying the performance of past repertoires. While Agricola in essence provides a glossed translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's *Opinioni* (1723),⁷⁵ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–88), Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1777), and Leopold Mozart focus largely on preclassical, rococo, and galant style repertoires. These three were composers/theorists by and large inspired by earlier encyclopedic works on organology, specifically by Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum* (1614–18)⁷⁶ and Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* (1636–37).⁷⁷ Performance practice treatises,

1757); facs. ed. with preface and appendix by Erwin R. Jacobi (Celle: Hermann Moeck, 1966); facs. ed. with epilogue and comm. by Kurt Wichmann (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1994); modern ed., ed. with comm. by Thomas Seedorf (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002). For an English trans., see Juliane Baird, *Johann Friedrich Agricola's Anleitung zur Singekunst (1757): A translation and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1991); Juliane Baird, trans. and ed., *Introduction to the art of singing by Johann Friedrich Agricola*. Cambridge musical texts and monographs, ed. by John Butt and Laurence Dreyfus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) [includes *Introduction to the Art of Singing*, trans. from the Italian by Pier Francesco Tosi with commentaries and additions by Johann Friedrich Agricola, Royal Prussian Court Composer (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1757)]. On the significance of this treatise, see, for example, Jeff Fults Troxler, *Johann Friedrich Agricola's Anleitung zur Singekunst* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1988); Ernest C. Harris, "J.F. Agricola's *Anleitung zur Singkunst*: A rich source by a pupil of J.S. Bach", *Bach* 9/3 (1978) 2–8. Further on the contribution of Agricola, see Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 8 vols. (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schutzens, 1754–78; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970) 148–52; Hermann Wucherpfennig, *Johann Friedrich Agricola: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Ph.D. diss., Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 1922); Hans Löffler, "Johann Friedrich Agricola", *Altenburger Heimatblätter* 1–3 (1932–34); B. Berkholtz, *Johann Friedrich Agricola, Königlich Preußischer Hofcompositur*. Forschungsergebnisse des Geschichtsvereins Wasserschloß Dobbitschen 1 (Dobbitschen: Geschichtsverein Wasserschloß, 1995).

⁷⁵ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de'cantori antichi, e moderni, osieno, Osservazione sopra il canto figurato* (Bologna: L. dalla Volpe, 1723); *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 133* (facs. ed., New York: Broude Brothers, 1968). Idem, *Opinioni de'cantori antichi e moderni* (Napoli: s.n., 1904); *Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/50* (facs. ed., [Bologna]: Forni, 1997); idem, *Opinions of singers ancient and modern, or observations on sigured singing*, ed. by Edward Foreman. Masterworks on singing 6 (Minneapolis, Minn.: Pro Musica Press, 1986; also, London: Stainer & Bell, 1987). On the significance of this treatise, see, for example, Sergio Durante, "Theorie und Praxis der Gesangsschulen zur Zeit Händels: Bemerkungen zu Tosis *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni*", *Händel auf dem Theater: Bericht über die Symposien der Internationalen Händel-Akademie Karlsruhe 1986 und 1987*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Marx. Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Händel-Akademie Karlsruhe 2 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988) 59–72; Günther Wagner, "Anmerkungen zur historischen Aufführungspraxis am Beispiel von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs *Versuch*", *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*, ed. by Heinrich Poos under auspices of the Hochschule der Künste Berlin. Schott Musikwissenschaft (Mainz: Schott's Söhne, 1993) 40–52.

⁷⁶ See appendix, document 71; see also Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum. II: De organographia* (with 20 leaves of enlarged woodcut illustrations) (London: Early Music Shop, 1981). On the significance of this treatise, see Dietlind-Möller-Weiser, *Untersuchungen zum I. Band des Syntagma musicum von Michael Praetorius*, ed. by Gerhard Allroggen, Detlef Altenburg, and Silke Leopold. Detmold-Paderborner Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993); see also Frederick Frank Jackisch, *Organ building in Germany during the Baroque era, according to the treatises dating from Praetorius' Syntagma musicum (1619) to Adlung's Musica mechanica organoedi (1768)* (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1966).

⁷⁷ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique, où il est traité de la nature des sons et des mouvements, des consonances, des dissonances, des genres, des modes, de la composition, de la voix, des chants et de toutes sortes d'instruments harmoniques*, 3 vols. (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636–37; Paris: Pierre Sébastien Ballard, 1636–37; facs. ed., Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963, 1965, 1975; facs. ed. with an intro. by François Lesure, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986; facs. ed. by Claudio Buccolini as part of *Corpus des oeuvres de philosophie en langue française*, Paris: Fayard, 2003). For partial translations see, *Harmonie universelle: The books on instruments*, trans. by Roger E. Chapman (s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1957, repr. ed. 1964); *Traité de l'harmonie universelle: Critical translation of the second book*, trans. by John Barnard Egan (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1962); *An edited translation of the fourth treatise of the Harmonie universelle*, trans. by Robert Fortson Williams (M.M. thesis, Eastman School of Music, 1972); Wolfgang Köhler, *Die Blasinstrumente aus der 'Harmonie universelle' des Marin Mersenne: Übersetzung und Kommentar des Livre cinquième des instruments à vent aus dem Traité des instruments* (Celle: Moeck, 1982). On the significance of this treatise, see Albion Gruber, "Mersenne and evolving tonal theory", *Journal of music theory* 14 (1970) 36–67. On the significance of Mersenne's contribution, see, for example, Hellmut Ludwig, *Marin Mersenne und seine Musiklehre* (Halle an der Saale: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1935); repr. ed., *Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971); Frederick Bill Hyde, *The position of M. Mersenne in the history of music* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954); Herbert Schneider, *Die französische Kompositionslehre in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1972) 47–112; Mark

by the very nature of the topics discussed and the audiences addressed, generally concentrate on a specific instrument (violin, flute, keyboard, voice), and this rather precisely circumscribed scope focuses on issues of technique, style, and so forth. Rarely do the authors of such treatises venture beyond the realm of topics innate to performance practice. Of the four authors identified, all of whom were accomplished practitioners of the *ars musica* as famous pedagogues, fine performers, and noted composers largely in their respective performing medium, Leopold Mozart indeed represents somewhat of an anomaly. His exceptionally broad education is clearly reflected in his treatise,⁷⁸ including his early training in the Gymnasium in Augsburg,⁷⁹ his humanist study at the Jesuit College of Saint Salvator in Augsburg⁸⁰ (from which he graduated in 1736),⁸¹ and his study of philosophy and jurisprudence at the Benedictine University of Salzburg,⁸² with the latter two institutions of higher learning geared towards the *studia humanitatis*, modeled after the curriculum of Italian universities.⁸³ As a result of his literary preoccupation,⁸⁴ Leopold developed a keen interest in humanist scholarship early in his training, a path of inquiry that is firmly manifested in the *Violinschule*. Unlike the other three mid-18th-century treatises on performance practice, all of which focus on the venerable path of scholarship (solidifying 19th-century performance practice based on scholarly writing),⁸⁵ Leopold Mozart expands the horizons of his readers by including

Lindley, "Mersenne on keyboard tuning", *Journal of music theory* 24 (1980) 167–203; Wilhelm Seidel, "Französische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in: Wilhelm Seidel and Barry Cooper, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. IX: Entstehung nationaler Traditionen. Frankreich—England*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986) 56–82 ("Mersenne"); Frédéric de Buzon, "Harmonies et passions: Remarques sur les musicologies de Descartes et Mersenne", *L'Esprit de la musique: Essais d'esthétique et de philosophie*, ed. by Hugues Dufourt, Joël-Marie Fauquet, and François Hurard. *Domaine musicologique* 10 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992) 121–26; Théodora Psychouy, *L'Évolution de la pensée théorique, en France, de M. Mersenne à Jean-Philippe Rameau* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Tours, 2003); Elisabeth Honn Hoegberg, *From theory to practice: Composition and analysis in Marin Mersenne's Harmonie universelle* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2005); see also Claude V. Palisca, "Père Mersenne's pedigree: Sixteenth-century Italian precedents and anticipations of his musical science", *Annales, 1989–1995*. Institutum Musicae Feldkirchense (IMF): *Annales* 1, ed. by Walter Pass (Tutzing; Hans Schneider, 1998) 17–34; Wilbur Franklin Russell, *Marin Mersenne: Life and works* (M.M. thesis, Westminster Choir College, Princeton, N.J., 1952).

⁷⁸ For a summary, see, Adolf Layer, *Eine Jugend in Augsburg: Leopold Mozart, 1719–1737*, issued under the auspices of the Deutsche Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Die Brigg, [1975]). Leopold Mozart's broad education is intimately connected with the artistic/cultural background of his ancestors; see Adolf Layer, *Die Augsburger Künstlerfamilie Mozart*, issued under the auspices of the Deutsche Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Die Brigg, [no date]).

⁷⁹ Robert Münster, "Neues zu Leopold Mozarts Augsburger Gymnasialjahren", *Acta mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 12 (1965) 57–60; Josef Mančal, "Augsburg 'Meine Vaterstadt' (L. Mozart 1756), 'die vatterstadt meines Papa (W.A. Mozart 1777), 'meine eigentliche Stammstadt' (Fr.X.W.A. Mozart 1821)", *Acta mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozartgesellschaft* 46 (1999) 3–31; Cliff Eisen, "Augsburg", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 28–31.

⁸⁰ Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Neues zu Leopold Mozarts Bildungsgang", *Acta mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 3/1 (1956) 21f.; also in *Neues Augsburger Mozartbuch* of Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben 62–63 (Augsburg: M. Seitz, 1962) 200–04.

⁸¹ For a reproduction of Leopold Mozart's diploma, dated 4 August 1736, the original of which is preserved in the Landesarchiv in Salzburg, see Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Neues zu Leopold Mozarts Bildungsgang", 22, and also 202.

⁸² On the significance of the Universität Salzburg in the context of the manifold musical activities of the City of Salzburg, see, for example, Manfred Hermann Schmid (in collaboration with Petrus Eder, OSB), *Mozart in Salzburg*, 147–56.

⁸³ Further on this topic, see Agostino Sottili, *Humanismus und Universitätsbesuch: Die Wirkung italienischer Universitäten auf die Studia Humanitatis nördlich der Alpen/Renaissance humanism and university studies: Italian universities and their influence on the studia humanitatis in Northern Europe*, ed. by Jürgen Miethke, William J. Courtenay, Jeremy Catto, and Jacques Verger. *Education and society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 26 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), with references to Augsburg on pp. 13, 281, 290, 292, 319, 339–44, 405–06, 422, 434 and Salzburg on pp. 108, 290–91, 398, 438.

⁸⁴ Hans E. Valentin, "Was die Bücher anlangt...": Leopold Mozarts literarische Interessen", *Leopold Mozart, 1719–1787: Bild einer Persönlichkeit*, ed. by Ludwig Wegele (Augsburg: Die Brigg, 1969) 102–10.

⁸⁵ See, for example, Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende mit kritischen Anmerkungen* (Leipzig: Schwickert; Halle an der Saale: Hemmerle & Schwetschke, 1789). For an English

a short but important historic exposé on string instruments in the introduction to his *Violinschule*, specifically focusing on their origin in the broad context surrounding the age-old question of the origin of music—one that emulates humanist scholarship.⁸⁶ In fact, Leopold Mozart uses this age-old inquiry into the origin of the *disciplina musicae*⁸⁷ as a basis for a brief yet profound survey of music history, touching briefly on the principal developments. In this, he emulates humanist scholarship by focusing on the history of music in order to provide a link with the ancient Greek tradition,⁸⁸ specifically Mercury as the inventor of string instruments.⁸⁹

Modern scholarship on the whole has failed to acknowledge this unique perspective by a man deeply committed to humanist scholarship.⁹⁰ In her introduction to the English translation of Mozart's treatise, Editha Knocker underscores the uniqueness of the treatise merely on its pedagogical merits by comparing Mozart's approach to teaching with that of our own day.⁹¹ Alfred Einstein, in his lengthy preface to Knocker's English translation of the same treatise,⁹² dwells on details concerning the biography of Leopold Mozart in order to underscore the unique and often ambivalent relationships he had with his employers, specifically Archbishop Sigismund Christoph von Schrattenbach (1698–1771)⁹³ and his successor Hieronymus Colloredo (1732–1812),⁹⁴ his publisher

trans., see *School of clavier playing or instructions in playing the clavier for teachers and students* by Daniel Gottlob Türk, trans. with intro. and notes by Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

⁸⁶ Further on this topic, see, for example, Johannes Lohmann, "Der Ursprung der Musik", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959) 148–73; 261–91.

⁸⁷ On this central question, see, for example, James W. McKinnon, "Jubal vel Pythagoras, qui sit inventor musicae?" *The musical quarterly* 64 (1978) 1–28.

⁸⁸ For comprehensive coverage of the ancient Greek tradition, see, for example, Annemarie Jeanette Neubecker, *Altgriechische Musik: Eine Einführung*. Die Altertumswissenschaft: Einführungen in Gegenstand, Methoden und Ergebnisse ihrer Teildisziplinen und Hilfswissenschaften (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977); Martin L. West, *Ancient Greek music*. Clarendon paperbacks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Warren D. Anderson, *Music and musicians in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Walter Spiegel, *Die Bedeutung der Musik für die griechische Erziehung im klassischen Altertum* (Berlin: Martin Warneck, 1918); Martin Vogel, *Die Enharmonik der Griechen*, 2 parts. Orpheus-Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 3 (Düsseldorf: Verlag der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Systematischen Musikwissenschaft, 1963); Barbara Münxelhaus, *Pythagoras musicus: Zur Rezeption der pythagoreischen Musiktheorie als quadrivaler Wissenschaft im lateinischen Mittelalter*. Orpheus-Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 19, ed. by Martin Vogel (Bonn; Bad Godesberg: Verlag für Systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1976).

⁸⁹ On the significance of Mercury, see Franchino Gaffurio, *Theorica musicae*, book 1, chapter 1, [42] ff.; idem, *The theory of music*. trans. with introductory notes by Walter Kurt Kreyszig, ed. by Claude V. Palisca. Music theory translation series (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993) 9f.

⁹⁰ For a survey of humanistic scholarship, see, for example, Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance musical thought* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985); see also Ann E. Moyer, *Musica scientia: Musical scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992). For an overview of the prehumanist period, see Max Haas, *Musikalisches Denken im Mittelalter: Eine Einführung* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2005). On the longevity of the humanist tradition, see, for example, Claude V. Palisca, *Music and ideas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Studies in the history of music theory and literature 1, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

⁹¹ Editha Knocker, "Translator's introduction", *A treatise on the fundamental principles of violin playing*, trans. by Editha Knocker, xxxii–xxxiv.

⁹² Alfred Einstein, "Preface", *A treatise on the fundamental principles of violin playing*, trans. by Editha Knocker, xi–xxxi.

⁹³ Josef Maňcal, *Die Mozarts in Augsburg und Schwaben* (Augsburg: Brigitte Settele, 1991) 38; see also Franz Martin, *Salzburgs Fürsten in der Barockzeit, 1587 bis 1812* (Salzburg: Das Bergland Buch, 1949; 2nd rev. ed. 1952); Cliff Eisen, "Salzburg under church rule", *The Classical era: From the 1740s to the end of the 18th century*, ed. by Neal Zaslaw (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989) 166–87; Ruth Halliwell, "Schrattenbach, Siegmund Christoph von", *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 451–52; Alfred Stefan Weiß, "Schrattenbach, Sigmund Christoph Graf von", *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, ed. by Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller in collaboration with Andrea Blöchl-Köstner (Bad Honnef: K.H. Bock, 2005) 432–34; see also Herbert Klein "Ein unbekanntes Gesuch Leopold Mozarts von 1759", *Neues Mozart-Jahrbuch* 3 (Regensburg, 1943) 95–101.

⁹⁴ Martin Schimek, *Musikpolitik in der Salzburger Aufklärung: Musik, Musikpolitik und deren Rezeption am Hof des*

Johann Jakob Lotter, and members of his own family.⁹⁵ Yet, in his discussion on the *Violinschule*, Einstein fails to comment on the most unique facet of this treatise, namely, solidly anchoring the work in the venerable tradition of musical humanism—an approach that undoubtedly underscores Leopold’s unique position as an author of the Western tradition, not aspired to or rivalled by any other predecessor, contemporary, or successor. Rather, scholars generally have focused their writings on issues of organology—that segment of Leopold Mozart’s treatise which receives the most extensive coverage. Even the more recent philosophical discussion has ignored the obvious humanist tendencies so uniquely exhibited in this treatise.⁹⁶

In his copious correspondence of some 27 letters with the editor and publisher of his *Violinschule*, Johann Jakob Lotter, written between April 1755 and April 1756,⁹⁷ the year prior to the release of the first edition of this monumental treatise, Leopold Mozart focuses on the text of the treatise in the galley proof stage.⁹⁸ Many of his emendations relate to indications of bowings⁹⁹ and the odd reference to financial matters.¹⁰⁰ However, in his letter of 6 November 1755, he does focus on the section “Versuch einer kurzen Geschichte der Musik”, providing Lotter with specific guidelines with regard to the emendation of the comprehensive listing of the principal music theorists who were responsible for both the revival and the upholding of the music theoretical discourse:

In the last leaf place, add, if possible, on page 17, specifically another four names. I am mentioning these names in the appropriate order; Glarean, Zarlino, Bontemps, etc. up to Kepler. After Kepler place the following names: Vogt, Neidhart, Euler, Scheibe,

Salzburger Fürstenbischofs Hieronymus Graf Colloredo (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995); Thomas Hochradner, “Komtur und Korrektur eines Feindbildes: Hieronymus Graf Coloredo, “Mozarts Kirchenmusik, Lieder und Chormusik, ed. by Thomas Hochradner and Günther Massenkeil. *Das Mozart Handbuch*, ed. by Gernot Gruber in collaboration with Dieter Borchmeyer (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2006) vol. 4, 381–95; Franz Martin, *Salzburgs Fürsten in der Barockzeit*; Cliff Eisen, “Salzburg”, *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, 431–43; see also idem, “Mozart and Salzburg”, *The Cambridge companion to Mozart*, 7–21.

⁹⁵ See, for example, Erna Schwerin, “The psychodynamics of Mozart’s family relationship”, *The pleasures and perils of genius: Mostly Mozart*, ed. by Peter Ostwald and Leonard S. Zegans. Mental health library 2 (Madison, Conn.: International Universities Press, 1993) 49–60; also in German trans. as “Die Psychodynamik von Mozarts Familienbeziehungen”, *Mozart: Freuden und Leiden des Genies*, trans. by Florian Langeegger; ed. by Peter Ostwald and Leonard S. Zegans (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1997) 56–66.

⁹⁶ This lacuna is readily seen in Ulrich Weiß, “System und Methode: Überlegungen zum philosophischen Hintergrund von Leopold Mozart’s *Violinschule*”, *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under the auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 91–104; see also Augenia Angelucci, “La forma della comunicazione nel sistema didattico della ‘Violinschule’ di Leopold Mozart”, *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under the auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 107–45. Also in the secondary literature, references to Leopold Mozart are generally directed toward his *Violinschule*; see, for example, Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisandel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005) especially 364 ff. Beyond that, the modern editors of the second edition of Leopold Mozart’s treatise have also ignored the humanist see *Leopold Mozart: Gründliche Violinschule—Erstausgabe der zweiten Auflage von 1769 in moderner Schrift und angepasster Rechtschreibung*, ed. by Matthias Michael Beckmann, with rendition of text by Gottfried Franz Kasperek (Salzburg: Polzer, 2007); see also the preface on page 10 to this modern edition by Benjamin Schmid on the significance of Mozart’s *Violinschule*.

⁹⁷ For a comprehensive overview of this correspondence, see Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen. Gesamtausgabe*, 7 vols., issued under auspices of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–75) vol. 1 (1962) 1–48.

⁹⁸ Albi Rosenthal, “Leopold Mozart’s *Violinschule* annotated by the author”, *Mozart-Studies*, ed. by Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 83–99.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ For example, letter 6, lines 13.

Prinz, Werckmeister, Fux, Mattheson, Mizler, Spiess, Marpurg, Quantz, and several others, etc.¹⁰¹

In this letter as well as in the handwritten annotation in the correction proofs of the first edition of the *Violinschule*, Leopold Mozart, undoubtedly cognizant of both the preeminence of the *ars musica* during the Carolingian era¹⁰² and later centuries¹⁰³ as well as the cultural tendencies in 15th-century Italy,¹⁰⁴ captures an important facet of humanist scholarship, namely, the listing of important theorists. This is a technique used by humanist treatise writers, found especially in the printed marginalia,¹⁰⁵ and often without identifying the particular source of inspiration for a thought. Here, we are cognizant of Franchino Gaffurio (1451–1522),¹⁰⁶ one of the principal contributors to

¹⁰¹ "in dem letzten c Bogen setzen sie, wenn es sich hier thun lässt, p. 17 noch etwas Bey, und zwar nur vier Namen. Ich will sie alle in der Ordnung herschreiben. Glarean, Zarlín, Bontemps etc. bis auf Kepler, nach dem Kepler setzen sie; Vogt, Neidhart, Euler, Scheibe, Prinz, Werckmeister, Fux, Mattheson, Mizler, Spieß, Marpurg, Quantz und andere mehr etc."; cited in letter of Leopold Mozart to Johann Jacob Lotter. For a modern ed. see Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. 1 (1962) 19. English trans. by Walter Kurt Kreyszig.

¹⁰² Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "La place exceptionnelle des *l'ars musica* dans le développement des sciences au siècle des Carolingiens", *Revue grégorienne* 31 (1952) 81–104; published in Dutch as *De uitzonderlijke Plaats van de Ars musica in de Ontwikkeling der Wetenschappen Gederunde de Eeuw der Karolingers* ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1947); also trans. by M.U. Schouten-Glass as "Die besondere Stellung der *ars musica* im Zeitalter der Karolinger", *Dia-pason de omnibus: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Joseph Smits van Waesberghe: Festgabe zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by C. J. Maas and M. U. Schouten-Glass (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1976) 48–70.

¹⁰³ Kurt von Fischer, "Musica", *Die Renaissance der Wissenschaften im 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Peter Weimar. Zürcher Hochschulforum 2 (Zurich: Artemis, 1981) 233–48.

¹⁰⁴ Nino Pirrotta, "Music and cultural tendencies in fifteenth-century Italy", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19/2 (summer 1966) 127–61.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, appendix, document 22.

¹⁰⁶ On Gaffurio's contribution to humanist thought, see, for example, Carlo Salvadori, *Trent'anni di vita nazionale, 1859–1889, memorie e speranze: Conferenza letta nel Teatro Gaffurio in Lodi* (Codogno: A.G. Cairo, 1889); Knud Jeppesen, "Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz des frühen Cinquecento", *Acta musicologica* 13 (1941) 3–39; Otto Kinkeldey, "Franchino Gaffuri and Marsilio Ficino", *Harvard Library bulletin* 1 (1947) 379–82; Jacques Handschin, "Anselmi's Treatise Annotated by Gaffuri", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 2 (1948) 123–40; Alessandra Caretta, Luigi Cremascoli, and La Salamina, *Franchino Gaffurio* (Lodi: Archivio Storico Lodigiano, 1951); Claudio Sartori, "Franchino Gaffurio a Milano: Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di maestro di Capella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo", *Universitas Europae* 1 (1952–53) 4–5, 8–9, 11–12; Pio Bondioli, "Per la biografia di Franchino Gaffuri da Lodi", *Collectanea historiae musicae. Historiae musicae cultores* 2 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1953) 19–24; Claudio Sartori, "Il quarto codice di Gaffurio non è del tutto scomparso", *Rivista musicale Italiana* 55 (1953) 25–44; Fabio Fano, "Note su Franchino Gaffurio", *Rivista musicale italiana* 55 (1953) 225–50; Irwin Young, *Franchinus Gaffurius: Renaissance theorist and composer (1451–1522)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1954); Guglielmo Barblan, "Franchino Gaffurio; Musico-umanista", *Musici lombardi ed emiliani: Settimane musicali senesi, 14–21 settembre 1958*, ed. by Adelmo Damerini and Gino Roncaglia. Accademia musicale Chigiana 15 (Siena: [Ticci], 1958) 41–49; Kate T. Steinitz, "Two books from the environment of Leonardo da Vinci in the Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana; Gaffurio and Plutarch", *Libri* 2 (1959) 1–14; Claudio Sartori, "La musica nel duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio", *Storia di Milano* 9 (1961) 723–48; Renzo Zanaboni, *Franchino Gaffurio (1451–1522)*, I lodigiani illustri 4 (Lodi: Banca Provinciale Lombarda, 1961); Fabio Fano, "Vita e attività del musico teorico e pratico Franchino Gaffurio da Lodi", *Arte lombarda* 15 (1970) 49–62; Francesco Degrada, "Musica e musicisti nell'età di Ludovico il Moro", *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro: Atti del convegno internazionale, 28 febbraio–4 marzo 1983*, 2 vols. ([Milano]: Comune di Milano; Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1983) 409–15; Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism*, 191–232; Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A correspondence of Renaissance musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 166–74, 996–98; Ann E. Moyer, *Musica scientia*, 67–91; Claude V. Palisca, *Studies in the history of Italian music and music theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) 11, 54, 170f., 191; James Haar, *The science and art of Renaissance music*, ed. by Paul Corneilson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998) esp. 21f.; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Humanismus: IV. Musik", *Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Pauly-Wissowa Real Enzyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften* 14 (Stuttgart; Weimar: Metzler, 2000) cols. 560–63; also in English trans. by Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "IV Music", *Classical Tradition. II: DEM–IUS*, ed. by Manfred Landfester in collaboration with Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill's encyclopaedia of the ancient world; New Pauly (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007) cols. 1036–39; Ludwig Finscher and Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Gaffurio, Franchino", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik. Personenteil*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002)

the reexamination of the vast literary sources from Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance.¹⁰⁷ Undoubtedly this manner of citation represents merely one mode of transmitting venerable knowledge that has come to Leopold Mozart through one or more forms of written documentation, including compendia, commentaries, treatises, speeches, letters, and translations.¹⁰⁸ In his *Violinschule*, in the context of his principal focus on the violin—including the preliminary discussion of the origin of the violin, which leads directly to the examination of the origin of music and of musical instruments in general—Leopold Mozart avails himself of all the forms of writing known to the humanistically inspired authors and audiences from the Middle Ages onward. Though slightly enlarged with the mentioning of more recent sources, including the *Syntagma musicum*¹⁰⁹ of Praetorius (1571–1621)—a *musicus* equally familiar with the *musica theorica* and the *musica practica*,¹¹⁰ owing to his vast contribution as a maker of organs and other instruments at the Court of Wolfenbüttel,¹¹¹ as a gifted composer of vocal and instrumental music,¹¹² and as an astute writer on music theory¹¹³ and performance

vol. 7, cols. 393–403; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, “Research and teaching during the era of musical humanism: Defending the scholar-teacher in response to the principles of creation and dissemination of knowledge in the Italian university curriculum and cultural milieu of the court of the Sforzas with special reference to Franchino Gaffurio (1451–1522)”, *What is a teacher-scholar? Conference report, University of Saskatchewan*, ed. by Ron Marken (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 2002) 97–132.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Hirsch, “Bibliographie der musiktheoretischen Drucke des Franchino Gaffuri”, *Festschrift Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Walter Lott, Helmuth Osthoff, and Werner Joachim Wolffheim (Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1929) 65–72.

¹⁰⁸ For an overview of various forms of writing, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Der Gelehrte und sein Publikum im späten Mittelalter und in der Renaissance”, *Medium aevum vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, ed. by Hans Robert Jauss and Dieter Schaller (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960) 212–30; also in English trans. as “The scholar and his public in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance”, *Medieval aspects of Renaissance learning: Three essays by Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. and trans. by Edward P. Mahoney. Duke monographs in Medieval and Renaissance studies 1 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1974) 3–25.

¹⁰⁹ See appendix, document 71.

¹¹⁰ On Praetorius’s biography, his work and its reception as well as the homage to his contribution, see, for example, Wilibald Gurlitt, *Michael Praetorius (Creuzbergensis): Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1915); Friedrich Blume, “Das Werk des Michael Praetorius”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1935) 321–31, 482–502; also repr. in Friedrich Blume, *Syntagma musicologicum: Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, 2 vols., ed. by Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) vol. 1, 229–64; Friedrich Blume, “Michael Praetorius”, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (21 September 1971); also repr. in Friedrich Blume, *Syntagma musicologicum*, vol. 2, 129–38; Martin Ruhnke, “Michael Praetorius”, *Musik und Kirche* 40 (1971) 229–42; Arno Forchert, “Michael Praetorius: Werk und Wirkung”, *Sagittarius* 4 (1973) 98–110; Arno Forchert, “Musik zwischen Religion und Politik: Bemerkungen zur Biographie des Michael Praetorius”, *Festschrift Martin Ruhnke zum 65. Geburtstag*, issued under auspices of the Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1986) 106–25; Siegfried Vogelsänger, *Michael Praetorius beim Wort genommen: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte seiner Werke. Orbis musicarum 2* (Aachen: Herodot [im] Rader Verlag, 1987); Siegfried Vogelsänger, *Michael Praetorius, Diener vieler Herren: Daten und Deutungen* (Aachen: Alano, Edition Herodot, 1991).

¹¹¹ Kurt Gudewill and Hans Haase, *Michael Praetorius Creutzbergensis (1571?–1621): Zwei Beiträge zu seinem und seiner Kapelle Jubiläumsjahr* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel, 1971); Arno Forchert, “Michael Praetorius und die Musik am Hof von Wolfenbüttel”, *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für mittlere deutsche Literatur* 10 (1981) 625–42; see also Heinz Grunow, *Das große Zeitalter Wolfenbütteler Musik* (Wolfenbüttel: Verkehrsverein Wolfenbüttel, 1983).

¹¹² On Praetorius’s compositional activities, see Friedrich Blume, *Michael Praetorius Creutzbergensis: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer, 1929); idem, “Das Werk des Michael Praetorius”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1935) 321–31; also in idem, *Syntagma musicologica: Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, ed. by Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) 222–64; Arno Forchert, *Das Spätwerk des Michael Praetorius: Italienische und deutsche Stilbegegnung* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1959); Carl Dahlhaus, “Über den Motettenbegriff des Michael Praetorius”, *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Nordeuropas: Kurt Gudewill zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Uwe Haensel (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel, 1978) 7–14; Siegfried Vogelsänger, *Michael Praetorius beim Wort genommen: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte seiner Werke* (Aachen: Herodot im Rader Verlag, 1987).

¹¹³ In his three-volume *Syntagma musicum*, which may be regarded as a summation of his total contribution, Praetorius brings together his experiences with the *musica practica* and the *musica theorica*. Volume I covers the principles and liturgical practices of sacred music, including remarks on the musical reforms of Martin Luther. In volume II, Praetorius

practices¹¹⁴—and *Il musico testore* (1706) of Zaccaria Tevo (1651—between 1709/12)¹¹⁵ obviously of a more contemporary appeal, the overall content of these deliberations on the origin of music display a close correlation with similar material discussed by Franchino Gaffurio,¹¹⁶ incidentally the sole Renaissance author in Mozart's *Violinschule* to receive two distinct references to two treatises, namely, the *Theorica musicae* (1492)¹¹⁷ and the *Practica musicae* (1496),¹¹⁸ a fact that underscores the importance of Gaffurio and the dissemination of his music-theoretical thought for subsequent generations of scholars.¹¹⁹ That Leopold Mozart presumably had carefully read the sources cited here is suggested by the references beyond Gaffurio to older treatises, specifically the treatise of Peter Comestor (d.1178), who focused on the question of the *inventor musices* in his widely read *Historia scholastica*¹²⁰—a biblical encyclopedia offering a conflation of Jewish

focuses on the discipline of organology, specifically on a detailed examination of the many families of instruments in vogue during the era of the Baroque, with special attention devoted to the organ. In volume III, his musical dictionary, Praetorius discusses a number of technical aspects, including *notation* and *proportiones* (see Gordon Paine, "Tactus, tempo, and Praetorius," *Five centuries of choral music: Essays in honor of Howard Swan*, ed. by Gordon Paine. Festschrift series 6 [Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1988] 167–215), *solmisatio* and *transpositio*—all under the umbrella of musical forms, foremost of motets (see Carl Dahlhaus, "Über den Motettenbegriff des Michael Praetorius," *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Nordeuropas; Kurt Gudewill zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Uwe Haensel [Wolfenbüttel: Mösele, 1978] 7–14), practices of the *Generalbaß* (see Lars Ulrich Abraham, *Der Generalbaß im Schaffen des Michael Praetorius und seine harmonischen Voraussetzungen*. Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 3 [Berlin: Merseburger, 1961]) and the writing for *cori spezzati* (see Robert Unger, *Die mehrhörige Aufführungspraxis bei Michael Praetorius* [Wolfenbüttel: Robert G. Kallmeyer, 1941]).

¹¹⁴ Paul Klebs, *Die musikalische Aufführungspraxis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts: Eine Einführung in das Syntagma musicum des Michael Praetorius, nebst einem Merkblatt zur Überwindung der visuellen Enharmonik* (Berlin-Friedenau: Delmi, 1955).

¹¹⁵ See appendix, document 88. For a discussion of this treatise, see F. Alberto Gallo, "Il musico testore di Zaccaria Tevo," *Quadrievium* 8 (1967) 101–11; see also Renate Groth, "Italienische Musiktheorie im 17. Jahrhundert," F. Alberto Gallo, Renate Groth, Claude V. Palisca, and Frieder Rempp, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VII: Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Damstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989) 307–79, esp. 319 ff., 344 ff.

¹¹⁶ Franchino Gaffurio, *Theoricum opus musicae discipline*, book 1, chapter 1. For a facs., see Franchino Gaffurio, *Theoricum opus musicae discipline*, ed. by Cesarino Ruini. Musurgiana: Collana di trattati di teoria musicale, storiografia e organologia in facsimile 15, issued under auspices by the Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale di Roma (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1996); Franchino Gaffurio, *Theorica musicae*, book 1, chapter 1; for a facs. Franchino Gaffurio, *The theory of music*, trans. with intro. and notes by Walter Kurt Kreyszig, 48.

¹¹⁷ See appendix, document 22. For a more detailed examination of the *Theorica musicae* see Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Franchino Gaffurio als Vermittler der Musiklehre des Altertums und des Mittelalters: Zur Identifizierung griechischer und lateinischer Quellen in der *Theorica musicae* (1492)," *Acta musicologica* 65/2 (1993) 134–50.

¹¹⁸ See appendix, document 23. For a more detailed examination of the *Practica musicae*, see Clement A. Miller, "Gaffurio's *Practica musicae*: Origin and contents," *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 22 (1968) 105–28; James Haar, "The frontispiece of Gaffurio's *Practica musicae* (1496)," *The Renaissance quarterly* 27 (1974) 7–22.; also as reprint in James Haar, *The science and art*, 79–92.

¹¹⁹ For example, Gaffurio's writings were known during the Tudor period, as readily gathered from the scholarship of John Dygon (fl. 1497–1538), a prior of St. Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, during a turbulent period in British history when Henry VIII placed the Catholic Church of England under the control of the royalty in the 1530s. For an edition and English trans. of Dygon's publication, see Theodor Dumitrescu, *John Dygon's Proportiones practicabiles secundum Gaffurium = Practical proportions according to Gaffurius*. Studies in the history of music theory and literature 2, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). For an overview of the reception of Gaffurio's treatises, see Ludwig Finscher and Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Gaffurio, Franchino," cols. 399–400.

¹²⁰ Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* ([Augsburg]: Günther Zainer, 1473; also Strasbourg: Henricus Ariminensis, 1474; Cologne: Conrad Winters de Hornborch, 1479; Chambery: Antoine Neyret, 1485); *Petri Comestoris Scolastica historia*, ed. by Agneta Sylwan with intro. in French. Instrumenta lexicologica Latina, Series A; Enumeratio formarum, concordantia formarum, index formarum a tergo ordinarum, Fasc. 160; Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis 191 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); see also *Eine deutsche Schulbibel des 15. Jahrhunderts: Historia scholastica des Petrus Comestor, in deutschem Auszug mit lateinischem Paralleltex*, ed. by Hans Vollmer. Materialien zur Bibelgeschichte (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925); Robert Francis Seybolt, "The legenda aurea, Bible and Historia scholastica," *Speculum* 21 (1946) 339–42; Sandra Rae Karp, *Peter Comestor's Historia scholastica: A Study in the development of literal scriptural exegesis* (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1978). On the dissemination of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* in manuscripts, see Johannes Baptist Schreyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von*

and Christian sources,¹²¹ with his reconciliation between the views of the classical world and the Christian world first brought about by Isidore of Seville (ca. 559–636) in his *Etymologiae sive origines*.¹²² Leopold Mozart does not cease the examination here but proceeds further back to the Hebrew author Josephus Flavius (37–ca. 101), who, in his *Antiquitatum Judaicarum* credits Iubal as the *inventor musices*,¹²³ an important detail informing Comestor’s account—one which stands in clear contrast to the Pythagorean legend, according to which Tubalcain, Jubal’s brother, is credited with the discovery of the laws of musical proportions through the hammers.¹²⁴ Leopold Mozart also delves into the fashionable consideration of the etymological derivation of the term *musica*¹²⁵—an examination that, later in the *Violinschule*, paves the way for a study of the constituent elements of music, the intervals and their physical properties.¹²⁶ Like Gaffurio in the related passage in chapter 1 of book 2 of the *Theorica musice*,¹²⁷ Leopold Mozart, too,

1150–1350, 11 vols. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969–90) vol. 4, 636–51. Further on the reception of this important source, see, for example, Maria Sherwood-Smith, *Studies in the reception of the Historia scholastica of Peter Comestor in Medieval German and Dutch literature* (Ph.D. diss. University of Oxford, 1996); Maria C. Sherwood-Smith, *Studies in the reception of the Historia scholastica of Peter Comestor: The Schwarzwälder Predigten, the Weltchronik of Rudolf von Ems, the Scolastica of Jacob van Maerlant and the Historiebijbel von 1360*. Medium Aevum monographs, new ser. 20 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2000).

¹²¹ On Peter Comestor’s indebtedness to Jewish and Christian writers, see Saralyn R. Daly, “Peter Comestor, master of histories”, *Speculum: A journal of medieval studies* 32 (1957) 62–73; Beryl Smalley, *The Bible of the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964) 214–42. Further on the interrelation between these traditions, see, for example, Don Harrán, *In search of harmony: Hebrew and Humanist elements in sixteenth-century musical thought*. Musicological studies and documents 42, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (Neuhausen: Hänssler-Verlag; American Institute of Musicology, 1988); Don Harrán, “Cultural fusions in Jewish musical thought of the late Renaissance”, *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his eightieth birthday*, ed. by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki; [Claremont]: University of Western Australia Press, 1989) 141–54; see also Louis H. Feldman, “The Jewish source of Peter Comestor’s Commentary on Genesis in his *Historia scholastica*”, *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*, ed. by Dietrich-Alex Koch and Hermann Lichtenberger. Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993)

¹²² Wallace Martin Lindsay, ed., *Isidorei Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*. Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis (repr. of 1911, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). On the dissemination of this treatise, see Michel Huglo, “Die Musica Isidori nach den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes mit Berücksichtigung der Handschrift Wien, ÖNB 683”, *Mittelalterliche Musiktheorie in Zentraleuropa*, ed. by Walter Pass and Alexander Rausch. *Musica Mediaevalis Europae Occidentalis: Publikationen zur älteren Musikgeschichte des Institutes für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien und des Institutum Musices Feldkirchense* 4, ed. by Walter Pass (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998) 79–86. For a discussion of the chapters on music, see Walter Pass, “Die Musikkapitel in der Isidor-Überlieferung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek”, *Mittelalterliche Musiktheorie in Zentraleuropa*, ed. by Walter Pass and Alexander Rausch. *Musica Mediaevalis Europae Occidentalis: Publikationen zur älteren Musikgeschichte des Institutes für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien und des Institutum Musices Feldkirchense* 4, ed. by Walter Pass (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998) 107–32; also Michel Huglo, “Les diagrammes d’harmonique interpolés dans les manuscrits hispaniques de la musica Isidori”, *Scriptorium* 48 (1994) 171–86; also as Michel Huglo, “The diagrams interpolated into the *Musica Isidori* and the scale of old Hispanic chant”, *Western plainchant in the first millennium: Studies in the medieval liturgy and its music*, ed. by Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nadas, and Timothy Striplin (Adelshot: Ashgate, 2003) 243–59.

¹²³ Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum*, book 1.64; as cited in English trans. in: Judith Cohen, “Jubal in the Middle Ages”, *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre* 3 (1974) 86–87. For a historical survey covering the period from the 12th to the 18th centuries, see James McKinnon, “Jubal vel Pythagoras, qui sit inventor musicae?”, *The musical quarterly* 64/1 (1978) 1–28.

¹²⁴ Paul E. Beichner, *The medieval representative of music, Jubal or Tubalcain*. Texts and studies in the history of medieval education 2, ed. by Astrik L. Gabriel and Joseph N. Garvin (Notre Dame, Ind.: The Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1954).

¹²⁵ Albrecht Riethmüller, et al., “Musiké–musica–Musik”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd. rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001) Sachteil vol. 6, cols. 1195 ff.

¹²⁶ Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, 61ff (“Das dritte Hauptstück”).

¹²⁷ See appendix, document 22.

comes across rather vaguely with his comments, leaving the reader to contemplate his/her own thought.

In his deliberations Leopold Mozart relies on the cleric from the Diocese of Konstanz and recipient of a *magister atrium* (1489) from the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. Gregor Reisch (ca. 1467–1525)¹²⁸ had a diverse *curriculum vitae*: He was initially at the Universität Ingoldstadt as a mentor to Count Franz Wolfgang von Zollern in 1494, as member of the Freiburg Kartause in 1496, as Prior of Buxheim in 1501, as instructor at the Universität Freiburg—especially in providing instruction to the future adversaries of Martin Luther (1483–1546)¹²⁹ and Johann Eck (1486–

¹²⁸ On details of Reisch's curriculum vitae, see Karl Hartfelder, "Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 5 (1890) 170–200; Gustav Münzel, "Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch und die *Margarita philosophica*", *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtsvereins* 48 (1937) 1–87; also as a separate publication: Gustav Münzel, *Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch und die Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Waibel, 1937).

¹²⁹ On Luther's association with the discipline of music, see, for example, August Jakob Rambach, *Über Dr. Martin Luthers Verdienst um den Kirchengesang oder Darstellung desjenigen was er als Liturg, als Liederdichter und Tonsetzer zur Verbesserung des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes geleistet hat: Nebst einem aus den Originalen genommenen Abdrucke sämtlicher Lieder und Melodien Luthers, wie auch der Vorreden zu seinem Gesangbuche*, with an intro. by Konrad Ameln (Hamburg: Bohn, 1813; facs. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972); Johann Immanuel Müller, *Luthers Verdienste um die Musik nebst einem Verzeichnis der von demselben komponierten geistliche Lieder: Für musikalische und unmusikalische Leser aus mehreren Schriften zusammengestellt* (Erfurt: In Kommission in der Müllerschen Buchhandlung, 1817); *Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken über die Musik: Zur Beförderung des Kirchengesangs aus dessen Werken*, coll. by Friedrich Adolf Beck (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1825); Richard Wolckow, *Luther und die Musik: Ein Beitrag zur Luther-Jubelfeier* (Darmstadt: L. Brill, 1883); Karl Anton, *Luther und die Musik* (Zwickau: Johannes Herrmann, 1916; 4th rev. ed., Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957); Hermann Kretschmar, "Luther und die Musik", *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 24 (1917) 39–44; Karl Storch, *Luther und die Musik: Vortrag im Reformations-Jubeljahr 1917 zu Magdeburg* (Magdeburg: Holtermann, 1917); Philipp Wolfrum, *Luther und die Musik: Luther und Bach. Ein Vortrag zur 4. Zentenarfeier der Reformation* (Heidelberg: Eugen Pfeiffer, 1917–18); Hans-Joachim Moser, "Luther und die Kirchenmusik", *Luther: Mitteilungen der Luther-Gesellschaft* 5 (1923) 53–59; Hermann Abert, *Luther und die Musik*. Flugschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft (Lutherstadt Wittenberg: Luther-Gesellschaft, 1924); Hans Preuss, *Martin Luther, der Künstler* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1931); Christhard Mahrenholz, *Luther und die Kirchenmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937); also as repr. in *Festschrift Christhard Mahrenholz*, ed. by K.F. Müller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960) 136–53; Eva Mary Grew, "Martin Luther and music", *Music & letters* 19 (1938) 67–78; Karl Honemeyer, *Luthers Musikanschauung: Studien zur Frage ihrer geschichtlichen Grundlagen* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Münster, 1941); Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on music", *The musical quarterly* 32 (1946) 80–97; Paul Nettl, *Luther and music*, trans. by Frida Best and Ralph Wood (Philadelphia: Mühlenberg Press, 1948; repr. ed., New York: Russell & Russell, 1967); Robert Murrell Stevenson, "Luther's musical achievement", *Patterns of Protestant church music*, ed. by Robert Murrell Stevenson (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1953) 3–12; Christoph Wetzel, *Die theologische Bedeutung der Musik im Leben und Denken Martin Luthers*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Universität Münster, 1954); Christoph Wetzel, "Studie zur Musikanschauung Martin Luthers", *Musik und Kirche* 25 (1955) 238–45; Walter Blankenburg, "Luther und die Musik", *Luther: Mitteilungen der Luther-Gesellschaft* 1 (1957) 14–27; Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, "Luther and music", *Luther and culture*, ed. by George Wolfgang Forell, Harold John Grimm, and Theodore Hoelty-Nickel. Martin Luther lectures 4 (Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1960) 143–211; Gerhard Hahn, *Martin Luther: Die deutschen geistlichen Lieder*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke 20 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967); Walter Blankenburg, "Überlieferung und Textgeschichte von Martin Luthers *Encomium musices*", *Luther-Jahrbuch* (1972) 80–104; Joe E. Tarry, "Music in the educational philosophy of Martin Luther", *Journal of research in music education* 21 (1973) 355–65; Markus Jenny, "Luthers Gesangbuch", *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1525 bis 1546: Festgabe zu seinem 500. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., ed. by Helmar Junghans (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) 303–21; Jean-Denis Kraege, "Luther théologien de la musique", *Études théologiques et religieuses* 58 (1983) 449–63; Oskar Söhngen, "Luthers Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Musik", *Musik und Kirche* 53 (1983) 225–33; F. Weiniger, "Martin Luther und die Musik", *Musica sacra* 103 (1983) 184–86; Gerhard Kappner, "Luther und die Musik", *Singet und spielet dem Herrn: Bremer Beiträge zur Kirchenmusik*, ed. by Gerhard Kappner (Bremen: Schönemann, 1987) 64–68; Robin A. Leaver, "The Lutheran Reformation", *The Renaissance from the 1470s to the end of the sixteenth century*, ed. by Iain Fenlon. Man & music (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989) 263–85; Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, "The Lutheran Reformation and its music", *The transmission of ideas in the Lutheran Reformation*, ed. by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989) 141–71; Helen Pietsch, "On Luther's understanding of music", *Lutheran theological journal* 26 (1992) 160–68; Robin A. Leaver, "Theological consistency, liturgical integrity, and musical hermeneutics in Luther's liturgical reforms", *Lutheran quarterly* 9 (1995) 117–38; Robin A. Leaver, "Luther on music", *Lutheran quarterly* 18 (2004) 125–83; 20 (2006) 125–45; Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's liturgical music: Principles and implications* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2007).

1543)¹³⁰—and finally as scholarly and spiritual councillor of Emperor Maximilian (reigned 1508–19).¹³¹ This experience had afforded him a comprehensive perspective on the issues of historiography in general, as readily gleaned from his 12-volume *Margarita philosophica*,¹³² one of the principal monuments of medieval meteorology¹³³ and the first encyclopedia of philosophy to appear in Germany.¹³⁴ Within the rather broadly conceived parameters of the *Margarita philosophica*, the *disciplina musicae* receives coverage only in book 5,¹³⁵ which, in its overall organization, is comparable to other humanist documents, such as Gaffurio's *Theorica musicae*.¹³⁶ In book 5 of his treatise, Reisch captures the essentials of the traditional music theoretical and philosophical discourse, including the Boethian threefold classification of *musica* according to *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*,¹³⁷ the classification of *consonantia* and *dissonantia*, the Greek *systema teleion*, the *divisiones monochordi*, the Guidonian system of modes (with the distinction of authentic and plagal modes), the solmization, and at the outset of his deliberations, with recourse to a number of important Greek and Latin authorities (including Asclepiades, Jubal, Plato, Pythagoras, St. Augustine and

¹³⁰ During his formal studies in theology and law at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, beginning in 1502, Johann Eck received tutoring in neo-Platonic philosophy, mathematics, and Hebrew from the author of the encyclopedic publication *Margarita philosophica*, Gregor Reisch, who at that time served as prior of the Carthusians at Freiburg; see Steven W. Rowan, "Ulrich Zasius and John Eck: 'Faith Need not be kept with an Enemy'", *Sixteenth-century journal* 8 (1977) 79–95, especially 80. Further on Eck, see Theodor Wiedemann, *Dr. Johann Eck, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Ingolstadt* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1865). On his earlier career, see, for example, Joseph Greving, *Johann Eck als junger Gelehrter*. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 1 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1906); Hermann Meyer, "Johannes Eck in Freiburg", *Schau-ins-Land* 35 (1908) 1–31; Joseph Schlecht, "Dr. Johann Eck's Anfänge", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 36 (1915) 1–36; see also R. Albert, "Aus welchem Grunde disputierte Johann Eck gegen Martin Luther in Leipzig 1519?" *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie* 43 (1873) 382–441.

¹³¹ Alphons Lhotsky, "Maximilian I. und Gregor Reisch", *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 122 (1961) 235–340.

¹³² See appendix, document 80.

¹³³ For an overview of important documents on meteorology, see G. Hellmann, ed., *Denkmäler mittelalterlicher Meteorologie, mit einer Einleitung und einem Anhang*. Neudrucke von Schriften und Karten über Meteorologie und Erdmagnetismus 15 (Berlin: A. Asher, 1904; repr. ed., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969).

¹³⁴ On this treatise, see, for example, John Ferguson, *The Margarita philosophica of Gregorius Reisch*. Transactions of the bibliographical society II:10 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1929); Gustav Münzel, *Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch und die Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Waibel, 1937); also in *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtsvereins* 48 (1937); Robert Ritter von Srbik, *Die Margarita philosophica des G. Reisch (+1525): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in Deutschland*. Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien: Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Denkschriften 104 (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky; Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1941); Emile Wennekes, "Die *Margarita philosophica*: Een vergeten vraagboek uit de zestiende eeuw", *Mens en melodie* 45 (October 1990) 622–29; Lucia Andreini, *Gregor Reisch e la sua Margarita philosophica*. *Analecta cartusiana* 138 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1997). On the circulation of this treatise, see Wilberforce Eames, *A list of editions of the Margarita philosophica, 1503–1599* (New York: s.n., 1886). In spite of the identification of the precise edition of the *Margarita philosophica* in the *Violinschule*, Leopold Mozart may indeed have had direct access to any of the editions of this treatise identified in the appendix, document 80, especially in view of the exceptionally wide circulation of the *Margarita philosophica*. Further on the world map included in this treatise, see *Die grosse Weltkarte aus Reisch, Gregorius, Margarita philosophica zu den Ausgaben Freiburg, Joh. Schott, 1503, Strassburg, Joh. Schott, 1504, Basel, Michael Furter & Joh. Schott, 1508, Basel, Michael Furter, 1517, Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1535* (München: Ludwig Rosenthal, 1926). On the woodcut from this treatise, see Kenneth J. Capenter, ed. with intro., *From the Margarita philosophica of Gregorius Reisch, Strassburg, Johann Schott, 1503* (Berkeley, Calif.: The Berkeley Albion Press, 1959).

¹³⁵ See appendix, document 80. On the significance of the *musica* within the encyclopedic literature of the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, see Christel Meier, "Die Musik in der Enzyklopädie des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: Bartholomäus Anglicus–Reisch–Siderocrates–Alsted", *"Grenzgebiete": Festschrift Klaus Hortschansky zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Michael Zywiets. *Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster* 15 (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 2000) 55–95.

¹³⁶ See appendix, document 22.

¹³⁷ On the significance of the latter term in organology, see Ellen Hickmann, *Musica instrumentalis: Studien zur Klassifikation des Musikinstrumentariums im Mittelalter*. *Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen* 55 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1971).

Boethius), the definition and origin of *musica*, both in words and graphic illustrations.¹³⁸ The latter topic was of vital interest to Leopold Mozart.¹³⁹

To attempt a derivation of *musica* from the Greek is justified by the rich offspring of the stem *moys*, largely relating to the various activities of executing music.¹⁴⁰ Mozart leaves room for the derivation of *musica* from the Greek or from the Egyptian language, the latter which equates *moys* with water.¹⁴¹ In the encyclopedic collection of medieval theoretical treatises, including the *opera omnia* of Guido of Arezzo, a series of anonymous treatises from the Middle Ages, and the earliest *vocabularium musicum*, all assembled in the 11th-century manuscript Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 318, *moys*,¹⁴² a source well-known in musicological circles,¹⁴³ is equated with water in both the Greek and Latin languages. This is underscored in the phrase “*est moys graece et latine aqua significant*” as part of a section entitled “*de generis musis*”.¹⁴⁴ Regardless of its origin, the etymological derivation given here, directly copied from humanist sources of an earlier era, altogether incorrect, is attributable solely to the penchant of writers to associate the Greek tradition with biblical writings. Here, the direct link with Scriptures, not mentioned by either Leopold Mozart or earlier humanists, comes through the writings of the first-century Jewish historian Josephus, who, in his *Antiquitatum Judaicarum*, draws the readers’ attention to the etymological derivation of Moses (*Moyses* in Greek), meaning “water”, and from *yses* (or *eses*), meaning “saved”,¹⁴⁵ that is, “the one saved from

¹³⁸ Udo Becker, ed. with annotations, *Die erste Enzyklopädie aus Freiburg um 1495: Die Bilder der 'Margarita philosophica' des Gregorius Reisch, Prior der Kartause* (Freiburg: Herder, 1970); Manfred Hermann Schmid, “Die Darstellung der Musica im spätmittelalterlichen Bildprogramm der 'Margarita philosophica' von Gregor Reisch 1503”, *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1994): *Musikalische Ikonographie*, ed. by Harald Heckmann, Monika Holl, and Hans Joachim Marx (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1994) 247–61.

¹³⁹ In his contemplations, Leopold Mozart was undoubtedly familiar with the rich resources on this topic; for an overview, see, for example, Joseph Dyer, “The place of *Musica* in Medieval classifications of knowledge”, *The journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 24 (2007) 3–71.

¹⁴⁰ Albrecht Riethmüller and Heinrich Hüsch, “Musiké–musica–Musik”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997) Sachteil vol. 6, cols. 1195–1213, especially col. 1196.

¹⁴¹ Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., ed. by Walter Otto. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft IX:2 (München: C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911–31; repr. ed., 1959–65) vol. 2, 717–24.

¹⁴² For the dating as well as discussion of the provenance of this source, see Francis Newton, *The scriptorium and library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge studies in palaeography and codicology 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 373.

¹⁴³ For a discussion of this manuscript, see, for example, Mauro Inguanez, *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti archicoenobii Montis Casini* (Roma: Ex typographia pontificia Instituti Pii IX, 1915–51); Paolo M. Ferretti, “I manoscritti musicali gregoriani dell’archivio di Montecassino”, *Casinesia* 1 (1929) 187–203; Adrien de la Fage, *Essai de diphthérogaphie musicali* (Paris: s.n., 1864 repr. ed., Amsterdam: Knuf, 1964); Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Guido Aretinus*. Corpus scriptorum de musica 4, ed. by Armen Carapetyan ([Roma]: American Institute of Musicology, 1955); Paul Merkle, *Conflicting assignments of antiphons in Italian tonaries* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985); Paul Merkle, *Italian tonaries*. Musicological studies 48 (Ottawa, Ont.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1988); Dolores Pesce, *Guido of Arezzo’s Regule rithmice, Prologus in antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michaelem: A critical text and translation with introductions, annotations, indices, and new manuscript inventories*. Musicological studies 73 (Ottawa, Ont.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999); Angelo Rusconi, “Il Cod. 318 di Montecassino: Note sulla struttura e sul contenuto”, *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters* 3, ed. by Michael Bernhard. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001) 121–44.

¹⁴⁴ See Mone Cassino, Archivio dell Badia, MS 318, 90. For a discussion of this statement, see Alma Santosuosso, “The first dictionary of music: The *Vocabularium musicum* of MS Monte Cassino 318”, *Music in medieval Europe: Studies in honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. by Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 65–78, esp. 71, 75.

¹⁴⁵ Josephus, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum libri XX* (Basel: Hieronymus Froben, 1540) 2.228. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart also sought the connections with Judaism; see Eric Offenbacher, “Mozartiana Judaica: Quotations and commentary”, *Mozart Studien*, ed. by Manfred Hermann Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998) vol. 8, 11–47.

the waters”, as recorded in reference to the Book of Exodus (2:1). In light of Leopold Mozart’s familiarity with Josephus’s treatise—perhaps through one of several translations such as the *Commentario in Exodum*¹⁴⁶ of Rabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856)¹⁴⁷—the foregoing explanations postulate one possible direction in the train of thought. Though compelling as this explanation may seem, especially as it ties in with the remarks of Leopold Mozart, the concrete source for his etymological association between music and water might actually lie in contemporary humanist scholarship. Owing to the vastness of sources that transmit this information,¹⁴⁸ Leopold Mozart’s disclosing of the identity of the author who provided this material is left open, as it also is in the *Theorica musice* of Gaffurio,¹⁴⁹ though the latter author was known for his widespread practice of deliberately concealing the source of borrowing, especially with regard to the citing of contemporary authors.¹⁵⁰ Marchetto of Padua’s *Lucidarium*,¹⁵¹ a work that enjoyed widespread dissemination through the 15th and 16th centuries,¹⁵² seems to

¹⁴⁶ Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentario in Exodum*; see Noel Swerdlow, “Musica dicitur a Moys, Quod est aqua,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967) 3–9; see also J.M. van Buytenen, “Moys = Water,” *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 16 (1940) 125–28; Albert van der Linden, “Glosses sur l’étymologie de mot ‘musique’,” *Miscellanea J. Gessler* (Antwerpen, 1948) 735–41.

¹⁴⁷ On the significance of Hrabanus Maurus as a contributor to the *disciplina musica*, see, for example, Albert Richenhagen, *Studien zur Musikanschauung des Hrabanus Maurus*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 162 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989); Andreas Traub, “Hrabanus Äußerungen zur musica und ihr Gegenstand,” *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. by Gangolf Schrimpf. Fuldaer Studien 7 (Frankfurt am Main: J. Knecht, 1996) 481–91; see also M.A. Aris, “Nostrum est citare testes: Anmerkungen zum Wissenschaftsverständnis des Hrabanus Maurus,” *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger*, 417–64; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, 288–302; Joseph Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung: Ein Handbuch. I: Die lateinischen Hymnen bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Joseph E. Schmidt, 1964) 220–27; Franz Brunhölzl, *Von Cassiodorus bis zum Ausklang der karolingischen Erneuerung*, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 1 (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1975) 325–40, 554–56.

¹⁴⁸ For a comprehensive inventory of sources transmitting these thoughts, see Noel Swerdlow, “Musica dicitur a Moys, quod est aqua”, 3. This rather substantial listing of sources may be augmented by a number of other treatises preserved in manuscripts that contain this information, including *Manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 1201* (see Renate Federhofer-Königs, “Ein unvollständiger Musiktraktat des 14. Jahrhunderts in Ms. 1201 der Universitätsbibliothek Graz”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 44 [1960] 17); *Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 515* (see Gilbert Reaney, “The anonymous treatise *De origine et effectu musicae*, an early 15th-century commonplace book of music theory”, *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 37 [1983] 101); *Manuscript Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania latin 36* (see Andres Briner, “Ein anonymer unvollständiger Musiktraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts in Philadelphia, USA”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 50 [1966] 27), and *Manuscript Göttweig, Benediktinerabtei Cod. 514* (see Renate Federhofer-Königs, “Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in Cod. 514 der Benediktinerabtei Göttweig/Niederösterreich”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 45 [1961] 60).

¹⁴⁹ See Franchino Gaffurio, *Theorica musice*, book 1, chapter 8; book 5, chapter 8.

¹⁵⁰ Clement A. Miller, “Early Gaffuriana: New answers to old questions”, *The musical quarterly* 56 (1970) 367–88, esp. 383 ff.

¹⁵¹ Marchetto of Padua, *Lucidarium*. For an edition, see *Marchetti de Padua Musica seu Lucidarium in arte musicae planae ex Msc. Biblioth. Ambros. Mediolanensis*. *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra* 3 (St. Blasien, 1784; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963) vol. 3, 64–121; Jan W. Herlinger, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua: A critical edition, translation and commentary* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). Further on the music theoretical deliberations of Marchetto of Padua, see, for example, Jan W. Herlinger, “Fractional division of the whole tone”, *Music theory spectrum* 3 (1981) 4–83; idem, “Marchetto’s Division of the Whole Tone”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981) 193–216.

¹⁵² See, for example, Jan Herlinger, “Marchetto’s influence: The manuscript evidence”, *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. *Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies* 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 235–58; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, “Marchetto von Padua in musiktheoretischen Drucken des späten 15. Jahrhunderts: Terminologie und Etymologie aus rezeptionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive in Franchino Gaffurios *Theorica musice* (1492) und *Practica musicae* (1496)”, *Festschrift für Floridus Röhrig*, ed. by Karl Holubar jun. *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg. Neue Folge* 16 (Wien: Mayer, 1997) 93–111; Jan W. Herlinger, “Music theory of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries”, *Music as concept and practice in the late Middle Ages*, ed. by Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn. *The new Oxford history of music* 3/1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 244–300.

offer a logical link not only with the earlier Renaissance tradition,¹⁵³ but perhaps also with Leopold Mozart, who was familiar with writings from a slightly earlier period as witnessed in the citing of the writings *summa summarum* of Johannes des Muris (ca. 1290/95–after 1344).¹⁵⁴

In Leopold Mozart's quest for the origin of music, the inclusion of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (ca. 480–ca. 524) in his survey of music history is self-explanatory. The Roman writer and statesman Boethius has an exceptionally broad training in both speculative and practical arts of Greek philosophy, as reflected in his writings,¹⁵⁵ which

¹⁵³ Marchetto of Padua, in his association of the muses with water (see his *Lucidarium* 1.6) might have been alluding to the water nymphs, as communicated in the writings of earlier authors, for example, by Servius, in his *Commentary on Vergil's Eclogues* 7.21 (see Noel Swerdlow, "Musica Dicitur a Moys", 5). Further on the muses, see Walter Friedrich Otto, *Die Musen und der göttliche Ursprung des Singens und Sagens* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1954, 3rd ed., 1961; also Düsseldorf: E. Diederichs, 1955, 2nd ed. 1956; also Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1854, repr. ed. 1971); also in Spanish trans. as Walter Friedrich Otto, *Las musas: El origen divino del canto y del mito*. Colección Lectores (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1981); Eleonora Rocconi, *Le parole delle muse: La formazione del lessico tecnico musicale nella Grecia antica*. Quaderni dei Seminari Romani di Cultura Greca 5, ed. by Maria Grazia Bonanno, Roberto Pretagostini, and Luigi Encco Rossi (Roma: Quasar, 2003); see also J.R.T. Pollard, "Muses and sirens", *The classical review*, new series II:66 (1952) 60–63; Reinhard Häussler, "Der Tod der Musen", *Antike und Abendland: Beiträge zum Verständnis der Griechen und Römer und ihres Nachlebens* 19 (1973) 117–45.

¹⁵⁴ See appendix, documents 61–65. Concerning the significance of the writings of Johannes de Muris, see, for example, Robert Hirschfeld, *Johannes de Muris: Seine Werke und seine Bedeutung als Verfechter des Classischen in der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884); Alfred Nagl, "Das *Quadripartitum* des Johannes de Muris und das praktische Rechnen im vierzehnten Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* 36 (1890) 136–46; Louis Charles Karpinski, "The *Quadripartitum numerorum* of John of Murs", *Bibliotheca mathematica* III (1912–13) 99–114; Walter Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum musicae von Johannes de Muris: Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters*. Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1924; repr. ed., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1976); Ulrich Michels, *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 8, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht in collab. with Walter Gerstenberg, Kurt von Fischer, Wolfgang Osthoff, and Arnold Schmitz (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970); Lawrence A. Gushee, "Questions of genre in medieval treatises on music", *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift für Leo Schrade*, ed. by Wulf Arlt, et al. (Bern: Francke, 1973) 365–433; Emmanuel Pouille, "Jean de Murs et les tables alphonsines (1321)", Paris, B.N., fonds latin 7281", *Archives d'histoire d' doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 55 (1980) 421–76; Daniel Seth Katz, *The earliest sources for the 'Libellus cantus mensurabilis secundum Johannem de Muris'* (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1989); Frank Hentschel, *Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft in der mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie: Strategien der Konsonanzwertung und der Gegenstand der musica sonora um 1300*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 47, ed. by Albrecht Riethmüller in collab. with Reinhold Brinkmann, Ludwig Finscher, Kurt von Fischer, Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, and Wolfgang Osthoff (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000). On the reception of the treatises of Johannes de Muris, see, for example, Charles Brewer, *The introduction of the 'ars nova' into East-Central Europe: A study of late medieval Polish sources* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984); Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, "Music between *quadrivium* and *ars canendi*: *Musica speculativa* by Johannes de Muris and its reception in Central and East-Central Europe", *International Musicological Society study group: Cantus Planus, Papers read at the fourth meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. by László Doboszay, et al. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Zebetudomány Intézet, 1992) 119–26.

¹⁵⁵ See appendix, documents 9–10; see also Calvin M. Bower, "The role of Boethius' *De institutione musica* in the speculative tradition of Western musical thought", *Boethius and the liberal arts*, ed. by Michael Masi. Utah studies in literature and linguistics 18 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981) 157–74.

embrace the broad areas of logic,¹⁵⁶ pedagogy,¹⁵⁷ philosophy,¹⁵⁸ and theology.¹⁵⁹ Boethius was generally regarded as the *auctoritas* in nonmusical and musical treatises,¹⁶⁰ the latter category including the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Réôme (fl. ?840–850),¹⁶¹ the *De harmonia institutione* of Hucbald de Saint-Amand (ca. 850–930),¹⁶² the *Ars musica* of

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, Henry Chadwick, *Boethius and the consolation of music, logic, theology, and philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, Gerhard Pietzsch, *Die Stellung der Musik im Erziehungs- und Bildungsideal des ausgehenden Altertums und frühen Mittelalters*. Studien zur Geschichte der Musiktheorie im Mittelalter 2 (Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1932; repr. ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969); see also Leo Schrade, "Die Stellung der Musik in der Philosophie des Boethius als Grundlage der ontologischen Musikerziehung," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 41 (1932) 368–400. Repr., in *Leo Schrade: De scientia musicae studia atque orationes. Zum Gedächtnis des Verfassers*, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn, issued under auspices of Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, Ortsgruppe Basel (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1967) 76–112.

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, Leo Schrade, "Music in the philosophy of Boethius," *The musical quarterly* 33 (1947) 188–200; David S. Chamberlain, "Philosophy of music in the *Consolatio* of Boethius," *Speculum* 45 (1970) 80–97; Calvin M. Bower, "Die Wechselwirkung von *philosophia*, *mathematica* und *musica* in der karolingischen Rezeption der *Institutio musicae* von Boethius," *Musik und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter; Fragen zur Wechselwirkung von "musica" und "philosophia" im Mittelalter*, ed. by Frank Hentschel. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 62 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998) 163–83.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, William Bark, "Boethius' fourth tractate, the so-called 'De fide catholica'," *Harvard theological review* 39 (1946) 55–69; also reprinted in *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. Wege der Forschung 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 232–46; "Maurice Nédoncelle, 'Les variations de Boèce sur la personne,'" *Revue des sciences religieuses* 29 (1955) 201–38; also in German trans. by Eva Beate Fuhrmann as "Variationen über das Thema 'Person' bei Boethius," *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. Wege der Forschung 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 187–231.

¹⁶⁰ Such status of preeminence accorded to Boethius explains the continuous reception of the Greek tradition throughout the Middle Ages and beyond; see, for example, Michael Bernhard, "Überlieferung und Fortleben der antiken lateinischen Musiktheorie im Mittelalter", Michael Bernhard, Arno Borst, Detlef Illmer, Albrecht Riethmüller and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. III: Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990) 7–35; Claude V. Palisca, "Boethius in the Renaissance," *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. Notre Dame conferences in medieval studies 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 259–80; Jane Bellingham, *The development of musical thought in the mediaeval West from late antiquity to the mid-ninth century* (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1998). Another important facet in the reception of Boethius's writings are those manuscripts containing glosses of his principal texts; see Michael Bernhard and Calvin M. Bower, eds., *Glossa maior in institutionem musicam Boethii*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 9–12 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993–96); see also Michael Bernhard, "Glosses on Boethius' *De institutione musica*," *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. Notre Dame conferences in Medieval studies 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 136–49; Charles M. Atkinson, "Glosses on music and grammar in the advent of music writing in the West", *Western plainchant in the first millennium: Studies in the medieval liturgy and its music*, ed. by Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nadas, and Timothy Striplin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 199–215.

¹⁶¹ Lawrence Gushee, ed., *Aurelianus Reomensis: Musica disciplina*. Corpus mensurabilis musicae 21, ed. by Amen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1975); see also Lawrence Gushee, *The Musica disciplina of Aurelian of Réôme: A critical text and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1963); Ubaldo Pizzani, "Aureliano di Réôme e la riscoperta del 'De institutione musica di Boezio'," *Esercizi arte, musica, spettacolo* 2 (1979) 7–29; Michael Bernhard, "Textkritisches zu Aurelianus Reomensis," *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 40 (1986) 49–61.

¹⁶² Claude V. Palisca, ed. and trans., *Hucbald, Guido and John on music: Three medieval treatises*. Music theory translation series, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978) 13–44; see also Edmond de Coussemaker, *Mémoire sur Hucbald et ses traités de musique, suivi de recherches sur la notation et sur les instruments de musique* (Paris: J. Techener, 1841; repr. ed., Osnabrück: Biblio, 1974); René Behague, *Hucbald de Saint-Amand (840–930): L'écolâtre, l'historien, le musicien, le poète, l'homme* (Saint-Amand-les-Eaux: s.n., 1930); Rembert Weakland, "Hucbald as musician and theorist," *The musical quarterly* 42 (1956) 66–84; Henri Potiron, "La notation grecque dans l'Institution harmonique d'Hucbald," *Études grégoriennes* 2 (1959) 37–50; Henri Potiron, "Complément au traité d'Hucbald *De harmonia institutione*," *Études grégoriennes* 3 (1959) 155–62; Richard J. Wingell, "Hucbald of St. Amand and Carolingian music theory," *Festival essays for Pauline Alderman*, ed. by Burton L. Karson (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1976) 19–28; Yves Chartier, "Hucbald de Saint-Amand et la notation musicale," *Musicologie médiévale: Notations et séquences. Actes de la table ronde du C.N.R.S. à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 6–7 septembre 1982*, ed. by Michel Huglo (Paris: H. Champion, 1987) 145–55; Andreas Traub, "Hucbald von Saint-Amand: De harmonia institutione," *Beiträge zu Gregorianik* 7 (1989) 3–101; Yves Chartier, "Clavis operum Hucbaldi elnonensis," *Journal of medieval Latin* 5 (1995) 202–24; Yves Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand: Les compositions et le traité de musique*. Cahiers

Hieronymus of Moravia (d. after 1271),¹⁶³ the *Speculum musicae* of Jacobus of Liège (ca. 1260–after 1330),¹⁶⁴ the *Musica speculativa* of Johannes de Muris,¹⁶⁵ the *Declaratio musicae* of Ugolino of Orvieto (ca. 1380–1452),¹⁶⁶ the *Musica speculativa* of Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi (ca. 1380–1428),¹⁶⁷ the *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* of Johannes

d'études médiévales 5 (Saint Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1995); Andreas Traub, "Nachlese zu Hucbald von Saint-Amand", *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 30 (2000) 57–60.

¹⁶³ Hieronymus de Moravia O.P., *Tractatus de musica*, ed. by Simon M. Cserba. Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2; Veröffentlichungen des Musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz 2 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935); Leo Stephen Cannon, *The Tractatus de musica of Jerome of Moravia, Dominican of the thirteenth century* (M.M. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1937); Michel Huglo, "La place du Tractatus de musica dans l'histoire de la théorie musicale du XIII^e siècle: Étude codicologique", *Jérôme de Moravie: Un théoricien de la musique dans le milieu intellectuel parisien du XIII^e siècle. Actes du colloque de Royaumont 1989*, ed. by Christian Meyer, Michel Huglo, and Marcel Pérès. Rencontres à Royaumont 4 (Paris: Créaphis, 1992) 33–42; see also Christian Berkold, "Die aristotelische und die 'musikalische' Zeit bei Hieronymus de Moravia", *Mittelalterliche Musiktheorie in Zentraleuropa*, ed. by Walter Pass and Alexander Rausch. *Musica mediaevalis Europae Occidentalis: Publikationen zur älteren Musikgeschichte des Institutes für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien und des Institutum Musicae Feldkirchense* 4, ed. by Walter Pass (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998) 1–6; Frank Hentschel, *Sinnlichkeit*, 278–80. Like Leopold Mozart, Hieronymus de Moravia's interest also embraced the discipline of organology; see Christopher Page, "Jerome of Moravia on the vihuela and viella", *The Galpin Society journal* 32 (1979) 77–98; Christopher Page, "Jerome of Moravia and stopped string instruments", idem, *Voices and instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental practice and songs in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986; London: Dent, 1987) 126–33.

¹⁶⁴ Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, ed. by Roger Bragard. *Corpus scriptorium de musica* 3, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955); F. Joseph Smith, *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae: A commentary*, 3 vols. *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* 3, 22, 42 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966–83); see also Roger Bragard, "Le *Speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 7 (1953) 59–104; 8 (1954) 1–17; F. Joseph Smith, "Ars nova, a redefinition? Observations in the light of the *Speculum musicae*", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 18 (1964) 19–35, 19 (1965) 83–97; F. Joseph Smith, "Le contenu philosophique du *Speculum musicae*", *Le Moyen Âge, revue d'histoire et philologie* 74 (1968) 237–67; F. Joseph Smith, "The division and meaning of the *Speculum musicae*", *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 21 (1968) 5–24; F. Joseph Smith, "A mediaeval philosophy of number: Jacques Liège and the *Speculum musicae*", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août–2 septembre 1967* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969) 1023–39; Jürgen Ballke, *Untersuchungen zum sechsten Buch des Speculum musicae des Jacobus von Lüttich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tetrachord- und Moduslehre*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 36: Musikwissenschaft 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982); F. Joseph Smith, "Jacques de Liège's criticism of the notational innovations of the ars nova", *Journal of musicological research* 4 (1983) 267–313; Marina Malavasi, *Osservazioni sul contenuto filosofico dello Speculum musicae di Giacomo da Liegi*, *Lars nova italiana del Trecento V*, ed. by Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro Studi sull'Arts Nova Musicale Italiana del Trecento; Palermo: Enchiridion, 1985) 170–78; Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Speculum musicae: Jacques de Liège and the medieval vision of God* (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1987); Beatrice Pescerelli, "Accessus ad discantus: Metodologia dell'analisi musicale nella *Speculum musicae*", *Studi musicali* 20 (1991) 39–44; Nicolas Meeùs, "Jacques de Liège et la pratique de la transposition partielle", *Revue Belge de musicologie* 47 (1993) 43–48; Kay Brainerd Slocum, "Speculum musicae: Jacques de Liège and the art of musical number", *Medieval numerology: A book of essays*, ed. by Robert Leo Surles. *Garland reference library of the humanities* 1640; *Garland medieval casebooks* 7 (New York: Garland, 1993) 11–37; Jan A. Aertsen, "Speculum musicae als Spiegel der Philosophie", *Musik und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter: Fragen zur Wechselwirkung von 'musica' und 'philosophia' im Mittelalter*, ed. by Frank Hentschel. *Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 62 (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 305–21.

¹⁶⁵ See appendix, document 63.

¹⁶⁶ Albert Seay, *The Declaratio musicae disciplinae of Ugolino of Orvieto* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954); Albert Seay, ed., *The Declaratio musicae disciplinae of Ugolino of Orvieto* (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1957); see also Otto Kornmüller, "Musiklehre des Ugolino von Orvieto", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 10 (1895) 19–40; Albert Seay, "Ugolino of Orvieto: Theorist and composer", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 9 (1955) 111–66; Albert Seay, "The Declaratio musicae disciplinae of Ugolino of Orvieto: Addenda", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 11 (1957) 126–33; Andrew Hughes, "Ugolino: The monochord and musica ficta", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 13 (1969) 21–39; Cecilia Panti, "Una fonte della Declaratio musicae disciplinae di Ugolino da Orvieto: Quattro 'quaestiones' della tarda scolastica", *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 24 (1989) 3–47.

¹⁶⁷ Jan W. Herlinger, ed. and trans., *Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi's Musica plana and Musica speculativa*. *Studies in the history of music theory and literature* 4, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); see also Antonio Favaro, "Intorno alla vita ed all'opera di Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi matematico padovano del secolo XV", *Bollettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche* 12 (1879) 1–74, 115–251; Antonio Favaro, "Appendice agli studi intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi", *Bollettino di bibliografia* 18

Tinctoris (ca. 1435–1511),¹⁶⁸ the *Theorica musicae* of Gaffurio,¹⁶⁹ and the *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558) of Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90),¹⁷⁰ to mention a few of the principal contributors to Boethius's stature of preeminence.¹⁷¹ Scholars preoccupied with the *disciplina musicae* found in Boethius's writings a detailed examination of this field,¹⁷² not in its totality as initially intended but rather with a clear focus on the *intervallum* and the *proportio* of the *musica instrumentalis*, one of the three categories of classification (including *musica humana* and *musica mundana*) developed by Boethius. Instead of treating this rather narrow focus primarily as one aspect of the *materia musicae*, as part of the *musica speculativa* (*musica theorica*), in isolation,¹⁷³ Boethius placed his remarks in two realms: On the one hand, he articulated them within the large frame of the four mathematical disciplines of antiquity, namely, *arithmetica*, *geometria*, *astronomia* and

(1885) 405–23; D. Raffaello Baralli and Luigi Torti, "Il Trattato di Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi contro il Lucidario di Marchetto da Padova per la prima volta trascritto e illustrato", *Rivista musicale italiana* 20 (1913) 731–62; Bent Stellfeld, "Prosdocimus de Beldomandis als Erneuerer der Musikbetrachtung um 1400", *Natalicia musicologica: Knud Jeppesen septuagenario collegis oblata*, ed. by Bjørn Hjelmberg and Søren Sørensen (Oslo: Wilhelm Hansen, 1962) 37–50; F. Alberto Gallo, "La tradizione dei trattati musicali di Prosdodimo de Beldemandis", *Quadrivium* 6 (1964) 57–84; Mark Lindley, "Pythagorean intonation and the rise of the triad", *Royal Musical Association research chronicle* 16 (1980) 4–61; Giovanni Santinello, "Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi", *Scienza e filosofia all' Università di Padova nel Quattrocento*, ed. by Antonio Poppi. Contributi alla storia dell'Università di Padova 15 (Paadua: LINT, 1983) 71–84; Jan W. Herlinger, "What Trecento music theory tells us", *Explorations in music, the arts and ideas: Essays in honor of Leonard B. Meyer*, ed. by Eugene Narmour and Ruth A. Solie. Festschrift series 7 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1988) 177–97; Elena Ferrari-Barassi, "Il monocordo di Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi nota bibliografico", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 25 (1991) 83–99; Jan W. Herlinger, "Music theory of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries", *New Oxford history of music. III/1: Music as a concept and practice in the late Middle Ages*, ed. by Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 244–300; Jan W. Herlinger, "Prosdocimus de Beldemandis contra Johannem Ciconiam?" *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. by Philippe Vendrix. Epitome musical (Tunhout: Brepols, 2003) 305–19.

¹⁶⁸ Johannes Tinctoris, *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (Treviso: [Gerardus de Lisa, de Flandria], 1495), Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 26 (facs. ed., New York: Broude Brothers, 1966); idem, *Dictionary of musical terms: An English translation of Terminorum musicae diffinitorium, together with the Latin text*, trans. by Carl Parrish ([New York]: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), Da Capo Press music reprint series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1978); "Johannes Tinctoris Musicae Diffinitorium", trans. into German by Johann Gottfried Heinrich Bellermann, *Jahrbücher für Musikalische Wissenschaft* 1 (Leipzig, 1863) 55–114; also trans. by Heinrich Bellermann and epilogue by Peter Gülke. Documenta musicologica I:1. Druckschriften-Faksimiles 37 (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1983); also trans. into French by Armand Machabey, *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (ca. 1475): *Lexique de la musique* (XV^e siècle) (Paris: Richard-Masse, 1951); also trans. into Italian by Lionello Cammarota, *Il terminorum musicae diffinitorium di Johannes Tinctoris* (Roma: V. Bonacci, 1965); also as Latin text with Italian trans. by Cecilia Panti, *Diffinitorium musicae: Un dizionario di musica per Beatrice d'Aragona*, Studi e testi FEF-SMMFA 6. La traduzione 8 (Firenze: SISMELE Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004); see also Bonnie J. Blackburn, "A lost guide to Tinctoris's teachings recovered", *Early music history: Studies in medieval and early modern music* 1 (1981) 29–116.

¹⁶⁹ See appendix, document 22.

¹⁷⁰ See appendix, document 101; see also Michel Brenet, "Deux traductions françaises inédites des Institutions harmonique de Zarlino", *L'année musicale* 5 (1911) 125–44.

¹⁷¹ Boethius's stature of preeminence becomes evident from the lengthy and continuous history of reception of his works. For an overview of the reception of Boethius's writings, see, for example, Claude V. Palisca, "Boethius in the Renaissance". For a specific example of an extended commentary on Boethius, see, for example, Alexander Rausch, "Der Boethius-Kommentar in der Handschrift St. Florian XI 282", *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft: Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 48 (2002) 7–83.

¹⁷² For an overview of the relevant writings of Boethius, see, for example, John Caldwell, "The *De institutione arithmetica* and the *De institutione musica*", *Boethius: His life, thought and influence*, ed. by Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) 135–54.

¹⁷³ Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, "Spekulatywne muzyki w kontekście Arystotelemu: Musica als deductio", *Beiträge der polnischen Stipendiaten der Herzog August-Bibliothek zur Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie*, ed. by Jan Pirozynski in coll. with Olga Dobijanka-Witzakowa, Jan Garewicz, and Jerzy B. Korolec (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1994) 73–81; see also Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, "La musica come scientia speculativa", *Studi gregoriani* 4 (1988) 5–20. For an overview of the larger realm of inquiry, see Manfred Bukofzer, "Speculative thinking in medieval music", *Speculum* 17 (1942) 165–80. Incidentally, Boethius's focus is consistent with the approaches to the study of music undertaken by Plato and Aristotle; see Lukas Richter, *Zur Wissenschaftslehre von der Musik bei Platon und Aristoteles*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 23 (Berlin: Akademie, 1961).

musica, known as the *quadrivium*,¹⁷⁴ within the latter discipline finding ample coverage not only in his *De institutione musica*¹⁷⁵ but also in the *De institutione arithmetica*,¹⁷⁶ On the other hand he stated his remarks within the larger realm of *philosophia* and *theologia*,¹⁷⁷ the latter field of inquiry providing ample reason for Boethius to delve into the origin of *musica*.¹⁷⁸ It is exactly this topic which finds resounding coverage in the treatises of subsequent centuries, even as late as the 18th century, including the historical synopsis included in the *Violinschule* of Leopold Mozart. Beyond this, the enthusiasm for the writings of Boethius undoubtedly also rested in Boethius's recourse to an exceptionally vast array of Greek sources. The *Harmonics* of Nicomachus of Gerasa (fl. late 1st century–early 2nd century)¹⁷⁹ served as the principal source for Boethius's *De institutione musica*.¹⁸⁰ Boethius also draws on the *De anima* of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.),¹⁸¹ *De*

¹⁷⁴ Kurt Reindel, "Vom Beginn des Quadrivium", *Deutsches Archiv für Forschung des Mittelalters* 15 (1959) 516–22; Jean Gagné, "Du quadrivium aux scientiae mediae", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août–2 septembre 1967* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969) 975–86; Guy Beaujouan, "L'enseignement du Quadrivium", *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19 (Spoleto, 1972) 639–67; Gillian R. Evans, "The influence of quadrivium studies in the eleventh- and twelfth-century schools", *Journal of medieval history* 1 (1975) 151–64; see also James A. Weisheipl, "Classification of the sciences in medieval thought", *Mediaeval studies* 27 (1965) 54–90; Ubaldo Pizzani, "Cassiodoro e le discipline del quadrivium", *Atti della settimanadi studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro: Cosenza-Squillace, 19–24 settembre 1983*, ed. by Sandro Leanza (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1986) 49–70.

¹⁷⁵ See appendix, document 9; G.B. Chambers, "Boethius' *De musica*. An interpretation", *Studia patristica* 3 (1961) 170–75; Michael Masi, "Manuscripts containing the *De musica* of Boethius", *Manuscripta* 15 (1971) 88–97; András Kárpáti, "Translation or compilation? Contribution to the analysis of sources of Boethius's *De institutione musica*", *Studia musicologica Accademiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1987) 5–35; Anja Heilmann, *Boethius' Musiktheorie und das Quadrivium: Eine Einführung in den neuplatonischen Hintergrund von "De institutione musica"*, Hypomnemata 171 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

¹⁷⁶ See appendix, document 10; see also Gillian R. Evans, "A commentary on Boethius's 'Arithmetica' of the twelfth or thirteenth century", *Annals of science* 35 (1978) 131–41; Gillian R. Evans, "Introductions to Boethius's 'Arithmetica' of the tenth to the fourteenth century", *History of science* 16 (1978) 22–41.

¹⁷⁷ On the further examination of this dichotomy, see, for example, Louis Jacques Bataillon, "Les textes théologiques et philosophiques diffusés à Paris par 'exemplar' et 'precia'", *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: Exemplar et precia. Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. by Louis Jacques Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot, and Richard H. Rouse (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988, repr. ed. 1991) 155–63.

¹⁷⁸ For an overview of Boethius's writings, see Alfred Kappelmacher, "Der schriftstellerische Plan des Boethius", *Wiener Studien* 46 (1928) 215–25; also in: *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. *Wege der Forschung* 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 71–81; see also Jean Edmiston, "Boethius on Pythagorean Music", *The music review* 35 (1974) 179–84.

¹⁷⁹ Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Manuel d'harmonique et autres textes relatifs à la musique*, trans. by Charles Emile Ruelle. *Auteurs grecs relatifs à la musique* 2 (Paris: Baur, 1881); Flora Rose Levin, *Nicomachus of Gerasa: Manual of Harmonics (translation and commentary)* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1967); Flora R. Levin, *The manual of harmonics of Nicomachus the Pythagorean*. *American classical studies* 1 (University Park, Penn.: The American Philological Association, 1975; 2nd ed., Grand Rapids, Mich.: Phanes Press, 1994); Andrew Barker, trans., "Nicomachus", *Greek musical writings II: Harmonic and acoustic theory*, ed. by Andrew Barker. *Cambridge readings in the literature of music*, ed. by John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 245–69.

¹⁸⁰ See appendix, document 9; see also Calvin M. Bower, "Boethius and Nicomachus: An essay concerning the sources of *De institutione musica*", *Vivarium: An intellectual journal for the philosophy and intellectual life of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 16 (1978) 1–45.

¹⁸¹ Michael Wittmann, *Vox atque sonus: Studien zur Rezeption der Aristotelischen Schrift De anima und ihre Bedeutung für die Musiktheorie*, 2 vols. *Musikwissenschaftliche Studien* 4, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1987); see also Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "Les traductions et les commentaires aristotéliens de Boèce", *Studia patristica* 2 (1957) 358–65; also trans. into German by Eva Beate Fuhrmann as "Boethius als Übersetzer und Kommentator aristotelischer Schriften", *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. *Wege der Forschung* 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 146–54; James Shiel, "Boethius' commentaries on Aristotle", *Medieval and Renaissance studies* 4 (1958) 217–44; also in *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. *Wege der Forschung* 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 155–83. On the lengthy history of reception of Aristotle's writings, see, for example, Charles Lohr, "Medieval Latin commentaries", *Traditio: Studies in ancient and medieval history, thought and religion* 23 (1967) 313–413; 24 (1968) 149–245; 26 (1970) 135–216; 27 (1971) 251–351; 28 (1972) 281–396; 29 (1973) 93–197; 30 (1974) 119–44; Charles H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin

republica of Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.),¹⁸² The *Eis ta Harmonika Ptolemaiou hypomnēma* (Commentary on Ptolemy) of Porphyry (ca. 234–ca. 305)¹⁸³ provided the backbone for Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica*.¹⁸⁴ Boethius reviewed Greek philosophy in his *Consolatio philosophiae*,¹⁸⁵ a treatise partly focused on music.¹⁸⁶ He referred to the principal writers on Greek music in *De institutione musica*,¹⁸⁷ specifically the thoughts of Pythagoras on arithmetic as transmitted by Iamblichos (ca. 240–ca. 320/25)¹⁸⁸ in book 1 of the *De institutione musica*, the teaching of Nicomachus in book 2 of the same treatise, the doctrines of Aristoxenos (ca. 375–360 B.C.E.)¹⁸⁹ and Philolaos of Croton

Aristotle commentaries”, *Renaissance quarterly* 28 (1975) 689–741; 29 (1976) 714–45; 30 (1977) 681–741; 31 (1978) 532–603; 32 (1979) 529–80; 33 (1980) 623–734; 35 (1982) 164–256; see also Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

¹⁸² See, in particular Cicero, *De republica*, book 6, chapters 9–29, detailing the music of the spheres, as preserved in the commentary of Macrobius; Karl Mras, “Macrobius Kommentar zur Ciceros Somnium: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.,” *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* (s.l.: s.n., 1933). For a discussion of this passage, see, for example, Walther Volkman, *Die Harmonie der Sphären in Ciceros Traum des Scipio*, reprint of 85. *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur* (Breslau: G.P. Aderholz Buchhandlung, 1908); see also P.R. Coleman-Norton, “Cicero musicus”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1 (1948) 3–22; P.R. Coleman-Norton, “Cicero and the music of the spheres”, *Classical journal* 45 (1950) 237–41; Wilhelmine Edinger, *Cicero's Stellung zur Kunst (Dichtkunst, bildende Kunst, Musik) in seinen rhetorischen Schriften* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Innsbruck, 1951).

¹⁸³ Ingemar Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios: Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 36:1 (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1930; also as repr., New York: Garland, 1980; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1982); also as repr. idem, *Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1978); idem, *Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 38:2 (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1932); idem, *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik*. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 40:1 (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1934; repr. ed., New York: Garland, 1980); Bengt Alexanderson, *Textual remarks on Ptolemy's Harmonica and Porphyry's Commentary* (Göteborg: Universitet; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1969); see also Joseph Bidez, “Boèce et Porphyre”, *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 2 (1923) 189–201; also in German trans. by Eva Beate Fuhrmann as Joseph Bidez, “Boethius und Porphyrios”, *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. *Wege der Forschung* 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 133–45; Clemens Zintzen, ed., *Die Philosophie des Neuplatonismus: Wege der Forschung* 436 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977).

¹⁸⁴ See appendix, document 10.

¹⁸⁵ For an English trans., see Patrick Gerard Walsh, trans. with intro. and explanatory notes, *Boethius: The consolation of philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); R.W. Sharples, trans., *Cicero: On fate (De fato) and Boethius: The consolation of philosophy (Philosophiae consolatio)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1991). For further studies of this treatise, see, for example, Petrus Berti, *The metres of Boethius: On the consolation of philosophy* (London: J. Crowder, 1792); Seth Lerer, *Boethius and dialogue: Literary method in the consolation of philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Peter Glassgold, *Boethius: The poems from On the consolation of philosophy* (Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1994). On the reception of this treatise, see Graham N. Drake, *Mythography in the tradition of commentaries on Boethius' Consolation of philosophy, 1150–1500* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1989).

¹⁸⁶ David S. Chamberlain, “Philosophy of music in the ‘Consolatio’ of Boethius”, *Speculum* 45 (1970) 80–97; also in *Boethius*, ed. by Manfred Fuhrmann and Joachim Gruber. *Wege der Forschung* 483 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 377–403.

¹⁸⁷ See appendix, document 9.

¹⁸⁸ E. Rohde, “Die Quellen des Iamblichos in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras”, *Rheinisches Museum* 26 (1871) 554–76; 27 (1872) 23–61; also published in: E. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften. II* (Tübingen; Leipzig, 1901) 102–72; see also A.E. Raubitschek, “Iamblichos at Athens”, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 63–68.

¹⁸⁹ See note 278.

(fl. ca. 450–400 B.C.E.)¹⁹⁰ in book 3, the *Sectio canonis* of Euclid (fl. ca. 300 B.C.E.)¹⁹¹ and the notation tables of Alypius (fl. fourth century C.E.)¹⁹² in book 4, and the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy (after 83–161)¹⁹³ (though only partly transmitted by Boethius) in book 5. Of this large corpus of materials contained in Boethius's principal two treatises, the *De institutione arithmetica*¹⁹⁴ and the *De institutione musica*¹⁹⁵—information that in the case of the latter treatise, owing to its preservation in more than 150 codices, is generally regarded as the most thoroughly and vastly transmitted body of repertoire within the literary tradition of the Middle Ages, surviving in numerous copies, paraphrases, glosses, and annotations in the form of *marginalia*—Leopold Mozart draws attention, in a most general manner, merely to the exemplary effort of Boethius's Latin translations of Greek treatises, thereby providing ready access to the Greek legacy for many authors of later eras who lacked familiarity with the Greek language (such as Franchino Gaffurio¹⁹⁶ and

¹⁹⁰ A.-Ed. Chaignet, ed. and trans., *Pythagore et la philosophie pythagoricienne, contenant les fragments de Philolaus et d'Archytas, traduits pour la première fois en français* (Bruxelles: Culture et Civilization, 1873, repr. 1968); Walter Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft: Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon*. Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 10, ed. by Siegfried Beyschlag, et al. (Nürnberg: Hans Carl, 1962); also in rev. English trans. by Edwin L. Minar, Jr. as Walter Burkert, *Lore and science in ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); see also K. von Fritz, "Philolaus", *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Supplement* (München: Druckenmüller, 1973) vol. 13, 453–83. For more on Philolaus and commentary on his fragments, see Carl A. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton: Pythagorean and presocratic: A commentary on the fragments and testimonia with interpretive essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, repr. ed. 2006).

¹⁹¹ *The Euclidean division of the canon: Greek and Latin sources. New critical texts and translations on facing pages, with an introduction, annotations, and indices verborum and nomenclum et rerum*, part of *Greek and Latin music theory*, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen and Jon Solomon (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Oliver Busch, *Logos synthesesos: Die euklidische Sectio canonis, Aristoxenos, und die Rolle der Mathematik in der antiken Musiktheorie (Im Anhang: Katatome kanonos. Die Teilung des Kanons. Die euklidische Sectio canonis in deutscher Übersetzung)*. Studien zur Geschichte der Musiktheorie 3, ed. by Thomas Ertelt and Heinz von Loesch in collab. with Klaus-Jürgen Sachs and Albrecht Riethmüller. Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung 12 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1998); see also Flora Rose Levin, "Unity in Euclid's Sectio Canonis", *Hermes* 118 (1990) 430–43.

¹⁹² Karl Fortlage, *Das musikalische System der Griechen in seiner Urgestalt: Aus den Tonleitern des Alypius zum erstenmale entwickelt* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1847; repr. ed. Amsterdam: P. Schippers, 1964); A. Samoiloff, "Die Alypius'schen Reihen der altgriechischen Tonbezeichnung und die Demonstration ihres einheitlichen Konstruktionsplanes vermittelt einer Schablone", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1924) 383–400; Denise Jourdan-Hemmerdinger, "La date de la notation vocale d'Alypius", *Philologus* 125 (1981) 299–303; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre: Greek music and music theory in antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Publications of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature 2, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1999) 593–607.

¹⁹³ See appendix, document 78. Further on this treatise, see A. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Musik der Griechen: Ueber die Onomasia kata thesin des Ptolemaeus* (Lissa: T. Scheibel, 1866); P. Leander Schonberger, *Studien zum 1. Buch der Harmonik des Claudius Ptolemäus: Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Ton- und Musiklehre (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des humanistischen Gymnasiums Metten für das Schuljahr 1913/1914)* (Augsburg: Ph.J. Pfeiffer, 1914); James F. Mountford, "Harmonics of Ptolemy", *Transactions and proceedings of the American Philological Association* 57 (1926) 71–95; Matthew Shirlaw, "Claudius Ptolemy as musical theorist", *The music review* 16 (1955) 181–90; Jon Solomon, "A preliminary analysis of the organization of Ptolemy's *Harmonics*", *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. Notre Dame conferences in Medieval studies 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 68–84; Jon Solomon, *Harmony in Ptolemy's Harmonics*. Gordon Athol Anderson Memorial Lecture 8 (Amidale, N.S.W.: The University of New England-Armidale, 1990); also published as Jon Solomon, *Harmony in Ptolemy's Harmonics: The eighth Gordon Athol Anderson memorial lecture delivered at the University of New England-Armidale on 8th August 1990* (Armidale: The University, 1991).

¹⁹⁴ See appendix, document 10.

¹⁹⁵ See appendix, document 9.

¹⁹⁶ F. Alberto Gallo, "Le traduzioni dal Greco per Franchino Gaffurio", *Acta musicologica* 35 (1963) 172–74; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Franchino Gaffurio und seine Übersetzer der griechischen Musiktheorie in der *Theorica musica* (1492): Ermolao Barbaro, Giovanni Francesco Burana und Marsilio Ficino", *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, 2 vols., ed. by Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998) vol. 1, 164–71.

Lodovico Zacconi¹⁹⁷), and thus depended on these translations as a primary source of information.¹⁹⁸

Fundamental to Boethius's quantification of the musical sounds perceived by the senses by means of ratios (of two terms) and *proportiones* (of three or more terms),¹⁹⁹ with the monochord serving as visual and oral representations of these sounds, is the transliteration of the Greek symbols into Latin letters²⁰⁰ (to which Leopold Mozart makes an opaque reference). This transliteration is a graphic representation of the *systema teleion* or Greater Perfect System, spanning the range of two octaves, and its subgroupings of the scale into *species* (of *diapason*, *diapente* and *diatessaron*), *genera* (of tetrachords) and *tonoi*—all in an effort to systematize the scale.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ See appendix, documents 99–100; see also Hermann Kretschmar, "Ludovico Zacconis Leben auf Grund seiner Autobiographie," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* (1910) 45–69. Further on the significance of Zacconi, see Friedrich Chrysander, "Lodovico Zacconi als Lehrer des Kunstgesanges," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891) 337–96; 9 (1893) 249–310; 10 (1894) 531–67; Ruth I. DeFord, "Zacconi's theories of tactus and mensuration," *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 14 (1996) 151–82. Like Leopold Mozart, Zacconi also had a tremendous interest in the discipline of organology; see Gerhard Singer, *Lodovico Zacconi's treatment of the "suitability and classification of all musical instruments" in the Pratica di musica of 1592* (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1968).

¹⁹⁸ On the significance of these translations, see Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Franchino Gaffurio und seine Übersetzer der griechischen Musiktheorie", 164–71.

¹⁹⁹ D.H. Fowler, "Ratio and proportion in early Greek mathematics," *Science and philosophy in classical Greece*, ed. with preface by Alan C. Bowen. *Sources and studies in the history and philosophy of classical Greece* 2, ed. by Alan C. Bowen and Francesca Rochberg-Halton (New York: Garland, 1991) 98–118; see also John Emery Murdoch, "The medieval language of proportions: Elements of the interaction with Greek foundations and the development of new mathematical techniques," *Scientific change, historical studies in the intellectual, social and technical conditions for scientific discovery and technical invention, from antiquity to the present: Symposium on the history of science, University of Oxford, 9–15 July 1961*, ed. by Alistair Cameron Crombie (London: Heinemann, 1963) 237–71.

²⁰⁰ On the monochord in its medieval and later contexts, see, for example, Sigfrid Wantzloeben, *Das Monochord als Instrument und als System entwicklungsgeschichtlich dargestellt* (Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1911); J. Murray Barbour, *Tuning and temperament: A historical survey* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1951, also 1953; 2nd ed. 1961, also 1967); Facs. repr. of 1951 edition. Da capo press music reprint series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972); also Facs. repr. of 1951 edition (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2004); Cecil Dale Adkins, *The theory and practice of the monochord* (Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1963); Jacques Chailley, "Le monocorde et la théorie musicale," *Organicae voces: Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe angeboten anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages 18. April 1961*, ed. by P. Fischer (Amsterdam: I.M.M. Instituut voor Middeleeuwse Muziekwetenschap, 1963) 11–20; Cecil Adkins, "The technique of the monochord," *Acta musicologica* 39 (1967) 34–43; Clyde W. Brockert, "A comparison of the five monochords of Guido of Arezzo," *Current musicology* 32 (1981) 29–42; F. Joseph Smith, "The medieval monochord," *Journal of musicological research* 5 (1984) 1–33; Laurence Gushee, "The *Tabula monochordi* of Magister Nicolaus de Luduno," *Essays on medieval music in honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone. Isham Library papers 4 (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1995) 117–52; Christian Meyer, *Mensura monochordi: La division du monocorde, IX^e–XV^e siècle*. Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, series 2, vol. 15 (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie; Editions Klincksieck, 1996); see also Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Die Rolle der Mensura von Monochord, Orgelpfeifen und Glocken in der mittelalterlichen ars musica," *Mensura: Maß, Zahl, Zahlensymbolik im Mittelalter*, ed. by Albert Zimmermann and Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem. *Miscellanea mediaevalia: Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln* 16/2, ed. by Albert Zimmermann (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984) 459–75.

²⁰¹ For an overview of the *systema teleion*, see, for example, Michael Markovits, *Das Tonsystem der abendländischen Musik im frühen Mittelalter*. Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft II:30 (Berne: Paul Haupt, 1977); Solon Michaelides, *The music of ancient Greece: An encyclopaedia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978); Annemarie Jeanette Neubecker, *Altgriechische Musik*; Ernst-Jürgen Dreyer, "Das Tonsystem der Griechen," *Musiktheorie* 3 (1988) 3–25; see also C. Abdy Williams, "The notes mese and hypate in Greek music," *Classical review* 12 (1898) 98–100; Paul Tannery, "Sur les intervalles de la musique grecque," *Revue des études grecques* 15 (1902) 336–52; John Dewar Dennison, "Some recent theories of the Greek modes," *Classical quarterly* 7 (1913) 93–90; John Curtis, "Reconstruction of the greater perfect system," *Journal of Hellenic studies* 44 (1924) 10–23; Ernest Clements, "The interpretation of Greek music," *Journal of Hellenic studies* 42 (1922) 133–66; 56 (1936) 25–35; P. Lucas Kunz, "Ursprung und textliche Bedeutung der Tonartensilben Noeane, Noeagis," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 30 (1936) 5–22; Heinrich Husmann, "Olympos: Die Anfänge der griechischen Enharmonik," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 44 (1937) 39–44; Matthew Shirlaw, "The music and tone systems of ancient Greece," *The music review* 4 (1943) 14–27; Jacques Handschin, "The 'Timaeus' Scale," *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 4 (1950) 3–42; also in: Jacques Handschin, *Über*

Leopold Mozart's upbringing in the Roman Catholic faith accounts for his moving forward from Boethius to Pope Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604).²⁰² The iconographic representation in Codex Hatker (dated ca. 1000) shows the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove whispering the liturgical chants into the ear of the Pope.²⁰³ Leopold Mozart summarizes the Pope's contribution as follows:

The sainted Pope Gregory abbreviated the letters. He chose the following seven—A, B, C, D, E, F, G—and set them on seven lines, according to the height and depth of which one could recognize the distance between the tones. Each line therefore had its letter, and one sang also by means of these letters.²⁰⁴

While Leopold Mozart's alleged comments on the abandoning of the unnecessary letters are completely unsubstantiated, the attribution of the introduction of Gregorian chant to Pope Gregory, a legend which has been perpetuated since the end of the eighth century, is based on rather tenuous evidence. Specifically, that evidence includes the surfacing of Gregory's name in a number of phrases and comments, such as "antiphonarius ordinatus a sancto Gregorio per circulum anni" at the opening of the Antiphonary of Mont-Blandin (ca. 800),²⁰⁵ "Gregorius praesul and [Gregorius] composuit scholae cantorum hunc libellum" with the addition of "musicae artis" in several sources²⁰⁶ in the prologue to the Gradual and Antiphonary preserved in

reine Harmonie und temperierte Tonleitern: Ausgewählte Schriften, ed. with intro. by Michael Maier. Sonus: Schriften zur Musik 4, ed. by Andreas Ballstaedt (Schliengen: Argus, 2000) 390–419; Ingemar Düring, "Greek music: Its fundamental features and its significance", *Journal of world history* 3 (1956) 302–29; Martin Vogel, "Über die drei Tongeschlechter des Archytas", *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Hamburg 1956*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) 233–35; Rudolf Haase, "Ein Beitrag Platons zur Tetraktys", *Antaios* 11 (1969) 85–91; Barbara Münxelhaus, *Pythagoras musicus*; Gerhard Jahoda, "Die Tonleiter des Timaios—Bild und Abbild", *Festschrift Rudolf Haase*, ed. by Werner Schulze (Eisenstadt: Elfriede Rötzer, 1980) 43–80; Frieder Zaminer, "Konsonanzordnung und Saitenteilung bei Hippasos von Metapont: Wiederentdeckung eines frühen Lehrstücks", *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1981–82) 231–40; Martin L. West, "The singing of Homer and the modes of early Greek music", *Journal of Hellenic studies* 101 (1981) 113–29; Frieder Zaminer, "Hypate, Mese und Nete im frühgriechischen Denken: Ein altes musikterminologisches Problem in neuem Licht", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 41 (1984) 1–26; Albrecht Riethmüller, "Logos und Diastemata in der griechischen Musiktheorie", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 42 (1985) 18–36; Miroslav Czerny, "Zur Problematik der altgriechischen Tonarten", *Eirene* 25 (1988) 87–103; André Wartelle, "Remarques sur la musique grecque et ses modes", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* (Paris, 1993) 219–225; Andrew Barker, "Early *Timaeus* commentaries and Hellenistic musicology", *Ancient approaches to Plato's Timaeus*; *BICS supplement* 78 (2003) 73–87.

²⁰² On the contribution of Gregory the Great, see F. Holmes Dudden, *Gregory the Great: His place in history and thought*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1905; repr. ed. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967); Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The life and times of Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Carol Straw and Roger Collins, *Gregory the Great*. Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and religious writers of the Latin West 4/12–13 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); see also C. Callewaert, "Loeuvre liturgique de S. Grégoire: La Spetuagésime et l'Alleuia", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 33 (1937) 306–26; *Gregory the Great: A symposium*, ed. by John C. Cavadini. Notre Dame studies in theology 2 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995, repr. 2001).

²⁰³ For a facsimile of this iconographical representation, see, for example, J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A history of Western music* (7th ed., New York: W.W. Norton, 2006) 34.

²⁰⁴ "Der heilige Papst Gregor hat die Buchstaben abgekürzt. Er hat die folgende [sic!] sieben erwählt: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, und hat sie auf die 7. Lienien [sic!] gesetzt, aus deren Höhe und Tiefe man die Verschiedenheit der Töne erkennen konnte. Jede Linie hat folglich ihren Buchstaben: und man sang auch über diese Buchstaben", cited in: Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, 21 ["Erstes Hauptstück. Des ersten Hauptstücks erster Abschnitt. Von den alten und neuen musikalischen Buchstaben und Noten, wie auch von den jetzt gewöhnlichen Linien, und Musikschlüsseln", paragraph 4]. The English trans. is cited from *A treatise on the fundamental principles of violin playing*, trans. by Editha Knocker, 25–26 [chapter 1: "Of the Old and New Musical Letters and Notes, Together with the Lines and Clefs Now in Use", paragraph 4].

²⁰⁵ Walther Lipphardt, "Gregor der Große und sein Anteil am römischen Antiphonar", *Atti del congresso internazionale, Rom, 25–30 May 1950*, ed. with an intro. by Higinio Angles (Tournai: Desclée, 1952) 248–54.

²⁰⁶ Bruno Stäblein, "Gregorius Praesul: Der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale—Buchwerbung im Mittelalter", *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968) 537–61; see also James McKinnon, "Gregorius praesul composuit hunc libellum musicae artis", *The liturgy of the*

MS Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare 490 (compiled prior to 788), and the more general comments of Gregory's contributors to music in the biography on Gregory written in approximately 870 by Johannes Diaconus (Hymmonides), according to whom Pope Gregory is to have "Antiphonarium centonem compilavit".²⁰⁷ In his comments Leopold Mozart tacitly subscribes to those musical contributions to which the Middle Ages and the Renaissance held on.²⁰⁸

Leopold Mozart undoubtedly recognized the significance of Guido of Arezzo (ca. 991/92–after 1033) as a pedagogue of preeminence,²⁰⁹ in his method of leading the choirboys through the new system of notation²¹⁰ invented by him as he initially discloses in his *Antiphonarium*.²¹¹ Following the footsteps of Boethius's *De institutione musica*,²¹² Guido, in his *Micrologus* (ca. 1026),²¹³ describes in great detail his novel pedagogical system of the solmization²¹⁴ and the hexachords.²¹⁵ This system is conveniently advanced through the *manus*, also known as Guidonian hand²¹⁶ (a device that appears to have

medieval church, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Western Michigan University, 2001) 673–94.

²⁰⁷ Solange Corbin, *L'église à la conquête de sa musique*. Pour la musique (Paris: Gallimard, 1960) 172–89; David Hughes, "Evidence for the traditional view of the transmission of Gregorian chant", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987) 377–404.

²⁰⁸ Further on this topic, see, Helmut Hucke, "Die Entstehung der Überlieferung von einer musikalischen Tätigkeit Gregors des Großen", *Die Musikforschung* 8 (1955) 259–64; Helmut Hucke, "War Gregor der Große doch Musiker?" *Die Musikforschung* 18 (1965) 390–93; see also David Hiley, *Western plainchant: A handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, repr. ed 1995) 501–13.

²⁰⁹ Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Guido von Arezzo als Musikerzieher und Musiktheoretiker", *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Bamberg 1953*, ed. by Wilfried Brennecke, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954) 44–47; also in: *Dia-pason de omnibus—Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Joseph Smits van Waesberghe: Festgabe zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by C.J. Maas and M.U. Schouten-Glass (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1976) 91–95; see also Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Relazione inedita di una lezione di Guido d'Arezzo sulla teorica della musica", *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 13 (1936) 38–51; Hans Oesch, *Guido von Arezzo: Biographisches und Theoretisches unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sogenannten odonischen Traktate* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1954).

²¹⁰ See, for example, Carl Parrish, "A Renaissance music manual for choirboys", *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. by Jan LaRue in collab. with Martin Bernstein, Hans Lenneberg, and Victor Yellin (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966; New York: Pendragon Press, 1978) 649–64. For a discussion of this new notation within a broader historical context, see, for example, Nancy Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren von Boethius bis zum 12. Jahrhundert", Michel Huglo, Charles M. Atkinson, Christian Meyer, Karlheinz Schlager, and Nancy Phillips, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. IV: Die Lehre von einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, ed. by Thomas Ertelet and Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000) 293–623.

²¹¹ Dolores Pesce, *Guido d'Arezzo's Regule rithmice, Prologus in antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michabelem: A critical text and translation with an introduction, annotations, indices and new manuscript inventories*. Musicological studies 73 (Ottawa, Ont.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1999).

²¹² See appendix, document 9.

²¹³ See appendix, document 31. For a discussion of the *Micrologus*, see Hubert Wolking, *Guidos Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae und seine Quellen: Eine Studie zur Musikgeschichte des Frühmittelalters* (Emsdetten, Westfalen: Heinrich & J. Lechte, 1930); see also Albin Dunstan McDermott, *The Micrologus of Guido d'Arezzo* (M.A. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1929); Leone Bernice La Duke, *Guido d'Arezzo: Micrologus* (Thesis, University Oregon, 1943); Nathalie Blancardi, *Micrologus: Natua, scienze e società medievali/Nature, sciences and medieval societies*. Micrologus 10 (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1993).

²¹⁴ Rosemary Killam, "Solmization with the Guidonian hand: A historical introduction to modal counterpoint", *Journal of music theory pedagogy* 2 (1988) 251–73.

²¹⁵ Gaston Allaire, *The theory of hexachords, solmization and the modal system: A practical application*. Musicological studies and documents 24, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972). On the appropriateness of solmization in the analysis of polyphony, see, for example, Gaston Allaire, "A sample of hexchord modal analysis for vocal and instrumental polyphony of the Renaissance", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 48 (1994) 259–82.

²¹⁶ On the significance and dissemination of the Guidonian hand, see Susan Forscher Weiss, "'Disce manum tuam si vis bene discere cantum': Symbols of learning music in early modern Europe", *Music in art: International journal for music iconography* 30 (2005) 35–74.

originated in pre-Guidonian times²¹⁷), and the solmization hymn *Ut queant laxis*,²¹⁸ both mnemonic devices,²¹⁹ and his invention of staff notation.²²⁰ His notation system replaced the earlier systems of alphabetic notation,²²¹ staffless neumes comprising both unheightened neumes and subsequently the somewhat more advanced stage of heightened neumes.²²² Relying on the fixation of the *intervalla*, namely the tones and semitones, within the gamut, Guido forges a new thinking about music.²²³ This thinking distances itself from an already antiquated speculative tradition of teaching entrenched in the mathematical-philosophical discourse of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages,²²⁴ promulgated by Boethius and in the subsequent decades advanced by a group of later music theorists, including Macrobius (fl. first half of 5th century),²²⁵ Cassiodorus (ca.

²¹⁷ Tilden A. Russell, "A poetic key to a pre-Guidonian palm and the echemata", *The journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981) 109–18.

²¹⁸ Carl-Allan Moberg, "Die Musik von Guido von Arezzos Solmisationshymne", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959) 187–206; Jacques Chailley, "Ut queant laxis et les origines de la gamme", *Acta musicologica* 56 (1984) 48–69; see also Matthew Y. Chen, "Toward a grammar of singing: Tune-text association in Gregorian chant", *Music perception* 1 (1983) 84–122.

²¹⁹ Karol Berger, "The hand and the art of memory", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 35 (1981) 87–119; see also Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval music and the art of memory* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2005).

²²⁰ Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "The musical notation of Guido of Arezzo", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 5 (1951) 15–53; see also Janka Szendrei, "The introduction of staff notation into the Middle Ages", *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986) 303–19.

²²¹ Richard L. Crockier, "Alphabet notations for early medieval music", *Saints, scholars and heroes: Studies in medieval culture in honor of Charles W. Jones. II: Carolingian studies*, ed. by Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens (Collegeville, Minn.: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1979) 79–104; Alma Colk Browne, "The a-p system of letter notation", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 35 (1981) 5–54; Blair Sullivan, "Alphabetic writing and Hucbald's *artificiales notae*", *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalter*, ed. by Michael Bernhard. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15 (München: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001) vol. 3, 63–86.

²²² Jacques Handschin, "Die Rolle der Notation in der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte", *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1931) 1–42; also in: Jacques Handschin, *Über reine Harmonie und temperierte Tonleitern: Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. with introd. by Michael Maier. Sonus: Schriften zur Musik 4, ed. by Andreas Ballstaedt (Schliengen: Argus, 2000) 68–95; Ewald Jammers, "Gedanken und Beobachtungen zur Geschichte der Notenschriften", *Festschrift Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher and Christoph Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967) 196–204; Theodor Göllner, "Notenschrift und Mehrstimmigkeit", *Die Musikforschung* 37 (1984) 267–71.

²²³ Blair Sullivan, *Interpretive models for the Micrologus of Guido of Arezzo* (M.A. thesis, California State University at Northridge, 1988); Avid E. Cohen, "Notes, scales, and modes in the earlier Middle Ages", *The Cambridge history of Western music theory*, ed. by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 307–63.

²²⁴ This fact accounts for the inclusion of the Guidonian hand in numerous manuscripts from the post-Guidonian era; see, for example, Giuseppe Massera, *La 'Mano musicale perfetta' di Francesco de Brugis dale prefazioni ai corali di L.A. Giunta, Venezia (1499–1504)*. *Historiae musicae cultores* 18 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1963). For an example of a late 15th-century document from the German orbit, see Karl-Werner Gumpel, "A didactic musical treatise from the late Middle Ages: Ebstorf, Klosterarchiv, Ms. V,3", *Music in the theater, church, and villa: Essays in honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, ed. by Susan Parisi, et al. (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2000) 51–64. For a survey of further sources containing representations of the Guidonian hand in printed sources, see, for example, Ann E. Moyer, *Musica scientia*, 184–88.

²²⁵ Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, *Saturnalia, apparatus critico instruxit, in Somnium Scipionis commentarios selecta varietate lectionis ornavit*, ed. by James Willis. Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1963; 2nd ed., 1970); *I saturnalia*, trans. by Nino Marinone. *Classici latini* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1967; repr. ed. 1987). For an English trans. see, *Commentary on the dream of Scipio*. *Records of civilization: Sources and studies* 48 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), and *Records of Western civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), also, *The Saturnalia*, trans. by Percival Vaughan Davies. *Records of civilization: Sources and studies* 79 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969). For an Italian trans. see: *Macrobius Ambrosii Theodosii commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis libri duo*, ed. and trans. with intro. and notes by Luigi Scarpa. *Biblioteca di cultura* (Padova: Liviana, 1981), see also *Commentario al Somnium Scipionis*, ed. and trans. with intro and notes by Mario Regali. *Biblioteca di studi antichi* 38, 58 (Pisa: Giardini, 1983–90). On the importance of Macrobius's contribution, see P. Matthaeus Schedler, *Die Philosophie des Macrobius und ihr Einfluß auf die Wissenschaft des christlichen Mittelalters*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen 13/1, ed. by Clemens Bäumker, et al. (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1916); Jacques Flamant, *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme latin à la fin du*

485–580)²²⁶ and Martianus Capella (fl. early 5th century).²²⁷ Guido's comprehensive music-theoretical system relied on the monochord divisions of Boethius²²⁸ as a point of departure for a radical redefining of the musical gamut. The Lydian system left an undeniable impact on the future direction of the *musica disciplina*, as communicated both in the glosses on the *Micrologus*²²⁹ and in independent treatises.²³⁰ This impact can be readily gleaned from his introduction of the resultant new system of terminology that projected music in its novel embracing of *musica theórica* and *musica practica*²³¹—with its many facets, including the identifying and defining of steps (*passus*) of clearly measured

IV siècle. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 58 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977).

²²⁶ Cassiodorus, *Variarum libri XII*, ed. by Åke J. Fridh (Turnholt: Brepols, 1973); Cassiodorus, *Institutiones humanarum litterarum*, trans. by Hele Dill Goode and Gertrude C. Drake. Colorado College music press translations 12, ed. by Albert Seay (Colorado Springs, Co.: Colorado College Music Press, 1980); see also Hermann Abert, "Zu Cassiodor", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 (1901–02) 439–53; Hans Thiele, "Cassiodor, seine Klostergründung Vivarium und sein Nachwirken im Mittelalter", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 50 (1932) 374–419; also as separate publication (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1932); Leslie W. Jones, "The influence of Cassiodor on medieval culture", *Speculum* 20 (1945) 433–42; Georg Sowa, *Die Musikanschauung Cassiodors* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Berlin, 1953); James Joseph O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Louis Holtz, "Quelques aspects de la tradition et de la diffusion des Institutiones", *Atti della settimanadi studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro: Cosenza-Squillace, 19–24 settembre 1983*, ed. by Sandro Leanza (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1986) 281–312; Åke J. Fridh, "Cassiodorus's Digression on Music, Var. II 40", *Eranos: Acta philologica suecana* 86 (1988) 43–51; Fabio Troncarelli, "I codici di Cassiodoro: Le testimonanze più antiche", *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988) 47–99; Nancy Phillips, "Classical and late Latin sources for ninth-century writings on music", *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. Notre Dame conferences in Medieval studies 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 100–35, esp. 108–18.

²²⁷ *Opus Martiani Capellae de nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii ... De grammatica ... De dialectica ... De rhetorica ... De geometria ... De arithmetica ... De astronomia ... De musica ...* (Vicenza: Enrico di Ca'Zeno, 1498); see also Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis et philologiae Mercurii*, ed. by James Willis (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1983); William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson, and E.L. Burge, trans., *Martianus Capella and the seven liberal arts*. Records of civilization: Sources and studies 84 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); see also William H. Stahl, "To a better understanding of Martianus Capella", *Speculum* 40 (1965) 102–15; see also Wilhelm H. Stahl, "The *Quadrivium* of Martianus Capella: Its place in the intellectual history of Western Europe", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août–2 septembre 1967* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969) 959–67.

²²⁸ Viatcheslav Kartsovnik, "Institutiones grammaticae and Mensura monochordi: A new source of Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 42 (1988) 7–22.

²²⁹ See appendix, document 31. The principal manuscripts of the *Micrologus* to include glosses are the following: Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Philos. 84, fol. 1v–13v (12th century, with unknown provenance); Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.22 (944), fol. 102r–117r (1130–1200, of English provenance); Oxford, St. John's College 188, fol. 54r–71v (late 13th century, of English provenance). For a discussion of the latter source, see Wolfgang Hirschmann, "Accessus und Glosse: Die *Micrologus*-Version der Handschrift Oxford, St. John's College 188", *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, ed. by Michael Bernhard. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001) vol. 3, 145–74. For a more comprehensive discussion of the glosses in the context of the reception of the *Micrologus*, see Wolfgang Hirschmann, *Auctoritas und Imitatio: Studien zur Rezeption von Guidos Micrologus in der Musiktheorie des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters* (Habilitation, Universität Erlangen, 1999).

²³⁰ See, for example, Cecily Sweeny, "John Wylde and the Musica Guidonis", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 29 (1975) 3–9.

²³¹ Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Wie Wortwahl und Terminologie bei Guido von Arezzo entstanden und überliefert wurden", trans. by M.U. Schouten-Glass. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 31 (1974) 73–86; see also Margarete Appel, *Terminologie in den mittelalterlichen Musiktraktaten: Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Elementarlehre des Mittelalters* (Bottrop in Westfalen: Wilhelm Postberg, 1935); Mary Gratia Ennis, *The vocabulary of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus with special advertence to the technical terminology and its sources*. Catholic University of America studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 9 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1939); Hans Peter Gysin, *Studien zum Vokabular der Musiktheorie im Mittelalter: Eine linguistische Analyse* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1958); Fritz Reckow, "Aspekte der Ausbildung einer lateinischen musikalischen Fachsprache im Mittelalter", *International Musicological Society: Report of the eleventh congress, Kopenhagen 1972*, 2 vols., ed. by Henrik Glahn, Søren Sørensen, and Peter Ryom (København: W. Hansen, 1974) vol. 2, 612–17; Wolf Frobenius, "Methoden und Hilfsmittel mittelalterlicher Musiktheorie und ihr Vokabular", *Méthodes et instruments du travail intellectuel au moyen âge: Étude sur le vocabulaire*, ed. by Olga Weijers. Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Age 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990) 121–36.

intervals,²³² the designation of pitches,²³³ and their aural recognition,²³⁴ all integral parts of the process of didactic learning,²³⁵ as well as a number of doctrines, among them the *affinitas vocum*,²³⁶ the *modi*,²³⁷ and the *vis musicae*.²³⁸ These doctrines are linked directly to the compositional premise²³⁹ and performance practice of Gregorian chant,²⁴⁰ with its melodic profile often displaying a tendency towards a formulaic organization.²⁴¹ And this knowledge informed numerous theorists identified in Leopold Mozart's "Versuch eines kurzen Geschichte der Musik" included in his *Violinschule*. Each one of these important contributors was persuaded to some degree by Guido's pragmatically inspired didactic method thoroughly grounded in the modal system with its multi-dimensional facets and manifold uses and interpretations of pedagogy,²⁴² compositional

²³² On the pervasiveness of this tradition, see, for example, Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Zu Tradition der Klangschrift-Lehre: Die Texte mit der Formel 'Si cantus ascendit...' und ihre Verwandten", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1971) 233–70; see also Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Zwischen Konvention und System: Zur Intervall-Terminologie in Mehrstimmigkeitslehren des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts", *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, ed. by Michael Bernhard. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001) vol. 3, 253–72.

²³³ Further on this topic and related terminology, see, for example, Calvin M. Bower, "Sonus, vox, chorda, nota: Thing, name, and sign in early medieval theory", *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, ed. by Michael Bernhard. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001) vol. 3, 47–61.

²³⁴ Susan Forscher Weiss, "The singing hand"; and idem, "Steps to singing", *Writing on hands: Memory and knowledge in early modern Europe*, ed. by Claire Richter Sherman, et al. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

²³⁵ Susan Forscher Weiss, "Didactic sources of musical learning", *Didactic literature in England, 1500–1800: Expertise constructed*, ed. by Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 39–62.

²³⁶ Dolores Pesce, *The concept of the affinities in theoretical writings on music from c. 900 to c. 1500* (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland at College Park, 1982); Dolores Pesce, *The affinities and medieval transposition*. Music: Scholarship and performance, ed. by Thomas Binkley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

²³⁷ For a discussion of the modes in the context of *musica theorica*, see, for example, Antoine Auda, *Les modes et les tons de la musique et spécialement de la musique médiévale* (Brussels: M. Hayez, 1930); Frederick Sturges Andrews, *Mediaeval modal theory* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1935); Antoine Auda, *Les gammes musicales: Essai historique sur les modes et sur les tons de la musique depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à l'époque moderne* (Woluvé-Saint-Pierre: s.n., 1947); Michael Markovits, *Das Tonsystem der abendländischen Musik im frühen Mittelalter*; Charles M. Atkinson, "The parapteres: Nothi or not?"; *The musical quarterly* 68 (1982) 32–59. For a discussion of the modes in the context of *musica practica*, see, for example, Urbanus Bomm, *Der Wechsel der Modalitätsbestimmung in der Tradition der Meßgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert und sein Einfluß auf die Tradition ihrer Melodien* (Einsiedeln: Benzinger, 1929; repr. ed., New York: Georg Olms, 1975); see also Hendrik van der Werf, *The emergence of Gregorian chant: A comparative study of Ambrosian, Roman and Gregorian chant*. Hendrik van der Werf, *A study of modes and melodies 2* (Rochester, N.Y.: Hendrik van der Werf, 1983).

²³⁸ Further on this topic, see, for example, Werner Friedrich Kümmel, "Melancholie und die Macht der Musik; Die Krankheit König Sauls in der historischen Diskussion", *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 4 (1969) 189–209.

²³⁹ See, for example, Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'*. Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1955).

²⁴⁰ Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Dom Guido von Arezzo, Dome André Mocquereau, Dom Eugène Cardine und das Problem des authentischen Vortrages des gregorianischen Chorals", *Ut mens concordat voci: Festschrift Eugène Cardine zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Johannes Berchmans Göschl (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1980) 404–29. On the wide reaching impact of Guido of Arezzo's musical system, see Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Tradition und innovation bei Guido von Arezzo", *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter: Veröffentlichung der Kongreßakten zum Freiburger Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. by Willi Erzgräber (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989) 233–44; see also Willi Apel, *Gregorian chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958, 2nd ed., 1990); Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998); Richard L. Crocker, *An introduction to Gregorian chant* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

²⁴¹ See, for example, Terence Bailey, *The intonation formulas of Western chant*. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval studies: Studies and texts 28 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974); Kenneth Levy, "On Gregorian orality", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990) 185–227; Theodore Karp, *Aspects of orality and formularity in Gregorian chant* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1998).

²⁴² Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-pedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino eiusque vita et motibus*, issued under auspices of the Comitato Nazionale per le Onoranze a Guido d'Arezzo (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1953).

processes,²⁴³ improvisation,²⁴⁴ and the ear as a principal source of mediation.²⁴⁵ At the same time each contributor was cognizant of the historiography underlying this development in examining the *practica musica*, and each formulated his own notions of polyphony (summarized in the *musica mensurabilis*),²⁴⁶ specifically of *organum*²⁴⁷ and related practices,²⁴⁸ based on Guido's comprehensive coverage of the *musica plana*. Yet, in the individual studies of the *musica theorica*, each particular author invariably pays tribute to Boethius's writings, which, at least in philosophical circles, continue to serve as important elements of teaching in the mathematical-philosophical tradition next to that of the *Micrologus* with its widening and diversification of the discourse, including the strands of *musica practica* and *musica theorica*.²⁴⁹ Such a two-pronged approach is also evident in the music-theoretical discourse of the *Violinschule*: In the "Versuch eines kurzen Geschichte der Musik", Leopold Mozart, in his decisively historiographic orientation, is very much influenced by both traditions, and with an obvious humanist bend in his brief recounting of various facets, but with a more pronounced leaning towards the Guidonian system in discussing the music fundamentals later in this treatise. This segment provides the direct link with the principal mandate of the *Violinschule*, namely, the topics of violin organology, violin repertoire and related performance practices, and, above all, music pedagogy,²⁵⁰ frequently underscored by depictions.²⁵¹

²⁴³ Ernst Apfel, "Über das Verhältnis von Musiktheorie und Kompositionspraxis im späten Mittelalter (1200–1500)", *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß, Kassel, 1962*, ed. by Georg Reichert and Martin Just (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) 354–56; Ernst Apfel, *Grundlagen einer Geschichte der Satztechnik vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Saarbrücken: Ernst Apfel; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974).

²⁴⁴ Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Guido of Arezzo and musical improvisation", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 5 (1951) 55–63. For a continuation of this tradition, see, for example, Klaus-Jürgens Sachs, "Arten improvisierter Mehrstimmigkeit nach Lehrtexten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts", *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 7 (1983) 166–83.

²⁴⁵ Guido's view is also borne out by iconographic illustrations; see Elizabeth Sears, "The iconography of auditory perception in the early Middle Ages: On psalm illustration and psalm exegesis", *The second sense: Studies in hearing and musical judgment from Antiquity to the seventeenth century*, ed. by Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk. Warburg Institute surveys and texts 22, ed. by Jill Krave and W.F. Ryam (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1991) 19–42. On the importance of the ear in the music-theoretical thoughts of earlier eras, see, for example, John Caldwell, "The concept of musical judgment in late antiquity", in: *ibid.*, 161–68.

²⁴⁶ Anton Maria Michalitschke, "Studien zur Entstehung und Frühentwicklung der Mensuralnotation", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1929) 257–79; Fritz Reckow, "Überlieferung und Theorie der Mensuralmusik", *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, 2 vols., ed. by Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972) vol. 1, 398–405; Edward H. Roesner, "The emergence of *musica mensurabilis*", *Studies in musical sources and style: Essays in honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. by Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, Wisc.: A-R Editions, 1990) 41–74; see also Sandra Pinegar, *Textual and conceptual relationship among theoretical writings on measurable music of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries* (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989).

²⁴⁷ Sarah Fuller, "Theoretical foundations of early organum theory", *Acta musicologica* 53 (1981) 52–84; Heinz Ristory, "Skizzen zum Entwicklungsgang der Organum-Theorie", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 47 (1993) 227–57; see also Calvin M. Bower, "A bibliography of early organum", *Current musicology* 21 (1976) 16–45.

²⁴⁸ Fritz Reckow, "Guido's theory of organum after Guido: Transmission, adaptation, transformation", *Essays on medieval music in honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995) 395–413.

²⁴⁹ Such widening of this discourse is directly linked to the principal facets of Medieval culture; see Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen. Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*. C.H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft (München: C.H. Beck, 1995).

²⁵⁰ In the context of organological treatises, the venerable tradition of pedagogy, fostered in the writings of Guido of Arezzo, plays a most significant role, as substantiated in the historiography. For important contributions in the secondary literature, see, for example, Albert Seay, "The *expositio manus* of Johannes Tinctoris", *The journal of music theory* 9 (1965) 194–232.

²⁵¹ See, for example, Jane Stevens, "Hands, music, and meaning in some seventeenth-century Dutch paintings", *Imago musicae: International yearbook of musical iconography* 1 (1984) 75–102.

In his review of the *musica theorica*, the focal point of his “Versuch eines kurzen Geschichte der Musik”, Leopold Mozart goes beyond his reference to Boethius by mentioning a more recent representative of the *musica speculativa*: Johannes de Muris, whose treatise, the *Musica speculativa* (1323),²⁵² served as a complimentary text to the *De institutione arithmetica*²⁵³ and the *De institutione musica*²⁵⁴ of Boethius, key readings within the canon of subjects taught in the universities of the Middle Ages.²⁵⁵ Yet unlike Boethius, Johannes de Muris is amenable to the broadening of the sphere of examination, in essence following the venerable path of Guido of Arezzo. However, his coverage of the *musica theorica* and the *musica practica* is not in a unified form but rather comes in distinctly separate sections of his treatise.²⁵⁶ In his *Musica speculativa*,²⁵⁷ Johannes de Muris in essence recounts faithfully the content of the above-mentioned texts of Boethius, though expanding the Pythagorean arithmetic with observations from a number of other disciplines, specifically astronomy²⁵⁸ and acoustics,²⁵⁹ and the

²⁵² See appendix, document 63. On the importance of this treatise within the music-theoretical canon, see, for example, Christian Meyer, “[...] per venerandae memoriae magistrum Iohannem de Muris [...]”: La tradition parisienne de l’enseignement de Jean de Murs”, *Gedenkschrift für Walter Pass*, ed. by Martin Czernin (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2002) 217–34.

²⁵³ See appendix, document 10.

²⁵⁴ See appendix, document 9.

²⁵⁵ Michel Huglo, “The study of ancient sources of music theory in the medieval universities”, trans. by Fabian C. Lochner, *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. Notre Dame conferences in medieval studies 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 150–72; Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, “I commentari universitari del Quattrocento al trattato *Musica speculativa* di Johannes de Muris”, *Studi in onore Giuseppe Vecchi*, ed. by Ivano Cavallini (Modena: Mucchi, 1989) 179–86; see also Guy Beaujouan, “L’enseignement de l’arithmétique élémentaire à l’Université de Paris aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles”, *Homenaje à Millás-Vallcrosa*, 2 vols., ed. by José Maria Millás Vallcrosa (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954–56) vol. 1, 93–124; Nan Cooke Carpenter, “The study of music at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages”, *Journal of research in music education* 2 (1954) 119–33; Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958); Jeremy Yudkin, “The influence of Aristotle on French university music texts”, *Music theory and its sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by André Barbera. Notre Dame conferences in Medieval studies 1, ed. by John von Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) 173–89; George Molland, “The quadrivium in the universities: Four questions”, *Scientia und Ars im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Albert Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ingrid Craemer Ruegenberg and Andreas Speer. *Miscellanea Mediaevalia: Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln* 22/1, ed. by Albert Zimmermann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994) 66–78; Jacques Verger, “L’Université de Paris et ses collègues au temps de Jérôme de Moravie”, *Jérôme de Moravie: Un théoricien de la musique dans le milieu intellectuel parisien de XIII^e siècle. Actes du Colloque de Royaumont 1989*, ed. by Christian Meyer, Michel Huglo, and Marcel Pérès. *Rencontres à Royaumont* 4 (Paris: Créaphis, 1992) 15–31; also as a reprint in Jacques Verger, *Les universités français au moyen âge*. Education and society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 7 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 53–67.

²⁵⁶ On the exceptionally broad approach to Johannes de Muris’s music-theoretical discourse carefully balanced between *musica* and *philosophia*, see Lawrence Gushee, “Jehan des Meurs and his milieu”, *Musik und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter: Fragen zur Wechselwirkung von ‘musica’ und ‘philosophia’ im Mittelalter*, ed. by Frank Hentschel. *Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 62 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998) 359–72.

²⁵⁷ See appendix, document 63.

²⁵⁸ M. Lejbowicz, “Les disciplines du quadrivium: Lastronomie”, *L’enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des arts, Paris et Oxford, XIII^e–XV^e siècles: Actes du colloque international* [Paris, 18–20 May 1995], ed. by Olga Weijers and Louis Holtz. *Studia artistarum* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).

²⁵⁹ Klaus-Jürgens Sachs, “Boethius and the judgment of the ears: A hidden challenge in Medieval and Renaissance music theory”, *The second sense: Studies in hearing and musical judgment from Antiquity to the seventeenth century*, ed. by Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk. Warburg Institute surveys and texts 22, ed. by Jill Kraye and W.F. Ryan (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1991) 169–98.

experimentation (suggesting both Aristotle's *De sensu*²⁶⁰ and Ptolemy's *Harmonics*²⁶¹) with arithmetic.²⁶² This experimentation serves as the principal premise of inquiry not only for Johannes de Muris,²⁶³ but also for theorists of subsequent eras.²⁶⁴ For Johannes de Muris, the novel approach lies in his borrowing of Euclid's arithmetic calculations and the examination of their relevance to the understanding of the *theorica musica*.²⁶⁵ At the time of his recounting of the Boethian doctrine, Johannes de Muris was also preoccupied with the profound examination of the theory of the musical consonances,²⁶⁶ carefully interpolated within the context of arithmetic and acoustic, as a central part of his *musica theorica*,²⁶⁷ and that as an extension of book I of his *Notitia artis musicae* (1321).²⁶⁸ Only in the *musica practica*, specifically with his coverage of the *musica mensurabilis*,²⁶⁹ does he draw *musica practica* and *musica theorica* into closer union,²⁷⁰ specifically by

²⁶⁰ For a Greek edition of this treatise, see Immanuel Bekker, *Aristoteles De anima, De sensu, De memoria, De somno* (Berlin: Typis Academicis, 1829). For a Latin trans. of this treatise, see Aristotle, *De sensu et sensibili*, trans. by François Vatable (Paris: Apud Prigentium Calvarin, 1531); see also idem, *De sensu et De memoria libri*, trans. by Auré Förster (Budapest: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae, 1942). For an English trans., see idem, *De sensu and De memoria*, trans. and ed. by George Robert Thomson Ross. *Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (New York: Arno Press, 1906; repr. 1973). For a commentary of this treatise, see, for example, Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle's "On Sense Perception"*, trans. by Alan Towey. *The ancient commentators on Aristotle* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

²⁶¹ See appendix, document 78.

²⁶² On the affinity between arithmetic and music, see, for example, Richard L. Crocker, "Pythagorean mathematics and music," *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* 22 (1963–64) 189–98; 325–35; Willi Apel, "Mathematics and music in the Middle Ages," *Musica e arte figurative nel secolo X–XII (15–18 ottobre 1972)*. *Convegno del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale* 13 (Todi: Accademia Tuchertina, 1973) 135–65; also in Willi Apel, *Medieval music: Collected articles and reviews*, with a forew. by Thomas E. Binkley (Wiesbaden: Franz Seiner, 1986) 122–53; Rudolf Wille, "Mathematische Sprache in der Musiktheorie," *Jahrbuch Überblicke Mathematik* 1980, ed. by B. Fuchssteiner (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1980) 167–84.

²⁶³ F. Alberto Gallo, "Lo studio della *Musica speculativa* di Johannes de Muris in Polonia e in Italia; Le Glosse dell'Università di Cracovia e i *Glossmata* di Franchino Gaffurio," *Primo incontro con la musica italiana in Polonia: Dal rinascimento al barocco, Parma, 12–13 giugno/Bydgoszcz, 11–12 settembre 1969*. *Miscellanea saggi convegni* 7 (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1974) 39–54; see also Christian Meyer, "Une source inconnue de la *Musica speculativa* de Jean de Meurs: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Lat. fol. 600," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 11 (1981) 415–18.

²⁶⁴ See, for example, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, "Annotationes in Musicen Joannis de Muris: A commentary to Johannes de Muris' *Musica speculativa* by Andreas Perlachius," *Gedenkschrift für Walter Pass*, ed. by Martin Czernin (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2002) 235–44.

²⁶⁵ Dorit Esther Tanay, "Johan de Meurs' musical theory and the mathematics of the fourteenth century," *Tractrix* 5 (1993) 17–43.

²⁶⁶ Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, "Some aspects of Pythagorean harmony in the late Middle Ages: The figura circularum from the treatise *Musica speculativa* by Johannes de Muris," *From idea to sound: Proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium held at Castle Nieborów in Poland, September 4–5, 1985*, ed. by Anna Czekanowska, Miloš Velimirović, and Zbigniew Skowron (Kraków: Wydano Nakładern Fundacji Zjednoczonej Europy, 1993) 44–58. In this endeavor, Johannes de Muris was influenced by the Greek tradition. Further on the background of this tradition, see, for example, Amy Kusian Holbrook, *The concept of musical consonance in Greek antiquity and its application in the earliest medieval descriptions of polyphony* (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1983).

²⁶⁷ Max Haas, "Musik zwischen Mathematik und Physik: Zur Bedeutung der Notation in den *Notitia artis musicae* des Johannes de Muris (1321)," *Festschrift für Arno Volk*, ed. by Lars Ulrich Abraham, Carl Dahlhaus, and Hans Oesch (Köln: Gerig, 1974) 31–46.

²⁶⁸ See appendix, document 61.

²⁶⁹ See appendix, document 64; see also Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, *Der Contrapunctus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zum Terminus, zur Lehre und zu den Quellen*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 13, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht in collab. with Walter Gerstenberg, Kurt von Fischer, Wolfgang Osthoff, and Arnold Schmitz (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974); Christian Bertold, *Ars practica mensurabilis cantus secundum Johannem de Muris: De Recensio maior des sogenannten "Libellus practice cantus mensurabilis"*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 14 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999); Heinz Ristory, *Denkmodelle zur französischen Mensuraltheorie des 14. Jahrhunderts*. *Musicological studies* 81/1 (Ottawa, Ont.: Institute of Medieval Music, 2004) vol. I: *Historische Darstellung*, 169–349.

²⁷⁰ André Goddu, "Music as art and science in the fourteenth century," *Scientia und Ars im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. by Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg and Andreas Speer. *Miscellanea mediaevalia: Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln* 22/2, ed. by Albert Zimmermann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994) 1023–45.

leaning towards Aristotle’s *De sensu*²⁷¹ in the focus on the acoustic parameters of sound production in conjunction with the recognition of rhythm²⁷²—topics to which Johannes de Muris returns in his *Compendium*, in dialogue form with an emphasis on a decisively simpler explanation of solely the *musica practica*. Indeed, it is this unique approach of Johannes de Muris to the *musica theorica* and *musica practica*, always with a pronounced anchoring of his thoughts in the philosophy of the late 13th and early 14th centuries,²⁷³ in short, contributing to the historiographic discourse which perhaps attracted the attention of Leopold Mozart and ultimately prompted him to include this important theorist in his “Versuch eines kurzen Geschichte der Musik”.

In his cursory survey of the music history of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, Leopold Mozart briefly returns to the contribution of translators in making important documents of Greek antiquity accessible to the Latin West—a tradition that reaches a culmination in the middle of the 17th century in the scholarship of the Danish polyhistorian Marcus Meibom (1620/21–1710).²⁷⁴ As philologist and mathematician, Meibom, in a two-volume set entitled *Antiquae musicae auctoris septem* (1652)²⁷⁵ and dedicated to Queen Christiana of Sweden, assembled some of the key texts of noted scholars, including Alypius,²⁷⁶ Aristides Quintilianus (fl. late 3rd and

²⁷¹ See note 260.

²⁷² F. Alberto Gallo, “Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert”, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, F. Alberto Gallo, Max Haas, and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. V: Die mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984) 257–356.

²⁷³ Max Haas, “Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre. I: Eine Übersicht über die Musiklehre im Kontext der Philosophie des 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts”, *Forum musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte* 3 (1982) 323–456.

²⁷⁴ For an overview of Meibom’s contributions, see C.S. Petersen, “Marcus Meibom og Villem Lange”, *Fund og forskning* 1 (1954) 1–39. Further on Meibom’s scholarship in the context of Danish historiography, see Angul Hammerich, *Dansk musikhistorie indtil ca. 1700* (København: G.E.C. Gad, 1721).

²⁷⁵ See appendix, document 58.

²⁷⁶ Johannes van Meurs, ed., *Aristoxenus, Nicomachus, Alypius auctores musices antiquissimi, hactenus non editi* (Leiden: Lugduni Batavorum, 1616); Charles-Émile Ruelle, *Alypius et Gaudence, trad. en français pour le premier fois; Bacchius l’Ancien traduction entièrement nouvelle; Commentaire. perpétuel et tableaux de notation musicale*. Collection des auteurs grecs relatifs à la musique 5 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1895). Further on the contribution of Alypius, see; André Baraille, “Remarques sur les deux notations mélodiques de l’ancienne musique grecque”, *Recherches de papyrologie* 1 (1961) 5–20; Jacques Chailley, “Nouvelles remarques sur les deux notations musicales Grecques”, *Recherches de papyrologie* 4 (1967) 201–16; Jacques Chailley “La notation archaïque grecque d’après Aristide Quintilien”, *Revue des études grecques* 86 (1973) 17–34; Martin L. West, *Ancient Greek music*, 5, 254, 255.

early 4th centuries),²⁷⁷ Aristoxenos,²⁷⁸ Bacchius of Gerōn (fl. 4th century),²⁷⁹ Cleonides

²⁷⁷ See appendix, document 1. On the contribution of Aristides Quintilianus, see Karl Julius Caesar, "Aristides Quintilianus und die Solmisation der Griechen", *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 81 (1860) 871–77; Karl von Jan, "Zur Aristides Quintilianus", *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 81 (1860) 549–55; Charles-Émile Ruelle, "Le musicographe Aristide Quintilien", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 11 (1909–10) 313–23; André Jean Festugière, "L'Âme et la musique d'après Aristide Quintilien", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 85 (1954) 55–78; Henri Potiron, "Les notations d'Aristide Quintilien et les harmonies dites Platoniciennes", *Revue de musicologie* 47 (1961) 159–76; Jacques Chailley, "L'annotation archaïque grecque d'après Aristide Quintilien", *Revue des études grecques* 86 (1973) 17–34; R.P. Winnington-Ingram, "The first notational diagram of Aristides Quintilianus", *Philologus* 117 (1973) 243–49; Luisa Zanoncelli, "La filosofia musicale di Aristide Quintiliano", *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 24 (1977) 77–81; Andrew Barker, "Aristides Quintilianus and construction of early music theory", *Classical quarterly* 32 (1982) 184–97; Jon Solomon, "The manuscript sources for the Aristides Quintilianus and Bryennius Interpolations in Cleonides' ΕΙΣΑΤΩΤΗ ΑΡΜΟΝΙΚΗ", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 130 (1987) 360–66; François Duysinx, "Aristide Quintilien et les modes musicaux antiques", *Serta leodiensia secunda*, ed. by Arthur Bodson, Paul Wathelet, and Michel Dubuisson (Liège: Université de Liège, 1992) 159–71; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 521–82.

²⁷⁸ *Aristoxenou Harmonika stoicheia/The harmonics of Aristoxenus*, ed. and trans. by Henry Stewart Macran (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974); Andrew Barker, trans., "Aristoxenos: Elementa Harmonica", *Greek musical writings II: Harmonic and acoustic theory*, ed. by Andrew Barker. Cambridge readings in the literature of music, ed. by John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 126–84; Aristoxenos: *Elementa rhythmica: The fragment of book II and the additional evidence for Aristoxenian rhythmic theory*, ed. with intro., trans. and comm. by Lionel Pearson (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Further on the contribution of Aristoxenos, see Rudolf Westphal, *Aristoxenos von Tarent: Melik und Rhythmik des klassischen Hellenentums*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1893; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965); R. Winnington-Ingram, "Aristoxenos and the intervals of Greek music", *Classical quarterly* 26 (1932) 195–208; P. Kucharski, "Le Philèbe et les Éléments harmonique d'Aristoxène", *Revue philologique* 149 (1959) 41–72; Richard L. Crocker, "Aristoxenos and Greek mathematics", *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. by Jan LaRue in collab. with Martin Bernstein, Hans Lenneberg, and Victor Yellin (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966; New York: Pendragon Press, 1978) 96–110; Fritz Wehrli, *Aristoxenos, Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentare* 2, ed. by Fritz Wehrli (Basel: Stuttgart: B. Schwabe, 1967); Andrew Barker, "Music and perception: A study of Aristoxenos", *Journal of Hellenic studies* 98 (1978) 9–16; Annie Bélis, "Les nuances dans le Traité d'harmonique d'Aristoxène de Tarente", *Revue des études grecques* 95 (1982) 54–73; Andrew Barker, "Aristoxenos' theorems and the foundations of harmonic science", *Ancient philosophy* 4 (1984) 23–64; Aldo Brancacci, "Aristosseno e lo stato epistemologico della scienza armonica", *La scienza ellenistica: Atti delle 3 giornate di studio, tenutesi a Pavia dal 14 al aprile 1982*, ed. by Gabriele Giannantoni and M. Vegetti. *Elenchos* 9 (Napoli: Brepolis, 1984) 154–85; Jon Solomon, "Towards a history of tonoi", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 3 (1984) 242–51; Annie Bélis, *Aristoxène de Tarente et Aristote: Le Traité d'harmonique. Études et commentaires* 100 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1986); Malcolm Litchfield, "Aristoxenos and empiricism: A reevaluation based on his theories", *Journal of music theory* 32 (1988) 51–73; Albrecht Riethmüller, "Grundlagen der Harmonik des Aristoxenos", *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft. I: Die Musik des Altertums*, ed. by Albrecht Riethmüller and Frieder Zaminer, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus, continued by Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1989) 237–59; Albrecht Riethmüller, "Wie Musiktheorie beginnt? Der Rat des Aristoxenos", *Musiktheorie* 4 (1989) 3–13; Marija Svilans, *The harmonics of Aristoxenos and its influence on the writings of Aristides Quintilianus: An investigation into correspondences between two Greek music theorists* (M.A. thesis, University Queensland, 1990); Andrew Barker, "Aristoxenos's harmonics and Aristotle's theory of science", *Science and philosophy in classical Greece*, ed. with pref. by Alan C. Bowen. Sources and studies in the history and philosophy of classical science 2, ed. by Alan C. Bowen and Francesca Rochberg-Halton (New York: Garland, 1991) 188–226; Andrew Barker, "Plato and Aristoxenos on the nature of melos", *The second sense: Studies in hearing and musical judgment from antiquity to the seventeenth century*, ed. by Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk. Warburg Institute surveys and texts 22, ed. by Jill Kraye and W. F. Ryan (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1991) 137–60; Martin L. West, *Ancient Greek music*, 4 ff.; Andrew Barker, "Aristoxenos and music", *The Oxford classical dictionary*, ed. by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 3rd ed. 2003) 1003–12; Andrew Barker, "Aristoxenos", *Encyclopedia of classical philosophy*, ed. by Donald J. Zeyl in collab. with Daniel T. Devereux and Phillips K. Mitsis (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997) 95–97; Sophie Gibson, *Aristoxenos of Tarentum and the birth of musicology*, ed. by Dirk Obbink and Andrew Dyck (New York; London: Routledge, 2005).

²⁷⁹ Friedrich Bellermann, ed., "Eisagoge technes mousikes Bakcheiou ton gerantos", *Anonymi scriptio de musica: Bacchi senioris Introductio artis musicae* (Berlin: Albert Förster, 1841) 101–08; Alexandre Joseph Hidulpe Vincent, trans., "Introduction à l'art musical par Bacchius l'ancien", *Notice sur divers manuscrits grecs relative à la musique, comprenant une traduction française et des commentaires* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1847) 64–72; Karl von Jan, ed., *Die Eisagoge des Bacchius: Text, kritischer Apparat und deutsche Übersetzung* (Strasbourg: R. Schultz, 1890–91); Karl von Jan, ed., "Bacchi gerontis isagoge", *Musici scriptores graeci* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1895) 283–316; Luisa Zanoncelli, ed. and trans. with comm., "Bacchio il vecchio: Introduzione all'arte musicale", *La manualistica musicale greca* (Milano: Guerini Studio, 1990) 245–304; Otto Steinmayer, trans., "Bacchius Geron's Introduction to the art of music", *Journal of music theory* 29 (1985) 271–98. Further on the contribution of Bacchius of Geron, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 583–93.

(?fl. 2nd century)²⁸⁰ (misidentified as Euclid by Leopold Mozart²⁸¹), Gaudentius (fl. 3rd–4th century),²⁸² Nicomachus,²⁸³ and Martianus Capella.²⁸⁴ All of these texts were given in the Greek original and a Latin translation with commentary. Though Leopold Mozart identifies the authors included in Meibom's edition in a footnote,²⁸⁵ he seems perhaps unaware of Meibom's other important treatise, the *Dialogus de proportionibus* (Copenhagen, 1655),²⁸⁶ a volume focused on Greek arithmetic, and specifically on the examination of the arithmetic proportions as they relate directly to the proportions inherent in music.

Leopold Mozart continues with this line of inquiry and the resultant tracing of humanist thought in his "Versuch eines kurzen Geschichte der Musik", thereby consulting the treatises of both music theorists and of nonmusical authors. Luigi Petrobelli has offered a general overview of Leopold Mozart's historical exposition, providing full identification of the authorities of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance,²⁸⁷ that Leopold Mozart fully identifies in his text and accompanying footnotes. Beyond that, Leopold Mozart has also included cryptic references to a number of more recent authorities on music, who, in their respective treatises, have in general traced the humanist tradition carefully as a means of either amplifying and substantiating their more contemporary perspectives or placing their own thoughts, often inspired by more contemporary notions on music and philosophy, squarely against the more archaic systems of learning and teaching. Why did Leopold Mozart suddenly on page 17 of this chapter of his *Violinschule* depart from his earlier more comprehensive citing of sources? Surely his readers were probably more familiar with contemporary

²⁸⁰ Jon Solomon, *Cleonides: Eisagoge harmonike. Critical edition, translation and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1980); further on the contribution of Cleonides, see Karl von Jan, *Die Harmonik des Aristoxenianers Kleonides* (Landsberg an der Warthe: R. Schneider, 1870); Jon Solomon, "The Diastaltic Ethos", *Classical philology* 76 (1981) 93–100; Jon Solomon, "Towards a history of tonoi", 242–51; Jon Solomon, "The manuscript sources for the Aristides Quintilianus and Bryennius"; André Barbera, *The Euclidean division of the canon*; Alan C. Bowen, "Euclid's *Sectio canonis* and the history of Pythagoreanism", *Science and philosophy in classical Greece*, ed. with pref. by Alan C. Bowen. Sources and studies in the history and philosophy of classical Greece 2, ed. by Alan C. Bowen and Francesca Rochberg-Halton (New York: Garland, 1991) 164–87; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 366–90.

²⁸¹ Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, 17.

²⁸² Karl von Jan, ed., "Gaudenti philosophi harmonica introduction", *Musici scriptores greci* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1895) 317–56; Charles-Émile Ruelle, *Alypius et Gaudence*; Lucia Zanoncelli, ed. and trans. with comm., "Gaudenzio: Introduzione all'armonica", *La manualistica musicale greca* (Milano: Guerini Studio, 1990) 305–69. Further on the contribution of Gaudentius, see André Barbera, "Octave species", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 3 (1984) 229–41; André Barbera, "The consonant eleventh and the expansion of the musical tetraktys", *Journal of music theory* 28 (1984) 191–224; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 498–509.

²⁸³ Andrew Barker, trans., "Nicomachus", 245–69; Flora R. Levin, *The manual of harmonics of Nicomachus the Pythagorean*. Further on the contribution of Nicomachus of Gerasa, see Flora Levin, *The harmonics of Nicomachus and the Pythagorean tradition*; Calvin M. Bower, "Boethius and Nicomachus"; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 390–411.

²⁸⁴ Martianus Capella, *Satyricon*, book 9. For a comm. on book 9 of this treatise, see Lucio Cristante, *Martiani Capellae de nuptiis Philologiae et mercurii liber X: Introduzione, traduzione e commenti. Mediaevo e umanesimo* 64 (Padova: Antenore, 1987); see also James Willis, *Martianus Capella and his early commentators* (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1959), Cora E. Lutz, "Martianus Capella", Paul Oskar Kristeller, F. Edward Kranz, and Virginia Brown, eds., *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries. Annotated lists and guides* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1960–) vol. 2 (1971) 367–81; 3 (1976) 449–52; 6 (1986) 185 ff. For glosses on book 9 of this treatise, see Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and music of the spheres: The ars musica in ninth-century commentaries on Martianus Capella*. Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 30 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002); see also Claudio Leonardi, "I codici di Marziani Capella", *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche filologiche* 33 (1959) 443–89; 34 (1960) 1–524.

²⁸⁵ Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, 17.

²⁸⁶ Marcus Meibom, *Consiliarii regii, de serenissimum principem, Fridericum III, Daniae, Norvegiae, Vandalorum, Gothorumque regem etc.* (København: Melchior Martzan, 1655).

²⁸⁷ Luigi Petrobelli, "La cultura di Leopold Mozart e la sua *Violinschule*", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 9–16.

literature, both musical sources and music-theoretical discourse (the latter identified in the Appendix). In the case of this list of more contemporary sources, Leopold Mozart was very much cognizant of the enormous contribution of those authors identified in the *Violinschule* to both *musica theorica* and *musica practica*, so that the mere mentioning of names would eliminate any kind of favoring of their literary scholarship over their creative output.

What at first glance appears as a haphazard list of important contributors to musical humanism, perhaps hastily drawn together, in fact shows some careful reflection on the part of its compiler, Leopold Mozart. The mention of important theorists in quick succession is not at all unusual, but such practice found widespread application in the music-theoretical discourse of the 15th and 16th centuries, especially in writings focused on *theorica musica*—with one of the most extensive applications of this practice occurring in the opening chapter of Gaffurio's *Theorica musicae*.²⁸⁸ Leopold Mozart's familiarity with Gaffurio's *Theorica musicae* suggests the source of inspiration. It is perhaps no coincidence that Leopold Mozart begins his enumeration of names with Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), professor at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau initially of poetry and later of theology,²⁸⁹ who was infinitely familiar with the curriculum of antiquity and the Middle Ages.²⁹⁰ Glarean was one of the key promoters of the Greek tradition through his Latin edition of Boethius's *De institutione musica*.²⁹¹ He was also an advocate of the Guidonian modal system,²⁹² which he embraced in his own widely accepted twelve-mode system²⁹³ explored in the *Dodekachordon* (1547),²⁹⁴ a seminal publication for German music

²⁸⁸ See appendix, document 22.

²⁸⁹ On Glarean's biography, see Heinrich Schreiber, *Heinrich Loriti Glareanus, seine Freunde und seine Zeit: Biographischer Versuch* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Gebrüder Groos, 1837); Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, *Glarean: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Frauenfeld: J. Huber, 1890).

²⁹⁰ See appendix, documents 28–30. On Glarean's significance as a music theorist, see, for example, Bernhard Meier, "Heinrich Loriti Glareanus als Musiktheoretiker", *Aufsätze zur Freiburger Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte*, ed. by Johannes Vincke. Beiträge zur Freiburger Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte 22 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Albert, 1960) 65–112; Rudolf Aschmann, "Glarean als Musiktheoretiker", *Der Humanist Heinrich Loriti, genannt Glarean, 1488–1563: Beiträge zu seinem Leben und Werk*. ed. by Rudolf Aschmann (Glarus: Baeschlin, 1983) 145–86; see also *Heinrich Glarean oder: Die Rettung der Musik aus dem Geiste der Antike?* ed. by Nicole Schwindt. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006), especially the essay by Laurenz Lütteken, "Gratwanderung oder integrales Konzept? Glarean in der musikalischen und intellektuellen Geschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts".

²⁹¹ See appendix, document 29; see also Inga Mai Groote, "Heinrich Glarean reading and editing Boethius", *Acta musicologica* 80 (2008) 215–29

²⁹² Siegfried Gissel, "Die modi phrygius, hypophrygius and phrygius connexus", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 45 (1991) 5–94.

²⁹³ On the adoption of Glarean's system of twelve modi in contemporary compositional practice, see, for example, Ignace Bossuyt, "Die Psalmen poenitentiales (1570) des Alexander Utendal: Ein künstlerisches Gegenstück der Bußpsalmen von Orlando Lassus und seine praktische Anwendung von Glareans Theorie der zwölf Modi", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1981) 279–95; Martin Ruhnke, "Glareans lydischer und hypolydischer Modus bei Dulichius", *Festschrift Hubert Unverricht zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Karlheinz Schlager. Eichstätter Abhandlungen zur Musikwissenschaft 9 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992) 221–29; see also Bernhard Meier, *Alte Tonarten: Dargestellt an der Instrumentalmusik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Bärenreiter Studienbücher Musik 3, ed. by Silke Leopold and Jutta Schmoll-Barthel (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

²⁹⁴ See appendix, document 30. On the significance of this treatise, see Sarah Fuller, "Defending the *Dodekachordon*: Ideological currents in Glarean's modal theory", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996) 191–224; Cristle Collins Judd, "Musical commonplace books, writing theory, and 'Silent listening': The polyphonic examples of the *Dodekachordon*", *The musical quarterly* 82 (1998) 482–516; Stefano Mengozzi, *Between humanist ideals and scientific thought in Glarean's Dodekachordon* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998); see also Clement A. Miller, "The *Dodekachordon*: Its origin and influence on Renaissance thought", *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 15 (1961) 155–66; Laurenz Lütteken, "Humanismus im Kloster: Bemerkungen zu einem der Dedikationsexemplare von Glareanus *Dodekachordon*", *Festschrift Klaus Hortschansky zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Axel Beer and Laurenz Lütteken (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1995) 43–57; Michele Calella, "Die Ideologie des Exemplum: Bemerkungen zu den Notenbeispielen des *Dodekachordon*", *Heinrich Glarean oder: Die Rettung der Musik aus dem Geist der Antike?*, ed. by Nicole Schwindt.

theory and practice of the subsequent eras.²⁹⁵ Glarean, who had assembled some of the key writings, musical and otherwise, of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in his personal library,²⁹⁶ was exemplary in his broadly based writings,²⁹⁷ which on the one hand juxtaposed old and new systems and thoughts in music theory,²⁹⁸ and on the other hand divorced *musica* from its old bondage of the *artes liberales*,²⁹⁹ comprising the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, so as to pave a closer affinity between *musica* and *poesia*. In this way Glarean was obviously pursuing a path of scholarship which agreed with that of Leopold Mozart in his historical survey in the *Violinschule*. That Leopold Mozart must have been aware of the twelve-mode system of Glarean as exposed in *Le istituzioni harmoniche* of Zarlino,³⁰⁰ though without the proper attribution to Glarean, becomes apparent in the *Violinschule*, as he mentions Zarlino immediately after Glarean.

In his synthesis of the vast discourse on *musica theorica*, *arithmetica*, *cosmologia*, *historia*, *philosophia*, and *theologia*,³⁰¹ all of which are central to the all-encompassing aesthetics,³⁰² Zarlino, in his two principal treatises, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558)³⁰³ and *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (1571),³⁰⁴ mentioned by Leopold Mozart earlier in the

Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006) 199–212.

²⁹⁵ On this topic, see, for example, Craig J. Westendorf, "Glarean's Dodecachordon in German theory and practice: An expression of confessionalism," *Current musicology* 37–38 (1984) 33–48; see also Siegfried Gissel, "Zur Modusbestimmung deutscher Autoren in der Zeit von 1550–1650: Eine Quellenstudie," *Die Musikforschung* 39 (1986) 201–17; Walter Werbeck, *Studien zur deutschen Tonartenlehre in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bärenreiter Hochschulschriften: Detmold-Paderborner Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Kassel; Bärenreiter, 1989); Siegfried Gissel, "Glareans Tonarten Lydius und Hypolydius und ihre Berücksichtigung durch die Theoretiker/Komponisten bis etwa 1650," *Musica disciplina: A yearbook of the history of music* 51 (1997) 73–102.

²⁹⁶ Iain Fenlon, "Heinrich Glarean's books," *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, styles, and contexts*, ed. by John Kmetz (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1994) 74–102 [includes complete inventory of sources in the possession of Glarean, now preserved in Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek].

²⁹⁷ See, for example, James Hebert Lyons, *Humanism and mannerism in the Dodecachordon of Glarean and the Vite of Vasari* (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee at Knoxville, 1983).

²⁹⁸ On Glarean's comprehensive view of music history, see Ernst Lichtenhahn, "Ars perfecta: Zu Glareans Auffassung der Musikgeschichte," *Festschrift Arnold Geering zum 70. Geburtstag: Beiträge zur Zeit und zum Begriff des Humanismus vorwiegend aus dem Bereich der Musik*, ed. by Victor Ravizza (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1972) 129–38.

²⁹⁹ Heinrich Hüsch, "Die Musik im Kreise der artes liberales," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Hamburg 1956*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) 117–23; Edward A. Lippman, "The place of music in the system of the liberal arts," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. by Jan LaRue in collab. with Martin Bernstein, Hans Lenneberg, and Victor Yellin (New York; W.W. Norton, 1966; New York: Pendragon Press, 1978) 545–59; Karl-Gustav Fellerer, "Die musica in den artes liberales," *Artes liberales: Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 5 (1976) 33–49. Further on the *artes liberales*, see Richard W. Hunt, "The introduction of the 'artes' in the twelfth century," *Studia mediaevalia in honorem admodum Reverendi Patris Raymundi Josephi Martin, Ordinis praedicatorum s. theologiae magistri LXXUM natalem diem agentis*, ed. by B.L. van Helmond (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948) 98–107; Cora E. Lutz, "Remigius' ideas on the origin of the seven liberal arts," *Mediaevalia et humanistica* 9 (1955) 32–49; Cora E. Lutz, "Remigius's ideas on the classification of the seven liberal arts," *Traditio: Studies in ancient and medieval history, thought and religion* 12 (1956) 65–86; see also Werner Bachmann, "Bildarstellungen der Musik im Rahmen der artes liberales," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Hamburg 1956*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) 46–55; Michael Masi, "Boethius and the iconography of the liberal arts," *Latomus* 33 (1974) 57–75; David L. Wagner, ed., *The seven liberal arts in the Middle Ages* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983, repr. 1986).

³⁰⁰ See appendix, document 101. On the significance of this treatise, see, for example, Hermann Zenck, *Zarlino's Istituzioni harmoniche als Quelle zur Musikanschauung der italienischen Renaissance* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930); also in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1929–30) 540–78.

³⁰¹ Zarlino's deliberations are focused on the *quadrivium* as well as on the concept of the *musica mundana*; see, Paolo Sanvito, "Le sperimentazioni nelle scienze quadriviali in alcuni epistolari Zarlينiani inediti," *Studi musicali* 19 (1990) 305–18; Brigitte van Wymeersch, "La musique comme reflet de l'harmonie du monde: L'exemple de Platon et de Zarlino," *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 97 (1999) 289–311.

³⁰² Raffaello Monterosso, "L'estetica di Gioseffo Zarlino," *Chigiana* 24 (1967) 13–28.

³⁰³ See appendix, document 101.

³⁰⁴ See appendix, document 102. For a continuation of Zarlino's thoughts, first contemplated in *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558), in his later *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (1571), see Michael Fend, "Zarlino's Versuch einer Axiomatisierung der

historical synopsis, aimed at joining *musica theorica* (that is, *musica speculativa*) and *musica practica* (that is, *compositio*),³⁰⁵ so as to underscore the perfection of *musica*.³⁰⁶ This discourse emanates from the consideration of both subdisciplines not as opposites but rather as a perfect union, that is, between rational faculties (*facultas rationalis*) and sensory perceptions (*perceptio sensuum*).³⁰⁷ In *Le istituzione harmoniche*,³⁰⁸ Zarlino, in his position as a mediator between the *systema teleion* and the Guidonian system,³⁰⁹ expanded the *tetraktys* (represented by the integers 1, 2, 3, 4),³¹⁰ by which his predecessors, such as Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja (ca. 1440–after 1490),³¹¹ Giovanni Spataro (1458–1541),³¹² Lodovico Fogliano (ca. 1475–1542)³¹³ and Franchino Gaffurio were able to derive the

Musiktheorie in den *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (1571)”, *Musiktheorie* 4 (1989) 113–26; John Emil Kelleher, *Zarlino’s Dimostrazioni harmoniche and demonstrative methodologies in the sixteenth century* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993); see also Jairo Moreno, *Musical representations, subjects and objects: The construction of musical thought in Zarlino, Descartes, Rameau, and Weber*. Musical meaning and interpretation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

³⁰⁵ Wolfgang Horn, ‘*Est modus in rebus...*’: Gioseffo Zarlino’s Musiktheorie und Kompositionslehre und das Tonarten-Problem in der Musikwissenschaft (Hannover, 1995).

³⁰⁶ Fritz Högl, ‘Bemerkungen zu Zarlino’s Theorie’, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926–27) 518–27.

³⁰⁷ Isabella Palumbo-Fossati, ‘La casa veneziana di Gioseffo Zarlino nel testamento e nell’inventario dei beni del grande teorico musicale’, *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 20 (1986) 633–49.

³⁰⁸ See appendix, document 101.

³⁰⁹ Hugo Riemann, ‘Zarlino als harmonischer Dualist’, *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 12 (1880) 155–57, 174; Carl Dahlhaus, ‘War Zarlino Dualist?’, *Die Musikforschung* 10 (1957) 286–90.

³¹⁰ Benito R. Rivera, ‘Theory ruled by practice: Zarlino’s reversal of the classical systems of proportions’, *Indiana theory review* 16 (1995) 145–70.

³¹¹ Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja, *Musica practica*. Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/3 (Bologna: Baltasar de Hiriberia, 1482; repr. ed. Bologna: Forni, 1969); idem, *Musica practica*, ed. with trans. and intro. by Johannes Wolf. Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft: Beihefte 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901; repr. ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1969); idem, *Musica practica di Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja*, ed. by Clemente Terni, 2 vols. Viejos libros de música: Colecciones de Joyas Bibliográficas 16 (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1983); idem., *Música práctica*, trans. into Spanish by José L. Moralejo, with intro. by Enrique Sánchez Pedrote (Bologna: Baltasar de Hiriberia, 1482; repr. ed., Madrid: Alpuerto, 1990). On the editions of this treatise, see Albano Sorbelli, ‘Le due edizioni della *Musica practica* di Bartolomé Ramis de Pareja’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1930) 104–14; Frederico Ghisi, ‘Un terzo esemplare della *Musica practica* di Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia alla Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze’, *Note d’archivio per la storia musicale* 12 (1935) 223–27. For an English trans., see Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia, *Musica practica*, trans. by Clement A. Miller. Musicological studies and documents 44, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1993); see also Luanne Eris Fose, *The Musica practica of Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia: A critical translation and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1992). For an Italian translation, see Elisabetta Torselli, *Musica practica di Bartolomeo de Pareia: Nuova edizione, traduzione in italiano studio e commento* (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Pavia, 1992).

³¹² *Tractato di musica di Giovanni Spataro musico Bolognese nel quale si tracta de la perfectione da la sesqualtera producta in la musica mensurata exercitate*. Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/14 (Venezia: Bernardino de Vitali, 1531; repr. ed. Bologna: Forni, 1970); for further coverage of this topic, see also his polemic writings, especially, Giovanni Spataro, *Errori di Franchino Gaffurio da Lodi, da maestro Ioanne Spataro, musico Bolognese, in sua deffensione, et del suo preceptore maestro Bartolomeo Ramis hispano subtilemente demonstrati* (Bologna: Benedetto di Ettore Faelli, 1521); Giovanni Spataro, *Dilucide et probatissime demonstratione de Maestro Zoanne Spataro musico Bolognese, contra certe frivole et vane excusatione, da Franchino Gaffurio (maestro de li errori) in luce aducte* (Bologna: Hieronymum de Benedictis, 1521) facs. ed. with German trans. and intro. by Johannes Wolf. Veröffentlichungen der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch, Frankfurt am Main 7, ed. by Johannes Wolf in collab. with Paul Hirsch (Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1925). Further on these polemic writings, see Heinrich Hüschen, ‘Kritik und Polemik in der Musiktheorie des 15. Jahrhunderts’, *Festschrift Arno Forchert zum 65. Geburtstag am 29. Dezember 1985*, ed. by Gerhard Allroggen and Detlef Altenburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986) 41–47. In fact, many of the contemporary polemic writings provided a fertile ground for the music-theoretical thought of the subsequent eras; see Claude V. Palisca, *The beginnings of Baroque music: Its roots in sixteenth-century theory and polemics* (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1954). For a comprehensive survey of the writings of Spataro, see Frieder Remp, ‘Elementar- und Satzlehre von Tinctoris bis Zarlino’, F. Alberto Gallo, Renate Groth, Claude V. Palisca, and Frieder Remp, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VII: Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989) 39–220, especially 62 ff., 105 ff.

³¹³ Lodovico Fogliano, *Musica theorica docte simul ac dilucide pertractata: In qua quamplures de harmonicis intervallis; non prius tentatae; continentur speculationes* (Venezia: Per Ioannem Antonium et Fratres de Sabio, 1529); facs. ed. in: *Monuments of music and music literature. II: Music literature* 93 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969); facs. ed. with comm. and bibl. by Giuseppe Massera. Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/13 (Bologna: Forni, 1970). For an English trans., see James Stanley Harrison, trans. with intro., *Lodovico Fogliano: Musica theorica, 1529* (M.A. thesis, Harvard

consonances of the *genus multiplex* (with the *diapason* represented in the ratio 2:1) and the *genus superparticularis* (with the *diapente* as 3:2; *diatessaron* as 4:3; *diapason-plus-diapente* as 3:1; and the *bisdiapason* as 4:1),³¹⁴ to the *scenario* (represented by the integers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). That is, the string is divided into 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 equal segments (*passus*) in order to extend the consonances to encompass the major third (5:4), minor third (6:5), major sixth (5:3), and minor sixth (8:5).³¹⁵ The latter owes to its position outside the *scenario*, which had to be accounted for through the process of adding the intervals of a perfect fourth and a minor third (4:3 × 6:5), with the expanded scheme of consonances justified in the context of the syntonic diatonic tuning, already advocated by Ptolemy³¹⁶ and subsequently adopted by Gaffurio,³¹⁷ yet eventually subject to criticism by Vincenzo Galilei (ca. 1520–91) in his *Dialogo* (1581).³¹⁸ After the thorough exposition of his

University, 1962). For a discussion of this treatise, see, for example, Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism*, 235–44; see also Claude V. Palisca, "The science of sound and musical practice", *Science and the arts in the Renaissance*, ed. by John William Shirley and F. David Hoener (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library; London: Associated University Presses, 1985) 59–73; Mark Lindley, "Stimmung und Temperatur", Carl Dahlhaus, Sigalia Dostrovsky/John T. Cannon, Mark Lindley, and Daniel P. Walker, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VI: Hören, Messen und Rechnen in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987) 109–331, esp. 140 ff., 162 ff.; Claude V. Palisca, "Humanism and music", *Renaissance humanism: Foundations, forms and legacy*, 3 vols., ed. by Albert Jr. Rabil (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988) 450–85; Claude V. Palisca, "Die Jahrzehnte um 1600 in Italien", F. Alberto Gallo, Renate Groth, Claude V. Palisca, and Frieder Rempp, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VII: Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989) 221–306; especially 227–29 ("Ludovico Fogliano").

³¹⁴ For a discussion of the *tetraktys*, see, for example, Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism*, 235–47; see also Julius Schwabe, "Hans Kayser's letzte Entdeckung: Die pythagoreische Tetraktys auf Raffaels 'Schule von Athen'", *Symbolon: Jahrbuch für Symbolforschung* 5 (1966) 92–102; Theo Reiser, *Das Geheimnis der pythagoreischen Tetraktys*. Harmonikale Studien 3 (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1967).

³¹⁵ On the continued preoccupation with arithmetic throughout the era of the Renaissance, see, for example, Paul Lawrence Rose, "Humanist culture and Renaissance mathematics: The Italian libraries of the Quattrocento", *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973) 46–105; see also Paul Lawrence Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of mathematics: Studies on humanists and mathematicians from Petrarch to Galileo*. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 145 (Genève: Droz, 1975); Menso Folkerts, "Die Bedeutung des lateinischen Mittelalters für die Entwicklung der Mathematik", *Braunschweigische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft: Jahrbuch* (1986) 179–92.

³¹⁶ See appendix, document 78; see also Andrew Barker, *Scientific method in Ptolemy's Harmonics* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2nd ed., 2006); see also Andrew Barker, "Reason and perception in Ptolemy's Harmonics", *Harmonia mundi: Musica e filosofia nell'antichità/Music and philosophy in the ancient world*, ed. by Robert W. Wallace and Bonnie MacLachlan. Biblioteca di Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica 5 (Roma: Ateneo, 1991) 104–30.

³¹⁷ Franchino Gaffurio, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milano: Gothardo Pontano, 1518) book 2, chapters 18 ff. For an English trans., see Franchinus Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, trans. with intro. by Clement A. Miller. Musicological studies and documents 33, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1977) 104 ff.

³¹⁸ See appendix, document 25. On the dispute between Zarlino and Galilei, see Don Harrán, "Sulla genesi della famosa disputa fra Gioseffo Zarlino e Vincenzo Galilei: Un nuovo profilo", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1987) 467–75; see also Claude V. Palisca, "Mersenne pro Galilei contra Zarlino", *Essays in honour of David Ewatt Tunley*, ed. by Frank Callaway (Nedlands, Western Australia: Callaway International Resource Center for Music Education, The School of Music, University of Western Australia, 1995) 61–72. Further on Galilei's theories, see Claude V. Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's counterpoint treatise: A code for the *seconda pratica*", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9 (1956) 81–96; Daniel Pickering Walker, "Some aspects of the musical theory of Vincenzo Galilei and Galileo Galilei", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973–74) 33–47; reprinted in: Daniel Pickering Walker, *Studies in musical science in the late Renaissance*. Studies of the Warburg Institute 37 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1978) 14–26; Karol Berger, *Theories of chromatic and enharmonic music in late sixteenth century Italy*. Studies in musicology 10, ed. by George Buelow (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980); Frieder Rempp, "Der Musiktheoretiker Vincenzo Galilei und das Ende des 'klassischen' Kontrapunkts", *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1979) 19–34; Frieder Rempp, *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis*. Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz 9, ed. by Hans-Peter Reinecke and Dagmar Droysen (Köln: Arno Volk; Hans Gerig, 1980); see also Claude V. Palisca, "Scientific empiricism in musical thought", *Seventeenth-century science and the arts*, ed. by Hedley H. Rhys (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961) 91–137; Stillman Drake, "Renaissance music and experimental science", *Journal of the history of ideas* 31 (1970) 483–500; Claude V. Palisca, "The science of sound and musical practice", *Science and the arts in the Renaissance*, ed. by John W. Shirley and F. David Hoener (Washington, D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library; London, Toronto:

theory of consonance and dissonance in *Le istituzioni harmoniche*,³¹⁹ within the context of the modes,³²⁰ Zarlino, in the *Dimostrazioni harmoniche*,³²¹ with recourse to the scenario, applied his theory of consonances to the rules of counterpoint,³²² which he derived from the teachings of Adrian Willaert (ca. 1490–1562)³²³ and which were adopted by his pupil Giovanni Maria Artusi (ca. 1540–1613)³²⁴ in *L'arte del contraponto ridotta in tavole* (1586–98).³²⁵

In Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi (1625–1705), Leopold Mozart recognizes again an author with an antiquarian perspective,³²⁶ especially in the discussion of *musica theorica* and *musica practica* in his *Historia musica* (1695),³²⁷ the first such volume in the Italian language.³²⁸ Bontempi devotes most of this treatise to a discussion of Greek music as a mathematical discipline, yet also including comments on the theory and practice of Baroque repertoires. By the time he completed his *Historia musica*—which Manfred Bukofzer, along with the treatises of Angelo Berardi (ca. 1636–94),³²⁹ Giovanni Maria

Associated University Presses, 1985) 59–73; Eisuke Tsugami, “Vincenzo Galilei and natural examples of ancient music: An aspect of the classical tradition in Western music”, *Estetika* 8 (1998) 93–102.

³¹⁹ Lorenzo Fico, *Il concetto di consonanza e dissonanza nelle Istituzioni harmoniche di Gioseffo Zarlino* (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1987); also in revised form as Lorenzo Fico, *Zarlino: Consonanza e dissonanza nelle Istituzioni harmoniche*, with pref. by Claude V. Palisca (Bari: Adriatica, 1989).

³²⁰ Richard L. Crocker, “Perché Zarlino diede una nuova numerazione ai modi?” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 3 (1968) 48–58.

³²¹ See appendix, document 102.

³²² Robert W. Wienpahl, “Zarlino, the senario, and tonality”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12 (1959) 27–41; see also Marie Annette Burkart, *Zarlino's practice of counterpoint: A musical supplement to part III of Le istituzioni harmoniche, 1558* (M.A. thesis, Boston University, 1978); Albert Richenhagen, “Zarlino's Lehre vom doppelten Kontrapunkt in der Duodezime: Aspekte ihrer Vorgeschichte und ihrer Nachwirkung”, *Kirchenmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift Hans Schmidt*, ed. by Heribert Klein and Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, in collab. with Jürgen Schaarwächter (Köln-Rheinkassel: C. Dohr, 1998) 139–48.

³²³ See, for example, Michelle Y. Fromson, “Zarlino's modal analysis of Willaert's *Avertatur obsecro*”, *Secondo convegno europeo di analisi musicale: Atti*, ed. by Rossana Dalmonte and Mario Baroni. Università degli Studi di Trento, Dipartimento di Storia della Civiltà Europea: Studi e testi 1 (Trento: Dipartimento di Storia della Civiltà Europea, Università degli studi di Trento, 1992) 237–48.

³²⁴ In his volume entitled *L'Artusi ovvero delle imperfezioni della moderna musica* (Venezia, 1600–03), Artusi included Willaert's *Quid non ebrietas*; see facs. ed. in: Biblioteca musica bononiensis II/36 (Bologna: Forni, 1968)—a fact which underscores the importance of Willaert's contrapuntal practice, at least in the eye of Artusi. For a discussion of Willaert's *Quid non ebrietas*, see, for example, Joseph S. Levitan, “Adrian Willaert's famous duo *Quidnam ebrietas*: A composition which closes apparently with the interval of a seventh”, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 15 (1938–39) 166–233; Edward E. Lowinsky, “Adrian Willaert's chromatic ‘Duo’ re-examined”, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 18 (1956) 1–36; also in: Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the culture of the Renaissance and other essays*, 2 vols., ed. and with an intro. by Bonnie J. Blackburn, with fore. by Howard Mayer Brown and Ellen T. Harris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989) vol. 2, 681–98; see also Edward E. Lowinsky, “Echoes of Adrian Willaert's chromatic ‘duo’ in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century compositions”, *Festschrift Oliver Strunk*, ed. by Harold Powers (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968) 183–238; also in Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the culture of the Renaissance*, vol. 2, 699–729; Dorothy Keyser, “The character of exploration: Adrian Willaert's ‘Quid non ebrietas’”, *Musical repercussions of 1492: Encounters in text and performance*, ed. by Carol E. Robertson (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992) 185–207.

³²⁵ See appendix, document 2. On Artusi's music-theoretical discourse, see also Adelmo Damerini, “Giovanni Maria Artusi e alcune sue opera teoriche”, *Le celebrazioni del 1963 e alcune nuove indagini sulla musica italiana del XIII e XIX secolo*, ed. by Mario Fabbri, Adelmo Damerini, and Gino Roncaglia. Accademia Musicale Chigiana 20 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1963) 9–14.

³²⁶ See appendix, documents 12–14. For an overview of his contribution, see Francesco Briganti, *Giovanni. Andrea Angelini Bontempi (1624–1705), musicista, letterato, architetto: Perugia—Dresda*. *Historiae musicae cultores* 4 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1956).

³²⁷ See appendix, document 14.

³²⁸ Giovanni Battista Rossi Scotti, *Di G.A. Bontempi di Perugia: Ricordo storico* (Perugia: V. Bartelli, 1879).

³²⁹ See appendix, documents 3–8. Further on the contribution of Angelo Berardi to contemporary music theory, see Karl Friedrich Waack, *Angelo Berardi als Musiktheoretiker* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Kiel, 1985); Renate Groth, “Zur Musiklehre Angelo Berardis”, *Musiktheorie* 4 (1989) 157–60; Pierpaolo Bellini, “Angelo Berardi, rapporti tra teoria e composizione nella seconda metà del Seicento”, *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 16/1 (1995) 269–430; 16/2 (1995)

Bononcini (1642–78),³³⁰ and Fux,³³¹ cited as one of the four outstanding volumes on counterpoint³³²—Bontempi had already published another manual, the *Nova quatuor vocibus componendi methodus* (1660),³³³ a composition manual focused on the discussion of four-part vocal repertoire and contemporary *Generalbaß* practices.³³⁴

On the other hand, one wonders why Leopold Mozart mentions Lodovico Zacconi (1556–1627). Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (1622)³³⁵—a treatise on the rendition of 16th-century music with emphasis on rules for singers of *musica mensurata*, including diminutions and specialized formulae (such as the *accenti* and *gorgia*),³³⁶ and the subdivisions of the *tactus* according to *proportio dupla* and *proportio tripla*,³³⁷ as well as the classification and suitability of musical instruments³³⁸—also details a significant encounter with Zarlino.³³⁹ Yet this treatise attests to Zacconi's considerable confusion on the origin of the *diesis* and his incorrect derivation from the ascending hexachord³⁴⁰—obviously a serious misunderstanding and consequently misrepresentation of Zarlino's derivation of the *diesis* from the descending tetrachords of the Greek *genera*.³⁴¹

Leopold Mozart's mentioning of Vincenzo Galilei is not surprising, since the latter, in his fragmentary *Compendio nella theorica della musica* (ca. 1570), followed in the footsteps of Zarlino's *Le istituzioni harmoniche*—a treatise which for Galilei served as a point of departure for a broader examination that embraced several prominent Greek writers, including Aristoxenos, Plutarch, and Ptolemy, all of whom were made available

5–120; see also Denis Brian Collins, "Zarlino and Berardi as teachers of canon," *Theoria: Historical aspects of music theory* 7 (1993) 103–23.

³³⁰ Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico pratico che brevemente dimostra il modo di giungere alla perfetta cognizione di tutti quelle cose, che concorrono alla composizione de i canti, e di ciò ch'allarte del contrapunto si ricerca*, op. 8 (Bologna: G. Monti, 1673; also 1688), with German trans. of part II as *Musicus practicus, welcher in kurtze Weiset die Art, wie man zu vollkommener Erkänntnis aller der jenigen Sachen, welche bey Setzung eines Gesangs unterlauffen, und was die Kunst des Contrapuncts erfordert, gelangen kan* (Stuttgart: P. Treu, 1701); also as facs. of 1673 Bologna ed., as part of *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature* 78 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969). For a discussion of this treatise, see Karl Heinz Holler, *Giovanni Maria Bononcini's Musico pratico in seiner Bedeutung für die musikalische Satzlehre des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 44 (Strasbourg: P.H. Heitz, 1963).

³³¹ See appendix, document 21.

³³² Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque era* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1947) 383.

³³³ See appendix, document 12. In addition to his writings on music, Bontempi also authored a volume on the history of Saxony; see his *Historia dell'origine de' Sassoni* (Perugia: Constantini, 1697); also in German trans. by Johann Georg Richter as Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi, *Historien des durchlauchtigsten Hauses Sachsen* (Dresden: M. Bergen, 1666 [sic]).

³³⁴ For a discussion of this treatise, see Joel Lester, "Composition made easy: Bontempi's *Nova methodus* of 1660," *Theoria: Historical aspects of music theory* 7 (1993) 87–102.

³³⁵ See appendix, document 100.

³³⁶ Friedrich Chrysander, "Lodovico Zacconi als Lehrer des Kunstgesanges," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891) 337–96; 9 (1893) 249–310; 10 (1894) 531–67; Ernest Thomas Ferand, "Improvised vocal counterpoint in the late Renaissance and early Baroque," *Annales musicologiques* 4 (1956) 129–74.

³³⁷ Ruth I. DeFord, "Zacconi's theories of tactus and mensuration," *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 14 (1996) 151–82; see also Michael B. Collins, "The performance of sesquialtera and hemiola in the sixteenth century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964) 5–28.

³³⁸ Gerhard Singer, *Lodovico Zacconi's treatment of the 'Suitability and classification of all musical instruments' in the Prattica di musica of 1592* (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1968).

³³⁹ James Haar, "A sixteenth-century attempt at music criticism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983) 191–209.

³⁴⁰ See appendix, document 100.

³⁴¹ For an overview of Zacconi's music-theoretical understanding, see Gernot Gruber, *Lodovico Zacconi als Musiktheoretiker* (Habilitation, Universität Wien, 1972). On the Greek tetrachords, see André Barbera, "Arithmetic and geometric divisions of the tetrachord," *Journal of music theory* 21 (1977) 294–323; see also Pierre Boyancé, "Note sur la tétractys," *L'antiquité classique* 20 (1951) 421–25; idem, "The consonant eleventh and the expression of the musical tetractys: A study of ancient Pythagoreanism," *Journal of music theory* 28 (1984) 191–223; see also Pierre Boyancé, "Note sur la tétractys," *L'antiquité classique* 20 (1951) 421–25; André Barbera, "The consonant eleventh and the expansion of the musical tetractys: A study of ancient Pythagoreanism," *Journal of music theory* 28 (1984) 191–223.

to him through Latin and Italian translations, conceding to difficulties with respect to the comprehension of the octave species of Ptolemy, Boethius, and Gaffurio.³⁴² Opposing this hypothesis, which Galilei's teacher Gioseffo Zarlino had firmly established as to the musical laws which ought to be based on the rational principles of arithmetic, Galilei, in his *Dialogo* (1581),³⁴³ on the whole altered or relaxed many of the stringent rules. He specifically replaces the syntonic-diatonic tuning of Zarlino with a tuning of vocal music regarded as a compromise between the Pythagorean system (with its pure fifth) and Ptolemy's syntonic diatonic (with its consonant third). This flexibility allows for both consonant chords and the infusion of chromaticism, in substituting the modern modes for the *tonoi* of the *systema teleion*, the latter which he regarded as most inappropriate for the time, yet advocating the continued imitation of the ancient Greek tradition in its relentless adherence to the monodic style with attention to the single line of narrow range characterized by the rhythmic inflections of poetry and speech. On the other hand, Galilei's truly more antiquarian perspective is readily seen in his overview of organology³⁴⁴ and notational systems; the latter includes the reproducing of the Alypian tables as a key to unlocking Greek notation.³⁴⁵

What picqued Leopold Mozart's curiosity in the writings of Franchino Gaffurio, at least in the *Theorica musicae*³⁴⁶ and the *Practica musicae*,³⁴⁷ was the coverage of much information in a highly condensed fashion. Beyond that, Gaffurio's placing of *musica theorica* and *musica practica* on equal footing must have struck a positive chord in Leopold Mozart, who, in fact, was pursuing an identical agenda in his *Violinschule*. At this point in his enumeration of theorists, Leopold Mozart makes a rather curious temporal leap forward. In Berardi he must have recognized a consummate musician—what he himself aspired to be, namely a fusion of theorist, composer and organist.³⁴⁸ Like the aforementioned humanist, Berardi, a pupil of Marco Scacchi (ca. 1600–62),³⁴⁹ who like Gaffurio, carried the title of “professor musices”, blends older and newer practices in his

³⁴² On the octave species, see André Barbera, “Octave species”.

³⁴³ See appendix, document 25.

³⁴⁴ See appendix, documents 24 and 26; see also Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo* (1584), trans. and ed. by Carol MacClintock. Musicological studies and documents 39, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985); Philippe Canguilhem, *Les deux éditions de 'Fronimo' (1568 et 1584) et la place du luth dans la pensée musicale de Vincenzo Galilei* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Tours, 1994); also published as Philippe Canguilhem, *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei*. Epitome musical (Paris: Minerve, 2001).

³⁴⁵ For a reproduction of the Alypian table, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 599.

³⁴⁶ See appendix, document 22.

³⁴⁷ See appendix, document 23.

³⁴⁸ See, for example, Eleonora Simi Bonini, “Angelo Berardi”, *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 35 (2001) 497–534; see also Piero Gargiulo, “La ‘professione armonica’: Il lessico della musica nei trattati di Angelo Berardi”, *Le parole della musica. III: Studi di lessicologia musicale* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2000) 49–63. Later in the *Violinschule*, in connection with an elementary discussion of notation, Leopold Mozart returns to Berardi: “ut relevet miserum fatum solitiusque labores”; see *Violinschule*, 22.

³⁴⁹ On Scacchi's contribution to contemporary music-theoretical thought, see, for example, Claude V. Palisca, “Marco Scacchi's *Defense of modern music* (1649)”, *Words and music: The scholar's view. A medley of problems and solutions compiled in honor of A. Tillman Merritt by Sundry Hands*, ed. by Laurence D. Berman and Elliot Forbes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 189–235; also in Claude V. Palisca, *Studies in the history of Italian music and music theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 88–145; Giuseppe Massera, “Precisazione teoriche nel ‘Cribrum’ di Marco Scacchi” and “Marco Scacchi: Dalla polemica antisifertina allo schema formale degli stile musicali”, *Primo incontro con la musica italiana in Polonia: Dal Rinascimento al Barocco, Parma, 12–13 giugno, Bydgoszcz, 11–12 settembre 1969*, *Miscellanee saggi convegni* 7 (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1974) 201–22; Aleksandra Patalas, “Marco Scacchi's characterisation of the modes in his *Missa omnium tonorum*”, *Musica Iagellonica* 2 (1997) 103–29; see also Hellmut Federhofer, “Marco Scacchi's *Cribrum musicum* (1643) und die Kompositionslehre von Christoph Bernhard”, *Festschrift Hans Engel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. by Horst Heussner (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964) 76–90; Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, “Marco Scacchi and his pupils on the polychoral technique”, *Musica Iagellonica* 2 (1997) 131–50.

Ragionamenti musicali (1681)³⁵⁰ and *Documenti armonici* (1687),³⁵¹ the latter squarely focused on the topics of solmization, mode, and consonance.³⁵²

With the inclusion of Giovanni Battista Doni (1595–1647), Leopold Mozart widens the expertise of important contributors somewhat. Trained more as a classicist and philologist in the disciplines of language, geography, and mathematics at a Jesuit College in Rome, rather than as a music theorist, Doni engaged in his readings of original Greek texts in an effort to revitalize the old traditions for contemporary practice rather than out of an inner interest, motivation, and obligation for the prevailing historiography.³⁵³ His intent is clearly reflected in his *Trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (written before 1635),³⁵⁴ which included a comprehensive exposition of the Greek *systema teleion* beginning with Plato³⁵⁵ and extending through to Aristides Quintilianus;³⁵⁶ in the *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (1635),³⁵⁷ in which Doni offered a contemporary interpretation of the *systema teleion* in its application to modern composition; and in his *De praestantia musicae veteris* (1647),³⁵⁸ in which he clarified the concept of the *genus* (chromatic and enharmonic) which Nicola Vicentino (1511–ca. 1576), in his *L'antica musica* (1555),³⁵⁹ had failed to do.

³⁵⁰ See appendix, document 4.

³⁵¹ See appendix, document 5.

³⁵² Arved Martin Larsen, *Angelo Berardi (1636–1694) as theorist: A seventeenth-century view of counterpoint* (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1978); Andrea Luppi, "Le origini della musica tra storia e mito nell'opera teorica di Angelo Berardi", *Antiquae musicae italicae studiosi* 4 (1988) 13–20; reprinted in *Statuti della musica: Studi sull'estetica musicale tra Sei e Ottocento*, ed. by Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan. Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'AMIS, Como 6 (Como: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1989) 55–68.

³⁵³ On the exceptionally broad nature of Doni's inquiry, see, for example, Anton Francesco Doni, *Mondi celesti, terrestri, et infernali* (Venezia: Giovanii Battista Bertoni, 1606).

³⁵⁴ This treatise is not included in the appendix, since its surviving manuscript in all likelihood would not have attracted the attention of Leopold Mozart. With regard to Doni's treatise, see also his *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio de' generi, e de' modi della musica, con due trattati, l'uno sopra i tuoni e modi veri, l'altro sopra i tuoni e armonie de gl'antichi, et sette discorsi sopra le materie piu principali della musica, o concernenti alcuni instrumenti nuovi praticati dall' autore* (Roma: A. Fei, 1640); with extracts ed. by Claudio Gallico as "Discorso sesto sopra il recitare in scena con l'accompagnamento d'instrumenti musicali", *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 3 (1968) 286–302.

³⁵⁵ Lukas Richter, "Platons Stellung zur praktischen und spekulativen Musiktheorie seiner Zeit", *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Hamburg 1956*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) 196–203; see also Walther Vetter, "Die Musik im platonischen Staate", *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 11 (1935) 306–20; Gerhart Schmidt, "Die Rolle der Musik in Platons Staat", *Musik und Zahl: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zum Grenzbereich zwischen Musik und Mathematik*, ed. by Gunter Schnitzler. Orpheus-Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 17, ed. by Martin Vogel (Bonn–Bad Godesberg: Verlag für Systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1976) 67–80.

³⁵⁶ Luisa Zanoncelli, "La filosofia musicale di Aristide Quintiliano", *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 24 (1977) 51–93; Charles André Barbera, *The persistence of Pythagorean mathematics in ancient musical thought* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980); Andrew Barker, "Aristides Quintilianus and constructions in early music theory", *Classical quarterly new series* 32 (1982) 184–97; Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Harmonia and ethos in ancient Greek music", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 3 (1984) 264–79; Mindy B. Horowitz, "Modulation and the *tonoi* according to Aristides Quintilianus", *Theoria: Historical aspects of music theory* 1 (1985) 84–96; Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Rhythm and meter in ancient Greek music", *Music theory spectrum* 7 (1985) 159–80; Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's lyre*, 521–82.

³⁵⁷ See appendix, document 16.

³⁵⁸ See appendix, document 17.

³⁵⁹ Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica, con la dichiarazione, et con gli esempi de i tre generi, con le loro spetie. Et con l'inventione di uno nuovo stromento, nel quale si contiene tutta la perfetta musica, con molti segreti musicali. Nuovamente mess'in luce* (Roma: Antonio Barre, 1555; 2nd ed. 1557); see also facs., ed. by Edward E. Lowinsky. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 17 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959). For an overview of this treatise, see, for example, Hermann Zenck, "Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica* (1555)", *Theodor Kroyer: Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, am 9. September 1933, überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by Hermann Zenck, Helmut Schultz, and Walter Gerstenberg (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1933) 86–101; Henry William Kaufmann, *The life and works of Nicola Vicentino (1511–ca. 1576)*. Musicological studies and documents 11, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1966). For discussion of the *systema teleion* in Vicentino's treatise, see, for example, Oscar Chilesotti,

Unlike several of Doni's predecessors, including Gaffurio,³⁶⁰ Doni himself, fluent in both Greek and Latin, studied the relevant texts from antiquity and the Middle Ages in the original language, thus avoiding errors of interpretation, some of which escaped Gaffurio.³⁶¹ Doni contributed to the already much debated classification of the tetrachords according to Aristoxenos,³⁶² Archytas of Tarentum (fl. 1st half of 4th century B.C.E.),³⁶³ Didymus (fl. 2nd half of 1st century B.C.E.),³⁶⁴ and Ptolemy,³⁶⁵ and the more contemporary interpretation of this topic in the treatises of Lodovico Fogliano,³⁶⁶ Girolamo Mei (1519–94),³⁶⁷ Francesco de Salinas (1513–90),³⁶⁸ Franchino

"Di Nicola Vicentino e dei generi greci secondo Vicentino Galilei", *Rivista musicale italiana* 19 (1912) 546–65; Henry William Kaufmann, "Vicentino and the Greek genera", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963) 325–46; Peter Niedermüller, "La musica cromatico ridotta alla pratica vicentiniana: Genus, Kontrapunkt und musikalische Temperatur bei Nicola Vicentino", *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 6 (1997) 59–90; see also Maria Rika Maniates, "Bottrigari versus Sigonio on Vicentino and his Ancient music adapted to modern practice", *Musical humanism and its legacy: Essays in honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. by Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning, Festschrift series 11 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon, 1992) 79–107.

³⁶⁰ Because of his lack of knowledge of the Greek language, Gaffurio obviously depended on the Greek treatises in Latin translations, many of which owe their existence to Gaffurio's own commissioning and partial financing of these translations; see Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Franchino Gaffurio und seine Übersetzer der griechischen Musiktheorie in der *Theorica musicae* (1492)".

³⁶¹ See, for example, Franchino Gaffurio, *Theorica musicae*, book 2, chapter 8; see Franchino Gaffurio, *The Theory of Music*, annotations, trans. and notes by Walter Kurt Kreyszig, 45–48.

³⁶² See Gaffurio, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*, book 2, chapter 16; and idem, *De harmonia*, trans. and comm. by Miller, 98–102.

³⁶³ Gaffurio, *De harmonia*, book 2, chapter 17; and idem, *De harmonia*, trans. and comm. by Miller, 102–04. Further on the Greek *systema teleion* of Archytas of Tarent, see Alan C. Bowen, "The foundations of early Pythagorean harmonic science: Archytas, fragment 1", *Ancient philosophy* 2 (1982) 79–104; Andrew Barker, "Archita di Taranto e l'armonica pitagorica", *Tra Sicilia e Magna Grecia: Anali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 11 (1989) 159–78.

³⁶⁴ Gaffurio, *De harmonia*, book 2, chapter 17 and idem, *De harmonia*, trans. and comm. by Miller, 102–04.

³⁶⁵ Gaffurio, *De harmonia*, book 2, chapters 18 ff; and idem, *De harmonia*, transl and comm by Miller, 104 ff.

³⁶⁶ Lodovico Fogliano, *Musica theorica Ludovici Foliani mutinensis: docte simul ac dilucide pertractata: in qua quamplures de harmonicis intervallis; non prius tentatae; continentur speculationes* (Venezia: G.A. [Nicolini] e fratelli de Sabio, 1529); see also Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism*, 235–47.

³⁶⁷ Girolamo Mei, *Discorso sopra la musica antica e moderna* (Venezia: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1602); also facs. ed.: Collezione di trattati e musiche antiche edite in fac-simile (Milano: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1933); and facs. ed. by Giuseppe Massera. *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis* II/35 (Bologna: A. Forni, 1968, repr. ed. 2000); Girolamo Mei, *De modis musicis antiquorum ad Petrum Victorium libri IIII*, critical ed. of MS Lat. 5323 at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ed. by Eisuke Tsugami (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1991); Claude V. Palisca, *Girolamo Mei (1519–1594): Letters on ancient and modern music to Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardi: A study with annotated text*. Musicological studies and documents 3, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1960, 2nd ed. 1977); see also Claude V. Palisca, "Girolamo Mei: Mentor to the Florentine Camerata", *The musical quarterly* 40 (1954) 1–20; idem, "The 'Camerata Fiorentina': A reappraisal", *Studi musicali* 1 (1972) 203–236; idem, *Humanism*, 265–79; 418–26; idem, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary studies and translations*. Music theory translation, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.: London: Yale University Press, 1989) esp. 45–77.

³⁶⁸ Francesco de Salinas, *De musica libri septem, in quibus eius doctrinae veritas tam quae ad harmoniam, quam quae ad rhythmum pertinet, iuxta sensus ac rationis iudicium ostenditur et demonstratur. Cum duplici indice captum et rerum* (Salamanca: Mathias Gast, 1577; 2nd ed., Salamanca: Cornelii Bonardi [Claudius Curlet]), ed. by Macario Santiago Kastner. *Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles* 13 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958); see also Arthur Michael Daniels, *The 'De musica libri septem' of Franciscus de Salinas* (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1962); Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, "General introduction to the *De musica libri septem* of Francisco Salinas, and to its first translation", *The consort* 31 (1975) 101–08. On the significance of his theories, see Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism*, 185–86, 250–54, 301–03; Mark Lindley, "Stimmung und Temperatur", 109–331, esp. 140 ff., 169 ff., 173 ff., 324 ff.; Claude V. Palisca, "Francisco de Salinas (1513–1590) as Humanist", *España en la música de Occidente: Actas del congreso internacional celebrado en, Salama, 29 de octubre–5 de noviembre 1985. Año Europeo de la música*, 2 vols. ed. by Emilio Casares Rodicio, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, and José López-Calo (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, Ministerio de Cultura, 1987) vol. 1, 165–70; Claude V. Palisca, "Francisco de Salinas et l'humanisme italien", *Musique et humanisme à la Renaissance, Cahiers V.L. Saulnier* 10 (Paris: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 1993) 37–45; Paloma Otaola, "Francisco Sainas y la teoría modal en el siglo XVI", *Revista aragonesa de musicología* 11 (1995) 367–85; Paloma Otaola, *El humanismo musical en Francisco de Salinas* (Pamplona: Newbook Ediciones, 1997); Paloma Otaola, "Las fuentes en el *De musica libri septem* de Francisco Salinas (1577)", *Fuentes musicales en la Península Ibérica (ca. 1250–ca. 1550): Actas de coloquio internacional, Lleida, 1–3 abril 1996*, ed. by Maria del Carmen, Gómez

Gaffurio,³⁶⁹ Vincenzo Galilei,³⁷⁰ and Gioseffo Zarlino³⁷¹ (the latter authors who receive mention in Leopold Mozart's brief account of the history of music). Doni extended Ptolemy's interpretation of the seven octave species³⁷² to the even *modi*, with each *modus* encompassing seven tones with the characteristic interval content (two whole tones followed by a half tone, followed by three whole tones, followed by a half tone), in essence according the feature of transposition for the Dorian mode by Ptolemy to the remaining octave species of the *systema teleion*.³⁷³ A staunch supporter of Pythagorean tuning, Doni favored the *diatonon* of Didymus with the interval relations 9:8, 10:9, and 16:15 in contrast to the diatonic syntonic of Ptolemy with the ratios 10:9, 9:8, and 16:15.³⁷⁴ In view of Leopold Mozart's training as a violinist, he was perhaps most attracted to Doni's *Lyra barberina amphichordos* (1632–35),³⁷⁵ a detailed account of the history of Greek string instruments with iconographic representations—a volume which undoubtedly provided for Leopold Mozart a means of retracing his own instrument historically to Antiquity and the early Middle Ages through a number of instruments developed by Doni himself, such as the *lyra barberina*, the *violone panarmonico*, and the *violino diarmonico*.³⁷⁶

That Leopold Mozart's familiarity with the music-theoretical discourse extends beyond the writings of German and Italian theorists becomes evident in his reference to Jacques Bonnet (1644–1723). Treasurer of the Parisian Parliament and advisor to King Louis XIV (1638–1715), Bonnet attained fame for his completion of the first history of music in France, the *L'histoire de la musique et de ses effets depuis son origine, jusqu'à présent* in Paris.³⁷⁷ The publication history of this monumental study is truly

Muntané, and Màrius Benadó (Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencz, 2002) 359–83; see also Paloma Otaola, "La música como ciencia en los teóricos españoles de Renacimiento: Juan Bermudo (1555) y Francisco Salinas (1577)", *Anuario musical* 54 (1999) 131–48.

³⁶⁹ See appendix, document 22. For a trans., see Gaffurio, *The theory of music*, trans. with intro. by Walter Kurt Kreyszig, 35 ff.

³⁷⁰ See appendix, documents 25, 27.

³⁷¹ See appendix, documents 101–02.

³⁷² See appendix, document 78.

³⁷³ Claude V. Palisca, "Giovanni Battista Doni's interpretation of the Greek modal system", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practices* 15 (1997) 3–18; see also Claude V. Palisca, "Introductory notes to the historiography of the Greek modes", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history, criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 3 (1984) 221–28; see also Jacques Chailley, "Le mythe des modes grecs", *Acta musicologica* 28 (1956) 137–63.

³⁷⁴ See appendix, document 78.

³⁷⁵ For a publication of this document, see Giovanni Battista Doni, *Lyra Barberina amphichordos, accedunt ejusdem opera, pleraque nondum edita, ad veterem musicam illustradam pertinentia ex autographis collegit, et in lucem proferrri curavit Antonius Franciscus Gorius [...] distributa in tomos II, absoluta vero studio et opera Io. Baptistae Passeri [...] cum praefationibus ejusdem* (Firenze: Stamperia Imperiale, 1763). For a modern edition, see Francesco Vatielli, ed., *La "Lyra Barberina" di G.B. Doni* (Pesaro: A. Nobili, 1908); see also Claude V. Palisca, "G.B. Doni, musicological activist, and his *Lyra Barberina*", *Modern musical scholarship*, ed. by Edward Olleson (Stocksfield, Mass.: Oriel Press, 1978) 180–205; also in Claude V. Palisca, *Studies in the history of Italian music and music theory*, 467–90; idem, *G.B. Doni's Lyra Barberina: Commentary and iconographical study. Facsimile edition with critical notes*. *Miscellanea saggi convegni* 18 (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1981); also published in: *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis* II/151 (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1981); also in: *Quadrivium* 22 (1982); see also Martha Maas and Jane MacIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989).

³⁷⁶ That Doni's interests in organology extended far beyond the string instruments is amply documented in the secondary literature; see, for example, Patrizio Barbieri, "Il cembalo omnicordo di Francesco Nigetti in due memorie inedite di G.B. Doni (1647) e B. Bresciani (1719)", *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 22 (1987) 34–113; see also Patrizio Barbieri, "Gli strumenti poliarmonici di G.B. Doni e il ripristino dell'antica musica greca (ca. 1630–1650)", *Analecta musicologica: Veröffentlichungen der Musikgeschichtlichen Abteilung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 30 and *Studien zur italienischen Musikgeschichte* 15 (1998) 79–114.

³⁷⁷ See appendix, document 11; see also Philippe Vendrix, *Aux origines d'une discipline historique: La musique et son*

remarkable. It was first issued in 1715, and a second edition, also in Paris, appeared in 1723, with further editions, all published in Amsterdam, in 1721, 1725, and 1726, respectively, under Bonnet's name. The 1743 edition appeared under Bourdelot's name in both The Hague and Frankfurt am Main. In addition to the content of the earlier editions, the 1743 publication includes the *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* of Jean Laurent le Cerf de la Vieville (1674–1707).³⁷⁸ This fusion of the two books, though not recorded on the title page of the 1743 publication, was recognized even outside the borders of France towards the end of the 18th century, as readily testified, for example, by Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818) in his *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik* (1792).³⁷⁹

What attracted the attention of Leopold Mozart to Bonnet's *Histoire de la musique* (Paris, 1715)?³⁸⁰ Exceptionally broad in its overall conception, especially in the inclusion of remarks on topics of ethnomusicological interests, with individual sections on Chinese music, Hebrew music, and Persian music, the *Histoire de la musique* aimed at a universally conceived historiography of music. On the one hand, this volume embraces modern topics with an emphasis on the contemporaries repertoires of France and Italy, particularly with recourse to the *bon goût*.³⁸¹ This was a popular notion that also surfaces in German music-theoretical treatises of the second half of the 18th century, most prominently in the *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* by Quantz.³⁸² Quantz introduces this term at the end of his treatise as a means of elegantly capturing the conflation of the principal styles of composition, namely, the French, German, and Italian idioms, into the *genus mixtus*,³⁸³ observed in both vocal and instrumental repertoires, without committing himself to any specific ideal of compositional procedures,³⁸⁴ a facet of his aesthetics.³⁸⁵ On the other hand, Bonnet, in his *Histoire de la musique*, reveals a stridently

histoire en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Letters de l'Université de Liège 260 (Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Letters de l'Université de Liège; Genève: Droz, 1993).

³⁷⁸ Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française, où, en examinant en détail les avantages des spectacles, et le mérite des compositeurs des deux nations, on montre quelles sont les vraies beautés de la musique* (Brussels: François Foppens, 1704; repr. ed., Amsterdam: J. Roger, 1721, Amsterdam: LeCene, 1725; facs. ed. of 1704–06 ed., Genève: Minkoff Reprints, 1972, also 1993); repr. ed. with index by Othmar Wessely, *Die großen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Aufklärung 2* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966); also with index prepared by Carl B. Schmidt (Genève: Minkoff, 1993). For an English trans., see Mary B. Ellison, *The comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française of Lecerf de la Vieville: An annotated translation of the first four dialogues* (Ph.D. diss., University of Miami, 1973).

³⁷⁹ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Literatur der Musik oder Anleitung zur Kenntnis musikalischer Bücher, welche von den ältesten bis auf die neuesten Zeiten bey den Griechen, Römern und den meisten neuern europäischen Nationen sind geschrieben worden. Systematisch geordnet, und nach Veranlassung mit Anmerkungen und Urtheilen begleitet* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1792; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001). Further on the significance of Forkel, see, for example, Heinrich Edelhoff, *Johann Nikolaus Forkel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musikwissenschaft*. Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Göttinger Universität und Bibliothek 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935); Vincent Duckels, "Johann Nikolaus Forkel: The beginning of music historiography", *Eighteenth-century studies* 1 (1967–68) 277–90; Martin Staehelin, "Musikalische Wissenschaft und musikalische Praxis bei Johann Nikolaus Forkel", *Musikwissenschaft und Musikpflege an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Martin Staehelin. Göttinger Universitätsschriften. A: Schriften 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987) 9–26.

³⁸⁰ See appendix, document 11.

³⁸¹ Robert Wangermée, "Lecerf de la Vieville, Bonnet-Bourdelot et 'L'essai sur le bon goût en musique' de Nicolas Grandval", *Revue belge de musicologie* 5 (1951) 132–46.

³⁸² See appendix, document 79.

³⁸³ On the *genus mixtus* in actual composition, see, for example, David Ledbetter, "A question of genre: Johann Sebastian Bach and the 'mixed style'", *Music and its questions: Essays in honor of Peter Williams*, ed. by Thomas Donahue (Richmond, Va.: OHS Press, 2007).

³⁸⁴ Edward R. Reilly, "Quantz on national styles", *The musical quarterly* 49 (1963) 163–87.

³⁸⁵ Rudolf Schäfke, "Quantz als Ästhetiker", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1924) 213–42; see also David Lasocki, "Quantz and the passions: Theory and practice", *Early music* 6 (1978) 556–67.

archaic tendency in his focus on the mere compilation of factual information from the *studia humanitatis* and *stile galant*, often with recourse to anecdotes or travel reports, with an imprecise identification of sources³⁸⁶—typical of much of the music-theoretical discourse emanating from the era of humanism and in part consciously emulated even in the historiography of Leopold Mozart as substantiated in the opening sections of his *Violinschule*.

In view of Leopold Mozart's own training, partly in the milieu of the monastery, the surfacing of Zacconia Tevo in the *Violinschule*, who also had close ties with the tradition of the monastery (he entered the Franciscan order),³⁸⁷ comes as little surprise. Tevo wrote *Il musico testore* (1706),³⁸⁸ encyclopedic in vision, with a clearly formulated educational aim to introduce the reader to the principal areas of music theory, spanning acoustics, paleography, intervals, and contrapuntal practices.³⁸⁹ With regard to the printing of Tevo's *Il musico testore*, there perhaps exists a similarity to Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*. In the latter case, a close relationship between author and publisher is substantiated from the correspondence; a similar collaboration possibly also characterized Tevo's treatise.

There are a number of enticing reasons for Leopold Mozart's mentioning of Athanasius Kircher (1601–80).³⁹⁰ Like Leopold Mozart, Kircher also received part of his training at a Jesuit School.³⁹¹ Kircher's study at the Jesuit College in Fulda beginning in 1612 led to his appointment as a novice at the Jesuit College at Paderborn on 2 October 1618—an appointment that allowed him a lengthy period of intensive education in both humanistic and scientific subjects.³⁹² A man of exceptionally broad training in languages (including Greek), four years of theology (1624–28) at Mainz, followed by his ordination in 1628, and one year of pedagogy—an education which undoubtedly laid the foundation for acquiring a broad knowledge³⁹³—Kircher, in his *Musurgia universalis*

³⁸⁶ For an overview of this treatise, see Dora Christiane Vischer, *Der musikgeschichtliche Traktat des Pierre Bourdelot, 1610 bis 1685*. Berner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikforschung 14 (Berne: Paul Haupt, 1947; repr. ed., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1979).

³⁸⁷ Domenico M. Sparacio, "Musicisti minori conventuali", *Miscellanea francescana* 25 (1925) 13–29, 33–44, 81–112; Raffaele Casimiri, "Musicisti dell'ordine francescano dei minori conventuali", *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 16 (1939) 186–99, 238–50, 274–75; Antonio Sartori and Giovanni M. Luisetto, *Archivio Sartori: Documenti di storia e arte francescana* (Padova: Biblioteca Antoniana, Basilica del Santo, 1983–88).

³⁸⁸ See appendix, document 88. The handwritten version of this treatise is preserved in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1165; see Renate Groth, "Italienische Musiktheorie im 17. Jahrhundert", 317. For a discussion of this treatise, see F. Alberto Gallo, "Il musico testore di Zaccaria Tevo", *Quadrivium* 8 (1967) 101–11.

³⁸⁹ Renate Groth, "Italienische Musiktheorie im 17. Jahrhundert", 312 ff.

³⁹⁰ Ulf Scharlau, *Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) als Musikschriftsteller: Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Barock*. Studien zur Hessischen Musikgeschichte 2, ed. by Heinrich Hüschen (Marburg: Görlich & Weiershäuser, 1969).

³⁹¹ On the influence of the Jesuit tradition in Kircher's writings, see, for example, Margaret Murata, "Music history in the *Musurgia universalis* of Athanasius Kircher", *The Jesuits: Cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773*, ed. by John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, repr. ed., 2000) 190–207.

³⁹² Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance man and the quest for lost knowledge* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979); also in German as *Athanasius Kircher: Ein Mann der Renaissance und die Suche nach verlorenem Wissen* (Berlin: Weber, 1994); Ingrid Drake Rowland, *The ecstatic journey: Athanasius Kircher in Baroque Rome*, with an intro. by F. Sherwood Rowland (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2000). On Kircher's embracing of the Pythagorean tradition, see Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "... maxime locum habet in Comoediis: Die 'Musica Pythagorica' des Athanasius Kircher. Spielwerk als Sinnbild", *Musikalisches Welttheater: Festschrift für Rolf Dammann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Susanne Schaal, Thomas Seedorf, and Gerhard Splitt (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995) 97–113.

³⁹³ Thomas Leinkauf, *Mundus combinatus: Studien zur Struktur der barocken Universalwissenschaft am Beispiel Athanasius Kirchers, S.J. (1602–1680)* (Berlin: Akademie, 1993); Penelope Gouk, "Making music, making knowledge: The harmonious universe of Athanasius Kircher", *The great art of knowing: The Baroque encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. by Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Libraries; Firenze: Cadmo, 2001) 71–83; Melanie Wald, 'Sic ludit in orbem terrarum aeterna Dei sapientia': *Harmonie als Utopie. Untersuchungen zur Musurgia universalis von Athanasius Kircher* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Zürich, 2005); also published as Melanie Wald, *Welterkenntnis aus Musik: Athanasius Kirchers Musurgia universalis und die Universalwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert*. Schweizer Beiträge

(1650),³⁹⁴ discloses his views on counterpoint.³⁹⁵ They are largely derived from Zarlino's *Le istituzioni harmoniche*³⁹⁶ and *Dimostrazioni harmoniche*,³⁹⁷ treatises to which Leopold Mozart had already made an implicit reference in mentioning Zarlino's name.³⁹⁸ Offering a synthesis of 16th- and 17th-century Italian and German compositional procedures³⁹⁹ from merely a theoretical perspective,⁴⁰⁰ with some attention to the discipline of acoustics,⁴⁰¹ Kircher in his treatise also focuses on the examination of the doctrine of rhetoric⁴⁰² in the broader context of the poetic meters and the doctrine of

zur Musikforschung 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006); Thomas Leinkauf, "Kirchers Musikverständnis im Kontext der barocken Universalwissenschaft", *Ars magna musices: Athanasius Kircher und die Universalität der Musik. Vorträge des deutsch-italienischen Symposiums aus Anlaß des 400. Geburtstages von Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)*. Rom, Deutsches Historisches Institut, 16.–18. Oktober 2002, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007) 1–22; see also Ulrich Konrad, "Kircher als Musikwissenschaftler", *Magie des Wissens: Athanasius Kircher, 1602–1680. Universalgelehrter, Sammler, Visionär—Ausstellungskatalog*, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, 1. Oktober–14. Dezember 2002; Vonderau-Museum, Fulda, 24. Januar–16. März 2003, ed. by Horst Beinlich and Christoph Draxelmüller, *Analecta musicologica* 38 (2001) 7–78.

³⁹⁴ See appendix, document 33. For a survey of this treatise, see John Fletcher, "Athanasius Kircher and his *Musurgia universalis* (1650)", *Musicology* 7 (1982) 73–83; see also Antonietta Alexitch, "Musica, teologia e scienza nella *Musurgia universalis* di A. Kircher", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 18 (1984) 182–90; Eberhard Knobloch, "Rapports historiques entre musique, mathématique et cosmologie", *Quadrivium: Musiques et sciences 1992*, 123–67. Christina Boenicke, "Das zehnte Buch der *Musurgia universalis*: Traditionelle und moderne Einflüsse im musikalischen Weltbild Kirchers", *Ars magna musices: Athanasius Kircher und die Universalität der Musik. Vorträge des deutsch-italienischen Symposiums aus Anlaß des 400. Geburtstages von Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)*. Rom, Deutsches Historisches Institut, 16.–18. Oktober 2002, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007) 93–112. On the complexity of this treatise, arising from the exceptionally broad examination of diverse topics, all of which reflect the cosmopolitan interests of its author, see Eberhard Knobloch, "Musurgia universalis: Unknown combinatorial studies in the age of Baroque absolutism", *History of science* 17 (1979) 258–78; also in Italian trans. as "*Musurgia universalis*: Ignoti studi combinatori nell'epoca dell'absolutismo barocco", *La musica nella rivoluzione scientifica del Seicento*, ed. by Paolo Gozza. Problemi e prospettive: Serie di musica e spettacolo (Bologna: Mulino, 1989).

³⁹⁵ Christoph Beck, "De Ecclesiastici cantus dignitate ac praestantia": Zur Kirchenmusik in der *Musurgia universalis* des Athanasius Kircher", *Ars magna musices: Athanasius Kircher und die Universalität der Musik. Vorträge des deutsch-italienischen Symposiums aus Anlaß des 400. Geburtstages von Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)*, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007) 79–92; see also Michael Heinemann, "Kirchers 'Komponiermaschine'", *Ars magna musices: Athanasius Kircher und die Universalität der Musik. Vorträge des deutsch-italienischen Symposiums aus Anlaß des 400. Geburtstages von Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)*. Rom, Deutsches Historisches Institut, 16.–18. Oktober 2002, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007) 205–26; Guy Loblrichon, "Musurgia universelle ou Grant Art des sons consonants et dissonants", *Les cahiers de l'IRCAM: Recherche et musique* 6 (1994) 13–21.

³⁹⁶ See appendix, document 101.

³⁹⁷ See appendix, document 102.

³⁹⁸ On the disclosure of archaic practices, see, for example, Guido Bizzi, "*Musurgia universalis*: Tabula mirifica omnia contrapunctisticae artis arcana relevans", *Enciclopedia in Roma barocca: Athanasius Kircher e il Museo del Collegio romano tra Wunderkammer e Museo scientifico*, ed. by Maristella Casciato, Maria Grazia Ianniello, and Maria Vitale. Biblioteca (Venice: Marsilio, 1986) 101–10.

³⁹⁹ Carlo Maria Chierotti, "La *Musurgia mirifica* di Athanasius Kircher: La composizione musicale all portata di tutti nell'età barocca", *Musica / Realtà* 37 (1992) 107–27; Elisabetta Torselli, "Dalla *Musurgia universalis* als 'Musico testore': Parole e idee per la musica tra miti antichi e prassi moderna", *Le parole della musica: Studi sulla lingua della letteratura musicale in onore di Gianfranco Forlana*, ed. by Fiamma Nicolodi and Paolo Trovato. Studi di musica veneta 21 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1994) 45–70; see also Erich Katz, *Die musikalischen Stilbegriffe des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Charlottenburg: W. Flagel, 1926); Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock* (Köln: Arno Volk, 1967; 2nd ed., Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1984, 1995).

⁴⁰⁰ Carlo Maria Chierotti, "Comporre senza conoscere la musica: Athanasius Kircher e la *musurgia mirifica*: Un singolare esempio di scienza musicale nell'età barocca", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 28 (1994) 382–410.

⁴⁰¹ D. Ullmann, "Athanasius Kircher und die Akustik der Zeit um 1650", *NTM: Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Ethik der Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 10 (2002) 65–77. Kircher's upbringing in Jesuit circles explains his interest in acoustics; see, for example, Patrizio Barbieri, "The Jesuit acousticians and the problem of wind instruments (ca. 1580–1680)", *Ars magna musices: Athanasius Kircher und die Universalität der Musik. Vorträge des deutsch-italienischen Symposiums aus Anlaß des 400. Geburtstages von Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)*. Rom, Deutsches Historisches Institut, 16.–18. Oktober 2002, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007).

⁴⁰² Bruno Pinchard, "Musique, logique, et rhétorique dans la *Musurgia universalis* de Kircher: Éléments pour une

the affections.⁴⁰³ His discussion of rhetoric was of obvious interest to Leopold Mozart, as is readily gleaned from his correspondence.⁴⁰⁴ Finally, in some 30 books,⁴⁰⁵ Kircher carefully organized and related his materials discussed within the broader perspective of Christian philosophy,⁴⁰⁶ which again would have provided a welcome point of contact for Leopold Mozart, who had received extensive training in philosophy at the University of Salzburg. Apart from the coverage of topics pertaining to the realm of *musica practica*, Kircher was also preoccupied with issues of *musica mundana*,⁴⁰⁷ as already gleaned from

philosophie du style", *Enciclopedia in Roma barocca Athanasius Kircher e il Museo del Collegio romano tra Wunderkammer e Museo scientifico*, ed. by Maristella Casciato, Maria Grazia Ianniello, and Maria Vitale. Biblioteca (Venezia: Marsilio, 1986) 87–100. For an overview of rhetoric in the context of music, see, for example, Wilibald Gurlitt, "Musik und Rhetorik", *Helicon* 5 (1944) 67–86; also in: Wilibald Gurlitt, *Musikgeschichte und Gegenwart: Eine Aufsatzfolge*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 1, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht in collab. with Walter Gerstenberg, Kurt von Fischer, Wolfgang Osthoff, and Arnold Schmitz (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966), part I: *Von musikgeschichtlichen Epochen*, 62–81; Hans Heinrich Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. Musik und Geistesgeschichte: Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 4 (Würzburg: K. Tritsch, 1941; repr. ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969). On the significance of rhetoric in the music-theoretical discourse of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see, for example, Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Die Anwendung der *Ars rhetorica* in den musiktheoretischen Traktaten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance", trans. by M.U. Schouten-Glass in: *Dia-pason de omnibus. Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Joseph Smits van Waesberghe: Festgabe zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by C.J. Maas and M.U. Schouten-Glass (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1976) 71–90; see also Blake McDowell Wilson, "Ut oratoria musica in the writings of Renaissance music theorists", *Festa musicologica: Essays in honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen. Festschrift series 4 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995) 341–68. On the importance of rhetoric in a broader realm, see, for example, Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studien zur Geschichte der Rhetorik und zum Begriff des Menschen in der Renaissance*, trans. by Renate Jochum (Göttingen: Grata, 1981).

⁴⁰³ Jürgen Mainka, "Athanasius Kirchers Exemplifizierung zur Affektenlehre: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musikpsychologie", *Beihefte zur Musikwissenschaft* 31 (1989) 81–94; Susanne Schaal-Gothardt, "Musica pathetica: Kirchers Affektenlehre", *Ars magna musices: Athanasius Kircher und die Universalität der Musik—Vorträge des deutsch-italienischen Symposiums aus Anlaß des 400. Geburtstages von Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)*. Rom, Deutsches Historisches Institut, 16.–18. Oktober 2002, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007) 141–54.

⁴⁰⁴ On Leopold Mozart's effective use of language, see, for example, Josef Mančal, "Mozart: Zum Verhältnis Leopold Mozarts zu Wolfgang 'Amade' Mozart—Prolegomena zur Strukturbestimmung einer personalen Beziehung und der Wirklichkeitsorganisation im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung: (2) Rückblick"; see also Johannes Serwe, "Komposition und Disposition: Über rhetorische Strukturen in Mozarts Briefen", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 46/1–2 (1998) 4–24.

⁴⁰⁵ Of those 30 books, those on music include *Magnes, sive, De arte magnetica opus tripartitum, quo praeterquam quod universa magnetis natura, eiusque in omnibus artibus et scientijs usus nova methodo explicetur, e viribus quoque et prodigijs effectibus magnetiarum, aliarumq; abditarum naturae motionum in elementis, lapidibus, plantis et animalibus elucescentium, multa hucusque incognita naturae arcana per physica, medica, chymica et mathematica omnis generis experimenta recluduntur* (Roma: Ex typographia Ludovici Grignani, 1641); 2nd ed.: *Magnes, sive, De arte magnetica opus tripartitum [...] recluduntur. Editio secunda post Romanam multo correctior* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud Iodocum Kalcoven, 1643); 3rd ed.: *Magnes sive De arte magnetica opus tripartitum, [...] recluduntur. Editio tertia. Ab ipso auctore recognita, emendataque, ac multis novorum experimentorum problematis aucta* (Roma: Sumptibus B. Deuersin & Z. Masotti, 1654; also Roma: Vitalis Mascardi, 1654); *Ars magna lucis et umbrae, in X. libros digesta, quibus admirandae lucis et umbrae in mundo, atque adeo universa natura, vires effectusque uti nova, ita varia novorum reconditorumque speciminum exhibitione, ad varios mortalium usus, panduntur* (Roma: Sumptibus Hermanni Scheus ex typographica Ludovici Grignani, 1646; 2nd ed., Amsterdam: Apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge et Haeredes Elizaei Weyerstrae, 1671); facs. of 1645 ed., ed. by Anton F.W. Sommer, Editiones neolatinae 82–83 (Wien: Anton F.W. Sommer, 2004); *Oedipus aegyptiacus, hoc est universalis hieroglyphicae veterum doctrinae in iuria abolitae instauratio. Opus ex omni orientalium doctrina et sapientia conditum, nec non viginti diversarium linguarum auctoritate stabilitum felicibus auspicijs Ferdinandi III. Austriaci sapientissimi et iniuctissimi Romanorum Imperatoris semper Augusti e tenebris erutum, atque bono reipublicae literariae consecratum*, 3 vols. (Roma: Ex typographia Vitalis Mascardi, 1652–54). For a study of the latter document, see Werner Künzel, *Der Oedipus Aegyptiacus des Athanasius Kircher: Das ägyptische Rätsel in der Simulation eines barocken Zeichensystems* (Berlin: O. Künzel, 1989).

⁴⁰⁶ On Kircher's comprehensive view of *musica*, which emerges from his examination of a number of other disciplines mentioned in the text, see Ulf Scharlau, "Athanasius Kircher und die Musik um 1650: Versuch einer Annäherung an Kirchers Musikbegriff", *Athanasius Kircher und seine Beziehungen zum gelehrten Europa seiner Zeit*, ed. by John Edward Fletcher. Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988) 53–67.

⁴⁰⁷ For a discussion of this topic within a larger context, see Jamie James, *The music of the spheres: Music, science, and the natural order of the universe* (New York: Grove Press, 1993). Further on the relationship between *musica*

the title page of his *Musurgia universalis*.⁴⁰⁸ The latter topic also received broad coverage in the treatise on astronomy entitled *De origine et principis naturalibus impressionum in singulis artis regionibus nascentium* (1535) of Johannes Frosch (ca. 1470–after 1532),⁴⁰⁹ whose association with Augsburg (where many of his compositions were published) is borne out by his alleged acquaintance with Sigmund Salminger (ca. 1500–?1562/63).⁴¹⁰ Salminger had been Stadtpfeifer there since 1537,⁴¹¹ providing biographic evidence to explain Leopold Mozart’s familiarity with the writings of Frosch. Like Kircher, Frosch also devoted much attention to Greek music, with special reference to Aristotle⁴¹² and Plutarch in his *Rerum musicarum opusculum rarum ac insigne* (1535),⁴¹³ a treatise devoted largely to the *musica speculativa* with much information on the *elementa musicae* and the system of mensural notation. This serves as the basis for his numerous compositions, comprising German psalm motets, lieder, and Latin pieces in imitative style as well as *cantus firmus* settings, with the genre of the motet occupying the majority of his *opus*.⁴¹⁴

With the names of Vincenzo Galilei and Zarlino mentioned earlier in Leopold Mozart’s listing of important contributors to the music-theoretical discourse, it is of little surprise to find Giovanni Maria Artusi (ca. 1540–1613) included here. In a number of pamphlets known merely through citations in the *Aleteologia di Leonardo*

mundana and *musica humana* within the context of the musical practice in Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis*, see Melanie Wald, “Musikalische Vermittlung zwischen Himmel und Erde in der Frühen Neuzeit”, *MusikTheorie: Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 23/1 (2008) 51–70.

⁴⁰⁸ See appendix, document 33. Further on the title page of this treatise, see Othmar Wessely, “Zur Deutung des Titelkupfers von Athanasius Kirchers *Musurgia universalis* (Rom, 1650)”, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 22 (1981) 385–405.

⁴⁰⁹ Gunther Franz, “Johannes Frosch, Theologe und Musiker in einer Person?” *Die Musikforschung* 28 (1975) 71–75; see also Walter E. Buszin, “Frosch, Johannes”, *The encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, 3 vols., ed. by Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965) vol. 2, 891.

⁴¹⁰ Hans Michael Schletterer, “Sigmund Saminger”, *Montashefte für Musikgeschichte* 21 (1889) 177–82; Bertha Antonia Wallner, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, nebst Beiträgen zur Musikpflege dieser Zeit* (Ph.D. diss., Universität München, 1912), esp. 14–20; Irena Backus, “Sigmund Salminger”, *Bibliotheca Dissidentium: Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècle*, ed. by André Séguenny. *Bibliographia aureliana* 100 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1985) part 6, 109–42; Stephen Dunn Jacoby, *The Salminger anthologies* (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1985).

⁴¹¹ Bear A. Föllmi, “Frosch (Froschius), Johann”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart; Metzler, 2002) Personenteil vol. 7, col. 204; see also Alexander J. Fisher “Salminger, Saiblinger, Salbinger, Salblinger, Zallminger, Sigmund”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart; Metzler, 2002) Personenteil vol. 14, col. 867; Marie Louise Göllner, “Salminger [Salbinger, Saiblinger], Sigmund”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 22, 169. Thomas Röder, “Verborgene Botschaften: Augsburger Kanons von 1548”, *Canons and canonic techniques, 14th-16th centuries: Theory, practice and reception history. Proceedings of the International Conference, Leuven, 4–6 October 2005*, ed. by Kateljne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn. *Analysis in context: Leuven studies in musicology* 1, ed. by Mark Delaere, et al. (Louvain; Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2007) 235–51, esp. 235.

⁴¹² Presumably Frosch was cognizant of Aristotle’s approach to arithmetic; see, for example, Edward Hussey, “Aristotle and mathematics”, *Science and mathematics in ancient Greek culture*, ed. by C.J. Tuplin and T.E. Rihll (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 217–29; ; see also Walther Vetter, “Die antike Musik in der Beleuchtung durch Aristoteles”, *Archiv für Musikforschung* 1 (1936) 2–41; Andrew Barker, “Aristotle on perception and ratios”, *Phronesis* 26 (1981) 248–66. On the reception of Aristotle’s writings, see, for example, Carl Dahlhaus, “Aristoteles-Rezeption und Neuzeit in der Musikgeschichte”, *Wege in die Neuzeit*, ed. by Thomas Cramer. *Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur* 8 (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1988) 146–48.

⁴¹³ See appendix, document 20.

⁴¹⁴ In light of his compositional activity, with an emphasis on vocal music, Johannes Frosch presumably recognized the full spectrum of the *musica speculativa*, including the study of the relationship between text and music, a topic that is addressed by a number of earlier authorities, for example, Augustine’s *De musica*. For an examination of the broader context of *musica speculativa*, see, for example, Seth Weiner, *Renaissance prosodic thought as a branch of ‘musica speculativa’* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981).

Gallucio (1604)⁴¹⁵ of Ercole Bottigari (1531–1612) (Bottigari played an important role in the dissemination of the writings of Boethius),⁴¹⁶ Artusi came to the defense of the teachings of Zarlino, which had been openly criticized by Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (1581). With his writing Artusi unleashed an intense debate, one that spread across several volumes, including Artusi's lost *Lettera apologetica* (1588),⁴¹⁷ Zarlino's *Sopplimenti* (1588),⁴¹⁸ Galilei's *Discorso* (1589),⁴¹⁹ Artusi's lost *Trattato apologetica* (1590),⁴²⁰ and, at last, Galilei's unpublished reply to Zarlino and Artusi in manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Dipartimento Musica Gal. 5.6. While Artusi, in his *L'arte del contraponto ridotta in tavole* (1581),⁴²¹ reveals a considerable dependence on Zarlino's *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558),⁴²² his *Seconda parte dell'arte del contraponto* (1589)⁴²³ attests to an original contribution, first published as a volume devoted exclusively to the study of dissonance. Famous for criticizing Claudio Monteverdi's contrapuntal licenses in *L'Artusi ovvero Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica ragionamenti dui* (1600)⁴²⁴ and the *Seconda parte dell'Artusi, ovvero Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica* (1603),⁴²⁵ Artusi insisted on clarifying the *seconda prattica* of Monteverdi—indeed a rather convenient place for Leopold Mozart to leave

⁴¹⁵ Ercole Bottigari, *Aletologia di Leonardo Gallucio à'benigni e sinceri lettori lettera apologetica* (1604), Bologna, Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale, MS 432.

⁴¹⁶ See appendix, documents 9–10; see also Marcella Ilari, "Ercole Bottigari traduttore de *De musica di Boezio*", *Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin*, ed. by Francesco Luisi. Istituto di paleografia musicale: Corso superiore di paleografia e semiografia musicale dall'umanesimo al barocco. III: Miscellanea 1 (Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 1990) 179–91.

⁴¹⁷ Maria Giovanni Artusi, *Lettera apologetica o invettiva del Burla Academico Burlesco al R.D. Vincentio Spada da Faenza, 14 January 1588*; excerpts included in Ercole Bottigari, *Aletologia di Leonardo Gallucio ai benigni, e sinceri Lettori: Lettera apologetica per la difesa del M.I. sig. Cav. Hercole Bottigaro, contra a quanto ha scritto lo autore delle Inconsiderationi musicali, 26 February 1604*, preserved in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale; see Joachim Steinheuer, "Artusi, Giovanni Maria", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999) Personenteil vol. 1, col. 1052.

⁴¹⁸ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali ne i quali si dichiarano molte cose contenute ne i due primi volumi, delle Istituzioni et Dimostrations, per essere state mal' intese da molti, et si risponde insieme alle loro calornie. Con due tavole, l'una che contiene i capi principali delle materie, et l'altra le cose più notabili, che si trovano nell'opera. Terzo volume* (Venezia: Francesco de Franceschi, Sanese, 1588; also as repr. ed., Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1966; repr. ed. in: *Monuments of music and music literature. II: Music literature 15* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1979; 1980).

⁴¹⁹ See appendix, document 27. Included in the Howard Mayer Brown Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, is a manuscript of Galilei's *Discorso*, dated 14 May 1735, and signed "NL", possibly a reference to Natale Zarlino, a descendant of Gioseffo Zarlino and transcriber of this document. Galilei's dedication of this copy of the treatise (published by Giorgio Marescotti in Florence in 1589) to Zarlino is dated Florence, 31 August 1588. This date coincides with Zarlino's tenure as choirmaster at St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. On their travels through Italy, Leopold Mozart and his son passed through Venice. Whether Leopold Mozart would have had access to this particular copy of the *Discorso* must remain an open question.

⁴²⁰ Maria Giovanni Artusi, *Trattato apologetica in difesa dell'opre del [...] Zarlino da Chioggia, giuditio musicale del S. Cabalao Nobile Poccoia, academico Infarinato intorno alle differenze note frà il Dotissimo Zarlino, et [...] Vincenzo Galilej nobile fiorentino*, 8 April 1590; excerpts included in Ercole Bottigari, *Aletologia di Leonardo Gallucio ai benigni, e sinceri Lettori*, preserved in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale; see Joachim Steinheuer, "Artusi, Giovanni, Maria", col. 1052.

⁴²¹ See appendix, document 2.

⁴²² See appendix, document 101.

⁴²³ See appendix, document 101.

⁴²⁴ *L'Artusi, ovvero, Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica ragionamenti dui* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600); also as facs. ed. in: *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/36* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1968, 2000); Malcolm Litchfield, *Giovanni Maria Artusi's 'L'Artusi, ovvero, Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica' (1600): A translation and commentary* (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987).

⁴²⁵ *Seconda parte dell'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfezioni della moderna musica, nella quale si tratta de'molti abusi introdotti da i moderni scrittori, e compositori*, 2 vols. (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1603), published together with his *Considerationi musicali*; see Joachim Steinheuer, "Artusi, Giovanni, Maria", col. 1052. For a later edition, see *Seconda parte dell'Artusi, ovvero, Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica, nella quale si tratta de'molti abusi introdotti da I moderni scrittori, et compositori* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1608); also as facs. ed. (Bologna: Forni, 1968); see also note 673.

that more music-theoretical discourse which generally has focused on Greek and Latin traditions of the *musica theorica* and to a lesser degree on the *musica practica*, in particular with recourse to compositional practice.

During his studies of philosophy at the University of Salzburg, Leopold Mozart, in all likelihood, came into contact with the writings of the German astronomer, astrologer, mathematician, music theorist, and philosopher Johannes Kepler (1571–1630). Kepler's exceedingly broad training at the monastic schools of Adelberg and Maulbronn—an education which comprised both the traditional *musica theorica* with its decisively humanist bend and the *musica practica*, specifically the singing of four-part settings of hymns and psalms—must have been of immeasurable benefit to his profound and diverse discourse.⁴²⁶ His additional studies in theology, completed at the Universität Tübingen in 1591, had a profound impact on his scholarly writings.⁴²⁷ In his first appointment as instructor of mathematics at the Protestant Stiftskirche in Graz, Kepler combined his exposure to live music provided by Italian musicians of both the Stiftskirche and the Court of Archduke Ferdinand. On the one hand this educational background provided impetus and focus for Kepler's extensive studies on the tuning of instruments,⁴²⁸ while on the other it paved the way for the venerable examination of the arithmetic ratios as a justification for the derivation of the consonant intervals of the musical scale.⁴²⁹ This study of the *musica speculativa* preoccupied him also during his subsequent employment as mathematician at the Court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague and, as such, undoubtedly laid the foundation for his *opus magnum*, the five-volume *Harmonices mundi*.⁴³⁰ Truly encyclopedic in nature,⁴³¹ this treatise is based on the central premise that certain geometric models created by God are seen as the archetypal harmonies,⁴³² present in the seven consonant intervals derived from the geometrical

⁴²⁶ On Kepler's erudition, see Max Caspar, *Johannes Kepler* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1948, 4th ed. 1995); also in English trans. as Max Caspar, *Johannes Kepler*, trans. and ed. by C. Doris Hellman, with a new introduction by Owen Gingerich and bibl. ref. and annotations by Alain Segonds (New York: Dover Publications, 1993); Michael Dickreiter, *Der Musiktheoretiker Johannes Kepler*. Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 5, ed. by Ludwig Finscher and Reinhold Hammerstein (Bern: Francke, 1973). Further on Kepler's universal knowledge, see Owen Gingerich, "Kepler, Johannes", *Dictionary of scientific biography*, 16 vols., ed. by Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Scribner, 1970–80) vol. 7, 289–312.

⁴²⁷ See, for example, Jürgen Hübner, "Naturwissenschaft als Lobpreis des Schöpfers", *Referate und Diskussionen: Internationales Kepler-Symposium, Weil der Stadt 1971*, ed. by Fritz Krafft, Karl Meyer, and Bernhard Sticker. Arbor scientiarum: Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte. A: Abhandlungen 1 (Hildesheim: Gestenberg, 1973).

⁴²⁸ For a survey of tuning and temperament up to the period of Johannes Kepler and his own contribution to this topic, see Rudolf Rasch, "Tuning and temperament", *The Cambridge history of Western music theory*, ed. by Thomas Christensen. *The Cambridge history of music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 193–222; see also Mark Lindley, "Stimmung und Temperatur", 109–331, esp. 83 ff. 182 ff.

⁴²⁹ Eric Werner, "The last Pythagorean musician: Johannes Kepler", *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. by Jan LaRue in collab. with Martin Bermstein, Hans Lenneberg, and Victor Yellin (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966; New York: Pendragon Press, 1978) 867–82; Allen Arthur Dorfman, *Pythagoras, Kepler, and the music of the spheres* (M.M. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1976).

⁴³⁰ See appendix, document 32. On the relationship between music and mathematics in Kepler's writings, see, for example, Horst Arteln, *Das Verhältnis Musik-Mathematik bei Johannes Kepler: Ein Beitrag zur Musiktheorie des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1971); see also John Rodgers and Willie Ruff, "Kepler's harmony of the world: A realization for the ear", *American scientist* 67 (1979) 286–92; Daniel P. Walker, "Keplers Himmelsmusik", Carl Dahlhaus, Sigalia Dostrovsky/John T. Cannon, Mark Lindley, and Daniel P. Walker, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VI: Hören, Messen und Rechnen in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987) 81–107.

⁴³¹ Adolf Adam, *Keplers Weltharmonik, das Hohelied des naturwissenschaftlichen Humanismus: Festvortrag anlässlich der Übergabe eines Erstdruckes von Johannes Keplers 'Harmonices mundi' (Linzi, 1619) an der Universität Linz* (Linzi: Johannes-Kepler-Universität Linz, Institut für Systemwissenschaft, 1982).

⁴³² Judith Veronica Field, *Kepler's geometrical cosmology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). On the presence of Kepler's religious conviction in his scientific deliberations, see, for example, Jürgen Hübner, "Johannes Kepler

series in book 3,⁴³³ where Kepler offers a full presentation of topics typically found in humanist treatises. These topics are the *intervalla, genera, melodia, modi, mutationes*, and *notatio*, and they serve as a point of departure for his examination of astrology⁴³⁴ and astronomy in books 4 and 5, respectively.⁴³⁵ Kepler's music-theoretical construct, firmly rooted in the *harmonia universalis* of the Renaissance⁴³⁶ yet also in the absence of prior notions concerning the details of the interval theory or the sounding together of the plantes, relies totally on exact observation,⁴³⁷ regardless of the discipline (astronomy or music theory).⁴³⁸ He borrows on Euclid's models of the division of the circumference of a circle into regular equal-sided polygons⁴³⁹ as a means of deriving the consonant intervals from "knowable" geometric relationships and dissonant intervals from "unknowable" geometric relationships;⁴⁴⁰ in his presentation of the *musica theorica* and specifically in his rejection of the Pythagorean scale in favor of Ptolemy's just scale,⁴⁴¹ Kepler focuses

als theologischer Denker", *Kepler-Festschrift: Zur Erinnerung an seinen Geburtstag vor 400 Jahren*, ed. by Ekkehard Preuss. Acta Albertina Ratisbonensia 32 (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1971) 21–44; see also E.W. Gerdes, "Johannes Kepler as theologian", *Kepler: Four hundred years. Proceedings of conferences held in honour of Johannes Kepler*, ed. by Arthur Beer and Peter Beer. Vistas in astronomy 18 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1975) 339–67; Jürgen Hübner, "Kepler's praise of the creator", *Kepler: Four hundred years. Proceedings of conferences held in honour of Johannes Kepler*, ed. by Arthur Beer and Peter Beer. Vistas in astronomy 18 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1975) 369–82.

⁴³³ Bruce Stephenson, *The music of the heavens: Kepler's harmonic astronomy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); see also Francis Warrain, *Essai sur l'Harmonies mundi, ou, Musique du monde de Johann Kepler*. Actualités scientifiques et industrielles 912–13 (Paris: Hermann, 1942); Owen Gingerich, "Kepler's place in astronomy", *Kepler: Four hundred years. Proceedings of conferences held in honour of Johannes Kepler*, ed. by Arthur Beer and Peter Beer. Vistas in astronomy 18 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1975) 261–78.

⁴³⁴ Franz Hammer, "Die Astrologie des Johannes Kepler", *Sudhoff's Archiv* 55 (1971) 113–35; see also Arthur Beer, "Kepler's astrology and mysticism", *Kepler: Four hundred years. Proceedings of conferences held in honour of Johannes Kepler*, ed. by Arthur Beer and Peter Beer. Vistas in astronomy 18 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1975) 399–426. On German soil, the preoccupation with the discipline of astrology has its precedents in Renaissance astrological depictions, providing for a natural link between *musica mundana* and *musica instrumentalis*, with the Hausbuch from Schloß Wolfegg im Allgäu, in the depictions of the Planet's Children, serving as vivid testimony; for a discussion, see Zdravko Blažeković, "Variations on the theme of the planet's children, or medieval musical life according to the Housebook's astrological imagery", *Art and music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, ed. by Katherine A. McIver (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 241–86.

⁴³⁵ For an overview of Kepler's cosmology firmly grounded in the Pythagorean tradition, see Rudolf Haase, *Geschichte des harmonikalen Pythagoreismus*. Publikationen der Wiener Musikakademie 3 (Wien: Elisabeth Lafite, 1969) 83–88. In his studies of astronomy, Kepler was undoubtedly influenced by the Greek tradition. For an overview of that tradition, see, for example, J.L. Berggren, "The relation of Greek spherics to early Greek astronomy", *Science and philosophy in classical Greece*, ed. with pref. by Alan C. Bowen. Sources and studies in the history and philosophy of classical science 2, ed. by Alan C. Bowen and Francesca Rochberg-Halton (New York: Garland, 1991) 227–48.

⁴³⁶ Owen Gingerich, "Kepler, Galilei, and the harmony of the world", *Music and science in the age of Galileo*, ed. by Victor Coelho. The University of Western Ontario series in philosophy of science 51, ed. by Robert E. Butts (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1992) 45–63. The *harmonia universalis* is closely associated with the notions of the individual and the cosmos; see Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*. Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 10 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1927; 2nd ed., 1963).

⁴³⁷ Rhonda Martens, *Kepler's philosophy and the new astronomy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁴³⁸ Daniel Pickering Walker, "Kepler's celestial music", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967) 228–50; also in: Daniel Pickering Walker, *Studies in musical science in the late Renaissance*. Studies of the Warburg Institute 37 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1978).

⁴³⁹ Thomas J. Mathiesen, "An annotated translation of Euclid's *Division of a monochord*", *Journal of music theory* 19 (1975) 236–58; Andrew Barker, trans., "The Euclidean *Sectio canonis*", *Greek musical writings II: Harmonic and acoustic theory*, ed. by Andrew Barker. Cambridge readings in the literature of music, ed. by John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 190–208; Andrew Barker, "Methods and aims in the Euclidean 'Sectio canonis'", *Journal of Hellenic studies* 101 (1981) 1–16; André Barbera, "Placing *Sectio canonis* in historical and philosophical context", *Journal of Hellenic studies* 101 (1981) 157–60; André Barbera, *The Euclidean division of the canon*; Oliver Busch, *Logos synthesesos: Die euklidische Sectio canonis*.

⁴⁴⁰ Rainer Bayreuther, "Johannes Keplers musiktheoretisches Denken", *Musiktheorie* 19 (2004) 3–20.

⁴⁴¹ Ulrich Klein, "Johannes Keplers Bemühungen und die Harmonieschriften des Ptolemaios und Porphyrios", *Johannes Kepler: Werk und Leistung, Ausstellung im Steinernen Saal des Linzer Landhauses, 19. Juni bis 29. August 1971. Katalog der Ausstellung*, ed. by Gerold Maar. Katalog des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum 74; Katalog des

on the consonances by means of geometric representations.⁴⁴² He thereby proposes the inclusion of the intervals of the major and minor thirds and sixths as consonances, thus enhancing polyphony rooted in the monodic idiom of the Italians functioning within the major and minor tonalities.⁴⁴³ In the *Harmonices mundi*, Kepler sets his empirical discoveries in bold relief against the platonic concept as *harmonia*, thereby in essence combining retrospective notions with progressive tendencies. This example is suggestive of far-reaching fundamental changes in music scholarship, with the replacement of examinations based largely on the synthesis of thought with a new analysis aimed at bringing *musica theorica* and *musica practica* in closer union.⁴⁴⁴

Half a century after Kepler, theorists and composers generally changed their focus away from a largely humanist perspective to a primarily practical orientation concentrating on topics that had far-reaching ramifications for organology and compositional practice. Kepler had already touched on the tuning of musical instruments, though largely in the context of his experimentation with monochords. The composer, organist, and music theorist Johann Georg Neidhardt (ca. 1685–1739)⁴⁴⁵—following his training first as a student of theology at the Universität Jena (beginning in 1702), subsequently in organ with Johann Nikolaus Bach (1669–1753), a nephew of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), and finally of theology and philosophy (two disciplines closely associated with mathematics in the Renaissance⁴⁴⁶) at the Universität Königsberg (beginning in December 1708)⁴⁴⁷—devoted himself to composition, largely of church works,⁴⁴⁸ in addition to the compiling of his *Compositio harmonice* (ca. 1715).⁴⁴⁹ The latter work was destined not only as an instruction manual for students at the Court of Bernstädt and the University of Breslau but also as a treatise that was later adopted in part by Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) in 1739. Neidhardt achieved notoriety for introducing equal

Stadtmuseums Linz 9 (Linz: Gutenberg, 1971) 51–60.

⁴⁴² Ernst Bindel, *Harmonien im Reiche der Geometrie, in Anlehnung an Keplers "Weltharmonik"* (Stuttgart: Freies Geistesleben, 1964).

⁴⁴³ Michael Dickreiter, "Dur und Moll in Keplers Musiktheorie", *Johannes Kepler: Werk und Leistung, Ausstellung im Steinernen Saal des Linzer Landhauses, 19. Juni bis 29. August 1971. Katalog der Ausstellung*, ed. by Gerold Maar. Katalog des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum 74; Katalog des Stadtmuseums Linz 9 (Linz: Gutenberg, 1971) 41–50.

⁴⁴⁴ Further on this topic, see Rainer Bayreuther, "Von der Harmonie der Sphären zur Konsonanz der Gefühle: Der Umbruch in der Wissenschaft der Musik um 1600", *Macht des Wissens: Die Entstehung der modernen Wissenschaftsgesellschaft*, ed. by Richard van Dülmen and Sina Rauschenbach in collab. with Meinrad von Engelberg (Köln: Böhlau, 2004) 213–39.

⁴⁴⁵ Werner Braun, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VIII/2: Deutsche Musiktheorie des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts. II: Von Calvisius bis Mattheson*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994) esp. 359 ff., 398 ff.

⁴⁴⁶ See, for example, John E. Murdoch, "'Mathesis in philosophiam scholasticam introducta': The rise and development of the application of mathematics in fourteenth-century philosophy and theology", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août–2 septembre 1967* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969) 215–54.

⁴⁴⁷ Franz Josef Ratte, "Johann Georg Neidhardt als Musiker, Komponist, Lehrer und Dichter", *Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten und ihre Wechselwirkung mit den Nachbarn: Ostseeraum—Schlesien—Böhmen / Mähren—Donauraum, vom 23. bis 26. September 1992 in Köln*, ed. by Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller and Helmut Loos. Deutsche Musik im Osten: Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Musik im Osten zur Musikgeschichte der Deutschen und ihrer Nachbarn in Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 6, ed. by Helmut Loos (Bonn: Schröder, 1994) 229–42; Franz Josef Ratte "Neidhardt, Johann Georg", *Das Bach-Lexikon*, ed. by Michael Heinemann in collab. with Stephan Franke, Sven Hiemke, and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen. Bach-Handbuch 6 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2000) 384–85; Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Neidhardt, Johann Georg", *Schlesisches Musiklexikon*, ed. by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Augsburg: Bernd Wißner, 2001) 494–96.

⁴⁴⁸ Albert Mayer-Reinach, "Zur Geschichte der Königsberger Hofkapelle in den Jahren 1578–1720", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 6 (1904–05) 32–79; Hermann Güttler, *Königsberger Musikkultur im 18. Jahrhundert. Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 4 (Königsberger, 1926; Kassel: Bärenreiter, [1929]).

⁴⁴⁹ See appendix, document 67; see also document 68. For a more detailed discussion, see Werner Braun, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VIII/2: Deutsche Musiktheorie des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 398–400 ("Neidhardt").

temperament (known as the *Gleichschwebende Temperatur*),⁴⁵⁰ used by Fux,⁴⁵¹ with the full support of Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722)⁴⁵² and Mattheson, both of whom made mention of the *Neidhardtsche Temperatur*. Equal temperament was rapidly adopted in the 18th century owing to the limitless possibilities for transposition, especially in ensemble playing, since different tunings such as the *Chorton* and *Kammerton*, which had been in vogue throughout the 17th century, were abandoned.⁴⁵³

When we consider the emphasis on fundamentals throughout Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*, evident regardless of the specific nature of and motivation for the inquiry, namely of a music theoretical, music historical, or music pedagogical nature, the mentioning of the Swiss scientist and philosopher Leonhard Euler (1707–83)⁴⁵⁴ is hardly surprising. Euler was trained in mathematics and philosophy at the Universität Basel, which secured his appointments initially at the St. Petersburg Akademie der Wissenschaften⁴⁵⁵ and subsequently for 25 years at the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften prior to his return to St. Petersburg.⁴⁵⁶ With his principal interests in the areas of pure and applied mathematics, theoretical physics, and astronomy, Euler's contact with the *disciplina musicae* came through his seminal research in acoustics.⁴⁵⁷ The research focusing on the latter discipline was closely associated with his interest in the classification of dissonances.⁴⁵⁸ This was an issue with a longstanding history dating back to the pre-Baroque era. In fact, the deliberations of the interval of the diatessaron

⁴⁵⁰ See appendix, document 66; see also documents 69–70. For a more detailed discussion, see Mark Lindley, "Stimmung und Temperatur", esp. 265 ff. On the earlier tuning, see, for example, Roberto Airoldi, *La teoria del temperamento dell'età di Gioseffo Zarlino*, ed. by Elena Ferrari Barassi (Cremona: Turris, 1989); see also Mark Lindley, "Zarlino's 2/7-comma meantone temperament", *Music in performance and society: Essays in honor of Roland Jackson*, ed. by Malcolm S. Cole and John Koegel. Detroit monographs in musicology / Studies in music 20 (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Press, 1997) 179–94.

⁴⁵¹ Hellmut Federhofer, "Johann Joseph Fux und die gleichschwebende Temperatur", *Die Musikforschung* 41 (1988) 9–15; Helmut Federhofer, "Johann Joseph Fux and equal temperament", *Eighteenth-century music in theory and practice: Essays in honor of Alfred Mann*, ed. by Mary Ann Parker. Festschrift series 13 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1994) 119–30.

⁴⁵² Johann Kuhnau, *Fundamenta compositionis* (1703; MS in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), which includes a discussion of the intervals and species of *genera*, *consonantia* and *dissonantia*, and the *figurae fundamentalis*, that is, *transitus*, *syncopatio*, and *ligatura*. For a synopsis of the content of this treatise, see Kurt Hahn, "Johann Kuhnau's Fundamenta compositionis", *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Hamburg 1956*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, Heinrich Husmann, and Harald Heckmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) 103–05; see also Bernh[ard] Friedr[ich] Richter, "Eine Abhandlung Johann Kuhnau's", *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 34 (1902) 147–54; Laura Nash, *Aspects of an evolving tonal language: A study of church-based compositions by the Leipzig Thomas Kirche cantors, 1618–1722* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1990); see also Erich Schenk, "Kuhnau und Fux", *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 192 (1965) 359–66.

⁴⁵³ See, for example, Gerhard Stradner, "The evolution of the pitch of cornets and trombones at the time of Scheidt and Buxtehude", *Dietrich Buxtehude and Samuel Scheidt: An anniversary tribute. The proceedings of the International Buxtehude/Scheidt Festival and Conference at the University of Saskatchewan, November 1987*, comp. by Isabelle Mills and Walter Kurt Kreyszig (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1988) 106–16; John Koster, "Michael Praetorius's 'pfeiffin zur Chormaß'", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (2004) 5–23.

⁴⁵⁴ Rüdiger Thiele, *Leonhard Euler*, ed. by Dorothea Gotz. Biographien hervorragender Naturwissenschaftler, Techniker und Mediziner 56 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1982); Emil Alfred Fellmann, "Leonhard Euler: Ein Essay über Leben und Werk", *Leonhard Euler, 1707–1783: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk: Gedenkband des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, ed. by Marcel Jenni and Johann Jakob Burckhardt (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1983) 13–98; Erich Alfred Fellmann, *Leonhard Euler*. Rowohlt's Monographien 387 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1995); also in English trans. by Erika and Walter Gautschi as Emil Alfred Fellmann, *Leonhard Euler* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2006).

⁴⁵⁵ Ronald Calinger, "Leonhard Euler: The first St. Petersburg years (1727–1741)", *Historia mathematica* 23 (1996) 121–66.

⁴⁵⁶ Otto Spiess, *Leonhard Euler: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*. Die Schweiz im deutschen Geistesleben 63–64 (Frauenfeld; Leipzig: von Huber, 1929).

⁴⁵⁷ Mark Lindley, "Stimmung und Temperatur", 109–331, esp. 53 ff., 59 ff., 67 ff., 71 ff., 75 ff., 290 ff., 301 ff.

⁴⁵⁸ See appendix, document 19.

with its ambivalent classification as dissonance and consonance attests to the longevity of this tradition.⁴⁵⁹ An early interest in music, kindled in Euler during his years in Basel, led him to plan a large-scale music theoretical oeuvre, which, according to the surviving table contents, was to include a discussion of harmony, form and genre as well as one of the first comprehensive examination of melody, all within contemporary instrumental music and congruent with the prevailing aesthetics of absolute music, characteristic of the Enlightenment.⁴⁶⁰ This plan was eventually aborted; Euler assembled some of these materials into his principal treatise, the *Tentamen novae theoriae musicae* (1739),⁴⁶¹ which presented a music theory based on mathematical formulations,⁴⁶² in a quest not unlike Kepler's earlier discourse. Of all the writers mentioned in Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*, it is undoubtedly Euler who, on the whole, had perhaps the most tenuous connections with *musica practica*.⁴⁶³ His purported interest in initiating a preoccupation with musical dice in the 18th century⁴⁶⁴ might, in fact, suggest an indirect connection with the interests of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who occasionally resorted to dice in the process of composition, undoubtedly one of Mozart's pastimes,⁴⁶⁵ as readily gathered from at least two sources. These sources were the sketch of an instrumental part for a

⁴⁵⁹ Further on this topic, see, for example, Heinrich Husmann, *Vom Wesen der Konsonanz*. Musikalische Gegenwartsfragen 3 (Heidelberg: Müller-Thiergarten, 1953); Claude V. Palisca, "Scientific empiricism"; Richard Crocker, "Pythagorean mathematics"; Carl Dahlhaus, "Ein vergessenes Problem der antiken Konsonanztheorie", *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967) 164–69; Serge Gut, "La notion de consonance chez les théoriciens du Moyen Âge", *Acta musicologica* 47 (1976) 20–44; H.F. Cohen, *Quantifying music: The science of music at the first stage of the scientific revolution, 1580–1650*. The University of Western Ontario series in philosophy of science 23 (Dordrecht: D. Reichel, 1984); Rolf Klein, *Die Intervallehre in der deutschen Musiktheorie des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 157 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989); Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Musikalische Elementarlehre des Mittelalters", Michael Bernhard, Arno Borst, Detlef Illmer, Albrecht Riethmüller, and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. III: Rezeption des antiken Faches im Mittelalter*, ed. by Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990) 105–61, esp. 125–41.

⁴⁶⁰ Anselm Gerhard, "Leonhard Euler, die Französische Gemeinde zu Berlin und die ästhetische Grundlegung der 'absoluten Musik'", *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, Neue Folge 17 (1997) 15–28; see also Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and musical thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 134 ff.; Ernst Wangermann, "Ethik und Ästhetik: Moralische Auflagen an die schönen Künste im Zeitalter der Aufklärung", *Genie und Alltag: Bürgerliche Stadtkultur zur Mozartzeit*, ed. by Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, and Ernst Wangermann (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1994) 281–93.

⁴⁶¹ See appendix, document 18.

⁴⁶² Hermann Richard Busch, *Leonhard Eulers Beitrag zur Musiktheorie*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 58, ed. by Karl-Gustav Fellerer (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1970); Mark Lindley, "Leonhard Euler als Musiktheoretiker", *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bayreuth 1981*, ed. by Christoph Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984) 547–53; Eberhard Knobloch, "Musiktheorie in Eulers Notizbüchern", *Schriftenreihe für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 24 (1987) 63–76; see also Robert Lee Bailey, *Music and mathematics: An interface in the writings of Leonhard Euler* (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1980).

⁴⁶³ Daniel Muzzulini, "Leonhard Eulers Konsonanztheorie", *Musiktheorie* 9 (1994) 135–46.

⁴⁶⁴ This suggestion is made in Ulrich Leisinger, "Leonhard Eulers 'Vermutung über den Grund für einige allgemein gebräuchliche Dissonanzen in der Musik'", *Musiktheorie* 8/2 (1993) 162.

⁴⁶⁵ On Mozart's other games, including various card games, billiards, pin games (*Kegelspiele*) *Bözlzschießen*, see Günther G. Bauer, *Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft* (Bad Honnef: Karl Heinrich Bock, 2003); see also Günther G. Bauer "Bözlzschießen, Brandeln und Tresetzte: Anmerkungen zum spielenden Menschen Mozart", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 39/1–4 (1991) 21–40; Günther G. Bauer "Brettspiele im Hause Mozart", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 47/3–4 (1999) 24–31; Günther G. Bauer, "Kartenspiele", *Salzburger Mozart Lexikon*, ed. by Gerhard Ammerer and Rudolph Angermüller in collab. with Andrea Blöchl-Köstner (Bad Honnef: K.H. Bock, 2005) 215. Nannerl Mozart, too, was involved in a number of games, including *Kinderspiele*, *Kartenspiele*, *Brettspiele*, *Gesellschaft- und Pfänderspiele*, and *Bözlzschießen*; see Günther G. Bauer, "Die 69 Spiele der Nannerl Mozart", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 49/3–4 (2001) 67–94. On the larger theme of the pastime, see Bernd Roock, "Musik und Alltag im 18. Jahrhundert; Die Kunst der Mozarts und die Entstehung der Freiheit", *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg 1994*. ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. Beiträge der Leopold-Mozart-Forschung 2, issued under auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 175–90.

minuet included in the single sketch leaf of the Adagio, K.516,⁴⁶⁶ and the posthumous publications of Mozart's *Musikalisches Würfelspiel*⁴⁶⁷ by J.J. Hummel (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1793) and N. Simrock (Bonn, 1796). Musical dice was a more widespread activity,⁴⁶⁸ even in Mozart's own time, as witnessed in the *Musikalisches Würfelspiel* (Vienna, 1781) of Maximilian Stadler (1748–1833).⁴⁶⁹

With the mention of Johann Adolf Scheibe (1708–76), Leopold Mozart widens the 18th-century music-theoretical discourse to include rhetoric and music criticism as key elements of the Enlightenment philosophy.⁴⁷⁰ In his autobiography included in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740),⁴⁷¹ Scheibe—following his study of law at the Universität Leipzig (beginning in 1725) and his interest in the discipline of rhetoric through direct contact with Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–66), whose writing on the reforms of poetry and drama left an undeniable impact on Scheibe's own outlook on aesthetics and music theory⁴⁷²—achieved notoriety as a music critic⁴⁷³ (notwithstanding the unfortunate yet famous criticism of the musical style of Johann Sebastian Bach⁴⁷⁴). Scheibe also contributed a considerable amount of both sacred

⁴⁶⁶ Hugo Riemann, "Das Adagio und Menuett von Mozarts g-Moll-Streichquintett: Analytische Studie", *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 20/7 (1899) 77–78; 20/8 (1899) 89–90; 20/9 (1899) 101–02; 20/10 (1899) 117–18; Wolfgang Boetticher, "Neue Mozartiana: Skizzen und Entwürfe", *Neues Mozart Jahrbuch* 3 (1943) 144–84, esp. 180.

⁴⁶⁷ For an edition of this work, see Karl Heinz Taubert, ed., *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791): Musikalisches Würfelspiel. Eine Anleitung "Walzer oder Schleifer mit zwei Würfeln zu componieren ohne Musikalisch zu seyn, noch von der Composition etwas zu verstehen"* (Mainz; London: B. Schott's Söhne, 1956; repr. ed., 1984). Further on Mozart's compositional process in the context of a game, see Hideo Noguchi, "Mozart: Musical game in C K.516f", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 38/1–4 (1990) 89–101.

⁴⁶⁸ On the popularity of musical dice games in the German-speaking world, see Sebastian Klotz, "Ars combinatoria oder 'Musik ohne Kopfzerbrechen': Kalküle des Musikalischen von Kircher bis Kirnberger", *Musiktheorie* 14 (1999) 231–45.

⁴⁶⁹ *Tabelle, aus welcher man unzählige Menuetten und Trio für das Klavier herauswürfeln kann, verfaßt von P. Maximilian Stadler* (Wien: Artaria, 1781). The particular copy of this publication, once part of the music collection of Archduke Rudolph of Austria (1788–1831), is preserved in the Library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, shelf number 1320/Sch. For a facs. ed., see Otto Biba, ed., *Maximilian Stadler (1748–1833): Musikalisches Würfelspiel zur Komposition von Menuetten und Trios für Klavier (Wien, 1781)* (Wien: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1989).

⁴⁷⁰ See appendix, documents 82–86; see also Arno Storch, *Johann Adolf Scheibes Anschauungen von der musikalischen Historie, Wissenschaft und Kunst* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Leipzig, 1923); Imanuel Willheim, *Johann Adolf Scheibe: German musical thought in transition* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1963); A. Thomas Downing, *Music and the origin of language: Theories from the French Enlightenment*, New perspectives: Music history and criticism, ed. by Jeffrey Kallberg and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1995); Christine Zimmermann, *Unmittelbarkeit: Theorien über den Ursprung der Musik und der Sprache in der Ästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. 1: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur 1521 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995).

⁴⁷¹ See appendix, document 56; see also Ernest Harriss, "Johann Mattheson, Johann Adolph Scheibe, and modern German musicology", *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart: Bach, Händel, Schütz — Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Stuttgart 1985*, 2 vols., ed. by Dietrich Berke and Dorothee Hannemann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987) vol. 2, 287–93.

⁴⁷² See appendix, documents 82–86; see also Eugen Reichel, "Gottsched und Johann Adolf Scheibe", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 2 (1900–01) 654–68; Joachim Birke, *Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie: Gottsched, Scheibe, Mizler; im Anhang Neuausgabe zweier musiktheoretischer Traktate aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, Neue Folge 21 (145) (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966).

⁴⁷³ K.H. Viertel, "Johann Adolf Scheibe und Charles Burney, zwei Musiktheoretiker der Aufklärung", *Musik und Gesellschaft* 26 (1976) 223–27.

⁴⁷⁴ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Scheibe gegen Bach — im Notenbeispiel", *Das Musikleben* 5 (1952) 106–08; Hermann Keller, "Johann Adolph Scheibe und Johann Sebastian Bach", *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1968*, ed. by Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968) 383–86; George Buelow, "In defence of J.A. Scheibe against J.S. Bach", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974–75) 85–100; Peter Becker, "Bach, Scheibe und wir: Didaktische Materialien", *Musik und Bildung* 14 (1982) 76–84; Günther Wagner, "Johann Adolf Scheibe. Johann Sebastian Bach: Versuch einer Bewertung", *Bach-Jahrbuch* 68 (1982) 33–49; Fritz Reckow, "Die 'Schwülstigkeit' Johann Sebastian Bachs oder 'Melodie' versus 'Harmonie': Ein musiktheoretischer Prinzipienstreit der europäischen Aufklärung und eine kompositions- und sozialgeschichtlichen Implikationen", *Aufbruch aus dem Ancien*

and secular compositions to the contemporary repertoire after earlier unsuccessful applications for organ positions in 1735 (Prague and Gotha) and 1736 (Sondershausen and Wolfenbüttel). Inspired by Gottsched's *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (1742),⁴⁷⁵ Scheibe contributed essays on music theory, aesthetics, and criticism to his self-initiated weekly publication, *Der critische Musicus* (1745),⁴⁷⁶ a widely read magazine judging from its history of publication. Positioned between his *Compendium musices theoretico-practicum* (ca. 1730)⁴⁷⁷ and his *Über die musikalische Composition*, the first part of which was published in Leipzig in 1773,⁴⁷⁸ *Der critische Musicus*⁴⁷⁹ unscored Scheibe's contemplation of a novel rationalism in musical aesthetics, which was congruent with Enlightenment philosophy in its quest for order in the world.⁴⁸⁰

In his reference to Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641–1717), Leopold Mozart tacitly acknowledges one of the principal contributors to both the *musica theorica* and the *musica practica*.⁴⁸¹ Printz was trained as a violinist and keyboardist, and, according to his two autobiographies (printed in his *Historische Beschreybung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* [1690]⁴⁸² and in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* [1740]⁴⁸³), also as a composer of full-voiced concertos and canzonettas. In his skillful fusion of *musica practica*, *musica theorica*, and *musica poetica*,⁴⁸⁴ Printz focuses the discussion on topics intimately connected with composition and the aural rendition of contemporary repertoire, including fundamental aspects such as intervals, rhythm, and metre,⁴⁸⁵ proportions, modi and their affections, transposition, counterpoint, setting of text, the *Generalbaß* practice, tuning and temperament, the *Figurenlehre*, the *inventio musicalis*, and the notion of *variatio*.⁴⁸⁶ The latter two topics attained special significance in German counterpoint of the 18th century.⁴⁸⁷ At the center of his many treatises⁴⁸⁸ lay a truly encyclopedic presentation of the *disciplina musicae*, a format characteristic of 17th-century historiography in Silesia and Saxony,⁴⁸⁹ which amounts to one of the most

régime: Beiträge zur Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, ed. by Helmut Neuhaus (Köln: Böhlau, 1993) 211–43.

⁴⁷⁵ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst für die Deutschen; darinnen erstlich die allgemeinen Regeln der Poesie, ... mit Anmerkungen erläutert* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1737; 5th ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962).

⁴⁷⁶ See appendix, document 83; see also Eugen Rosenkainer, *Johann Adolf Scheibe als Verfasser des Critischen Musicus* (Bonn: L. Neuenendorff, 1929).

⁴⁷⁷ See appendix, document 82; see also Peter Benary, "Johann Adolf Scheibes Compendium musices," *Die Musikforschung* 10 (1957) 508–15.

⁴⁷⁸ See appendix, document 87.

⁴⁷⁹ See appendix, document 34.

⁴⁸⁰ Ernest Harriss, "Johann Mattheson, Johann Adolf Scheibe, and modern German musicology".

⁴⁸¹ Eugen Schmitz, "Studien zu W.C. Printz als Musikschriftsteller," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 36 (1904) 100–21.

⁴⁸² See appendix, document 76.

⁴⁸³ See appendix, document 56.

⁴⁸⁴ Thomas Joel Huener, *Wolfgang Caspar Printz 'Phrynis Mitilenaeus': A narrative synopsis of musica poetica* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1989).

⁴⁸⁵ Harald Heckmann, *Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641–1717) und seine Rhythmuslehre* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, 1952).

⁴⁸⁶ Further on these aspects of the traditional music theoretical discourse, see Joel Lester, *Between modes and keys: German theory, 1592–1802*. Harmonologia 3 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1989); see also John Butt, *Music education and the art of performance in the German Baroque*. Cambridge musical texts and monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 22 ff.

⁴⁸⁷ See, for example, Lawrence Dreyfus, *Bach and the patterns of invention* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁴⁸⁸ See appendix, documents 72–77.

⁴⁸⁹ B. Jahn, "Encomium musicae und Musica historica: Zur Konzeption von Musikgeschichte im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel aus dem schlesisch-sächsischem Raum (Scherffer, Kleinwechter und Printz)," *Daphnis* 30 (2001) 491–511;

comprehensive expositions of the music-theoretical discourse of the 17th century that would undoubtedly have attracted the attention of Leopold Mozart.

The broad musical discourse of Printz, along with the theoretical writings of a number of theorists (mentioned earlier), including Artusi, Galilei, Glarean, Kepler, and Zarlino, served as a convenient point of reference for the copious treatises of the German theorist, composer,⁴⁹⁰ organist,⁴⁹¹ and organ examiner Andreas Werckmeister (1645–1706).⁴⁹² Werckmeister focused foremost on the issues of tuning and temperament⁴⁹³ in the context of the construction of organs⁴⁹⁴ as well as in the teaching of composition.⁴⁹⁵

see also Thomas Buchner, *Der 'satyrische Componist' von Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641–1717) im Wirkungsgefüge des musikökonomischen und musiktheoretischen Wandels zum ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Passau, Lehrstuhl für Musikpädagogik, 2007).

⁴⁹⁰ See, for example, the discussion of two organ canzonas by Werckmeister in Ursula Herrmann, *Andreas Werckmeister* (Ph.D. diss., Martin-Luther Universität Halle an der Saale, 1950).

⁴⁹¹ See, for example, G. Faulhaber, "Andreas Werckmeister, Organist an St. Martini in Halberstadt", *Nordharzer Jahrbuch: Veröffentlichungen des Städtischen Museums Halberstadt* 7 (1964) 233–46.

⁴⁹² For a comprehensive coverage of his activities, see, for example, Ursula Herrmann, *Andreas Werckmeister*; Heinz Möhwald, *Andreas Werckmeister, 1645–1706: Organist, Musiktheoretiker, Orgelbauer, Komponist aus Benneckenstein* (Benneckenstein: Kultur- und Heimatverein, 1995).

⁴⁹³ See appendix, document 93. Further on the topic of temperament, see Kazuhiro Fujiwara, "Über die musiktheoretischen und philosophischen Grundlagen der Temperaturotheorie Andreas Werckmeisters", *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs: Bachs Musik im Gottesdienst. Bericht über das Symposium, 4.–8. Oktober 1995 in der Internationalen Bachakademie Stuttgart*, ed. by Renate Steiger with a forew. by Helmuth Rilling (Heidelberg: Manutius, 1998) 153–63; see also Wilhelm Dupont, *Geschichte der musikalischen Temperatur* (Nördlingen: C.H. Beck'sche Buchdruckerei, 1935; repr. ed., Lauffen am Neckar: Orgelbau-Fachverlag Rensch, 1986); Mark Lindley, "Stimmung und Temperatur", 109–331, esp. 256 ff., 259 ff., 274 ff., 328 ff. Werckmeister's contribution was of such exemplary nature that he did in all likelihood inspire Johann Sebastian Bach; see Peter Williams, "J.S. Bach: Orgelsachverständiger unter dem Einfluß Andreas Werckmeisters?" *Bach-Jahrbuch* 68 (1982) 131–42; 72 (1986) 123–25; see also Herbert Kellert, "Zur Tonordnung (Wohltemperierung) im Werke J.S. Bachs," *Festgabe für Joseph Müller-Blattau zum 65. Geburtstag. Annales Universitatis Saraviensis: Philosophie* 9 (Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes, 1960; 2nd ed., 1962; repr. ed. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968; Saarbrücken: West-Ost, 1960) 19–26; Martin Jira, "Der Einfluß musikalischer Temperaturen auf die Komposition der französischen Suiten von Johann Sebastian Bach", *Musik, Wissenschaft und ihre Vermittlung: Bericht über die Internationale Musikwissenschaftliche Tagung der Hochschule für Musik und Theater, Hannover, 26.–29. September 2001*, ed. by Arnfried Edler and Sabine Meine (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 2002) 249–54.

⁴⁹⁴ Andreas Werckmeister, *Orgel-Probe oder kurtze Beschreibung, wie und welcher Gestalt man die Orgel-Wercke von den Orgelmachern annehmen, probiren, untersuchen und den Kirchen liefern könne und solle, benebenst einem kurtzen jedoch gründlichen Unterricht, wie durch Anweiss und Hülffe des Monochordi ein Clavier wohl zu temperiren und zu stimmen sey ...* (Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1681); idem, *Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgel-Probe, oder eigentliche Beschreibung, wie und welcher Gestalt man die Orgelwercke von den Orgelmachern annehmen, probiren, untersuchen und denen Kirchen liefern könne; auch was bey Verdünnung eines neuen und alten Wercks, so da zu renoviren vorfallen möchte, notwendig in acht zu nehmen sey, nicht nur einigen Organisten, so zu Probirung eines Orgelwercks erfordert werden, zur Nachricht, sondern auch denen Vorstehern, so etwan Orgeln machen oder renoviren lassen wollen, sehr nützlich; jetzo von dem Autore selbst übersehen, mit gründlichen Ursachen bekräftiget und zum Druck befördert* (Quedlinburg: In Verlagung T.P. Calvisius, gedruckt bey J.H. Sievert, 1698; 4th ed., Leipzig: Johann Michael Teubner, 1754; also as repr. ed. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1927); repr. ed. by Dietz-Rüdiger Moser. *Documenta musicologica*. I: *Drukschriften-Faksimiles* 30 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970); repr. ed. *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis* II/44 (Bologna: A. Forni, 1984); English trans. by Gerhard Krapf, *Andreas Werckmeister's* *Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgel-Probe in English* (Raleigh, N.C.: Sunbury Press, 1976). For an application of Werckmeister's design, see, for example, Lynn Edwards Butler, "Requisites for a perfect and durable organ: Examinations of Silbermann Organs using Werckmeister's Orgelprobe", *Music and its questions: Essays in honor of Peter Williams*, ed. by Thomas Donahue (Richmond, Va.: OHS Press, 2007). For an example of Werckmeister's description of one of his own specimens of organ construction, see his *Organum Gruningense redivivum, oder Kurtze Beschreibung des in der Grüningischen Schlos-Kirchen berühmten Orgel-Wercks, wie dasselbe anfangs erbauet und beschaffen gewesen: und wie es anitzo auf allergnädigsten Befehl [Seine]r Königl[ig]lich Preussis[chen] Majestät ist renoviret und merklich verbessert worden. Denen anfabenden Organisten, Orgelmachern, und allen, so etwa ein Orgel-Werck renoviren lassen wollen, zu Nutz und dienlichen Nachricht aufgesetzt*, ed. by Paul Smetz (Quedlinburg, Ascherleben: Gottlob Ernst Struntz, 1705; repr. ed., Mainz: Rheingold, 1932); also in English translation by Marcos Fernando Krieger, trans. with comm., *An English translation and commentary on Andreas Werckmeister's 'Organum gruningense redivivum oder kurtze Beschreibung des in der grüningischen Schlos-kirchen berühmten Orgel-wercks wie dasselbe anfangs erbauet und beschaffen gewesen, und wie es anitzo auf allergnädigsten Befehl Sr. Kön. Preuss. Majestät ist renoviret und merklich verbessert worden'* (D.M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska at Lincoln, 1998).

⁴⁹⁵ Ellen Jane Archambault, "Andreas Werckmeister (1645–1706) as a teacher of composition" (Ph.D. diss., Florida

Werckmeister was decidedly medieval in his firm belief in a rational interplay between the *ratio* (reason) and the *sensus* (senses).⁴⁹⁶ His *scientia speculative*, which was related to mathematics and theology—both subjects with which he had been preoccupied in his scholarly writings⁴⁹⁷—reflected his belief in an order of principles rooted in mathematics, attributing the origin of these principles to God.⁴⁹⁸ Consequently Werckmeister regarded music as a mathematical science in which musical sounds are expressed in arithmetic ratios.⁴⁹⁹ Emanating from the writings of Kepler, who acknowledged the musical harmonies arising from the planetary orders,⁵⁰⁰ Werckmeister, in his incessant belief of music directly originating from God as the principal source, paved the way for attributing symbolic meaning to numbers as manifestations of theological abstractions, beginning with the number three symbolizing the Holy Trinity.⁵⁰¹ These are notions with which Leopold Mozart would have come in contact during his studies. Presumably, Leopold Mozart was also familiar with Werckmeister's pathbreaking advances towards equal tempered tuning,⁵⁰² as he set forth a new proposal with regard to the temperament. In essence, he advocated a compromise of the four tempered fifths, namely, c–g, g–d', d–a,

State University, 1999); see also Michael R. Dodds, "Columbus's egg: Andreas Werckmeister's teachings on contrapuntal improvisation in *Harmonologia musica* (1702)", *Journal of seventeenth-century music* 12 (2006) sscm-jscm.press.uiuc.edu/v12/no1/dodds.html.

⁴⁹⁶ On the nonempirical nature of Werckmeister's theory, see, for example, Pieter Bakker, "De bronnen van Andreas Werckmeister", *Tijdschrift voor Muziektheorie* 2 (1997) 31–41.

⁴⁹⁷ See, for example, Pieter Bakker, *Andreas Werckmeister: Die historische Einordnung seiner Schriften* (Schraard: Stichting de Studenten Uitgeverij, 1998).

⁴⁹⁸ See appendix, documents 92 and 98.

⁴⁹⁹ Walter Serauky, "Andreas Werckmeister als Musiktheoretiker", *Festschrift Max Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag, überreicht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by Hans Joachim Zingel in collab. with Arnold Schering, Walther Vetter, Hans Hoffmann, and Walter Serauky (Halle an der Saale: Ernst Schneider, 1935); Rolf Dammann, "Zur Musiklehre des Andreas Werckmeister", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1954) 206–37.

⁵⁰⁰ On the lengthy history of this tradition, see, for example, Théodore Reinach, "La musique des spheres", *Revue des études grecques* 13 (1900) 432–49; Otto Kinkeldey, "The Music of the Spheres", *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 11–13 (1948) 30–32; Marius Schneider, "Die musikalischen Grundlagen der Sphärenharmonie", *Acta musicologica* 32 (1960) 136–51; Stefan Kunze, "Harmonie der Sphären—Harmonie der Musik", *Menschen und Kosmos: Vom Verständnis der Zusammenhänge*, ed. by Maja Svilar. Universität Bern: Kulturhistorische Vorlesungen 1979/1980 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1980) 153–70; also reprinted in Stefan Kunze, *De musica: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge*, in collaboration with Erika Kunze, ed. by Rudolf Bockholdt (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998) 1–18; Hans Schavernoeh, *Die Harmonie der Sphären: Die Geschichte der Idee des Welteinklangs und der Seelenstimmung*. Orbis academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen 6 (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 1981); Friedrich Zipp, *Vom Urklang zur Weltharmonie: Werken und Wirken der Idee der Sphärenmusik* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1985); Roger Cotte, *Musique et symbolisme: Résonances cosmiques des oeuvres et des instruments*. Collection Horizons ésotériques (St-Jean-de-Braye: Dangles, 1988); also in English trans. by Margarethe Liebau as Roger Cotte, *Kosmische Harmonien: Die Symbolik in der Musik* (München: Diederichs, 1992); see also Jacques Handschin, "Ein mittelalterlicher Beitrag zur Lehre von der Sphärenharmonie", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1927) 193–208; also in: Jacques Handschin, *Über reine Harmonie und temperierte Tonleitern: Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. with intro. by Michael Maier. Sonus: Schriften zur Musik 4, ed. by Andreas Ballstaedt (Schliengen: Argus, 2000) 355–70; Jacques Handschin, "Die Lehre von der Sphärenharmonie", *Gedenkschrift Jacques Handschin: Aufsätze und Bibliographie*, ed. by Hans Oesch (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1957) 359–64; idem, "Die Sphärenharmonie in der Geistesgeschichte," in: *ibid.*, 365–69.

⁵⁰¹ See appendix, document 98. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, Werckmeister, in his traditional linking of music and theology, gradually places man at the center of his deliberations, especially in connection with his discussion of the musical temperament; see Angela Nüsseler, "Der Natur durch die Kunst nachhelfen": *Zum Wandel des Verhältnisses von Musik und Theologie im 18. Jahrhundert*. Forum Musikpädagogik 1995 (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1995).

⁵⁰² Jobst Ficke, "Überlegungen zur Durchsetzung des Prinzips der Gleichteilung von Werckmeister", *Bericht über das Werckmeister-Kolloquium aus Anlaß des 340. Geburtstages von Andreas Werckmeister am 30. November 1985*, ed. by Eitelriedrich Thom and Frieder Zschoch. Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation von Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 30 (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1986).

and $b-f\sharp^{503}$ —a system of tuning adopted by Johann Sebastian Bach and his sons.⁵⁰⁴ On the other hand, it was Werckmeister's humanist perception of the *disciplina musicae* as thoroughly rooted in Greek antiquity and the Latin West⁵⁰⁵ that substantiated his overall view of *musica* as a *scientia mathematicae*.⁵⁰⁶ The *subjetum musicae* was still regarded as the *numerus sonorus* central to the metaphysical deliberations and not as the *sonus numeratus* relegated to the discipline of physics, as readily substantiated in his *Die nothwendigen Anmerkungen und Regeln* (1698),⁵⁰⁷ *Cibrum musicum oder Musicalisches Sieb* (1700),⁵⁰⁸ and *Harmonologia musica* (1702)⁵⁰⁹—a view which was congruent with Leopold Mozart's humanist beliefs.

With the mention of Fux, who served as court composer under Emperors Leopold I (1640–1705), Joseph I (1678–1711), and Charles VI (1685–1740),⁵¹⁰ Leopold Mozart entered the age of the *seconda prattica*. The subsequent authors identified in the *Violinschule* were firmly focused on compositional practice.⁵¹¹ The reference to Fux acknowledges the preeminence of this theorist,⁵¹² author of the legendary *Gradus ad*

⁵⁰³ See appendix, document 93; see also document 94. For a discussion of these documents, see, for example, Ellen Jane Archambault, "The harmonic circles of Andreas Werckmeister", *GAMUT: The journal of the Georgia Association of Music Theorists* 9 (1999) 43–51. On the dissemination of this treatise, see, for example, Herbert A. Kellner, *À propos d'une réinterprétation de la Musicalische Temperatur (1691) de Werckmeister* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1985); also in: *Revue de musicologie* 71 (1985) 1–2.

⁵⁰⁴ Herbert A. Kellner, *Musicalische Temperatur bei Johann Sebastian Bach und seinen Söhnen* (Paris: H.A. Kellner, 1998); also as *Musicalische Temperatur der Bachsöhne* (Darmstadt: H.A. Kellner, 2001).

⁵⁰⁵ Günther Hoppe, "Zum Pythagoricus Werckmeister und zur 'Kabbala paragrammatica'", *Cöthener Bach-Hefte* 10 (2002) 83–140.

⁵⁰⁶ Eva Hirtler, *Musik als scientia mathematica von der Spätantike bis zum Barock*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. 36: *Musikwissenschaft* 137 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995). On the earlier traditions of *musica* as a *scientia*, see, for example, Lukas Richter, *Zur Wissenschaftslehre von der Musik bei Platon und Aristoteles*; Lukas Richter, *Zur Auffassung der Musik als Wissenschaft in der römischen Spätantike* (Diplomarbeit, Berlin, 1952).

⁵⁰⁷ See appendix, document 95; see also Hermann Pfrogner, "Der Clavis in Andreas Werckmeisters' Nothwendigsten Anmerkungen und Regeln, wie der Bassus continuus oder Generalbass wol könne tractiret werden", *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress*, ed. by Wilfried Brennecke, Willi Kahl, and Rudolf Steglich (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954) 149–51.

⁵⁰⁸ See appendix, document 96.

⁵⁰⁹ See appendix, document 97. Further on Werckmeister's contribution see George J. Buelow, "Symposium on seventeenth-century music theory: Germany", *Journal of music theory* 16 (1972) 36–49.

⁵¹⁰ Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Johann Josef Fux: Hofcompositor und Hofkapellmeister der Kaiser Leopold I., Josef I. und Karl VI. von 1698 bis 1740* (Wien: A. Hölder, 1872; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974); Andreas Liess, *Fuxiana*. Österreich-Reihe 53 (Wien: Bergland, 1958); Egon Wellesz, *Fux*. Oxford studies of composers (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Rudolf Flotzinger and Egon Wellesz, *Johann Joseph Fux: Musiker, Lehrer, Komponist für Kirche und Kaiser* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1991); Arnfried Edler and Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Johann Joseph Fux und seine Zeit: Kultur, Kunst und Musik im Spätbarock*. Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover 7 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1996); Herbert Seifert, *Die Aufgabenkreise der kaiserlichen Hofkomponisten und Hofkapellmeister zur Zeit von Fux*. Jahrgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 24 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 2001); see also Rudolf Flotzinger, *Johann Joseph Fux: Stationen und Gefährten auf dem Weg von Hirtenfeld nach Wien*. Jahrgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 14 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1984).

⁵¹¹ Rudolf Flotzinger, "Die Musikanschauung des Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741)", *Das 18. Jahrhundert und Österreich: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* 10 (1995) 92–115; see also Elvera Wonderlich, *Johann Josef Fux, Contrapuntist* (M.M. thesis, University of Rochester, 1939); Thomas Jon Sovik, *Fux's adherence to the contrapuntal conventions of the sixteenth century* (M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1975).

⁵¹² Here the breadth of approach taken by Fux appears to account for the vast appeal to composers of this and subsequent eras; see Hellmut Federhofer, "Johann Joseph Fux als Musiktheoretiker", *Hans Albrecht in Memoriam: Gedenkschrift mit Beiträgen von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by Wilfried Brennecke and Hans Haase (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962) 109–15; Othmar Wessely, *Johann Joseph Fux: Persönlichkeit, Umwelt, Nachwelt*. Jahrgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 53 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1979); Hellmut Federhofer, "Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741) und die Kontrapunktlehre", *Die Musikforschung* 46 (1993) 157–70; also as Hellmut Federhofer, *Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741) und die Kontrapunktlehre*. Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 16 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1993); Alfred Mann, "Joseph Fux's theoretical writings: A classical legacy", *Johann Joseph Fux and the music of the Austro-Italian Baroque*, ed. by Harry White (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 1992) 57–71; Thomas Hochradner, "Das musikpädagogische und

Parnassum (1725),⁵¹³ originally published in Latin with translations, completed between 1742 and 1773, in German, Italian, English and French. Here, the publication history obviously underscored the significance of this treatise as a compositional manual,⁵¹⁴ not only for the principal composers of the First Viennese School of composition (Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven) but also for many other theorists and composers, including Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809),⁵¹⁵ Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), Johann Gottfried Heinrich Bellermann (1832–1903),⁵¹⁶ Michael Haller (1840–1915),⁵¹⁷ Ernst Roth (1896–1971),⁵¹⁸ Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935),⁵¹⁹ Ernst Tittel (1910–69),⁵²⁰ and Leopold Mozart.

musiktheoretische 'Erbe' von Johann Joseph Fux", *Artgenossen und andere Feinde: Musikwissenschaft für die Musikpädagogik? Beiträge zum 1. Symposium Musikwissenschaft und Musikpädagogik, Salzburg, 1996*, ed. by Peter Maria Krakauer. Forum Musik Wissenschaft 4 (Regensburg: ConBrio, 1997) 109–25.

⁵¹³ See appendix, document 21; see also Anold Feil, "Zum Gradus ad Parnassum von Johann Joseph Fux", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1957) 184–92; Susan Wollenberg, "Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725): Concluding chapters", *Music analysis* 11 (1992) 209–43; William Preston Clemmons, *Johann Joseph Fux's Gradus ad Parnassum and the tradition of seventeenth-century contrapuntal pedagogy* (Ph.D. diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2001).

⁵¹⁴ Harry White, "The afterlife of a tradition: Fux, Vienna and the Classical style", *Glazbene kulture na Jadranskoj razdoblju klasicizma/Musical cultures in the Adriatic region during the Age of Classicism*, ed. by Vjera Katalinić and Stanislav Tuksar. Muzikološki zbornici 10 (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo, 2004) 23–32; see also Joel Lester, *Compositional theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992) 26–48 (Chapter 2: "Species Counterpoint and Fux's *Gradus*").

⁵¹⁵ [anonymous], "Georg Albrechtsberger, der Freund Mozarts und Lehrer Beethovens", *Mitteilungen für die Mozart-Gemeinde in Berlin* 16 (November 1903) 220–21.

⁵¹⁶ Heinrich Bellermann, *Die Mensuralnoten und Taktzeichen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1858), 4th rev. ed. by Heinrich Husmann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963); Heinrich Bellermann, *Der Contrapunct oder Anleitung zur Stimmführung in der musicalischen Composition* (Berlin: J. Springer, 1862; 4th ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001); Heinrich Bellermann, *Über die Entwicklung der mehrstimmigen Musik; Vortrag gehalten im Saale der Singakademie zu Berlin im wissenschaftlichen Verein, am 19. Januar 1867* (Berlin: A. Sacco, 1867); see also Elmar Seidel, "Zur Kontrapunktlehre von Heinrich Bellermann", *Palestrina und die Idee der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Geschichte eines kirchenmusikalischen Stilideals*, ed. by Michael Jakob and Winfried Kirsch. *Palestrina und die Kirchenmusik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989) vol. 1, 231–41.

⁵¹⁷ Michael Haller, *Kompositionslehre für polyphonen Kirchengesang mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Meisterwerke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Coppentrath, 1891); Michael Haller, *Übungsmaterial zur Kompositions-Lehre* (Regensburg: Coppentrath, 1896); see also Noel O'Regan, "The transmission of Palestrina's triple choir music: Michael Haller's nineteenth-century reconstruction in light of some recently discovered originals", *La recezione di Palestrina in Europa: Fine d'Ottocento*. *Strumenti della ricerca musicale* 6 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999) 177–94; Peter Lüttig, *Der Palestrina-Stil als Satzideal in der Musiktheorie zwischen 1750 und 1900*. *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 23, issued under auspices of the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1994).

⁵¹⁸ Ernst Roth, *Vom Vergänglichen in der Musik: Ein Versuch*. Atlantis-Bücherei (Zürich: Atlantis, 1949); Ernst Roth, *European music: A short history. The great masters* ([London]: Boosey and Hawkes, 1961).

⁵¹⁹ Heinrich Schenker, *Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart; Wien: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1906–35; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1991; also Wien: Universal Edition, 1922) [vol. 1: *Harmonielehre* (Stuttgart, 1906); vol. 2/1: *Kontrapunkt: Cantus firmus und zweistimmiger Satz* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1910; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1991); vol. 2/2: *Kontrapunkt: Drei- und mehrstimmiger Satz* (Wien, 1922); vol. 3: *Der freie Satz* (Berlin, 1935)]; also in English trans., Heinrich Schenker, *Counterpoint: A translation of Kontrapunkt*, trans. by John Rothgeb and Jürgen Thym, 2 vols. (New York: Schirmer Books; London: Collier Macmillan, 1987; repr. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Musicalia Press, 2001; see also Oswald Jonas, *Das Wesen des musikalischen Kunstwerks: Eine Einführung in die Lehre Heinrich Schenkers* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1934); also in rev. ed. as Oswald Jonas, *Einführung in die Lehre Heinrich Schenkers* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1972); also in English trans. *Introduction to the theory of Heinrich Schenker: The nature of the musical work of art*, trans. by John Rothgeb. Longman music series (New York: Longman, 1982); John Rothgeb, "Strict counterpoint and tonal theory", *Journal of music theory* 19 (1975) 260–84; Patrick McCreless, "Reading Schenker's *Kontrapunkt*", *Integral* 3 (1989) 201–25; see also Hellmut Federhofer, "Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* as viewed by Heinrich Schenker", *Music theory spectrum* 4 (1982) 66–75; Henry Martin, *Counterpoint: A species approach based on Schenker's Counterpoint* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2005); Matthew Brown, *Explaining tonality: Schenkerian theory and beyond* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2005).

⁵²⁰ Ernst Tittel, *Der neue Gradus: Lehrbuch des strengen Satzes nach Johann Joseph Fux*, 2 vols. (Wien: Doblinger, 1959); Ernst Tittel, "Wiener Musiktheorie von Fux bis Schönberg", *Beiträge zur Musiktheorie des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Martin Vogel. *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* 4 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1966) 163–201; see also Gunter

Also indebted to Fux is Mattheson, who, in his extensive music-theoretical discourse, based much of his thought concerning musical instruction and especially the teaching of composition on the *Gradus ad Parnassum*.⁵²¹ Since Mattheson also paid tribute to past developments in music, and frequently came across as a defender of the Enlightenment,⁵²² Leopold Mozart presumably held him in high esteem. Exclusively trained in the Jesuit tradition, Fux studied grammar and music at the Ferdinandeum in Graz and also attended the Universität Graz for additional studies in grammar.⁵²³ That subject would have prepared him well for an examination of the ancient and medieval traditions of rhetoric as well as of a number of cognate fields of the *artes liberales*⁵²⁴ and *artes mechanicae*.⁵²⁵ However, Fux, unlike many of his other contemporaries identified by Leopold Mozart in the *Violinschule*, chose not to devote his attention to a treatise covering *musica theorica* in the Medieval and Renaissance sense; instead, he created an elementary composition manual firmly rooted in the disclosure of voice leading rules through species counterpoint, à la Palestrina, with a rigorously conceived pedagogical scheme comprising the *doctrina*, *exemplum*, and *imitatio*. The soundness of this approach met the enthusiastic response of many 18th-century masters, including

Brosche, ed., *Musikalische Dokumentation Ernst Tittel (1910–1969)* (Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1994).

⁵²¹ Othmar Wessely, *Johann Joseph Fux and Johann Mattheson: Vortrag gehalten vor der Jahreshauptversammlung der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft am 10. Oktober 1963*. Jahresgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 6 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1965).

⁵²² Beekman C. Cannon, *Johann Mattheson, spectator in music*. Yale studies in the history of music 1 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1947).

⁵²³ In this decision, Fux was obviously guided by the close affinity between music and grammar, as readily recognized in medieval music theory; see, for example, Mathias Bielitz, *Musik und Grammatik: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie*. Beiträge zur Musikforschung 4 (München: Emil Katzbichler, 1977); see also Fritz Reckow, "Vitium or color rhetoricus? Thesen zur Bedeutung der Modelldisziplinen grammatica, rhetorica und poetica für das Musikverständnis", *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*. Forum musicologicum 3, ed. by Hans Oesch and Wulf Arlt (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1975, repr. ed. 1982) 307–21; Calvin M. Bower, "The grammatical model of musical understanding in the Middle Ages", *Hermeneutics and Medieval culture*, ed. by Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) 133–45; Blair A. Sullivan, *Grammar and harmony: The written representation of musical sound in Carolingian treatises* (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1994).

⁵²⁴ H. Parker, "The seven liberal arts", *The English historical review* 19 (1890) 417–61; James Weisheipl, "The place of the liberal arts in the university curriculum during the XIVth and XVth centuries", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août–2 septembre 1967* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969) 209–13.

⁵²⁵ Hans Martin Klinkenberg, "Artes liberales / artes mechanicae", *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. by Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer (Basel: Schwabe, 1971–) vol. 1, 531–35; see also Charlotte Ziegler, "Artes liberales, artes mechanicae", *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 103. Sonderausstellung, 18. Dezember 1986 – 8. März 1987*, ed. by Walter Pass (Wien: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1986) 176–77; Laetitia Boehm, "Artes mechanicae und artes liberales im Mittelalter: Die praktischen Künste zwischen illiterater Bildungstradition und schriftlicher Wissenschaftskultur", *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Karl Rudolf Schnith and Roland Pauler. Münchener Historische Studien: Abteilung Mittelalterliche Geschichte 5 (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1993) 419–44; see also Jan Legowicz, "Le problème de la théorie dans les *artes illiberales* et la conception de la science au moyen âge", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août–2 septembre 1967* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969) 1057–61.

Albrechtsberger, Haydn,⁵²⁶ Mozart,⁵²⁷ and Beethoven,⁵²⁸ all of whom resorted to the *Gradus ad Parnassum*,⁵²⁹ undoubtedly not as a composition manual but rather in a decidedly different light for which it was not primarily intended, namely, as a teaching tool for counterpoint instruction.⁵³⁰ The conflict embedded in Fux's presentation of modally imbued polyphony in the *Gradus ad Parnassum*,⁵³¹ versus the tonally oriented polyphony recognized in his own vocal and instrumental compositions, gave rise to the debate between Fux and Mattheson in 1717–18⁵³²—a debate which had a corollary in the realm of *theorica musica*, namely, in the replacement of the solmization syllables in favor of the letter names designating the pitches.

Like Quantz, whose musical proficiency encompassed the flute, oboe, trumpet, keyboard, and most of the string instruments,⁵³³ Mattheson received instruction in numerous performing media, including singing, gamba, violin, flute, oboe, and lute.⁵³⁴ He was equally familiar with *musica practica* (which also included the composition of secular and sacred repertoires and the appointment as Kapellmeister at the court of the Duke of Holstein in 1719) and *musica theorica* (as substantiated from his numerous treatises).⁵³⁵ Mattheson's literary activity occurred after the conclusion of his career as a composer during the first decade of the 18th century. Already in the introduction of his *Neu-eröffnete Orchester* (1713),⁵³⁶ he lays out clearly his literary aim, in that the

⁵²⁶ See, for example, Denis Arnold, "Haydn's counterpoint and Fux's *Gradus*", *The monthly musical record* 87 (1957) 52–58; Hellmut Federhofer, "Johann Joseph Fux und Joseph Haydn", *Musica* 14 (1960) 269–73; also as separate publication (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960); Alfred Mann, "Haydn as student and critic of Fux", *Studies in eighteenth-century music: A tribute to Karl Geiringer on his seventieth birthday*, ed. by H.C.R. Landon and Roger E. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) 323–32; Alfred Mann, "Haydn's *Elementarbuch*: A document of classic counterpoint instruction", *Music forum* 3 (1973) 197–237.

⁵²⁷ Wolfgang Suppan, *Von Johann Joseph Fux zu Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Zwei Vorträge im Mozartjahr 1991*. Jahresgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 17 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1994); Wolfgang Suppan, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen (musik-)kultureller Traditionsbildung: Von Johann Joseph Fux zu Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart", *Europa im Zeitalter Mozarts*, ed. by Mortiz Csáky and Walter Pass, ar. by Harald Haslmayr and Alexander Rausch. Schriftenreihe der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts 5, ed. by Moritz Csáky (Wien: Böhlau, 1995) 33–38; see also Hellmut Federhofer, "Georg Reutter der Jüngere als Mittler zwischen Johann Joseph Fux und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 66 (1982) 83–88; also as separate publication (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983).

⁵²⁸ Alfred Mann, "Beethoven's contrapuntal studies with Haydn", *The musical quarterly* 56 (1970) 711–26.

⁵²⁹ See appendix, document 21.

⁵³⁰ Manfred Wagner, "Johann Joseph Fux als Lehrer kommender Generationen", *Johann Joseph Fux Symposium Graz 1991: Bericht*, ed. by Rudolf Flotzinger. Grazer musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 9 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992) 141–49.

⁵³¹ See appendix, document 21.

⁵³² See appendix, document 50. In this debate in the *Critica musica*, Mattheson is still influenced by 17th-century practices, as discussed in Werner Braun, "Johann Mattheson und die Musiktheorie des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Bayreuth 1981*, ed. by Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984) 537–40.

⁵³³ "Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf von ihm selbst entworfen". Friedrich Wilhelm Marpur, *Historisch-kritische Beiträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 5 vols. (Berlin: G.A. Lange, 1754–88; repr. ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970) vol. 1 (1754–55) 197–250; repr. in: Willi Kahl, *Selbstbiographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts, mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen*. Facsimiles of early biographies 5 (Köln: Staufien, 1948; repr. ed., Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1972) 104–57; also as facs. ed. *Johann Joachim Quantz: Autobiografie*, ed. with Dutch intro. and comm. by Gerardus van der Leeuw (Zwolle: De Rode Leeuw Pers, 1998); also in English trans. by Paul Nertl, *Forgotten musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951; repr. ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969) 280–319; see also Albert Quantz, *Leben und Werke des Flötisten Johann Joachim Quantz, Lehrers Friedrich des Großen: Nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Berlin: R. Oppenheim, 1877).

⁵³⁴ Hans Joachim Marx, ed. with commentary, *Johann Mattheson (1681–1764): Lebensbeschreibung des Hamburger Musikers, Schriftstellers und Diplomaten: Nach der 'Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte' und den handschriftlichen Nachträgen des Verfassers* (Hamburg: K.D. Wagner, 1982).

⁵³⁵ These treatises are identified in the appendix, documents 45–57.

⁵³⁶ See appendix, document 45; Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchester*, 4.

actual origin of all science lies in the reasoning, that is, "nam nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu"—a *dictum* which informs the music aesthetic discourse of the Enlightenment in Germany.⁵³⁷ Undoubtedly an innovator of this philosophical direction on German soil, one which finds confirmation in most of his treatises,⁵³⁸ Mattheson, later in the same treatise, places music in a preeminent position in that the origin and the principle of music are far more noble than the origin and principle of painting.⁵³⁹ This statement obviously assures *musica* its proper place within the Enlightenment debate.

Of all the authors mentioned by Leopold Mozart, Mattheson was undoubtedly the most prolific writer who had nonmusical publications, musical treatises, and a music periodical to his credit.⁵⁴⁰ Though he regarded *musica* as a *scientia* placed outside the medieval *quadrivium*, which was in spirit of and consistent with the *scientia* of the Enlightenment,⁵⁴¹ nevertheless in his own beliefs he was still implicitly inspired by the ideals of musical humanism.⁵⁴² To that extent, in the *Neu-eröffnete Orchester* (1713),⁵⁴³ he raises the age-old issue of the interval of the *diatessaron* classified both as consonance and dissonance, depending on the judgment of the ear and the musical context in which this interval occurs. Abandoning the old system of the Latin church modes and the corresponding system of solmization in favor of the modern disposition of major and minor tonalities accompanied by a then widely discussed classification of national styles,⁵⁴⁴ forms (*formae*), and genres (*genera*) of music pertaining to secular repertoires,⁵⁴⁵ Mattheson, in his discussion of *musica*, resorted to the *natura*, specifically equating *natura* and *musica*: *Musica* is rooted in *natura*, not in the sense of *imitatio naturae* but rather in the *musica* representing a normal state of *natura*, with such an argument leading into the *natura/ratio* inquiry of the Enlightenment.⁵⁴⁶

⁵³⁷ This idea is also prevalent in a number of later treatises, for example, in Mattheson's *Das forschende Orchester* (Hamburg, 1721). For a discussion of this treatise, see Ian David Pearson, *Johann Mattheson's 'Das forschende Orchester': The influence of early modern philosophy on an eighteenth-century theorist* (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1992).

⁵³⁸ See, for example, Ian D. Pearson, *Johann Mattheson's 'Das forschende Orchester': The influence of early modern philosophy on an eighteenth-century theorist* (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1992).

⁵³⁹ See appendix, document 45; Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchester*, 307: "der Ursprung und das Principium der Music weit edler sey als der Ursprung und das Principium der Mahlerey," as reproduced in: Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, "Mattheson, Johann," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004) Personenteil, vol. 11, col. 1342.

⁵⁴⁰ Imogen Fellinger, "Mattheson als Begründer der ersten Musikzeitschrift (*Critica musica*)", *New Mattheson studies*, ed. by George J. Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 179–97.

⁵⁴¹ Werner Braun, *Johann Mattheson und die Aufklärung* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Halle an der Saale, 1952). On the influence of both empirical and pragmatic philosophies in the writings of Mattheson, see Ernest Harriss, "Johann Mattheson: The Enlightenment, l'Éclairissement, or Die Aufklärung," *Music in the theater, church, and villa: Essays in honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, ed. by Susan Parisi, et al. (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2000) 187–94.

⁵⁴² Undoubtedly inspired by the era of musical humanism, Mattheson considers the *disciplina musicae* in the context of other fields, for example, the German language, with the intent of broadening the discussion readily gathered in a number of publications, including *Matthesons Philologisches Tresespiel, als ein kleiner Beytrag zur kritischen Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, vornnehmlich aber, mittelst gescheuter Anwendung in der Tonwissenschaft nützlich zu gebrauchen, subuncta novissima editione Schediasmatis de eruditione musica* (Hamburg: J.A. Martini, 1752; repr. ed., Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975).

⁵⁴³ See appendix, document 45.

⁵⁴⁴ Claude V. Palisca, "The genesis of Mattheson's style classification", *New Mattheson studies*, ed. by George J. Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 409–23.

⁵⁴⁵ Friedhelm Krummacher, "Stylus versus Genus: Zum systematischen Denken Johann Matthesons", *Festschrift Arno Forchert*, ed. by Gerhard Allroggen und Detlef Altenburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986) 86–95.

⁵⁴⁶ Thomas Christensen, "Sensus, ratio and phtongos: Mattheson's theory of tone perception", *Musical transformation and musical intuition: Eleven essays in honor of David Lewin*, ed. by Raphael Eric Atlas and Michael Cherlin (Roxbury, Mass.: Ovenbird Press, 1994) 1–22. This path of inquiry accounts for Athanasius Kircher's interest in the early music-theoretical writings of Johann Mattheson; see Wolfgang Hirschmann, "Polemik und Adaptation: Zur Kircher-Rezeption

Also emanating from the period of musical humanism is Mattheson's consideration of the *ars grammatica*, *ars rhetorica*,⁵⁴⁷ and *ars poetica*,⁵⁴⁸ key facets of his *Melodielehre*,⁵⁴⁹ carefully explained in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739),⁵⁵⁰ with the *Melodie* serving as the foundation of the entire art of composition.⁵⁵¹ The close association of the *Melodie* with the *ars grammatica* and *ars rhetorica* is borne out by the interpunctuation and the antecedent-consequent construct functioning within a precisely delineated *tactus*.⁵⁵² Both these facets are carefully mirrored in the vocal and instrumental repertoires, with the *Klangrede*—a term newly coined by Mattheson⁵⁵³—as well as the complementary

in den frühen Schriften Johann Matthesons", *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 5 (1996) 77–91.

⁵⁴⁷ Fritz Feldmann, "Mattheson und die Rhetorik", *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Hamburg 1956*, ed. by Walter Gerstenberg, Harald Heckmann, and Heinrich Husmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) 99–102; Hans Lenneberg, "Johann Mattheson on affect and rhetoric in music", *Journal of music theory* 2 (1958) 47–84, 193–236; George J. Buelow, "Johann Mattheson and the invention of the *Affektenlehre*", *New Mattheson studies*, ed. by George J. Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 393–407; Karl-Heinz Göttert, "Rhetorik und Musiktheorie im frühen 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zu Johann Mattheson", *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 18 (1986) 274–87; Ernest Harriss, "Johann Mattheson and the Affekten-, Figuren-, and Rhetorik-Lehren", *La musique et rite sacré et profane*, 2 vols., ed. by Marc Honegger, Christian Meyer, and Paul Prévost (Strasbourg: Association des Publications près les Universités de Strasbourg, 1986) vol. 2, 517–31. On the significance of rhetoric in the music-theoretical discourse of the 17th and early 18th centuries, see, for example, Lora L.M. Merkley, *Johann Kuhnau's Hermeneutics: Rhetorical theory and musical exegesis in his works* (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1989). On the significance of Mattheson's views on rhetoric beyond his era, see Hartmut Krones, "denn jedes gute Tonstück ist ein Gedicht: 'Rhetorische Musikanalyse' von Johann Mattheson bis Friedrich August Kanne", *Zur Geschichte der musikalischen Analyse: Bericht über die Tagung München 1993*, ed. by Gernot Gruber. *Schriften zur musikalischen Hermeneutik* 5 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1996) 45–61.

⁵⁴⁸ Hans Nehrting, "Die antiken Versfüße, ihre Problematik und Überlieferung bei Johann Mattheson", *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, 2 vols., ed. by Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998) vol. 2, 34–37. On the affinity between *ars poetica* and *ars rhetorica*, see Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica: Definitionibus et divisionibus breviter delineata* (Rostock: Stephan Myliander, 1606); also in English trans. by Benito V. Rivera, *Musical poetics, Music theory translation series*, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); also in German trans. by Rainer Bayreuther with intro. (in German and English), *Musica poetica*. Laaber-Reprint 7 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004); see also Amy Thompson Titus, *Musical rhetoric in Joachim Brumeister's Musica poetica* (M.M. thesis, Baylor University, 1995). On the influence of the *ars rhetorica* on 16th-century compositions, see, for example, Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "The continuation of the Roman Cinquecento madrigal as a sacred parody in seventeenth-century Germany: Luca Marenzio's five-voice 'Dolorosi martir' (1580) and Michael Praetorius's six-voice *Magnificat super Dolorosi martir* (1611)", *Luca Marenzio e il madrigale romano: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 9–10 settembre 2005*, ed. by Franco Piperno. *L'arte armonica: Collana di facsimili e testi musicali. Series 3: Studi e testi* 7 (Roma: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2007) 213–70, esp. 219 ff.

⁵⁴⁹ George J. Buelow, "The concept of 'Melodielehre': A key to Classic style", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1978–79) 182–95; Joel Lester, *Compositional theory*, 158–74 (Chapter 6: "Mattheson and the Study of Melody"); Margaret Murata, "Johann Mattheson und die Anfänge der Melodielehre", "Vanitatis, fuga, aternitatis amor": *Wolfgang Witzemann zum 65. Geburtstag/Wolfgang Witzemann in occasione del suo 65. compleanno*, ed. by Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Markus Engelhardt. *Analecta Musicologica: Veröffentlichungen der Musikgeschichtlichen Abteilung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 36 (2005) 355–69.

⁵⁵⁰ See appendix, document 55.

⁵⁵¹ See appendix, document 55; see also Birger Petersen-Mikkelsen, *Die Melodielehre des Vollkommenen Capellmeisters von Johann Mattheson: Eine Studie zum Paradigmenwechsel in der Musiktheorie des 18. Jahrhunderts*. *Eutinere Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 12 (Eutin: B. Petersen-Mikkelsen, 2002); see also Hanns-Werner Heister, "Vom Gebrauch der Music im gemeinen Wesen: Anmerkungen zum 5. Kapitel des I. Teils in Matthesons Vollkommenen Capellmeister (1739)", *Musik zwischen Spätbarock und Wiener Klassik: Festschrift für Gisela Vogel-Beckmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hanns-Werner Heister and Wolfgang Hochstein, *Musik und: Eine Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg* 6 (New Series), ed. by Hanns-Werner Heister and Wolfgang Hochstein (Berlin: Weidler, 2005) 47–68.

⁵⁵² Nicole Schwindt-Gross, "Einfache, zusammengesetzte und doppelt notierte Takte: Ein Aspekt der Taktheorie im 18. Jahrhundert", *Musiktheorie* 4 (1989) 203–22; see also Siegfried Maier, *Studien zur Theorie des Taktes in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 16 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1984).

⁵⁵³ Dieter Gutknecht, "Sing-Gedicht' und 'Klang-Rede': Matthesons Theorie vom Sinngehalt der Instrumentalmusik", *Die Sprache der Musik: Festschrift Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller zum 60. Geburtstag am 21. Juli 1989, im Namen aller Kollegen des Musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität zu Köln*, ed. by Jobst Peter Fricke in collab. with Bram Gätjen and Manuel Gervink. *Kölnner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 165 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989) 239–49; Markus Waldura, "Zu Johann Matthesons Lehre von den Ab- und Einschnitten der Klang-Rede", *Musiktheorie* 15 (2001)

Incisionslehre (theory of articulation, with reference to the punctuation of the melody)⁵⁵⁴ both meant to underscore this important contribution to 18th-century music theoretical discourse of the *musica practica*. With the preeminence of the *Melodie* clearly established, Mattheson unfolds his *Generalbasslehre* in two publications, namely the *Grosse General-Bass Schule* (1731)⁵⁵⁵ and the *Kleine Generalbass-Schule* (1735),⁵⁵⁶ respectively. In these publications he pursues the figured bass practice not as an isolated phenomenon but rather in the context of the 18th-century learned counterpoint, again with a prominent orientation towards the significance of the *Melodie* and with the underlying assumption of a practical experience in keyboard techniques as a prerequisite for the effective portrayal of the *Melodie*, the *Affektenlehre* (doctrine of the affections), and the *Begleitung* (accompaniment).⁵⁵⁷

The mention of the composer, theorist, and music critic Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof (1711–78) after Mattheson is perhaps no coincidence, but instead underscores Leopold Mozart's keen knowledge of music history. For indeed there exists a rather close connection between Mattheson and Mizler, as the latter theorist taught Mattheson's *Neu-eröffnete Orchester* (1713)⁵⁵⁸ in addition to music history as part of his appointment at the Universität Leipzig, beginning in May 1737, after the *disciplina musicae* had been eliminated from the canon of subjects taught at the *facultas artis* some 150 years earlier.⁵⁵⁹ Mizler also reprinted substantial passages of Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*⁵⁶⁰ in his *Neu eröffnete musicalische Bibliothek* (1739–54).⁵⁶¹ Mizler was undoubtedly one of the most thoroughly trained scientists mentioned by Leopold Mozart with studies in law, medicine, history, botany, and the fine arts, resulting in numerous degrees (Bachelor of Arts, 1737; Master of Arts, 1735; Habilitation, 1735) from the Universität Leipzig.⁵⁶² In his diametric opposition to Mattheson's request for the developing of musical knowledge from contemporary taste, Mizler insisted on placing the study of music firmly on the *disciplina mathematicae*.⁵⁶³ In essence, he subscribes to the quest for the traditions of antiquity and the Middle Ages. This philosophy, in turn, explains Mizler's high regard for the *Gradus ad Parnassum* of Fux,⁵⁶⁴ not as a mere

195–219; see also Werner Braun, "Matthesons erstes Beispiel zur 'Klang-Rede'", *Musik als Klangrede: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Günter Fleischhauer*, ed. by Wolfgang Ruf (Köln: Böhlau, 2001) 21–32.

⁵⁵⁴ Konrad Fees, *Die Incisionslehre bis zu Johann Mattheson: Zur Tradition eines didaktischen Modells*. Musikwissenschaft 2 (Pfaffenhofen: Centaurus, 1990).

⁵⁵⁵ See appendix, document 49.

⁵⁵⁶ See appendix, document 53.

⁵⁵⁷ Harvey Phillips Reddick, *Johann Mattheson's forty-eight thorough-bass test pieces: Translation and commentary*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1956) [vol. 1: Commentary; vol. 2: The test pieces].

⁵⁵⁸ See appendix, document 45.

⁵⁵⁹ Rainer Bayreuther, "Theorie der musikalischen Affektivität in der frühen Neuzeit", *Musiktheoretisches Denken und kultureller Kontext*, ed. by Dörte Schmidt. Forum Musikwissenschaft 1 (Schliengen: Argus, 2005).

⁵⁶⁰ See appendix, document 55.

⁵⁶¹ See appendix, document 59.

⁵⁶² Franz Wöhlke, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler: Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Gelehrtengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Musik und Geistesgeschichte: Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Würzburg-Aumühle: K. Tritsch, 1940).

⁵⁶³ Rainer Bayreuther, "Struktur des Wissens in der Musik-Wissenschaft Lorenz Mizlers", *Die Musikforschung* 56 (2003) 1–22.

⁵⁶⁴ See appendix, document 21. Hellmut Federhofer, "Lorenz Christoph Mizlers Kommentare zu den beiden Büchern des *Gradus ad Parnassum* von Johann Joseph Fux", *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35 (1993–1994) 341–59; also as a separate publication (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1995); see also Othmar Wessely, *Johann Joseph Fux und Johann Mattheson: Vortrag gehalten vor der Jahreshauptversammlung der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft am 10. Oktober 1965*. Jahressgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 1964); Hellmut Federhofer, "Johann Joseph Fux und Johann Mattheson im Urteil Lorenz Christoph Mizlers", *Speculum musicae artis: Festschrift Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 16. Dezember 1968, dargebracht von seinen Freunden und*

theoretical recounting of historiography but rather as a seminal publication aimed at imparting the unchangeable fundamental knowledge of the *musikalische Satz* rooted in both mathematical and acoustical foundations.⁵⁶⁵ On the whole, Leopold Mozart subscribed to these notions of mathematical and acoustical foundations in his own teaching of Fux's counterpoint to his children. The seriousness of Mizler's endeavor is also confirmed by his founding of the Correspondierende Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften in Leipzig in the 1730s.⁵⁶⁶ This society of music *literati* and composers counted among its members many prominent representatives, including Johann Sebastian Bach, though curiously enough, both Quantz and Leopold Mozart declined the invitation to join this gathering for unknown reasons.

With Meinrad Spieß (1683–1761), Leopold Mozart identifies a rather broadly read music theorist and composer,⁵⁶⁷ one who, in his *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus* (1745),⁵⁶⁸ relies on numerous authors, both predecessors and contemporaries,⁵⁶⁹ in the discussion about the medieval church modes, acoustics, and the concept of the *intervallum*, including *consonantia* and *dissonantia*. This treatise reveals conservative tendencies in its coverage of general music theory and composition. The seventh member of the Societät der Musikalischen Wissenschaften in Leipzig, Spieß relied heavily on Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (1739)⁵⁷⁰ with regard to issues on rhetoric. In general, Leopold Mozart does not have a personal association with the authors mentioned in the *Violinschule*, with the exception of Spieß, to whom Leopold Mozart had sent samples of his compositions. In a letter to Spieß dated 17 September 1755,⁵⁷¹ Leopold Mozart discusses contemporary compositional practice and also inquires about the state of the Correspondierende Societät der Musikalischen Wissenschaften. Addressing this most

Schülern, ed. by Heinz Becker und Reinhard Gerlach (München: W. Fink, 1970) 111–23.

⁵⁶⁵ On Mizler's contribution to compositional practice, see appendix, document 60. In this manner, Mizler is consistent with 16th- and 17th-century practices; see Rainer Bayreuther, "Mathematisches Denken in der Musik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Die mathematischen Wurzeln der Kultur: Mathematische Innovationen und ihre kulturellen Folgen*, ed. by Jochen Brüning and Eberhard Knobloch as part of *Reihe Kulturtechnik* (Paderborn: Fink, 2004).

⁵⁶⁶ Laurenz Lütteken, "... sur les loix d'une certaine société: Die Mizlersche Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften im Urteil Georg Philipp Telemanns und Johann Matthesons", *Magdeburger Telemann-Studien* 18 (2004) [in preparation]; see also Hans Rudolf Jung, "Telemann und die Mizlerische 'Societät' der musikalischen Wissenschaften", *Georg Philipp Telemann, ein bedeutender Meister der Aufklärungsepoche: Konferenzbericht der 3. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage vom 22. bis 26. Juni 1967*, ed. by Günter Fleischhauer und Walther Siegmund-Schultze. Konferenzberichte der Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage (Magdeburg: Rat der Stadt, 1967) 84–97.

⁵⁶⁷ Alfred Goldmann, "Meinrad Spieß", *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben* 3, ed. by Freiherr Götz von Pölnitz, et al. Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte: Veröffentlichungen 3:3 (München: M. Hueber, 1954) 285–313; Hans-Josef Irmen, "Meinrad Spieß und sein Begriff der musica und musica sacra", *Musica sacra* 6 (1970) 234–42; Alfred Goldmann, *Meinrad Spieß: Der Musikprior von Irsee* (Weißhorn: Konrad, 1987).

⁵⁶⁸ See appendix, document 87; see also Ekkehard Federl, "Der Tractatus musicus des Pater Meinrad Spieß (1683–1761)", *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967) 39–46.

⁵⁶⁹ These include Beda Venerabilis (673–735), Guido of Arezzo (ca. 991/2–after 1033), Giovanni Maria Bononcini (1642–78), Johann Heinrich Buttstet (1666–1727), Sethius Calvisius (1556–1615), Leonhard Euler (1707–83), Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–58), Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711–78), Franz Xaver Murschhauer (1683–1738), Johann Georg Neidhardt (ca. 1685–1739), Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–76), Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), Mauritius Vogt (1669–1730), Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), and Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90); see Ekkehard Federl, "Der Tractatus musicus".

⁵⁷⁰ See appendix, document 55.

⁵⁷¹ For a facsimile of this letter, see "Leopold Mozart: Brief an Meinrad Spieß", *Acta mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 34/4 (November 1987) 77–82. For an interpretation of this letter, see Alfred Goldmann, "'Verzeihen sie mir meine Freyheit': Leopold Mozart und Meinrad Spieß", *Acta mozartiana: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft* 34/3 (August 1987) 54–63.

appropriate question to one of the society's own members in good standing was perhaps a hint at possibly joining this illustrious society.⁵⁷²

In the lengthy lists of disciples of Fux, Leopold Mozart also identifies Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–95), whose didactic discourse focused on performance practices related to the keyboard,⁵⁷³ voice,⁵⁷⁴ organology,⁵⁷⁵ basso continuo,⁵⁷⁶ and composition.⁵⁷⁷ The nature of this discourse is neither progressive nor original but merely embraces the teaching of Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*⁵⁷⁸ and fugal practices. These practices are discussed on the one hand in the context of the learned counterpoint most readily exemplified in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach, and on the other hand in the context of the idiom of the *stile galante*, in a newly defined *tactus*.⁵⁷⁹ The discussion is not restricted to the examples from Bach's legacy, but rather examines Bach's contribution⁵⁸⁰ vis-à-vis that of his contemporaries (e.g., Georg Philipp Telemann⁵⁸¹) and immediate predecessors (e.g., Girolamo Frescobaldi).⁵⁸² Marpurg was very much inspired by the Enlightenment, though, unlike Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–83),⁵⁸³ he forged his own individual, above all musically oriented debate, especially within the realm of the German Enlightenment centered largely around Berlin.⁵⁸⁴ Inspired by Rameau's rationalizing of the compositional process, Marpurg resorts to the mimesis debate as a means of conceptualizing an elevated position of music within the system of the fine arts, thereby providing access to the *disciplina musicae* for the literary critic.⁵⁸⁵ This

⁵⁷² That Meinrad Spieß enjoyed considerable esteem among his contemporaries is readily gleaned from the extant correspondence; see Hans Rudolf Jung and Hans-Eberhard Dentler, "Briefe von Lorenz Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Meinrad Spieß", *Studi musicali* 32 (2003) 73–196.

⁵⁷³ See appendix, documents 35, 38, 40.

⁵⁷⁴ See appendix, documents 42 and 44.

⁵⁷⁵ Frederick Baron Crane, *Athanasius Kircher: Musurgia universalis (Rome, 1650)* (M.A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1956).

⁵⁷⁶ See appendix, document 39.

⁵⁷⁷ See appendix, document 36. Kurt Frederick, *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's Abhandlung von der Fuge* (M.M. thesis, Eastman School of Music, 1951); David A. Sheldon, *Marpurg's thoroughbass and composition handbook: A narrative translation and critical study*. Harmonologia 2 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1989); Gerald Antone Krumbholz, *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's Abhandlung von der Fuge (1753–1754)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1995).

⁵⁷⁸ See appendix, document 21.

⁵⁷⁹ Markus Waldura, "Marpurg, Koch und die Neubegründung des Taktbegriffs", *Die Musikforschung* 53 (2000) 237–53.

⁵⁸⁰ Ulrich Leisinger, "Das Erste und Bleibendste was die deutsche Nation als Musickkunstwerk aufzuzeigen hat: Johann Sebastian Bachs Werke im Berliner Musikleben des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1995) 66–79.

⁵⁸¹ Günter Fleischhauer, "Die 'galante' und die kontrapunktische Schreibart Telemanns im Urteil Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurgs", *Telemann und seine Freunde: Kontakte, Einflüsse, Auswirkungen. Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich der 8. Telemann-Festtage der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Magdeburg, 15. und 15. März 1986*, 2 vols., ed. by Bernd Baselt (Magdeburg: Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und -Forschung, 1986) vol. 2, 71–81.

⁵⁸² For an overview of his theories, see Eugen Bieder, *Über Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurgs System der Harmonie, des Kontrapunkt und der Temperatur* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Berlin, 1923); see also Gerald Antone Krumbholz, *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurgs Abhandlung von der Fuge (1753–54)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1995).

⁵⁸³ Joyce Mekeel, "The harmonic theories of Kirnberger and Marpurg", *Journal of music theory* 4 (1960) 169–93; Howard Serwer, "Marpurg versus Kirnberger: Theories of fugal composition", *Journal of music theory* 14 (1970) 206–36; Joel Lester, *Compositional theory*, 231–57 (Chapter 9: The Marpurg-Kirnberger Disputes).

⁵⁸⁴ Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Die Entwicklung des theoretisch-ästhetischen Denkens innerhalb der Berliner Musikkultur von den Anfängen der Aufklärung bis Reichardt*. Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 10 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978); Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Aufklärung— auch durch Musik? Vierundzwanzig Sätze zur Berliner Musiktheorie und -kritik zwischen 1748 und 1799", *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree: Berliner Musikschrittm von 1748 bis 1799. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. by Hans-Günter Ottenberg. Reclams Universal-Bibliothek: Kunstwissenschaften 1061 (Leipzig: Reclam, 1984) 5–51.

⁵⁸⁵ Howard Serwer, *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795): Music critic in a Galant Age* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1969).

novel position is directly linked with Marpurg's intent of addressing a larger public, not only through the treatises,⁵⁸⁶ but also through the founding of a number of journals, specifically the *Critische Musicus an der Spree* (1750)⁵⁸⁷ and the *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754–78).⁵⁸⁸ Both of these journals offered a fertile ground for the inclusion of music in the Enlightenment debate, with the ultimate aim of including *musica* as part of a rigorous *scientia* based upon solid reasoning (*ratio*). While this concept undoubtedly received the tacit approval of Leopold Mozart, Marpurg's overall literary agenda was, however, much broader than generally acknowledged in the modern encyclopedic literature.⁵⁸⁹ He also delves into the domain of musical humanism, as readily gleaned from several of his publications, namely, the *Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik* (1757)⁵⁹⁰ and the *Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik* (1759).⁵⁹¹ Both of these publications reveal a penchant for a decisively antiquarian perspective, one that is characterized by a quest for the origin of the *disciplina musicae*. That focus presumably provided yet another *raison d'être* for Leopold Mozart's inclusion of Marpurg's name in the list of important contributors.

The link between Marpurg and Quantz is provided in Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge*, a publication that includes a biographical sketch of Quantz's life,⁵⁹² focusing squarely on musical activities at the court of Dresden and at the Court of Frederick the Great in Berlin and Potsdam.⁵⁹³ This period was marked by intensive compositional activity and by the completion of Quantz's *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752),⁵⁹⁴ a treatise which paved the way for a number of later publications, including Carl Philip Emanuel Bach's *Versuch einer Anweisung das Clavier zu spielen* (1753)⁵⁹⁵ and Daniel Gottlob Türk's *Klavierschule* (1789).⁵⁹⁶ On the one hand, Quantz

⁵⁸⁶ See appendix, documents 34–44. For a continuation of Marpurg's thoughts on composition in the 19th century, see, for example, Wolfgang Horn, "Marpurgs Abhandlung von der Fuge und Sechters Analyse des Finales von Mozarts Jupiter-Sinfonie (KV 551)", *Mozart-Studien*, 1 (1992) 135–72.

⁵⁸⁷ See appendix, document 34.

⁵⁸⁸ See appendix, document 37.

⁵⁸⁹ See, for example, George J. Buelow, "Mattheson, Johann", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 16, 139–44; Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen and Klaus Pietschmann, "Mattheson, Johann", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004) Personenteil vol. 11, cols. 1332–49.

⁵⁹⁰ See appendix, document 41.

⁵⁹¹ See appendix, document 43.

⁵⁹² "Herrn Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen"; English trans. in Paul Nettl, *Forgotten musicians*, 197–265.

⁵⁹³ On the musical activity at this court, see, for example, Eugene E. Helm, *Music at the court of Frederick the Great* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); see also J. Kunisch, "Hofkultur und höfische Gesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preußen im Zeitalter des Absolutismus", *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Vorträge und Referate gehalten anlässlich des Kongresses des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Renaissanceforschung und des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für Barockliteratur in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 4. bis 8. September 1979*, ed. by August Buck and Christian Callmer. Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 8–10 (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981) 735–44; Heinz Becker, "Friedrich der Große und die Musik", *Preußens großer König: Leben und Werk Friedrichs des Großen*, ed. by Wilhelm Treue (Freiburg: Ploetz, 1986) 150–61; Elmar Budde, "Für Kenner und Liebhaber: Friedrich der Große und die Musik", *Neue Musik und Tradition: Festschrift Rudolph Stephan zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Josef Kuckertz, et al. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990) 123–34; Wolfgang Goldhan, "Die Musik unter Friedrich dem Großen", *Friedrich der Große: Sammler und Mäzen. Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. by Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern (München: Hirmer, 1992) 355–60; Christoph Henzel, "Die Schatulle Friedrich II. von Preußen und die Hofmusik", *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1999) 36–66; (2000) 175–209; Gabriele Busch-Salmen, "Adolph Menzels' Flötenkonzert Friedrich des Großen in Sanssouci: Ein vertrautes Gemälde, 150 Jahre nach seiner Fertigstellung neu gesehen", *Music in art: International journal for music iconography* 28/1–2 (2003) 127–46.

⁵⁹⁴ See appendix, document 79; see also footnote 71.

⁵⁹⁵ See footnote 73.

⁵⁹⁶ See footnote 85.

focused on many issues directly addressing the needs and interests of King Frederick the Great (1712–86)⁵⁹⁷ as well as of the 18th-century traverse player in general, such as tone production and acoustical properties of the instrument;⁵⁹⁸ on the other hand, he offered advice on practicing⁵⁹⁹ and on performance practice issues,⁶⁰⁰ above all on articulation,⁶⁰¹ diminutions, and standard ornamentation,⁶⁰² such as arpeggio, mordent, trill, and turn.⁶⁰³ Quantz includes a number of poignant references to the *apotome* (larger semitone) and *diesis* (smaller semitone) of the *systema teleion* in the discussion of the range of the flute,⁶⁰⁴ references which undoubtedly reflect the overall tenor of Leopold Mozart's exposition on music history in the *Violinschule*.

It seems most appropriate to conclude the lengthy list of important contributors to the *disciplina musicae* with the reference to Riepel,⁶⁰⁵ a student of philosophy at the Jesuit College in Linz and subsequently at the Universität Graz, where he began concentrating on Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*.⁶⁰⁶ This study led Riepel to the writings of numerous volumes,⁶⁰⁷ all well received by his contemporaries such as Nicolas Forkel and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, beginning with his *Anfangsgründe zur musikalischen Setzkunst*.⁶⁰⁸ This volume reflects Riepel's experience as a composer,⁶⁰⁹ especially in his remarks on the

⁵⁹⁷ Georg Müller, *Friedrich der Große: Seine Flöten und sein Flötenspiel* (Berlin: A. Parrhysius, 1932); see also Georg Thouret, *Friedrich der Große als Musikfreund und Musiker* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898); Helmuth Osthoff, "Friedrich der Große als Komponist", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 103 (1936) 917–920; Reinhold Quandt, "Friedrich II als Komponist und Musiker", *Tibia: Magazin für Holzbläser* 6 (1981) 241–49; Derek McCulloch, "A lesson on the king of Prussia: A new look at the compositions of Frederick the Great", *German life and letters* 48 (1995) 1–11.

⁵⁹⁸ Edward R. Reilly, "Quantz and the transverse flute: Some aspects of his practice and thought regarding the instrument", *Early music* 25/4 (1997) 428–38; Mary A. Oleskiewicz, *Quantz and the flute at Dresden: His instruments, his repertory and their significance for the Versuch and the Bach circle* (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1998).

⁵⁹⁹ Gabriel Busch-Salmen, "Was ein Anfänger... zu beachten hat: Anmerkungen zum 10. Hauptstück in Johann Joachim Quantz's Versuch einer Anweisung", *Travers & controvers: Festschrift Nikolaus Delius. Eine Sammlung von Beiträgen mit und über Musik für Nikolaus Delius*, ed. by Mirjam Nastasi (Celle: Moeck, 1992) 57–66.

⁶⁰⁰ See, for example, Richard Marshall Colvig, *J.J. Quantz' Versuch and the performance of eighteenth-century music* (M.A. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1949).

⁶⁰¹ Mary Rasmussen, "Some notes on the articulation in the melodic variation tables of Johann Joachim Quantz's Versuch", *Brass and woodwind quarterly* 1 (1966–67) 3–26.

⁶⁰² Further on this topic, see, for example, Ross E. Keiser, *Ornamentation in the adagio of J.J. Quantz's Versuch einer Anweisung über die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (M.M. thesis, Bowling Green State University, 1974); Kris Palmer, *Ornamentation according to C.P.E. Bach and J.J. Quantz* (Bloomington, Ind.: First Books Library, 2001).

⁶⁰³ Stephen Hefling, "Of the manner of playing the adagio: Structural levels and performance practice in Quantz's Versuch", *Journal of music theory* 31/2 (1987) 205–23; see also Charlotte Gwen Crockett, *The Berlin flute sonatas of Johann Joachim Quantz: A study of the repertory and its performance options* (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1982).

⁶⁰⁴ See appendix, document 79: Johann Joachim Quantz, *On playing the flute*, chapter 3: "Of the fingering or applicatio, and the gamut or scale of the flute", paragraph 2, footnotes.

⁶⁰⁵ On Joseph Riepel, see Thomas Emmerig, *Joseph Riepel, Hofkapellmeister des Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis: Biographie, Thematisches Werkverzeichnis, Schriftenverzeichnis* (Kallmünz: M. Lassleben, 1984).

⁶⁰⁶ On the relationship between Riepel and Fux, see Oliver Wiener, "Ein ganzes Duzend Manuductionem": *Joseph Riepels Desintegration der Gradus ad Parnassum von Johann Joseph Fux*. Jahresgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft 26 (Graz: Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft, 2003).

⁶⁰⁷ For a survey of Riepel's music-theoretical discourse, see Wilhelm Twittenhoff, *Die musiktheoretischen Schriften Joseph Riepels (1709–1782) als Beispiel einer anschaulichen Musiklehre* (Halle an der Saale: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses, 1934); Ernst Schwarzmaier, *Die Takt- und Tonordnung Joseph Riepels: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Formenlehre im 18. Jahrhundert*. Regensburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 4, ed. by Hermann Beck (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1938).

⁶⁰⁸ Nola Jane Reed, *The theories of Joseph Riepel as expressed in his Anfangsgründe zur musikalischen Setzkunst (1752–1768)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1983); Stefan Eckart, *Ars combinatoria, dialogue structure, and musical practice in Joseph Riepels Anfangsgründe zur musikalischen Setzkunst* (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2000); see also Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Motivische Arbeit".

⁶⁰⁹ See, for example, Joseph Merkl, *Joseph Riepel als Komponist, 1709–1782: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Regensburg* (Kallmünz: M. Lassleben, 1937); Thomas Emmerig, "Joseph Riepels drei Violinkonzerte Opus I", *Musik in Bayern* 32 (1986) 63–76; Miriam Jenkins, *Joseph Riepel: Theorist as composer* (M.M. thesis, University of Massachusetts, 1993); Kevin E. Eisensmith, *Joseph Riepels concerto in D à clarino principale: A performing edition with background and*

formal design of works⁶¹⁰ with a focus on 18th-century sonata form⁶¹¹ and minuets.⁶¹² In addition to the *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Rudolstadt and Leipzig, 1782–93) of Koch,⁶¹³ this volume served Leopold Mozart in the instruction of his son Wolfgang, especially with regard to the exploring of the phrase structure of earlier and contemporary repertoires⁶¹⁴ in the context of the *Fortspinnung*.⁶¹⁵ Incidentally, in their respective approaches to the pedagogy of composition, Riepel and Koch were not the first theorists to place emphasis on the minuet; rather both theorists here followed in the footsteps of Mattheson, who had focused on the minuet in both his *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* (1737)⁶¹⁶ and *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739).⁶¹⁷ In fact, the latter treatise of Mattheson must have provided some inspiration for Beethoven in his studies of double counterpoint, as is readily gathered from the identification of a brief entry from *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* in Beethoven's own hand.⁶¹⁸

Only in one instance does the mentioning of the family name provide some ambiguity as to the precise authority, and even Pierluigi Petrobelli seems to confuse the

commentary (D.M.A. thesis, Temple University, 1994).

⁶¹⁰ See, for example, Wolfgang Budday, *Grundlagen musikalischer Formen der Wiener Klassik: An Hand der zeitgenössischen Theorie von Joseph Riepel und Heinrich Christoph Koch dargestellt an Menuetten und Sonatensätzen (1750–1790)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983); Nola Reed Knouse, "Joseph Riepel and the emerging theory of form in the eighteenth century", *Current musicology* 41 (1986) 46–62.

⁶¹¹ Fred Ritzel, *Die Entwicklung der 'Sonatenform' im musiktheoretischen Schrifttum des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Neue Musikgeschichtliche Forschungen 1, ed. by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968, 2nd ed. 1969).

⁶¹² Josef Gmeiner, *Menuett und Scherzo: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte und Soziologie des Tanzsatzes der Wiener Klassik*. Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 15 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979).

⁶¹³ On the discussion of issues pertaining to the organization of the melodic/harmonic and phrase structures, see Arno Feil, *Satztechnische Fragen in den Kompositionslehren von Friedrich E. Niedt, Joseph Riepel, und Heinrich Christoph Koch* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Heidelberg, 1955); Wolfgang Budday, *Grundlagen musikalischer Formen*; Richard Bruce Nelson, *Theories of harmonic modulation in selected German treatises of the eighteenth century* (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1983); Joel Lester, *Compositional theory*, 273–99 (Chapter 11: "Koch: Toward a Comprehensive Approach to Musical Structure"); Stephan Maulbetsch, "Die Kunst, Töne zu verbinden: Heinrich Christoph Koch als Komponist und Theoretiker", *Mozart-Studien* 12 (2003) 217–77.

⁶¹⁴ On the organizing of pitches and rhythms within the phrase, see Ernst Schwarzmeier, *Die Takt- und Tonordnung Joseph Riepels*; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Motivische Arbeit*"; see also John Walter Hill, "The logic of phrase structure in Joseph Riepel's *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst*, part 2 (1750)", *Festa musicologica: Essays in honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. by Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera. Festschrift series 14 (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995) 467–87; Justin M. London, "Riepel and Absatz: Poetic and prosaic aspects of phrase structure in eighteenth-century theory", *Journal of musicology: A quarterly review of music history criticism, analysis, and performance practice* 8 (1990) 505–19; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Motivische Arbeit*"; see also Joseph L. Brumeloe, *Formal grouping in the theory and musical practice of the eighteenth century* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1991); Joel Lester, *Compositional theory*, 258–72 (Chapter 10: "Riepel on Melody and Phrases"); Markus Waldura, "Zukunftsweisende Momente in Johann Matthesons musikalischem Periodenbegriff", *Musik, Wissenschaft und ihre Vermittlung: Bericht über die Internationale Musikwissenschaftliche Tagung der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover, 26.–29. September 2001*, ed. by Arnfried Edler and Sabine Meine (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 2002) 289–92.

⁶¹⁵ Wilhelm Fischer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener Klassischen Stils" (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Wien, 1915); excerpts published in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1915) 24–84; Friedrich Blume, "Fortspinnung und Entwicklung: Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Begriffsbildung", *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 36 (1929) 51–70; also reprinted in Friedrich Blume, *Syntagma musicologicum: Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, ed. by Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) 505–25; see also Junko Kaneko, *Fortspinnung as Einschießel: A reinterpretation of Fischer's 1915 analysis in light of Riepel's 1752–1755 theory* (M.M. thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004).

⁶¹⁶ See appendix, document 54.

⁶¹⁷ See appendix, document 55. For a discussion in Mattheson's treatises, see Ernst Apfel, "Ein Menuett bei Johann Mattheson", *Die Musikforschung* 29 (1976) 295–99.

⁶¹⁸ Beyond that, a Beethoven sketchbook from 1802 includes a number of canonic studies, some of which definitely point to Mattheson as the source, such as Beethoven's copying of William Byrd's canon *Non nobis Domine*, with Mattheson's copy of this particular canon by Byrd serving as the exemplar. For a detailed discussion of the connection between Mattheson and Beethoven, see Richard A. Kramer, "Notes to Beethoven's education", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975) 72–101.

first names and dates of the particular contenders. In his article Petrobelli decodes the name of “Vogt” as “Michael Johann Vogt (1669–1730),”⁶¹⁹ though an authority with that particular first name and matching vital statistics is not found in the encyclopedic literature or any electronic files. In fact, the music encyclopedic literature is explicit in recording vastly different accomplishments of the German theorist, editor, and cantor named Michael Vogt on the one hand, who was born 29 September 1526 presumably in Leipzig and who died 10 March 1606 in Torgau.⁶²⁰ On the other hand, there was a Bohemian composer and theorist of German birth, Johannes Georgius Mauritius (or Moritz) Vogt, who was born in Königshofen im Grabfeld, Bavaria, on 30 June 1669 and who died near Mariaňská Týnice in western Bohemia on 17 August 1730.⁶²¹ Presumably Petrobelli, in his identification, associated Leopold Mozart’s entry on “Vogt” with the latter contender, who, in fact, had a life somewhat similar to that of Leopold Mozart. He, too, was active as a composer, organist, and *Kapellmeister*, in the latter position serving the Court of Countess Marie Gabriela Lazanska at Manetin from ca. 1711 onward.⁶²² A visit by Johannes Georgius Mauritius Vogt to the Monastery of Göttweig in Lower Austria in 1722, that geographic locale closest to Leopold Mozart’s later sphere of activity, could obviously not have provided for any close contact between the respective authorities. Yet Vogt’s treatise, the *Conclave thesauri* (1719),⁶²³ focused largely on the doctrine of the affections and rhetorical figures in the era prior to Mattheson and Scheibe, both authors who are identified in Leopold Mozart’s list and thus, by virtue of its content, would have been of interest to the author of the *Violinschule*. Judging from the content of Michael Vogt’s *Definitio* (1557),⁶²⁴ a work firmly rooted in the Renaissance tradition of the *musica speculativa* with its emphasis on an exceedingly broad curriculum, the representations of mathematical ratios of musical intervals and the reliance on a number of authorities from antiquity and the Middle Ages—including Boethius, Nicomachus, Proclus, Plato, Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Terence, Varro,⁶²⁵ and Pseudo-Plutarch,⁶²⁶ as well as the depiction of a number of legendary figures in music,

⁶¹⁹ Pierluigi Petrobelli, “La cultura di Leopold Mozart e la sua *Violinschule*”, *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 15. On Michael Vogt’s biography, see Robert Eitner, “Biographische Notizen”, *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 9 (1877) 195–98; see also Reinhold Jauernig, “Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu Eitners Quellenlexikon, für Musiker und Musikgelehrte des 16. Jahrhunderts”, *Die Musikforschung* 6 (1953) 347–56, especially 350.

⁶²⁰ F.E. Kirby, “Vogt [Voctui, Voctus, Voet, Voetu, Voicius, Voigt, Voit], Michael”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 26, 871; Gunther Morche and Gerhard Pietzsch, “Vogt (Voitus, Voicius, Voctus), Michael”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2007) Personenteil vol. 17, col. 189; see also Otto Taubert, *Geschichte der Pflege der Musik in Torgau vom Ausgange des 15. Jahrhunderts bis auf unsere Tage* (Torgau: F. Jacob, 1868).

⁶²¹ Milan Poštolka, “Vogt, Mauritius (Joannes Georgius)”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 26, 870–71; Tomáš Slavivký, “Vogt, Mauritius Johann”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2007) Personenteil vol. 17, col. 188.

⁶²² Milan Poštolka, “Vogt, Mauritius”, 870; Tomáš Slavivký, “Vogt, Mauritius Johann”, 188. On Vogt’s association with the organ, see Rudolf Quoika, “P. Mauritius Johann Vogt O.Cist.: Ein Orgelbautheoretiker der Barockzeit”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 41 (1957) 79–93.

⁶²³ See appendix, document 89: Mauritius Vogt, *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (Prague, 1719); see also F.E. Kirby, “Vogt [Voctuis, Voctus, Voet, Voetus, Voicius, Voigt, Voit], Michael”, 870; see also Gunther Morche and Gerhard Pietzsch, “Vogt (Voitus, Voicius, Voctus), Michael”, col. 189.

⁶²⁴ See appendix, document 89: Michael Vogt, *Definitio, divisio musices, et eius subdivisio* (Basel, 1557). Further on this treatise, see Gerhard Pietzsch, “Zur Pflege der Musik an den deutschen Universitäten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts”, *Archiv für Musikforschung* 7 (1942) 90–110, especially 109, 154–69.

⁶²⁵ F.E. Kirby, “Vogt [Voctuis, Voctus, Voet, Voetus, Voicius, Voigt, Voit], Michael”, 870; see also Gunther Morche and Gerhard Pietzsch, “Vogt (Voitus, Voicius, Voctus), Michael”, col. 189.

⁶²⁶ Pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica*. For an English trans., Andrew Barker, trans., “Plutarchian treatise *On music*”, Greek

among them Orpheus,⁶²⁷ Pythagoras,⁶²⁸ and Jubal⁶²⁹ (used interchangeably with Tubal⁶³⁰)—was of equal importance to the exploration of the concept of the *imitatio* in simple two-part writing.⁶³¹ This fact does not necessarily rule out Michael Vogt's *Definitio* as a possible source contemplated by Leopold Mozart.⁶³² Beyond that, as a promoter of 16th-century Netherlands polyphony collected in a publication entitled *Praestantissimorum artificum lectissimae missae* (Wittenberg, 1568)⁶³³—a volume of leading contemporary Netherlands composers, including Josquin des Prez (ca. 1450–55; d.1521)—Michael Vogt might have kindled, at least incidentally, an interest in and preoccupation with this repertoire in the mind of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.⁶³⁴ However, young Wolfgang, curiously enough, was completely untouched by the basic, largely humanist inspired curriculum, a fact which may directly result from Wolfgang's preoccupation with opera.⁶³⁵

musical writings I: The musician and his art, ed. by Andrew Barker. Cambridge readings in the literature of music, ed. by John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 205–48; see also Claude V. Palisca, "The poem on Plutarch's *Musica* to Titus Pyrrhinus by Carlo Valgolio", *The Florentine Camerata*, 13–44 (includes facs. of 1507 ed. and English trans.); Edward Kerr Borthwick, "Notes on the Plutarch *De Musica* and the *Cheiron* of Pherecrates", *Hermes* 96 (1968) 60–73.

⁶²⁷ Robert Böhme, *Orpheus: Der Sänger und seine Zeit* (Berne: Francke, [s.d.]); see also Victor Schultze, "Orpheus in der frühchristlichen Kunst", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 28 (1924) 173–83; Andreas Ostheimer, "Orpheus und die Entstehung einer Musiktheorie im 9. Jahrhundert", *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 33 (1998) 19–35. On the continuous presence of the figure of Orpheus through the ages, see, for example, Claudia Maurer Zenck, ed., *Der Orpheus-Mythos von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart: Die Vorträge der interdisziplinären Ringvorlesung an der Universität Hamburg, Sommersemester 2003*. *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 21, ed. by Kai Stefan Lothwesen, published under auspices of the Musikwissenschaftliche Institut der Universität Hamburg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004) [on the Orpheus tradition up to the 15th century, see, in particular, Claudia Klodt, "Der Orpheus-Mythos in der Antike", 37–98; Barbara Marx, "Orpheus als Herrschaftsfigur der Renaissance", 119–32; Sabine Blumenröder, "Das Orpheus-Bild im 15. Jahrhundert. Musische Männer und wilde Frauen: Ursprungsmythen und Künstlerselbstverständnis in der Malerei", 205–28].

⁶²⁸ Hans Oppermann, "Eine Pythagoraslegende", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 130 (1925) 284–301. In his reference to Pythagoras, Leopold Mozart was undoubtedly aware of the association between music and the art of the smithy. Further on this topic, see Marius Schneider, "Pythagoras in der Schmiede", *Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Willi Kahl am 1. Juli 1953* (Köln: s.n., 1953) 126–29; see also Ruth Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik: Über die traditionelle Verknüpfung von Schmiedehandwerk und Musik in Afrika, Asien und Europa*. Orpheus-Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 37, ed. by Martin Vogel (Bonn–Bad Godesberg: Verlag für Systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1984).

⁶²⁹ See, for example, the depiction of Jubal in the etching *The stall of Jubal* (ca. 1570–80) by Johann Sadeler (1550–1600/10) after the painting by the Antwerp artist Martin (Maerten) de Vos (ca. 1531–1603). For a discussion of this depiction, see Herbert Turrentine, "The Stall of Jubal: A Flemish reflection of Italian humanism", *Art and music in the early modern period: Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, ed. by Katherine A. McIver (Aldershot: Ashgate 2003) 233–40.

⁶³⁰ The discrepancy stems from the ambiguous orthography in the manuscript sources; see Paul E. Beichner, *The medieval representative of music, Jubal or Tubalcain*, 7; see also Judith Cohen, "Jubal in the Middle Ages", 83–99.

⁶³¹ See, for example, Howard Meyer Bown, "Emulation, competition, and homage: Imitation and theories of imitation in the Renaissance", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982) 1–48.

⁶³² Further on the importance of Mauritius Vogt as a music theorist, see M. Svatoš, "P. Mauritius Vogt Ocist: Ein böhmischer Patriarch und Gelehrter der Barockzeit aus Franken", *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* (1997) 163–80.

⁶³³ Michael Vogt, *Praestantissimorum artificum lectissimae Missae cum quinque tum sex vocum, binis singulae supremis vocibus formatae, e nobilissimis quibusque atque optimis Musarum bellarijs, velut dulcissimi Fructus in hoc promptuarium comportatae* (Wittenberg: J. Schwertel, 1568).

⁶³⁴ See, for example, Mozart's motet *God is our refuge*, K.20. For an analysis of compositional technique and style, see Bernd Krause, "Talentprobe mit kleinen Fehlern: Zu Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Chorus *God is Our Refuge*, KV 20", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1999) 35–47.

⁶³⁵ The preoccupation of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart with music theater and opera might account for his disinterest in the more abstract humanist philosophy to which Leopold Mozart was attracted. I am indebted to Richard Green (Manhattan School of Music, New York) for this observation. On Mozart's use of materials from Antiquity for his operas, see Jean Witold, "Mozart's Humanism", *Internationale Konferenz über das Leben und Werk W.A. Mozarts, Praha, 27.–31. Mai 1956: Bericht*, ed. by Verband tschechoslowakischer Komponisten; with preparation of German edition of conference report by Pavel Eckstein ([no city]: [no publisher and date of publication]) 230–35; see also Klaus-Dietrich Koch, "Mozart und die Antike", *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 45/3–4 (1997) 21–52.

Leopold Mozart completes his extensive, yet by no means exhaustive list of music theorists with two important contributors to 18th-century lexicography: Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) and Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748). Apart from the ready accessibility to their respective lexicographic writings, neither Leopold Mozart's focus on this specific type of compilation of music theoretical materials nor the selection of specific authors is surprising given that in his "Versuch einer kurzen Geschichte der Musik", he had already touched on the importance of the music dictionary in his reference to the *Syntagma musicum* of Praetorius.⁶³⁶ And in the case of his reference to Sébastien de Brossard, Leopold Mozart continues his focus on authors that received much of their training in the realm of the monastery (such as the aforementioned Glarean, Kepler, Neidhardt, and Kircher, the latter who, by virtue of his studies at a Jesuit College, shared an even closer affinity with Brossard).

Initially self-taught in music during his study of philosophy and theology at the Jesuit College of Caen (France), Brossard held several important positions, including in Paris, initially as private teacher to the nephew of the Councillor d'État, Joseph Faucault (1682–84), and subsequently as priest at Notre Dame (1684–89), and then as *maître de chapelle* at Strasbourg Cathedral,⁶³⁷ and finally as *grand chapelain* and *maître de musique* of Meaux Cathedral.⁶³⁸ Owing to his close association with the circle of artists of Mademoiselle de Guise,⁶³⁹ Brossard made important contacts with the composer and theorist Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704),⁶⁴⁰ the music theorist Étienne

⁶³⁶ See appendix, document 71.

⁶³⁷ François Auguste Goehlinger, *La musique à la Cathédrale de Strasbourg, après le premier retour de l'Alsace à la mer-patrie sous Louis XIV.*, Studia leontina 1 (Strasbourg: F.X. Le Roux, 1920). René Kopff, "Les compositeurs de musique instrumentale en Alsace au XVII^e siècle", *La musique en Alsace hier et aujourd'hui*, ed. by Robert Minder. Publications de la Société savante d'Alsace et des régions de l'Est 10 (Strasbourg: Istra, 1970) 83–94.

⁶³⁸ Yolande de Brossard, *Sébastien de Brossard, théoricien et compositeur, encyclopédiste et maître de chapelle, 1655–1730*, La vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons (Paris: Picard, 1987).

⁶³⁹ J. Guiffrey, "Testament et inventaire de Mademoiselle de Guise, 1688", *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 3rd series 12 (1896) 200–33; Patricia M. Ranum, "A sweet servitude: A musician's life at the Court of Mlle. De Guise", *Early music* 15 (1987) 346–60; Patricia M. Ranum, "Étienne Loulié (1654–1702): Musicien de Mademoiselle de Guise, pédagogue et théoricien", *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 25 (1987) 26–75; 26 (1988–90) 5–49; Patricia M. Ranum, "Il y a aujourd'hui Musique à la Mercy: Mademoiselle de Guise et les Mercéclaires de la rue du Chaume", *Bulletin de la Société Marc-Antoine Charpentier* 13 (1996) 1–11.

⁶⁴⁰ Yolande de Brossard, "Quelques commentaires de Brossard concernant Lully et Charpentier", *XVII^e siècle* 40 (1988) 387–92. Further on the importance of Charpentier's contribution, see H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les oeuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue raisonné*. La vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons (Paris: Picard, 1982); see also Claude Crussard, *Un musicien français oublié: Marc-Antoine Charpentier, 1634–1704*. Music and theatre in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Paris: Floury, 1945; repr. ed., New York: AMS Press, 1978); Claude Crussard, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier, théoricien", *Revue de musicologie* 24 (1945) 49–68; Walter Kolneder, "Die Regeln de composition von Marc-Antoine Charpentier", *Zum 70. Geburtstag von Joseph Müller-Blattau*, ed. by Christoph Hellmut Mahling. Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966) 152–59; Lillian M. Ruff, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Regeln de composition", *The consort* 24 (1967) 233–70.

Loulié (1654–1702),⁶⁴¹ and the acoustician Joseph Sauveur (1653–1716).⁶⁴² Versed in both *musica theorica* and *musica practica*, Brossard founded the Academie de Musique in Strasbourg in 1689 for the performance of his own works. Building on the close associations between German and Italian publishing houses in Strasbourg, he was quickly able to establish his own formidable collection⁶⁴³ (which he turned over to King Louis XV between 1724 and 1726⁶⁴⁴), comprising his own works⁶⁴⁵ and copies he made of the works of other composers.⁶⁴⁶ These professional experiences and acquaintanceships with influential composers and music theorists provided a most desirable environment

⁶⁴¹ Étienne Loulié, *Abrégé des principes de musique, avec plusieurs leçons sur chaque difficulté de ces mesmes principes* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1696); idem, *Éléments ou principes de musique, mis dans un nouvel ordre, très clair, très facile, et très court, et divisé en trois parties. La première pour les enfans. La seconde pour les personnes plus avancées en âge. La troisième pour ceux qui sont capables de raisonner sur les principes de la musique. Avec l'estampe, la description et l'usage du chronomètre ou instrument de nouvelle invention, par le moyen duquel les compositeurs de musique pourront désormais marquer le véritable mouvement de leurs compositions, et leurs ouvrages marquer par rapport à cet instrument, se pourront exécuter en leur absence comme s'ils en battoient eux-mêmes la mesure* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1696, 2nd ed. 1698; Repr. ed. Genève: Minkoff, 1971, 1977); also in English trans. as idem, *Elements or Principles of Music*, trans. by Albert Cohen, *Musical theorists in translation* 6 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1965); Étienne Loulié, *Nouveau système de musique ou nouvelle division du monocorde, dans laquelle on donne les raisons de tous les intervalles de musique par rapport à l'accord du clavecin ordinaire, avec la description et l'usage du sonomètre* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1698). Further on the importance of his contribution, see Albert Cohen, "Étienne Loulié as a Music Theorist", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965) 70–72; Richard T. Semmens, *Étienne Loulié as music theorist* (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1979); Richard T. Semmens, "The early eighteenth-century discussion of musical acoustics by Étienne Loulié", *Canadian University Music Review/Revue canadienne de musique* 2 (1981) 177–206; Richard T. Semmens, "Étienne Loulié and the New Harmonic Counterpoint", *Journal of music theory* 28 (1984) 73–88; On Loulié's interest in music of the ancients, see, for example, Patricia M. Ranum, "Étienne Loulié and the music of the ancients", *Cahiers du dix-septième: An interdisciplinary journal* 1 (1987) 117–28; Albert Cohen, "Loulié, proportional signs, and *La Stravaganza*", *Music in performance and society: Essays in honor of Roland Jackson*, ed. by Malcolm Cole and John Koegel. Detroit monographs in musicology/Studies in music 20 (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1997) 195–203.

⁶⁴² Joseph Sauveur, *Principes d'acoustique et de musique, ou, Système general des intervalles des sons, et de son application à tous les systèmes et à tous les instruments de musique* (Paris: [s.n.], 1701; repr. ed., Genève: Minkoff, 1973); see also Rudolf A. Rasch, ed., *Joseph Sauveur: Collected writings on musical acoustics (Paris, 1700–1713)*. Tuning and temperament library 2 (Utrecht: Diapason Press, 1984); Richard T. Semmens, *Joseph Sauveur's treatise on the theory of music: A study, diplomatic transcription, and annotated translation*. Studies in music from the University of Western Ontario 11 (London, Ont.: University of Western Ontario, 1987); Paul Cowan, *A translation with commentary of Joseph Sauveur's Principes d'acoustique et de musique* (M.A. thesis, L'Université d'Ottawa, 1989). Further on the importance of his contributions, see Sigalia Dostrovsky, "Sauveur, Joseph", *Dictionary of scientific biography*, ed. by Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Scribner, 1975) vol. 12, 127–29; Robert Eugene Maxham, *The contributions of J. Sauveur (1653–1716) to acoustics* (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1976); U. Sirker, "Joseph Sauveurs musikalische Untersuchungen: Ein Beitrag zu experimentellen Forschungen um 1700", *Ars musica, Ars scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüsch zum 65. Geburtstag am 2. März 1980, überreicht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. by Detlef Altenburg. Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 126 (Köln: Verlag der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Rheinische Musikgeschichte, 1980) 412–15; Richard T. Semmens, "Sauveur and the absolute frequency of pitch", *Theoria: Historical aspects of music theory* 5 (1990–91) 1–41.

⁶⁴³ L. Bourreau, "Un musicien bibliophile: Sébastien de Brossard", *Bulletin de la Société littéraire et historique de la Brie* 15 (1936) 2–15.

⁶⁴⁴ Elisabeth Lebeau, "L'entrée la collection musicale de Sébastien de Brossard à la Bibliothèque du Roi", *Revue de musicologie* 29 (1950) 77–93; 30 (1951) 20–43.

⁶⁴⁵ On Brossard's compositions, see Jean Duron, *L'oeuvre de Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730): Catalogue thématique*. Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles (Paris: Klincksieck, 1995); see also Jules Combarieu, "Compositeurs français du XVII^e siècle: Sébastien des Brossard", *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicale* 1 (1901) 20–25; François-Xavier Mathias, "Le *Canticum eucharisticum pro pace facta anno 1697* de Sébastien de Brossard", *Revue de musicologie* 9 (1928) 77–85; Jérôme Krucker, *Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) et sa musique religieuse* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV, 1989); Herbert Schneider, "Die solistisch besetzten Leçon de ténèbres", *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte*, ed. by Herbert Schneider in collab. with Heinz-Jürgen Winkler. Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 5, issued under auspices of the Kommission für Musikwissenschaft der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1992) 243–69.

⁶⁴⁶ See, for example, Wolfgang Witzenmann, "Sébastien de Brossard als Carissimi Sammler", *Die Musikforschung* 35 (1982) 255–62.

as well as ample resources for the preparation of the *Dictionnaire de musique*,⁶⁴⁷ the first two editions of which were dedicated to the famous theologian and preacher, Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Bishop of Meaux.⁶⁴⁸ Brossard had manifold aims in mind, namely providing for French musicians the important Italian musical terms and a register of French terminology related to the *disciplina musicae*, a glossary on Italian pronunciation of *termini technici*, a listing of manuscripts and prints of the subdisciplines of music theory, church music, vocal secular music, and instrumental repertoires, and finally an index of some nine hundred names of people who have written about the *disciplina musicae*.⁶⁴⁹ With this seminal accomplishment, Brossard provided a reliable source of information for the biographies of composers, remarks on technical aspects of composition and on the perception of music during the early decades of the 18th century, embracing the period prior to Leopold Mozart's arrival on the musical scene of central Europe.

Very much influenced by the *Dictionnaire de musique* of Brossard, who has generally been acknowledged as the founder of modern music lexicography,⁶⁵⁰ was Johann Gottfried Walther in the conceptualizing of his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732).⁶⁵¹ Walther was the recipient of a humanist education at the Ratsgymnasium in Weimar beginning in 1697, and of further training in philosophy and law at the Universität Erfurt. He also completed further musical studies with Wilhelm Hieronymous Pachelbel (1686–1764),⁶⁵² the son of Johann Pachelbel (1653–1706),⁶⁵³ in Nuremberg, and was finally trained as a *musicus* of the orchestra of the Duke of Weimar. Like Brossard, Walther held a number of appointments, including organist at the *Thomaskirche* in Erfurt and subsequently, from 1707 onward, at the *Stadtkirche* in Weimar. All of these appointments helped him gain experience in the *musica practica*, which for Walther, like for Brossard, also

⁶⁴⁷ See appendix, document 15.

⁶⁴⁸ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (Amsterdam: Étienne Roger, 1714); see Klaus Hortschansky, "Die Datierung der frühen Musikdrucke Etienne Rogers: Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen," in: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 22 (1972) 252–86. For an English trans. of Bossuet's publication, see Elborg Forster, ed. with intro. by Orest Ranum as Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Discourse on universal history*. Classic European historians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976). Further on Bossuet, see Ella Katharine Sanders, *Jacques Bénigne Bossuet: A study* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1921); Gonzague Truc, *Bossuet et le classicisme religieux*. Les maîtres de la pensée religieuse (Paris: Les Éditions Denoël de Steele, 1934); Jean Clavet, *Bossuet, l'homme et l'oeuvre*. Le livre de l'étudiant 8 (Paris: Boivin, 1941); Thérèse Goyet, *L'humanisme de Bossuet* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1965) [vol. 1: Le goût de Bossuet; vol. 2: L'humanisme philosophique]; Jacques Le Brun, *La spiritualité de Bossuet*. Bibliothèque française et romane. C: Études littéraires 39 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1972); Jacques Le Brun, *Bossuet*. Les écrivains devant Dieu 27 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1970).

⁶⁴⁹ Rainer Sajak, *Sébastien de Brossard als Lexikograph, Bibliograph und Bearbeiter* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Bonn, 1974); Jean Duron, *Sébastien de Brossard: Musicien. Textes réunis*. Publications du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles: Domaine musicologique II (Paris: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles; Klincksieck, 1998); see also Michel Brenet, "Sébastien de Brossard, prêtre, compositeur, écrivain et bibliophile, d'après ses papiers inédits," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et des Îles de France* 23 (1896) 72 ff.

⁶⁵⁰ Inge Frost, "Brossard, Sébastien de," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000) Personenteil vol. 3, col. 996.

⁶⁵¹ See appendix, document 91.

⁶⁵² On the relationship between teacher and student, see, for example, Michael Belotti, "Pachelbel, Wilhelm Hieronymus," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004) Personenteil vol. 12, col. 1516.

⁶⁵³ Kathryn Jane Welter, *Johann Pachelbel: Organist, teacher, composer. A critical reexamination of his life, works, and historical significance* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998). On the significance of Johann Pachelbel for compositional practices of contemporaries and composers of later eras, see, for example, Markus Zimmermann, "Johann Pachelbel als Schnittpunkt der europäischen Einflüsse auf die deutsche Orgelmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik* 3 (1994) 81–82; Friedhelm Krummacher, "Pachelbels Bedeutung für Bachs Musik," *Bachfest* (1908) 123–33; Crawford R. Thoburn, "Pachelbel's Christ lag in Todesbanden: A possible influence on Bach's work," *American choral review* 19 (1977) 3–16.

comprised composition.⁶⁵⁴ Beyond that, Walther's interest in music theory was kindled by his contact with Johann Sebastian Bach⁶⁵⁵ and his study of the music treatises of Robert Fludd (1574–1637),⁶⁵⁶ Kircher,⁶⁵⁷ and Werckmeister⁶⁵⁸—the latter who had presented Walther with a copy of the *Pleiades musicae* (1615) of Henricus Baryphonus (1581–1655).⁶⁵⁹ And finally, Walther, again like Brossard, amassed his own library of performing materials and music theoretical treatises, which provided a most valuable source to draw upon in the compiling of his *Musicalisches Lexicon*.⁶⁶⁰ The first major

⁶⁵⁴ Oliver Houston, *The organ chorales of Johann Gottfried Walther* (M.M. thesis, University of Michigan, 1956); Theodore Albert Beck, *The organ chorales of Johann Gottfried Walther* (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1961); Warren F. Schmidt, *The organ chorales of Johann Gottfried Walther* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1961); Peter Benary, *Die deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts* (im Anhang Johann Adolph Scheibe's *Compendium musicus*). Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 3, ed. by Heinrich Besseler (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961) 30 ff.; Kirsten Beisswenger, "Zur Chronologie der Notenhandschriften Johann Gottfried Walthers", *Acht kleine Präludien und Studien über Bach: Georg von Dadelsen zum 70. Geburtstag am 17. November 1988*, issued under auspices of the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut Göttingen (Wiebaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1992) 11–39.

⁶⁵⁵ K.W. Senn, "Über die Beziehungen zwischen Johann Gottfried Walther und Johann Sebastian Bach", *Musik und Kirche* 34 (1964) 8 ff.; David Yearsley, "Alchemy and counterpoint in the age of reason", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1979) 201–43.

⁶⁵⁶ Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi, maioris scilicet et minoris, metaphysica, physica atque technica historia, in duo volumina secundum cosmi differentiam divisa. Authore Roberto Flud alias de Fluctibus. Tomus primus De macrocosmi historia in duos tractatus divisa. Quorum primus de metaphysico macrocosmi et creaturarum illius ortu, physico macrocosmi in generatione et corruptione progressu. Secundus de arte naturae simia in macrocosmo producta et in eo nutrita et multiplicata, cujus filias praecipuas hic anatomia viva recensuimus, nempe. Arithmetica, musicam, geometriam, perspectivam, artem pictoriam, artem militarem, motus temporis scientiam, cosmographiam, astrologiam, geomantiam* (Oppenheim: Johann Theodor de Bry (Hieronymus Galler, 1617–21, 1624); Robert Fludd, *Monochordum mundi symphoniacum, seu, replicatio Roberti Flud, alias de Fluctibus ad apologiam viri clariss. et in Mathesi peritiss. Ioannis Kepleri, adversus demonstrationem suam analyticam, nuperrime editam in qua Robertus Validioribus Ioannis obiectionibus, harmoniae suae legi repugnantibus, comiter respondere aggreditur* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Theodor De Bry, 1622, 2nd ed. 1623); Robert Fludd, *Sophiae cum moria certamen in quo, lapis Lydius a falso structore, Fr. Marino Mersenne, Monacho, reprobatus, celeberrima voluminis sui Babylonicis (in genesin) figmenta accurate examinat* (Frankfurt am Main: s.n., 1629); Robert Fludd, *Summum bonum, quod est, verum magiae, cabalae, alchymiae, Fratrum Roseae Crucis verorum, subjectum, in dictarum scientiarum laudem et insignis calumniatoris Fratris Marini Mersenni dedecus publicatum, per Joachimum Frizium* (Frankfurt am Main: s.n., 1629); see also Robert Fludd, *The origin and structure of the cosmos, being a translation of books one and two of Tractate One from volume one of Utriusque cosmic historia*. Magnum opus Hermetic sourceworks 13 (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, 1982). Further on his contribution, see Peter J. Amman, "The musical theory and philosophy of Robert Fludd", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967) 198–227; Peter J. Amman, *Musik und Weltanschauung bei Robert Fludd* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Zürich, 1968); Peter J. Amman and Paolo Gozza, "La teoria e la filosofia musicale di Robert Fludd". Paolo Gozza, *La musica nella rivoluzione scientifica del Seicento*. Problemi e prospettive: Serie di musica e spettacolo (Bologna: I Mulino, 1989).

⁶⁵⁷ See appendix, document 33.

⁶⁵⁸ See appendix, documents 93–99; see also Hermann Gehrmann, "Johann Gottfried Walther als Theoretiker", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891) 468–578.

⁶⁵⁹ Henricus Baryphonus, *Pleiades musicae, quae in certas sectiones distributae praecipuas quaestiones musicas discutunt, et omnia, quae ad theoriam pertinent, et melopoeciae plurimum inserviunt ex veris fundamentis mathematicis exstructa, theorematis septenis proponunt, exemplis illustrant, et coram iudicio rationis et sensus examinant, studiosis non solum musices, verum etiam matheseos scitu necessariae et lectu jucundae* (Halberstadt: Jacob-Arnold Kothe, 1615); 2nd ed. by H. Grimm as *Pleiades musicae quae fundamenta musicae theoriae ex principis mathematicis eruta*, together with Seth Calvisius, *Melopoecia* (Magdeburg: J. Franc, 1630). Further on the contribution of Baryphonus, see Eduard Jacobs, "Zwei harzische Musiktheoretiker des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts: i. Autor Lampadius, gegen 1500–1559; ii. Heinrich Baryphonus, 1581–1655", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1890) 91–122, especially 111 ff.; Eduard Jacobs, "Heinrich Pipegrop (Baryphonus)", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891) 459–63; Hermann Gehrmann, "Johann Gottfried Walther als Theoretiker", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891) 468–578, especially 478–80; Eduard Jacobs, "Noch einmal Pipegrop-Baryphonus", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1892) 145–47; Kurt Berndorf, "Seth Calvisius als Musiktheoretiker", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1894) 411–70, especially 421, 441, 444; Benito V. Rivera, *German music theory in the early seventeenth century: The treatises of Johannes Lippius*. Studies in musicology 17, ed. by George J. Buelow (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980); Werner Braun, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. VIII/2: Deutsche Musiktheorie des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 384–388 ("Baryphonus").

⁶⁶⁰ On Walther's manifold contributions and their impact on the compilation of the *Musicalisches Lexicon*, see Hermann Wilhelm Engel, *Johann Gottfried Walthers Leben und Werke* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Leipzig 1904); Otto Brodde, *Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748): Leben und Werk* (Bochum-Langendreer: H. Pöppinghaus, 1937).

publication of its type in Germany, the *Musicalisches Lexicon* included both musical terminology and the history of musical ideas and concepts.⁶⁶¹ The terminology was compiled from a wide range of sources of both an older vintage (drawn, for example, from Marcus Meibom's *Antiquae musicae* of 1652⁶⁶²) and from the 17th century (in particular Mattheson⁶⁶³), including bibliographic and biographic information on composers and writers of music, among them music critics and music theorists (covering the important contributors up to the first decade of the 18th century), performance practices, and rhetorical figures.⁶⁶⁴ This comprehensive coverage would have undoubtedly delighted Leopold Mozart in his quest for retrieving information of vital importance for his own contribution to music historiography.⁶⁶⁵

With regard to the list of names provided in his *Violinschule*, on a deeper level, Leopold Mozart was cognizant of the medieval dichotomy of defining the *musicus* (knowledgeable in music theory with this subdiscipline serving as a backbone to his performance) and the *cantor* or *phonascus* (performing without the knowledge of music theory). This dichotomy was captured in Isidore of Seville's distinction between the *musicus* and the *cantor*⁶⁶⁶ as discussed in his *Etymologiae sive origines*⁶⁶⁷ and vividly continued in Guido of Arezzo's image of the *musicus* and the *animal* in the *Regulae rhythmicae*.⁶⁶⁸ Leopold Mozart underscores the importance both of *musica theorica*, emanating from and expressed through arithmetic proportions⁶⁶⁹ as a point of departure

Münsterische Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 7, ed. by Werner Korte (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937).

⁶⁶¹ On the preeminence of this relatively recent scholastic endeavor, see Hans-Georg Alexander Hofmann, *Die Rolle der Musik in den enzyklopädischen Wörterbüchern des 18. Jahrhunderts: Studien zur Geschichte der musikterminologischen Lexikographie in Deutschland* (Ph.D. diss., Universität Bern, 2001).

⁶⁶² Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Walthers Musikalisches Lexikon in seinen terminologischen Partien", *Acta musicologica* 29 (1957) 10–27.

⁶⁶³ Heinz Becker, "Johann Matthesons handschriftliche Einzeichnungen im *Musicalischen Lexicon* Johann Gottfried Walthers", *Die Musikforschung* 5 (1952) 346–50.

⁶⁶⁴ Arnold Schmitz, "Die Figurenlehre in den theoretischen Werken Johann Gottfried Walthers", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 79–100.

⁶⁶⁵ On Walther's exceptionally broad coverage, see Laurenz Lütteken, "Für Kenner, Liebhaber und Anfänger dieser Gott und Menschen angenehmen und beliebten Kunst: Johann Gottfried Walthers *Musicalisches Lexicon*", *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* 22 (1998) 52–62.

⁶⁶⁶ Wilibald Gurlitt, *Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von musicus und cantor bei Isidor von Sevilla*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 7 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1950); also in Wilibald Gurlitt, *Musikgeschichte und Gegenwart: Eine Aufsatzfolge*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 1, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht in collab. with Walter Gerstenberg, Kurt von Fischer, Wolfgang Osthoff and Arnold Schmitz (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966), part I: *Von musikgeschichtlichen Epochen*, 18–30; Heinrich Hüschen, "Berufsbewußtsein und Selbstverständnis von Musicus und Cantor im Mittelalter", *Beiträge zum Berufsbewußtsein des mittelalterlichen Menschen*, ed. by Paul Wilpert and Willehad Paul Eckert. *Miscellanea Mediaevalia: Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts an der Universität Köln* 3, ed. by Paul Wilpert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964) 225–38; Erich Reimer, "Musicus-Cantor", *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. by Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978) 1–13; Erich Reimer, "Musicus und Cantor: Zur Sozialgeschichte eines musikalischen Lehrstücks", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 35 (1978) 1–12.

⁶⁶⁷ For an edition, see Wallace Martin Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*. *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911, repr. ed. 1961).

⁶⁶⁸ Guido of Arezzo, *Regulae rhythmicae*. For an edition of this treatise, see, for example, Martin Gerbert, ed., "*Musicae guidonis regulae rhythmicae*", *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum ex variis Italiae, Galliae et Germaniae codicibus manuscriptis collecti et nunc primum publica luce donate*, 3 vols. (S. Blasii in Silva Nigra abate, S.Q.R.I.P.: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; repr. 1905; repr. ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1900, also 1963; 2nd repr. ed. 1990; also Berlin: C. Reinecke, 1905; also Milano: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931), vol. 2, 25–34; Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Guidonis Aretini tres tractatuli editi cum apparatu critico: Regulae dictae Rhythmicae*. *Divitiae musicae artis A:4* (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1985).

⁶⁶⁹ On the significance of Pythagorean arithmetic, see, for example, Charles André Barbera, *The persistence of Pythagorean mathematics in ancient musical thought*; William R. Bowen, *Music and number: An introduction to Renaissance harmonic science* (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1984).

for a much broader deliberation, and of *musica practica*, defining the musical experience across time, all at the core of the philosophical examination,⁶⁷⁰ which Leopold Mozart himself had confronted in his formal humanist studies, at least in his readings of relevant materials identified and cited in his *Violinschule*.

From his approach, we may surmise that Leopold Mozart represents indeed one of the last representatives who viewed the history of music as “divine history”, one which was thoroughly rooted in the Platonic-Christian tradition of the pre-Enlightenment. In essence, Mozart, in his synopsis of music history, perpetuates medieval scholasticism with its dichotomy of ancient and modern music in the context of music as a mathematical discipline with its prominent allegiance to the Pythagorean arithmetic tradition. The precedent for this examination of both scholasticism and humanism had its origin in the Italian Renaissance.⁶⁷¹ Viewed in the context of the intellectual climate of Enlightenment philosophy,⁶⁷² Mozart’s point of departure for his deliberations on the history of music, coupled with the old question of the origin of music, helps to rekindle the interest in music historiography in the context of a broader discussion of the superiority of classical over contemporary literatures, a debate which after 1750 gradually extended to the other arts. With his exposition viewed in this light, Leopold Mozart stands at a pivotal point in the history of Western thought. As a staunch defender of the humanist tradition, he sets his historical introduction in bold relief to the ensuing discussion of the violin—what he, in essence, views as progress in music. This *disputatio* over ancient versus modern practice has a corollary in musical composition, namely, in the debate between Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) and Giovanni Maria Artusi (ca. 1540–1613)⁶⁷³ about *prima prattica* and *seconda prattica*.⁶⁷⁴ This debate is also expressed in the dichotomy between *stile antico* and *stile moderno*⁶⁷⁵ and *stile gravis* and *stile luxurians*,⁶⁷⁶ found at the center of the *Violinschule*. In this, Leopold Mozart takes an active role in Voltaire’s “philosophy of history”—key to Enlightenment reasoning.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁰ See, for example, Gillian Snyder, *In defense of music’s eternal nature: On the pre-eminence of musica theorica over musica practica* (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2005).

⁶⁷¹ Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Humanism and scholasticism in Italian Renaissance”, *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45) 364–74; also reprinted in Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance thought and its sources*, ed. by Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 85–100.

⁶⁷² On Enlightenment philosophies in Germany, see Arnold Schering, “Die Musikästhetik der deutschen Aufklärung”, *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8 (1906–07) 263, 316; Peter Hanns Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the rise of historicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

⁶⁷³ See notes 424 and 425; see also Claude V. Palisca, “The Artusi-Monteverdi controversy”, *The Monteverdi companion*, ed. by Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune. The Norton library (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968); The new Monteverdi companion (2nd ed., London: Faber and Faber, 1985) 127–58; Tim Carter, “Artusi, Monteverdi, and the poetics of modern music”, *Musical humanism and its legacy: Essays in honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. by Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning. Festschrift series 11 (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1992) 171–94; Marco de Natale, “Teoria e/o ermeneutica: Una rilettura della querela Artusi-Monteverdi”, *Analisi* 8 (1997) 7–16.

⁶⁷⁴ Denis Arnold, “Seconda prattica: A background to Monteverdi’s madrigals”, *Music & letters* 38 (1957) 341–52; Robert Mario Isgro, *The first and second practices of Monteverdi: Their relation to contemporary theory* (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1968).

⁶⁷⁵ Wolfgang Witzemann, “Stile antico e stile nuovo nella musica sacra di Claudio Monteverdi”, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 2 (1967) 372–81; Hellmut Federhofer, “Stilus antiquus’ and ‘modernus’ im Verhältnis zum strengen und freien Satz”, *Ars musica, Ars scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum 65. Geburtstag am 2. März 1980, überreicht von Freunden, Kollege und Schülern*, ed. by Detlef Altenburg. Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 126 (Köln: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Rheinische Musikgeschichte, 1980) 112–17.

⁶⁷⁶ Erich Katz, *Die musikalischen Stilbegriffe*.

⁶⁷⁷ Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western civilisation* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1941) 200 ff.; see also Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and musical thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Cynthia Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment: Reconstruction of a dialogue, 1750–1764* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

This new interpretation of the *Violinschule* places its author, Leopold Mozart, at the center of the debate on historicism and progress—one that continues in the era following the publication of the *Violinschule*, to mention Charles Burney's *History*⁶⁷⁸ as one example. In that sense, Leopold Mozart is accorded a dual role in music's intellectual history: as one of the followers of the humanist tradition, and as one of the founders of modern music scholarship, that is, in his positioning of the *Violinschule* squarely around the formulation of progress in music—undoubtedly the most current topic of the Enlightenment.⁶⁷⁹ In this sense, the vivid depiction of Leopold Mozart as "a man of

⁶⁷⁸ Charles Burney, *The present state of music in France and Italy; or, the journal of a tour through those countries, undertaken to collect materials for a general history of music* (London: T. Becket, 1771); also ed. by Herbert Edmund Poole (London: Eulenberg Books, 1974); also as Facs. repr. (London: Travis and Emery Music Bookshop, 2002, 2003); 2nd corrected ed. (London: T. Becket, J. Robson, G. Robinson, 1773); also as Facs. repr. of the 1773 edition. *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile II: Music literature 70* (London: Broude Brothers, 1969); Facs. repr. of 1773 edition (New York: AMS Press, 1976); also *Music, men and manners in France and Italy, 1770; being the journal written by Charles Burney during a tour through those countries undertaken to collect material for a general history of music; transcribed from the original manuscript in the British Museum, Additional Manuscript 35122*, ed. with intro. by H. Edmund Poole (London: Folio Society, 1969; also London: Eulenberg Books, 1974); also in Italian trans. by Virginia Attanasio as *Vaggio musicale in Italia 1770*. Collezione settecentesca 14 ([Milano]: Sandron, 1921); also by Enrico Fubini as *Viaggio musicale in Italia*. Biblioteca di cultura musicale: Documenti (Torino: E.D.T. Musica, 1979); Charles Burney, *The present state of music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United provinces. Or, the journal of a tour through those countries, undertaken to collect materials for a general history of music*, 2 vols. (London: T. Becket, J. Robinson, G. Robinson, 1773; 2nd. corrected ed. 1775); also as Facs. repr. of the 1775 London edition. *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 117* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969); see also *An eighteenth-century musical tour of Central Europe and the Netherlands being Dr. Charles Burney's account of his musical experiences, as it appears in his published volume with which are incorporated his travel experiences according to his original intention*, ed. by Percy Alfred Scholes (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959; also Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979); also as Facs. repr. (London: Travis and Emery Music Bookshop, 2003); also as *Dr. Charles Burney's Continental Travels, 1770–1772*, comp. by Cedric Howard Glover (London, Glasgow: Blackie, 1927; also New York: AMS Press, 1978); also in German trans. by Christophe Daniel Ebeling and Johann Joachim Christoph Bode as *Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise durch Frankreich, Italien, Flandern, die Niederlande und am Rhein bis Wien, durch Böhmen, Sachsen, Brandenburg, Hamburg und Holland, 1772–1773* (Hamburg: Bode, 1772–73); also as Facs. repr. ed. by Eberhard Klemm. *Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 19*, ed. by Richard Schaal (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959, 2003); also ed. by Eberhard Klemm. *Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 382* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1968, 2nd ed. 1975); also ed. by Eberhard Klemm. *Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft 65* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1980); also in French trans. by Charles Brack as *De l'état présent de la musique en France et en Italie, dans les Pays-Bas, en Hollande et en Allemagne, ou Journal de voyages faits dans ces différens pays avec l'intention d'y recueillir des matériaux pour servir à une histoire générale de la musique* (Genève: J. Giossi, 1809–10); also in Dutch trans. by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig as *Rijk gestoffeerd verhaal van de eigenlijke gesteldheid der hedendaagsche toonkunst; of, Dr. Karel Burney's ... Dagboek van zyne, onlangs gedaane, musicale reizen door Frankrijk, Italie en Duitschland. Als tot een verlustigend, laatste geschenk aan Nederlands waare musiekvrienden* (Groningen: J. Oomkens, 1786); Charles Burney, *A general history of music from the earliest ages to the present period. To which is prefixed a dissertation on the music of the Ancients* (London: For the author by T. Becket, J. Robson, G. Robinson, 1776–89); ed. with critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935); Facs. Repr., ed. by Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, 1957); also as part of *Musicological Reprints* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1958); see also Johann Joachim Eschenburg, *Dr. Karl Burney's Abhandlung über die Musik der Alten* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1781). A number of other important sources for Burney's *History* are: *Memoirs of Dr. Burney arranged from his own manuscripts, from family papers, and from personal recollections*, by Fanny Burney, 3 vols. *Library of English literature* (London: Edward Moxon, 1832; also Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1833); also as Facs. repr. (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972); also as *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769*, ed. by Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry S. Grant (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968); *The letters of Dr. Charles Burney*, ed. by Alvaro Ribeiro (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); see also *Catalogue of the music library of Charles Burney, sold in London, 8 August 1814* (London: s.n. 1814); also with intro. by Alec Hyatt King. *Auction catalogues of music 2* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973).

⁶⁷⁹ This topic is explored in many compositions, for example, in Haydn's string quartets, op. 33, Hob. III:37–42, a group of works in which the composer, according to his own words, explored "a new and special way"; see, for example, David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The late symphonies and their audience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 54–62. Mozart, too, was preoccupied with similar concerns; see, for example, Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Das Menuett Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts unter dem Einfluß von Franz Joseph Haydns gantz neue besondere art, 655–64"; Walter Kurt Kreyszig, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Motivische Arbeit". Further on the influence of the Enlightenment on musical composition, see, for example, Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment: Truth, virtue and beauty in Mozart's operas* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992); Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's piano concertos: Dramatic dialogue in the age of Enlightenment* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001).

much wit and sagacity” in the earlier quoted words recorded 28 May 1787 in the diary of Cajetan Dominicus Hagenauer, Abbot of St. Peter in Salzburg and long-time family friend of the Mozarts—as an obituary to one of Europe’s most celebrated musicians and critical thinkers—certainly applies to the delicate negotiating of tradition and progress, a dichotomy firmly situated in mid-18th century Enlightenment debate.⁶⁸⁰

In that light, the two further editions of Leopold Mozart’s *Violinschule* already mentioned as well as the release of this important document in a posthumous edition⁶⁸¹ and a number of translations, specifically a Dutch translation in 1766,⁶⁸² a French translation in 1770,⁶⁸³ and a Russian edition in 1804,⁶⁸⁴ must have kept this debate alive and presumably contributed to its vitality.

While Leopold Mozart’s humanist tendencies, as elegantly captured in his *Violinschule*, render this treatise a unique document, his comments are indeed congruent with man’s (including his own) imitation of nature as part of God’s creation, as Leopold Mozart articulates forcefully in that God⁶⁸⁵—what Josef Mančal appropriately captures in his statement of “man as the creator of his own reality”.⁶⁸⁶

Let us hope that in the spirit of Dominikus Hagenauer, Leopold Mozart will be acknowledged as a pillar in music’s intellectual history, not in the narrow sense of a field-specific endeavor, but rather in the broad context of cultural studies. Here, the city of Salzburg with the intellectual climate shaped in particular by the university milieu in which Leopold Mozart sought his cultural roots and gained much of his humanist training and resultant focus—evidence of which is manifested throughout his *Violinschule*—provided a fertile ground for the decisive shaping of music intellectual’s history in an unprecedented manner, in his pursuit of a venerable path of inquiry.⁶⁸⁷ And in the *Violinschule*, Leopold Mozart, though perhaps subconsciously, offered new

⁶⁸⁰ On this discourse in the secondary literature, see, for example, Robert Anchor, *The Enlightenment tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Francis X.J. Coleman, *The aesthetic thought of the French Enlightenment* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971); Peter Hanns Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the rise of historicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

⁶⁸¹ *Neue vollständige theoretische und praktische Violin-Schule für Lehrer und Lernende, herausgegeben von L[Leopold] Mozart und J[oseph] Pirlinger* (Wien: Musikalisch-typographische Verlagsgesellschaft Christian Gottlob Täubel, 1799–1800); see also Ingrid Schubert, “Eine posthume Ausgabe von Leopold Mozarts *Violinschule*”, *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* 29 (December 1995) 28–33.

⁶⁸² For a facsimile reproduction of the title page of this edition, see Ludwig Wegele, ed., *Leopold Mozart*, plate 49.

⁶⁸³ Leopold Mozart, *Grondig onderwys in het behandelen der viool, ontworpen door Leopold Mozart ... Met 4 konst-plaaten en een tafel van de regelen der stryckmanier enz. voorzien* (Haarlem: J. Enschede, 1766); For a facsimile reproduction of the title page of this edition, see Ludwig Wegele, ed., *Leopold Mozart*, plate 50.

⁶⁸⁴ For a facsimile reproduction of the title page of this edition, see Ludwig Wegele, ed., *Leopold Mozart*, plate 51.

⁶⁸⁵ “Gott hat dem ersten Menschen gleich auch der Erschaffung alle Gelegenheit an die Hand gegeben, die vortreffliche Wissenschaft der Musik zu erfinden”; see Leopold Mozart, *Violinschule*, 13.

⁶⁸⁶ Josef Mančal, “Der Mensch als Schöpfer seiner Wirklichkeit”, *Beiträge des Internationalen Leopold-Mozart-Kolloquiums Augsburg* 1994, ed. by Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Plath. *Beiträge zur Leopold-Mozart-Forschung* 2, issued under the auspices of the Internationale Leopold Mozart Gesellschaft (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1997) 149–73.

⁶⁸⁷ On the lengthy history of the humanist education, see, for example, Eckard Lefèvre, “Die Geschichte der humanistischen Bildung”, *Die Erziehung und Bildung des Menschen*. Humanistische Bildung: Vorträge und Beiträge zur Antike als Grundlage für Deutung und Bewältigung heutiger Probleme 2, issued under the auspices of the Württembergischer Verein der Freunde des Humanistischen Gymnasiums: Verein für die Pflege humanistischen Bildungsgutes (s.l.: s.n., 1979) 97–154; see also Detlef Illmer, *Formen der Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter: Quellenstudien zur Frage der Kontinuität des abendländischen Erziehungswesens*. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 7 (München: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1971). Notably, Leopold Mozart’s path of inquiry was distinctly different from the general disregard for the *studia humanitatis* in pre-Reformation Germany; see James H. Overfield, “Scholastic opposition to humanism in pre-Reformation Germany”, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 7 (1976) 391–420.

impetus for our ongoing deliberations of music’s intellectual history, focused in the reception of the past and thus in the revitalization of historiography.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁸ Even in the encyclopedic literature, the pivotal role accorded to Leopold Mozart as a humanist receives no recognition or merely a cursory, insufficient coverage; see, for example, Gerhard Walterskirchen, “Mozart, Johann Georg Leopold”, *Das Mozart-Lexikon*, ed. by Gernot Gruber and Joachim Brüggel. *Das Mozart-Handbuch* 6, ed. by Gernot Gruber in collab. with Dieter Borchmeyer (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2006) 454–57; Cliff Eisen, “Mozart, (Johann Georg) Leopold”, *The Cambridge Mozart encyclopedia*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 297–301, especially 299.

APPENDIX

References to music theorists mentioned in Leopold Mozart's
"Von dem Ursprunge der Musik, und der musikalischen Instrumenten",
"Versuch einer kurzen Geschichte der Musik",
und
"Von der alten und neuen musikalischen Buchstaben und Noten,
wie auch von den itzt gewöhnlichen Linien, und Musikschlüsseln"
from the *Gründliche Violinschule*⁶⁸⁹

1. ARISTIDES QUINTILIANUS (fl. late 3rd century or early 4th century). *De musica libri tres* [Mozart, 191: **Aristides Quintilianus Lib. 2 de musica**]. Edition: *De musica libri tres*, ed. by R.P. Winnington-Ingram. Bibliotheca scriptorium Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1963). English trans.: *On music in three books*, trans. by Thomas Mathiesen. Music theory translation series, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1983); English trans. by Andrew Barker, in: *Greek musical writings II: Harmonic and acoustic theory*, ed. by Andrew Barker. Cambridge readings in the literature of music, ed. by John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 392–535. German trans.: *Des Aristides Quintilianus Harmonik im Urtext wieder hergestellt*, ed. and trans. by Rudolf Schäfke (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1937; 2nd. ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976).
2. ARTUSI, GIOVANNI MARIA (ca. 1540–1613). *L'arte del contraponto ridotta in tavole* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenzi et Ricciardo Amadino, 1586); *Seconda parte dell'arte del contraponto. Nella quale si tratta dell' utile et uso delle dissonanze. Divisa in due libri* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1589); *L'arte del contraponto, ... Nella quale con ordine, e modo facilissimo si insegnano tutte quelle regole che à questa arte sono necessarie. Novamente ristampata, e di molte nuove aggiunte, dall'auttore arricchita ...* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1598) [Mozart, p. 21: **Artusi l'arte del Contrapunto p. 71**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969); *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/43* (Bologna: Forni, 1980).
3. BERARDI, ANGELO (ca. 1636–94). *Discorsi musicali* (Viterbo, 1670) [Mozart, p. 17: **Berardi**].
4. BERARDI, ANGELO. *Ragionamenti musicali*, ed. by Giuseppe Orsolini (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1681) [Mozart, p. 17: **Berardi**]. Ed. by Alceste Innocenzi (Perugia: Anteo, 2006).
5. BERARDI, ANGELO. *Documenti armonici ... nelli quali con varii discorsi, regole et esemplii si dimostrano gli studii arteficiosi della musica, oltre il modo di usare le ligature, e d'intendere il valore ciascheduna figura sotto qual si sia segno* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1687) [Mozart, p. 17: **Berardi**]. *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/40a* (Bologna: Forni, 1970).
6. BERARDI, ANGELO. *Miscellanea musicale ... divisa in tre parti dove con dottrine si discorre delle materie più curiose della musica: con regole, et esempjii si tratta di tutto il contrapunto con l'intreccio di bellissimi secreti per li profesori armonici* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1689)

⁶⁸⁹ Bibliographic references in Pierluigi Petrobelli, "La cultura di Leopold Mozart e la sua *Violinschule*", *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1989–90) 9–16, emended; with modern editions and English translations cited.

- [Mozart, p. 17: **Berardi**]. Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/40b (Bologna: Forni, 1970).
7. BERARDI, ANGELO. *Arcani musicali svelati dalla vera amicitia ne' quali appariscono diversi studii artificiosi, molte osservazioni, e regole concernenti alla tessitura de' componimenti armonici, con un modo facilissimo per sonare trasportato* (Bologna: Pier-Maria Monti, 1690); also 1706 edition [Mozart, p. 17: **Berardi**].
8. BERARDI, ANGELO. *Il perché musicale, ovvero staffetta armonica nella quale la ragione scioglie le difficoltà, e gli esempi dimostrano il modo d'isfuggire gli errori, e di tessere con artificio i componimenti musicali* (Bologna: Pier-Maria Monti, 1693) [Mozart, p. 17: **Berardi**].
9. BOETHIUS, ANICIUS MANLIUS SEVERINUS (480–ca. 524). *De institutione musica* [Mozart, p. 17: **Boetius**].
Edition: *Institutione arithmetica libri duo e Institutione musica libri quinque accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, ed. by Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1867, repr. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966).
English trans.: *Fundamentals of music*, ed. by Calvin Bower. Music theory translation series, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1989).
10. BOETHIUS, ANICIUS MANLIUS SEVERINUS. *De institutione arithmetica* [Mozart, p. 17: **Boetius**]. *Institutione arithmetica libri duo e Institutione musica libri quinque accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, ed. by Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1867, repr. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966). Illo Humphrey, *De institutione arithmetica libro duo: Édition proto-philologique intégrale princeps d'un manuscrit du IX^e siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Latin 14064): Texte, glosses, notes tironiennes, signes de renvoi. Musicological studies 86 (Ottawa, Ont.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007).
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11. BONNET-BOURDELLOT, JACQUES (1644–1723). *L'histoire de la musique et de ses effets depuis son origine jusqu'à présent et en quoi consiste sa beauté* (Paris, 1715, 1723; repr. ed., Amsterdam: M. Charles Le Cène, 1721, 1725, 1726); *Histoire de la musique depuis son origine, les progrès successifs de cet art jusqu'à présent, et la Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* ('s-Gravenhage, 1743; Frankfurt am Main, 1743) [Mozart, p. 17: **Bonnet**]. Facs. ed. with new indices by Othmar Wessely. Die großen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Aufklärung 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966; Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1969; Leiden: Inter Documentation, 1995).
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13. BONTEMPI, GIOVANNI ANDREA ANGELINI. *Tractatus in quo demonstrantur occultae convenientiae sonorum systematis participati* (Bologna, 1690) [lost] [Mozart, p. 17: **Bontemps**].
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19. EULER, LEONHARD. "Conjecture sur la raison de quelques dissonances généralement reçus dans la musique", *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Berlin* 20 (1764) 165–73. [Mozart, p. 17: **Euler**].
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20. FROSCH, JOHANNES (ca. 1470–after 1532). *Rerum musicarum opusculum rarum ac insigne, totius eius negotii rationem mira industria et brevitate complectens, iam recens publicatum* (Strasbourg: Peter Schöffler & Mathias Apiarius, 1535) [Mozart, p. 28: **Froschium**]. Facs. ed., *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 39* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1967).
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Philippe Navarre. *Ars musices iuxta consignationes variorum scriptorium: Période classique; Domaine germanique 1* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2000).
 Italian trans.: *Salita al Parnasso, o sia Guida alla regolare composizione della musica con nuovo, e certo metodo non per anche in ordine si esatto data alla luce* (Carpi: Stamperita del Pubblico per il Carmignani, 1761), facs., ed. Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/46 (Bologna: Forni, 1972; 2000).

22. GAFFURIO, FRANCHINO (1451–1522). *Theorica musice* (Milano: Philippus Mantegatius, 1492) [Mozart, p. 11: **Franchini Gafuri Theorica Musicae, Lib. I, Cap. 8. Impress. Mediolani 1492**]. Repr. ed. by Gaetano Cesari (Milano: La Musica Moderna, 1934; Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934); repr. ed.: *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. Series II: Music literature 21* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1967); ed. by Giuseppe Vecchi, *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/5* (Bologna: Forni, 1969).
 English trans.: *The theory of music*, trans. with intro. and notes by Walter Kurt Kreyszig. *Music theory translation series*, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1993).
 Italian trans.: *Theorica musice*, trans. and ed. by Cesarino Ruini. *La tradizione musicale. II: Regole della musica 2* (Firenze: Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2005).
23. GAFFURIO, FRANCHINO. *Practica musicae* (Milano: Guglielmo Signerre, 1496) [Mozart, p. 21: **Gaffurius in seiner Practica Musicae Lib. 2 C. 2**]. Facs. ed.: (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967); facs. ed. by Giuseppe Vecchi. *Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/6* (Bologna: Forni, 1972).
 English trans.: *Practica musicae*, trans. by Clement A. Miller. *Musicological studies and documents 20*, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1968); *The Practica musicae*, trans. by Irwin Young (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).
24. GALILEI, VINCENZO (ca. 1520–91). *Fronimo: Dialogo ... nel quale si contengono le vere, et necessarie regole del intavolare la musica nel liuto, posto nuovamente in luce et da ogni errore emmendato* (Venezia: Girolamo Scotto, 1568) [Mozart, p. 17: **Galilei**].
25. GALILEI, VINCENZO. *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Firenze: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581; Firenze: Filippo Giunti, 1602) [Mozart, p. 17: **Galilei**]. Facs. ed. by Fabio Fano. *Reale academia d'Italia: Musica* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934); facs. ed. by Fabio Fani. *Estetica 11* (Milano: A. Minuziano, 1947); facs. ed.: *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 20* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1967).
 English trans.: *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, trans. with intro. and notes by Claude V. Palisca. *Music theory translation series* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003); Robert Henry Herman, *'Dialogo della musica antica et moderna' of Vincenzo Galilei: Translation and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1973).
26. GALILEI, VINCENZO. *Fronimo dialogo ... nel quale si contengono le vere, et necessarie regole del intavolare la musica, nel liuto, posto nuovamente in luce et da ogni errore emendato* (Venezia: Girolamo Scotto, 1568–69); *Fronimo: Dialogo ... sopra l'arte del bene intavolare, et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fiato & in particolare nel liuto* (Venezia: L'herede di G. Scotto, 1584). [Mozart, p. 17: **Galilei**]. Facs. ed.: *Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/22* (Bologna: Forni, 1969); facs. ed. by Rolf Rapp. *Bibliotheca musica bononiensis II/2* (Bologna: Forni, 1978); facs. ed. (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1978).

- English trans.: *Fronimo*, trans. by Carol MacClintock. Musicological studies and documents 39, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985).
27. GALILEI, VINCENZO. *Discorso intorno all'opere di messer Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia, et altri importanti particolari attenenti alla musica* (Firenze: G. Marescotti, 1589) [Mozart, p. 17: **Galilei**]. Facs. ed.: Collezione di trattati e musiche antiche edite in fac-simile (Milano: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1933).
28. GLAREAN, HEINRICH (1488–1563). *Isagoge in musicen, a quibusque bonis authoribus latinis & graecis ad studiosorum utilitatem multo labore elaborata* (Basel: J. Froben, 1516) [Mozart, p. 17: **Glarean**].
English trans.: Frances Barry Turrell, "The *Isagogue in musicen* of Henry Glarean", *Journal of music theory* 3 (1959) 97–139.
29. GLAREAN, HEINRICH. *Boethius: Opera omnia quae extant omnia* (Basel: Henricus Petri, 1546; 2nd ed., 1570) [includes the *De institutione musica*] [Mozart, p. 17: **Glarean**].
30. GLAREAN, HEINRICH. *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Henricus Petri, 1547) [Mozart, p. 19: **Glareanus in Dodecachordi Libro I**]. Facs. ed.: Monuments of music and music literature in fasimile: Series II. Music literature 65 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1967; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969).
English trans.: *Dodecachordon*, trans., transcr., and comm. by Clement A. Miller, 2 vols. Musicological studies and documents 6, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1965).
German trans.: *Dodecachord*, trans. by Peter Bohn. Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musik-Werke 16, issued under auspices of the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888; repr. ed., New York: Broude, 1966).
31. GUIDO OF AREZZO (ca. 991/92–after 1033). *Micrologus* (ca. 1026) [Mozart, p. 16: **Guido**]. Critical ed. *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus*, ed. by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe. Corpus scriptorum de musica 4 (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955).
English trans.: *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three medieval treatises*, ed. by Warren Babb and Claude V. Palisca. Music theory translation series 3 (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1978).
French trans.: *Micrologus*, trans. with comm. by Marie-Noël Colette and Jean-Christophe Jolivet (Paris: IPMC, 1993; 2nd ed., Paris: Cité de la Musique, Centre de Ressources Musique et Danse, 1996).
Italian trans.: *Le opere: Testo latino e italiano*, trans. with intro. and comm. by Angelo Rusconio [includes *Micrologus*, *Regulae rhythmicae*, *Prologus in Antiphonarium*, *Epistola*], *La tradizione musicale* 10; *Le regole della musica* 1 (Firenze: SISMELE edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005).
32. KEPLER, JOHANNES (1571–1630). *Harmonices mundi libri V, quorum primus geometricus, de figurarum regularium, quae proportionibus harmonicis constituunt, ortu et demonstrationibus; secundus architectonicus, seu ex geometria figurata, de figurarum regularium congruentia in plano vel solido; tertius propriè harmonicus, de proportionum harmonicarum ortu ex figuris: deque natura et differentiis rerum ad cantum pertinentium, contra veteres; quartus metaphysicus, psychologicus et astrologicus, de harmoniarum mentali essentia earumque generibus in mundo: praesertim de harmonia radiorum, ex corporibus coelestibus in terram descendentibus, eiusque effectum in natura seu anima sublanari et humana; quintus astronomicus et metaphysicus, de harmoniis absolutissimis motuum coelestium, ortuque eccentricitatum ex proportionibus harmonicis: appendix habet*

comparationem huius operis cum Harmonices Cl. Ptolemaei libro III. cumque Roberti de Fluctibus, dicti Flud. medici oxoniensis speculationibus harmonicis, operi de Macrocosmo et microcosmo insertis (Linz: Sumptibus Godofredi Tampachii, excudebat Ioannes Plancus, 1619) [Mozart, p. 17: **Kepler**]. Repr. ed.: Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/58 (Bologna: Forni, 1969).

Critical ed.: *Opera omnia*, 8 vols., ed. by Christian Fritsch (Frankfurt am Main: Heyder & Zimmer, 1858–71; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Gestenberg, 1971, also 1977); *Harmonices mundi libri V: Lincii Austriae, 1619*, ed. by Anton F.W. Sommer. Editiones neolatinae 162 (Linz: Anton F.W. Sommer, 2005).

English trans.: *The harmony of the world*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 209 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997); *Eptime of Copernican astronomy and harmonies of the world: Johannes Kepler*, ed. by Charles Glenn Wallis. Great minds series (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1995).

German trans.: *Weltharmonik*, trans. with intro. by Max Caspar, issued under auspices of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in München (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1939; repr. eds., 1967; 1990); *Johannes Keplers Kosmische Harmonie*, trans. by W. Harburger. Der Dom 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1980, repr. of 1925).

French trans.: *L'Harmonie du monde/Harmonices mundi*, trans. by Jean Peyroux (Bordeaux: Bergeret, 1979).

33. KIRCHER, ATHANASIUS (1601–80). *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta: qua universa sonorum doctrina, et philosophia, musicaeque tam theoricæ, quam practicæ scientia, summa varietate traditur: admirandæ consoni, et dissoni in mundo, adeoque universa natura vires effectusque, uti nova, ita peregrina variorum speciminum exhibitione ad singulares usus, tum in omni poene facultate, tum potissimum in philologia, mathematica, physica, mechanica, medicina, politica, metaphysica, theologia, aperiuntur et demonstrantur*, vol. 1 (Roma: Grignani, 1650); vol. 2 (Roma: Ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1650); incl. German trans. by Andreas Hirsch as *Kircherus jesuita germanous Germaniae redonatus sive artis magnæ de consono et dissono ars minor; das ist, Philosophischer Extract und Auszug aus dess Welt-berühmten teutschen Jesuiten Athanasii Kircheri von Fulda Musurgia universali, in sechs Büchern verfasst, darinnen die gantze philosophische Lehr und Kunst-Wissenschaft von den Sonis, wie auch der so wol theorisch-als practischen Music, mit höchster Varietät geoffenbaret, nicht weniger auch die wunderbare Kraft und Würckung dess Consoni et Dissoni, nicht nur in der Welt, sondern auch in der gantzen Natur, mit gantz neuen fremden und wunder-seltzamen Kunst-proben, zu sonderbarem Nutz und Gebrauch, so wol in einer jeden Kunst-Facultät der gantzen Encyclopediæ philosophicæ, als absonderlich in der Philosophi, Rhetoric, Poetic, Physic, Metaphysic, Mathematic, Astronomi, Ethic, Politic, Chymic, Medicin, Mechanic, etc., so dann auch der Theologi, natürlichen Magi und Echotectonic, etc. eröffnet, gewisen, und vor Augen gestellt wird; ... ausgezogen und verfertiget auch mit einem nötigen Indice gezieret von Andrea Hirschen, mit einem Nachwort von Wolfgang Goldhan* (Schwäbisch-Hall: Hans Reinhard Laidigen, 1662) [Mozart, p. 14: **Kiercherus**]. Repr. of 1650 ed. with pref. and indices by Ulf Scharlau (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970); repr. of German ed., *Bibliotheca musica-therapeutica* 1 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1988; also Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988); 2nd repr. of 1650 ed. with pref. and indices by Ulf Scharlau (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1999); repr. of 1650 ed., ed. with German intro. by Anton F.W. Sommer. Editiones neolatinae 123 (Wien: Anton F.W. Sommer, 2005); repr. of 1662 trans., ed. by Melanie Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006). Partial English trans.: Peeter Tammearu, *Kircher and Musica pathetica: A translation from Musurgia universalis* (M.M. thesis, Florida State University, 2000).

34. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM (1718–95). *Der critische Musicus an der Spree*, 2 vols. (Berlin: A. Haude und J.C. Spener, 1749–50) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).
35. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen, durch den Verfasser des critischen Musicus an der Spree* (Berlin: Gedruckt mit Henningischen Schriften, 1750); *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen, Zweyter Theil, worinnen die Lehre vom Accompagnement abgehandelt wird*, Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1761; 3rd rev. ed., Berlin, 1760; 4th rev. ed., *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen von dem Verfasser des Kritischen Musikus an der Spree* (Berlin, 1762, 1792) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969, 2004).
36. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Abhandlung von der Fuge: nach den Grundsätzen und Exempeln der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister entworfen* (Berlin: A. Haude und J.C. Spener, 1753); *Abhandlung von der Fuge, nach den Grundsätzen und Exempeln der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister entworfen, mit CXXII Notentafeln*, 2 vols. (Berlin: A. Haude und J.C. Spener, 1753–54). French trans. by Marpurg: *Traité de la fugue et du contrepoint, divisé en deux parties*, 2 vols. (Berlin: A. Haude et J.C. Spener, 1756); *Traité de la fugue et du contrepoint de Marpourg: Cet ouvrage est divisé en deux parties, et suivi de 134 planches d'exemples*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imbault, 1801) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. New German ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Kühnel, 1806); German ed. with ann. and ex. by Simon Sechter (Wien: Diabelli, 1806). New French ed.: *Nouvelle édition, mise en ordre, augmentée d'un Traité du contrepoint simple, traduit de l'allemand du meme auteur et d'un nouveau précis sur l'histoire de la musique par Alexandre Choron* (Paris: A. LeDuc, 1820–1829); ed. by Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn (Leipzig: Peters, 1858; repr. of 1753–54 ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970; repr. of 1753–54 ed. with intro. in German and English by Michael Heinemann (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002, 2004).
37. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 5 vols. (Berlin: G.A. Lange, 1754–78) [Mozart, p. 2: **Marpurgs Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).
38. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen* (Berlin: A. Haude und J.C. Spener, 1755); 2nd rev. ed., *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönen Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäss entworfen* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1765); also in French as *L'art de toucher le clavecin, selon la manière perfectionnée des modernes* (Paris: Boyer, 1755, 1774); also in Dutch as *Aanleiding tot het clavier-speelen, volgens de hedendaagsche luisterryker manier van uitvoering; opgesteld*, trans. by Jacob Wilhelm Lustig (Amsterdam: J.J. Hummel, 1760) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. Repr.: *Monuments of music and music literature. II: Music literature 110* (New York: Broude Brothes, 1969; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975; repr. of Dutch ed. in: Reprint edition (Amsterdam: A.J. Heuwekemeijer, 1970). English trans.: Elizabeth Loretta Hays, *FW. Marpurg's Anleitung zum Clavierspielen (Berlin, 1755) and Principes du clavecin (Berlin, 1756): Translation and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1977).
39. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition mit zwey- drey- vier- fünf- sechs- sieben- acht und mehrern Stimmen, nebst einem vorläuffigen kurzen Begriff der Lehre vom Generalbasse für Anfänger und Geübte*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1755; 1755–60, 1757–62), also as *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition, nebst einem vorläuffigen kurzen Begriff der Lehre vom Generalbasse für Anfänger* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1755–58; 2nd rev. and enl. ed., Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1762); also addendum by Marpurg, *Anhang*

zum Handbuche bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition; worinnen, zur Uebung der gewöhnlichern harmonischen Dreyklänge und Septimenaccorde, Probeexempel vorgeleget werden, und hiernächst dasjenige, was ein jeder Componist von dem doppelten Contrapunct und der Verfertigung eine Fuge wissen muss, gezeiget wird (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens Witwe, 1760) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974, 2002).

40. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Principes du clavecin* (Berlin: A. Haude et J.C. Spener, 1756) [Mozart, p. 17; **Marpurg**]. Repr. ed.: Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/136 (Bologna: Forni, 1971, also 2000). English trans.: Elizabeth Loretta Hays, *FW. Marpurg's Anleitung zum Clavierspielen (Berlin, 1755) and Principes du clavecin (Berlin, 1756): Translation and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1977).
41. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf, 1757) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. Repr. ed.: *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 33* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966).
42. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1756, 1758) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**].
43. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik, nebst acht Kupfertafeln* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1759) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurgs Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik**]. Repr. ed.: *Dokumente früher Musik und Musikkultur in Faksimile 1* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1980).
44. MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt und zur Singkunst besonders, mit Uebungsexemplen erläutert, und den berühmten Herren Musikdirect[ores] und Cantoribus Deutschlands zugeeignet* (Berlin: Arnold Wever, 1763) [Mozart, p. 17: **Marpurg**]. Repr. ed.: (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975); (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975).
45. MATTHESON, JOHANN (1681–1764). *Das neu-eröffnete Orchester, oder, universelle und gründliche Anleitung, wie ein Galant Homme einen vollkommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen Music erlangen, seinen Gout darnach formiren, die Terminos technicos verstehen und geschicklich von dieser vortrefflichen Wissenschaft raisonniren möge, mit beygefügtten Anmerckungen Herrn Capell-Meister Keisers* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Witwe, 1713) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993); 2nd repr. ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997); 3rd repr. ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002); new ed. by Dietrich Bartel, *Die drei Orchester-Schriften* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002).
46. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Das beschützte Orchestre, oder desselben zweyte Eröffnung, worinn nicht nur einem würcklichen galant-homme, der eben kein Professions-Verwandter, sondern auch manchem Musico selbst die alleraufrichtigste und deutlichste Vorstellung musicalischer Wissenschaften wie sich dieselbe ... vom Schulstaub tichtig gesäubert, eigentlich und wahrhaftig verhalter ertheilet; aller wiedrigen Auslegung und gedungenen Aufbürdung aber völliger ... Bescheid gegeben; so dann endlich des lange verbannet gewesenen ut re mi fa sol la tode (nicht tota) Musica, unter ansehnlicher Begleitung der zwölf griechischen Modorum ... zu Grabe gebracht und mit einem Monument, zum ewigen Andencken, beehret wird ...* (Hamburg: Bey Benjamin Schillers Witwe, 1717) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1981); new ed. by Dietrich Bartel, *Die drei Orchester-Schriften* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002).

47. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Der brauchbare Virtuose, welcher sich (nach beliebiger Überlesung der Vorrede) mit zwölf neuen Kammersonaten auf der Flute Traversiere, der Violine und dem Claviere bey Gelegenheit hören lassen mag, als wozu ihm hiermit völlige Erlaubniss gibt* (Hamburg: Im Schiller- und Kissnerischen Buch-Laden, 1720; repr. ed., Hamburg: s.n., 1790) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (New York: Garland, 1991); New York performers' facsimiles 221 (New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1998).
48. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Das forschende Orchester, oder desselben dritte Eröffnung. Darinn Sensus vindiciae et quartae blanditiae, d.i. der beschirmte Sinnen-Rang und der schmeichelnde Quarten-Klang allen unpartheyischen Syntechnitis zum Nutzen und Nachdencken, keinem Menschen aber zum Nachtheil sana ratione et autoritate untersucht und vermuthlich in ihr rechtes Licht gestellet werden* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Wittwe und Johann Christoph Kissner, 1721) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976); new ed. by Dietrich Bartel, *Die drei Orchester-Schriften* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002).
49. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Grosse General-Bass-Schule, oder, der exemplarischen Organisten-Probe: bestehend in dreien Classen, als; in einer gründlichen Vorbereitung, in 24 leichten Exempeln, in 24 schwerern Prob-Stücken: solcher Gestalt eingerichtet, dass, wer die erste wol verstehet; und in den beiden andern Classen alles rein trifft; so dann das darin Enthaltene gut anzubringen weiss; derselbe ein Meister im General-Bass heissen könne* (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kissner, 1721; 2nd rev. and enl. ed., Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kissner, 1731) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. of 2nd rev. and enl. ed. by Wolfgang Fortner. Edition Schott (Mainz: B. Schott, 1956; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968; 1994, 2004).
50. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Critica musica, d.i. Grundrichtige Untersuch- und Beurtheilung vieler theils vorgefassten, theils einfältigen Meinungen, Argumenten und Einwürffe, so in alten und neuen gedruckten und ungedruckten musicalischen Schriften zu finden zur möglichsten Ausräutung aller groben Irrthümer und zur Beförderung eines bessern Wachstums der reinen harmonischen Wissenschaft in verschiedene Theile abgefasset und stück-weise heraus gegeben, vol. 1* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1722–23); vol. 2 (Hamburg: Johann Mattheson, 1725) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (Amsterdam; Frits Knuf, 1964); new ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998); ed. by Frans Wiering. Laaber-Reprint 4 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2004).
English trans.: Joel Lester, "The Fux-Mattheson correspondence: An annotated translation", *Current musicology* 24 (1977) 37–62.
51. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Der musicalische Patriot, welcher seine gründliche Betrachtungen über geist- und weltliche Harmonien, samt dem, was durchgehends davon abhänget, in angenehmer Abwechselung zu solchem Ende mittheilet, das Gottes Ehre, das gemeine Beste und eines jeden Lesers besondere Erbauung dadurch befördert werde* (Hamburg: Johann Mattheson, 1728) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1964); (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975).
52. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *De eruditione musica, ad virum plurimum reverendum, amplissimum atque doctissimum, Joannem Christophorum Krüsike... schediasma epistolicum* (Hamburg: Apud Felgineri viduam, 1732; Freiberg: s.n., 1751; Hamburg: s.n., 1752) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**].
53. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Kleine General-Bass-Schule, Worin nicht nur Lernende, sondern vornehmlich Lehrende aus den allerersten Anfangs-Gründen des Clavier-Spielens, überhaupt und besonders, durch verschiedene Classen und Ordnungen der Accorde stufen-*

weise, mittelst gewisser Lectionen oder stündlicher Aufgaben, zu mehrer Vollkommenheit in dieser Wissenschaft richtig, getreulich und auf die deutlichste Lehr-Art kürztzlich angeführet werden ... (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kissner, 1735) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: *Dokumente früher Musik und Musikliteratur in Faksimile 2* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1980); ed. with intro. by Hans Joachim Hinrichsen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999); ed. with intro. in English and German by Sven Hiemke. Laaber-Reprint (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003).

54. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft, bestehend in den auserlesensten Haupt- und Grund-Lehren der musicalischen Setz-Kunst oder Composition, als ein Vorläuffer des Vollkommenen Capellmeisters* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1737, 1738) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976; 2nd repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1990).
55. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister, das ist gründliche Anzeige aller derjenigen Sachen, die einer wissen, können, und vollkommen inne haben muss, der einer Capelle mit Ehren und Nutzen vorstehen will, zum Versuch entworfen* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739; Breslau: s.n., 1739) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. Repr. ed. by Margarete Reimann. *Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 5* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954, 1969, 1980, 1987, 1991, 1995); ed. by Frederike Ramm. *Studienausgabe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999). English trans.: Ernest C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A revised translation with critical commentary*. *Studies in musicology* 21 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981).
56. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, woran der tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler etc. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste etc. erscheinen sollen. Zum fernern Ausbau angegeben.* (Hamburg: In Verlegung des Verfassers, 1740) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**]. New ed. with occasional bibl. ref. and suppl. of Mattheson, ed. by Max Schneider (Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von L. Liepmannssohn, 1910; repr. ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969, 1994; new edition Hamburg, 1982).
57. MATTHESON, JOHANN. *Aristoxeni junior. Phthongologia systematica. Versuch einer systematischen Klang-Lehre wider die irrigen Begriffe von diesem geistigen Wesen, von dessen Geschlechtern, Ton-Arten, Dreyklängen, und auch vom mathematischen Musikanten, nebst einer Vor-Erinnerung wegen der behaupteten himmlischen Musik* (Hamburg: Johann Adolph Martini, 1748) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mattheson**].
58. MEIBOM, MARCUS (1620 or 1621–1710). *Antiquae musicae auctores septem, Graece et latine ...*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1652) [includes eds. of treatises by Greek authors with Latin trans. and comm.: Aristoxenos, Cleonides, Nicomachus, Alypius, Gaudentius, Bacchius, Aristides Quintilianus, and Martianus Capella. [Mozart, pp. 17 and 21: **Marcus Meibomius hat den Aristoxenum, Euclidem, Nicomachum, Alypium, Gaudentium, Bachium, Aristidem Quintilianum und das neunte buch Martiani Capellae griechisch und lateinisch zu Amsterdam anno 1652 in Quart herausgegeben**]. Repr. ed.: *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature* 51 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1977), 2 vols.
59. MIZLER VON KOLOF, LORENZ CHRISTOPH (1711–78). *Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek, oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von musikalischen Schriften und Büchern*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Im Verlag des Verfassers und bey Brauns Erben,

- 1739–54) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mitzlers musicalischer Bibliothek**]. Repr. ed.: 4 vols. (Hilversum: E. Knuf, 1966; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972).
60. MIZLER VON KOLOF, LORENZ CHRISTOPH. *Anfangs-Gründe des General-Basses, nach mathematischer Lehr-Art abgehandelt, und vermittelt einer hierzu erfundenen Maschine auf das deutlichste vorgetragen* (Leipzig: Zu finden bey dem Verfasser, 1739) [Mozart, p. 17: **Mitzler**].
61. MURIS, JOHANNES DE (ca. 1290/95–after 1344). *Notitia artis musicae, 1319/21* [Mozart, p. 16: **Johann von der Mauer**]. Critical ed.: *Notitia artis musicae et Compendium musicae practicae. Petrus de sancto Dionysio Tractatus de musica*, ed. by Ulrich Michels. *Corpus scriptorum de musica 17* (Roma: American Institute of Musicology, 1972) 47–107. French trans.: *Écrits sur la musique*, ed. and trans. by Christian Meyer, Sciences de la musique (Paris: CNRS, 2000).
62. MURIS, JOHANNES DE. *Compendium musicae practicae, ca. 1322* [Mozart, p. 16: **Johann von der Mauer**]. Critical ed.: *Notitia artis musicae et Compendium musicae practicae. Petrus de sancto Dionysio Tractatus de musica*, ed. by Ulrich Michels. *Corpus scriptorum de musica 17* (Roma: American Institute of Musicology, 1972) 119–46. French trans.: *Écrits sur la musique*, ed. and trans. by Christian Meyer, Sciences de la musique (Paris: CNRS, 2000).
63. MURIS, JOHANNES DE. *Musica speculativa secundum Boetium, June 1323* [Mozart, p. 16: **Johann von der Mauer**]. Critical ed.: Susan Scea, *A critical edition of Johannes de Muris's Musica speculativa* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1990); Christoph Falkenroth, *Die Musica speculativa des Johannes de Muris: Kommentar zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 34, ed. by Albrecht Riethmüller in collab. with Reinhold Brinkmann, Ludwig Finscher, Kurt von Fischer, Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, and Wolfgang Osthoff (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992). English trans.: Susan Fast, *Johannes de Muris: Musica (speculativa) secundum Boetium*. *Musicological studies 61* (Ottawa, Ont.: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1994). French trans.: *Écrits sur la musique*, ed. and trans. by Christian Meyer, Sciences de la musique (Paris: CNRS, 2000).
64. MURIS, JOHANNES DE. *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* (manuscript, ca. 1340) [Mozart, p. 16: **Johann von der Mauer**]. Critical eds.: Daniel Seth Katz, *The earliest sources for the 'Libellus cantus mensurabilis secundum Johannem de Muris'* (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1989); *Ars practica mensurabilis cantus secundum Iohannem de Muris: Die Recensio maior des sogenannten 'Libellus practice cantus mensurabilis'*, ed. by Christian Berkold. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 14 (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei der C.H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1999). French trans.: *Écrits sur la musique*, ed. and trans. by Christian Meyer, Sciences de la musique (Paris: CNRS, 2000).
65. MURIS, JOHANNES DE. *Ars contrapuncti, after 1340* [Mozart, p. 16: **Johann von der Mauer**]. French trans.: *Écrits sur la musique*, ed. and trans. by Christian Meyer, Sciences de la musique (Paris: CNRS, 2000).
66. NEIDHARDT, JOHANN GEORG (ca. 1685–1739). *Beste und leichteste Temperatur des Monochordi, vermittelt welcher das heutiges [sic!] Tages bräuchliche Genus diatonico-chromaticum also eingerichtet wird, dass alle Intervalla, nach gehöriger Proportion, einerley Schwebung überkommen, und sich daher die Modi regulares in alle und iede Claves, in einer angenehmen Gleichheit, transponiren lassen; worbey vorherho von dem Ursprunge der*

musicalischen Proportionum, den Generibus musicis, deren Fehlern, und Unzulänglichkeit anderer Verbesserungen gehandelt wird. Alles aus mathematischen Gründen gründlich, ordentlich, deutlich und kürztlich, bey academischen Nebenstunden, aufgesetzt. Nebst einem darzu gehörigen Kupffer (Jena: Johann Bielcken, 1706) [Mozart, p. 17: **Neidhardt**].

67. NEIDHARDT, JOHANN GEORG. *Compositio harmonice problematice tradita* (manuscript; ca. 1715) [Mozart, p. 17: **Neidhardt**].
68. NEIDHARDT, JOHANN GEORG. *Sectio Canonis harmonici, zur völligen Richtigkeit der generum modulandi* (Königsberg: Christoph Gottfried Eckart, 1724) [Mozart, p. 17: **Neidhardt**].
69. NEIDHARDT, JOHANN GEORG. *Gänztlich erschöpfte mathematische Abtheilungen des diatonisch-chromatischen, temperirten Canonis Monochordi, alwo, in unwidersprechlichen Regeln und handgreiflichen Exempeln gezeiget wird, wie alle Temperaturen zu erfinden, in Linien und Zahlen darzustellen, und aufzutragen seyn, den Liebhabern gründlichern Stimmung mitgetheilet* (Königsberg: Christoph Gottfried Eckart, 1732; 2nd ed., Königsberg; Leipzig: Christoph Gottfried Eckart, 1734). Latin trans.: 1735 [Mozart, p. 17: **Neidhardt**].
70. NEIDHARDT, JOHANN GEORG. *Systema generis diatonico-chromatici, ex numeris serie naturali procedentibus evolutum, atque temperamenti aequalis, quod terminis geometricae proportionis paret, calculo et usu comitatum. In gratiam harmoniae solidioris existimatorum planius plenique exaravit* (Königsberg: Reussner, 1734), also in German trans. *Beschaffenheit der diatonisch-chromatischen Octave, aus der Ordnung der natürlichen Zahlen hergeföhret* (Königsberg: Reussner, 1734). [Mozart, p. 17: **Neidhardt**].
71. PRAETORIUS, MICHAEL (1571–1621). *Syntagma musicum ex veterum et recentiorum ecclesiasticorum autorum lectione, polyhistorum consignatione, variarum linguarum notatione, hodierni seculi usurpatione, ipsius denique musicae artis observatione: in cantorum, organistarum, organopoeorum, caeterorumque musicam scientiam amantium et tractantium gratiam collectum; et secundum generalem indicem toti operi praefixum, in quatuor tomos distributum*, 3 vols. (Wittenberg: Johannes Richter, 1615–20; also Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1615–20) [Mozart, p. 11: **Mich. Pretor. Syntagm. Mus. T. 1, p. 38**]. Repr. ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 14–15, 21 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958–59; 2nd repr. ed., 1964–74; 3rd repr. ed., 1986); reprint of 1614–15 ed. with intro. by Arno Forchert (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001).
Volume I: *Syntagmatis musici tomus primus: Musicae artis analecta* (Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1614–15, 2nd ed., 1615; ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 21 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959; 2nd repr. ed., 1960, 3rd repr. ed., 1986).
English trans.: Michael David Fleming, *Michael Praetorius, Music historian: An annotated translation of Syntagma musicum I, Part I* (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1979).
Volume II: *Syntagmatis musici tomus secundus: De organographia, darinnnen aller musicalischen alten und newen sowol aussländischen, barbarischen, bawrischen und unbekandten, als einheimischen, kunstreichen, lieblichen und bekindten Instrumenten Nomenclatur, Intonation und Eigenschafft, sampt deroselben iusten Abriss und eigentlicher Conterfeyung, dann auch der alten und newen Orgeln gewisse Beschreibung... benebenst einem ausführlichem Register* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1618; 2nd ed., Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619; also Wittenberg: Richter, 1619, also 1620; repr. of 1618 ed. by Robert Eitner. Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musik-Werke 13, issued under auspices of the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung

(Berlin: Trautwein, 1884, repr. ed., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894. Repr. of 1619 ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt. Veröffentlichung des Deutschen Orgelrates 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1929); repr. of 1619 ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 14 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1929; repr. eds., 1958, 1964, 1968, 1976, 1980, 1985, 1996); repr. of 1618 ed., Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke 13, issued under auspices of the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966); Da Capo music reprint series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979 is repr. of 1962).

English trans.: *The Syntagma musicum of Michael Praetorius, vol. 2, De organographia, first and second parts*, ed. by Harold Blumenfeld (2nd enl. ed., New York: Bärenreiter, 1962; 3rd ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1980); David Z. Crookes, *Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum II: A translation, introduction and commentary* (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University of Belfast, 1981); *Syntagma musicum. II. De organographia, Parts I and II*, trans. by Harold Blumenfeld. Early music series 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; 2nd ed., 1991).

French trans.: *Syntagma musicum. Textes relatifs à l'orgue, comprenant aussi la basse générale ou continue*, trans. by Jacques Leguy (Chatenay Malabry: Ars musicae, 1999).

Italian trans.: *De organographia. Estratto dal Syntagma musicum (1616)*, trans. by Angelo Bordonaro and Giuseppe Radole, Quaderni: Archivio della Cappella di Trieste 11 (Udine: Pizzicato, 2003).

Volume III: *Syntagmatis musici tomus tertius: Termini musici, darinnen 1. Die Bedeutung, wie auch Abtheil- und Beschreibung, fast aller Nahmen, der italianischen, frantzösischen, englischen und jetziger Zeit in Teutschland gebräuchlichen Gesänge ... 2. Was im Singen, bey den Noten und Tactu, Modis und Transpositione ... zu observiren. 3. Wie die italianische und andere Termini musici ... zu verstehen ..., die Instrumenta musicalia zu unterscheiden ..., der General-Bass zu gebrauchen ... seyn* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1618; 2nd ed., Wolfenbüttel: Elisa Holwein, 1619; Wittenberg: Johannes Richter, 1619); repr. of 1619 ed. with pref. and ann. by Eduard Bernoulli (Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt, 1916); ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 15 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954; repr. eds., 1958, 1978, 1984, 1988).

English trans.: Hans Lampl, *A translation of Syntagma musicum III* (Thesis, University of Southern California, 1957); *The Syntagma musicum, volume III: An annotated translation*, trans. by Hans Lampl, ed. by Margaret Boudreaux. American Choral Directors Association 10 (s.l.: American Choral Directors Association, 2001); *Syntagma musicum III*, trans. and ed. by Jeffery T. Kite-Powell. Oxford early music series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

72. PRINTZ, WOLFGANG CASPAR (1641–1717). *Compendium musicae in quo breviter ac succincte explicantur et traduntur omnia ea, quae ad Oden artificiose componendam requiruntur* (Guben: Gruber, 1668) [Mozart, p. 17: **Prinz**].

73. PRINTZ, WOLFGANG CASPAR. *Anweisung zur Singe-Kunst oder kurzer Bericht, wie man einen Knaben auf das Leichteste nach jetziger Manier könne singen lehren. Unitzo zum andernmahl vermehrt und verbessert ans Liecht gegeben* (Guben: Christoph Gruber, 1671); rev. ed. *Musica modulatoria vocalis, oder manierliche und zierliche Sing-Kunst, in welcher alles, was von einem guten Sänger erfordert wird, gründlich und auf das deutlichste gelehret und vor Augen gestellet wird* (Scheidnitz: Christian Okel, 1678) [Mozart, p. 17: **Prinz**].

74. PRINTZ, WOLFGANG CASPAR. *Exercitationes musicae theoretico-practicae curiosae de concordantiis singulis, das ist musicalische Wissenschaft und Kunst-Uebungen von jedwedden Concordantien, in welchen jeglicher Concordantz Natur und Wesen, Composition, eigentlicher Sitz, Production, Continuation und Progressus aus gewissen Gründen erkläret*

und beschrieben werden (Dresden: Johann Christoph Mieth, 1687–89) [Mozart, p. 17: **Prinz**].

75. PRINTZ, WOLFGANG CASPAR. *Compendium musicae signatoriae et modulatariae vocalis, das ist: kurtzer Begriff aller derjenigen Sachen, so einem, der die Vocal-Music lernen will, zu wissen von nöthen seyn. Auf Begehren aufgesetzt und ans Licht gegeben* (Dresden: Johann Christoph Mieth, 1689); also in a later ed. as *Compendium musicae signatoriae et modulatariae vocalis, oder: kurtzer Begriff aller derjenigen Dinge, so einem, der die Vocal-Music lernen will, zu wissen von nöthen seyn. Auf Begehren aufgesetzt und nunmehr zum andern mahl vermehret und verbesser ans Licht gegeben* (Dresden: Johann Christoph Mieth, 1714) [Mozart, p. 17; **Prinz**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974).
76. PRINZ, WOLFGANG CASPAR. *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst in welcher deroselben Ursprung und Erfindung, Fortgang, Verbesserung, unterschiedlicher Gebrauch, wunderbare Würckungen, mancherley Feinde, und zugleich berühmteste Ausüben von Anfang der Welt biss auff unsere Zeit in möglichster Kürtze erzehlet und vorgestellt werden, aus denen vornehmsten Autoribus abgefasset und in Ordnung gebracht* (Dresden: Johann Christoph Mieth, 1690) [Mozart, p. 17: **Prinz**]. Facs. ed. with new indices by Othmar Wessely. *Die großen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Aufklärung 1* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1964; repr. ed., Zug: Inter Documentation, 1970).
77. PRINTZ, WOLFGANG CASPAR. *Phrynis oder Satyrischer Componist, welcher vermittelt einer satyrischen Geschicht alle und iede Fehler, der ungelehrten, selbgewachsenen, ungeschickten und unverständigen Componisten höfflich darstellt und darneben lehret, wie ein musicalisches Stück rein, ohne Fehler und nach dem rechten Grunde zu componiren und zu setzen sey...* (Quedlinburg: Christian Okel, 1676–77); later ed.: *Phrynis Mitilenaeus, Oder Satyrischer Componist, welcher, vermittelt einer satyrischen Geschichte, die Fehler der ungelehrten, selbgewachsenen, ungeschickten, und unverständigen Componisten höfflich darstellt, und zugleich lehret, wie ein musicalisches Stück rein, ohne Fehler und nach dem rechten Grunde zu componiren und zu setzen sey, worbey mancherley musicalische Discurse... wie auch eine Beschreibung eines Labyrinths musici, nebst eingemengten lustigen Erzehlungen gefunden warden*, 3 vols. (Dresden; Leipzig: Johann Christoph Mieth and Johann Christoph Zimmermann, 1696); following initial publication of the three parts in 1676, 1677, and 1678, respectively [Mozart, p. 17: **Prinz**].
78. PTOLEMY, CLAUDIUS (after 83–161). *ΚΑΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΗΤΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΜΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ Γ΄. Claudii Ptolemaei harmonicorum libri tres. Ex Codd. Mss. undecim, nunc primum Graece editus. Johannes Wallis, SS. Th. D. Geometriae professor Savilianus Oxoniae, regiae majestati Londoni sodalis. Regiaeque majestati a sacris; recensuit, edidit, versione et notis illustravit, et auctarium adjecit* (Oxford: A Theatro Sheldoniano, 1682) [Mozart, p. 16: **Ptolemäus**]. Facs. ed.: *Harmonicorum libri tres* (facs. of the 1682 ed.). *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 60* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1977).
English trans. by Andre Barker, in: *Greek musical writings II: Harmonic and acoustic theory*, ed. by Andrew Barker. *Cambridge readings in the literature of music*, ed. by John Stevens and Peter le Huray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 270–391; Jon Solomon, *Harmonics: Translation and commentary*. *Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum 203* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
German trans.: Ingemar Düring, *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik*. *Göteborg Höskolas Årsskrift 40:1* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1930; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1987).

Italian trans.: Massimo Raffa, *La scienza armonica di Claudio Tolomeo: Saggio critico, traduzione e commento*. Lessico et cultura 5 (Messina: A. Sfameni, 2002). [see also document 90]

79. QUANTZ, JOHANN JOACHIM (1697–1777). *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen, mit verschiedenen, zur Beförderung des guten Geschmacks in der praktischen Musik dienlichen Anmerkungen begleitet, und mit Exempeln erläutert: nebst XXIV Kupfertafeln* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss, 1752; Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn dem Ältern, 1780; Berlin: Johann Friedrich Korn, 1789).

French trans.: *Essai d'une méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte traversière, avec plusieurs remarques pour servir au bon goût dans la musique le tout éclairci par des exemples et par xxiv tailles douces* (Berlin: Chretien Frederic Voss, 1752).

Dutch trans.: *Grondig onderwys van den aardt en de regte behandeling der dwarsfluit, verzeld met eenen treffelyken regelenschat van de compositie en van de uitvoering der voornaamste musykstukken op de gebrukelykste instrumenten... Door lange ondervinding en schrandere opmerking, in der groote muzykaale Wereld. Met eene voortreffelyke inleidinge, nopens de hoedanigheid in iemand die zich tot de muziek denkt te begeven, vereischt werdt. Uit het hoogduits nah et echte origeel door den kenner der muziek J.W.I., vertaalt. Met 21 cierlyke io koopere gesnedene plaaten* (Amsterdam: A. Olofsen, 1754, 1765).

Partial English trans.: *Easy and fundamental instructions whereby either vocal or instrumental performers unacquainted with composition, may from the mere knowledge of the most common intervals in music, learn how to introduce extempore embellishments or variations, as also ornamental cadences with propriety, taste, and regularity, translated from a famous treatise on music* (London: Printed by Welcker, 1780) [trans. of ch. 13 and 15] [Mozart, p. 17: **Quantz**]. Repr. of 1752 ed. with pref. and ann. by Arnold Schering (Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt, 1906, 1926, 1953); repr. of 1789 ed. by Hans Peter Schmitz. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953, 1964, 1968, 1978); repr. of 1789 ed. by Hans-Peter Schmitz and Horst Augsbach, with pref. by Hans-Peter Schmitz, and a postscript, additions, and indices by Horst Augsbach. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 2 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1983); repr. of 1752 ed. by Horst Augsbach, with pref. by Hans-Peter Schmitz, and a postscript, additions, and indices by Horst Augsbach. Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983, 2000, 2004); repr. of 1752 ed. with new intro. by Barthold Kuijken (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1988); repr. of 1752 ed. by Hans-Peter Schmitz and Horst Augsbach, with a postscript, additions, and an index by Horst Augsbach. DTV Reprint (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992); ed. by Horst Augsbach (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997).

English trans.: *On playing the flute*, trans. with intro. and notes by Edward R. Reilly (New York: Schirmer, 1966; New York: Free Press, 1966; London: Faber, 1966, 1971, 1976; New York: Schirmer Books, 1975; London: Faber and Faber, 1981, 1985; 2nd ed., New York: Schirmer Books, 1985; Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001; London: Faber, 1985, 2001).

French trans.: *Essai d'une méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flute traversière, avec plusieurs remarques pour servir au bon goût dans la musique, le tout éclairci par des exemples et par XXIV tailles douces* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1752; repr. ed. Paris: August Zurfluh, 1975). Italian trans.: *Trattato sul flauto traverse*, trans. by Sergio Balestracci. Musica ragionata 4 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992); *Saggio di un metodo per ben sonar: Editio critica della traduzione integrale italiana del XVIII secolo conservata al Civico museo bibliografico musicale di Bologna*, trans. by Lucamaria Grassi (Cremona: Turrìs, 1992) [La traduzione settecentesca curata da Padre Giovanni

Battista Martini]; *Saggio di un metodo per suonare il flauto traverso, accompagnato da molteplici indicazioni per il miglioramento del buon gusto nella pratica musicale, ed illustrato con vari esempi*, trans. by Luca Ripanti (Milano: Rugginenti, 1992). Spanish trans.: Rodolfo Murillo, *Spanish translation of Johann Jachim Quantz's Essai d'une méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flute traversière* (D.M.A. thesis, Arizona State University, 1997).

80. REISCH, GREGOR (ca. 1465/70–1525). *Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Johannes Schottus, 1503); later ed. as *Margarita philosophica* (Strasbourg, 1503; Freiburg im Breisgau: Joannes Schottus, 1503); *Margarita philosophica* (Strasbourg: Rursus exaratum peruigili, nova, itemque secundaria hac opera Joannis Schotti Argentinensis, 1504); *Aepitoma omnis phylosophiae, alias, Margarita phylosophica tractans de omni genere scibili: cum additionibus quae in alijs non habentur* (Strasbourg: Per Ioannem Gruninger, 1504) [includes synopsis of Hebrew grammar by Conrad Pellicanus]; *Margarita philosophica cum additionis novis: ab auctore suo studiosissima revisione tertio super additis* (Basel: Johannes Schottus, 1508; also Basel: Furterius, 1508); *Margarita philosophica nova, cui insunt sequentia: Epigrammata in commendationem operis, Institutio grammaticae Latinae, Praecepta logices, Rhetoricae informatio, Ars memorandi Ravennatis, Beroaldi modu componendi epi, Arithmetica, Musica plana, Geometrie principia, Astronomia cum quibusdam de astrologia, Philosophia naturalis, Moralis philosophia cum figuris* (Strasbourg: Ioannes Grüningerus, 1508); *Margarita philosophica nova, cui insunt sequentia: Epigrammata in commendationem operis, Institutio grammaticae Latinae, Praecepta logices, Rhetoricae informatio, Ars memorandi Ravennatis, Beroaldi modu componendi epi, Arithmetica, Musica plana, Geometrie principia, Astronomia cum quibusdam de astrologia, Philosophia naturalis, Moralis philosophia cum figures*, ed. by Filippo Beroaldo and Pietro Tommai (Strasbourg: Ioannes Grüningerus, 1512); *Margarita philosophica nova. Cui annexa sunt sequentia: Greacarum literarum institutiones. Hebraicarum literarum rudimenta, Architecture rudimenta. Quadrantu varie compositiones. Astrolabii novi geographici compo. Formatio torqueti. Formatio polimetri. Usus et utilitas eorundem omnium. Figura quadrantis polygonalis. Quadratura circuli. Cubatio sphere. Perspective phisice et positive rudimenta. Cartha universalis terre marisque formam neoterica descriptione indicans* (Strasbourg: Joannes Grüningerus, 1515); *Margarita philosophica cum additionis novis: ab auctore suo studiosissime revisione quarto super additis* (Basel: Michael Furterius, 1517); *Margarita philosophica, rationalis, moralis philosophiae principia, duodecim libris dialogice complectens, olim ab ipso autore recognita: nuper autem ab Orontio Fineo Delphinatense castigata et aucta, una cum appendicibus itidem emendatis* (Basel: [Excudebat Henricus Petrus] for C. Resch, 1535); *Margarita philosophica, hoc est, Habituum seu disciplinarum omnium, quotquot philosophiae syncerioris ambitu continentur, perfectissima cyclopedia* (Basel: Per Sebastianus Henri Petri, 1583); *Margarita filosofica, nella quale si trattano tutte le dottrine comprese nella cyclopedia* (In Vinegia: Presso Barezzo e Compagni, 1599); *Margarita philosophica in annulo: sive Synopsis totius philosophiae ita disposita, ut anno spacio dsicentibus commode proponi et explicari posit*, ed. by Andreas Reyher (Nürnberg: Impensis Wolfgangi Endteri, 1636); *Margarita philosophica in annulo, sive Synopsis totius philosophiae, discentium captui ita accomodata, ut intra anni spatium commode pervideri, et utiliter explanari posit, cum indice locupletissimo* (Gotha: Typis et sumtibus autoris, apud Salomonem Ryherum, exscripta a J.M. Schallio, 1669). Italian trans.: Giovanni Paolo Gallucci, trans., *Margarita filosofica, nella quale si trattano con bellissimo, et breve metodo non solo tutte le dottrine comprese nella ciclopedia dagli antichi, cioè cerchio, over rotolo delle scienze; ma molte altre ancora aggiuntevi di novo da Orontio Fineo matematico regio. Tradotta nuovamente dalla lingua Latina nell'Italiana da Giovan Paolo Gallucci Salodiano Accademico Veneto; e dal medesimo accresciuta di varie e*

- bellissime cose come nella non pagina si vede. Non meno per i curiosi dilettevole, che utile, e gioveuole per gli studiosi. Con licenza de superiori, et privilegij (Venezia: Iacomo Antonio Somascho, 1599, also 1600), also with a different title: *Margarita filosofica, nella quale si trattano tutte le dottrine comprese nella cyclopedia: accrescivta di molte belle dottrine da Orantio Fineo matematico regio* (Venezia: Presso Barezzo Barezzi e Compagni, 1599); [Mozart, p. 10: **Margarita Philosophica, Lib. 5. Musicae speculativae, Tract. 1, Cap. 3. Impress. Basileae 1508**; also reference on p. 11]. Repr. of *Margarita philosophica* (Basel, 1517). *Instrumenta philosophica. Thesauri 1* (Düsseldorf: Stern-Verlag Janssen, 1973); *Margarita philosophica nova*, ed. by Lucia Andreini. *Analecta Cartusiana 179* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2002). English trans.: *The Margarita philosophica of Gregorius Reisch*, trans. by John Ferguson (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1929). Italian transl: *Gregor Reisch e la sua Margarita philosophica*, trans. by Lucia Andreini. *Analecta Cartusiana 138* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1997).
81. RIEPEL, JOSEPH (1709–82). *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst, nicht zwar nach alt-mathematischer Einbildungs-Art der Zirkel-Harmonisten sondern durchgehends mit sichtbaren Exempeln abgefasst*, 5 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Jakob Lotter, 1752–68); also as 5 vols. (Regensburg: J.L. Montag, 1754–68): vol. 1: *De rhythmopoeia, oder Von der Tactordnung, zu etwa beliebigem Nutzen herausgegeben* (Regensburg; Wien, 1752; Regensburg: Bader, 1752; 2nd ed., Regensburg: Johann Leopold Montag, 1754); vol. 2: *Grundregeln zur Tonordnung insgemein, abermals durchgehends mit musicalischen Exempeln abgefasst und gesprächsweise vorgetragen* (Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig: [Christian Ulrich] Wagner, 1755; Regensburg: Krippner, 1755); vol. 3: *Gründliche Erklärung der Tonordnung insbesondere, zugleich aber für die mehreren Organisten insgemein, wieder durchaus mit musicalischen Exempeln abgefasst und gesprächsweise vorgetragen* (Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig: Krippner, 1757); vol. 4: *Erläuterung der betrüglichen Tonordnung, nämlich das versprochene vierte Capitel, abermals durchaus mit musikalischen Exempeln abgefasst und gesprächsweise vorgetragen* (Augsburg: Johann Jakob Lotter, 1765); vol. 5: *Unentbehrliche Anmerkungen zum Contrapunct über die durchgehend- verwechselt- und ausschweifenden Noten, etc., theils auf Borg und theils auf eigne Gefahr mit musikalischen Exempeln abgefasst, und wieder gesprächsweise vorgetragen* (Regensburg: Johann Christian Krippner, 1768; Augsburg: Lotter, 1768); vol. 6: *Vom Contrapunct* [manuscript]; vols. 7–8: *Baßschlüssel, das ist, Anleitung für Anfänger und Liebhaber der Setzkunst, die schöne Gedanken haben und zu Papier bringen, aber nur klagen, dass sie keinen Bass recht dazu zu setzen wissen*, ed. by Johann Kaspar Schubarth (Regensburg: Johann Leopold Montags Erben, 1786); vol. 9: *Der Fugen-Betrachtung erster Theil* [Manuscript]; vol. 10: *Der Fugen-Betrachtung zweyter Theil* [manuscript] [Mozart, p. 17: **Riepel**]. Critical ed.: *Sämtliche Schriften zur Musiktheorie*, 2 vols, ed. by Thomas Emmerig. *Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 20* (Wien: Böhlau, 1996).
82. SCHEIBE, JOHANN ADOLPH (1708–76). *Compendium musices theoretico-practicum, das ist kurtzer Begriff derer nöthingsten Compositions-Regeln* (Manuscript Leipzig, Städtische Musikbibliothek, presumably copied by Christoph Graupner, ca. 1730–35) [Mozart, p. 17: **Scheibe**]. Critical ed.: Peter Benary, *Die deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts*. *Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 3* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961).
83. SCHEIBE, JOHANN ADOLPH. *Der critische Musiker*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Seelige Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1738); vol. 2 (Hamburg: Seelige Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1740); complete ed. (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1745) [Mozart, p. 17: **Scheibe**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).

84. SCHEIBE, JOHANN ADOLPH. *Eine Abhandlung von den musicalischen Intervallen und Geschlechtern* (Hamburg: Johann Adolph Scheibe, 1739) [Mozart, p. 17: **Scheibe**].
85. SCHEIBE, JOHANN ADOLPH. *Abhandlung vom Ursprunge und Alter der Musik, insonderheit der Vokalmusik ... Mit einer historischen und critischen Vorrede versehen, worinn vom Inhalte dieser Abhandlung, und von einigen andern musikalischen Sachen gehandelt wird* (Altona; Flensburg: In der Kortischen Buhhandlung, 1754) [Mozart, p. 17: **Scheibe**]. Facs. ed.: (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1978); (München: K.G. Saur, 1987, 1989).
86. SCHEIBE, JOHANN ADOLPH. *Über die musikalische Composition, erster Theil: Die Theorie der Melodie und Harmonie* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1773); *Zweyter Theil: Die Harmonie, oder Die Zusammensetzung der Töne an, und für sich selbst* [Manuscript Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek] [Mozart, p. 17: **Scheibe**]. Facs. of 1773 ed. by Karsten Mackerseon and Dieter Haberl. *Documenta Musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 42* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006).
87. SPIESS, MEINRAD (1683–1761) *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus. Das ist, musicalischer Tractat, in welchem alle gute und sichere Fundamenta zur musicalischen Composition aus denen alt- und neuesten besten Autoribus herausgezogen, zusammen getragen, gegen einander gehalten, erkläret, und mit untersetzten Exempeln dermassen klar und deutlich erläutert werden, dass ein zur Musique geartetes, und der edlen musicalischen Composition begieriges Subjectum oder angehender Componist alles zur Praxin Gehöriges finden, leichtlich, und ohne mündliche Instruction begreifen, erlernen, und selbst mit vollkommenem Vergnügen zur würcklichen Ausübung schreiten könne und dәрffe. Samt einem Anhang, in welchem fast alle sowohl in diesem Werck als auch in andern musicalischen Schrifften in griechisch- lateinisch- welsch- frantzösisch- und teutscher Sprach gebräuchliche Kunst und andere gewöhnlich-vorkommende Wörter, nach Ordnung des Alphabets gesetzt und erkläret werden. Opus VIII* (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter Erben, 1745; 2nd ed., Augsburg: Johann Jakob Lotter, 1746) [Mozart, p. 17: **Spies**].
88. TEVO, ZACCARIA (1651–1709). *Il musico testore, raccomandato alla benigna et auttorevole protetione ell'illustrissimo et eccelentissimo illustre Signore Andrea Statio Veneto patritio* (Venezia: Antonio Bortoli, 1706) [Mozart, p. 10: **Zacharias Tevo nel suo Musico Testore**]. Repr. ed.: *Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/47* (Bologna: Forni, 1969).
89. VOGT, MICHAEL (1526–1606) *Definitio, divisio musices, et eius subdivisio* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1557); reprinted twice in 1575 as *Stoicheois harmonica* [lost] and *Systemata seu scala harmonica*, respectively [Mozart, p. 17: **Vogt**].
- or
VOGT, JOHANNES GREGORIUS MAURITIUS (OR MORITZ) VOGT (1669–1730). *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae, in quo tractatur praecipuè de compositione pura, musicae theoria, anatomia sonori, musica enharmonica, chromatica, diatonica, mixta, nova et antiqua; terminorum musicorum nomenclatura: musica, authentica, plagali, choralis, figurali: musicae historia ... etc. Liber curiosus et rem musicam penetrare volentibus absolute necessarius* (Prag: Georg Labaun, 1719).
90. WALLIS, JOHN (1616–1703). *Claudio Ptolemaei Harmonicorum libri tres. Ex. Codd. Mss. Undecim, nunc primum Graece editus* (Oxford: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1682); *S.T.D. Geometriae Professoris Saviliani in Celeberrima Academia Oxoniensi, Operum Mathematicorum Volumen Tertium. Quo continentur Claudii Ptolemaei, porphyrii Manuelis Brienni Harmonica* (Oxford: E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1699) [Mozart, p. 17: **Wallis**]. Latin trans.: *Ptolemaeus: Harmonicorum libri tres*, ed. and trans. by John Wallis.

- Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 60 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1977). [see also document 78]
91. WALTHER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (1684–1748). *Musicalisches Lexicon, oder: Musicalische Bibliothec, darinnen nicht allein die Musici, welche so wol in alten als neuern Zeiten, ingleichen bey verschiedenen Nationen, durch Theorie und Praxin sich hervor gethan, und was von jedem bekannt worden, oder er in Schrifften hinterlassen, mit allem Fleisse und nach den vornehmsten Umständen angeführet, sondern auch die in griechischer, lateinischer, italiänischer ind frantzösischer Sprache gebräuchliche musicalische Kunst- oder sonst dahin gehörige Wörter, nach alphabetischer Ordnung vorgetragen und erkläret, und zugleich die meisten vorkommende Signatures erläutert werden* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732); also in earlier ed.: *Alte und neue Musicalische Bibliothec, oder Musicalisches Lexicon, darinnen die Musici, so sich bey verschiedenen Nationen durch Theorie und Praxin hervor gethan, nebst ihren Schrifften und andern Lebens-Umständen, ingleichen die in griechischer, lateinischer, italiänischer und frantzösischer Sprache gebräuchliche musicalische Kunst- oder sonst dahin gehörige Wörter, nach alphabetischer Ordnung vorgestellt, erkläret und beschrieben werden* (Erfurt: D. Limpredten, 1728) [Mozart, p. 17: **in den Wörterbüchern Brossards und Walthers...**]. Facs. of 1732 ed. by Richard Schaal. *Documenta musicologica. I: Druckschriften-Faksimiles 3* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 3rd repr. ed., 1953; 4th repr. ed., 1967; 5th repr. ed., 1993). Study edition with new setting of text and music notation, ed. by Friederike Ramm. *Bärenreiter Studienausgabe* (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2001).
92. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS (1645–1706). *Musicae mathematicae Hodegus curiosus, oder richtiger musicalischer Weg-Weiser, das ist, Wie man nicht alleine die natürlichen Eigenschaften der musicalischen Proportionen durch das Monochordum, und Ausrechnung erlangen, sondern auch vermittels derselben natürliche und richtige rationes über eine musicalische Composition vorbringen könne. Benebenst einem allegor-moralischem von der Music entspringendem Anhang. Gott zu Ehren, einiger curiosen Music-Liebenden, so wol Theoreticis, als Practicis zu sonderbahrem Nutzen und Gefallen, dann zu mehrer Aufnahme der Music kützlich, jedoch gründlich vorgestellt, und dem Drucke übergeben* (Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig: In Verlegung Theodorii Philippi Calvisii, 1686; 2nd ed., Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig: In Verlegung Theodorii Philippi Calvisii, 1687) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**]. Repr. of 1687 ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972).
93. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS. *Musicalische Temperatur, oder deutlicher und warer mathematischer Unterricht, wie man durch Anweisung des Monochordi ein Clavier, sonderlich die Orgel-Wercke, Positive, Regale, Spinetten, und dergleichen wol temperirt stimmen könne, damit nach heutiger Manier alle Modi ficti in einer angenehm- und erträglichen Harmonia mögen genommen werden, mit vorbergehender Abhandlung von dem Vorzuge, Vollkommen- und weniger Vollkommenheit der musicalischen Zahlen, Proportionen, und Consonantien, welche bey Einrichtung der Temperaturen wohl in acht zu nehmen sind; Benebst einem darzugehörig- in Kupffer vorgebildeten deutlichen völligem Monochordo* (Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig, ?1686–87; 2nd ed., Frankfurt am Main: In Verlegung Theodore Philippi Calvisii, 1691; also Quedlinburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1691) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**]. Repr. of 1691 ed. by Rudolf Rasch. *Tuning and temperament library 1* (Utrecht: Diapason Press, 1983); repr. of 1691 ed. by Guido Bimberg; Rüdiger Pfeiffer. *Denkmäler der Musik in Mitteldeutschland. II: Documenta theoretica musicae 1* (Essen: Blaue Eule, 1996); facs. ed. with an epilogue by Mark Lindley. *Schriftenreihe zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte. I: Quellenschriften 1* (Oschersleben: Dr. Ziethen, 2001).

94. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS. *Hypomnemata musica, oder Musicalisches Memorial, welches besteht in kurtzer Erinnerung dessen, so bisshero unter guten Freunden discours-weise, insonderheit von der Composition und Temperatur möchte vorgangen seyn, zu eigener Nachricht auffgesezset und denen Musical-Lernend- und Liebenden zum Besten den Druck übergeben* (Quedlinburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1697) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**]. Repr. ed.: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).
95. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS. *Die nothwendigsten Anmerckungen und Regeln, wie der Bassus continuus, oder General-Bass wol könne tractiret werden und ein jeder, so nur ein wenig Wissenschaft von der Music und Clavier hat, denselben vor sich selbst erlernen könne. Aus dem wahren Fundament der musicalischen Composition denen Anfängern zu besserer Nachricht auffgesezset und aniezzo merklich vermehret, und mit vielen Exempeln erkläret* (Aschersleben: Gottlob Ernst Struntz, 1698; 2nd. ed., Aschersleben: Gottlob Ernst Struntz, 1715) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**], Repr. ed. by Eitelfriedrich Thom. Dokumentationen. Reprints ([Michaelstein]: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1985). [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**].
96. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS. *Cibrum musicum oder musicalisches Sieb, darinnen einige Mängel eines halb gelehrten Componisten vorgestellt und das Böse von dem Guten gleichsam ausgesiebet und abgesondert worden, in einem Sendschreiben an einen guten Freund dargestellt, dann denen unzeitigen Componisten zur Nachricht und fleissigern Nachsinnen zum Druck befördert durch Johann Georg Carln* (Quedlinburg; Leipzig: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1700; 2nd ed., 1783) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**].
97. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS. *Harmonologia musica oder kurtze Anleitung zur musicalischen Composition, wie man vermittels der Regeln und Anmerckungen bey den General-Bass einen Contrapunctum simplicem mit sonderbahrem Vortheil durch drey Sätze oder Griffe componiren und ex tempore spielen: auch dadurch im Clavier und Composition weiter zu schreiten und zu variiren Gelegenheit nehmen könne: benebst einem Unterrichts, wie man einen gedoppelten Contrapunct und mancherley canones oder fugas ligatas, durch sonderbahre Griffe und Vortheile setzen und einrichten möge, aus denen mathematischen und musicalischen Gründen aufgesezset und zum Drucke heraus gegeben* (Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1702) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**]. Repr. ed.: (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003); 2nd repr. ed. with an introduction in German and English by Dietrich Bartel. Laaber-Reprint 2 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007).
98. WERCKMEISTER, ANDREAS. *Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse, oder ungemeyne Vorstellungen, wie die Musica einen hohen und göttlichen Ursprung habe, und wie hingegen dieselbe so sehr gemissbraucht wird. Dann, wie dieselbe von den lieben Alten mit grosser Schwürig- und Weitläufftigkeit, welche uns zum Theil noch anhanget, ist fortgesezset worden und wie man hingegen in vielen Stücken in heutiger Musica practica eines nähern Weges und Vortheils sich bedienen könne ...: So wohl denen, so ihre Music zur Ehre Gottes gedenden anzuwenden, auch andern Gott- und Kirchen-Music Liebenden zum weitern Nachdencken mathematicè, historicè, und allegoricè, durch die musicalischen Proportional-Zahlen entdeckt und vorgestellt* (Quedlinburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1707) [Mozart, p. 17: **Werkmeister**]. Repr. ed.: (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003); 2nd repr. ed. with an intro. in German and English by Dietrich Bartel. Laaber-Reprint 2 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007).
99. ZACCONI, LODOVICO (1556–1627). *Prattica di musica utile et necessaria si al compositore per comporre i canti suoi regolatamente, si anco al cantore per assicurarsi in tutte le cose cantabili. Divisa in quattro libri. Ne i quali si tratta delle catilene ordinarie, de tempi, de prolationi, de proportioni, de tuoni, et della convenienza de tutti gli istrumenti musicali. S'insegna a cantar tutte le compositioni antiche. Si dichiara tutta la Messa del Palest[r]ina*

- titolo *Lomè Armè, con altre cose d'importanza et dilettevole. Ultimamente s'insegna il modo di fiorir una parte con vaghi et moderni accenti* (Venezia: Girolamo Polo, 1592; Venezia: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1596) [Mozart, p. 17: **Zacconi**]. Repr. of 1592 ed.: Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/1–2 (Bologna: Forni, 1967, 1983); repr. ed., Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica utile et necessaria si al compositore, si anco al cantare* (1596); *Prattici di musica, seconda parte* (1622) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1982). English trans.: Diran Akmajian, *A translation of chapter LXVI of book I, part I of Fra Lodovico Zacconi's Prattica di musica* (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962).
100. ZACCONI, LODOVICO. *Prattica di musica seconda parte. Divisa, e distinta in quattro libri. Nel quali primieramente si tratta de gl'elementi musicali, cioè de primi principij come necessarij alla tessitura o formatione delle compositioni armoniali. De contrapunti semplici, et artificiosi da farsi in cartella et alla mente sopra cantifermi: e poi mostrandosi come si facciano i contrapunti doppj d'obbligo, e con consequenti. Si mostra finalmente come si contessino più fughe sopra i predetti cantifermi, et ordischino cantilene à due, tre, quattro, e più voci* (Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622) [Mozart, p. 17: **Zacconi**]. Repr. ed.: Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/1–2 (Bologna; Forni, 1967); repr. ed., Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica utile et necessaria si al compositore, si anco al cantare* (1596); *Prattici di musica, seconda parte* (1622) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1982).
101. ZARLINO, GIOSEFFO (1517–90). *Le istituzioni harmoniche, nelle quali, oltre le materie appartenenti alla musica, si trovano dichiarati molti luoghi di poeti, d'historici, et di filosofi; si come nel leggerle si potrà chiaramente vedere. Con due tavole; l'una che contiene le materie principali: et l'altra le cose più notabili, che nell'opera si ritrovano* (Venezia: Franceschi Senese, 1558, 1561, 1562, 1571, 1589, 1592); 2nd ed., *Istituzioni harmoniche di nuovo in molti luoghi migliorate, et di molto belli secreti nelle cose della prattica ampliate. Nelle quali, oltre le materie appartenenti alla musica, si trovano dichiarati molti luoghi di poeti, historici, et di filosofi; si come nel leggerle si potrà chiaramente vedere. Con due tavole; l'una che contiene le materie principali: et l'altra le cose più notabili, che nell'opera si ritrovano* (Venice: Francesco de i Franceschi Senese, 1573, 1578) [Mozart, p. 13: **Giuseppe Zarlino, Instit. & Dimost. Di Musica**]. Facs. of 1558 ed.: *Monuments of music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 1* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965); repr. of 1561 ed. with intro. in Italian and English by Iain Fenlon and Paolo da Col. Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis II/39 (Sala Bolognese: A. Forni, 1999; repr. of 1573 ed., Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1966); facs. ed., *Music treatises. Faksimile and transkription*, ed. by Frans Wiering. *Thesaurus musicarum italicarum 1* ([Utrecht]: Department of Computer and Arts, Utrecht University, 1997) [CD–ROM].
- German trans. of parts I and II: *Theorie des Tonsystems: Das erste und zweite Buch der Istituzioni harmoniche* (1573), trans. with comm. by Michael Fend. *Europäische Hochschulschriften. 36: Musikwissenschaft 43* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989).
- English trans. of part III: *The art of counterpoint, part three of Le Istituzioni Harmoniche, 1558*, trans. by Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca. Music theory translation series (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1968, 1976); also as repr. ed in: Da Capo Press music reprint series (New York: Da Capo Press, 1983).
- English trans. of part IV: *On the modes, part four of Le Istituzioni Harmoniche, 1558*, trans. by Vered Cohen, ed. with intro. by Claude V. Palisca. Music theory translation series, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1983). German trans. of Zarlino's theoretical opus, see *Das musiktheoretische Gesamtwerk*, trans. with comm. by Chr. Hohlfeld (Hamburg, 2000).

102. ZARLINO, GIOSEFFO. *Dimostrazioni harmoniche. Nelle quali realmente si trattano le cose della musica; et si risolvono molti dubii d'importanza. Opera molto necessaria à tutti quelli che desiderano di far buon profitto in questa nobile scienza. Con la tavola delle materie notabili contenute nell'opera* (Venezia: Francesco dei Franceschi, 1571) [Mozart, p. 13: **Giuseppe Zarlino, Instit. & Dimost. Di Musica**]. Repr. of 1571 ed.: *Monuments in music and music literature in facsimile. II: Music literature 2* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965); repr. of 1571 ed. (Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1966); facs. ed. *Music Treatises: Faksimile and transkription*, ed. by Frans Wiering. *Thesaurus musicarum italicarum 1* ([Utrecht]: Department of Computer and Arts, Utrecht University, 1997) [CD-ROM]. German trans. of Zarlino's music theoretical opus, see *Das musiktheoretische Gesamtwerk*, trans. with comm. by Chr. Hohlfeld (Hamburg, 2000).
103. ZARLINO, GIOSEFFO. *Institutioni et dimostrazioni di musica, divise in quattro parti, et cinque ragionamenti; dove si dichiarano assai luoghi di molti famosissimi scrittori di questa professione; et si discorre sopra tutti i dubii d'importanza che possono occorrere in cotal materia. Utili et necessarie a tutti quelli che desiderano imparare, et far buon profitto nell'intelligenza di questa nobile, honorata, et dilettevole scienza. Con le sue copiosissime tavole per commodità de gli studenti, et lettori* (Venezia: Gio. Antonio et Giacomo de Franceschi, 1602).

THE IMPACT OF ROUSSEAU ON THE HISTORIES OF BURNLEY AND HAWKINS: A STUDY IN THE ETHICS OF MUSICOLOGY

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The importance of ethics to the writing of music history has not been examined enough.¹ What is an author's fundamental purpose? Is it the desire to respect humanity, or the hope of maintaining a notion of one's own superiority? Is there a hope to see where people different from oneself have thoughts and emotions as deep and as valuable as one's own, or a desire to hold other people up to ridicule?

These matters can be valuable and vividly considered as we look at the histories written by Charles Burney and John Hawkins—each of which, in its own right, is a monumental work of scholarship—and compare the very different ways each author responded to the ideas of perhaps the most influential philosopher of their time: Jean-Jacques Rousseau. I will also be drawing from the work of the contemporary philosopher who has contributed most deeply to the understanding of the true relation of art and life, Eli Siegel (1902–78), the founder of Aesthetic Realism.

I will begin by discussing 18th-century British politics, because it is necessary to clear up a widespread misunderstanding. Burney has often been characterized as a loyal “Church-and-King” man—a true Tory. Herbert Schueller wrote about him that way,² as did Percy Scholes,³ and many others. Were this true, it would make his politics like those of Hawkins, who was a conservative magistrate knighted by George III for helping to

¹ That Rousseau, in an elemental way, associated music and ethics can be seen throughout his work. For example, in his article on opera for the *Dictionnaire de musique*, he explains that the melodic accent of the passions give sounds “the moral effects which create all of music’s energy”. And in his *Essai sur l’origine des langues*, he writes of the danger of denigrating ethics: “In this century when every effort is made to materialize all the operations of the soul and to deprive human feelings of all morality, I am mistaken if the new philosophy does not become as fatal to good taste as it is to virtue”. He called there likewise for “a more subtle metaphysics” which would respect the primal reality of ethics, music, and their interaction. See John T. Scott, “The harmony between Rousseau’s music theory and his philosophy”, *The journal of the history of ideas* 109/2 (1998) 305–06.

² Schueller goes so far as to say that “both Burney and Hawkins [were] Church-and-King men who disliked every form of republicanism and dissidence”. Herbert Schueller, “The use and decorum of music as described in British literature, 1700–1780”, *The journal of the history of ideas* 13/1 (January 1952) 90.

³ Percy Scholes, *The great Dr. Burney* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948) 311.

quell popular revolts—among them demonstrations in Middlesex demanding equitable representation in Parliament.

But it is not true; Burney at heart was no Tory. That he needed to be on good terms with those in power is apparent; his students came largely from the privileged classes, and he relied on them to support his family. But would a dyed-in-the-wool conservative sup with John Wilkes,⁴ England's leading radical, at a time when Wilkes was defending America's revolution and calling for a new political dispensation, one designed to lessen aristocratic power while extending the right to vote?⁵ Hardly, and yet Burney did exactly that, scandalizing several of his friends.⁶

And Hawkins? He was a leader in the effort to deny Wilkes a seat in Parliament, even though he had obtained a majority of the vote lawfully.

Burney, a Tory? How then to account for these words, early in his *A general history of music*: "it is no uncommon thing for the rich to treat the poor with as much insolence, as if it were a crime not to be born to a great estate."⁷ Or the letters to his close friend, the Rev. Thomas Twining, in which he bitterly complains about the crown?⁸ The King, he tells Twining, was pressuring him—giving broad hints that a future position at court depended on praising, without stint, the king's favorite composer: Händel, a German who had become an Englishman, just as George's family had done.

As biographer Roger Lonsdale writes, "Burney was tortured by this conflict between his duty as a historian and his knowledge that all kinds of honors might come to him, if only he could please and flatter the King."⁹ To Twining he writes:

I see that I am in great danger of doing myself more harm than good by this business ...
But I will not write like an Apostate—I will not deny my liberal principles.¹⁰

In 1784 "liberal" was a fairly radical word. In this letter to a dear and discrete friend, Burney lets loose in a way he dared not in the royal presence. The King, he complained, wanted to reduce him to "the State of a hireling... Scribbler." "Into what a scrape am I got?" he continues. "I may do myself irreparable mischief—& *can*, I fear, derive no

⁴ See Alvaro Ribeiro, Jr., ed., *The letters of Dr. Charles Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) vol. 1, in particular Burney's letter to Mrs. Thrale of 1 November 1777. In that letter Burney "covers his tracks," saying "even City patriots are now ashamed to be seen in his company" (238). In fact, as the editor indicates in a footnote on that page, he had dined with Wilkes some months earlier! See also in that footnote the testimony offered in a letter of Samuel Crisp to Burney of 17 December 1776.

⁵ Ribeiro, *The letters*, 188. In a letter to Twining of 18 October 1775, Burney writes that "in matters of opinion," he was "now & then a patriot, & for Wilks [sic] & Liberty." Later he writes very differently. To Fanny, 23 August 1796, he writes, "How glad I am to recollect that I have been all my life loyal to such excellent sovereigns, & fighting & scolding with Wilkites-Foxites-Democrates-revolutionists-Jacobins-& Anarchists." By this time, however, Fanny had married a French General who had emigrated after that nation's republican revolution. Also, she was on royal pension. He has, in other words, developed a convenient memory!

⁶ Scholes, *The great Dr. Burney*, 315. A footnote includes a description of Johnson's intense reaction to Boswell's friendships with both Wilkes and Rousseau. In 1766 he said, "Rousseau, Sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation, than that of any felon who has gone from the Old Bailey these many years." Johnson continues by saying, *vis-à-vis* Rousseau and Voltaire, "Why, Sir, it is difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them." This is 15 February 1766. He calls him an "infidel writer" on 10 June 1784—along with Voltaire and Hume.

⁷ Charles Burney, *A general history of music from the earliest ages to the present period* (New York: Dover Publications, 1957) vol. 1, 18.

⁸ See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 19, for an expression of his gratitude to Twining.

⁹ Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A literary biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 302.

¹⁰ Letter of 31 July 1784. Quoted in Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 302.

good—considering the hands I am in.” And, he adds—tellingly, in French: “Les grands Hommes! qu’ils sont!”¹¹

Across the channel, some years before, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in a letter to the statesman de Malesherbes, wrote, “I hate the great. I hate their rank, their harshness, their prejudice, their pettiness, and all their ways.”¹² Rousseau, as was well-known, had done something that had little or no precedent: He turned down a lifetime pension from a King rather than compromise his intellectual and artistic freedom—for such a pension was proffered by Louis XV after the premiere of *Le devin du village*.

How did Burney see Rousseau? Let’s begin in 1771. At a time when Rousseau was widely denounced as a heretic, a danger to society for espousing such notions as the equality of man,¹³ Burney publicly declared the French philosopher a “Man-Mountain,”¹⁴ thus implying that he was a giant, like Gulliver, and that his opponents were Lilliputians.¹⁵

Burney said this in *The present state of music in France and Italy*. Read as an autobiographical novel rather than as a repository of musicological information, the book takes on the quality of a quest.¹⁶ Burney sets off to France to meet Rousseau, intending to make him, as he would tell Pierre Guy, the “hero” of his forthcoming history.¹⁷ He misses him here, misses him by hours there;¹⁸ finally, just days before his return to England, he finds him at last, and they speak.¹⁹ The quest successful, the “novel” draws quickly to a close.²⁰

¹¹ Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney*, 303. In a postscript Burney adds, “all I have written about his M-----y & Bates is rigorously sub sigillo”.

¹² See Jean Gucheno, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1967) vol. 2, 74.

¹³ James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Great books of the western world 44 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952) 125. On 20 July 1763, Johnson says about the *Treatise on inequality* that its author was “led astray by a childish desire of novelty”.

¹⁴ Charles Burney, *Dr. Burney’s musical tours in Europe*, ed. by Percy A. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) vol. 1, 313. Since Rousseau was by no means imposing in physical stature, it is obvious Burney is referring to intellectual or ethical greatness. See also page 315 where Burney, obviously combating the bad press Rousseau had gotten in England, writes, “He did not bite, nor knock me down”. See page 59, where Burney, in Milan, quotes Count Firmian as saying that “Rousseau was not the misanthrope people took him to be, but on the contrary [was] soft, polite, and engaging in his manner”.

¹⁵ See Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 129, where he comments on Rousseau’s “uncommon boldness and courage”.

¹⁶ Burney, as Johnson’s friend, undoubtedly knew of *Rasselas*, a 1759 philosophical novel also involving travel and a man’s quest for knowledge. Related novels are Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Swift’s *Gulliver’s travels* (1726), each of which manifests a central character traveling to strange lands, and learning there. Epistolary novels were popular at this time, which by their very technique are first-person narratives (albeit, on occasion, multiply so). Two examples are Richardson’s *Clarissa Harlowe* (1748) and Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774). Whatever models Burney had in mind, it remains apparent that he makes use of novelistic techniques in the accounts of his European journeys. Johnson, reading Burney’s first published travelogues, declared that they would be a model for future writings by him; and in 1775 he published *A journey to the western islands of Scotland*, in which Burney’s stylistic influence can be observed.

¹⁷ Ribeiro, *The letters*, vol. 1, 74. Letter of Burney to Pierre Guy, 28 February 1771.

¹⁸ Burney and Scholes, *Dr. Burney’s musical tours*, vol. 1, 22. In italics, Burney says: “I must see him, if possible.” He learns from Robert Walpole, son of Horace Walpole, that Rousseau is not in Paris; rather, Lyon (p. 23). So he sets off to find him there. Not finding him in Lyon, he immediately sets off for Geneva, Rousseau’s “home town”.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 312–13. He leaves a gathering of very distinguished company to leap at a sudden chance to see Rousseau, arranged for him by Guy.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 315. Burney writes, “I regarded the meeting with M. Rousseau at Paris, as a singularly fortunate completion of my personal intercourse with the learned and ingenious on the continent: I was so happy as to converse for a considerable time with him upon music, a subject which has received such embellishments from his pen, that the driest parts of it are rendered interesting by his manner of treating them, both in the *Encyclopedie*, and in his *Musical Dictionary*.”

Burney had tried for years to meet him—on earlier trips to France and in 1766, in England, when the French philosopher was in exile.²¹ That year he and Garrick brought to the London stage an English version of *Le devin* in a translation done by Burney years before.²² The production, incidentally, had some additional music composed by Burney. Unfortunately, *The cunning man* (for this was its title) did not have a long enough run to enable Rousseau, then living in the British countryside, to come to town and see it, much to Burney's chagrin.

He had admired Rousseau as early as the mid 1740s. They shared a connection with the music-loving 4th Earl of Holderness, Robert d'Arcy, whom Rousseau had met in 1743 in Venice when d'Arcy was British ambassador and Rousseau was secretary to the French ambassador. Burney had dedicated to d'Arcy his first publication, the *Six sonatas for two violins and bass*.²³

Burney eagerly followed Rousseau's writings, beginning with his *Dissertation sur la musique moderne* (1743), which, surprisingly, given its early date and its focus on somewhat arcane issues of musical notation, was widely reviewed in England.²⁴ And Burney was one of the earliest English subscribers to Diderot's encyclopedia—Rousseau, of course, being its chief musical contributor.²⁵ It is also likely that when Burney's brother Richard named his first-born son Charles Rousseau Burney, and asked the future historian to stand as godfather, the conjoining of names was no accident.²⁶

Burney's care for Rousseau was lifelong.²⁷ Even in Napoleonic times he championed him—and that took courage. Rousseau's writings were seen as having helped spark the French Revolution,²⁸ and in those days there was something approaching invasion hysteria in England.²⁹

Nevertheless in 1801, for Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, Burney wrote that, in Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de musique*, there was "more good taste, intelligence, and extensive views ...

²¹ For example, on his trip in France in 1763 with Susan and Hetty Burney (Charles's wife).

²² He was made aware of the opera—and Rousseau's courage before the French throne—shortly after its 1752 premiere through his friend Fulke Greville, who was then in Paris.

²³ This was apparently early in 1748, though Fanny, in her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, says 1747. See Frances Burney, *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney 1726–1769*, ed. from autograph fragments by Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

²⁴ It pains scholars interested in the relation of Rousseau and Burney that among her father's manuscripts which Fanny destroyed was a book containing his notes on Rousseau's *Confessions*. See F. Burney, *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney*, xxxi.

²⁵ In his 1771 book on touring France and Italy, he indicates that his subscription started in 1751, the first year of its publication. See Burney and Scholes, *Dr. Burney's musical tours*, vol. 1, 312.

²⁶ Supporting me in this is Kate Chisholm, author of *Fanny Burney: Her life 1752–1840* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998). In an e-mail communication of 4 August 2004, she pointed out that all of Richard Burney's sons are named after prominent Europeans: Richard Gustavus, James Adolphus, and Thomas Frederick. Charles Rousseau was born in 1747. Richard Burney, Kate Chisholm tells me (e-mail, 30 June 2004), was fluent in French, as was Charles Burney. He was a dancing master. Perhaps he knew Rousseau's *Les muses galantes* of 1743, or his *Dissertation sur la musique moderne* of the previous year? The Burney Family Memorandum (the "Worcester Memorandum" at Yale) indicates that "Mr. Rousseau", the other godfather, was "an Intimate Friend". But research into English genealogical records yields no person named Rousseau who lived near where the Burneys lived at the time. If this is not Jean-Jacques, then this "intimate friend", who appears nowhere else in any document of any of the Burneys, fell very swiftly from that position of intimacy.

²⁷ As late as 1814, the year of his death, Burney is still calling Rousseau's *Lettre* the best music criticism yet in the world. See Kerry Grant, *Dr. Burney as critic and historian of music*. Studies in musicology 62 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) 62.

²⁸ A clear statement of this is made by Charles B. Paul, "Music and ideology: Rameau, Rousseau, and 1789", *The journal of the history of ideas* 32/3 (July–September 1971) 406. Also, on 10 October 1794 his remains (and those of Voltaire) were interred by the French Revolutionary government in the newly constructed Pantheon.

²⁹ Much of the humor of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's 1779 comedy, *The critic*, arises from a desire to satirize that exaggerated hysteria.

than in all the books on the subject of music which the literature of France can boast.”³⁰ And, he added, Rousseau’s *Lettre sur la musique française*³¹ “may be safely pronounced the best piece of musical criticism that has ever been produced in any modern language.”³²

Given the political climate, Burney had to be careful; he prudently limits his praise to musical matters. Still, it was gutsy to praise Rousseau at all. One searches with difficulty to find other Englishmen of the time—let alone anyone as prominent as Burney—writing in such a laudatory manner; pre-1789, yes;³³ during the Napoleonic years, no.

Unlike Hawkins, who was the judge that defended the royal policy of pressing men into involuntary naval service and the magistrate who could write with thinly veiled sarcasm at how “we live in an age in which humanity is the fashion,”³⁴ Burney—like Rousseau—believed in the power of human sympathy.³⁵ Not only is this belief reflected in the many passages of his history where he praises a composer or performer for showing “feeling,”³⁶ it was manifest in the one occasion when Burney ventured onto the stage of public policy.

It concerned music. In August 1774 Burney coauthored a proposal for a national music school which was delivered to the board of governors of the Foundling Hospital.³⁷ That proposal shows—as did the sentence from his “Preface” quoted earlier—his feeling for the poor.³⁸ It calls on the governors to discover talented youth unable to afford musical education and support them. It also makes the sharp point of declaring it “professional” education.

³⁰ From the entry on “Rousseau, Jean Jacques”, in Abraham Rees, ed., *Cyclopaedia, or universal dictionary of arts, sciences, and literature*, vol. 30, 1819. Burney drew heavily on Rousseau’s writings for his contributions to this work—acknowledging his source, however, clearly and gratefully.

³¹ Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 970. He says, “There was too much good sense, taste, and reason in this letter for it to be read with indifference; it was abused, but never answered.”

³² Rees, “Rousseau, Jean Jacques”. Cited in Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as critic and historian of music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) 62.

³³ *The monthly review* (August 1753) has a favorable review of Rousseau by, of all people, Johnson, who had dealt with Rousseau as early as 7 September 1751 (*The Rambler*). See Edward Duffy, *Rousseau in England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). On page 10 he notes that when the *Lettre sur les spectacles* appeared in English translation in 1759, it was reviewed at length by the *London chronicle*, *Monthly review*, *Critical review*, *London magazine*, and *Burke’s Annual register*. Even so, the praise was not untempered by criticism. See page 11. Also see, beginning on page 231, Brian J. Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2002). Equally worth noting is this fact: Adam Smith wrote praisingly about Rousseau’s *Discourse on inequality* in a 1756 letter to the editor of the *Edinburgh review*. See Alan Ritter and Julia Conaway Bondanella, ed., *Rousseau’s political writings* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988) 204–05.

³⁴ Percy Scholes, *The life and activities of Sir John Hawkins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953) 95.

³⁵ In Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 705, he uses the phrase “the common good”, which, as William Weber points out, “came from the tradition of republican political thought, and probably derived specifically from his extensive reading of Jean-Jacques Rousseau”. William Weber, *The rise of musical classics in eighteenth-century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 217.

³⁶ Donald J. Greene—in *The politics of Samuel Johnson* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1973) 16—writes of how different Boswell’s and Johnson’s generations were, saying: “In the interim people had learned to feel and to introspect; Steele and Rousseau, the sentimental novelists and the sentimental dramatists, had done their work; the romantic age had begun.” See also Alan Lessem, “Imitation and expression: Opposing French and British views in the 18th century”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27/2 (summer 1974) 329: “The notion of ‘expression’ was bound to appeal to a new, large group of listeners demanding the right to cherish their own private feelings. Inevitably, intellectual gratification gave way to emotional stimulus as the final criterion of artistic and musical merit.”

³⁷ He proposed this along with the violinist Giardini, who was already one of the governors of the hospital. See Jamie Croy Kassler, “Burney’s ‘Sketch of a plan for a public music school’”, *The musical quarterly* 50/2 (April 1977) 210–34.

³⁸ On this subject, compare how Burney writes about Händel and the Foundling Hospital, and Hawkins. Hawkins makes it seem as though Händel was foolish to have to do with it.

Why did this matter? It mattered because there was prejudice in England concerning the distinction between trade and profession. In a book of anecdotes, published in three volumes between 1822 and 1824, Matilda Hawkins, the historian's daughter, notes sniffily that a "profession constitutes gentility and a trade does not."³⁹ Hawkins, barrister and magistrate, had such gentility; Burney—the musician trained as an apprentice to Thomas Arne—was, in the eyes of the Hawkins family, a mere tradesman, despite his 1769 Oxford doctorate.

What does Hawkins say about Rousseau? Very little; the only direct reference is in his 1777 *Life of Samuel Johnson*, which preceded Boswell's more famous biography by 14 years.⁴⁰ In a digression (Hawkins was famous for these) he writes of Rousseau, Fielding, and Sterne, presenting all three as "men of loose principles," adding the following:

It is their endeavor to commute for their failings by professions of greater love to mankind, more tender affections and finer feelings than they will allow men of more regular lives, whom they deem formalists, to possess. Their generous notions supercede all obligation: they are a law to themselves, and having good hearts and abounding in human kindness, are above those considerations that bind men to that rule of conduct which is founded in a sense of duty. Of this new school of morality, Fielding, Rousseau, and Sterne are the principal teachers, and great is the mischief they have done by their documents.⁴¹

Part of the mischief, Hawkins indicates, was encouraging the idea of "goodness of heart"—an idea, he says, which has corrupted "the rising generation."⁴²

The writing of music history always has, explicitly or implicitly, a view of society in it, a view of humanity.⁴³ Therefore, as we read music history—even music theory—we have a right to ask not only how accurate the author is concerning hard fact, but how warm his or her heart. For there is such a thing as an accurate emotion; there is something other people, and other things, deserve from us—what Eli Siegel called "ontological courtesy."⁴⁴ "The greatest danger or temptation of [any person]," he wrote, "is to get a false importance or glory from the lessening of things not [oneself]; which lessening is Contempt."⁴⁵

Rousseau—and, for that matter, Fielding and Sterne—wrote about humanity in a way that combated various contemptuous notions in those aristocratic times. Thus it is not surprising that while Burney in his history cites Rousseau more than 30 times, Hawkins never mentions him.⁴⁶ It is certainly not a matter of ignorance; Hawkins read

³⁹ Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs, anecdotes, facts, and opinions* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, et al., 1824) 2 vols. An excellent selection from this lengthy work, edited by Francis Henry Skrine, is entitled *Gossip about Dr. Johnson and others* (London: Eveleigh, Nash, and Grayson, Ltd., 1926).

⁴⁰ Johnson had named Hawkins his literary executor.

⁴¹ John Hawkins, *The life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. and abridged by Bertram H. Davis (New York: Macmillan, 1961) 97.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴³ See Peter Cosgrove, "Affective unities: The esthetics of music and factional instability in 18th-century England," *Eighteenth-century studies* 20/2 (winter 1988–89) 134–36. Cosgrove explicitly relates the works of Burney and Hawkins to the political questions of their day—and specifically the question of how "to mediate between the polarizing tendencies towards anarchic freedom or arbitrary conformity." Burney writes of these opposites, explaining that "good music is always found between these two extremes."

⁴⁴ See Eli Siegel's poem "The breviary of ontological courtesy," *The right of Aesthetic Realism to be known* 559 (21 December 1983) 1.

⁴⁵ Eli Siegel, *The "Modern quarterly": Beginnings of Aesthetic Realism, 1922–1923* (New York: Definition Press, 1997) 7.

⁴⁶ See Grant, *Dr. Burney as critic*, 68.

Rousseau.⁴⁷ But he would give no credit to a man he saw as an enemy to his notion of privilege and authority.⁴⁸

In Hawkins's "Preliminary discourse", nearly every recent dictionary or history is mentioned, including (to cite only those in the French language) works by Grassineau, Brossard, and de Blainville.⁴⁹ What of Rousseau's 1767 *Dictionnaire de musique*, which not only was well-known on the continent, but, in the 1770 translation by William Waring, also had success in England? Not a word.⁵⁰

Rousseau jolted Europe, and made the world kinder,⁵¹ by insisting on human equality.⁵² Modern civilization was not—just by virtue of being modern—superior to other societies, Rousseau told his readers. Rather, the modern world needed to learn not only from the ancients, but also from their so-called primitive contemporaries.⁵³

This belief is reflected in his musical writings. For example, in his dictionary he quotes melodies from China, Persia, and the native tribes of Brazil—astutely observing (centuries before postmodern critical theory) the following:⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Burney, himself, says so. Further, John Mainwaring cites Rousseau in his *Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederick Handel* (1760)—a text Hawkins knew. See William Weber, "The intellectual origins of musical canon in eighteenth-century England", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47/3 (fall 1974) 488–520.

⁴⁸ In Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 981, the author notes that various musical "authorities"—such as the Abbé Roussier and M. de la Border—"were awed perhaps by the thunder of Rousseau's eloquence, while alive; but no sooner were they sure that the lion was dead, than they plucked up a courage, and boldly attacked him at all points." Hawkins, at several points in his *General history*, seems to attack Rousseau obliquely—picking fights with Temple and Vossius (long since dead) that concern Rousseau-like doctrines. See John Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963) xxviii, where he writes about the "degeneracy of modern times". Also see page 917, the "Conclusion" to his *A general history*, where he makes note of those "fanciful reasoners", who assert "that there is in the course of things a general and perpetual declination from that state of perfection in which the author of nature originally constituted the world". On page xxix, he sarcastically writes, "The loss of arts is a plausible topic of declamation, but the possibility of such a calamity by other means than a second deluge, or the interposition of any less powerful agent than God himself, is a matter of doubt, and when appearances every where around us favor the opinion of our improvement not only in literature, but in the sciences and all the manual arts, it is wonderful that the contrary notion should ever have got footing among mankind." He then criticizes "some writers for complimenting nations less enlightened than ourselves with the possession or enjoyment of arts which it is pretended we have lost; as they do when they magnify the attainments of nations comparatively barbarous, and making those countries on which the beams of knowledge can scarcely be said to have yet dawned the theatres of virtue and the schools of science, recommend them as fit exemplars for our imitation."

⁴⁹ Hawkins, *A general history*, xxiv and following.

⁵⁰ Compare Burney, who says that that book, "affords not only more amusement, but more historical information relative to the art, than perhaps any book of the size that is extant. Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 13. Note, too, that Burney begins his *A general history* with a set of definitions (vol. 1, 21–22).

⁵¹ Among those who vouch for this was Immanuel Kant, who, in his *Beobachtungen über des Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (1764), wrote, "I am an investigator by inclination. I feel a great thirst for knowledge and an impatient eagerness to advance, also satisfaction at each progressive step. There was a time when I thought that all this could constitute the honor of humanity, and I despised the mob, which knows nothing about it. Rousseau set me straight. This dazzling excellence vanishes; I learn to honor men, and would consider myself much less useful than common laborers if I did not believe that this consideration could give all the others a value, to establish the rights of humanity." Cited in Ritter and Bondanella, *Rousseau's political writings*, 207–08.

⁵² In the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* he asks whether it is natural that "children should command old men, fools wise men, and that the privileged few should gorge themselves with superfluities, while the starving multitudes are in want of the care necessities of life?" Cited by Richard B. Sewall, "Dr. Johnson, Rousseau, and reform", *The age of Johnson: Essays presented to Chauncey Brewster Tinker*, ed. by Frederick Whiley Hillis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949) 311.

⁵³ As Duffy points out in his *Rousseau in England*, 12, Rousseau also questioned the "superiority" of city life to rural in his novel *La nouvelle Héloïse* (1760; English ed., 1761).

⁵⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Dictionary of music", in *Essay on the origin of languages and writings related to music*, trans. and ed. by John T. Scott. The collected writings of Rousseau 7 (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998) 446. Here, given the Brazilian origins of these melodies, it is likely the translator, who calls them "Canadian", mistook the late 16th-century usage of the word "Canada", which, then, could—and in this instance certainly did—refer to the New World as such. In his definition of "Accent" Rousseau makes clear his respect for each cultural tradition on a basis of fundamental equality. He writes, "... the universal accent of nature which draws from every man inarticulate cries is one

A conformity of Modulation with our *Music* will be found in all these pieces which will possibly make some admire the goodness and universality of our rules, and for others will perhaps render suspect the intelligence or the fidelity of those who have transmitted these Tunes to us.⁵⁵

When Burney, in their Paris meeting, showed him an outline of his projected history, what excited Rousseau most was the prospect of an extended section on “National Music”. “Ah, that is good”, he said; “It is what I waited for!”⁵⁶

Unfortunately, Burney planned to deal with that subject in his fifth volume, one that was never written.⁵⁷ Perhaps after four volumes and 2000 pages—and another 1000 or so for his book on the life and letters of Metastasio which followed close upon the history (1796)⁵⁸—Burney was exhausted. We do know he had arthritic trouble with his writing hand.

Yet even without that extra volume, we can observe the author’s desire to use music to show a large and universal respect for humanity. For example, on the opening page of his “Preface”, Burney writes as follows:

The love of lengthened tones and modulated sounds, different from those of speech, and regulated by a stated measure, seems a passion implanted in human nature throughout the globe; for we hear of no people, however wild and savage in other particulars, who have not music of some kind or other, with which we may suppose them to be greatly delighted, by their constant use of it.⁵⁹

It is important that Burney specifically exempts music from being merely “wild and savage”; there is something, he asserts, to be respected about music wherever it is made—something speaking well of humanity. It is only sensible, he continues, to see that music has been “in the highest estimation at all times, and in every place.”⁶⁰

Later in the “Preface”, Burney comments on Shakespeare’s classic statement in *The merchant of Venice*, that the man who is not moved by music “is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils”. He notes, once again, that music “has been admired and cultivated by great and eminent persons at all times and in every country”, and at the end of a wonderfully extended 18th-century paragraph he adds that it is “no hyperbole” to declare that “the man who is capable of being affected by sweet sounds, is a being *more perfectly organized*, than he who is insensible to, or offended by them.”⁶¹

thing, and the accent of the language which engenders the melody peculiar to a nation is another”. Ibid., 371. As John T. Scott comments on page 306, it is Rousseau’s belief that while “the ‘same accent of passion’ reigns in all souls, there is a prodigious variety of accented expression in different languages and musics”.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 445.

⁵⁶ Burney and Scholes, *Dr. Burney’s musical tours*, vol. 1, 315.

⁵⁷ In Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 46–47, we learn that he originally intended to talk about these matters in his next installment to *A general history*. On those pages he also compares, quite respectfully, Chinese and Scottish scales, and indicates that he wrote to people in Canton in order to get more precise information about Chinese music. See, too, his letter of late September/early October 1777 to Matthew Raper—a lengthy letter on Chinese music found in Ribeiro, *The letters*, 231–35. Far later Burney did, in fact, write about Chinese music—for Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*. It is around this same time that Burney wrote a letter (13 March 1802) to a “Mr. Huttner” in which he wrote of his desire to complete his *A general history* through a volume on “national music”, and that to this end he had “collected specimens from every civilized part of the Globe”. See Scholes, *The great Dr. Burney*, vol. 1, 301.

⁵⁸ Charles Burney, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Abate Metastasio* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1796).

⁵⁹ Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 11.

⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, 11.

⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 1, 18.

Compare the generous, respectful and deeply insightful approach of Rousseau and Burney to that of Hawkins. In his “Dedication and preface”, inscribed to George III, are arrogant sentences, redolent with superiority and the hope for contempt. That hope, we shall see, sadly blinded Hawkins and made at least this aspect of his writing deeply inaccurate.

After first saying he wished “to demonstrate that [music’s] principles are founded in certain general and universal laws”,⁶² Hawkins, unconscious of what he is about to do, then undermines his entire endeavor by excluding a vast range of humanity.⁶³ He writes:

Now the best music of barbarians is said to be hideous and astonishing sounds. Of what importance then can it be to enquire into a practice that has not its foundations in science or system, or to know what are the sounds that most delight a Hottentot, a wild American, or even a more refined Chinese?⁶⁴

As Eli Siegel so clearly explained in his book *Self and world*: “Contempt is not interested in knowledge as knowledge, only in knowledge making ego the one thing.”⁶⁵ And in his 1923 essay “The equality of man”, which carries Rousseau’s argument significantly forward, Siegel wrote: “The question of men’s relation to men is certainly the most important one man can ask.”⁶⁶

Hawkins was terrified (as was most of “genteel” Europe) to ask that question honestly; terrified at the idea of there being anything like true human equality. This did not prevent him from acts of remarkable kindness towards people close to him. He was, for example, deeply generous to his sister-in-law when she was excluded from her brother’s will.⁶⁷ Nor did it prevent him from writing with deep insight about music with which, in one manner or another, he felt he could associate himself.

But as happens often with people—both in the 18th century and now—ego imposes a limit on our ethical imagination, and we sharply curtail the range of our fellow-feeling.⁶⁸ Burney, while not seeing this core ethical matter with the depth or courage Rousseau did—and certainly capable of an unhandsome competitiveness vis-à-vis Hawkins and his history—nevertheless learned from Rousseau how, as a scholar, to question narrowness in himself; and it shows in his history.

In researching the various strands of contempt and respect for humanity present in 17th- and 18th-century European musicological thought,⁶⁹ I have tried to determine whether there was a link between the philosopher Rousseau and a Jean Rousseau—also of Geneva—who was a close companion of Jean de Léry on his famous 1557 voyage to Brazil. So far the evidence is enticing, but full genealogical documentation is lacking.

⁶² Hawkins, *A general history*, xix, in the “Dedication” to the King. These laws, which Hawkins says can also be discovered in “the material world”, are harmony, symmetry, proportion, order.

⁶³ Two pioneering works dealing with how racism, both subtle and overt, originates, and how it can be combated, are Arnold Perey’s *Gwe: A novel against racism* (New York: Waverley Place Press, 2005) and Alice Bernstein, ed., *Aesthetic Realism and the answer to racism* (New York: Orange Angle Press, 2004).

⁶⁴ Hawkins says this in his “Dedication”. Hawkins, *A general history*, xix.

⁶⁵ Eli Siegel, *Self and world: An explanation of Aesthetic Realism* (New York: Definition Press, 1981) 7.

⁶⁶ Siegel, *The “Modern quarterly”*, 41.

⁶⁷ See Bertram A. Davis, *A proof of eminence: The life of Sir John Hawkins* (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1973) 65.

⁶⁸ Rousseau emphasized how both language and music begins with fellow feeling—the desire to communicate with one’s fellows.

⁶⁹ See Edward Green, “Meeting the new: What 21st-century educators can learn from the earliest ethnomusicologists’ about the appreciation of music”, *Journal of historical research in music education* 29/1 (October 2007) 39–54.

In his writings, de Léry discusses at length the music-making of the Brazilian Tupinambá. What is remarkable is how this young Calvinist missionary, hearing the music at first as a sign of devil-worship, comes to respect it and be moved by it. He writes, for example, of one of their melodies, “I was altogether captivated . . . every time I remember it with beating heart, it seems to me that I still have [it] in my ears.”⁷⁰

The history of that voyage was not published until 1578,⁷¹ and musical notation of these Brazilian songs was not included until de Léry published a Latin version of the history in 1586. Thus, it would be nearly 30 years since he first heard these songs. That is a long time for a 16th-century European to remain “captivated” by a seemingly “primitive” music. A desire to respect, even cherish, what is very different from oneself is present.

In 1636 these transcriptions found their way into Mersenne’s *Harmonie universelle*; in 1767 into Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s dictionary. Might we speculate that perhaps there was a kind of family tradition among the Rousseaus concerning the musical—even the “noble”—savage? It is an intriguing idea.

In any event, it is clear that Jean-Jacques Rousseau, like Mersenne, was interested—respectfully interested—in world music. There was a desire for something approaching an honest universality of musical vision.

Hawkins, however, in his lengthy chapter on Mersenne, makes no mention of these transcriptions. He does indicate that Mersenne wrote about Chinese and Indian instruments, but—with a narrowness of spirit quite at odds with that of the author of the *Harmonie universelle*—Hawkins feels compelled to slander these, calling them “barbarous and ill-constructed.”⁷²

This is a cautionary tale. To see how far contempt can blind an otherwise careful scholar (and in regard to the music he loved, Hawkins was exactly that—one of the premiere scholars of the world), consider the following: While he saw fit to include several transcriptions of bird song, and even one for the vocalism of the South American sloth—praising these animals for their harmoniousness and “perfect intonation”⁷³—Hawkins would not extend this courtesy to certain members of his own species.

Without any sign of censure, he quotes statements by Johannes Kepler about the “mangled and abhorrent” intervals in Turkish music. Of the singing of the Turks and Hungarians, we are told that it “resembles the noises of brute animals rather than the sounds of the human voice.”⁷⁴

Burney will have none of this. Far from encouraging his readers to despise people in distant lands, he pointedly says that until “the last century”—that is, the 17th—“the number of our secular and popular melodies did not greatly exceed that of the Turks.”⁷⁵ And he attributes this not to any inherent European superiority, but to the wide-spread application of a new technology: the printing press.

For this essay, I will not expand on the triangular relation between Rousseau, Burney, and Hawkins—how all three men saw opera; how they estimated the worth

⁷⁰ From Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*. An excerpt, with translation, is found in Frank Harrison, *Time, place and music* (Amsterdam: Frits Knupf, 1973) 6–24. This citation is on p. 22.

⁷¹ See Harrison, *Time, place and music*, 6–7, for details of early editions.

⁷² Hawkins, *A general history*, 612, originally chapter 127 of the work.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 619.

⁷⁵ Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 784.

of Rameau;⁷⁶ how they saw the interaction of counterpoint,⁷⁷ melody, rhythm,⁷⁸ and harmony; their opinions concerning ancient Greek music;⁷⁹ and how they conceived the relation of language, poetry, and music.⁸⁰ It is not always the case that Burney aligns with Rousseau, and Hawkins plays the odd man out. Nor is Hawkins always the party guilty of narrowness of vision.⁸¹ Rousseau, in particular, could be unnecessarily combative and provocative. And Hawkins welcomed the possibility of music having philosophic significance in a way that Burney—very unfortunately, I believe—did not. Early in his *A general history*, Hawkins writes of how the principles of music “are founded in the very frame and constitution of the universe.”⁸² No such statement is present in Burney; he seems constitutionally averse to exploring the issue.

It is a central belief of Aesthetic Realism that art, indeed, has metaphysical substance, and therefore any attempt to sever art and philosophy limits the precision and the freedom of one’s mind. “The world, art, and self,” said Eli Siegel, “explain each other; each is the aesthetic oneness of opposites.”⁸³

Hawkins is to be honored for his willingness to consider the ontological implications of music. Still, if he were on the right track when it came to cosmic issues, he remained deeply in the wrong as to many down-to-earth, human situations. There was a sizable contempt in him—an enjoyment of looking down on other people, especially those who seemed placed in the world, geographically and culturally, at a remove from himself—that is not found in either Rousseau or Burney. And it does mar his *A general history*, valuable as it undoubtedly is in so many other regards.

My purpose has been to highlight a fact hardly ever brought to the fore in academic gatherings. Namely, that scholarship without good will—without the conscious hope to use the study of music to respect people more—is doomed to inaccuracy. The hope for contempt, as Eli Siegel explained, hurts our perception; the hope for respect deepens it. To see value and meaning in what, at first glance, is alien to us, is the core not only of human kindness, but of all true intelligence.

⁷⁶ Burney questions Rameau’s originality as theorist, while valuing him as composer. See Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 968 and following. Hawkins rates him “very high” as theorist, and cites Händel’s opinion of him. See Hawkins, *A general history*, 901.

⁷⁷ See Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 969. In its footnote (d) Burney speaks, in keeping with Rousseau’s terminology, of the way music was “manacled by narrow rules, formed on Gothic productions”, Hawkins’s favorite music was the madrigal. In his history, Burney calls it a “many-headed monster”. See Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 304.

⁷⁸ See Eve Kisch, “Rameau and Rousseau”, *Music & letters* 22/2 (April 1941) 97–114. Both Burney and Rousseau are shocked by irregular meters.

⁷⁹ Burney, *A general history*, vol. 1, 15, where he writes “What the ancient music really was, it is not easy to determine; the whole is now become a matter of faith; but of this we are certain, that it was something with which mankind was extremely delighted”. Compare with Hawkins’s generally debunking “Conclusion” to the entire *General history*. See Hawkins, *A general history*, 917 and following. See also, xxviii, where he asks whether “our reverence for antiquity has not been carried too far both as to matters of science and morality.”

⁸⁰ Note that Book IV of Burney’s history begins with an “Essay on the euphony of languages”. Also note that where Hawkins is entirely against the idea of music as “imitation” (see Hawkins, *A general history*, xxvii and xx), Burney still has some notion of it. See Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 255. Rousseau definitely sees it as an art of imitation.

⁸¹ Burney, in his “Essay on musical criticism”, criticizes exclusiveness as a form of contempt, and there is reason to think he may, obliquely, have been referring to Hawkins—among others. See Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 7–11. Meanwhile, as Herbert Schueller points out, Hawkins had a less restricted, a deeper, notion of the power of music than most—Burney, perhaps, included: He “shared with seventeenth-century writers a belief in the ability of music to arouse ecstasy. But in so believing he was almost alone in his time”. Schueller, “The use and decorum”, 86. On page 87 he tells of how “Hawkins probably was one of the few writers to insist after 1750 that religious music leads the soul to God”. The most laudatory account of Hawkins’s character is by W. Wright Roberts, who speaks of an “even-handed justice” in him. See W. Wright Roberts, “The trial of Midas the Second”, *Music & letters* 14/4 (October 1933) 306.

⁸² Hawkins, *A general history*, xxxvii.

⁸³ Siegel, *The “Modern quarterly”*, 53.

ANTON SCHINDLER AS DESTROYER AND FORGER OF BEETHOVEN'S CONVERSATION BOOKS: A CASE FOR DECRIMINALIZATION

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Ludwig van Beethoven is recognized the world over as a composer who achieved his many musical triumphs in the face of gradual deafness, beginning in ca. 1798. By 1818, he had begun to carry small blank books with him, so that, when in public places, where his friends' raised voices might attract undue attention, they could simply write what they wished to say, and he would reply orally. Occasionally, Beethoven, too, wrote in the books themselves: remarks in his hand indicate clearly that he was sensitive to his surroundings.¹

As his hearing continued to deteriorate, Beethoven relied increasingly upon the conversation books, mostly in public, but often at home when raised voices were not effective or when a slate that he also kept for conversational purposes was not conveniently at hand. He began to use the books more often to make reminders to himself to write letters, to buy clothing or household items, to seek out a newly published book, to investigate potential lodgings, and even (all too rarely) to jot a few notes for potential compositions.

Taken together, the 139 surviving conversation books provide us with an incomparable, albeit incomplete and imperfect, record of the composer's final decade, everyday life as well as the great milestones: the legal battle for the custody of his nephew Karl, the marketing of the *Missa solemnis*, the completion of the ninth symphony, and their first Viennese performances in 1824, the composition and first performances of the final string quartets, nephew Karl's suicide attempt, and Beethoven's own decline in health until ca. 6 March 1827, three weeks before his death.

¹ Karl-Heinz Köhler, "... tausendmal leben!": *Konversationen mit Herrn van Beethoven* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978). A good English-language summary of this 200-page book can be found in his "The conversation books: Aspects of a new picture of Beethoven", *Beethoven, performers, and critics: The International Beethoven Congress, Detroit 1977*, ed. by Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980) 147–61. An even briefer overview of the topic may be found in Nicholas Marston, "Conversation books", *The Beethoven compendium*, ed. by Barry Cooper (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1991) 164–67. For a different linguistic perspective, see "Gesprächshefte" in Theodor Frimmel, *Beethoven-Handbuch*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926) vol. 1, 168–69.

After Beethoven's funeral, his sometime secretary Anton Schindler (1795–1864) took from the composer's estate surviving letters and documents—including the conversation books—that might prove useful to his later role as biographer. In January 1846 (at a time when he himself faced financial insecurity), Schindler sold the conversation books to the Prussian Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin. Although a few leaves of various conversation books are found scattered in libraries and collections around the world, only two other small volumes remain intact, nos. 1 and 95, now in the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn.²

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT A GERMAN EDITION. As he had projected, Anton Schindler made considerable use of the conversation books in assembling material for the major editions of his *Biographie* of Beethoven, the first in 1840 and the third edition in 1860.³ Once the conversation books were in the Königliche Bibliothek, the American researcher Alexander Wheelock Thayer (1817–97) likewise examined them all, making extensive notes for his own future biography, probably beginning in October 1849, but especially during the period from November 1854, to February 1856.⁴ Although the final decade of Beethoven's life had to be reconstructed from Thayer's notes after his own death,⁵ it

² The standard edition is Karl-Heinz Köhler, Grita Herre, and Dagmar Beck, eds., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, in collaboration with Ignaz Weinmann, Peter Pötschner, Renate Bormann, Heinz Schöny, and Günter Brosche, 11 volumes to date (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968–2001). The three primary editors were based in Berlin, their numerous collaborators in Vienna. Heft 95 has recently seen a separate facsimile publication: *Beethoven im Gespräch: Ein Konversationsheft vom 9. September 1825*, transcription and commentary by Grita Herre, with English translation by Theodore Albrecht (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002).

³ Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840); English translation, with additional materials, as *The life of Beethoven, including his correspondence with his friends, numerous characteristic traits, and remarks on his musical works*, ed. by Ignace [sic] Moscheles, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841). Although the Viennese-trained Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870) noted that the majority of the English version was Schindler's work, he insensitively omitted the original author's name from the title-page, thereby creating enmity that may have intensified any feelings of anti-Semitism that Schindler may have harbored earlier.

Schindler's next major revision appeared as *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (3rd. ed.; Münster: Aschendorff, 1860); English translation as *Beethoven as I knew him*, trans. by Constance S. Jolly, ed. by Donald W. MacArdle (London: Faber & Faber; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966, and subsequent reprints by W.W. Norton, 1972, and Dover, 1996). In this greatly expanded edition, Schindler attempted to minimize Beethoven's positive interactions with Jewish musicians such as Ignaz Moscheles. At one point, Schindler now wrote, "Beethoven himself was never in the least acquainted with Moscheles", and, while dismissing Moscheles later, wrote of "Beethoven's hatred for the children of Israel in the arts" (Schindler–MacArdle, 322 and 371–74). While an understandably shocked MacArdle rather naively commented, "No explanation can be suggested for... Schindler's vicious blast at Moscheles" (note 259, pp. 359–60), such attacks were very possibly a reaction against Moscheles' having omitted Schindler's name from the English edition of the biography, above, and possibly a reflection of the growing anti-Semitism in Germany as a whole, but in no way a reflection of Beethoven's own attitude. Just as Wagner's disappointing experiences with Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, and hornist Joseph Rudolph Lewy were later generalized into a certain, though always selective, anti-Semitism by the 1850s, so too Schindler's own experience with Moscheles in 1840–41 might have become generalized by 1860, and then attributed anachronistically back to Beethoven.

⁴ Grant W. Cook, "Alexander Wheelock Thayer: A new biographical sketch", *Beethoven journal* 17/1 (summer 2002) 2–11, particularly 3–4. Thayer spent October 1849–Spring 1851, November 1854–February 1856, September 1858–May 1859, and December 1859–February 1860 (among other periods) working in Berlin.

⁵ Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Leben*, trans. by Hermann Deiters, 3 vols. (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider; W. Weber, 1866, 1872, 1879), covered through 1816. His *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*, trans. by Deiters, ed. by Hugo Riemann, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907–08 and 1910–17), contained the reconstructed final decade. His *The life of Ludwig van Beethoven*, trans. by Henry Edward Krehbiel, 3 vols. (New York: Beethoven Association, 1921) included essentially the full biography, omitted Riemann's analyses, but also abbreviated some of Thayer's original historical background. His *Thayer's life of Beethoven*, ed. by Elliot Forbes, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964–67) was based on Krehbiel's version, but included the latest biographical scholarship. It remains a significant lacuna in Beethoven scholarship that English-language readers still do not possess the full historical text as Thayer wrote it in 1866–79.

became obvious that the conversation books greatly enriched the material that he had intended to include.

Thus, scholars soon realized the desirability of a complete edition of the conversation books themselves, so that other researchers could benefit from the variety of insights they might offer. Although Schindler, Thayer, and even Beethoven had sometimes dated the books with greater or lesser accuracy, one major problem in editing still lay in dating the entire sequence of booklets. Another problem was deciphering the handwriting of hundreds of different individuals who had made entries in the volumes, sometimes in pencil that had become smudged over the years—possibly even while the books rode around in Beethoven's coat pocket—and then *identifying* those writers.

The first scholar to attempt a complete edition was Walther Nohl, who published three small fascicles (covering March 1819 to March 1820) in 1923–24.⁶ Ultimately, Nohl was defeated by the editorial difficulties associated with the materials, as well as by Germany's post-World-War-I economy. During the 1930s, Georg Schünemann (1884–1945) answered the challenge anew and, with more sophisticated scholarship, produced three full-length volumes (covering from February 1818 to July 1823) between 1941 and 1943.⁷ World War II halted progress on this series, and the ensuing political division of Germany further impeded its completion.

Meanwhile, Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme (1871–1956) issued an extensive volume in French (1946), including excerpts from the conversation books from 1819 to 1827.⁸ With the German edition still in limbo, Donald W. MacArdle produced an index (1962) of people and places encountered in the Schünemann edition and the Prod'homme anthology.⁹

THE PRESENT GERMAN EDITION. Finally, in 1968, a Berlin team headed by Karl-Heinz Köhler (1928–97), and including Dagmar Beck and Grita Herre, began to publish their own edition of the conversation books, starting with volume 4, essentially at a point in the chronology where Schünemann had broken off a quarter century earlier. Here, however, was a considerably more meticulous method of transcription and annotation: diplomatic transcriptions of the conversational entries themselves, with footnotes indicating sundry peculiarities in the handwritten material, as well as an extensive array of explanatory endnotes (often based on information supplied by collaborative scholars in Vienna). In the following years, the Köhler team worked forward in the chronology, but also soon went back to the earliest material (which had been published by Schünemann) and produced volumes that continued to represent state-of-the-art transcription and annotation. At first, Köhler's team did not provide any indexes (volumes 4 and 5), but by 1972 had begun to provide indexes of names and compositions (but not of subjects). Ultimately, name and composition indexes to vols. 4 and 5 were included at the end of vol. 11 in 2001.

In 1977, however, the Köhler team suffered a discrediting and demoralizing blow. At a Beethoven Congress in Berlin in March, Dagmar Beck and Grita Herre, after years

⁶ Walther Nohl, ed., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte* (München: O.C. Rech/Allgemeine Verlagsanstalt, 1923–24).

⁷ Georg Schünemann, ed., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1941–43).

⁸ Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, trans. and ed., *Cahiers de conversation de Beethoven, 1819–1827* (Paris: Éditions Corr ea, 1946).

⁹ Donald W. MacArdle, *An index to Beethoven's conversation books* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1962).

of research and careful observation, noted that many of Anton Schindler's entries in the conversation books had apparently been made only after Beethoven's death, often on pages that, for one reason or another, had initially been left blank or only partially filled.¹⁰ In the discussion period that followed, the Vienna-born British pianist and critic Peter Stadlen (1910–96)¹¹ claimed that he had already detected these forgeries years before, and had given a talk about them on BBC radio in 1971. He then hurried into print several articles that created an anti-Schindler scandal in the musicological world, a scandal that also seemed unfairly to imply scholarly negligence on the part of the Köhler-led Berlin editorial team.¹² After a list of Schindler's previously published *fingiert* (or "forged") entries was provided as a supplement to vol. 7 (1978) and the texts of all of Schindler's "forged" entries were published separately in 1979,¹³ the Berlin team's speed

¹⁰ Dagmar Beck and Grita Herre, "Einige Zweifel an der Überlieferung der Konversationshefte," *Bericht über den Internationalen Beethoven-Kongress, 20. bis 23. März 1977 in Berlin*, ed. by Harry Goldschmidt, Karl-Heinz Köhler, and Konrad Niemann (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978) 257–94. At a Beethoven conference in Detroit on 4–6 November 1977, Köhler briefly summarized his colleagues' findings and ably defended them against the growing "criminal sensation", although the gentlemanly Thuringian-born Berliner never mentioned the attacker(s) by name (Köhler, "Conversation books: Aspects", 160–61).

¹¹ Stanley Sadie, "Stadlen, Peter", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 18, 45–46; with death date and additional publications in *The new Grove* (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 24, 247–48. Sadie characterized Stadlen thus: "His critical writings show his strongly committed standpoint on controversial matters and an unusually allusive style."

Born in Vienna in 1910, Stadlen studied there and, from 1929 to 1933, in Berlin. Embarking on a pianist's career, he championed the music of Schoenberg and Webern, and settled in England before World War II.

In London in 1946, he met Hedi Keuneman (née Hedwig Simon, 1916–2004), whom he had known in Vienna before the War. An assimilated Jew, a sometime atheist, and a grand-niece of Johann Strauß, she had been born in Vienna and entered the university there. In the face of growing National Socialist violence, she emigrated to Switzerland, the United States, and ultimately England, where she enrolled in Cambridge University. She became a dedicated political activist with the Communist Party, and, through such contacts, met and, in 1939, married Pieter Keuneman, the son of a Dutch Supreme Court Justice in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Moving to Ceylon in 1940, the couple continued their communist-socialist activism throughout the War. She returned to London in 1945, subsequently divorced Pieter Keuneman, and married Peter Stadlen.

In 1956, a hand injury compelled Stadlen to turn to music criticism and research. With his wife Hedi as unnamed collaborator, he undertook a study of Beethoven's intentions in his metronome markings. The results, in a complex writing style and with Beethoven's brother Johann's name spelled as Johan (Hedi's Dutch influence?), appeared in Stadlen's "Beethoven and the metronome", *Music & letters* 48/4 (1967) 330–49. The article, suggests that, in conjunction with metronome markings appearing in Beethoven's conversation books, Stadlen had already been examining documents written by Schindler. Although this controversial article was designated as Part I, its conclusion never appeared in the journal.

Stadlen reworked his material several times, always with the same title, whether in English or its German translation: "Beethoven und das Metronom", *Beiträge '76–78: Beethoven-Kolloquium 1977. Dokumentation und Aufführungspraxis*, ed. by Rudolf Klein (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978) 57–75; another "Beethoven und das Metronom", *Beethoven: Das Problem der Interpretation*, ed. by Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (München: text & kritik, 1979) 12–33; and then another "Beethoven and the metronome", *Soundings* 9 (1982) 38–73.

Details about Hedi Stadlen were derived from en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hedi_Stadlen.

¹² Peter Stadlen, "Zu Schindlers Fälschungen in Beethovens Konversationsheften", *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 32/5–6 (May–June 1977) 246–52; original English version as "Schindler's Beethoven forgeries", *The musical times* 118/7 (July 1977) 549–52. Similar to the pattern of repeated variants on the same theme, established with his controversial metronome studies, Stadlen continued his arguments in "Schindler and the conversation books", *Soundings* 7 (1978) 2–18; translated as "Schindler und die Konversationshefte", *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 34/1 (January 1979) 2–18. (Coincidentally, the two paginations were identical.)

Stadlen noted that he gave his BBC lecture on 14 March 1971, but it has never been made entirely clear why he waited six years to present these findings to an audience of Beethoven scholars or to the musicological community in general. As with his metronome studies, Stadlen was heavily influenced, in his attack against Schindler's forgeries, by his political-activist wife Hedi (noted in wikipedia ... Hedi_Stadlen). Among his last writings was "Österreichs Exilmusiker in England", *Österreichische Musiker im Exil. Beiträge der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musik* 8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990) 125–33.

¹³ Dagmar Beck and Grita Herre, "Anton Schindlers fingierte Eintragungen in den Konversationsheften", *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Annotationen*, ed. by Harry Goldschmidt (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1979) 11–89.

in publication slowed considerably. Köhler moved to Weimar in 1979, Beck turned to Weber studies in the early 1990s, and Grita Herre became responsible for the most recent vol. 11, including the last surviving conversation book, which appeared in 2001. Volume 12 is projected to include loose conversation book leaves and a cumulative index.

SCHINDLER'S ROLE. Beethoven's sometime secretary and later biographer Anton Schindler was probably an irritating character during the composer's lifetime, and his *Biographie* has long been considered somewhat self-serving and suspiciously inaccurate. Schindler was born in Medlov (Moravia) in 1795, studied violin with his father, and came to Vienna in 1813 to study law. He may have first met Beethoven when he was a law clerk in the office of the composer's attorney, Dr. Johann Baptist Bach, but probably did not form any sort of ongoing relationship until he was engaged as concertmaster of the new orchestra of the Theater in der Josephstadt in September 1822. He then ingratiated himself into the composer's service as unpaid secretary, remaining until the end of May 1824 (after arguments over the first performance of the ninth symphony), and then returning in December 1826, when Beethoven was ill, helping him with various chores until and even after the composer's death on 26 March 1827. Thus, Schindler's total personal relationship with Beethoven may have been as little as two years and one month—eventful though they were. By the time that Beethoven died, Schindler had become a rehearsal pianist and assistant conductor at the Kärntnertor Theater, and in September 1827, went to Pest; then, back to Vienna in 1830; to Münster in northwestern Germany as conductor in 1832, and to nearby Aachen from 1835 to 1840. He visited Paris in 1840, returned to Münster in 1846, and in the same year moved to Frankfurt, where he died in the western suburban village of Bockenheim in 1864. Musically, his was a useful, but relatively minor (and probably frustrated) career. Even during his lifetime, however, his major claim to fame was that he had known Beethoven personally and could write about him with a certain degree of authority and even authoritarianism.

SCHINDLER THE DESTROYER? According to Alexander Wheelock Thayer, who spent “several hours” with the former secretary in Frankfurt on 19 and 20 October 1854,¹⁴ Schindler told him that “only about 400” conversation books survived at Beethoven's death. Thayer added that Schindler further related that he had long preserved them intact but, since few others valued them, “their weight and bulk had led him in the course of his long unsettled life by degrees to destroy those which he deemed to be of little or no importance.”¹⁵ In 1977, Köhler lamented that “Schindler ... passed on only ... about three-eighths of the original number of conversation books.”¹⁶

How many conversation books originally existed is difficult to estimate. The earliest surviving booklet dates from February–March 1818, followed by another in March–May 1819. After that there is a sequence of fourteen conversation books (dealing largely with the final phases of Beethoven's legal battles for guardianship of nephew Karl) from

¹⁴ Cook, “Thayer: A new biographical sketch”, 3. Thayer described Schindler as “a tall man, face somewhat marked by a small pox, very erect in his carriage”, consistent with the photo of him, widely published in the Beethoven literature (see, for instance, Robert Bory, *Ludwig van Beethoven: His life and his work in pictures* [Zurich; New York: Atlantis Books, 1960], 175).

¹⁵ Thayer–Deiters–Riemann, vol. 4, 152; Thayer–Krehbiel, vol. 3, 11; Thayer–Forbes, 730.

¹⁶ Köhler, “Conversation books: Aspects”, 148.

mid-November 1819 through mid-September 1820. At this point in the chronology, there is a major gap of twenty-two months until another single surviving book from June 1822, and then nearly five months more until surviving Heft 18 on the days around 4 November 1822. A relatively consistent continuity, however, begins only with Heft 19 in mid-January 1823, lasting (with perhaps three dozen breaks of much shorter duration) until Heft 139, three weeks before Beethoven's death in March 1827. Thus, roughly 120 conversation books survive from the final four years and two months of Beethoven's life. The lacunae in the chronology suggest that at least another 40 books may have existed, but do not survive, for a total of ca. 160 books originally filled in Beethoven's final 50 months of life. If conversation books were used as consistently during the sparsely surviving period from March 1818 to January 1823 (which they probably were not)—a period of ca. 58 months—there could conceivably have been another ca. 180 booklets filled during that period, bringing our hypothetical total to roughly 340 booklets filled, much closer to the ca. 400 that Thayer remembered Schindler's saying that still existed when Beethoven died.

In 1842, however, long before Thayer interviewed him, Schindler himself had written that he possessed—not 400—but many more than a hundred (“viel über hundert”) conversation books. Three years later, in the seldom-cited 1845 second edition of Schindler's *Biographie*, the publisher wrote of the conversation books: “There are 138 of them in the possession of Prof. Schindler” (“Es befinden sich davon 138 im Besitz des Herrn Prof. Schindler”).¹⁷ This number, then, corresponds almost exactly to the 137 booklets that he sold to the Königliche Bibliothek in 1846. Therefore, in 1854, Schindler surely told Thayer that he had owned “viel über hundert” conversation books, which the American unfortunately misheard as “vier hundert.”

Fortunately, both corroboration and an explanation lie in Beethoven's surviving correspondence, specifically the survival rate of letters written to Beethoven in the years prior to 1823. The texts of most of these documents do not survive in the actual letters that Beethoven received, but instead in versions that remained in the copybooks of his correspondents—Countess Josephine Deym, the publishers Simrock, Peters, Thomson, Breitkopf & Härtel, and so forth. As I pointed out a decade ago, however, certain items (the autograph book presented to Beethoven upon his departure from Bonn) and categories of correspondence (especially letters containing poetry or libretti that authors hoped Beethoven might set to music) seemed to have survived in the composer's possession until his death, while the remainder did not. Indeed, 1821 stood out as a year in which virtually no letter received by Beethoven could be identified as having survived. Only in late 1822 and early 1823 did the survival rate of letters to Beethoven—now the physical letters themselves—increase exponentially.¹⁸

As we have noted above, the year 1821 is also without a single surviving conversation book, and their relatively continuous sequence begins only in January 1823. Thus there is a significant similarity in the survival rates of both the conversation books and the letters received by Beethoven before early 1823. Fortunately, a contemporary account provides posterity with a logical explanation.

¹⁷ Anton Schindler, *Beethoven in Paris: Ein Nachtrag zur Biographie Beethoven's* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1842) 31; idem, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven, Zweite, mit zwei Nachträgen vermehrte Ausgabe* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1845) 275.

¹⁸ Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven and other correspondence*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), vol. 1, xxviii–xxix.

SPORSCHIL'S REPORT. Sometime, probably in late 1822 or January 1823, Johann Chrysostomus Sporschil made Beethoven's acquaintance, presumably also making notes to himself concerning their encounters. Born in Brünn (Brno) on 23 January 1800, Sporschil attended gymnasium there and then moved to Vienna, where he completed the prescribed courses for legal and political studies at the University of Vienna in 1823. Embarking on a career as an author, journalist, and historian, he left Vienna for Leipzig in 1827, and, as an "enlightened Catholic", was successfully active in the Protestant North until his return to Vienna in August, 1858. He remained active as a correspondent for several foreign journals and died in the Habsburg capital on 16 December 1863.¹⁹

Probably in October 1823, Sporschil committed his observations concerning Beethoven to paper in a form remarkably close to what journalists today would term a "feature story". It was published in the Stuttgart *Morgenblatt* on 5 November and reprinted in Vienna's *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* on 15 November.²⁰ Sporschil introduced his subject by journalistically observing that Beethoven had joined Mozart and Haydn to constitute "the unequalled Triumvirate of New Music". He noted that Beethoven was little concerned with the external world and lived "at one with Art". He described Beethoven's embarrassment when the new overture to *Fidelio* was not yet played at first performance of the revised opera in 1814, his insistence upon excellence, his intolerance for injustice, his "tender respect" for women, his gentleness and wit with friends, his sarcasm against his enemies, and that "spoken conversation with him is possible only on his part". Sporschil noted Beethoven's admiration for Goethe, his love of Nature, his daily regimen, his health, his devotion to nephew Karl, and his works in progress, including the possibility of "a biblical oratorio (in the English language and sent to him from the United States through the American consul)."²¹ In noting that "almost daily, he receives ... acknowledgement of his talent from all parts of Europe and even from distant America", Sporschil provided vital evidence as to the reason why most of the letters and probably even most of the conversation books before fall 1822, do not survive:

It was very painful for him that, last year [1822], when moving from the country into the city—perhaps through carelessness or perhaps through the treachery of those commissioned with the transfer of his effects (because this man, who is occupied with his Art, is frequently cheated)—all of his correspondence was lost.²²

¹⁹ Constant von Wurzbach, "Sporschill, Johann Chrysostomus", *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, ed. by C. von Wurzbach (Wien: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1856–91), vol. 36 (1878) 247–52. Wurzbach knew Sporschil personally, included a bibliography of his works (unfortunately beginning only in 1828), and (as noted above) spelled his name "Sporschill". In his death record, doubtless based on information supplied by his widow, he is called "Johann Sporschil", see Vienna, Magistrat, Totenbeschauprotokoll, 1863, S, 16 December (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv).

²⁰ *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* 16/137 (15 November 1823), 548, signed "S ... l", and appearing under the generic heading "Musikalischer Wegweiser". Beethoven was at least marginally acquainted with the *Zeitung's* founder, publisher, and editor Adolf Bäuerle (1786–1859), who had customarily been kind to him in the journal's pages.

Stadlen, "Schindler's Beethoven Forgeries", 551 (citing Köhler et al, *Konversationshefte*, vol. 4, 369, note 447, published in 1968, nine years earlier), attributes the loss to 1823, and glosses over it, possibly because it stood outside his purpose to vilify Schindler.

²¹ Beethoven first learned about the article, presumably at midday dinner on ca. 20 November, when nephew Karl reported that his Greek teacher told him that the previous Saturday's *Theaterzeitung* contained an article about Beethoven's domestic life, including a mention of Karl. They discussed the possible identity of author "S ... l", that the article discussed Beethoven's walks, love of Nature, and habit of composing while on his walks, and (gratefully) that it contained nothing against religion or the state. Even so, at the end of his conversation with his uncle, Karl hurried out to buy a copy of the *Zeitung*. Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 4, 237–38 (Heft 45, Bl. 31v–32v).

²² The original German reads: "Sehr schmerzlich fiel es ihm, daß im verflossenen Jahre bey Gelegenheit seiner Uebersiedlung vom Lande in die Stadt, vielleicht durch Nachlässigkeit, vielleicht durch Treulosigkeit des mit dem Fortschaffen der Effekten Beauftragten—denn häufig wird der nur mit seiner Kunst Beschäftigte hintergangen—seine

Our normal assumption that Beethoven used trunks or boxes of some sort for storing and moving his possessions is confirmed in a conversation book entry of April 1820, when the composer was moving from his apartment on the Glacis, just north of the Auersperg Palais, to Mödling. In conjunction with the move, his friend Franz Oliva noted: "It depends upon what you take along, whether all the books and music; the two chests [*Kisten*] are really quite inconvenient to bring in the cart and take a great deal of space."²³ Therefore, the correspondence that Sporschil reported as lost in 1822 must represent the contents of at least one such chest.

Beethoven had spent the summer of 1822 in Hetzendorf and Baden, visiting the city occasionally to take care of business matters. Starting late September, he probably spent a week or ten days back in Vienna for activities surrounding the reopening of the newly remodeled Theater in der Josephstadt on 3 October (with repeat performances of the fourth, fifth, and sixth symphonies). For this occasion, he provided his decade-old incidental music for *Die Ruinen von Athen*, as well as a new overture and chorus, with the whole entitled *Die Weihe des Hauses*. The reconstituted orchestra's "solo violinist" (for whom Beethoven wrote a solo in the accompaniment of the new chorus) was the teen-aged Léon de St. Lubin, but its concertmaster was Anton Schindler, who now, rather than several years earlier, probably began his close acquaintance with the composer. After the premiere of *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Beethoven seemingly went back out to Baden for two or three weeks, returning from his prolonged summer sojourn in late October or, at the latest, 1 or 2 November,²⁴ and moving into an apartment in the building next to his brother Johann in suburban Laimgrube (about three blocks distant from the Theater an der Wien). Thus, the person entrusted with moving Beethoven's effects from the country back to the city in 1822, against whom the composer complained to Sporschil in conjunction with the loss of "all of his correspondence", may have been Johann or the cart drivers he might have employed,²⁵ because the tone of Schindler's first surviving entries in the conversation books (made in conjunction with the latest revival of *Fidelio* on 3 November) suggests that his acquaintance with Beethoven was still in its early stages and not to a point where the composer would ask him for such a large favor.²⁶

Therefore it seems highly probable that most of Beethoven's conversation books that were used before ca. 1 November 1822 (which, themselves, could easily have numbered over 100), were lost along with his earlier correspondence during the move from Baden back to Vienna at about that time, and that Schindler was in no way responsible for the loss.²⁷

ganze Correspondenz in Verlust gerieth."

²³ Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 2, 19 (Heft 11, inside front cover).

²⁴ Much of Heft 18 (beginning with Bl. 9r) was filled in at a dinner for the Josephstadt Theater's director Hensler on 4 November, but earlier entries made by Beethoven and nephew Karl suggest that the book may have begun during the day of 3 November, and that Beethoven was still getting his new apartment furnished properly. Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 2, 278–83 (Heft 18, Bl. 1r–8v). If Beethoven had projected conducting *Fidelio* at the Kärntnerter Theater on 3 November, and had unsuccessfully attempted it at the dress rehearsal (as Schindler reports), that would have necessitated his return to Vienna from Baden by 1 November or so. See Schindler–MacArdle, *Beethoven as I knew him*, 236–37.

²⁵ Probably on 21 November 1823, nephew Karl (recalling the wording slightly inaccurately) remarked: "The author probably knew very well who 'the person commissioned with the transportation of the implements' was." Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 4, 223 (Heft 45, Bl. 10r).

²⁶ Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 2, 283–85 (Heft 18, Bl. 9r–12v). Beethoven and Schindler were never close enough to address each other with the familiar "du" form.

²⁷ In this context, it becomes quite possible that Schindler told Thayer that there must originally have been about 400 conversation books, which would have been a fair estimate of the total used. Even so, probably half that number

OPINIONS OF SCHINDLER SINCE 1977. As noted above, when Peter Stadlen launched his campaign against Schindler's forgeries in earnest in 1977, members of the Beethoven scholarly community had their "smoking gun" and proceeded to vilify Schindler in unprecedented terms. Three decades later, their outrage and indignation continue virtually unabated. Barry Cooper, for instance, has called him the "chief scoundrel", and has written:

Schindler related [in his *Biographie*] a large number of stories about Beethoven and his music, but most have proved to be either completely or partly false. He even inserted numerous entries in Beethoven's conversation books after the composer's death, in order to enhance his own reputation.... Anything reported by Schindler must be assumed to be doubtful or false, unless supported by independent evidence (in which case, Schindler's contribution is redundant).²⁸

Elsewhere, Cooper had noted "his notorious propensity for falsification."²⁹

William Kinderman has found him "untrustworthy", adding: "He had no scruples about fabricating history and did not hesitate to falsify sources to support the account published in his Beethoven biography."³⁰ Motivated by Schindler's falsified entries in the conversation books, Kinderman recently published a study that successfully demonstrated that Schindler's supposed eyewitness observations of Beethoven's composing the *Missa solennis*, and published in the *Biographie*, were fictitious and based on erroneous dating that could be proven by the chronology for the *Missa* and—naturally—the late piano sonatas in the sketchbooks.³¹

And yet, like all Beethoven scholars, Kinderman has accepted Schindler's testimony when it proves convenient, for instance the story that, in *Die Weihe des Hauses* overture, Beethoven fulfilled a long-cherished desire to write in the style of Händel, and even that the "Muss es sein" superscript in the string quartet op. 135, derived from one of the composer's bouts of melancholy.³² Thus, our love-hate relationship with Schindler continues, even among his critics.

TO BELIEVE OR NOT TO BELIEVE. When the Berlin editors published vol. 7 of the *Konversationshefte* in 1978, they included a supplement listing ca. 120 of these *fingiert* (or "falsified") entries that had appeared in the five earlier volumes (vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6). In the remaining volumes, they retained the falsified entries, but labeled them as such

had already been lost in the 1822 move, essentially before Schindler became Beethoven's factotum. If this is not the case, then Thayer must have either heard or remembered incorrectly what Schindler told him concerning the surviving conversation books. Similarly, Schindler's supposed claim that he had destroyed conversation books that burdened him during his moves must be reevaluated and, in any case, taken with a grain of salt.

The surviving conversation books that predate the late-1822 loss essentially deal (at least in part) with the litigation over the guardianship of nephew Karl. Therefore Beethoven could easily have placed those booklets in a separate area with other guardianship papers (many of which likewise survive), and not with his general correspondence.

²⁸ Barry Cooper, *Beethoven*. Master musicians series (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) ix. Cooper takes several more opportunities to disparage Schindler elsewhere in this volume. In his *Beethoven and the creative process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 44, Cooper had applied the general condemnation above to more specific situations: "any statement by Schindler purporting to give an authentic interpretation about the meaning of a particular piece is especially likely to be fraudulent, even though such statements have been widely quoted and accepted."

²⁹ Barry Cooper, "Schindler and the Pastoral symphony", *Beethoven newsletter* 8/1 (spring 1993) 7.

³⁰ William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 153, 160.

³¹ William Kinderman, "Anton Schindler as Beethoven's biographer: New evidence from the sketchbooks", *Kunstwerk und Biographie: Gedenkschrift Harry Goldschmidt*, ed. by Hanns-Werner Heister (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2002) 313–23.

³² Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 252, 332.

in the course of the text. Although several observers would have preferred that these entries be removed altogether, this would surely have been a great mistake.

Now that scholars know that the falsified entries are present, they seem transparent enough, perhaps a trifle comical, and even a bit pitiful, especially those entries in which Schindler supposedly addresses Beethoven as “O Great Master” or some similar fawning phrase, or when he states something that would have been obvious to Beethoven: “I now have the violoncello parts before me.” Other falsified entries seem to repeat what Beethoven has just said. Still others include supposed discussions of Beethoven’s works, past or present, with implications that Beethoven is telling or has told Schindler some key to their origins or interpretation: the famous “zwei Principe”, for instance. As scholars know from surveying Beethoven’s correspondence, authentic passages in his conversation books likewise strongly suggest that Beethoven seldom discussed his creative process, his external motivations, or the analysis of his works with his friends and colleagues, and certainly not in the almost systematic way that many works—piano sonatas, chamber music, and symphonies—appear in Schindler’s falsified entries.

One of Schindler’s falsified entries, supposedly reflecting mid-July 1824 (when he was estranged from Beethoven), is a good case. Thumbing through Heft 73 two decades later, Schindler probably spied an empty page and filled it in:

I received your letter too late. // When are you going back to Baden[?] // Then I’ll hurry here and we’ll go to B. together. // You are more sun-burned than before; you look like an Egyptian. // I now mingle very little with people; everything is also too distracting. // It is cool here. [//] I have only recently taken up the 3rd movement, because it is very difficult. — soon I shall not tolerate various instructions about it. // Those are common remarks, and I shall never second them. // Good fellow—*You often allow yourself to be misled*—unfortunate! very unfortunate!³³

While we know that the entry is falsified, it does provide a clue that Schindler may actually have asked Beethoven questions about particular works, and that the composer did not always, if ever, provide him with straightforward answers. In this light, Schindler’s anecdote in the *Biographie*, linking the interpretation of piano sonatas op. 31, no. 2, and op. 57, takes on a new significance in that Beethoven reportedly did *not* tell him any meaning, but merely dismissed him by telling him to go read Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. Schindler’s anecdote therefore becomes more credible, if cautiously so.³⁴

One problem with the *fingiert* entries is that many of their severest critics have concentrated primarily on those falsified passages made in the books dating *before* late 1822, when Schindler gradually became Beethoven’s secretary. My recent archival research to identify the Viennese orchestral musicians who premiered Beethoven’s works,³⁵ however,

³³ Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 6, 302–03 (Heft 73, Bl. 8v). My editorial strokes (//) represent the lines usually drawn by Schindler and others of Beethoven’s acquaintances to indicate the points in the conversations where he would reply orally.

³⁴ Schindler–MacArdle, *Beethoven as I knew him*, 406, discussed thoroughly in Theodore Albrecht, “Beethoven and Shakespeare’s *Tempest*: New light on an old allusion”, *Beethoven forum* 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992) 81–92.

³⁵ Theodore Albrecht, “Elias (Eduard Constantin) Lewy and the first performance of Beethoven’s ninth symphony”, *The horn call* 29 (May 1999) 27–33, 85–94; “Beethoven’s timpanist Ignaz Manker”, *Percussive notes* 38 (August 2000) 54–66; “When Went went: The demise and posthumous activities of Viennese wind band leader Johann Went (1745–1801)”, *Journal of band research* 36 (spring 2001) 22–45; “Franz Stadler, Stephan Fichtner and other oboists at the Theater an der Wien during Beethoven’s ‘heroic’ period”, *Double reed* 25/2 (2002) 93–106; updated version in German, trans. by Josef Bednarik and Thomas Gröger, *Journal der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wiener Oboe* 18 (June 2003)

reveals that, at least in some instances, later entries often contain a certain amount of truth, and therefore cannot entirely be ignored for what they might reveal.

For instance, in a falsified entry in Heft 60, positioned at ca. 26 March 1824, during the preparations for the ninth symphony's premiere, Schindler supposedly ascertains that Beethoven wanted all the contrabasses to play the recitatives in the finale, and asks whether they should be in strict tempo or in a singing tone, and then tells Beethoven, "If old Krams [Grams] were still alive, one could let them go without worry, because he led 12 *bassi*, who had to do what he wanted."³⁶ Although added later, this entry probably reflects, at least in part, the composer's own sentiment in 1824. Anton Grams (1752–1823) had come to Vienna from Prague in ca. 1801, had been the Theater an der Wien's principal contrabassist when Beethoven wrote the third movement of the fifth symphony, and was reputed as a fine section leader. After he became principal at the Kärntnertor Theater in 1813, Grams had played in the premieres of the seventh and eighth symphonies, but died on 18 May 1823. Beethoven surely felt his loss as he projected rehearsing and performing the cello/contrabass recitatives in the finale of the ninth symphony, and Schindler's conversation book entry—even falsified later—provides concrete evidence that this was, most probably, the case.³⁷

The reference to Grams, however, complements another entry—this time authentic—in Heft 63, on 24 April 1824. After nearly two months of discussions and even arguments among Beethoven's inner circle about whether the premiere of the ninth symphony should take place at the Theater an der Wien, the Kärntnertor Theater, or even the smaller Saal of the Lower Austrian Assembly, Schindler has concluded the agreement with the Kärntnertor Theater for the concert that would take place on 7 May. In this entry, Schindler meets with Beethoven and relates: "Schuppanzigh is 'very hellaciously' glad that he doesn't have to have anything more to do with the Bohemians of the [Theater an der] Wien's orchestra."³⁸ The allusion here has escaped earlier writers. From ca. 1802 until ca. 1808, however, many of the newly hired musicians in the Theater an der Wien's orchestra were of Bohemian origin, possibly because its personnel manager Joseph Rabe hailed from there, but more probably because the theater (and the

3–12; "Anton Grams: Beethoven's double bassist", *Bass world* 26 (October 2002) 19–23; "Beethoven's 1814 'green sheet'", *International musician* (American Federation of Musicians) 101/1 (January 2003) 22; "Benjamin Gebauer (ca. 1758–1846): The life and death of Beethoven's copyist C, with speculation concerning Joseph Arthofer, ca. 1752–1807", *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 3 (2003) 7–22; "Benedict Fuchs, Franz Eisen, and Michael Herbst: The hornists in Beethoven's *Eroica* symphony at its first performances in Vienna, 1805–1809", *The horn call* 34 (October 2003) 39–49; "A case of mistaken gender: The hornist Camillo Bellonci (1781–?)", *The horn call* 34 (February 2004) 107–08; "First name unknown: Anton Schreiber, the Schuppanzigh quartet, and early performances of Beethoven's string quartets, op. 59", *Beethoven journal* 19/1 (summer 2004) 10–18; "The musicians in Balthasar Wigand's depiction of the performance of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, Vienna, 27 March 1808", *Music in art* 29/1–2 (2004) 123–33; "The Teimer family and a revised dating for Beethoven's trios for oboes and English horn, op. 87 and WoO 28", trans. by Josef Bednarik and Thomas Gröger, *Journal der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wiener Oboe* 24 (December 2004) 2–10; "Anton Dreyssig (ca. 1753/54–1820) Mozart's and Beethoven's *Zauberflötist*", *Words about Mozart: Essays in honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. by Dorothea Link (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2005) 179–92; "Philipp Teimer, Beethoven, and the English horn in Vienna, 1793–1817", trans. by Josef Bednarik and Thomas Gröger, *Journal der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wiener Oboe* 25 (March 2005) 3–9; "Henriette and Philipp Teimer: New biographical details of a musical family", trans. by Josef Bednarik and Thomas Gröger, *Journal der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wiener Oboe* 27 (October 2005) 6–7.

³⁶ Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 5, 249 (Heft 60, Bl. 30v). The original reads: "wenn der alte Krams noch lebte, könnte man unbesorgt sie gehen lassen, denn der dirigirte 12 Bässe, die thun mußten, was er wollte."

³⁷ Grams's name does not appear in any edition of Schindler's biography, and modern researchers have been slow to recognize the importance of even those orchestral players whose names do appear in his pages. See Albrecht, "Grams", Albrecht, "Wigand", 124, 128–29, 132; and Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, no. 181.

³⁸ Köhler et al., *Konversationshefte*, vol. 6, 67 (Heft 63, Bl. 2r). The original reads: "Schup.[panzigh] freut sich ganz höllisch, daß er mit den Böhmen des Wiener Orchest.[ers] nichts mehr zu thun hat."

music associated with it) enjoyed the support of the Bohemian Prince Joseph Franz Maximilian Lobkowitz (1772–1816), Beethoven’s ardent patron. One of its Viennese musicians, however, was the respected concertmaster Franz Clement (1780–1842), with whom Ignaz Schuppanzigh (1776–1830) might also have felt a certain rivalry in Beethoven’s eyes.³⁹

In view of such recent perceptions, where complementary entries and corroborative factual material suggest that Schindler’s falsified entries may contain elements of factual material and opinions current in Beethoven’s circle, it would seem prudent to treat them as less “criminal” than some recent critics have regarded them.

THE RANKE PERSPECTIVE. Unfortunately for Schindler, he lived in a major transitional period, not only in the writing of musical history, but of history in general. In 1824, his North German contemporary, the young Leopold Ranke (1795–1886),⁴⁰ destined to become his generation’s most important influence on historical methodology, had published his *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535*. In its “Vorrede,” he laid down his new principles of documentary writing:

To history has been given the function of judging the past, of instructing the present for the profit of future years. The present essay does not aspire to such a lofty undertaking. It merely wants to show how it actually was [*wie es eigentlich gewesen*].... The foundations of the present writing, the origins of its subject matter, are memoirs, diaries, letters, reports from embassies, and original narratives of eyewitnesses.⁴¹

While Schindler preserved many original documents, indeed the type to which Ranke refers, for use in his biography of Beethoven, he would fall into the trap of altering them and interpreting them largely to suit his purposes, sometimes in the service of accuracy, other times not. Two decades younger than Schindler, however, Alexander Wheelock Thayer, both in his research techniques, which almost exactly mirror those specified above, as well as in the organization of his published research,⁴² became a *true* disciple of Leopold von Ranke, and sought—more than any other writer before or since—to present Beethoven’s life “as it actually was”.



³⁹ Theodore Albrecht, “Ethnic identity and the orchestra of the Theater an der Wien in Beethoven’s time”, paper presented at the 17th congress of the International Musicological Society, at Leuven, 6 August 2002, as well as articles on Grams, Dreyssig, Stadler, Gebauer, Schreiber, and Teimer, noted above.

⁴⁰ By the time that Ranke became ennobled as Leopold von Ranke in 1865, Schindler had been dead almost a year.

⁴¹ “Man hat der Historie das Amt, die Vergangenheit zu richten, die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahre zu belehren, beigemessen; so hoher Amter unterwindet sich gegenwärtiger Versuch nicht: *er will bloß sagen, wie es eigentlich gewesen.*” Quoted in his *Historische Charakterbilder*, selected and ed. by Richard Sternfeld (Berlin Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, s.a.) 10. This popular collection of Ranke’s biographical sketches, culled from many of his works and issued in the mid-late 1920s, suggests his wide appeal and influence in professional circles and beyond. The trans. above by W.A. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, in *German essays on history*, ed. by Rolf Sältzer (New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1991) 89–90; translation emended.

The influential Berlin-born cultural historian Peter Gay has translated the passage thus: “History has been assigned the office of judging the past, of instructing our time for the benefit of future years. This essay does not aspire to such high offices; it wants only to show how it had really been.” In *Historians at work*, ed. by Peter Gay, 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972 and 1975) vol. 3 (1975) 16.

⁴² Thayer’s own 1878 account of his life and research activities is reprinted in Thayer–Forbes, vii–viii. Further biographical details and, especially, first-hand accounts of Thayer’s methodology appear in Grant W. Cook, “Thayer: A new biographical sketch”.

Thus, Anton Schindler, the former law clerk turned musician who became Beethoven's unpaid secretary, preserved documents from the composer's estate that might otherwise have been discarded or dispersed to the four corners of the earth. Because a sizable number of the conversation books had probably already been among the correspondence lost in Beethoven's move from Baden back to Vienna late in 1822, Schindler probably took "many more than a hundred" of the booklets away from Beethoven's apartment after his death. In any case, it now becomes abundantly clear that Schindler never possessed any ca. 400 conversation books, and that he never destroyed roughly five-eighths of that number.

In the course of organizing the 137 volumes in his possession, Schindler—probably innocently, at first—started to annotate them: dating, identities of writers, circumstances under which an entry was made, then, perhaps, occasionally what he said under his breath or *wished* he had said. Sometimes, even an annotation to reflect what *Beethoven* had said or *might* have said.

At some time, possibly in the 1840s, shortly before Schindler transferred the conversation books to Berlin, his annotations may have become almost complete fabrications, possibly as he was trying to fill in lacunae in his *Biographie*. As we have seen, just which annotations and anecdotes are involved and the *extent* of their fiction are subjects for ongoing investigations.

While Schindler may have shared Leopold Ranke's awareness that documentary evidence must constitute the basis for sound historical writing, he did not possess the ultimate respect for the document as an inviolable historical entity. *That* perspective would come only later, too late for Anton Schindler, who was—in the end—merely a product of his time in musical and general historiography.

MUSIC HISTORY AS REFLECTED IN THE WORKS OF HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

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Hans Christian Andersen (1805–75) was the most prominent Danish author of the 19th century. Now known primarily for his fairy tales, during his lifetime he was equally famous for his stage works, travelogues, and novels. It was through these genres that he most often reflected on the world around him. In 2005, the bicentennial of Andersen's birth, I published a book entitled *Hans Christian Andersen and music: The nightingale revealed*, that explored Andersen's observations of and participation in the musical culture of his age.¹ This article explores an important facet of Andersen's musical activities: his interest in music history and his use of it in his writing.

Why look to Andersen for information about music? To begin, Andersen had a musical background. He enjoyed a brief career as an opera singer and dancer at Det Kongelige Teater in Copenhagen, and in later years he went on to produce opera librettos for the Danish and German stage. Andersen was also an avid music devotee; he made 30 major European tours during his 70 years, and on each of these trips he regularly attended opera and concert performances, recording his impressions in a series of travel diaries. In short, Andersen was a well-informed listener, and his reflections on the music of his age serve as valuable sources for the study of music reception in the 19th century.

Over the course of his life Andersen embraced and then later rejected performers such as Maria Malibran, Franz Liszt, and Ole Bull, and his interest in opera and instrumental music underwent a series of dramatic transformations. In his final years Andersen promoted figures as disparate as Wagner and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, while strongly objecting to Brahms. Although modern-day readers might interpret such changes in taste as indiscriminate, this study shows that such shifts in opinion were not contradictory, but rather quite logical given the social and cultural climate of the age.

In an effort to explain the development of Andersen's musical tastes and his relationship to music history, this article presents new interpretations of two of his lesser-known works: a stage piece entitled *Vandring gjennem Opera-Galleriet* (Wandering

¹ Anna Harwell Celenza, *Hans Christian Andersen and music: The nightingale revealed* (Aldershot; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2005).



Hans Christian Andersen (1805–75)

through the opera gallery) and his last novel *Lykke Peer* (Lucky Peer). These works are not literary masterpieces equal to Andersen's most famous, universal fairy tales. Indeed, they are securely tied to the era in which they were written, and it is this time-bound quality that I find most intriguing, for it makes these works invaluable sources for examining perceptions of music history in the 19th century.

Until recently critical reconstruction of how 19th-century music was understood, performed, and heard was dismissed as either speculative or irrelevant. Such an attitude was often due, at least in part, to the phenomenon that 19th-century taste appears increasingly at odds with present-day sensibilities. This disconnect becomes all the more obvious when one begins to read excerpts from some of Andersen's works. Designed to reflect the specific tastes and interests of 19th-century adults, Andersen's larger works appealed to thousands of contemporary readers (including Heinrich

Heine, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Clara and Robert Schumann). But they became less popular later when literary tastes changed, and the cultural references in the works became less applicable to later generations. As Leon Botstein has noted, the structure of meaning in 19th-century musical discourse can no longer be assumed to be continuous with our own.² Today's audiences have lost touch with the acoustic environment in which 19th-century music functioned. Also missing is the connection between musical life and the patterns of social and cultural meaning that dominated the period. By observing Andersen's reaction to the musical world around him and exploring the manner in which he explained his reactions in his fictional works, I hope to present a reflective consideration of how general audiences in Denmark might have conceived of music history in the 19th century.

There is not enough space here to discuss Andersen's lifelong preoccupation with music.³ Yet it is helpful to get a sense of how his tastes and interests changed over the decades. During Andersen's formative years—up to the early 1830s—he was primarily focused on his own activities as a singer, dancer, and librettist at Det Kongelige Teater in Copenhagen, and his interest in music history was limited to traditions in Denmark. In the mid 1830s Andersen took his first tours across Europe. These travels engendered in him a fascination with the virtuosity of Italian opera. In 1842 Andersen became enthralled with the “natural” singing style of the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind. From that point on his interest in virtuosity was transferred from vocal music to instrumental music, particularly as it was captured in performances by Ole Bull, Thalberg, and Liszt. In the 1850s and 1860s Andersen contemplated the impact nationalism had on the history of music across Europe, and in the last decades of his life, he constantly searched for the art of the future. His musings about the future of music and his influence on perceptions of music history in Denmark are perhaps best displayed in his final novel, *Lykke Peer*.

The first work by Andersen that I would like to discuss dates from the end of his formative years in Copenhagen. In 1841 several singers from Det Kongelige Teater asked Andersen to collaborate with them on a new concert series they were organizing.⁴ One of these works was the three-act musical tableau entitled *Vandring gjennem Opera-Galleriet*. As the narrator explains in the opening, this work presents scenes from a number of operas that had proven to be popular with Danish audiences over the years. In short, it is a concise history of opera reception in Denmark:

We see a picture gallery, but here every picture is a musical composition, its colors are melodies. Come let us wander together down the deep, long hall, from that which once delighted our grandfathers to that which we saw as children and the pictures we now hold dear. The pictures of music, they all hang here! From Gluck down to Hartmann, here is every painting. However, with this single visit we will have to skip many works, often even a masterpiece, painted in blazing tones. Only a few examples of what has pleased each age can be pointed out here today. And like the tones of music, these

² Leon Botstein, “Between aesthetics and history”, *19th-century music* 13 (1989) 168.

³ For a detailed overview of this topic, see my book *Hans Christian Andersen and music*.

⁴ The official regulations of the concert series stated that the leading actors/singers under contract at Det Kongelige Teater were allowed to put on private concerts, for personal profit, in the theater when no dramatic works were scheduled. No more than two singers could be featured in a single concert. In an effort to make these concerts appealing, and thus more profitable, the soloists employed Andersen to write a series of “narrative frames” that linked the various arias and songs and thus transformed the concerts into brief musical dramas.

works will also pass away. For even the music of the future will eventually become an old melody.⁵

Here the narrator is confronting the fact that the writing of history is a selective process, and the selections made by one generation may not be repeated by later generations. A study of the narrator's text suggests that the operas listed must have been well known to Copenhagen audiences, for the introduction to each scene is often presented in the form of a riddle. The narrator does not always tell the audience right away which work is to be presented. Instead he offers them a series of hints, allowing them to guess which opera might appear next. A good example of Andersen's riddle technique is displayed in the introduction to the final excerpt in act 1 of the program:

Sometimes his music sounds beautifully idyllic, sometimes patriarchal and grand, so good that even Cimarosa could have written it; then a great storm of tones sounds—how well it has been portrayed. He is the Raphael of music, and Germany gave him to Europe. He knew passion, and with his musical scepter he was even able to command the voices of spirits to rise up from the grave. He gave birth to melodies, and he created characters that show his mastery, even in his most minor works. Across all lands and oceans, from harbor to harbor, around the world his name blooms like a wreath of flowers. His name? I will not tell you; it lives in his work. As music's Raphael he is forever young and strong!⁶

The curtain rises, and the final scene from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* is performed.

With this use of riddle technique, Andersen takes on the role of both music historian and mediator of culture. He purposefully acknowledges the audience's confidence in their own musical heritage by defining his work as a historical exhibition of Denmark's opera history. He also makes a subtle statement about the cultural worth of Denmark's opera tradition: It has a recognizable history. That being said, it is interesting to note that the final opera presented in Andersen's production is his own *Ravnen* (The raven), set to music by Johan Peter Emilius Hartmann. Here Andersen clearly places his own name, and that of Hartmann, in the annals of Denmark's music history:

We have reached the gallery's end, and on the final wall are seen young Danish names, with strong traits one and all.... We see many pieces; each projects its own gloss of sound. Yet, we can only choose one flower from this crown. And he is called grandson by one whose name is tied fast to the ballad of "King Christian" who "stood by the high mast." He is the younger Hartmann, whose tone poetry, I believe, each heart will recognize in this painting.⁷

The curtain opens, and the audience is presented with act 3, scene two of Andersen's opera.⁸

Andersen's *Vandring gjennem Opera-Galleriet* presents a summary of opera appreciation in Copenhagen generation by generation. Act 1 is dedicated to works premiered at Det Kongelige Teater from roughly 1790 to 1810; act 2 features works

⁵ Hans Christian Andersen, *Vandring gjennem Opera-Galleriet*, H.C. Andersens Samlede Skrifter (København: H.C. Reitzel, 1878) vol. 10, 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁸ For those unfamiliar with *Ravnen*, it is a rescue opera with vampires! In this scene the hero of the opera, Jenarro, works his way through the floor and fights with the vampires in order to save his brother's life.

from the 1820s; and act 3 reflects the changes in taste that occurred in the 1830s. As a whole, *Vandring gennem Opera-Galleriet* captures a snapshot of opera history as it was understood in Denmark in the early 1840s. At this moment in time, works by Danish composers dominated the stage, and Mozart held the position of most cherished foreign composer. Yet the winds of change were beginning to be felt. We can see that opera had begun to replace singspiel and vaudeville as the preferred genre at Det Kongelige Teater, and a growing interest in the works of Italian and French composers was emerging. German composers were also gaining a foothold in Det Kongelige Teater's repertoire, along with a new generation of local talent, as represented by J.P.E. Hartmann and Andersen himself.

OPERAS REPRESENTED IN
HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN'S *VANDRING GJENNEM OPERA-GALLERIET* (1841)

Part I

C.W. Gluck	<i>Iphigenie en Aulide</i>	overture
A.-E.-M. Grétry	<i>Les deux avarés</i>	act 2, scenes 3 & 4
J.G. Naumann	<i>Cora</i>	act 2, scene 1
J.E. Hartmann	<i>Balders Død</i>	aria "Et Egern som leger"
J.A.P. Schultz	<i>Peters Bryllup</i>	John Baadsman's congratulation song
F.L.Æ Kunzen	<i>Viihbøsten</i>	act 1, scene 3
W.A. Mozart	<i>Don Giovanni</i>	final act, final scene

Part II

C.N. Schall	<i>Lagertha</i>	overture
É. Du Puy	<i>Ungdom og Galskab</i>	unspecified aria
F. Paër	<i>Agnese</i>	act 1, scenes 3 & 4
F.-A. Boïeldieu	<i>Les deux nuits</i>	act 2, Servant's main aria
C.E.F. Weyse	<i>Ludlams Hule</i>	act 2, final scene
F. Kuhlau	<i>Hugo og Adelheid</i>	act 1, duet & final scene
G. Rossini	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>	act 3, Figaro's first aria
C.M. von Weber	<i>Oberon</i>	act 3, scenes 1 & 2

Part III

L. Zinck	<i>Alferne</i>	overture
V. Bellini	<i>Norma</i>	act 1, "Casta diva"
H.A. Marschner	<i>Hans Heiling</i>	act 3, final scene
J.-F.-F. Halévy	<i>La Juive</i>	act 2, Rachel's aria & closing duet
D.-F.-E. Auber	<i>Le maçon</i>	act 2, scene 6
J.P.E. Hartmann	<i>Ravnen</i>	act 3, scene 2

(libretto by H.C. Andersen)

Now we will fast-forward to the final decade of Andersen's life—a period dominated by works contemplating the future direction of art and literature. In the late 1860s Andersen became fascinated with the Danish philosopher Hans Christian Ørsted (1777–1851), the French writer Baudelaire, and the German composer Richard Wagner. What did these three have in common? They were all contemplating the future of art. As Baudelaire himself had noted, "In the very near future we might well come to see not only new authors but even men with established reputations profiting in some degree from the ideas expounded by Wagner and passing successfully through the breach opened by him." Andersen took this sentiment to heart, and in 1868 embraced the music of Wagner wholeheartedly.

Since World War II the image of Wagner as a German nationalist has dominated our perceptions of him, but looking at Wagner's early reception in Denmark (a reception founded primarily on one opera, *Lohengrin*), we realize that in Andersen's day, a very different image of Wagner permeated parts of Europe. In the realm of music history, Wagner has been associated with aggressive German nationalism. But this was not the Wagner that Andersen and many of his contemporaries knew. Andersen never witnessed performances of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* or *Parsifal*, and he had no contact with the "nationalist" Wagner who later built a Mecca of German culture in the small town of Bayreuth. The Wagner Andersen knew was the composer of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*; the Wagner who had not yet shown the influence of Schopenhauer; the Wagner who—in the treatise *Oper und Drama*—argued against the "nationalist trend", which he viewed as inimical to "the great human lot" (das Allgemeinschaftliche).⁹ In Andersen's mind Wagner was the first to realize in literature and music "the spirit in nature" proposed by Ørsted in 1850. Wagner was the artist of the future, and as such he served as a source of inspiration for Andersen and many others of his generation.

There are no specific references in Andersen's diaries and letters to Wagner's philosophical works, but references to various conversations Andersen had in the late 1860s reveal that he was cognizant of debates that had been fueled by some of Wagner's more controversial essays, specifically "Das Judentum in der Musik". Originally published in two installments of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in September 1850 under the pen name "K. Freigedenk", "Das Judentum in der Musik" did not attract much attention initially;¹⁰ and if Andersen actually read the article, he obviously never associated it with Wagner. But such was not the case in 1869, when the article was republished as an individual pamphlet, this time with Wagner's name on it.¹¹ When "Das Judentum in der Musik" appeared in print the second time something of a firestorm ensued in the press. Wagner had interwoven his theory of the artwork of the future with offensive threads of anti-Semitism. He assailed Jews as being the cause of society's ills and claimed that they were incapable of creating true cultural works. In an attack on Mendelssohn-Bartholdy specifically, he stated that despite the composer's wealth, privilege, and musical skill, he was culturally inferior and did not possess the ability "to call forth in us the deep, heart-searching effect which we expect from Art".¹²

Such condemnation of the Jews would have greatly upset Andersen during the final decade of his life, if for no other reason than because his closest friends and patrons at the time, the Melchior and Henrique families, were prominent members of Copenhagen's Jewish elite.¹³ In 1868 an offensive article concerning the negative characteristics of Jews appeared in *Dagens Nyheder*, a daily paper that was then under the editorial control of

⁹ Richard Wagner, *Oper und Drama*. Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen, ed. by Wolfgang Golther (Berlin; Leipzig: Bong & Co., 1913) vol. 3, 259.

¹⁰ The only notable objection in 1850 came from 11 professors at the Leipzig Conservatory who wrote a letter of protest to the journal's editor, Franz Brendel. The general dismissal of the article was facilitated by the disclaimer attached to the title as a footnote: "However faulty her outward conformation, we have always considered it a preeminence of Germany's, a result of her great learning, that at least in the scientific sphere she possesses intellectual freedom. This freedom we now lay claim to and rely on, in printing the above essay, desirous that our readers may accept it in this sense. Whether one shares the views expressed therein, or not, the author's breadth of grasp (*Genialität der Anschauung*) will be disputed by no one."

¹¹ Richard Wagner, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1869).

¹² Richard Wagner, *Judaism in music and other essays* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995) 93–94.

¹³ For an in-depth study of Andersen's relationship to the Melchior family, see Elith Reumert, *H.C. Andersen og det Melchioriske Hjem* (København: H. Hagerups Forlag, 1924).

one of Andersen's friends, Robert Watt. According to Andersen's diary, the issue was first brought to his attention on 10 October 1868: "Watt was in a bad mood because he had received a letter from Moritz Melchior saying that he was canceling his subscription to *Dagens Nyheder* on account of the contempt for the Jews that was printed therein."¹⁴ When Andersen visited the Melchiors at their summer home the following day, he saw that they were still noticeably upset. On 12 October, after dining again with the Melchiors, Andersen recorded the main topic of conversation: "Moses Melchior was especially angry about the article concerning the Jews in Watt's newspaper, and he thinks that everyone should boycott the paper. At the very least all Jews should cancel their subscriptions."¹⁵

As Andersen became more aware of the Jews' plight, he made a point of seeking out the monuments of Jewish composers he especially admired. For example, in May 1868 he visited the Jewish cemetery in Paris for no other reason than to see "Halévy's grave and monument."¹⁶ And in December 1869 he went to Nice to pay homage to Meyerbeer: "I climbed up to the cliff terrace, went all the way up to the great, round tower. Here Meyerbeer reportedly began composing his *African Queen*."¹⁷ Andersen always held a special place in his heart for Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, as is clearly shown in the descriptions of his encounters with the composer preserved in the various editions of Andersen's autobiography. But undoubtedly the clearest example of Andersen's changed attitude toward the Jews is found in his late literary works. Although Andersen had made use of negative Jewish stereotypes in some of his earlier novels and travelogues—most notably in *Kun en spillemand* (Only a fiddler) and *En Digtters Bazaar* (Poet's bazaar)—his growing respect for friends like the Melchiors and Henriques led to his abandonment of such practices in the 1870s. In fact, it was at the Melchior summer home that Andersen completed his sixth and final novel, *Lykke Peer*—an artistic novel that contemplates the music of the future and quotes the Talmud in an effort to explain the cultural significance and eventual fate of composers such as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Wagner.

Andersen began writing *Lykke Peer* the evening before the Danish première of *Lohengrin*, and the influence this opera had on his novel is undeniable. Andersen saw *Lohengrin* on opening night, noting in his diary that it was "magnificently done and very well received."¹⁸ In his novel *Peer* represents Andersen's artistic ideal. The son of a poor warehouseman, *Peer* socially outdistances a wealthy boy named Felix by becoming an innovative composer of operas inspired by the works of Wagner.

Lykke Peer can be viewed as an example of music historiography, above all a meditation on the relationship between visions of the future and a respect for the past.¹⁹ Although Wagner's operas are presented as the model for a new age, *Peer* is also moved by the instrumental works of Beethoven and Mozart:

Once a week, there was quartet music. Ears, soul and thought were filled with the grand musical poems of Beethoven and Mozart.... It was as if a kiss of fire traveled

¹⁴ Hans Christian Andersen, *Dagbøger*. VIII: 1866–1870, ed. by Kirsten Weber (København: Gad, 1975) 134.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 134.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 134.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 303 (1 December 1869).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 362.

¹⁹ Another 19th-century author who used the idea of music historiography in the writing of novels was George Eliot. For an in-depth study of Eliot's references to music in *Daniel Deronda* see Ruth A. Solie, "'Tadpole pleasures': *Daniel Deronda* as music historiography," *Yearbook of comparative and general literature* 45–46 (1997–98) 87–104.

down [Peer's] spine and shot through all his nerves. His eyes filled with tears. Every musical evening here [in the salon] was a festive evening for him that made a deeper impression upon him than any opera in the theater, where ... imperfections are revealed. Sometimes the words do not come out right.... Sometimes the effect is weakened by faults in dramatic expression.... Lack of truthfulness in stage settings and costumes are also observed. But all this was absent from the quartet. The musical poems rose in all their grandeur ... here he was in the world of music that its masters had created.²⁰

As one discovers upon reading *Lykke Peer*, the significance of the hero's name is multifaceted. He is "lucky" for many reasons, some of which turn out to be quite surprising. Peer encounters the passing of time as well as his own relationship to a larger sense of history. In fact, the description of his music education serves as a rough narrative of the evolution of French opera in the 19th century. The first role Peer's singing master asks him to learn is that of John Brown in Boieldieu's *La Dame blanche*. The singing master then leads him to Gounod's *Faust*. Eventually Peer discovers the music of Wagner and, against the wishes of his teacher, sings the lead in *Lohengrin*, which sets him on a new artistic path.

The music of the future, as the new movement in opera is called, and for which Wagner in particular is a banner-bearer, had a defender and admirer in our young friend. He found here characters so clearly drawn, passages so full of thought, and the entire action characterized by forward movement, without any pause or frequent repetition of melodies.²¹

But the old singing master is not persuaded: "I bow to the ingenuity that lies in this new musical movement," he states, "but I do not dance with you before that golden calf."²² He would prefer to hear Peer sing the role of Don Ottavio in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*.

It should be noted that in addition to being a strong promoter of music's glorious past, Peer's singing master is a Jew. Andersen took great care in developing this character. After witnessing the effect that anti-Semitism had on friends like the Melchior and the Henriques, Andersen made every effort to learn as much as he could about the Talmud and Judaism in an effort to present the character of the singing master in a respectful manner.²³ We first learn of the singing master's religion in chapter 11, when Peer and his teacher are having a conversation about the benefits of being generous:

One evening [the singing master] read aloud from the newspaper about the beneficence of two men, which then led him to speak about good deeds and their reward.

"When one does not think about it, it is sure to come. The rewards for good deeds are like the dates spoken of in the Talmud: they ripen late and only then are they sweet."

"Talmud?" asked Peer. "What sort of book is that?"

²⁰ Hans Christian Andersen, *Lykke Peer* (Borgen: Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 2000) 57.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

²² *Ibid.*, 76.

²³ Andersen apparently read a Danish translation of the *Talmud*, and on 15 May 1879 he recorded in his diary that he had read Goldschmidt's study on "Jewish sagas". Andersen, *Dagbøger*, vol. 8, 368. For more information on Andersen's interest in Judaism, see: W. Glyn Jones, "Andersen and those of other faiths", *Hans Christian Andersen: A poet in time. Papers from the Second International Hans Christian Andersen Conference, 29 July to 2 August 1996*, ed. by Johan de Mylius, Aage Jørgensen, and Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1999) 259–70.

“A book from which more than one seed of thought has been implanted in Christianity,” was the answer.

“Who wrote the book?”

“Wise men in ancient times—wise men from various nations and religions. Here wisdom is preserved in a few words, as in Solomon’s Proverbs. What kernels of truth! One reads here that men from all over the world, for many centuries, have remained the same. ‘Your friend has a friend, and your friend’s friend has a friend; be discreet in what you say!’ is found here. It is a piece of wisdom for all times. ‘No one can jump over his own shadow!’ is here also, and ‘Wear shoes when you tread on thorns!’ You ought to read this book. You will find in it the proof of culture more clearly than you will find in the layers of soil. For me as a Jew, moreover, it is an inheritance from my forefathers.”

“Jew?” said Peer. “Are you a Jew?”

“You didn’t know that? How strange that we have never spoken about it before today!”

[Peer’s] mother and grandmother didn’t know anything about it either. They had never thought about it, but had always known that the singing master was an honorable, wonderful man.²⁴

This excerpt tells us much about Andersen’s image of the Jewish singing master. It also refutes the racial slurs made in Wagner’s “Das Judentum in der Music”. As this excerpt reveals, one cannot tell by any physical attributes or specific Semitic characteristics that the singing master is any different from Peer and his Christian relatives. The singing master’s religion is also of little consequence to Peer, who believes that music is the new universal religion. As Peer explains during a conversation with Felix’s mother, the opera house and theater have become the new pulpits of the Lord, and “most people listen more there than in church”.²⁵ Most importantly, Andersen tries to show, through the virtuous character of the singing master, that a good citizen should be judged by his actions and benevolent nature, not according to his race or choice of religion. In *Lykke Peer* Andersen goes to great lengths to show that the singing master’s Jewish heritage is as culturally valid and respectable as his love of Mozart’s opera. In this way, Andersen effectively rewrites Wagner’s vision of the Jews’ role in music history.

But back to the story: When Peer finally makes his *début* in *Lohengrin*, his talent is celebrated with great acclaim. Yet he is still unsatisfied. Inspired by Wagner’s ability to write both libretto and score, Peer decides to write an opera himself based on the story of Aladdin. In fact, he surpasses Wagner, for he also sings the leading role in his new opera. When Peer’s opera is finally performed, the audience is mesmerized.

A few chords sounded from the orchestra, and the curtain rose.... The strains of music arrested the attention of everyone as the scene was revealed, the scene in which Aladdin stood in a wondrous garden. Soft, subdued music sounded from flowers and stones, from streams and deep caverns, various melodies blending into one great harmony. An air of spirits was heard in the chorus. It was now far away, now near, swelling in might and then dying away. Arising from this harmony was the song of Aladdin.... The resonant, sympathetic voice, the intense music of the heart subdued all listeners

²⁴ Andersen, *Lykke Peer*, 59–60.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

and seized them with such rapture that it could not rise higher when he reached for the lamp of fortune that was embraced by the song of spirits.²⁶

Notice that when Andersen described Peer's performance, he replicated the dream states described by writers such as Baudelaire in reaction to Wagner's music.²⁷ This implementation of a dream-inspired mood effectively sets the stage for the novel's final scene. After singing the lead role in *Aladdin*, Peer returns to the stage and greets the audience:

Bouquets rained down from all sides; a carpet of living flowers was spread out before his feet. What a moment of life for the young artist – the highest, the greatest! A mightier one could never again be granted him, he felt. A wreath of laurel touched his breast and fell down in front of him.... A fire rushed through him; his heart swelled as never before; he bowed, took the wreath, pressed it against his heart, and at the same time fell backward. Fainted? Dead? What was it? The curtain fell.

“Dead!” resounded through the house. Dead in the moment of his triumph – like Sophocles at the Olympic Games, like Thorvaldsen in the theater during Beethoven's symphony. An artery in his heart had burst, and like a flash of lightning, his days here were ended; ended without pain, ended in an earthly triumph, in the fulfillment of his mission on earth. Lykke Peer! More fortunate than millions!²⁸

This is the final paragraph of the novel. It is a subtle reflection on the artist's connection to society. Peer is lucky, because he won't know the pain of a biting critique. He will never know his place in music history. Looking at the novel as a whole, we see that Andersen used the musical development of young Peer as a means of highlighting the generation gap he noticed developing among Danish audiences. In the characters of Peer and the singing master, the reader not only recognizes a contrast between Christian and Jew, modern and traditional, but also the impetuosity of youth versus the reliable foundation offered by maturity and tradition. Peer and the singing master stand as the ideals of music's future. While Peer pushes forward, striving eternally for the inventive and new, the singing master preserves the treasures of the past, ensuring that their beauty is passed on to the next generation.

Many of Andersen's friends and colleagues reacted strongly to the ideas about music presented in *Lykke Peer*. Although they recognized that Peer and the singing master were not to be interpreted as exact copies of Wagner and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, they nonetheless understood that some parallels could be made. Influenced by the music of Wagner, Peer stood as the antithesis of his wealthy friend Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, just as the Jewish singing master was meant to be interpreted as the musical opposite of Wagner. Constructing his cast of characters in this manner enabled Andersen both to praise the music of Wagner and separate himself from the composer's distasteful anti-Semitism.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 89–90.

²⁷ For a more in-depth look at the reception of Wagner in Paris by writers such as Baudelaire, see Katherine Ellis, *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France: "La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris", 1834–80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jocelyne Loncke, *Baudelaire et la musique* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1975); and Margaret Miner, *Resonant gaps between Baudelaire & Wagner* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1995).

²⁸ Andersen, *Lykke Peer*, 90. For a discussion of this unusual ending, see Frank Hugus, "The ironic inevitability of death: Hans Christian Andersen's *Lykke Peer*," *Hans Christian Andersen: A poet in time*, 527–40.

When Andersen died in 1875, *Lykke Peer* was embraced as his last great opus—his ultimate statement on the role of music in society. Combining the ideas of figures as diverse as Ørsted, Baudelaire, and Wagner with his own quest for immortality, Andersen offered younger generations a view of the future that embraced both innovation and tradition. Indeed the future of the arts would be a careful balance of old and new. As the plot of *Lykke Peer* subtly explains, figures such as Mozart and Beethoven would no doubt live forever, but each age would also have its own temporary Wagner, Andersen, or Peer.

AN EARLY CRUSADER FOR MUSIC AS CULTURE: WILHELM HEINRICH RIEHL

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Cultural studies is surely the fastest growing field within the scholarly study of music. This broadly defined area most significantly encompasses popular commercial music and music of non-Western cultures. It differentiates itself from the traditional approach centered on a canon of masterpieces by great composers. It specifically repudiates aesthetic criteria developed by music theory and analysis and looks for values beyond those described in musical terms. As this new cultural approach is integrated, it may be useful to look back historically at the time 150 years ago when musicology was starting to come together as an academic discipline. The case of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823–97) shows that musicology helped define itself at that time by specifically excluding the cultural approach he advocated. An unearthing of Riehl’s almost completely forgotten writings and the debates they provoked can help us historicize and evaluate the current emphasis on cultural studies in musicology.¹

Although primarily known for his pioneering work in folklore studies, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl wrote about music throughout his long career. A musical outsider due to his lack of professional training and credentials, Riehl criticized the way music was taught and written about. He advocated his “cultural” approach by writing extensively about the social significance of music making. Although he argued for the importance of music history, he insisted that music history must be understood more broadly as cultural history. He criticized music histories centered on great composers and instead recounted the overlooked achievements of lesser-known musicians and the vanishing musical traditions in agrarian areas of Germany. Besides his work as a musical cultural historian, Riehl published a collection of lieder entitled *Hausmusik* in 1855. He also played a role in the musical debates of his time, writing against Wagner and almost all other “modern” music over the course of the whole second half of the century.

¹ The only scholarship on Riehl and music in English is Dennis McCort, *Perspectives on music in German fiction: The music-fiction of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl*. German studies in America 14 (Bern: H. Lang, 1974). The best source for information on Riehl and his musical activities is Viktor von Geramb, *Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1954). There are a few pages on Riehl in the idiosyncratic history of cultural studies by Friedrich Kittler, *Eine Kulturgeschichte der Kulturwissenschaft* (2nd ed., München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001) 127–30; and a section on Riehl in Hans Schleier, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturgeschichtsschreibung*, 2 vols. (Waltrop: Hartmut Spenner, 2003).

Riehl's career took off in the aftermath of the revolutions of 1848. A university drop-out in his mid-twenties at the beginning of the revolution, Riehl found work in journalism, reporting on the revolution initially with enthusiasm and moderately liberal opinions. After the failure of the revolution he became much more conservative and thoroughly disenchanted with political participation. In his first book of 1851, *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (The civil society), Riehl made assertions that seemed particularly attractive to those who had just been defeated and disillusioned, politically and intellectually. He argued that the revolutions of 1848 had failed due to insufficient knowledge of the *Volk*—in particular of the peasant class. Rather than addressing the complex problems of a growing proletariat, Riehl focused on the peasants (*Bauern*) as a source for information on what he called the healthy, natural basis of social groups.

Riehl aimed to document the natural simplicity of plain folk with methods that were quite sophisticated.² His approach to fieldwork was ahead of its time in its systematic completeness. He devised extensive questionnaires about people's habits and beliefs and interviewed people from all walks of life. Riehl knew, however, what he was looking for. The insights to be derived from this information, he stated at the outset, "must lead in the last instance to the justification of a conservative social policy"³

With publications like his *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Social-Politik* (Natural history of the people as a basis for a German social politics, 1851–69), Riehl founded a kind of applied cultural studies that was meant to have consequences for social planning. His regional research on German topography, climate, and people documented the *Volk* at work on the land and at home with their families. Beyond collecting data, Riehl called for a continued cultivation of this way of life, arguing that the trends of urbanization and capitalism would destroy the social, political and economic strength of the German people established in premodern times.

After Riehl published in 1854 an ambitious field research study of aspects of daily life in different regions of Germany, he attracted the notice of King Maximilian II of Bavaria, who offered Riehl the editorship of the official Bavarian newspaper. At Riehl's own request he was also made an honorary professor at the University of Munich; two years later, in 1859, he was promoted to Ordinarius Professor of Cultural History and Statistics. In 1861 he became a member of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften; he served as rector to the University twice and was finally made a member of the Bavarian nobility in 1889.

Riehl explicitly made his data available for use by the government and also stated his aim openly of trying to ensure a stronger nation. His close relations with the Bavarian government alienated some of his academic colleagues.⁴ However, that does not necessarily mean the entwined relationship between academic and state institutions was disputed. The basic justification for expanding the university to include the social sciences and also literary studies was that they were in the national interest, as Peter Hohendahl, Russell Berman, and others have shown. In Berman's words:

² See Uli Linke, "Folklore, anthropology, and the government of social life," *Comparative studies in society and history* 32/1 (1990) 117–48.

³ Quoted in Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the sciences of culture in Germany, 1840–1920* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 135.

⁴ See Linke, "Folklore, anthropology, and the government of social life," 123.

Literature became a privileged topic precisely because it was viewed as the vehicle that provided an ideal and cultural unity to the nation. In the absence of a shared political identity and as long as there was no German state unifying the people, at least one could turn to the ideal realm of culture and literature.⁵

Even before 1850, music had long been seen as an important part of the German national identity.⁶ However, it was not until the second half of the 19th century that the study of music started being organized at the university level and could serve as an apparatus of the state in this manner.

In 1853, Riehl devoted a long article to the topic of channeling music into nation building; it turned out to be one of his most important writings on music. This essay in the form of “letters to a statesman”, appeared again in 1859 in revised form in his collection *Kulturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Cultural studies from three centuries), a book that went through five editions during Riehl’s lifetime. In the essay, Riehl argued that academics rather than performance should be the center of all state-sponsored music education. Training of performers was inevitably only a private matter where individual teachers passed on their technique to their students; academics, in contrast, addressed not the individual but rather the collective. Only from an academically oriented perspective would it be right for the state to “fund a higher school of music, whose effect is not merely on the specialist musicians but rather on the whole educated nation, our entire aesthetic culture.”⁷ Riehl further argued that just as there were professors of literary history and art history, there needed to be professors of music history and aesthetics:

I would like to urgently put the question to you, whether it would not be good, in view of the true emergency situation of our musical education, to call good men to build scientific approaches to the history and aesthetics of music at German higher schools ... A seminar on Bach or Händel works just as well within the confines of a philosophical faculty as a seminar on Dante or Goethe’s Faust.⁸

This idea of studying Bach the way one would study Dante required special pleading at the time; he justified it by the idea that it would strengthen the aesthetic culture of the nation. Riehl himself did give lectures on music history at the Munich conservatory in the 1870s, but his main contribution to strengthening the musical culture of the nation was not academic. He did not take on musical duties at the university or research folk music with the scientific method he applied to other folk customs. Instead, he presented his views on music through essays and novellas aimed at a general audience.

⁵ Russell A. Berman, “Three comments on future perspectives on German cultural history”, *New German critique* 65 (spring–summer 1995) 115–24.

⁶ For a recent study that includes 18th-century sources, see Bernd Sponheuer, “Reconstructing ideal types of the ‘German’ in music”, *Music and German national identity*, ed. by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002) 36–58.

⁷ “Eine Hochschule der Musik fundiert, deren Wirkung nicht bloß auf die Fachmusiker, sondern auf die ganze gebildete Nation, auf unsre ganze ästhetische Kultur zielt.” Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, “Unsre musikalische Erziehung: Briefe an einen Staatsmann”, *Kulturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung, 1896) 385–470: 466.

⁸ “Ich möchte Ihnen wohl die Frage dringend ans Herz legen, ob es nicht geboten sei, im Hinblick auf den wahren Notstand unsrer musikalischen Erziehung, tüchtige Männer zum wissenschaftlichen Anbau der Geschichte und Aesthetik der Tonkunst an deutsche Hochschulen zu berufen... Ein Kollegium über Bach oder Händel paßt so gut in den Rahmen der philosophischen Fakultät wie ein Kollegium über Dante oder Goethes Faust.” *Ibid.*, 467–68.

MUSIKALISCHE CHARAKTERKÖPFE. Riehl's most substantial writing on music took the form of a series of *Musikalische Charakterköpfe* (Musical character portraits); volume one was published in 1853, volume two in 1859, and the final volume in 1878. These essays focused mainly on composers, famous and not so famous. As he rather defensively stated in a preface, he did not do original research, but rather took a new look at the facts in order to show music's relation to cultural life as a whole. For instance, in an essay on Johann Sebastian Bach included in the first volume, Riehl focused almost exclusively on his social character, not mentioning a single musical work.⁹ He openly questioned whether Bach's musical achievements were in fact more important than his social significance. Rather than as a master of counterpoint, Bach was to be celebrated as the ideal of the "bürgerliche" musician. "Bürgerliche", a notoriously difficult term to define and translate, was used by Riehl in this context to refer to premodern society, before the concept of the great composer and the institutions of art music such as publicity, performance venues, reviews, and printed music.¹⁰ Riehl claimed that Bach never had to cater to the whims of an audience, never had any worldly ambitions for his music, and was happiest making music in the home with his family.

This distorted portrait of Bach is an indication of Riehl's cultural approach to great composers: without any citation of sources or reference to musical compositions, he uncovered an idealized German culture where artists exhibited national characteristics of healthy simplicity, pure chastity, cheerfulness, and manliness.

In another "portrait" in this volume, Riehl lavished attention on minor professional musicians such as Gyrowetz, Rosetti, Pleyel, Wranitzky, Hoffmeister and Neubauer, whom he praised as unpretentious, good-hearted, harmless and quite likeable fellows.¹¹ Riehl celebrated these composers as dilettantes who promoted an amateur music making that had more of an impact than the highly specialized, difficult music of later and more respected composers such as Beethoven.

Contemporary responses to Riehl's approach help give us an idea of the attitude toward cultural history among the older and more established music professionals. From the beginning, with the publication of the *Musikalische Charakterköpfe*, music critics expressed admiration for his erudition and writing style, but also voiced strong objections. Eduard Hanslick, for example, scornfully dismissed Riehl's placing the cultural historical value of a work above its aesthetic value.¹² Although Hanslick only addressed Riehl's writings in passing, other critics recognized him as a serious threat and covered many pages with their concerns. Two journals that had been engaged in a critical war over Wagner since 1850, the Leipzig *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and the *Niederrheinische Musikzeitung*, published in Cologne, united in their opposition to Riehl. One of the first reviews, from 1854 in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, reacted in particular to Riehl's

⁹ "Bach und Mendelssohn aus dem socialen Gesichtspunkten. I: Die Musik und die deutsche Bürgerthum, *Musikalische Charakterköpfe: Ein kunstgeschichtliches Skizzenbuch*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1878) vol. 3, 73–90.

¹⁰ Riehl was an important contributor to the debates about defining the "Bürger" and the "bürgerliche" in the 19th century. See Manfred Riedel, "Bürger", *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. by Werner Conze Otto Brunner and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972).

¹¹ "Persönliche gutmüthige, harmlose, in ihrer Art lebenswürdige Menschen." "Die göttlichen Philister" in *Musikalische Charakterköpfe*, 205.

¹² Eduard Hanslick, "Musik", *Sämtliche Schriften: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. by Dietmar Strauß (Wien; Köln; Weimar: Böhlau, 1994) 322–26. The occasion for Hanslick's mention of Riehl was a review, dated 27 March 1854, of a performance of Spontini's *La Vestale*. One of Riehl's "Musikalische Charakterköpfe" was of Spontini.

essays on *Kleinmeister* in his volume of *Musikalische Charakterköpfe*.¹³ This reviewer, who wrote under the name “Kallimachus”, objected to evaluating the artist on the basis of his social standing and moral qualities rather than his musical abilities. Even though he claimed he fully shared the “conviction that music history is inseparable from cultural history”, he noted that Riehl only really approved of one class of people, the “bürgerliche”, and that he dismissed other composers simply because they were not from that class. Without historical context, Riehl celebrated composers who worked in *bürgerliche* society and condemned especially those who were part of “cultivated society”.

Besides disputing the value placed on social character, this reviewer also objected to studying what even Riehl admitted was mediocre music. It does not help us understand great music, in fact it can damage our ability to appreciate the great masters, he argued. Why should we spend time studying a type of music that is to high art much as the decorative arts are to painting? The reviewer was mystified why anyone would urge us to study music that did not even qualify as art. That it was popular in the past did not seem to be a very good reason.

One criticism that was to become common over the years concerned Riehl’s views of contemporary music. “According to the author’s peculiar way of looking at things”, Kallimachus remarked, “music is an art that no longer exists in the present, contemporary music is no longer real music, and consequently, in his eyes, the only remaining means of getting to know music is to study it historically.”¹⁴ Indeed, Riehl had declared in no uncertain terms that:

Modern music (*Moderne Tonkunst*) has gone downhill more than any other art except dance and become the willing servant of all modern, blasé, frivolous, sentimental, foppish licentiousness. It has become in fact a curse on the house. Nothing has such a powerful effect on the dumbing down (*Verdummung*) of the race as all the aimless music making of today.¹⁵

This indictment, one of a series over the years, came from 1855, a year in which Wagner and Liszt were dominating the German music scene. Although Riehl did in fact consider himself one of Wagner’s earliest and most dedicated opponents, he denounced almost every other contemporary composer just as vigorously. Riehl was too conservative in this area even for the other conservative music critics. Although they spent most of their time immersed in the past as Riehl did, they were outraged by Riehl’s intolerance for recent music.

HAUSMUSIK. Despite his constant insistence that modern life rendered composition virtually impossible, Riehl set himself up as a composer with his publication in 1855 of *Hausmusik*, “50 settings of German poets”. He claimed that he was filling a demand for

¹³ Kallimachus, “Zur Beantwortung einer ästhetischer Fragen bei Gelegenheit von Riehl’s ‘musikalischen Charakterköpfen’”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 40/16 (1854) 165–68, 179–82, 192–96. Callimachus was a librarian and cataloguer at the Alexandrian library in the third century B.C.E.

¹⁴ “Nach des Verfassers eigenthümlicher Anschauungsweise die Musik eine Kunst ist, die nicht mehr in der Gegenwart existirt, die Musik der Gegenwart keine eigentliche Musik mehr ist und folglich in seinen Augen als einziges Mittel, Musik kennen zu lernen, das historische Studium derselben übrig bleibt.” *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁵ “Erniedrigte sich die moderne Tonkunst mehr denn jede andere Kunst (die Tanzkunst ausgenommen) zur dienstwilligen Magd aller modernen Blasirtheit, Frivolität, Sentimentalität, Geckerei und Zügellosigkeit. Sie ward namentlich zum Fluch des Hauses. Nichts wirkt so kräftig zur Verdummung des Geschlechts, wie gegenwärtig das viele, planlose Musikmachen.” Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Hausmusik* (Stuttgart; Augsburg: J.G. Cotta’scher Verlag) xv.

lieder that could be played in the home that were bright, cheerful, and simple settings of true and healthy poems. It was not at all unusual and was perhaps expected for music critics and scholars to publish a few modest lieder or piano pieces. However, Riehl seems to have aimed for a wide audience (and it did go into a second edition after a few years) and also took the opportunity to press his agenda in a long preface. This 14-page, whimsically entitled *Tonsetzers Geleitsbrief* (Music setter's letter of safe-conduct) provided ample evidence of Riehl's reactionary attitude toward composition. He pointed out four things that he was expressly trying to do in his lieder: (1) use strophic forms (because these days through-composed settings were used too much); (2) have simple piano accompaniments (because piano parts were getting too elaborate); (3) use the major mode (because minor was used too often these days); and finally, (4) keep tempo and performance markings at a minimum (because these kind of markings were overused these days).¹⁶

The appearance of *Hausmusik* gave music critics the opportunity to pounce on Riehl and expose him as an outsider. He was mercilessly attacked for not having professional training. In one exaggeratedly long review, close attention was lavished on evidence of Riehl's compositional incompetence: parallel fifths, incorrectly resolved sevenths, awkward text setting, and incorrect orthography were all given in musical examples designed to humiliate.¹⁷ Although the tone of most of the review was one of malicious fun in pointing out errors and contradictions, it ended with an annoyed comment that indicates that critics were worried about Riehl's popularity and encroachment on their musical territory:

It is quite troubling that even in 1855 something like this could be published—that there are still so many lazy-thinking and weak-thinking people that hold what Riehl says and composes to be good and true; and for this reason criticism must take on the thankless task of bringing his errors to light.¹⁸

Another critic, Eduard Krüger, repeated his view that the present age was a critical one, and that it was questionable whether a critic could also be an artist.¹⁹ He commented that critical knowledge certainly did not engender folk music. Krüger expressed most effectively what also bothered other critics: that Riehl published both his music and an explanatory overview of his own work (in the *Geleitsbrief*) together. How could the author of naïve lieder and self-conscious critical exegesis be one and the same person?

This point brings up one of many paradoxes about Riehl and his work that can be instructive to us today. Beyond trying to be naïve *and* sentimental in the same

¹⁶ "Zum ersten setzte ich durchweg Stophenlieder, obgleich man dieselben in Leipzig mit Bann und Interdikt belegt." viii.

¹⁷ "Zum Andern habe ich gewagt, Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung zu setzen und nicht Klavierbegleitung mit Liedern." x.

"Zum Dritten bekenne ich mich zu der Ketzerei, dass bei deutscher Musik die Mollweisen möglichst sparsam zu gebrauchen seyen, dagegen ein männlicher, frischer, bestimmter Durcharacter vorherrschen müsse, desgleichen, dass man mit grellen, überraschenden, schnell wechselnden Modulationen vorsichtig seyn solle." xi.

"Zum Vierten habe ich mir bei den Tempo- und Vortragsbezeichnungen allerlei barbarische Dinge erlaubt, die nicht zufällig sind, sondern hervorquellend aus meiner ganzen Art Musik zu machen und zu beurtheilen." xii.

¹⁷ F.G. Frank, "W.H. Riehl, Hausmusik: Fünfzig Lieder deutscher Dichter", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 44 (1856) 125–27; 136–39; 147–50; 160–61.

¹⁸ "Es ist in der That recht betrübend, wenn man erwägt, daß noch im Jahre 1855 so etwas gedruckt werden konnte, daß es noch so viele denkfaule und denkschwache Menschen giebt, die das von R. Gesagte und Componirte für wahr und gut halten, und daß eben deshalb die Kritik sich der saueren Arbeit unterziehen muß, derlei zu Tage liegende Irrthümer zu berichtigen." *Ibid.*, 160.

¹⁹ E.K., "Kritische Präliminarien zu W.H. Riehl's 'Hausmusik'", *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 4/10 (1856) 76–78.

publication, there was a broader contradiction between his theory and practice: He critiqued modern life and institutions while at the same time embracing them. Looking at the course of his career as a whole, one sees that he used his stance as an advocate of the people and their simple way of life to work his way up into a powerful position in academia and the government. From his position as an (appointed) professor, he criticized the professionalization and specialization of academic disciplines even as he helped establish new disciplines, such as folklore studies.

While this stance was effective with some, threatened academics tried to reject him as an outsider without credentials. His arguments for music as culture were made outside of the institutions of music itself. He did not write about music from the position of a composer or even as a contributor to a music journal. Instead he bypassed the gatekeepers and published popular criticism, fiction, and went on lecture tours.

Although they were motivated by the need to guard their territory, Riehl's critics brought up legitimate problems with his approach. They disputed his judging composers on the basis of their cultural values rather than their music. They also raised questions as to the value of studying mediocre composers. It is interesting to note, however, that no one questioned the goal of putting cultural studies in the service of the nation. This is one major point of difference between early cultural studies and the versions we have today. Nationalism, while often still a powerful force, is no longer the self-evident purpose.



Riehl initially appears as a heroic pioneer in cultural studies who was ahead of his time in his interest in music not so much as high art, but rather as a practice embedded in the traditions of a national culture. However, the contradictions and inconsistencies in Riehl's approach make him a more ambiguous figure. For instance, we tend to assume that the kind of cultural studies that advocates for the humble folk and their every day lives as being politically liberal. However, Riehl was a political conservative who wanted to preserve the old authoritarian structures. Although he located the basis of the nation in its folk, he was anti-democratic, speaking out in particular against rights for workers and women.²⁰ Similarly, while Riehl valued music as part of everyday life, he hated the increased manufacturing of pianos and printed music that made music more accessible to more people.²¹ It is true that Riehl cast his eye on all kinds of music and music-making that was ignored by others; however, he infused his observations with an overpowering golden glow of an idealized past. In sum, the story of Riehl as an early crusader for music as culture is a conflicted one that can help clarify our own aims in cultural studies today.

²⁰ At the outset of *Die Familie* Riehl declares his basic presupposition that social inequality is rooted in nature and therefore is to be maintained. ("In dem Gegensatz von Mann und Weib ist die Ungleichartigkeit der menschlichen Berufe und damit auch die sociale Ungleichheit und Abhängigkeit als ein Naturgesetz aufgestellt.") Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Familie* (Stuttgart; Augsburg: J. G. Cotta'sche Verlag, 1855) 5.

²¹ Riehl, "Unsre musikalische Erziehung. Briefe an einen Staatsmann," 417.

FRANJO KSAVER KUHAČ AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MUSIC SCHOLARSHIP IN CROATIA

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In 1886, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) noticed in a Zagreb bookstore the first issue of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, the seminal publication which Friedrich Chrysander, Philipp Spitta, and Guido Adler had initiated in Leipzig in 1885. As soon as he read Adler's introductory essay, "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft", Kuhač sent a letter to the editor of the Zagreb weekly magazine *Vienac*, describing how astounded he was to read Adler's definition and classification of the science of music:

I was astonished indeed, and extremely happy to read on page 14 the following lines: 'Ein neues und sehr dankenswerthes Nebengebiet dieses systematischen Theiles (der Musikwissenschaft) ist die *Musikologie*, d.i. die vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, die sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Tonproducte, insbesondere die Volksgesänge verschiedener Völker, Länder und Territorien behufs ethnographischer Zwecke zu vergleichen und nach der Verschiedenheit ihrer Beschaffenheit zu gruppieren und sondern'. One can understand from this that musicology—which I founded—is a recognized science, and that the Germans even adopted for this discipline the term "musicology", which I had assigned to it.¹

And indeed, Kuhač in his essay *Die Eigenthümlichkeiten der magyarischen Volksmusik*, completed on 7 July 1884, had used and explained the term "Musikologie".² Since the *Vierteljahrsschrift* with its definition of "Musikwissenschaft" appeared a year later, Kuhač assumed—and he died with this conviction—that he had been the first to coin the

¹ "Čudom sam se čudio, ali i ne malo veselio, kad sam čitao na str. 14 ove redke: 'Ein neues und sehr dankenswertes Nebengebiet dieses systematischen Theiles (der Musikwissenschaft) ist die *Musikologie*, d.i. die vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, die sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Tonproducte, insbesondere die Volksgesänge verschiedener Völker, Länder und Territorien behufs ethnographischer Zwecke zu vergleichen und nach der Verschiedenheit ihrer Beschaffenheit zu gruppieren und sondern'. Iz ovoga može se razabrati, da je muzikologija, koju sam ja utemeljio, priznata za novu znanost, te da su Niemci i samo ime 'muzikologija' poprimili, koje sam ja ovoj znanosti nadjenuo." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "Muzikologija" [Musicology], *Vienac* 18/35 (28 August 1886) 555.

² Unpublished manuscripts at the Hrvatski Državni Arhiv in Zagreb (further HDA), collection Kuhač, 805–V–19.



Fig. 1. Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, before 1870.

term and provide its definition.³ It is to Kuhač's credit that he defined "comparative musicology" as a discipline which has the task of investigating the dominant stylistic characteristics of the music of any given nation. He arrived at this definition independently, at a time when Spitta, Chrysander, and Adler were also considering the scope of the discipline.

Kuhač was born in 1834 in the northern Croatian town of Osijek as Franz Xaver Koch. For having taken part in the political demonstrations of 1848, he was forced to interrupt his studies at the Franciscan Gymnasium in Osijek. Subsequent years were spent in Donji Miholjac (1848–51), Pécs (1851–52), and Buda (1852–54), where he served as an assistant teacher

in elementary schools. From 1852 to 1854 he studied at the Pesti Királyi Képezde (Pest Royal Teachers' College), concurrently studying music with Károly Thern at the Pestbudai Hangászegyleti Zenede (Pest-Buda Conservatory of Music). He then taught in Székesfehérvár, and from January 1855, in Osijek. After his appointment was terminated in May of the following year, he continued to give private music lessons and conducted choral ensembles in Osijek. In 1857 or 1858 he traveled to Vienna and then to Weimar, where he briefly took piano lessons with Liszt. In 1863 Kuhač received from his uncle Filip Koch (1797–1863), a canon at the cathedral of Pécs, a gift in the amount of 10,000 forints, which enabled him during the 1860s to make extensive trips to collect folk songs throughout the southern Slav regions, from Slovenia to southern Serbia and Macedonia. In 1871 Kuhač relocated to Zagreb and changed his name from the German Koch to its Croatian equivalent, Kuhač. The following year he was appointed deputy director of the music school of the prestigious Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod (People's National Music Institute, today Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod), where he also taught piano and music theory. However, he resigned the position in 1876 after

³ "The idea and training for such music *historical* research based on the analysis of musical characteristics, was formulated in Croatia. I think that we can be truly proud of this achievement. I myself am proud of it. However, I am not only glad to transfer this renown to the Croatian people; it is my explicit wish that it be transferred to Croatia and exclusively to Croatia. Although I deserve some merit for this achievement, since it was the fruit of my efforts, the merit of the Croatian people in this effort is much greater than mine." — "Namisao i uputa za takvo glazbeno *historijsko* istraživanje s pomoću analize narodnih glazbenih osebina, *nikla je u Hrvatskoj*. Mislim, da se možemo tom stečevinom punim pravom ponositi. Ja se sa svoje strane dičem time. No ja tu slavu ne samo rado ostupam hrvatskomu narodu, već je moja izrična želja, da se ravno prenese na Hrvatsku i samo na Hrvatsku. Jer ako i imadem za tu stečevinu zaslugâ, pošto je plod moga rada, to su zasluge hrvatskoga naroda u tom poslu mnogo veće od mojih." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Vriednost pučkih popievaka* [Value of traditional songs], offprint from *Vienac* 24/12–19 (1892) 49 (italics by Kuhač).

his proposal for the reform of the school had been given a negative reception. Until the end of his life in 1911 Kuhač would live as a freelance scholar and music critic, suffering frequent criticism for his radical national ideology.

The task Kuhač envisioned for musicology was to establish the characteristics of folk music in any given region, to serve as the foundation for a national style of art music. Although Kuhač treated various aspects of music in his large output, he regarded the comparative analysis of music as the most fundamental part of his work. Reviewing his own accomplishments in his 1904 autobiographical essay *Moj rad* (My work), he wrote:

During the past 50 years I have analyzed thirty thousand melodies of different peoples, in order to learn what is theirs and what is ours. I have analyzed Greek melodies, Arab melodies, and the church liturgical melodies of the Roman Catholics, the Eastern Orthodox, Lutherans, Calvinists, Muslims, and Jews. Of folk melodies I have analyzed those from the Germanic (German, English, Dutch) and Romanic (Italian, French, Spanish, Romanian) peoples, melodies of Hungarians, traditional tunes of *all* Slavic peoples, and made thousands and thousands of notes about them. Eventually, I realized that the lifetime of *one* person is not long enough, and that I would have to introduce some order among these notes. Therefore I limited myself to the study of four (actually five) peoples, taking the Croatian (Serbian, Slovene, Bulgarian) people as the focus and their neighbors who have influenced Croatian music or been influenced by Croatian music—Italians, Germans, Hungarians (and Turks)—as the auxiliary research area. This (new!) music science I named comparative *Musicology*.... With such an analysis not only will the Croats receive their musicology, but so will the Italians, Germans, and Hungarians; in other words, all will learn the rules of their traditional music.⁴

Kuhač defined comparative musicology in its broadest sense. This discipline was supposed to include the collecting of traditional music and dances; analysis of traditional melodies, rhythms, and forms; philological analysis of music; and finally, comparison of music in one region with that of neighboring areas. Auxiliary disciplines of comparative musicology he considered to include organology, paleography, archival studies, the history of literature and liturgy, acoustics, historiography (including biographies of composers, musicians, and scholars as well as the history of music societies and performing organizations), and oral literature related to music. Kuhač placed musicology within the widest possible framework, foreseeing its role within the family of other scholarly disciplines:

Just as with linguistics, music scholarship can also be of help to other disciplines. I am convinced that music science can explain many things that are still not clear in

⁴ "Analizirao sam u toku od 50 godina *trideset hiljada melodija* raznih naroda, da znam što je njihovo i što naše. Analizirao sam grčke, arapske i crkvene liturgijske melodije rimokatolika, pravoslavni, luterana, kalvina, muhamedanaca i židova. Od pučkih melodija analizirao sam one germanih naroda (Niemaca, Engleza, Holandeza), romanskih naroda (Talijana, Franceza, Španjolaca, Rumunja), melodije Magjara i pučke melodije *svih* slavenskih naroda te si načinio hiljade i hiljade bilježaka. Napokon sam morao uvidjeti, da život *jednoga* čovjeka ne dostaje, ogromne te bilješke svesti u neki sistem. S toga sam se kasnije ograničio samo na četiri, dotično, na pet naroda, uzevši hrvatski (srpski, slovenski, bugarski) narod za centrum, a ostale naroda za nuznarode, koji su uticali na hrvatsku glazbu ili hrvatska glazba na njih, dakle: Hrvati, Talijani, Njemci, Magjari (i Turci). Tu sam (novu!) glazbenu znanost nazvao komparativnom *Muzikologijom*.... Usled te moje analize dobit će sada ne samo Hrvati nego i Talijani, Niemci i Magjari svoju muzikologiju, to jest oni će saznati, koja su njihova glazbena tradicionalna pravila." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Moj rad: Popis literarnih i glazbenih radnja od god. 1852.–1904*. [My work: A list of literary and music works between 1852 and 1904] (1st ed., Zagreb, 1904) 7–8.

other disciplines; moreover, without the analysis of music many things cannot even be understood.⁵

The political and social situation in Croatia during the 1860s and 1870s was unequal to the task of providing institutional support for work in the discipline which Kuhač proposed, but he was persistent and made repeated efforts to promote his ideas, convinced that musicology would one day become a recognized discipline. Despite the fact that Kuhač today is often better known for his nationalistic views and frequently arbitrary arguments, there can be no doubt that he occupies a pioneering place in the history of music scholarship. Kuhač described himself with the following words: "I am not a historian [of political history], but rather, I am involved with the history of arts, particularly music."⁶ He was interested in the entire history of music from antiquity to his time, in folklore, secular and church music; his published and unpublished works deal with organology, paleography, acoustics and music temperament, ethnochoreology, theory of music, and pedagogy. He wrote about Austrian, German, Italian, and Hungarian music culture, studied the social history of music, and made proposals for the advancement of music terminology. He collected the material for a bio-bibliographical lexicon of Croatian and other South Slav musicians; made over 2000 transcriptions of traditional songs, tunes, descriptions of dances, and examples of oral literature; and assembled a collection of instruments and musical sources. Despite the fact that he left behind an enormous collection of sources and numerous essays which document his thinking about the contemporaneous and historical music of Croatia and other South Slav nations, Kuhač never produced a grand synthesis of Croatian music history which subsequent historians of Croatian music would have had to cite in the first footnotes of their essays. His biographical music lexicon remained unfinished. His study about the history of music notation contains fascinating reflections on issues in Croatian music history but also remained unpublished. (Written to point out the relationship between the music of Slavic peoples and that of ancient Greek civilization, some of its arguments are especially unconvincing.) His translation into Croatian of Johann Christian Lobe's *Katechismus der Musik* was published in two editions, but did not become accepted as a textbook in the schools as Kuhač intended, and the music terminology which he recommended for school use was only partially adopted in standard Croatian. Thus Kuhač must be seen as a personality who founded music scholarship in Croatia and left deep traces on Croatian intellectual history but who at the same time authored few historical syntheses of lasting relevance to musicology.

KUHAČ'S RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF SECULAR MUSIC. As was the case with many of his contemporaries who undertook historical research in music, Kuhač the historian was an amateur who never formally studied the methodology of historical research.⁷ Educated in a limiting bourgeois milieu and without professional training in

⁵ "Kako dakle može jezikoslovlje biti u pomoć drugim znanostima, tako može to i glazbena znanost. Ja sam tvrdio uvjeren, da će ova još koješta razjasniti, što u inim znanostima još nije posve jasno, dapače, da se bez analize glazbe mnogo toga ni pravo razumjeti ne može." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Porietlo i umičće hrvatskih pučkih pjevača i glazbara* [The origin and artistry of Croatian folk singers and musicians] (Zagreb, 1896) 3–4; offprint from the calendar *Dragoljub* for the year 1897.

⁶ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Valpovo i njegovi gospodari* [Valpovo and its masters], offprint from *Vienac* (Zagreb, 1876) 1; a German version of the essay appeared as "Valpovo und seine Burgheren", *Die Drau* (11 September 1884).

⁷ Kuhač studied (1852–54) pedagogical subjects, church music, and church singing at the Pesti Királyi Képezde,

history, Kuhač was inspired primarily by a messianic agenda, namely, the promotion of Croatian (or Slavic) national culture:

Considering that in my work I do not wish to do anything but to promote our national music, and with it to advance the education of the people, the homeland will be certainly grateful if I unveil something or bring somewhat to the light of day that which many persons perhaps would prefer if I had not noticed, that which is, however, necessary to speak of at least once if we wish our advancement, if we want to fulfill our desire.⁸

Unfortunately the role which Kuhač took upon himself proved fatal for the scholarly impartiality of his historical studies; frequently he decided upon his conclusions before even formulating his premises.

According to his own testimony, Kuhač began collecting the material for his “Biografski i muzikografski slovník” (Biographical and music-bibliographical dictionary) in 1857, when he was still living in Osijek.⁹ Obviously by 1869 he had gathered some material, because his first work on music history, *Über die nationale Musik und ihre Bedeutung in der Weltmusik*, contains a list of the Slavic musicians of whom he was aware at that time.¹⁰ Here he organized them in chronological groups and for each musician provided brief biographical details along with a (frequently unreliable) date of birth. In his manuscript *Versuch einer Musikgeschichte der Südslaven* (1875) Kuhač expressed his intention to write a general history of music [fig. 2].¹¹ Conceived as a foreword to his study of musical instruments written in Croatian, the original *Versuch* was never published. This essay is equally interesting as an outline of Kuhač’s scholarly intentions and as a document of his thinking about the scope of the discipline of music history. If it had been published, in its German version, European scholarship would possibly have included Kuhač among those historians who laid the foundation of musicology in the 19th century. In defining what was at the time a new discipline, Kuhač, aided by

and composition and counterpoint at the Pestbudai Hangászegyleti Zenede. At neither of these two institutions did the curriculum include studies in history. See Dubravka Franković, “Školovanje Franje Ksavera Kuhača (Pešta, 1852–1854)” [The schooling of Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (Pest, 1852–1854)], *Arti musices* 25/1–2 (1994) 249–59.

⁸ “Buduć da mi kod ovoga posla nije do inoga, nego da se naša narodna glasba, a s njom zajedno i naša narodna prosvjeta podigne i promakne, domovina za cijelo će mi biti zahvalna, ako gdje kojoj stvari u trag udjem, gdje koju na vidjelo iznesem, za koju bi možda mnogi htio, da sam ju mukom mimoišao, ali ju je trebalo jedared reći, želimo li svoj probitak, želimo li znati što hoćemo.” Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, “Gdje smo i kuda ćemo u glasbi” [Where we are and where are we going in music], *Vienac* 3/31 (5 August 1871) 499.

⁹ Kuhač, *Moj rad*, 38. Modern chronological bibliography of Kuhač’s works has been included in Vjera Katalinić, “Kuhačevi objavljeni radovi (pretežno u periodici) od 1865. do 1945. prema popisu Jugoslavenskog Leksikografskog Zavoda” [Kuhač’s published works (mostly in periodicals) between 1865 and 1945 according to the catalogue of the Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod], *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834–1911)*, ed. by Jerko Bezić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1984) 473–96.

¹⁰ The essay originally appeared in the *Esseker allgemeinen illustrierten Zeitung* (Osijek, 1869) and was reissued as an offprint. The Croatian translation appeared as “O narodnoj glasbi i njezinu značenju u svjetskoj muzici” [On national music and its significance in the world music], *Narodne novine* 35/148–50 (1869).

¹¹ The document was intended “als Vorwort zum ganzen Werk—zu den Musik Instrumenten”, published in Croatian as “Opis i poviest narodnih glasbala Jugoslovjena, sa slikama i primjeri u kajdah” [Description and history of folk instruments of the South Slavs, with pictures and notated examples], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* (1877–1882). The manuscript *Versuch* is preserved in HDA, collection Kuhač, 805–XXIV/54–I, prilog 19. The *Versuch* was a subject of two studies by Mirjana Škunca: “Franjo Kuhač kao muzički historičar” [Franjo Kuhač as music historian], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 351 (1969) 281–324; and “Kuhačevo proučavanje hrvatske glazbene prošlosti” [Kuhač’s research of the Croatian musical past], *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834–1911)*, ed. by Jerko Bezić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1984) 405–40; as well as one by Marija Janaček-Buljan “Kuhačev plan za stvaranje povijesti glazbe Južnih Slavena” [Kuhač’s plan for the creation of a music history of the South Slavs], *Arti musices* 15/1 (1984) 21–36.

Siehe Eingangsseiten anhängend. Will ich in p.t. die Blätter und
 von ihnen mitteilen, welche ich mich für eine vollständige
 Musikgeschichte entscheiden will, und die ich - sollte mir die
 Zeit erlauben - durch die Bearbeitung ausführen und mich die Ver-
 öffentlichung für die für die Zwecke dieser Art erfüllen - auf die folgende
 Weise.

A. für die ältere Geschichte.

I. Darstellung der Geschichte jüdischer Volksmusik, die
 jetzt aber nicht bei den Juden in Gebrauch ist.

II. Ueber die Gesänge der Hebräer, Analoge der Hebräer jüdischer
 israelitischen Gesänge und ihrer Eigenschaften. Comparativer
 Vergleich der jüdischen Musik mit anderen nicht-
 jüdischen Volksmelodien in der Gattung der Gesänge, in welchem Falle
 eine Analyse der jüdischen Musik eine interessante Zusammen-
 stellung sein kann. Ueber die Gesänge der jüdischen
 Musik, respective Geschichte mit Notation der Hebräer.
 Geschichte der Gesänge und der Gesänge.

III. Darstellung der Geschichte der südlichen Volksmusik (mit
 Einschluss der Volkslieder) für die ältere und neuere
 Geschichte der südl. Musik in Italien.

IV. Ueber die alte Melodik der Hebräer und der jüdischen.
 Die slavische Melodik ist die ursprüngliche, die in
 abweichenden Stufen. Geschichte der Melodik auf der Welt
 und in der Musik. Ueber die mittelalterliche Musik
 und die Musik der Gegenwart.

V. Die alte Musikgeschichte der Hebräer, resp. die
 die nach 4 Jahren.

Ueber die weitere Entwicklung der Musikgeschichte, so kann ich bei
 der gegenwärtigen Verfassung in Bezug auf meine Geschichte,
 jüdische Musik, die ich in Italien zu veröffentlichen
 zu können, obwohl ich mich nicht für die jüdische Musik
 ausserhalb der jüdischen Nation, und die jüdische Musik
 allein ob sie ein weiteres, so wie ich in einem
 Gesetze immer in der jüdischen Musik, welche ich
 in der jüdischen Musik in der jüdischen Musik, und die ich
 in der jüdischen Musik.

Fig. 2. Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, Versuch einer Musikgeschichte der Südslaven (1875),
 page of the autograph showing the outline for the planned history of music of South Slavs.
 Zagreb, Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, collection Kuhač, 805-XXIV/54-I, prilog 19.

youthful enthusiasm and blind to limitations imposed by his circumstances, equated his plan of research with the entire discipline while providing a quasi-anthropological overview of Croatian music culture. Kuhač did publish a Croatian version of his synopsis in the weekly magazine *Vienac* a few months after completing the German version. It proclaimed that the discipline should consist of the following elements:

A. Older history

- I. Description and history of all instruments that the South Slavs have now as well as those which they once used.
- II. On folk singing. Analysis of tunes, with reference to their content, form, and rhythm. A comparison of North and South Slav songs with other non-Slav folk songs and explanations of why a tune is to be considered Slavic, Germanic, or Romanic. On the harmony of South Slav music, i.e., concerning accompaniment and the modulation of tunes.
- III. Description and history of South Slav folk dances (with their transcriptions and tunes) and other forms of secular music among the Slavs.
- IV. On church Slavonic music script and its history. The church Slavonic music of Eastern and Western churches. The extent to which church music has been influenced by folk music, and folk music by church music.
- V. These four volumes will comprise the older history of music among the Slavs.

B. Newer history

- I. Biographies of all those South Slavs who have achieved general recognition for themselves in the development of music as writers, singers, artists, composers, instrument makers; the kind and number of their works, accompanied by a brief evaluation of examples from their works, with inclusion occasionally of the whole contents—particularly in dealing with theory, as for example *Glasba Grka* [Music of the Greeks] by Patricio.
- II. Biographies of those men who have made efforts to advance our national music.
- III. Notes about the musical life of the South Slavs (folk celebrations, concerts) from about the year 1800, and on the most recent directions in this discipline; all this should be compiled from various books and periodicals, from my diary and contributions. Contemporary music institutions of the South Slavs, schools, choral societies, concert organizations, theaters, music choruses; how all of them were founded, organized, and what they do.
- IV. Proverbs, songs, and aphorisms from works of Slavic writers, poets, and artists, if they concern music and aesthetics. An exhaustive dictionary of all terms concerning music and aesthetics.
- V. These four volumes will comprise the newer history of music.¹²

¹² A. **Starija povijest:** I. Opis i povijest svih glasbala, što ih imadu Jugoslaveni sada, i što ih nekad imahu. II. O pjevanju narodnjem. Analiza napjeva glede sastava, oblika i ritmike. Uspoređivanje sjevero- i jugoslavenskih sa drugim neslavenskim narodnim pjesmami i tumačenje, po čem da se koji napjev može nazvati slavenskim, germanskim ili romanskim. O harmoniji jugoslavenske glazbe, odnosno o pratnji i modulaciji napjeva. III. Opis i povijest jugoslavenskih narodnih plesova (sa nacrti i kajdami) i drugi oblici svjetovne glazbe kod Slavena. IV. O staroslavenskom kajdopisu i njegovoj poviesti. Slavenska crkvena glazba iztočne i zapadne crkve. U koliko se crkvena glazba pavela za narodnom a narodna za crkvenom. V. Stara povijest glazbe Slavena izražava se u prvih četirjuh knjiga.

B. **Novija povijest:** I. Životopisi svih onih Jugoslavena, koji si stekoše u obće zaslugu za razvoj glasbe kao pisci, pjevači, vještaci, skladatelji, glasbalari; vrst i broj njihovih radnja uz kratku ocjenu nekoliko primjera iz njihovih djela ili po okolnosti — osobito kod teorije kao n.pr. *Glasba Grka* od Patricija — cijeli sadržaj. II. Životopisi muževa, koji su radili o tom, da naša narodna glasba izidje na vidjelo. III. Bilješke o glasbenom životu Jugoslavena (narodne svetkovine, koncerti) od g. 1800. po prilici, i najnoviji pravac u toj struci; sve to sastavljeno od raznih knjiga i časopisa, iz moga dnevnika i drugih prinesaka. Sadanji glasbeni zavodi Jugoslavena, škole, pjevačka društva, zadruga koncertne, kazališta, glasbeni sborovi; kako je sve to osnovano, uređeno i kako se to odražava. IV. Poslovice, pjesme i aforizmi iz djela slavenskih pisaca, pjesnika i umjetnika, u koliko se tiču glasbe i estetike. Podpuni rječnik svih rieči, tičući se glasbe i estetike. V. Novija povijest sledi iz prijašnjih četirjuh knjiga. August Šenoa, "Dva hrvatska glazbenika: Zajc i Koch" [Two Croatian musicians: Zajc and Koch] *Vienac* 7/32 (7 August 1875) 521. A facsimile of the page with the synopsis is reproduced in Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Idejni nacrt hrvatske glazbene historiografije u 19. stoljeću" [A sketch for Croatian music historiography in the 19th century], *Glazba, riječi i slike: Svečani zbornik za Koraljku Kos*, ed. by Vjera Katalinić and Zdravko Blazeković (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo, 1999) 287.

This plan indicates that Kuhač did not understand his division into older and newer history in strictly chronological terms, but rather as a division between anonymous and onymous culture; in other words, between folklore and art music, which in its main directions roughly corresponds with the traditional scope of ethnomusicology and musicology respectively. In the disciplines relevant for the study of older music history, Kuhač included the organology of traditional instruments, traditional singing, ethnochoreology, and music notation—in other words, disciplines mainly irrelevant for the study of music attributed to individual composers, but important for the research of anonymous traditional music culture. Kuhač obviously considered traditional music to be generally older than art music, since for him biographies of South Slavs “who have obtained for themselves recognition in the development of music” become relevant only in the newer history. From our current standpoint it might look odd that Kuhač took the year 1800 as the borderline between the older and newer history. However, this concept came out of his studies centered on the music of South Slavic peoples (rather than the general history of music), which he was pursuing at a time when very little was known about art music created there before the early 19th century. Although it might be a thankless task to speculate about conclusions he might have come to in different circumstances, he would have probably move this date further back if he had been more interested in the general history of music or if developments in Croatian music history from the 17th and 18th centuries were better known.

Three decades later, Kuhač would have been entitled to conclude that he had nearly fulfilled his plan for the older music history, for he had completed not only the extensive study on instruments of the South Slavs (1877–82) but also an analysis of the characteristics of folk music, with special attention to Croatia (1905–09) and the study *Kajidopis u Slavena* (Music notation among the Slavs, 1890; revised 1895–97) concerning the history of Eastern and Western music notation (which remained unpublished). Also in this group his large collection *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke* (South Slav national songs; published 1878–81) should be included. Traditional dances are described in his collection of folk songs and in the study *Ples i plesovna glasba* (Dance and dance music, 1893), but despite his considerable attention to folk dance he did not produce a detailed study outlining the characteristics of Croatian traditional dance.

Regarding the newer history of music Kuhač collected extensive material in his unfinished “Biografski i muzikografski slovník”, most of which remained unpublished.¹³ It is apparent that Kuhač was more interested in musical life than in the analysis of

¹³ This material is kept today in boxes at the archives of the Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti in Zagreb: Croatian musicians: XVII/3–1 (A–E), XVII/3–2 (F–J), XVII/3–3 (K–L), XVII/3–4 (Kuhač), XVII/3–5 (M–P), XVII/3–6 (R–Š/Sch), XVII/3–7 (T–W), XVII/3–8 (Z–Ž). In box XVII/2 is material on non-Croatian musicians who were in some way related to musical life in Croatia, which is organized under the following headings: “Srpski glazbenici za biograf. leksikon” [Serbian musicians for biographical lexicon]; “Slovenski glazbenici” [Slovenian musicians]; “Tudjinci koji su nam pomagali u našem glazbenom radu” [Foreigners who were helping us in our musical work]; “Tudjinci koji su se u svojim kompozicijama sjetili Hrvata ili Srba” [Foreigners who remembered Croatians or Serbians in their works]; “Strani glazbenici hrvatskog porijekla, rođeni u tudjini” [Foreign musicians of Croatian origin, born abroad]. This box also includes fascicles with the headings “Dilantanti naši sa glazb. naobrazbom” [Our amateurs with music education]; “Stampari kajda i nakladnici glazbotvorina” [Music printers and publishers of music editions]; “Stručni graditelji glazbala, gudaaljka, svirala, truba, tamboura, glasovira, glazbujućih ura (Spieluhr, svirajući dobnjak) i zvonolijevci” [Professional makers of string, wind instruments, trumpets, tamburas, pianos, music clocks, and bell founders]; and “Ishitrioci gradskog stališa ali bez glazbene naobrazbe” [Urban tunesmiths without music education]. The box XVII/1 includes documentary material related to Kuhač’s biography. About the lexicon see Vera Bonifačić, “Biografski i muzikografski slovník Franje Kuhača” [Biographical and musicographical dictionary Franje Kuhača], *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 18/1–2 (1972) 35–48.

art music,¹⁴ and in his biographies of composers he writes about the musical fabric or characteristics of style only when he wants to prove the composer's connection with Croatian music culture (as in the cases of Haydn and Beethoven). His few syntheses of historical periods are cursory (*Die Musik in Dalmatien und Istrien*, 1890; *Odlomci iz stare zagrebačke glazbene povijesti*, 1899; *Glazba u djakovačkoj biskupiji*, 1900),¹⁵ and instead of turning them into discussions of the musical style relevant at the time, he prefers to provide biographical notes of important composers. Therefore his synthetic studies of phenomena such as instruments or the characteristics of Croatian traditional music—on which he worked meticulously over longer periods of time—are superior to his synthetic studies of historical periods. The history of music institutions did not receive much attention.¹⁶ A collector of proverbs all his life, Kuhač issued a selection of this material in 1894. In the sphere of music terminology, besides the translation of Lob's *Katechismus der Musik* (Zagreb 1875; ²1889),¹⁷ there is his *Erklärendes Verzeichnis der hauptsächlichlichen Musik-Kunstwörter* which remained in manuscript.

In historiographical terms Kuhač's plan for research on the characteristics of the entire music culture of the South Slavs most closely approximates François-Joseph Fétis's understanding of music as one aspect of the history of civilization. Fétis applied this understanding in his *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (published in Paris, 1869–76), where he wrote about the music cultures of Egypt, Central Asia, Palestine, the Far East, and India, discussing music theory, the characteristics of traditional music, notation, and instruments in each culture.¹⁸ No less than Fétis, Kuhač established music scholarship in his milieu, worked on biographical dictionaries, wrote essays on music history, and collected musical sources and instruments. Fétis, however, had been able to publish a large portion of his studies, which then became the foundation of European musicology, whereas many of Kuhač's essays remained unpublished and fragmentary, and his notes for the planned biographical dictionary remained in archival boxes. Although similarly comprehensive, Kuhač's conception arose from quite a different inspiration. As we have seen, his philosophy of historical research was determined by his nationalist ideology. This was, after all, the moment when national history was needed to assert a Croatian and Slavic music identity and to show that Croats and Slavs had valuable music traditions equal to those of the other European nations. The creation of a national history would serve in turn as a contribution to the political struggle for Croatian autonomy within the Austro-

¹⁴ See the bibliography of Kuhač's writings on the history of Croatian music in Škunca, "Kuhačevo proučavanje", 426–28.

¹⁵ The study of music in Dalmatia and Istria was commissioned for the series *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild/Az osztrák-magyar monarchia írásban és képben* (Wien/Budapest, 1890); "Odlomci iz stare zagrebačke glazbene povijesti" [Fragments from the old music history of Zagreb], *Narodne novine* 65/294 (23 December 1899), Christmas supplement; "Glazba u djakovačkoj biskupiji" [Music in the bishopric of Djakovo], *Spomen-cvijeće iz hrvatskih i slovenskih dubrava: Strossmayerov album* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1900) 298–309.

¹⁶ Both his detailed proposal for the curriculum to be introduced in the school of the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod and his outline of suggested activities for the Zagreb Opera look more to an institutional future than to their past.

¹⁷ The first edition of *Katekizam glazbe* [The catechism of music] (Zagreb, 1875) was an exact translation of *Katechismus der Musik* by Johann Christian Lobe from 1851; the second edition from 1889 was significantly expanded, consisting of 41 chapters with 634 questions and answers, and a Croatian-German dictionary appended to each chapter, in addition to a German-Croatian dictionary with 1944 music terms included at the end of the volume. See Branko Rakijaš, "Značenje Kuhačeva *Katekizma glazbe* u našoj muzičkoj teoriji i praksi" [The significance of Kuhač's *Katekizam glazbe* in our music theory and practice], *Arti musices* 2 (1971) 141–52.

¹⁸ For a biography of Fétis and an annotated list of his works, see Robert Wangermée, et al., *François-Joseph Fétis et la vie musicale de son temps, 1784–1871* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 1972).

Hungarian Monarchy.¹⁹ Whereas Fétis had analyzed music history entirely in order to understand its development, Kuhač placed in the center of his investigation exclusively those aspects of music history that supported his political views.

Among areas of his research, biographies of musicians occupy a significant place, and his published articles include several dozen biographies of Croatian and Serbian musicians. Apart from the 18th-century Croatian Franciscan poet Andrija Kačić Miošić and Joseph Haydn, all these musicians had lived in the 19th century or were still living, and Kuhač was able to rely on his own recollections of their activities and on information received from contemporaries. Rarely did he undertake archival work or seek to verify information received from his informants or gathered from newspapers, with the result that many of his biographies must be regarded as anecdotal. Still, *Ilirski glazbenici* (Illyrian musicians, 1893), a collection of biographies of musicians who had been involved with the Croatian national movement of the 1830s and 1840s, remains today a significant source for 19th-century music history in northern Croatia. In it, the biography of each composer is followed by a detailed and reliable list of his compositions, annotated with copious information about the performance history of each work and its publication. Worklists were to be a significant element in Kuhač's never realized "Biografski i muzikografski slovník", whose very title refers equally to the biographical and the bibliographical element (notes about composers' works have been preserved along with the other material collected for this project).²⁰

Jolanta Pekacz has pointed out how at that time "nationalism was a powerful cultural force whose impact was felt across Europe in the ways composers were appropriated as 'national' artists. The more strategically important a figure was for the preservation of the nation's cultural memory, the more energetically was his life appropriated for this purpose."²¹ Considering that the main criterion for establishing the canon of Croatian music history was, for Kuhač, the national origin of the composer or musician, regardless of where he lived, biography was for him a convenient medium for shaping that canon. Kuhač was probably convinced that he was reconstructing his subject's life, but without sufficient examination of the evidence his biographies are frequently more constructions than reconstructions.

At the time when Kuhač was establishing the scope of musical scholarship in Croatia, the historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–89) was laying the foundations for research into the history of the art and literature of Croatia. His study *Jure Glović prozvan Julijo Klovio, hrvatski sitnoslikar* (Jure Glović known as Julio Clovio, Croatian miniaturist, 1852, revised in 1858 and 1878) was the first monograph study of a Croatian painter, and his *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* (Dictionary of South Slav artists, 1858–80) marked the beginning of the Croatian lexicography of art history. In some ways their research methodology was similar. Both men, in preparing entries for their biographical dictionaries, depended on information gathered from literature, encyclopedias, and contemporaneous periodicals, supplemented by the testimony of

¹⁹ See Majer-Bobetko, "Idejni nacrt hrvatske glazbene historiografije u 19. stoljeću", 288.

²⁰ This combined biographical and bibliographical approach to the lives of composers paralleled the first systematic lists of works for individual composers; Köchel's thematic catalogue of Mozart's works was published in 1862, Nottebohm's catalogues for Beethoven and Schubert in 1868 and 1874 respectively.

²¹ Jolanta T. Pekacz, "Memory, history and meaning: Musical biography and its discontents", *Journal of musicological research* 23/1 (2004) 53.

contemporaries.²² However, as previously mentioned, Kuhač's biographies frequently include anecdotes as well, and therefore it is not rare for unsubstantiated information to creep in. Thus in his most widely read monograph, *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba* (Vatroslav Lisinski and his time, 1887; 2nd ed., 1904), in dealing with Lisinski's life between his return from Prague to Zagreb (1850) and his death (1854), years when Lisinski was active at the Glasbeni Zavod, Kuhač's arguments frequently conflict with information to be found in documents kept in the Zavod's archive, and it is clear that he had not consulted these. Even when Matica Hrvatska published the second edition of this book, Kuhač left the text unchanged—probably because he would have had to make alterations to a large portion of the text and feared that such changes might ruin his scholarly reputation.

Knowing as we do that during the writing of Lisinski's biography Kuhač ignored relatively accessible, well-organized, and easily legible archival sources, it is easy to imagine that he did not consider it important to undertake a painstaking study of older documents in church institutions, or of birth and death ledgers in order to find or verify a biographic datum for the musician he was writing about. The 19th-century ideal requiring that everything presented in a biography is verifiable, that a composer's life is reconstructed rather than constructed, was not always of sufficient concern for Kuhač. An exception is provided by his essay *Valpovo i njegovi gospodari* (Valpovo and its masters, 1876), where Kuhač proudly states at the beginning that he used not only easily available documents but also went to Valpovo and supplemented his information by investigating the archives of the Valpovo estates, seeking out informants, and even observing the landscape.²³ It is likely that archival material there was provided to him by Gustav Hillebrand-Prandau, a Valpovo estate owner, who was eager for the history of his family to be documented as correctly as possible.

Even when Kuhač was writing analytical studies on Croatian and Slavic music, his conclusions could be arbitrary sometimes. A passage from his early essay *Narodna glasba Jugoslavena* (1869) illustrates this point. Writing about folklore he argues that

if the lyrics of our folk songs were recognized as magnificent and excellent by the greatest European men such as Goethe and Herder among others, we can argue that the tunes of these songs must be just as beautiful and lovely, because in a time of extensive creativity people would never have created a text without a tune, but always both at the same time. Where we have an excellent text, the tune must be good also, because both together spring from the same poetic inspiration.²⁴

²² For the lexicographical methodology of Kukuljević Sakcinski, see Dubravka Franković, "Neke metode leksikografskog rada Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog na muzičkom dijelu *Slovnika umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* (1858–1860)" [Some lexicographical methods of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski in the music part of the *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, 1858–1860], *Arti musices* 25/1–2 (1994) 149–71; and idem, "O muzici u *Slovníku umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog" [On music in *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 409 (1988) 255–83.

²³ "Pri toj radnji pomnjivo [sam pregledao] ne samo lasno pristupne pismene izvore... već... se sam osobno odputio na lice mjesta, te... stranom vadeći iz Valpovačkog arkiva, stranom slušajući ustmeno pripovijedanje, a stranom motreći sam priedjel i starinske ostanke popunio." Kuhač, *Valpovo i njegovi gospodari*, 1–2.

²⁴ "Ako su naše narodne pjesme tekstem svojim kod najvećih muževa evropskih, Goethea, Herdera i drugih, kao divne i preizvrstne priznanja stekle, to se daje a priori tvrditi, da i napjevi tih pjesama moraju krasni, divni biti, jer u epohi živa proizvodjanja pučkih pjesama narod nikad nestvara teksta bez napjeva, već uvijek oboje zajedno, u isti čas. Gdje je dakle izvrstan tekst, mora da je i napjev valjan, jer je oboje proizvod jednoga duha, jedne pjesničke zanesenosti." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "Narodna glasba Jugoslavena" [National music of the South Slavs], *Vienac* 1/25 (10 July 1869) 445.

Here Kuhač merely invokes Goethe's and Herder's unquestionable authority: Because they praised the poetry, the music by analogy also has to be of high quality.

In selecting those he wished to write about and who deserved to be included in his "Biografski i muzikografski slovník", Kuhač's understanding of "national music" was always the determining factor. This he defined as "music characteristic of a particular nation, in which are reflected its particular qualities, customs, and traditions".²⁵ He considered that only "national music" is relevant in the musical history of a particular nation, and therefore he eliminated from his historical canon composers active in Croatia but ethnically not Croatian (i.e., composers, as he argued, who composed foreign music), and introduced to that canon musicians active outside Croatia whom he considered to be of Croatian ethnic origin. In his "Historijski uvod" (Historical introduction) to *Ilirski glazbenici* he explains his understanding as to which composers belong to the national history of music:

I think that it is irrelevant in which country an Italian, for example, is born; whether in Italy itself, in America, or in some other icy part of the world. If he is born to Italian parents, his nature will remain Italian, and he will have all the abilities or inabilities which yield an Italian temperament.... The nature of a Croat will remain what it is, regardless of where he was born, even if he has neglected his mother tongue, changed and distorted his national surname, adopted a different faith. Guided by such ethnic principles, each nation has every right to adopt all those men whose blood belongs to that particular nation, because without their blood they would not have the abilities through which they achieved their recognition.²⁶

Furthermore,

the characteristic achievements of a nation are not the result of education, but rather of its nature, blood, and ethnicity. Studies can only improve inherited talents, but cannot bestow a certain ability upon an individual or even less an entire nation. As for the Jews, we know that they are particularly talented in trade, the Gypsies that they like to steal, etc.... For the Slavs we know that they have a particular talent for music, although nobody yet had the courage to establish that Croats and Slovenes occupy among all Slavs the first place as regards their talent for music.²⁷

²⁵ "Narodna glazba je osobito svojstvena kojemu narodu, te u kojoj se osobitimi znaci, različitim od svake druge glazbe, zrcali značaj i običaj istoga naroda". Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "O narodnoj glasbi i njezinu značenju u svjetskoj muzici", *Narodne novine* 35/148 (1869). For an analysis of Kuhač's aesthetic thinking, see Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Franjo Kuhač: Nacionalno u glazbi" [Franjo Kuhač: The national in music], *Estetika glazbe u Hrvatskoj u 19. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1979) 17–29.

²⁶ "Po mom mnenju svejedno je, u kojoj se je zemlji rodio recimo Talijan, da li u samoj Italiji, u Americi ili u ledenom kojem kraju svijeta, jer ako se je rodio od talijanskih roditelja, ostati će čud potomka talijanska, imati će sve one sposobnosti ili nesposobnosti, koja su plod talijanskog temperamenta.... Hrvat ostati će ono, što je po porijetlu, rodio se u ma kojoj zemlji, zenemario on i materinski svoj jezik, promienio ili izopačio i narodno svoje prezime, pristupio k drugoj vjeroispovjesti. Na temelju tog etnološkog zaključka može si svaki narod punim pravom prisvajati sve one muževe, u kojima je žilama tekla krv dottičnoga naroda, jer bez ove krvi, ne bi oni imali onih sposobnosti, kojima su se isticali." Kuhač, "Historijski uvod" ["Historical introduction"] to *Ilirski glazbenici: Prilozi za poviest hrvatskoga preporoda*. The Matica Hrvatska, publisher of the original 1893 edition of *Ilirski glazbenici* [Illyrian musicians], rejected the chapter "Historijski uvod", qualifying it as "chauvinistic". It was published for the first time with a reprint of the book, ed. by Lovro Županović (Zagreb: Hrvatska Sveučilišna Naklada, 1994) vii–lxv, quote on p. x.

²⁷ "Specijalnost kojega naroda nije plod nauke, već plod čudi, krvi, pasmine. Nauka može prirodjeni dar usavršiti, dotjerati, ali ne može uliti dar niti pojedincu kamo li celomou kojemu narodu. Za Židove znademo, da imadu osobiti dar za trgovinu, za Cigane da rado krađu, itd.... Za Slavene znademo, da svi skupa imadu osobiti dar za glazbu, ali nitko se još nije dosada usudio ustvrditi, da Hrvati i Slovenci stoje u pogledu glazbenoga dara među svim Slavenima na prvom mjestu". Kuhač, *Ilirski glazbenici*, 1994 edition, viii–ix.

Kuhač reiterated his conviction concerning his people's extraordinary musical abilities in his essay *Osnova za uredjaj naših glasbenih i dramatskih odnošaja* (1887):

Our [Croatian] nation has more talent for singing and playing than any other nation in Europe. This statement might seem to be exaggerated, but I have to point out that the poetry created by our people, which is not a product of declamation or writing, but rather of singing, is of a quality and quantity unusual for any nation. I have to point out also the large number of traditional instruments which have been used by our people from time immemorial. If other nations had as much talent for singing and instrumental music as the Croats do, they would also have a rich folk poetry and as many traditional instruments as we have. However, such a nation is nowhere to be found.²⁸

Statements such as this were no rarity in music scholarship of the 19th century. The Italian historian Abramo Basevi (1818–85), for example, wrote in his *Compendio di storia della musica, e specialmente dell'italiana* (1867) that Italy “nella scienza e nella arte sopravvenza ogni altri nazioni”.²⁹ On the other side of the continent, the leading English historian of the time, Sir Hubert Parry (1848–1918), considered that every musical style is extremely national,³⁰ and his commentary on English national individuality would have been entirely acceptable to Kuhač: “[We] have an ever-increasing pool of musical talent in this country, but we have hitherto lacked that national individuality which Wagner declares essential to all real music and which the English choral works, if composers will follow true English traditions, will some day give us.”³¹

The idea of national stereotypes was also neither new nor specific to Kuhač. Such ideas had been a part of the European intellectual tradition since the Baroque era and the 18th-century European wars, and large-format charts were circulated in German-speaking lands that compared stereotypical characteristics (behavior, intelligence, scholarship, codes of dress, weaknesses, amorous abilities, illnesses, courage in war, piety, wealth, leisure-time occupations) of the various European peoples (Spaniards, Frenchmen, Vallachians, Germans, Swedes, Hungarians, Russians, Turks, Greeks) [fig. 3].³² Anachronistically adopting such thinking in his youth, Kuhač propagated it throughout his life, giving it a final form in his study *Narodne osebine u gestama i karakteristika pojedinih naroda* published in 1906 and intended as part of his “general folkloristics, produced between 1876 and 1884”.³³ The concept of a history of music in which the protagonists are defined by their ethnic affiliation to the Croatian people led Kuhač to include in his canon individuals active outside Croatia whose Croatian ethnicity was to be deduced

²⁸ “Naš narod [je] za pjevanje i glasbu toliko vrstan, koliko nijedan drugi narod Europe. Ova tvrdnja činiti će se smjelom, no upozoriti mi je na poetičke proizvode našega puka, koji nisu postali deklamovanjem ili pisanjem, već pjevanjem, te kakovih neima ni po kolikoći ni po kakvoći u nijednoga drugoga naroda. Ali upozoriti mi je i na silesiju raznih pučkih naših glasbalah, koja se rabe u našem puku od vajakada do dana današnjega. Da imade drugi koji narod isto toliko naravskoga dara za pjevanje i za instrumentalnu glasbu, koliko u Hrvata, bio bi tada u toga naroda i bogate pučke poezije i toliko pučkih glasbalah koliko u nas. No toga nigdje ne nalazimo.” Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Osnova za uredjaj naših glasbenih i dramatskih odnošajah* [The foundation for the organization of our music and dramatic relations] (Zagreb, 1887) 3.

²⁹ See Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of music history* (New York: American Book Comp., 1939) 122.

³⁰ C. Hubert Parry, *Style in musical art*, inaugural lecture at Oxford University (Oxford, 1900). Quoted from Benjamin Davies, “The historiography of the Reformation, or the reformation of historiography”, *Early music* 29/2 (May 2001) 264.

³¹ E.D.R., “English music” [review of Parry’s book *The art of music*], *Musical times* 35/9 (September 1894) 596.

³² See Franz K. Stanzel, *Europäer: Ein imagologischer Essay* (2nd ed., Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1998).

³³ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, “Narodne osebine u gestama i karakteristika pojedinih naroda” [National features seen in gestures and characteristics of individual peoples], *Hrvatsko kolo: Naučno-književni zbornik* 3 (1906) 208–47.



Fig. 3. Anonymous artist, "Beschreibung der In Europa Befintlichen Völkern Und Ihren Aigenschafften". Oil on board, 104 × 126 cm. Styria, ca. 1720–30.
Vienna, Österreichische Museum für Volkskunde.

from their names, their having played a supposedly Croatian instrument, or even their appearance and facial features. At one point in his essay *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira* (Musical goals by Gaj's Illyrians)³⁴ Kuhač poses a question: "Have there been in the past persons who set Croatian songs and composed other Croatian musical pieces [who were not Croatian]?" His answer follows immediately: "Certainly, there were such people, although not as many as those Croats who composed foreign music."³⁵ Here are some musicians Kuhač included in his "Historijski uvod" to *Ilirski glazbenici* and his reasoning for doing so:

Matthias Franciscus Cannabich = Canabić [Canabich] Matija... Without doubt Kanabić was a born Croat who arrived in Saxony with other Croats to join the guard, and later moved to Bavaria.

Domenico Colla = Kola (Cola) Domenico, born around 1730 in Brescia; he was a tamburica virtuoso.... His playing of the tamburica indicates that he was a Croat, and not an Italian.

Antoine Frédéric Gresnick = Grešnik (Gresnick) Antun Fried was born in 1753 in Liège.... That Gresnick (or Kresnik) was supposedly a son of some Croatian sailor who later settled in Liège. In Antwerp, for example, there are navy captains who regularly sail for America and who therefore live with their families in Antwerp.³⁶

So defined, Kuhač's historical canon omitted the foreign-born musicians active in Croatia during the first half of the 19th century. Some of these were more prolific and better educated composers than the Illyrians whose biographies Kuhač included in *Ilirski glazbenici*: Đuro (György) Arnold (1781–1848) from Subotica, active in Croatian settlements in southern Hungary; Johann Petrus Jakob Haibel (1762–1826) from Đakovo, whose Masses Kuhač owned in manuscript; Franz Oberritter, between 1829 and 1845 the organist of the parish church of Sv. Mihovil in Osijek; and Antun Kirschhofer (1807–49), composer and the founder of the 19th-century Zagreb violin school.³⁷ Georg Karl Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855), the central music personality in Zagreb during the second quarter of the 19th century, is not mentioned in Kuhač's "Historijski uvod" and is only marginally present in his *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira*.³⁸ Had Kuhač ever finished his large-scale surveys of Croatian or South Slav music culture, they, too, would have lacked much essential information, in our eyes

³⁴ The writer and politician Ljudevit Gaj (1809–72) was an ideologue of the Croatian national movement of the 1830s and 1840s.

³⁵ "Zar je i prije bilo ljudi, koji su hrvatske pjesme uglasbivali ili ine glasbene hrvatske komade sastavljali?... Dašto, bilo ih je, premda ne iz daleka toliko, koliko onih Hrvata, koji su stvarali tuđu glasu." Kuhač, *Glasbeno nastojanje*, 8.

³⁶ We should return here one more time to the methodology of Kukuljević Sakcinski, who in his *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* also included entries such as Orpheus, St. Jerome, or the Byzantine emperor Justinian, which we would see as inappropriate since their relationship with this geographic region goes back to the time before the arrival of the Slavic population. His effort however was not inspired by a nationalist agenda; rather it was an attempt to include in his lexicon the most extensive selection of people who lived in this geographic area and to trace the culture of the region as far back into history as he possibly could.

³⁷ See "Historijski uvod" to *Ilirski glazbenici* (edition from 1994), and the list of entries which Kuhač prepared for his "Biografski i muzikografski slovník", in: Škunca, "Kuhačevo proučavanje hrvatske glazbene prošlosti", 432–39.

³⁸ Kuhač, *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira*, 31. This comment appears in the section devoted to Vatroslav Lisinski. The first biography of Wisner von Morgenstern, which includes a list of his compositions, was prepared by Kuhač's friend, the historian Vjekoslav Klaić, and published in *Gusle: Časopis za svjetovnu i crkvenu glazbu* 1–3 (1892). Kuhač would certainly have known this study.

at least, because of the ethnic principles guiding him in his selection of musicians for inclusion.

Kuhač's ideas would gradually change and in his late writings he adopted musicians of foreign origin who were active in Croatia regardless of whether they followed the national music style or not. Instead of the simple dual classification proposed in his *Versuch* of 1875, which included "biographies of those South Slavs who achieved general recognition for themselves in the development of music" (B:I) and "biographies of those men who worked to advanced our national music" (B:II), Kuhač offers in 1904 the following proposal for organizing material in his "Biografski i muzikografski slovník":³⁹

- I. Croatian musicians (composers, virtuosi), male and female singers, music theorists, folklorists and librettists;
- II. Croatian instrument makers and bell founders;
- III. Musical artists of Croatian extraction, but born abroad and working there for foreign people;
- IVa. Musicians of foreign origin, who lived among us and who worked for or against the advancement of a Croatian national music;
- IVb. Musicians of foreign origin who did not live among us but remembered Croats in their compositions;
- V. Famous Croatian folk singers, tune-smiths and instrument players (gusle players, tambura players, wind instrument players).

Composers for whom Kuhač argued Croatian origin also include Haydn and Liszt, and one of the criterion he used to support his argument was their facial shape. In his essay on Haydn, Kuhač wrote:

If we observe any picture of him, of course, neglecting the wig, we will have in front of us a true likeness of a Croat from the mountains. Features of his face, as well as his total appearance prompted Mr. Jaerschkerski, the writer of the entry "Haydn" (in Mendel's *Musiklexikon*, 1878), to suspect that Haydn might be from some Czech family from the Vltava region. This assumption is unfounded because it is certain that the name Haydn has not been as widely disseminated in Bohemia as it was in Croatia, and because the most characteristic part of Haydn's face, namely the nose, does not have Czech features.⁴⁰

In the footnote he further elaborated Haydn's physical description:

Haydn was of medium height, with broad back and bony. Features of his face were quite regular, full and distinguished, indicating a certain energy and grumpiness, although in his ironic talk and with his look they could appropriate good-nature and tender appearance. His forehead was broad and beautifully shaped, although it appeared very

³⁹ Kuhač, *Moj rad*, 38. This organization is also preserved in the organization of archival material for the "Biografski i muzikografski slovník", as shown in note 13.

⁴⁰ "Motrimo li ma koju njegovu sliku, neosvrćuć se dakako na vlasulju, imat ćemo pred sobom živu sliku zagorskoga Hrvata. Lični potezi, kao što i cijelo slovjensko biće Haydnovo potaknulo je g. Jaerschkerskoga, pisca članka 'Haydn' (u Mendlovom *Mus. Lexikonu*, 1878) naslućivati, da se je Haydn po svoj prilici rodio od koje česke obitelji vltavske. Ovo naslućivane stoga je netemeljito, što sjegurno nije obiteljsko ime Haydn u Českoj tako razgranjeno kao što je u Hrvatskoj, i jer najkarakterističniji dio Haydnova lica, naime *nos* nije česko oblika." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Josip Haydn i hrvatske narodne popievke* [Joseph Haydn and Croatian national songs], offprint from *Vienae* 12/18–29 (1880) 18. Here Kuhač is referencing Jaerschkerski's article on Haydn in Hermann Mendel's *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, where he claimed that Haydn "stammt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von einer böhmischen Tonkünstlerfamilie Moldauteyn's her". (new ed., Leipzig: List & Francke, 1890–91) vol. 5, 118.

short because of the size and the way he wore his wig, which was put only two fingers above his eyebrow and covered the top part of his forehead. His big, somewhat crooked nose was, as was his whole face, marked by pox. And since Haydn suffered from polyps, the entire bottom part of his nose was somewhat twisted. His lower lip was very puffed up, and he also had a fat and broad double chin."⁴¹

Using Haydn's appearance for proving his ethnic origin was not accidental, because a similar argument can be found in his study on Liszt, where he included the composer's portrait, claiming that his face and appearance reveal a type of bony Croat from Gorski Kotar [fig. 4].⁴²

Such an argument appears naive today, but at the time it resonated with theories of pathognomy (the study of the representation of facial and bodily expression), phrenology (the study of the shape of the skull as an indicator of personality and mental ability), and particularly physiognomy (the study of temperament and character as reflected in a person's outward appearance) put forward by the Protestant Swiss minister Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801) in his canonic work *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*. Lavater argued that the size and shape of particular parts of the face have significance for the moral and spiritual characteristics of the person.⁴³ Throughout the 19th century these theories held substantial currency in middle-class salons of Europe and America, and as Alan Davison pointed out, "these beliefs were taken seriously by many influential people of the day, whether scientists or not. Amongst adherents to either physiognomy or phrenology were the biologist Alfred Wallace, and the writers Honoré de Balzac and Charlotte Brontë, to name just a few."⁴⁴ Kuhač's arguments about the shape of Haydn's nose and Liszt's back as proof of their Croatian origin should be understood as an extension of theories popular in the 18th and early 19th centuries, according to which a sitter's facial expression was read as a reflection of his inward qualities. Portrait was understood not only as a representation of the visual appearance of the sitter, but also as a medium that informed about the person's spiritual, moral, intellectual, and even ethnic characteristics.

⁴¹ "Haydn bio je srednje veličine, plečat i koščat. Lični potezi bijahu prilično pravilni, puni i markirani, te pokazivahu neku energičnost i mrkost, nu mogahu u govoru posmjehom i pogledom zadobiti dobroćudan i nježan izraz. Čelo bilo mu je široko i liepo svedeno, nu činilo se je vrlo niskim, i to prema razmjeru i načinu, kako je Haydn vlasulju nosio, koja je bila nataknuta samo dva prsta nad obrvama, te tim zastirala gornji dio čela. Njegov veliki ponešto svinuti nos, bijaše kao što i cijelo lice, kozičav. A budući da je Haydn bolovao na Polypu bio mu je donji dio nosa nepravilno izvrnut. Dolnja mu je ustna bila jako naprčena, a imao je takodjer debel i širok podbradak". Ibid., 18. This description Kuhač based on the monograph about Haydn by Carl Ferdinand Pohl (1819–87), who must have in turn based his description on another description of Haydn from the secondary literature or on some portrait of Haydn.

⁴² "Lice Franja, uzrast njegov i plečasta njegova okostnica odaje tip 'listatoga' (koščatoga) Hrvata gorskoga kotara." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "Uspomene na dr. Franja Liszta" [Memories of Dr. Franz Liszt], *Hrvatsko kolo: Naučno-knjževni zbornik* 4 (1908) 41–62: 53–54. The reproduced portrait was copied from Johann Wilhelm Christern, *Franz Liszt, nach seinem Leben und Wirken aus authentischen Berichten* (Hamburg: Schubert, 1841).

⁴³ Lavater defined physiognomy as the science of knowledge of the correspondence between the external and internal man, the visible superficialities and the invisible contents. Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on physiognomy*, trans. by Thomas Holcroft; also *One hundred physiognomical rules, taken from a posthumous work by J.C. Lavater; and a memoir of the author* (18th ed., London: Ward, Lock and Bowden, 1885) 11. Lavater's treatise was by 1810 translated into six languages and published in over 57 editions and its influence was enormous. For the reception of his theories see Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the meaning of expression in nineteenth-century culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴⁴ Alan Davison, "The musician in iconography from the 1830s and 1840s: The formation of new visual types", *Music in art* 28/1–2 (2003) 147–62

Evo Lisztove slike, kada mu je bilo trideset godina.



Slika ova izvadjena je iz Christerove knjige „Franz Liszt“, štampana god. 1841. u Hamburgu (naklada Schubertha i Comp.). Ta je knjiga danas velika rietkost, a ja sam ju kupio još prije jedno 50 godina.

Fig. 4. Portrait of Liszt reproduced in Kuhač's essay "Uspomene na dr. Franja Liszta" (Memoires of Dr. Franz Liszt; 1908) from Johann Wilhelm Christern's book *Franz Liszt* (Hamburg, 1841).

KUHAČ'S RESEARCHES IN CHURCH MUSIC HISTORY. Besides collecting folk tunes and dances, Kuhač also put together a sizable manuscript volume of his transcriptions of traditional church tunes,⁴⁵ produced handwritten facsimiles of early liturgical books, and gathered scores of 18th- and 19th-century orchestral church music. Still, despite his large collection of church music and his strong knowledge of literature on church music, Kuhač rarely wrote about it, and even when he did mention it within the context of other topics, his references remained general, usually dealing only with historical circumstances and never addressing issues of music repertoire or the function of music within the liturgy. For example, writing about Fortunat Pintarić (1798–1867) and Marijan Jaić (1795–1858) in his *Ilirski glazbenici*, both of whom produced important hymnals, Kuhač focused exclusively on their biographies, without touching on the significance of their hymnals or analyzing their contents. Similarly, when he published a harmonization of the Mass copied from the missal of Petar Knežević, he attributed the Mass to Knežević without considering that he might only have been the copyist and not the author of the music included in the volume.⁴⁶ Such a hasty attribution

⁴⁵ His collection of transcriptions of church tunes is kept in HDA, Kuhač collection, 805–XXVI/55, prilog 1.

⁴⁶ See Miho Demović, "Pitanje autorstva skladbi Kneževićevih kantuala" [Questions about the attribution of compositions

of the Mass to Knežević indicates a certain scholarly naiveté on the part of Kuhač; even so, these one-dimensional biographies should not be judged too harshly, because European biographical writing at that time rarely balanced the facts of a composer's life with information about his compositions, placing his music into a biographical context in a satisfactory way.

Kuhač's most detailed study of church music is found in "Odlomci iz stare zagrebačke glazbene povjesti" (Fragments from the early history of Zagreb). In this work he traced the earliest organists active in the town and provided a chronology of organs and organ builders at the Zagreb cathedral, as well as information about liturgical books used in Zagreb.⁴⁷ Because the study was published in a newspaper and its bibliographical references are few, being limited to studies by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and other secondary sources, it is difficult to evaluate how frequently Kuhač consulted archival sources. Whatever the truth, this single article cannot alter one's judgment of Kuhač's place in the Croatian historiography of church music, where he remains more important for his collection of transcriptions of church tunes than for his scholarly studies.

KUHAČ'S UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONAL/FOLK MUSIC. Kuhač collected and transcribed folk tunes mostly between 1858 and 1869, and, as mentioned above, published a four-volume collection, *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*, between 1878 and 1881. It would be difficult to estimate how many tunes Kuhač collected throughout his life, since besides his original transcriptions the collection also includes tunes taken from other songbooks with related material available to him. A calculation by Grozdana Marošević indicates that the four books published by Kuhač, and one volume issued posthumously in 1941, include a total of about 2000 songs; the sixth volume, which remained unpublished, contains approximately 300 additional tunes, and the unpublished volume with church songs has 277 tunes.⁴⁸ Evaluating Kuhač's historiographic thinking in the context of folk music, it is important to emphasize that in analyzing and comparing folk tunes he frequently made attempts to trace their origin, relationship to other tunes, reception, and significance. These brief essays are usually included following the song's transcription, and in his autobiographical essay *Moj rad* he individually listed all of them, apparently considering them much more than just a commentary added to the tune.⁴⁹

It is interesting to see how Kuhač, who dedicated his life to the study of historical documents and was obsessed with documenting his own research, for those tunes

in Knežević's choral books), Kačić: *Zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetog Otkupitelja* 16 (1984) 193–214.

⁴⁷ Kuhač, "Odlomci iz stare zagrebačke glazbene povjesti".

⁴⁸ The context of his song collecting has been examined in a study by Grozdana Marošević, "Kuhačeva etnomuzikološka zadužbina" [Kuhač's ethnomusicological legacy], *Narodna umjetnost* 26 (1989) 107–54. The first four volumes of *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke* Kuhač published in his own edition, and the fifth volume, ed. by Božidar Širola and Vladoje Dukat, was published by the Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti in 1940. The manuscript of the sixth volume with secular songs, edited in the 1950s by Vinko Žganec, is kept in the Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Razned za Filologiju, 74/1, I–II, and a copy at the Institut za Etnologiju i Folkloristiku in Zagreb, rkp. 5N and 6N.

⁴⁹ See "Zagrebački biskup Petretić spominje u svojem djelu *Sveti evangeliomi* štampan god. 1651. četiri hrvatske pučke popievke" [The Zagreb bishop Petretić mentioned in his work *Sveti evangeliomi*, published in 1651, four Croatian folk songs; no. 938]; "Petar Hektorović ukajdio je melodije ribara" [Petar Hektorović notated fishermen's tunes; no. 995]; "Hrvatska popievka, koju je ukajdio neki redovnik Paulinac u XVI. vieku" [A Croatian song set by a 16th-century Pauline monk; no. 997]; "Pjesme Pijerka Bunića prihvatio je puk Dalmacije" [Songs by Pijerko Bunić were adopted by the people of Dalmatia; no. 1423]; "Laudonova zdravica od g. 1789" [Laudon's toast from 1789; no. 1547]; "Rugalica za hrvatskoga bana Gyulaja (g. 1809)" [Mocking song for the Croatian ban Gyulay from 1809; no. 1549].

included in his collection, he never mentioned the date when he transcribed the tune or the name of his informant. Although he made a substantial effort to find out the history of the songs he included in his collection, he himself neglected to document the context in which he transcribed them. In his well-documented research process, the aspect that is missing and that he rarely mentioned in his autobiographical writings is the chronology and geography of his fieldwork, which in some way suggests that in his early period, when he was collecting tunes, the historical element was not yet present in his thinking.

Besides tunes that were then transmitted by oral tradition, Kuhač also included in his collection songs that he considered to be historical sources for traditional music. His transcriptions of the two songs from the 1568 edition of Petar Hektorović's poem *Ribanye i ribarscho prigovaranye* are accompanied by a true paleographic study, with a critical report containing explanations of the decisions he made in transcribing white mensural notation.⁵⁰ Similarly, he furnished commentary for each of the Croatian patriotic rousing songs dating from the 1830s and 1840s that were included in volumes IV and V of *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*, making this part of his collection a sort of monographic study of this genre of early-Romantic Croatian popular music. Although some of these songs remained popular throughout the 19th century, they have never again been published in such an organized and systematic way, and without Kuhač many of them would probably have been lost forever.

In his writings, Kuhač maintains a distinction between “national music” (*narodna glazba*) and “folk music” (*pučka glazba*). He defined these concepts during the very early period of his scholarly activity and continued to refine them throughout his life. In 1869 he would describe “national music” as follows:

“Nationalmusik” ist diejenige Musik, die einer Nation insbesondere eigenthümlich ist, und in deren Beschaffenheit sich alle Charaktere und Sitten eben dieser Nation, als eigenthümliche, von jeder andern Musik unterscheidbare Züge aussprechen“, während die Musik im Allgemeinen genommen, und die wir mit “Weltmusik” bezeichnen wollen, Gemeingut der ganzen Menschheit ist, in der alle Völker sich an den lebendigen Quellen jeder hohen Poesie tränken, und welcher Göthe profetisch mit dem Namen “Weltliteratur” die weihende Taufe gab.⁵¹

“National music” (*narodna glazba*) represents for Kuhač the characteristic musical style present in both the folk and the art music of a certain people. Such characteristics as expressed in art music do not necessarily need to correspond with the folk idiom, but rather with spiritual features of the people in question. In the same 1869 essay Kuhač went on to explain that, for example, music by Mozart, Beethoven, or Wagner belongs to German national music. Then, about 40 years later, in the introduction to his study on the characteristics of folk music, Kuhač elucidated his terminology within the context of traditional music:

⁵⁰ The songs are included in *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*, vol. 3, nos. 995 and 996. The study was earlier published independently as “O napjevih k narodnim pjesmam i k prikazanju sv. Lovrinca” [On tunes of folk songs and the mystery of St. Lovrinac], *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*. Stari pisci hrvatski 6 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1874) xxvii–xxxiii. This edition also represents the earliest modern edition of older Croatian music.

⁵¹ Franz Xav. Koch, *Über nationale Musik und ihre Bedeutung in der Weltmusik* (Osijek, 1869) 4; Croatian version issued as “O narodnoj glazbi i njezinu značenju u svjetskoj muzici: Estetička rasprava”, *Narodne novine* 35/148 (1869).

National music (*narodna glazba*) I call the segment of folk music (*pučka glazba*) that is artistically so perfect that it has become the common property of all social strata in a certain nation, i.e., the property of the intellectuals, the middle class, and the uneducated people, or, in a word, the property of the entire nation. Music that originated directly from the people, i.e., music that was created by the masses unaware of the rules of music, but that has not yet been adopted by the intellectuals of that nation, I call folk music (*pučka glazba*).⁵²

This definition is already reflected in the contents of his collection *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*, which included folk songs performed by the rural population (*pučke pjesme*), relatively recent urban songs (including patriotic songs from the Croatian national movement of the 1830s and 1840s), and even instrumental dance music. Its great variety meant that the collection did not include only "folk music" but every category of music which Kuhač regarded as constituting the South Slavic national tradition.

In transcribing and analyzing folk melodies, Kuhač sought "to learn about the characteristics of Croatian music, meaning the traditional rules that guide people in making their tunes,"⁵³ and to establish "the historical value of folk music". Comparing Croatian tunes with those of other nations, he aimed to establish a history of musical traditions. In *Vriednost pučkih popievaka* (The value of folk songs) he argued that "melodies to be found among all Slavic peoples point to an origin in the common Slavic era."⁵⁴ Audaciously, he claimed that "the longer [I] was occupied with these secrets, the more clearly could [I] see what our people inherited from the ancient Greeks, what is common to all Slavs, what is tribal, what is local, what is older, what is newer, what is foreign."⁵⁵

Kuhač repeatedly emphasized the significance of linguistics when talking about the methodology of music research. For example, in *Narodna glasba Jugoslavena* (1869) he asserts that music and language use the same medium,⁵⁶ and shortly thereafter he would suggest that the sung word is really only a lengthened way of speaking, a prolonged sounding word.⁵⁷ Thirty years later, in *Porietlo i umieće hrvatskih pučkih pjevača i glazbara* (The origin and artistry of Croatian folk singers and players, 1897), the idea remains the same: "Just as a linguist is able to identify linguistic characteristics from the speech pattern of uneducated people, and learn the spirit and nature of a language, a musicologist can learn [the spirit and nature of music] from folk music."⁵⁸ A similar thought arises in his *Kajdopis u Slavenu*:

⁵² "Narodnom (nacionalnom) glazbom nazivam onu pučku glazbu, koja je umjetnički toliko usavršena, da je postala zajednicom svih slojeva pučanstva koje zemlje, dakle svojina inteligencije, srednjega stališa i prostoga puka, jednom riječju celoga naroda. Ona glazba pak, koja potječe izravno od puka, koju je puk sam stvorio ne znajući za učena glazbena pravila, ali koja glazbu nije jošte prisvojila inteligencija toga puka, nazivam pučkom glazbom." Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Osobine narodne glazbe, naročito hrvatske*, offprint from *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 160, 174, 176 (1905–09) 116–17 (italics by Kuhač).

⁵³ "Proučavanjem hrvatske pučke glazbe ... saznati ... osebine hrvatske glazbe, t.j. ona tradicionalna glazbena pravila, po kojima gradi naš narod svoje melodije". Kuhač, *Porietlo i umieće hrvatskih pučkih pjevača i glazbara*, 5.

⁵⁴ "Istovetne melodije, što se nalaze u svim slavenskim narodima, svjedoče, da potječu iz slavenske zajedničke dobe". Kuhač, *Vriednost pučkih popievaka*, 47.

⁵⁵ "Što sam dublje zaronjivao u te tajne, to sam bistrije razabirao, što je naš puk baštinio od starih Grka, što je slavensko zajedničko, što je plemensko, što je lokalno, što je starije, što novo, što je tuđe". Ibid., 79.

⁵⁶ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "Narodna glasba Jugoslavena" [National music of the South Slavs], *Vienac* 1/25 (10 July 1869) 444.

⁵⁷ "Pjevana rieč pravo uzamši ništa drugo nije, nego li razvučenim načinom govorena, zvučno izdržavana rieč, dakle da piev nije drugo van govor glade zvuka razširen." Idem, *Vienac* 1/32 (28 August 1869) 556.

⁵⁸ "Kako jezikoslovac ustanovi iz živoga govora prostoga naroda jezična pravila i uči duh ili osobine jezika, tako može

In poetry, the originality is based on the language itself, i.e., in nuances of sounds, the composition of words, the melody and rhythm of the speech, the grammar, the syntax, etc. All this is valid for music as well. External poetic and musical (architectural) forms do not deprive the two arts of their authenticity. The form of a sonata or a march cannot be a reason why a song or music is not Croatian if the work is internally based on the traditions of the Croatian language.⁵⁹

Such a notion of cross-disciplinary research connecting music and linguistics parallels certain efforts of Kuhač's European contemporaries, who, finding no precedents in their own disciplines, turned toward other sciences (particularly philology, linguistics, and archaeology) to borrow a methodology.⁶⁰ A similar direction in research was, for example, taken by the English mathematician and philologist Alexander John Ellis (1814–90) with his scientifically based analyses and accurate measurements in *Pronunciation for singers* (1877), *Speech in song* (1878), *The history of musical pitch* (1880–81), and *Tonometrical observations on some existing non-harmonic scales* (1884).⁶¹ Even though Kuhač—in his *Melodie und Rhythmus der kroatischen Sprache* (unpublished manuscript from around 1880) or *Osobine narodne glazbe, naročito hrvatske* (The characteristics of national music, particularly the Croatian, 1905–09)—did not attempt to make accurate measurements or establish a scientific foundation for analysis as had Ellis, it is clear that the thinking and interests of these two scholars in some ways coincided.⁶²

KUHAČ AND HIS MUSICOLOGICAL ERA. Despite Kuhač's extensive and diverse activities, it is apparent that two things were missing from his scholarly efforts on behalf of Croatian music culture. In the first place, although he gathered extensive collections of music sources, with the single exception of his *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*, Kuhač never attempted to make editions of them. The first critical editions of older sources, among them *Denkmäler der Tonkunst* (1869–71) issued by Friedrich Chrysander, and *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (from 1894) initiated by Guido Adler, began appearing in Europe as Kuhač was doing his research. Possibly discouraged by the insufficient interest shown in his collection of folk songs and by the large expenses

in muzikolog slično izvoditi i učiti iz pučke glazbe". Kuhač, *Porijetlo i umieće hrvatskih pučkih pjevača i glazbara*, 5.

⁵⁹ "U poeziji osniva se originalnost na samom jeziku, t.j. na nijansama glasova, na sastavljanju riječi, na melodiju i na ritmu govora, na gramatici, sintaksi, i t.d. Sve ovo vrijedi i u glasbi. Pjesnički i glazbeni vanjski (arhitektonski) oblici ne lišavaju jednu i drugu umjetnost njezine samoniklosti. Oblik sonate ili oblik koračnice ne može biti uzrokom, da pjesma ili glazba ne bude hrvatska, ako je u svojoj unutrašnjosti gradjena na tradiciji hrvatskoga jezika". Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Kajdopis u Slavenu* [Music notation of the South Slavs], manuscript in HDA, collection Kuhač, 805–X/38, version B:12.

⁶⁰ At the 1972 congress of the International Musicological Society, François Lesure commented as follows about 19th-century historiography: "Le plus généralement, ces pionniers de la musicologie précèdent à une comparaison des traités théoriques et des manuscrits comportant d'anciennes notations. Ils s'inspirent en fait de méthodes philologiques et archéologiques. Plusieurs d'entre eux poursuivent en outre un but qui n'est pas exclusivement scientifique et qui s'insère dans mouvement de restauration du chant liturgique." Section "Patterns in the historiography of 19th-century music", ed. by Barry S. Brook, *Acta musicologica* 43/3–4 (1976) 254.

⁶¹ A bio-bibliographic overview of Ellis's work is presented in Jonathan P.J. Stock, "Alexander J. Ellis and his place in the history of ethnomusicology", *Ethnomusicology* 51/2 (spring–summer 2007) 306–25.

⁶² To understand how much Kuhač based his analysis of the melodic structure and features in Croatian folk music on the linguistics of the Croatian language, it might be useful to look at the titles of chapters in his important study *Osobine narodne glazbe naročito hrvatske* [Characteristics of national music, particularly Croatian]: "Temperatura glazbenih intervala" (The temperament of music intervals), "O porabi glazbih intervala" (On the use of music intervals), "O glazbenoj sintaksi" (On music syntax), "Hrvatska jezična melodija prema glazbenoj melodiji u popijevci" (The melody of the Croatian language compared with the melody of songs), "Jezična melodija u popievci raznih naroda" (Melody of the language in songs of various peoples), and "Figure u jezičnim izrekama i u glazbenim stavkama" (Linguistic figures in proverbs and music sentences).

connected with its publication—expenses which he had to bear mostly himself—Kuhač hesitated to publish other older music sources, and when he did, he always made sure that the edition was suitable for practical purposes by arranging the music also for performance by an ensemble. Thus, along with the almost impeccable diplomatic copy of the two songs from the 1568 edition of Hektorovič's poem *Ribanye i ribarscho prigovaranye*, he also included arrangements for four-part male choir and for voice and piano,⁶³ while he arranged the Mass attributed to Petar Knežević for male choir and organ. Still, if one recalls Kuhač's division of music history into older and newer, with anonymous folk music occupying the central place within the history of older music, it is possible to view his collection *Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke* as a sort of *Denkmal*. Again, Kuhač supplied the folk songs with piano harmonizations to make them suitable for music-making in middle-class parlors, distancing them from their original versions transcribed during fieldwork.⁶⁴

If the publication of music sources required funding which he did not have, Kuhač was even less interested in the concert presentation of the old Croatian music he was collecting, even though historicism and the Romanticist interest in historical sources was generating interest throughout Europe in the performance of older compositions precisely at this time. François-Joseph Fétis was allegedly the first to organize historical concerts of older music literature, in Paris in 1832 and 1833.⁶⁵ Meanwhile in London in 1837 and 1838, Ignaz Moscheles began performing older compositions in which the keyboard part was played on the harpsichord; his idea was taken over by Charles Kensington Salaman (1814–1901), who organized a series of historical concerts of music for keyboard instruments in January 1855. The momentum of performances on original instruments spread from London to Paris, where the most frequent performances were of older compositions for keyboard instruments (Couperin, Rameau, J.S. Bach, Händel), but with a gradual broadening of the repertoire. During the 1860s and 1870s historical concerts were performed throughout Europe, from London, Paris, and Brussels to Vienna and Berlin and other eastern centers.⁶⁶ Kuhač carefully followed European musical life and was doubtless familiar with this trend, and certainly must have known about the historical concerts organized in Vienna between 1859 and 1866 by Leopold Alexander Zellner (1823–94).⁶⁷ In the spring of 1864 Zellner came to visit his parents in Zagreb and used the opportunity to present two historical concerts of compositions

⁶³ See Kuhač, "O napjevih k narodnim pjesmam i k prikazanju sv. Lovrinca", xxvii–xxxiii.

⁶⁴ For a parallel situation regarding harmonizations of folk songs in French collections at the time, see the contribution by Sindhumathi K. Revuluri in this volume (p. 525), and for the situation in Slovenia see Nataša Cigoj Krstulović, "Glasbena Matica, ljudska pesem in percepcija glasbe na Slovenskem v drugi polovici 19. stoletja" [The Glasbena Matica, folk song and the perception of music in Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century], *Glasbeno-pedagoški zbornik Akademije za Glasbo v Ljubljani* 5 (2005) 69–82.

⁶⁵ See Robert Wangermée, "Les premiers concerts historiques à Paris", *Mélanges Ernest Closson: Recueil d'articles musicologiques offerts à Ernest Closson à l'occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire* (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Musicologie, 1948) 185–96.

⁶⁶ See Malou Haine, "Concerts historiques dans la seconde moitié du 19^e siècle", *Musique et société: Hommages à Robert Wangermée*, ed. by Henri Vanhulst and Malou Haine (Bruxelles: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1988) 121–42; Marco Di Pasquale, "Dei concerti storici in Italia e di Oscar Chilesotti", *Oscar Chilesotti: La musica antica e la musicologia storica*, ed. by Ivano Cavallini (Venezia: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2000) 25–113.

⁶⁷ L.A. Zellner was active in Vienna from 1849. In 1869 he succeeded Simon Sechter at the Conservatory, and was appointed the general secretary of the Musikverein. He played the violoncello, organ, harmonium, and oboe. In 1855 he established and (until 1866) edited the *Blätter für Theater, Musik und bildende Kunst*. See Zdravko Blažeković, "Leopold Alexander Zellner and the reports on Croatian music in his *Blätter für Theater, Musik und bildende Kunst* (1855–1873)", *Zagreb and Croatian lands as a bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean musical cultures*, ed. by Stanislav Tuksar (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo, 1998) 263–77.

going back to the 15th century. Zellner's concerts had a stronger resonance in the Zagreb press than any other music event of the day.⁶⁸ Following the concerts in Zagreb, Zellner organized another concert in the neighboring town of Karlovac, where he included in the program paraphrases "on a 15th-century Croatian folk song" and "on a 16th-century Serbian song from the collections of old documents of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski".⁶⁹ Through these efforts Zellner probably became the first musician to attempt a revival of what were at the time the oldest known sources of Croatian and Serbian music. In Vienna, Zellner was followed by Robert Hirschfeld and Franz Koestinger, who organized historical concerts with polyphonic vocal compositions and instrumental dances of the 16th century. Kuhač never joined this movement for reviving the sounds of the old compositions which he studied so passionately, notwithstanding his thorough training as a practical musician.⁷⁰

Like most 19th-century students of musical culture, Kuhač was a complex man with extremely broad interests. To evaluate correctly his scholarly work, it is necessary to distinguish among his activities. On the one hand there is his theoretical thinking about comparative musicology and music history as scholarly disciplines, and in this context he had much in common with his European contemporaries. On the other hand, his studies in music history frequently reach somewhat naive conclusions that were insufficiently thought through. Then, too, although his individual studies in "newer music history"—which for Kuhač meant the period after ca. 1800—were more numerous, he accomplished far less here toward his general plan than he did within the area of "older music". It almost seems as if he were committed to writing large-scale monographs about older music, whereas his contributions to the history of newer music consist mainly of fragments which he never organized within a larger context. This is probably one of the reasons Kuhač was perceived throughout the 20th century as the founder of ethnomusicology in Croatia, and his musicological activities were frequently pushed into the background.

Although Kuhač certainly enjoyed a reputation among the Zagreb intellectuals of his time, because of his extreme insistence on national ideology and his less-than-objective judgments he was never as influential as he could have been. It would be counterproductive to speculate about how higher music education might have developed in Zagreb if only Kuhač had been more moderate in his convictions, but we can well imagine, at least, that he would have been able to advance the teaching of historical and theoretical music disciplines to a new level, particularly in his position as deputy director of the school of the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod (1872–76).

At a meeting of the Zavod's board on 24 September 1871 (as Kuhač was relocating from Osijek to Zagreb), one member, Franjo Gašparić, warned that "a deficiency of our music institute is the absence of piano teaching and teaching of theoretical disciplines such as harmony, composition, aesthetics, history of music, acoustics, etc."⁷¹ For both positions he nominated

⁶⁸ *Narodne novine* 30/125 (2 June 1864); 30/129 (8 June 1864).

⁶⁹ *Glasonoša* 25 (19 June 1864).

⁷⁰ Although as an adult he never performed in public, Kuhač had studied the violin, organ, and guitar, was trained in singing, and for four years taught piano at the school of the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod in Zagreb.

⁷¹ "Na jednu nestašicu našega glazbenoga zavoda, na ime da nema škole za glasovir, i što se ne predaju teoretične nauke, kano nauka o harmoniji, kompoziciji, estetika, povijest glasbe, akustika itd." See minutes of the board, archives of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, I–33/1871, §3.

the famous and, for our national music, very deserving musician and music theorist Franjo Šaverij Koch (Kuhač) from Osijek, who was already several years ago named an honorary member of this music institute, and who is also a member of the Serbian learned society in Belgrade. Koch is even more deserving of this position because he is a son of our homeland who will use the Croatian language to teach theoretical disciplines to students of our institute. At other institutions our students are taught only in the Croatian language and therefore have difficulties with understanding lessons of our teachers who mostly use the German language.... Kuhač is able to teach our youth in a national spirit and he can give to our nation and the world original musicians and composers, not only because he knows our music well, as has been proved with his learned studies of our music; it will also be easy for him to select practical examples from the enormous amount of material which he has collected from different areas of our country.⁷²

The board of the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod obviously assumed that Kuhač would write textbooks and teach music theory, including music history, and on 18 March 1872 he was appointed a teacher of piano and deputy director of its music school.⁷³ With its music school, founded in 1829, the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod exerted a significant influence over musical life in Croatia by continuously aiming to elevate music instruction to the most professional level and by seeking to become a truly national conservatory. The board must have expected Kuhač to assume a leading role in these efforts, but matters turned out otherwise.

Even before his arrival in Zagreb, Kuhač had argued in *Über die nationale Musik und ihre Bedeutung in der Weltmusik* (1869) that composers should write music in the national spirit and follow the characteristics of the national music.⁷⁴ This approach to music aesthetics, however, was not consistent with the highly professional goals of the Zavod's board and the views of the director of its school, the cosmopolitan composer Ivan Zajc. They considered instead that while Croatian national music should be included in the curriculum, the core of the repertoire taught at the school should consist of works by Classic and Romantic composers. Therefore when Kuhač in his new position began promoting a nationalist agenda and championing Croatian music which did not always meet a high aesthetic standard, he put himself in conflict with the direction of the school and with its teachers.

⁷² "Čuvenog i za našu narodnu glasbu veoma zaslužnog glasbenika i glasbenog teoretika Franju Šaverija Kocha (Kuhača) iz Osijeka, koji je već prije nekoliko godina imenovan počasnim članom ovoga glasbenoga zavoda, a ujedno je članom srbskog učenoga društva u Biogradu. Koch da je tim vrijedniji toga mjesta, što je sin naše domovine, koji će učenicom našega zavoda teoretične struke predavati na hrvatskom jeziku, dočim je za sada obuka teoretična veoma otegočena time, što se mladež naša na drugih zavodih podučava samo na hrvatskom jeziku, pa samo težkom mukom shvaća teoretična predavanja sadašnjih profesora, koji se ponajviše služe jezikom njemačkim.... Kuhač je kadar našu mladež odgojiti u narodnom duhu i tako narodu našem i svijetu dati originalne glasbenike i komponiste, jer ne samo našu glasbu skroz poznaje, kao što to dokazuju učeni njegovi spisi o našoj glasbi, nego mu je također lahko iz ogromnog glasbenog materijala, što ga je po svih krajevih našega naroda posakupio vaditi praktične primjere." Ibid.

⁷³ The history of the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod during the 1860s and 1870s is documented in Ladislav Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog Glazbenog Zavoda* [150 years of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod] (Zagreb: Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, 1982); and Zdravko Blažeković, "Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod (1860–1880)", *Glazba osjenjena politikom: Studije o hrvatskoj glazbi između 17. i 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2002) 169–211.

⁷⁴ Kuhač had sent *Über die nationale Musik und ihre Bedeutung in der Weltmusik* from Osijek to the board of the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod on 27 May 1869, together with three of his compositions (Archives of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, I–21/1869). When Ladislav Šaban was cataloguing the archives of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in 1967, pages of the booklet were still uncut, indicating that this study was never read by any member of the society's board. Apparently the board had been satisfied with Kuhač's reputation in advance, and never bothered to become aware of his aesthetic views in any detail prior to his arrival in Zagreb.

In 1873, while teaching at the school, Kuhač published in several installments a detailed proposal for the curriculum of a national Croatian music university. The time had not come, he argued, for establishing a chair in Croatian/Slavic music history, since “not enough information” had been collected and systematized in order “to teach the history of our music as an independent subject.”⁷⁵ Rather, the first chairs were to be those for “music science, composition, declamation, aesthetics, and advanced voice training and piano.”⁷⁶ Fourteen years later, in his essay *Osnova za uredjaj naših glasbenih i dramskih odnošaja* (1887), Kuhač developed these ideas further, urging that his music university should include a department for music theory with curricula for music paleography, the history of music, musical form, comparative musicology, and similar disciplines.⁷⁷ Although these ideas corresponded with efforts being made at institutions in other European centers, Kuhač was obviously moving in the wrong direction. This was at a time when the already existing and thoroughly respectable Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod was not able to obtain sufficient funding from the state budget for its activities and music school, and now Kuhač insisted that “the [national] university should not be created by expanding the Zagreb Glasbeni Zavod, but rather should be established as a new institute, where elementary music will not be taught.”⁷⁸ Of course Kuhač was aware that his insistence that the core of his curriculum be based on national music would be unacceptable to the Zavod’s board, which gave priority to the Classic and Romantic repertoire of the highest quality regardless of its origin. Had Kuhač not stood upon his national ideology, but rather recognized the educational efforts and achievements of the Zavod, he would have been well received among his colleagues and would in all likelihood have been able to establish gradually a professional curriculum of music history and other historical disciplines.⁷⁹

Although one cannot deny that Kuhač was well informed about contemporary musicological literature and trends, it seems that he maintained contacts with a rather small circle of colleagues elsewhere in Europe. Transcripts of his extensive correspondence include letters to only a few among the leading music historians at the time, and his modest income (after he had spent all of the 10,000 forints which he had received in 1863 from his uncle Filip Koch) did not allow him to make trips to European centers. Toward the end of the 19th century organized conferences began to be held which included presentations on musical topics, the earliest being dedicated to the Gregorian chant (Arezzo 1882, Rodez 1895) and folklore (Paris 1889, Chicago 1893, Niort 1895). The first large-scale musicological conference, attended by 87 European scholars, took place in Paris during the Exposition Universelle of 1900. The central topic discussed at the congress, held on 23–29 July 1900, was ancient Greek music, its modal structure, and the transcription and interpretation of source fragments,

⁷⁵ “Za svoju t.j. slovjensku poviest umjetnosti [smo] jošte premalo podataka sakupili i uredili, a da bi se sad već poviest naše glazbe kao poseban predmet predavati mogao. Što se o poviesti naše glazbe kazati daje, moći će se pridodati obćoj glazbouci kao dodatak.” Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, “Kako da nam se glasbarstvo uredi?” [How should our musical life be organized?], offprint from *Vienac* 14–23 (1873) 25.

⁷⁶ “Izprva podići samo stolice za obću glasbouku (glasbenu znanost), za glasbotvorstvo, deklamaciju, estetiku, za višji piev i za glasovir.” *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷⁷ Kuhač, *Osnova za uredjaj naših glasbenih i dramskih odnošaja*.

⁷⁸ “Sveučilište ne bi smjelo postati iz razširena zagrebačkoga glasbenoga zavoda, već bi se moralo na novo stvoriti kao zavod, na kojem se ne bi učila prva počela.” Kuhač, “Kako da nam se glasbarstvo uredi”, 12.

⁷⁹ The curriculum for music history and aesthetics at the Narodni Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod was established by Vjenceslav Novak in 1891/92. See Dubravka Franković, “Još o povijesti ‘povjesti glazbe’ Vjenceslava Novaka” [More about the history of “history of music” by Vjenceslav Novak], *Kolo: Časopis Matice Hrvatske* 12/1 (2002) 21.

including those for the first and second hymns to Apollo from Delphi, about which Kuhač had published his own study with transcriptions three years earlier.⁸⁰ But Kuhač was not among the conference attendees.

Kuhač's late studies probably found their most significant resonance in writings by the Englishman William H. Hadow (1859–1937)—later editor of *The Oxford history of music* and author of its fifth volume, *The Viennese period* (1904)—who even paid Kuhač the honor of a visit. In 1897 Hadow published in English a study on Haydn and his Croatian origins, based on Kuhač's book *Josip Haydn i hrvatske narodne popievke* (1880).⁸¹ The book initiated a discussion concerning Haydn's origins, but Hadow remained among the few scholars to accept Kuhač's theories, although the claim about Haydn's Croatian origins can be found in reference works of the first half of the 20th century.⁸² Revising the entry on Haydn, originally written by C. Ferdinand Pohl, for the second edition of the *Dictionary of music and musicians* (1904–10), Hadow included a lengthy note about Haydn's Croatian origins.⁸³ This text, which later Hadow biographers qualified "as unfortunate", was retained in the third edition of 1927, and remained intact throughout its 18 printings, the last of which came out in 1953.⁸⁴

During the 19th century museums of musical instruments were established in about a dozen cities.⁸⁵ But once again, circumstance did not favor Kuhač, and although he brought together a significant collection of folk instruments, he never saw them displayed as a museum exhibit. Kuhač started collecting instruments in 1857 and used them as source material for his study on traditional instruments published between 1877 and 1882 in seven installments by the Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti.⁸⁶ The significance of the collection today is its documentation of the appearance and decoration of traditional instruments, some of which date back to the 18th century, as well as of scales used in Slavic traditional music and the history of its performance practice.

⁸⁰ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "Apollonova himna od god. 278 prije Isusa: Književna obznana" [Apollo's hymn from 278 BC: Literary analysis], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 130 (1897) 189–238. See also conference proceedings: *Congrès international d'histoire de la musique: Documents, mémoires et vœux*, ed. by Jules Combarieu (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1901).

⁸¹ William H. Hadow, *A Croatian composer: Notes toward the study of Joseph Haydn* (London, 1897; repr. ed.: New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972). Hadow dedicated his book on Haydn to W.R. Morfill as "a small return for much assistance and encouragement". Morfill was the first professor of Slavic languages at Oxford and it is possible that he was an intermediary between Kuhač and Hadow. In his will Morfill requested that his correspondence be burned after his death which has made it impossible to trace his contacts. For this information I am grateful to my colleague Bojan Bujčić, Magdalen College, Oxford.

⁸² For an overview of criticism of Kuhač's theories, in which the main protagonists were Heinrich Riemann (1893/1900), Hugo Conrat (1905), and William Ritter (1910), see Carl Engel, "Views and reviews", *The musical quarterly* 18/2 (April 1932) 338–48.

⁸³ *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by H.C. Colles (3rd ed., New York: Macmillan Company, 1927; 18th printing in 1953) vol. 2, 565. A reference to Haydn's Croatian origin is also inserted in the entry "Song" in "Yugo-Slavia and other Slavonic nations" in the same edition, written by the English music writer Rosa Newmarch (1857–1940).

⁸⁴ See Nigel Fortune, "Hadow, W(illiam) H(enry)", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan; New York: Grove Dictionaries of Music, 1980) vol. 8, 19. Guido Adler qualified the claim of Haydn's Croatian origin as "ein wissenschaftlich unhaltbares Unterfangen". *Der Stil in der Musik. I: Prinzipien und Arten des musikalischen Stils* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919) 63.

⁸⁵ Vienna (founded in 1814), Linz (1839), Stuttgart (1849), Munich (1854), Nuremberg (1856), South Kensington (1857), Paris (1861), Cambridge (1867), and Edinburgh (1869).

⁸⁶ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, "Opis i poviest narodnih (pučkih) glazbala južnih Slavena s ilustracijama i kajdama" [Description and history of national (folk) instruments of the South Slavs, with illustrations and notes], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 38, 39, 41 (1877); 45 (1878); 50 (1879); 62, 63 (1882).

In the literature on Kuhač frequent mention is made of his unstable economic situation,⁸⁷ but this again was not unique to him among his European contemporaries. The parallel between Kuhač and Chrysander, for example, is only too obvious. The latter sold vegetables from his backyard to pay for printing Händel's collected works and for the modern printing press which he installed in 1866 behind his house in Bergedorf, after the Händel-Gesellschaft had been dissolved and the meager funding from the crown of Hanover had vanished as a consequence of the Prussian annexation of Hanover. Kuhač repaid the printing expenses for *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke* by selling his musical instruments in 1886 to the Narodni Zemałjski Glasbeni Zavod.⁸⁸ In 1900 and 1908 he sold original manuscripts of Vatroslav Lisinski and a portion of his archive of South Slav (particularly Croatian) music sources to the Croatian government,⁸⁹ just as Chrysander in 1875 had sold a portion of his library to the state of Hamburg in order to secure funding for an uninterrupted publication of Händel's compositions.

KUHAČ'S INFLUENCE. In concluding this evaluation of Kuhač's historiographic work, it is necessary to take a look at his influence on subsequent research into Croatian music history. In this context, Kuhač's collection of music sources assumes a particular importance. Throughout the 20th century this collection, by virtue of the quantity and variety of information it made accessible, continued to play a decisive role (together with Kuhač's own studies) in the evaluation of trends in and the periodization of the 19th-century music culture of Croatia. Among the sources Kuhač collected, documents from the time of the national movement of the 1830s and 1840s in northern Croatia are particularly abundant. With this information easily available and the composers of northern Croatian origin well documented in Kuhač's writings, later Croatian scholars have never adequately reevaluated its significance. They seem to have forgotten that Kuhač had selective interests and did not pay sufficient attention to composers who were not ethnically Croatian, considering them, as he did, insignificant for the development of a Croatian "national" music. This is the reason lesser composers of patriotic songs, whose works were included in Kuhač's collection and about whom he frequently wrote, have become far more prominent within the Croatian historical canon than professional composers who primarily occupied themselves with instrumental forms (Georg Karl Wisner von Morgenstern, Antun Kirschhofer, Aleksandar Kovačić, Vilko Müller, Antun Schwarz).

More than anything else, Kuhač succeeded in imposing on later historians his notion about the periodization of 19th-century Croatian music history.⁹⁰ Early Romanticism

⁸⁷ Dubravka Franković, "Socijalni status i profesionalne relacije Franje Ks. Kuhača" [The social position and professional relations of Franjo Ks. Kuhač], *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834–1911)*, ed. by Jerko Bezić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1984) 33–74.

⁸⁸ The Narodni Zemałjski Glasbeni Zavod paid 100 forints for the collection (Archive of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, I–20/1886), and in 1920 deposited it in the Etnografski Muzej in Zagreb. A list of 56 instruments (three idiophones, 16 chordophones, and 37 aerophones) currently in the collection was made by Krešimir Galin and published in the catalogue of the exhibition "Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: Život i djelo" [Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: Life and works], held in November 1984 on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Kuhač's birth, at the concert hall Vatroslav Lisinski. See *Tragovima glazbene baštine: Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja* [On the paths of music heritage: Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, on the 150th anniversary of his birth], ed. by Zdravko Blažeković (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar Koncertne Direkcije Zagreb, 1984) 12–13; 15–20, nos. 24–79.

⁸⁹ Dubravka Franković, "Značenje glazbenog arhiva Franje Ksavera Kuhača u suvremenoj znanosti" [The significance of the music archives of Franjo Ksaver Kuhač for contemporary scholarship], *Arti musices* 21/1 (1990) 61.

⁹⁰ Concerning Kuhač's influence on the periodization of Croatian music, see Zdravko Blažeković, "Anonymous

and the ideology of the national revival in the 1830s and 1840s had given impetus to compositions based on an allegedly Croatian national idiom as well as settings of Croatian texts, and simultaneously there had been a reform of the Croatian language and a renewal of Croatian literature. It was this chain of events that prompted Kuhač to see the beginning of modern Croatian music in the 1830s. Toward the beginning of his study on Haydn, he celebrated that decade:

But look! No sooner had our eminent Ljudevit Gaj, at the beginning of the 1830s, obtained from the emperor Franz I a permit to establish a free literary life in Croatia, then there suddenly stepped forward on the stage men of excellent talent, just as if they had come out of the ground for the entire world to wonder at, and to annoy all those pessimists who did not want to believe in the spiritual talents of the Croatian people. And just as the first ray shone across the Croatian sky, talented Croatian musicians also appeared. The opera composer Vatroslav Lisinski, the composer of songs Ferdo Livadić, the [guitar] virtuoso Ivan Padovec, the opera singer Sidonija Countess Rubido, the opera singers Albert Štriga and I. [sic] Stazić, the counterpoint composer Wiesner [sic], the bard Ferdo Rusan, the composers of church songs father Franjo [sic] Pintarić, father Marijan Jaić, Franjo Čačković, Pavao Štoos, the tenor Julijo Ledenig, the composer Gašpar Mašek (Slovenian), also the composer and virtuoso Karlo Baron Prandau, the composer Franjo Suppé, Leopold Alex. Zellner (now general secretary of the conservatory in Vienna), etc.⁹¹

This paragraph indicates not only that Kuhač was basing his periodization on political and cultural events (the beginning of Gaj's publishing of *Narodne novine* and of the Croatian national movement), but also that he did not always pay sufficient attention to the chronology of events, since some musicians he mentions were active before the start of the national movement and, during the 1830s, joined the (ideologically popular) trend, whereas others had had nothing to do with the national movement, or were not even Croatian. Similarly, with the exception of Nikola Strmić (1839–96), he paid very little heed to composers working in the southern part of Croatia, notwithstanding the fact that Jerolim Alesani (1778–1823) and Giovanni Cigala (1805–57) from Zadar, Domenico Barocci (1805–?) from Split, Giuseppe Raffaelli (1767–1843) from Hvar, and Giuseppe Zabolio (1796–1851) and Tommaso Resti (ca. 1770–1830) from Dubrovnik were all as good or better composers than the followers of the national revival in the north.

Kuhač wrote frequently about the composers of the national movement, several times in monograph format: In 1885 he published the brochure *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira*, in 1887 his monograph on Vatroslav Lisinski, and in 1893 a collection

vs. onymous, or "When will Croatian musicology remember its unknown composer", *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37/3–4 (1996) 217–30; and idem, "The origins of modern Croatian music", *Journal of Croatian studies* 34–35 (1993–94) 75–97.

⁹¹ "Nu gledaj! Čim je naš veliki Ljudevit Gaj izprošio na početku tridesetih godina, od cara Franje I. dozvolu, da mu je slobodno potaknuti u Hrvatskoj literarni život, stupiše na jedanput na pozorište muževi izvrsnoga talenta, kao da su iz zemlje izniknuli na čudo svega svieta, a na jad svih pesimistah, koji ne htjedoše vjerovati, u kakav duševni dar hrvatskoga naroda. I jedva što je prva zraka prozračila hrvatsko nebo, bilo je već za čudo i talentiranih hrvatskih glasbenika. Glasbotvorac opera Vatroslav Lisinski, glasbotvorac popievaka Ferdo Livadić, virtuoz Ivan Padovec, operna pjevačica Sidonija grofica Rubido, operni pjevači Albert Štriga i I. Stazić, kontrapunktista Wiesner, bard Ferdo Rusan, glasbotvorci crkvenih popievaka: O.P. Franjo Pintarić, O.P. Marijan Jaić, Franjo Čačković, Pavao Štoos, tenorista Julio Ledenig, glasbotvorac Gašpar Mašek (Slovenac), k ovim još Karlo barun Prandau glasbotvorac i virtuoz, Franjo Suppé glasbotvorac, Leopold Alex. Zellner (sada glavnim tajnik na konservatoriju u Beč) itd." Kuhač, *Josip Haydn i hrvatske narodne popievke*, 3–4.

of 18 biographical studies about musicians from the time of the national movement.⁹² The latter two were published by the Matica Hrvatska literary society in large runs, and the first edition of the Lisinski book sold out in less than a year, even though Matica Hrvatska had published several hundred copies more than usual.⁹³ Such a wide distribution made these books familiar to every Croatian intellectual. The problem was that in his eagerness to emphasize the shared beginnings of a Croatian national trend in music, literature, and culture during the 1830s, Kuhač neglected the development of music Classicism in Croatia between the 1770s and 1830s. The cultural memory which Kuhač established was persistent throughout the 20th century, and the distorted historical canon of Croatian music that he established would be mirrored by most musicologists. In his decisively influential history of Croatian art music, *Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj* (The development of musical art in Croatia, first edition 1962), Josip Andreis (1909–82) took the view that everything of importance in 18th-century Croatia had occurred in towns along the coast, while the northern part of the country had been silent.⁹⁴ Then, he argued, the situation had turned around in the 19th century as the center of gravity moved to the north and musical creativity vanished from Dalmatia. Without reevaluating Kuhač's periodization, Andreis began his consideration of 19th-century art music with the musical life of Zagreb during the 1830s, only briefly outlining earlier decades in the introduction to the chapter. Under the influence of the notion, created by Kuhač, that modern Croatian music was initiated in the 1830s, he entirely overlooked the Classical style in Croatian music, neglecting to define it as a specific style with its own characteristics. Thus the generation of composers whose works comfortably fit the Classical style, that of Leopold Ebner (1769–1830), Petrus Jakob Haibel (1762–1826), and Đuro (György) Arnold (1781–1848), became intertwined with the much younger generation of musicians born during the early decades of the 19th century. When Andreis was writing the first version of his outline of Croatian music history, the period of the early 19th century in Croatia was still less well researched and its stylistic features were not yet clearly defined. This had changed by the time he published the second English edition (1982) of the work. However, he would still insist that “the 19th century saw a resolute shift of all forms of culture and art from the Adriatic coast to the northern continental parts of Croatia, which actually means to Zagreb.”⁹⁵ Although he did include results of the then latest research on composers from the coast, he did not alter his periodization, retaining his idea that Dalmatia had not been musically productive in the 19th century and including Dalmatian composers active as late as the 1830s in his section on the 18th century (Antun Skorokočević died in 1841, and Giuseppe Raffaelli in 1843).

In his historical overview of Croatian music history published in 1980 and 1984–89, Lovro Županović (1925–2004) adopted an identical periodization. For him, too, the 19th century in Croatia would begin with the national revival of the 1830s and 1840s.⁹⁶ The opening section of Županović's chapter on the 19th century is entitled

⁹² Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba* [Vatroslav Lisinski and his time] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1887; 2nd ed., 1902); Kuhač, *Ilirski glazbenici*.

⁹³ Kuhač, *Vatroslav Lisinski*, 2nd ed., 146–47.

⁹⁴ Josip Andreis, “Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj” [The development of musical art in Croatia]. Dragotin Cvetko, Josip Andreis, and Stana Djurić-Klajn, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1962).

⁹⁵ Josip Andreis, *Music in Croatia* (2nd ed., Zagreb: Muzička Akademija, Muzikološki Zavod, 1982) 117.

⁹⁶ Lovro Županović, *Stoljeća hrvatske glazbe* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1980), and its English translations *Centuries of*

“The period of Vatroslav Lisinski”, after the leading Croatian composer of the 1840s and early 1850s. Without any hesitation Županović also included composers who had died before Lisinski had completed a single composition (Leopold Ebner, Petrus Jakob Haibel).

Kuhač’s canon has remained influential and unchanged until very recently, and composers whom he identified as being central to the Croatian national movement of the 1830s and 1840s more than 100 years ago are still being described with the same terminology, whatever the true stylistic characteristics of their music. In his overview of the history of Croatian art music for the 2001 edition of *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, Stanislav Tuksar (b.1945) identifies early Croatian Romanticism with

composers of the Illyrian period (Ferdo Wiesner-Livadić, Ivan Padovec, Josip Runjanin, Ferdo Rusan, and others), [who] concentrated on patriotic songs, whose aesthetic value is often inversely proportional to their political commitment and success at the time: these composers strove for music based on folksong, but failed because they had insufficient knowledge of folklore and were technically inadequate.⁹⁷

Reading this sentence, it is hard not to think that Kuhač would have provided a similar qualification if Stanley Sadie had commissioned him to write this entry. Emphasizing the aesthetically irrelevant (although socially important) patriotic songs of these composers, and at the same time neglecting their far superior lieder and instrumental compositions, Tuksar misrepresents the period of early Romanticism in Croatia. Ivan Padovec did in fact compose two *Narodne horvatzke poputnice* (Croatian national traveling songs), op. 12 for piano in 1832, at the time of his (alleged) socializing with the politician Ljudevit Gaj in Vienna, and later wrote guitar arrangements of popular songs, but it is hard to recognize among his compositions any “concentration” on patriotic songs or especially any deliberate use of folk themes. Padovec’s most important compositions are solo songs on Croatian and German lyrics, as well as variations and fantasies for guitar on themes from popular Italian operas, which were issued by music publishers from Vienna and Frankfurt to Prague and Paris and which became part of the European guitar repertoire. As for Ferdo Wiesner Livadić, it is true that he, too, composed patriotic songs, but these are (aesthetically) the least important component of his opus and not to be compared with his piano miniatures and lieder on German and Croatian lyrics. In any case, Wiesner Livadić and Padovec were not “technically inadequate” composers; it would be more appropriate to qualify their opuses as genuine instances of early Romanticism occasionally influenced by political circumstances.

It is certainly true that the Croatian national movement brought a new quality to the musical creativity of northern Croatia. However, this did not happen in a vacuum but was rather a natural response to musical influences from Russia, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, as well as an extension of Croatian efforts in the Classical period. What is required is a new understanding of the continuity in Croatian music history between the 1770s and the 1830s. This may not have been the most productive time in Croatian music, but it was nevertheless an era with its own specific characteristics and qualities.

Croatian music, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar Koncertne Direkcije Zagreb, 1984–89).

⁹⁷ Stanislav Tuksar, “Croatia: Art music”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 6, 701.

Music of this period was not sufficiently known during the time of Kuhač (who, as we have seen, neglected it all the more because of his limited interest in “national” music), but even after it did become better known, Kuhač’s dominating influence on Croatian historiography would cause 20th-century authors to follow his periodization blindly.

Regardless of his sometimes inadequate methodology, naive conclusions, and misleading chronologies, Kuhač not only established musicology and ethnomusicology in Croatia, but also managed to shape all subsequent Croatian music scholarship. Among Kuhač’s colleagues in Croatia were scholars who accomplished significant historical work, yet none of them could come close to him in the range of interests and scope of ideas. A limiting middle-class milieu and the specific social and political circumstances obtaining in 19th-century Croatia were to have a substantial—perhaps unfortunate—impact on Kuhač’s thinking, and prompted him to take on a messianic role as the promoter of national ideas unacceptable in politically more moderate circles and within professional music institutions. Kuhač, however, never denied this messianic stance. In the preface to his study *Kajdopis u Slavena* from 1890 he evoked a warrior ethos to convey his sense of national duty:

The soldier hiding from the rain during the battle in a dry cave, or someone who is fighting only because of some recognition or praise rather than to defend his home and family, is not a patriot and even less a hero. Our duty is to work both as patriots and as heroes, because we have to return to our people all that which foreigners took away from us and are still taking.⁹⁸

Because of these forcefully expressed views, Kuhač’s historical works frequently give the impression that his aim was primarily to advance the political future of Croatia rather than to inform readers about currents in music history, and as a result his scholarly authority was diminished. Even so, his work has permanent significance for Croatian music historiography, and today as much as ever, his studies deserve careful evaluation as source material in their own right.

⁹⁸ “A vojnik koji se u boju sakrije u suhu špilju, da ne pokisne, ili koji sam zato vojuje da dobije kakvu odliku ili pohvalu, ne pako zato da dom i rod svoj brani, nije patriota kamo li junak. Naša je pako dužnost da radimo kao patriote i kao junaci jer imademo našem narodu ono povratiti što su nam tuđinci oveli i još otimu.” Preface to the study “Kajdopis u Slavena”, dated 24 June 1890, p. 1. Manuscript in HDA, collection Kuhač, 805–X/38.

CAMILLE SAINT-SAËNS MUSICOLOGIST? EFFECTS, INFLUENCE, AND TRADITIONS

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One of the most unique and perhaps controversial musical figures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was Camille Saint-Saëns. Beginning in 1835, eight years after the death of Beethoven, and ending in 1921, three years after World War I, his life spanned a period of extreme social, industrial, and musical change. He was a friend of Berlioz, Gounod, Victor Hugo, and Liszt, as well as an admirer of Schumann and—early on—of Wagner, whose *Parsifal* he could play from memory at the piano. During his Prix de Rome days he was befriended by Fanny Hensel and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy who introduced him to the music of Bach, to which he remained dedicated his entire life. Such is the enigma of Saint-Saëns: at once conservative and Romantic, nationalistic and universal. He composed in the traditional genres of his day, including symphony, string quartet, song, and opera, but he also promoted exoticism in music, composed symphonic poems, large-scale Lisztian piano works, and was on the cutting edge as the first to compose film music (*Assassinant du Duc de Guise*, 1908).

In addition to being a composer, who—by his own admission—composed music as an apple tree produced apples, Saint-Saëns was also a concert pianist, organist, critic, amateur astronomer, and prolific writer on diverse topics. In short, he was a true renaissance man. As a writer on music, Saint-Saëns wrote biographical essays on historical and contemporary musicians, investigations of musical styles, and articles on music aesthetics that are found in collections such as the *Harmonie et mélodie* (1885), *Portraits et souvenirs* (1899), *L'école buissonnière* (1913), and *Au courant de la vie* (1916). Some of his writings in these anthologies originally appeared in contemporary journals such as *Le temps*. Also like many gentlemen of his time, he was a prolific correspondent, with more than 20,000 letters housed at the Saint-Saëns museum in Dieppe, France, and over 400 at the Northwestern University Music Library in Evanston, Illinois. Many of the letters at Northwestern contain insightful analyses and discussions of various composers and their music and artistic aesthetics, while others include personal information that is helpful in clarifying details of his biography. It is in Saint-Saëns's writings that we find some of his most astute observations on music, and it is here that he shows himself to be a musicologist.

Throughout his career Saint-Saëns revealed his interest in music history through his writings on the music of Bach, Palestrina, Gregorian chant, and Mozart, and where he documented his thoughts on performance practice, authenticity in performance, and his desire to realize musical manuscript sources when the ideas of critical editions and authentic performance practice were almost unknown. In fact, Saint-Saëns was involved in the making of a modern edition of Gluck's *Orphée* and in editing the Rameau collected works.

In his own musical compositions, Saint-Saëns was concerned with details of authenticity, and this is heard most notably in his use of non-Western musical elements in *Samson et Dalila*. However, there is another example found in his final opera, *Déjanire* of 1911. During the spring of 1910, Saint-Saëns wrote to his friend Napoléon Maurice Bernardin (1856–1915), who was a professor at the Lycée Charlemagne and a published author, to request help with a traditional Greek poetic form.¹ In this letter, found in the Northwestern University Music Library and dated 5 March 1910, Saint-Saëns writes, “I need an epithalamium for the last act of *Déjanire*.”² He further asked his friend if there might be examples in any Greek anthologies that he could use as a model. Bernardin obviously obliged, for on 11 March the composer telegraphed his thanks to him in Paris, saying simply, “It’s perfect, very grateful.” Four days later (15 March), Saint-Saëns was in Cannes, and from there he sent Bernardin another letter with the entire text for the final chorus of *Déjanire*, “Eros délices de la terre”, in epithalamium form. He states in this letter that the text of the chorus is in “a new order” than “that which you gave me the pleasure of sending me”. From this statement we can see that Bernardin actually contributed something to the libretto of the opera, either by supplying Saint-Saëns with an authentic model of an epithalamium, or by providing one he had written himself. Without Bernardin’s response it is impossible to say exactly what he contributed. The poetic form of an epithalamium is the alternation of eight and nine syllables, which Saint-Saëns’s example follows perfectly.

Saint-Saëns’s interest in musicology can also be found in an article in *Le temps* (1903), which is a response to Pius X’s *motu proprio* on sacred music, and in his essay on religious music in the collection *L’école buissonnière*. In the *motu proprio* of 1903, the pontiff called for the restoration of the “primitive purity” of Gregorian chant. However, Saint-Saëns asserts, “In reality, after so many centuries we have lost the key to this ancient art; it is a dead language.”³ The composer believed that it was impossible to come to a true authentic version of chant because there was no way to arrive at a correct performance of its rhythm, and because of the many conflicting editions that omitted notes and melismas. Likewise, he believed that while the music of the 16th century was

¹ Bernardin was also a poet, critic, and the godson of Princess Mathilde, the cousin and *confidante* of emperor Napoleon III. Some of his more important works include *Devant le rideau* (1901) and *La comédie italienne en France et les théâtres de la foire et du boulevard (1570–1791)* (1902).

² The call number for the letters at the Northwestern University Music Library is LTR.S2. They are in folders organized chronologically for each recipient. The translations of the excerpts from these letters are the author’s. These letters were a part of an auction that is documented in the Parke-Bernet auction catalogue of modern French illustrated books, prints, and posters, which also included a large collection of letters belonging to Napoleon Bernardin (lot 679). According to the catalogue, the auction was held on 10 and 11 November 1959. The letters contained in lot 679 were from Camille Saint-Saëns to Bernardin and dated from October 1902 through July 1915. According to the description of some of the letters mentioned in the auction catalogue, the specific letters quoted in this paper were indeed a part of this collection. It is uncertain whether Northwestern University obtained these letters at this auction in 1959 or at a later date from another party.

³ Camille Saint-Saëns, “Musique religieuse”, *L’école buissonnière: Notes et souvenirs* (Paris, 1913) 161.

not yet a dead language, it was “a dying language, of which the traditions are lost”. He continues as follows: “Each person interprets it in his own manner”, and then publishes editions claiming to possess the authentic method of performance. He also debates the performance practice of Palestrina’s music, questioning both the *a cappella* tradition, and the idea of Palestrina’s music as the paradigm of sacred musical style espoused by the Cecilian movement. Saint-Saëns argued that

the music of Palestrina was written for voices alone, but nothing proves that the voices were not sometimes supported by instruments. In instrumental music of the same period, the different parts were written in an abstract manner, without any designation as to the instrument that was to play them. If, in vocal works, nothing indicates the presence of an accompaniment, there is neither any indication to the contrary.⁴

In his quest for authentic performance, Saint-Saëns was also concerned with the use of original instruments, as he discussed in an article in *Le temps* of 1903. Here he records a debate with Pierre Lalo (Edouard Lalo’s son) in which the composer posits that “the performance of the works of Bach and Händel is in vain ... the music of Bach does not offer any indication as to nuance or tempo, and it is impossible to know how to interpret them.”⁵ Saint-Saëns further observes that there is no performance tradition surrounding this music as there is with the music of Beethoven and Wagner; however, Lalo counters that this is no reason not to perform Bach and Händel.

Later in the article Saint-Saëns laments that the orchestra has changed a great deal since the Baroque period, and that conductors are “reduced to replacing” original instruments with modern ones, changing the effect. Lalo argues, “What does it matter if we do not conserve the sonority of that orchestra?” In this exchange Saint-Saëns looks beyond merely reproducing the notes in a performance, asserting that changing the sonority—replacing the *violin piccolo* with the regular violin or replacing the *viola da gamba* with the cello—will have profound consequences on the music.⁶ In this article and in other writings of Saint-Saëns, there is no indication that he is advocating that the music of Bach, Händel, and others should *not* be played except on period instruments, but rather that he is opening the discussion, and perhaps challenging performers and conductors to be more thoughtful in their modern performances of early music. After all, Saint-Saëns himself continually played the music of Bach on modern organs, even though he acknowledged that “these pieces were written for old instruments and they apply either not at all, or badly, to the modern organ.”⁷ It is also important to note that Saint-Saëns felt strongly that the Protestant organ music of Bach was totally inappropriate for the Catholic liturgy, and that, with few exceptions, Bach’s organ music “where virtuosity holds a great place” is more appropriate for concert use than for liturgical purposes.⁸

Perhaps Saint-Saëns’s most important statement on musicological issues was written during his trip to America in the summer of 1915, when he attended the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. The composer delivered a lecture entitled, “On the execution of music, and principally of ancient music”. Here he discusses the music of

⁴ Ibid., 162.

⁵ Saint-Saëns, “La musique”, *Le temps* (21 February 1903) n.p.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Saint-Saëns, “Lorgue”, *L'école buissonnière*, 175.

⁸ Saint-Saëns, “Musique religieuse”, 166.

Palestrina, Rameau, Bach, and Mozart, among others, with insights into performance practices. He describes the French style of performing Palestrina's music in the 1840s as being "sung very softly and with extreme slowness, so that in the long-sustained notes the singers were forced to divide their task by some taking up the sound when others were out of breath... unquestionably the author could not have recognized his own work in such a rendering."⁹ Saint-Saëns also recounted his experience at the Sistine Chapel during his Prix de Rome days when he heard Palestrina's motet *Sicut cervus*:

[The singers] roared in a head-splitting way without the least regard for the pleasure of the listener, or for the meaning of the words they sang. It is difficult to believe that this music was ever composed to be executed in such a barbarous manner.¹⁰

As a performing pianist and organist, Saint-Saëns had much experience with a variety of historical music, and he speaks with authority during his lecture in San Francisco on the music of Rameau, Mozart, and Chopin. His discussion of the many ornaments in Rameau's keyboard music demonstrates his knowledge of early teaching methods; the composer advises players to learn the music first without the ornaments, and then add them in little by little.¹¹ Saint-Saëns also observes that Rameau, when transcribing pieces of his operas for keyboard, indicated ornaments that were not contained in the original version. He further asserts that one need not be terrified by the multiplicity of these ornaments, for "they are not indispensable".

There were two main musical "abuses" that Saint-Saëns addresses in his lecture: the overuse of the pedal in piano music, and the tremolo in vocal and instrumental music. Regarding the use of pedal in Mozart and Chopin, he states, "One other plague in modern editions is the abuse of the pedal. Mozart never indicated the pedal. As purity of taste is one of his great qualities, it is possible that he made no abuse of the pedal." Saint-Saëns also mentions that, in performance, Frédéric Kalkbrenner altered the repeats of the adagio of the piano concerto K.503 (he does not say how), resulting in a "radically different manner from the author". However, when he played it himself at the Paris Conservatoire, he said, "I would have thought I was committing a crime in executing the piano part of the adagio literally." Obviously, the public and other musicians had come to expect a more embellished version of the music, and Saint-Saëns was not willing to oblige.

According to the composer, Mozart was not the only one whose music was disfigured by over-use of the pedal. Saint-Saëns claims that Chopin "detested the abuse of the pedal" and "late 19th-century editions often prescribed pedal through a change of chords, thus creating a wash of sound, and mixing chords which [Chopin] was careful to avoid."¹²

Saint-Saëns, who had a long life, provided a wealth of information regarding performance practices of the recent past, and was often a witness to famous and even infamous musical events.¹³ With that in mind, in his lecture he states, "Another

⁹ Camille Saint-Saëns, *On the execution of music, and principally of ancient music*, trans. by Henry P. Bowie (San Francisco: The Blair-Murdock Company, 1915). See also Robert M. Stevenson, "Saint-Saëns's views on the performance of early music", *Performance practice review* 2/2 (1988) 128.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹² These quotes are all taken from Stevenson's article and verified by the author in consultation with Saint-Saëns's original lecture, cited in note 9.

¹³ He was present at the premiere of Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps*, not to mention concerts of Liszt and other famous musicians.

plague in the modern execution of music is the abuse of the tremolo by both singers and instrumental performers.”¹⁴ He points to great performers of the past whose interpretations were not marred by excessive use of the tremolo. Specifically, he mentions the violinist Pablo Sarasate, with whom he collaborated himself; the cellist Auguste Franchomme, who was Chopin’s collaborator; and Joseph Joachim, whom the composer knew and whose playing he experienced first hand.

As a composer and active performer, Saint-Saëns’s experience with the music of the past, especially Mozart’s and Bach’s, and his innate curiosity of all things intellectual made him a musicologist by nature. His annual travels to North Africa and other exotic areas, and his experiences with the music and culture of these places, also engaged him as an ethnomusicologist.

Saint-Saëns is perhaps best remembered today as the composer of *Samson et Dalila*, an opera which was originally conceived as an oratorio, and which is arguably the archetype of exoticism in 19th-century Western classical music. This is true not because of any musical clichés, but rather because this work (begun in 1868) incorporates authentic musical elements that the composer heard on his trips to Algiers. He began taking trips to Algeria routinely in 1872 for health reasons. As a child winters were hard on the composer, who had what was described as latent tuberculosis. In warmer climes the doctors believed Saint-Saëns would regain his health. Spending the winter months in North Africa must have worked, because the composer died in 1921 at the age of 86, oddly enough while on winter holiday in Algiers.

His time in Algeria, Egypt, the Canary Islands, Ceylon, and elsewhere gave him ample opportunity to hear local music making in cafés, on the streets, and in hotels, to which, by his own admission, he would go incognito so he could experience the local culture as a tourist. These winter trips were always working holidays, and Saint-Saëns’s music benefited from these experiences. Several important works either came into fruition because of these trips or were greatly enhanced by them. The most famous works influenced by his time in exotic lands include *Samson et Dalila* and the piano concert no. 5, the “Egyptian”. As early as 1906 (during the composer’s lifetime), Henri Quittard observed this in an article in *La revue musicale* entitled “Saint-Saëns Orientaliste”.¹⁵ Whereas the author does not identify specific influences and musical techniques, Quittard does point to these same works as being characteristic of exoticism in music. It was not until the late 1990s that writers defined how Saint-Saëns created the exotic in his music.

The main elements of exoticism manifested in *Samson et Dalila* are obvious: the setting, the plot, and the characters; however, below the surface there are details that display an authentic exoticism. Miriam Ladjili identifies specific exotic elements in the opera.¹⁶ In act 3, written while Saint-Saëns was in Algiers in 1872, the composer uses the solo oboe to great advantage, especially in the ballet music. Ladjili points out that the Western oboe is much like a wind instrument used in North African dance music called the *ghayta*. The composer imitates this at the beginning of the ballet sequence in the improvisatory recitative-like section, which is typical of this musical style. This free introductory section is similar to the *istiftah* in Arab music, according to Ladjili.

¹⁴ Saint-Saëns, “On the execution of music”.

¹⁵ Henri Quittard, “L’orientalisme musical: Saint-Saëns orientaliste”, *La revue musicale* 6 (1906) 107–16.

¹⁶ Myriam Ladjili, “La musique arabe chez les compositeurs français du XIX^e siècle saisis d’exotisme (1844–1914)”, *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* 26/1 (1995) 24.

The ballet music of act 3 also uses the *ramal* mode—which might be interpreted as a harmonic minor scale with a flat second scale degree and a raised third scale degree—also characteristic of Algerian music. Ralph Locke examines this same melody in the *ramal* mode from the *Bacchanale* scene more closely, and finds it to be quite similar to the muezzin call to prayer heard in North African music.¹⁷

Elements of exoticism are heard in various other instrumental and concerted works, such as the piano concerto no. 5 in F major, the so-called “Egyptian” concerto. It was composed in April 1896 in Egypt, though Saint-Saëns produced the first sketch while on holiday in the Canaries in 1894. It was premiered by the composer in June of 1896 and enjoyed annual performances for the next four years.¹⁸ There is no hard evidence that Saint-Saëns himself gave the concerto its subtitle “Egyptian”; however, it was composed in Egypt, and, according to the composer in a letter to the dedicatee, Louis Diémer, “[The concerto] is a voyage to the orient which even goes, in the episode in F-sharp, to the Far East. The passage in G is a Nubian love song which I heard sung by the boatmen on the Nile.”¹⁹ The composer also told Diémer and the pianist Alfred Cortot that the staccato passage in F-sharp accompanying the pentatonic melody is “meant to evoke the croaking of frogs that fill the twilight in the valley of the Nile.”²⁰ While all of this implies a certain programmatic aspect to the concerto, what are the more authentically exotic elements? Firstly, if we believe the composer (and there is no reason not to), the *cantabile* G-major melody in the piano is an actual song from the region. Secondly, there are other passages in the second movement that are suggestive of Arabian music. According to Ladjili another traditional mode, the *madmi*, is heard here, which might be defined as a natural minor scale with a flat second and a raised third. Saint-Saëns uses this scale in the opening measures of the movement. Also the 32nd-note descending figures in the piano part, still in the *madmi* mode, are reminiscent of the rhapsodic vocalises heard in Eastern music.²¹

Saint-Saëns composed other pieces that reflect his love for and fascination with his chosen second home. *Africa* for piano and orchestra, op. 89 (1891), was the first piece he composed depicting the Arab world. Other works include *Orient et occident* for band, op. 25 (1869), *La nuit persane* for voices and orchestra (1891–92), the *Caprice arabe* for two pianos, op. 96 (1894), and *Souvenir d’Ismailia* for piano, op. 100 (1895). These pieces and others await further and more detailed scrutiny to reveal how the composer—a musical ethnographer of his day and in his own way—used Eastern materials to introduce the West to a more realistic and authentic experience of Eastern music. In a letter from Cairo to his publisher Durand in Paris, Saint-Saëns says of *Africa*, “I shall not be surprised if it is destined to outshine the *Rhapsodie d’Auvergne*; it is much more developed. I have tried to show some original African, you will see if I have succeeded.”²²

¹⁷ Ralph Locke, “Constructing the oriental ‘Other’: Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*,” *The work of opera: Genre, nationhood, and sexual difference*, ed. by Richard Dellamora and Daniel Fischlin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) 15.

¹⁸ Sabina Teller, *The piano works of Camille Saint-Saëns* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972) 304–05.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 103. Teller quotes from notes of Maurice Emmanuel housed in the Saint-Saëns museum in Dieppe.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

²¹ Ladjili, “La musique arabe”, 29.

²² Teller, *The piano works of Camille Saint-Saëns*, 300.

THE CECILIAN MOVEMENT AND MUSICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ITALY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF ANGELO DE SANTI

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In 1880 Guerrino Amelli founded the Generale Associazione Italiana di S. Cecilia in Milan, dedicated to the restoration of liturgical music through a return to the “authentic Gregorian of the codices” and to polyphony as practised by Palestrina, “the master of the knowledgeable”.¹ This marked the beginning in Italy, as elsewhere, of a movement of reform that was critical of the use of concerto or “operatic” music in churches, and that aimed to defend the traditional repertoire against the art of a bourgeois society which was judged to be not only secular but also irreligious.

Viewed from the historicist perspective of Romantic idealism, the Cecilian movement aimed to restore an unattainable past of musical achievement, setting it against a contemporary art that was held to be incapable of transmitting a transcendent universal message.² In effect, therefore, this was supposedly a nostalgic movement inspired by both aesthetic and religious concerns; in its attempts to champion a sort of idealised beauty, it took archaistic positions that resulted in a divide between liturgical repertoire and contemporary music.³

Whilst accurate, this image of the Cecilian movement is not enough to explain a cultural stance that would remain deeply rooted right up until Vatican Council II, having a profound effect upon the writing and performance of church music.⁴ To understand how this return to the past could for 80 years inspire a sizeable number of composers

¹ Felice Rainoldi, *Sentieri della musica sacra, dall'Ottocento al Concilio Vaticano II: Documentazione su ideologie e prassi* (Roma: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1996) 208–13.

² Carl Dahlhaus, *La musica dell'Ottocento*, trans. by Laura Dallapiccola. *Discanto-contrapunti* 28 (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1990) 190–202; Aldo N. Terrin, “Introduzione”, *Musica per la liturgia: Presupposti per una fruttuosa interazione*, ed. by Aldo N. Terrin (Padova: Messaggero, 1996) 7–16.

³ Valentino Donella, *La musica in chiesa nei secoli XVII–XVIII–XIX: Perdita e ricupero di una identità* (Bergamo: Carrara, 1995) 264–65; idem, *Dal pruno al melarancio: Musica in chiesa dal 1903 al 1963* (Bergamo: Carrara, 1999) 50–57.

⁴ Antonio Lovato, “Il movimento ceciliano a Padova”, *Le scelte pastorali della Chiesa padovana da Giuseppe Callegari a Girolamo Bortignon (1883–1982)*, ed. by Pierantonio Gios (Padova: Gregoriana, 1992) 385–420.

and musicians—as well as condition the faithful’s view of the liturgy—one has to look not only at ideological questions but also at cultural and anthropological factors.

Such an approach involves a study of the theoretical writings generated by the Cecilian movement as it developed, a study which is handicapped by the absence of a full catalogue of the relevant publications (especially those which circulated at a local level) and by difficulties in access to source material. However, a feasible starting point for such research is a study of the initial phase of the Cecilian movement (1880–1903), examining such national periodicals as *La civiltà cattolica*, *Musica sacra*, and *Santa Cecilia*. *La civiltà cattolica* and the role of Angelo De Santi will be the focus of this study.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. From 1851 the Jesuit review *La civiltà cattolica* published articles commenting on musical source material, treatises on Gregorian chant, writings on organ music, and other publications on liturgical and devotional music. The review of Vincenzo Petra’s *Sulle condizioni dell’odierna musica italiana* outlines a clear and precise position on such questions.⁵ Music, it is said, is not a pleasure for the senses but must aim to “move the emotions through word and sound”. Vocal music is superior to instrumental, and melody to harmony; hence there is criticism of the “most entangled harmony” of the Germans and of the music produced by the “eclectics of France”.⁶

The unsigned piece “Musica religiosa”, published in 1856, returns to these questions, expressing appreciation for the paleographic approach of the French and supporting the position taken by Louis Lambillotte.⁷ In answer to those who, like Louis Girod, wonder why one should “banish certain styles from church music”,⁸ it is argued that religious music should excite “the actions of the intelligent man” through “moral emotions and the conveyance of words to the mind”. If “one sings not to entice the senses but to facilitate the comprehension” of the text, then what is required is the “gravity implicit in the diatonic system” and its oratorical rhythm, which gives the sense of “moving outside time to sublimate oneself in an unchanging eternity”.

The spiritualism of these comments is further reflected in the review of such publications as Girolamo A. Biaggi’s *Della musica religiosa*, Francesco Faà di Bruno’s *Riflessi cristiani sulla musica*, and Giuseppe Trambusti’s *Della musica ecclesiastica*.⁹ The focus is on a comparison between modern music and Gregorian chant, with comments on Gothic art in general and on how medieval liturgical music can “endlessly reveal the feelings of man”.¹⁰ There were also discussions of publications of medieval source materials (for example, the facsimile of the San Gall MS 359 and Luigi Maringola’s *Institutiones liturgicae*),¹¹ strongly emphasizing the historical and sociological importance of the content of the *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Parmensis*, published in 1866.¹² Similarly Jean-

⁵ Vincenzo Petra, *Sulle condizioni dell’odierna musica italiana: Ragionamento* (Napoli: S. Piscopio, 1854).

⁶ *La civiltà cattolica* 2/8 (1854) 537–41.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3/4 (1856) 21–33, 266–83; Louis Lambillotte, *Esthétique, théorie et pratique du chant grégorien restauré d’après la doctrine des anciens et les sources primitives* (Paris: A. Le Clère, 1855).

⁸ Louis Girod, *De la musique religieuse* (Namur: F.-J. Douxfils, 1855).

⁹ Girolamo A. Biaggi, *Della musica religiosa e delle questioni inerenti: Dialogo* (Milano: F. Lucca, 1857); Francesco Faà di Bruno, *Riflessi cristiani sulla musica: Traduzione libera dal francese con aggiunte* (Torino: Speirani e Tortone, 1858); Giuseppe Trambusti, *Della musica ecclesiastica il passato, il presente, il futuro: Ragionamento* (Roma: G. Gentili, 1862).

¹⁰ *La civiltà cattolica* 3/9 (1858) 208–17; 3/12 (1858) 94; 5/3 (1862) 77–86, 611.

¹¹ *Antiphonaire de Saint Grégoire: Fac-similé du manuscrit de Saint Gall, cod. 359 avec des notes historiques et critiques*, ed. by Louis Lambillotte (Paris, 1851); Luigi Maringola, *Institutiones liturgicae... ad usum Seminarii Neapolitani* (Neapoli: ex typis ad signum Anchorae, 1864–65); *La civiltà cattolica* 3/8 (1852) 82–89; 6/7 (1866) 58–64.

¹² *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Parmensis e vetustioribus excerptum, reformatum a. MCCCCXVII*, ed. by Luigi Barbieri

B. Pitra's *Hymnologie de l'église grecque* is welcomed as useful for knowledge of Greek Byzantine music, and Luigi Marchesi's *Liturgia gallicana* is appreciated for its analysis of sources.¹³

In the 1870s the Jesuit publication limited itself to information regarding treatises on plainsong or editions of liturgical or religious music. The manuals of plainsong, in fact, confirmed the Italian resistance to the innovations introduced by Solesmes. Furthermore, editions of popular music and collections of lauds, such as that edited by Telesforo Bini in 1853,¹⁴ provided an opportunity to criticise the limitations of the Italian academic world, which was accused of ignoring a medieval tradition that had survived into the 19th century with collections of sacred songs “for use in schools, Christian congregations ... oratories and the holy missions”.¹⁵

ANGELO DE SANTI.¹⁶ *La civiltà cattolica* would return to the question of liturgical music thanks to Angelo De Santi, who, over the period 1887–92, produced a wide-ranging critical compendium of writings on the history and aesthetics of church music.¹⁷ Vastly learned, he was aware of the international debate regarding such issues and was particularly attentive to the methodological innovations introduced by French scholars. In such pieces as “La musica sacra e le presenti riforme”, “L'arte dei suoni e gli affetti”, and “La questione della musica sacra e le diverse opinioni” he outlined the issues involved, whilst in “La musica sacra a servizio del culto” and “La musica nella liturgia” he presented the aims behind his own approach.¹⁸ In his “La musica sacra in Italia ed il programma di Soave” he looked at the problems of the reform of church music, for which he outlined the reasons in “La musica sacra e le prescrizioni ecclesiastiche”. This article was then reworked as “La musica sacra nella storia e nella disciplina tradizionale della Chiesa”.¹⁹

(Parma: ex officina Petri Fiacadori, 1866); *La civiltà cattolica* 6/9 (1867) 444–59.

¹³ Jean-B. Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'Église grecque: Dissertation accompagnée des offices du XVI janvier, de XXIX et XXX juin en l'honneur de st. Pierre et des Apôtres* (Roma: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1867); Luigi Marchesi, *La liturgia gallicana ne' primi otto secoli della Chiesa: Osservazioni storico-critiche di un sacerdote romano, consultore della Sacra Congregazione de' Riti, in occasione del ritorno della Chiesa di Lione all'antica liturgia* (Roma: Tipografia della Camera Apostolica, 1867); *La civiltà cattolica* 6/11 (1867) 707–23; 7/3 (1868) 202–12.

¹⁴ *Laudi spirituali del Bianco da Siena povero gesuato del secolo XIV: Codice inedito*, ed. by Telesforo Bini (Lucca: G. Giusti, 1851); *La civiltà cattolica* 2/3 (1853) 306–17.

¹⁵ Davide De Macchi, *Scelta di laudi sacre ... ad uso delle scuole e delle congregazioni cristiane* (Torino: E. Barone, 1871); *Raccolta di canzoncine sacre ed uso degli oratori e delle sante missioni, cogli inni usati dalla Chiesa* (2nd ed., Monza: L. Annoni e C., 1878); Giuseppe Anfossi, *Canti ricreativi di facile esecuzione per gli istituti di educazione* (Torino: Collegio degli Artigianelli, 1877, 1879, 1881); *Raccolta di lodi spirituali pel mese di Maria ed altre funzioni, ad uso dei giovanetti e giovanette della parrocchia di S. Giuseppe extra-moenia di Treviso* (Treviso: G. Novelli, 1880); *La civiltà cattolica* 8/2 (1871) 580; 10/8 (1878) 91; 11/8 (1881) 586.

¹⁶ Angelo De Santi (Trieste, 1847–Rome, 1922) joined the Society of Jesus at the age of 16 and studied in Italy, France, and Austria. His career teaching music started at the Zadar Episcopal Seminary, then in 1877 he was invited by Pope Leo XIII to assist with the reform of church music. Appointed to teach music at the Vatican Seminary he founded a *schola cantorum*, but he left Rome six years later following a dispute with conservative elements there. In 1910 he founded the Scuola Superiore di Musica in Rome, which later became the Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra. For about 35 years he was involved with the Jesuit periodical *La civiltà cattolica*, and in 1902 cofounded *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e per il canto sacro*.

¹⁷ Felice Rainoldi, “Apporti di Angelo De Santi S.J. al movimento di restaurazione della musica sacra (1887–1904)”, *Aspetti del Cecilianesimo nella cultura musicale italiana dell'Ottocento*, ed. by Mauro Casadei Turroni Monti and Cesarino Ruini (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004) 171–218.

¹⁸ *La civiltà cattolica* 13/7 (1887) 158–76, 398–414; 13/9 (1888) 291–308; 13/11 (1888) 654–71; 14/1 (1889) 549–65; 14/2 (1889) 166–84; 14/3 (1889) 418–35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14/4 (1889) 416–36; 14/12 (1891) 5–21, 417–36; 15/1 (1892) 417–37; 15/2 (1892) 553–70; 15/3 (1892) 271–91; 15/4 (1892) 549–67.

For De Santi a return to medieval monodic chant and Renaissance polyphony would mean a recovery of “the supreme aim of art: to be at the service of worship and of the aesthetic laws that govern it.” He agrees with Boucheron that “music is intended to move our emotions by means of sounds and a fitting combination thereof”;²⁰ but he rejects the materialism of “the philosophasters who have emerged from the school of Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Schopenhauer”, and he denies any relation between music and intellect, considering “music as an end unto itself, or rather sounds as ends unto themselves.”

Writers such as Mattheson, Neidhardt, Kirnberger, Forkel, and Hand²¹ are criticised for their notion that every state of mind and feeling “has its own sound and its own special rhythm”—a position which results in music neither addressing the intellect nor being regulated by it. Recalling the formalism of Hanslick,²² De Santi then attacks the “pantheism” of Richard Wagner, who holds that music can “seize the essence of things in their most immediate manifestation”, thus confusing content with the subjectivity of the artist. Such confusion is exemplified by Wagner’s notion of the leitmotiv, which functions as a manifestation to the audience of the state of feeling of the composer. Whilst not casting doubt on the “progress in the art” achieved by the “admirable innovator” Wagner, De Santi does criticise these “directing motifs”, which the German musician uses to overcome the indeterminacy of instrumental music, choosing to convey concepts by means of a melodic phrase linked with the poetic text that expresses it.²³

Having rejected the positivistic view of art, the writer castigates the risks that arise from the separation of music from the liturgy. Aware that an “intransitive” art would abdicate its role as a mediator of a religious view of the world, he refuses to consider music as merely aural sensation. To do this he returns to the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who had argued that sound cannot produce its effects without the intervention of the mind, given that these effects are linked to precise concepts of intellectual origin; sense perception by itself “would never be able to know the relations of melody or harmony, nor the proportions that constitute its [music’s] beauty.”

Conceived in such terms, music most fully performs its function when combined with words; the latter, when transformed into poetic language, manage to move our emotions more than other types of artistic expression. The form in which words appear to be most truly complementary to music is the chant “of the diatonic kind”—that is, medieval plainsong and Renaissance polyphony. If, as Helmholtz and von Vischer argue, the musical sign “restores to the mind the object itself and by its means moves the soul”,²⁴

²⁰ Raimondo Boucheron, *Filosofia della musica o estetica applicata a quest’arte* (Milano: Ricordi, [1842]); Mariateresa Dellaborra, *Raimondo Boucheron (1880–1876)* (Milano: Rugginenti, 1999) 41–55.

²¹ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739; repr., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954); Johann G. Neidhardt, *Sectio canonis harmonici, zur völligen Richtigkeit der Generum modulandi* (Königsberg, 1724); Johann Ph. Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin: Decker; Königsberg: Hartung, 1776–79; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1968); Johann N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik oder Anleitung zur Kenntnis musikalischer Bücher* (Leipzig, 1788–1801; Leipzig: Schwickert, 1792; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967); Ferdinand G. Hand, *Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Eisenach, 1847).

²² Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1854; repr., Mainz: Schott, 1992); idem, *Il bello musicale*, ed. by Mariangela Donà (Milano: Martello, 1971); Marta Tedeschini Lalli, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen di Eduard Hanslick: Dalla prima alla nona edizione* (Firenze: Passigli-De Sono, 1993).

²³ Theodor Schmid, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft und sein Meister Richard Wagner* (Freiburg: Herder, 1885) 76–77; Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig: Fritzsch, 1871–73; repr., 2nd ed., 1887, Hildesheim: Olms, 1976) vol. 2, 75.

²⁴ Hermann L.F. von Helmholtz, *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der*

then there is no doubt that the “diatonic genre” of music renders perceptible “all that which is abstract, or which is not the direct object of the sense of hearing”.

Given that chant most fully exploits the sound, melody, and rhythm of words, its relation to religious worship thus becomes a natural fact.²⁵ In effect, there is something superior—something nonmaterial—about music, which no advances in acoustics, physics, or mathematics have been able to explain. The ancient world, too, saw the imponderable nature of such sounds as being in some relation to the absolute perfection of God. Similarly, the Holy Scriptures, the church fathers, and theoreticians of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance repeatedly use the concept of harmony in discussing the order of the universe.

Gottfried W. Leibniz, a figure beyond suspicion, provided confirmation of these notions when he argued that the role of poetry and music was “hymnos canere et Dei laudes quam exquisitissime celebrare”.²⁶ And in more recent times, it had been Prosper-L.-P. Guéranger who reiterated that music was inseparably linked with liturgy.²⁷ What is more, the most effective examples of this were drawn from scripture itself. The prophet Isaiah’s vision and the description of the throne of God which occurs in *Revelations* both refer to a celestial liturgy in which the act of adoration was not recited but sung: in the first case, the Trisagion; in the second, the *canticum nuovum*.²⁸

De Santi argues that only Catholic liturgical music can achieve this end. Viewed as too cold and rational, the music of Protestant churches is “totally opposed to the fervour, to the vitality, to the truth of Catholic worship”, a judgment that gives voice to a rejection of the “exaggerated purism” that is held to be a cause of false pietism. De Santi also endorses Lemmens’s comments on Bach, who achieved great heights in the art of the fugue but is seen to be lacking in the melody that is essential if liturgy is to “respond to all the noble sentiments of the soul”.²⁹

The entire argument put forward by De Santi is based on the certainty that Christianity stimulated the emergence of a new culture and civilisation, of new forms of art whose ultimate *raison d’être* is to be found in the sphere of the divine—the very same principle that lies at the origin of the music embodied in the liturgy. Hence he quotes as fundamental sources authors from the first centuries of the Christian era who are generally ignored in writings on music. The *Apostolic constitutions*, St. Basil, St. Irenaeus, St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Augustine of Hippo, and St. Gregory the Great are all quoted as witnesses to the fact that, through the sung word, the Christian aims to “receive within himself the Holy Spirit”.³⁰

Musik (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1863); Friedrich Th. von Vischer, *Ästhetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen* (Reutlingen: Leipzig; Stuttgart: Mäcken’s Verlag, 1846–58; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1975).

²⁵ Valentin Thalhoffer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1887) vol. 1, 526; Ernst von Lasaulx, *Philosophie der schönen Künste: Architektur, Sculptur, Malerei, Musik, Poesie, Prosa* (München: Cotta, 1860) 28.

²⁶ Gottfried W. Leibniz, *Opusculum adscititio titulo systema theologicum inscriptum*, ed. by Pierre P. Lacroix (Paris: A. Le Clère et Soc., 1845) 47.

²⁷ Prosper-L.-P. Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* (Le Mans: Fleuriot, 1840–53; 2nd ed., Paris: Debecourt, 1878–85) vol. 1, 4.

²⁸ *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (4th ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) 1102–03: Is 6, 1–3; 1886–87: Apc 4, 6–13, 5, 6–10.

²⁹ Jacques-N. Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien, sa mélodie, son rythme, son harmonisation*, ed. by Jacques Duclous (Ghent: Annot Braekman, 1886) 22–21.

³⁰ *Corpus christianorum: Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993–) 2/2, ch. 13; *Corpus christianorum: Series latina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953) 27, 181; 144, 9–10; *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866–), 32/1, sermo IV, 23; *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, ed. by Jean-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844–65; repr., Turnhout: Brepols, 1956–99) vol. 1, 854; vol. 7, 818; vol. 8, 446, 658–59;

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF LITURGICAL MUSIC. From this starting point De Santi undertook a new reading of the history of liturgical music, tracing its historical development from its origins right up to the Flemish school of the 15th century. For the first period—from the church fathers to the Carolingians—he explored Migne’s *Patrologia graeca et latina* and Mansi’s *Conciliarum collectio* for texts and documents that had been inadequately studied by scholars. The results showed the existence of a musical language which, from its very origins, had had its own distinctive character, setting it apart from the practices followed by both pagans and heretics.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the spread of Roman books and the monastic movement were responsible for the establishment of a distinctive type of Christian chant. The work of Gregory the Great and the Carolingians would then establish a more uniform system³¹—a process which was facilitated by the compilation of the first treatises on the subject, the introduction of neumatic notation, the method of reading developed by Guido of Arezzo, and the collections of works composed for the new Christian feastdays.

Moving on to the 12th and 13th centuries, De Santi dwells on the introduction of rhetorical amplification, which he sees as ultimately leading to the decline of liturgical music even if it was also the basis for a “veritable new art” that first began with tropes, sequences, and the songs of the troubadours. The characteristics and functions of these innovations are illustrated by reference to Durand’s *Rationale*,³² to the examples collected by such writers on ecclesiastical music as Gerbert, Muratori and Georgi,³³ to the editions of these works edited by Duchesne and Dreves,³⁴ and to the more recent studies of Guéranger and Joseph Pothier.³⁵

Moving on to the subjects of *diaphonia* and *organum*, De Santi follows the accounts in various theoretical writings—from the *Musica enchiridis* to the texts written by Johannes Cotton, Aurelian de Réôme, Rémy d’Auxerre, and Regino de Prüm—that analyze *modus cantandi*, which he describes as aiming to “establish measure within

vol. 14, 169; vol. 31, 459; vol. 32, 790–800; vol. 46, 421; vol. 62, 167; vol. 79, 476; *Sancti Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis opera* (Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Roma: Città Nuova, 1979–2004) vol. 1, 112; *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris: Cerf, 1941–) 294, 320; 108, 96; 158, 158; Martin Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus* ([Sankt Blasien]: typis San-Blasianis, 1774; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968) vol. 1, 197–240; Frederick Field, *Johannis Chrysostomi interpretatio omnium epistularum paulinarum* (Oxford: Bibliotheca Patrum, 1839–62) vol. 4, 104f.

³¹ *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912–) vol. 13, 23–26; *Monumenta germaniae historica: Capitularia regum Francorum* (Hannover: impensis bibliopolii Haniani, 1883–97; repr., 1984–2001) vol. 1, 55; vol. 2/1, 45–48; *Monumenta germaniae historica: Concilia* (Hannover: impensis bibliopolii Haniani-Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1893–) suppl. 1, 136; *Monumenta germaniae historica. Scriptores* (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Haniani, 1826–94; repr., Stuttgart; New York: Hiersemann-Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963–64) vol. 2, 731; *Patrologia latina* vol. 97, 180; vol. 98, 1021, 1037; *Sacrorum conciliarum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Johannes D. Mansi (Firenze; Venezia: Antonio Zatta, 1759–98; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960–62) vol. 12, 399.

³² Guillelmi Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (Neapoli: apud Josephem Dura Bibliopolam, 1859) L.IV, C.5; *Corpus christianorum: Series latina*, vol. 140, 3.

³³ Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra*, vol. 1, 370ff.; Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus tria sacramentaria complectens* (Venezia: typis Jo. Baptistae Pasquali, 1748; Neapoli: typis Cajetani Castellani, 1776) vol. 1, ch. VII; Domenico Georgi, *De liturgia Romani pontificis in solemnibus celebrationibus missarum libri duo* (Roma: ex typ. R. Bernabò, 1731–44) vol. 2, diss. III.

³⁴ *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. by Louis Duchesne (Paris: Thorin, 1886–92) vol. 1, CDXXXII; *Analecta hymnica aevi medi*, ed. by Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: Reiland, 1886–1922; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1961).

³⁵ Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, vol. 1, 249, 266; Joseph Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes d’après la tradition* (Tournai: Desclée, 1880); *Paléographie musicale: Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican publiés en fac-similés phototypiques par les Bénédictins de Solesmes* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1891; repr., Bern: Lang & CIESA, 1974) vol. 2, 16.

cantus firmus.”³⁶ The subsequent “disciples of the new school”—Johannes de Garlandia, Franco of Cologne, Hieronymus de Moravia, Johannes de Muris, and Philippe de Vitry—would give new momentum to this *mensura*, applying liturgical plainsong in the genres of *discantus* and *motetus*.³⁷ It was precisely because of their development of melismatic embellishment and their superimposition of different texts that these forms of sung music were criticised by De Santi, who refers to the positions of scholars and theoreticians cited by Ambros, Gerbert, Poisot, Nisard, and Fétis.³⁸

The starting point in the reconstruction of the history of liturgical music proposed by De Santi thus becomes the papal bull *Docta sanctorum* issued by John XXII in 1325. Having discussed its historical context (papal captivity in Avignon), the scholar then analyses the text,³⁹ showing how the bull aimed to guarantee the devotion of the faithful by drawing on the teachings of St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventure to justify variety of musical forms and pleasure in listening—all of which was, however, to remain within the bounds of “*placida modulatio*” and “*musica bene morata*”. Such requisites were met by Gregorian chant, the supreme form and the very foundation of liturgical music. This fundamental form was, nevertheless, open to such artistic developments as 16th-century fauxbourdon and classical polyphony.

The 14th-century papal bull tried to introduce some order into a situation characterised by a certain decadence in neumatic musical script and a development of individual traditions which tended to undermine the original form of Gregorian melody. Things appeared particularly critical in Italy. However, De Santi is not blind to the innovations of the secular laud and canzone, illustrated in the collection to be found in an Italian codex (Bibliothèque National de France, MS Ital. 568) which comprises numerous compositions by Italian authors. De Santi underlines the predominance of melody in these works, contrary to French scholars.

Such developments explained the emergence of the 15th-century Flemish School, whose remarkable achievements, according to De Santi, were long underestimated by historians. De Santi studies the innovative characteristics of this music in relation to

³⁶ Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum ex variis Italiae, Galliae & Germaniae codicibus manuscriptorum collecti et nunc primum publica luce donati* ([Sankt Blasien]: typis San-Blasianis, 1784; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1990) vol. 1, 34–35, 65–66, 159–167, 237; vol. 2, 263–265; vol. 3, 239–240; Yves Chartier, *L'Epistola de armonica institutione et le tonaire de Réginon de Prüm* (Diss., University of Ottawa, 1965); *Corpus scriptorum de musica* (Roma: American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1950–) 1, 21; *Musica / Université d'Ottawa et scolica enchiridiadis cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, ed. by Hans Schmid (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981); *Hucbalds echte und unechte Schriften über Musik*, ed. by Heinrich Müller (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884) 52–89, 98–99; *Remigii Autissiodorensis commentum in Martianum Capellam libri I–IX*, ed. by Cora E. Lutz (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962–65).

³⁷ Charles-E.-H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a gerbertina altera* (Paris: Durand, 1864–76; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963) vol. 1, 1–89, 175–82; vol. 2, 386; vol. 3, 13–22, 68–113; idem, *L'histoire de l'harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Didron, 1852; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1966) 29; idem, *L'art harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris: Durand, 1865; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1964) 133; Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici*, vol. 3, 1–16; Walter Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae von Johannes de Muris: Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1924; repr., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1976); *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, ed. by Erich Reimer (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972); *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 8, 18; *Hieronymus de Moravia: Tractatus de musica*, ed. by Simon M. Cserba (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935).

³⁸ August W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (Breslau; Leipzig: Leuckart, 1862–82; repr., 3rd ed., 1887–1911, Hildesheim: Olms, 1968); Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici*; Théodore Nisard, *L'archéologie musicale et le vrai chant grégorien* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1890); Charles E. Poisot, *Histoire de la musique en France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Dentu, 1860); François-Joseph Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Didot, 1869–76; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1983).

³⁹ *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by Emil A. Friedberg (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1879–82; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956) 1255–57.

contemporary circumstances (the schism in the West), but also finds a clear historical continuity with previous genres. True to the goal of his entire project, however, he does not aim merely to offer a historical reconstruction, but, “on the basis of history discuss the causes and principles which, over the centuries, have played a role in creating or maintaining within the Church a specifically liturgical music”. Hence he draws on the studies of Haller and Bellermann to offer a detailed formal analysis which aims to demonstrate parity of dignity between polyphony and monodic chant.⁴⁰ Though he sometimes distorts things to suit his purpose, De Santi does offer a correct reading of these musical forms, with a clear account of the aspects that would be perfected by the Roman School. He also notes that the Flemish School itself was not without its defects, including *cantus firmus* based on secular melodies, the *missa parodia*, various forms of technical artifice (canons, mottoes), the occasional lack of rigour in the musical setting of the text—all regrettable lapses that would be attended to by the Council of Trent.

OBSERVATIONS. At this point De Santi’s study comes to a premature end. The accusation of complicity in the “parliamentarianism” of the 1889 Congress of Soave, which had not been authorized by the Roman Congregation of Rites, put an end to his writing.⁴¹ However, even though interrupted, his study makes his thoughts adequately clear, casting some doubt on the commonplace reading that the Cecilian movement was simply concerned with the restoration of early Christian music.

There is no doubt that De Santi sees the need to protect and reevaluate tradition. However, his position is not based on a mere rejection of contemporary music, nor on the idea of the classical which was embodied in the repertoires established by 19th-century bourgeois culture. His starting point is the difference he sees between various other genres and liturgical music, the function of the latter being to establish a relationship between the assembly of the faithful and an eternal, immutable God, the one point of stability in a continually changing world.

His real insight comes in his definition of the liturgy as an act of communication, hence one involving a language which brings together intellectual content and the expression of emotion in a synthesis predicated on an adequate understanding of the implicit meaning of symbols. If liturgical music is to be more than a mere adornment of ritual, there must be a balance between the language of information and the language of communication. De Santi is not sure that this requirement can be met by the music of his day; however elevated, it seems inadequate to the purpose because there is a split between its aesthetic and liturgical components, something the scholar does not find in plainsong and Renaissance polyphony.

In De Santi one sees fidelity to eternal truths combined with an acute intelligence about his own day, resulting in a concept of history that is predicated neither upon idealism’s notion of linear becoming nor upon positivism’s notion of scientific progress. The scholar looks to the ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas as providing a philosophy of being which combines the primacy of the spiritual with the autonomy of man, and which sees the complementary relationship between the natural and supernatural as the

⁴⁰ Michael Haller, *Kompositionslehre für poliphonen Kirchengesang mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Meisterwerke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Cöpppenrath, 1891) 22f.; Johann G.H. Bellermann, *Der Contrapunkt oder Anleitung zur Stimmführung in der musikalischen Composition* (Berlin: Springer, 1862) 1–2.

⁴¹ Rainoldi, *Sentieri della musica sacra*, 237–38.

necessary condition for the resolution of the contemporary world's problems, including those relating to religion and aesthetics.

Faced with the separation of religion and culture that is typical of the modern world, De Santi argues for both a distinction and a functional correlation between the temporal and transcendental dimensions of history. Anticipating the work of Jacques Maritain,⁴² he extends the metaphysics of Thomism to form a philosophy of praxis and action. It is this stance which enables him to draw upon the categories and tools of bourgeois positivistic culture in arguing for his notion of liturgical music.

Using up-to-date scholarship and the systematic classification of historical documents, De Santi identifies the types of musical language best suited to liturgy seen as an event of communication, applying rigorous rules and criteria in order to guarantee that certain aims are met. Thus his project combines notions of scholarly legitimacy with the idea of purity, with the need for a musical language uncontaminated by the secular, detached from the world of sense experience.

Given that, the liturgical serves to generate a context in which gestures, actions, and emotions are shared in praise of God, De Santi sees in this perennial function that liturgy cannot be identified with a specific, historically defined culture. The recovery of the “veritably ancient”, therefore, meets the need for a universal language that can transcend the specificity of any one culture.

Here one clearly comes up against the limits of De Santi's study: his reluctance—or inability—to engage in a dialogue with the music of his own time. Nevertheless, this is not due to the fact that he was incapable of facing the challenges posed by modern culture, as one can see from the critical spirit he brings to bear in establishing the epistemological tools he employs in arguing for his new idea of liturgical music. In effect, De Santi is not only deeply versed in neo-scholasticism, biblical exegesis, and theology; he ranges over the whole field of Christian thought and modern scholarship in his arguments against the implicit limitations of idealism and positivistic materialism, reaching the conclusion that a reality reduced to the narrow phenomenology of “indubitable data” would ultimately result in the destruction of existence itself.

It is these aspects that music historians generally tend to overlook when discussing the ideas of Angelo De Santi and the actions of the Cecilian movement, focusing solely on more external, propagandistic issues. The result is that their discussions ignore the most important aspect of this cultural phenomenon: the feeling that the nature and role of sung liturgy should be reconsidered not because of some nostalgic yearning for the past or out of a preconceived opposition to contemporary culture, but because there was a need for a musical language that was truly capable of expressing the communal prayer of the faithful. In effect, this was the first step on the road that would lead to the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* of Vatican Council II.⁴³

⁴² Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme intégral: Problèmes temporels et spirituels d'une nouvelle chrétienté* (Paris: Aubier, 1936).

⁴³ *Concilium Oecumenicum Decreta*, ed. by Giuseppe Alberigo, Giuseppe L. Dossetti, Perikles-P. Joannou, Claudio Leonardi, Paolo Prodi (2nd ed., Bologna: EDB, 2002) 819–30: 822.

LÉO DELIBES BY HENRI DE CURZON: A STEREOTYPICAL BIOGRAPHY OF A FRENCH MUSICIAN IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY?

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Having read the biography of Léo Delibes from 1926 by Henri de Curzon, we had to admit that we found it rather boring, despite the particular interest we have in Delibes.¹ Its 223 pages and 12 chapters do not convey much information about Delibes himself: Except for a short section entitled “Enfance et premières études”, all its chapters are devoted to analyzing his works, essentially his stage works, in chronological order, in the way music critics wrote their *feuilletons* at that time, with a large part dedicated to the plot and a brief description of the music itself. One learned, as if by chance, in between two comic operas, that Delibes had married and become a member of the Institut de France, nothing more. Indeed, this kind of catalogue, a collection of summaries of single librettos followed by analyses of the scores and information about performances and their reception, made for tiresome reading.

On the other hand, the work did not appear to be meant for scholars, and it has no bibliography, no list of works, no musical examples, and very few footnotes. There were other signs of unreliable scholarship, in spite of the author's evident taste for primary materials. The censored librettos in manuscript for Delibes's stageworks held in the Archives Nationales seemed to be used competently to show how his works could be cut or changed during rehearsals, or to give an idea of lost musical parts or scores. But then Curzon, comparing the piano scores with published librettos (and sometimes remarking on discrepancies in the names of the authors), seemed generally to prefer the published libretto versions, without telling us why, sometimes simply justifying his choice with such remarks as “sans doute doivent faire foi” (no doubt to be trusted). Curzon may have liked primary documents but did not, we thought, subject them to sufficient criticism.

Another surprising feature for us was the remarkably disparaging “croquis d'ensemble” (general sketch) introducing the biography. According to it, Delibes was

¹ Henri de Curzon, *Léo Delibes, sa vie et ses oeuvres (1836–1892)* (Paris: R. Legouix, 1926). The current authors are preparing a biographical study of Delibes.

a gifted composer, yet he lacked self-confidence. Never satisfied with himself, he always tried to please the public, thus giving way to compromise and never achieving an actual masterpiece. Everywhere in his book, Curzon seemed to insist on this lack of personality, this uncertainty, even though when analyzing Delibes's works he was often complimentary. It was puzzling: Curzon was a real opéra-comique lover and undoubtedly liked Delibes. But the rather negative image in his "croquis d'ensemble" is what must have stayed with most readers, and, as we would discover, quotations from the book continued to find their way into the press a long time after 1926. In spite of its weaknesses, Curzon remains a fundamental source for studying Delibes today. For this reason we could not reject his biography without further investigation. We determined to assess whether or not his assumptions about Delibes's psychology and motives were justified by facts or whether they merely reflect the historical context in which Curzon wrote. We began to wonder who Curzon was exactly and if he could be read as a serious scholar. What was the publishing environment in which his books appeared? Who were the other musical biographers writing in France at that time? To what extent might we attribute certain characteristics of his biography, particularly the preeminence of the analysis of single works and the negative *avant-propos*, to standards of biography writing in the first quarter of the 20th century?

HENRI DE CURZON. Henri de Curzon was 65 years old when he wrote his biography of Léo Delibes.² He had written quite a number of books and this one was among his very last.



Henri de Curzon (1904)

Born in 1861, Curzon came from a rather old, very large, and well-connected (though not especially rich) aristocratic family. His full surname was "Parent de Curzon". The family had traditionally shown an interest in artistic and intellectual pursuits, and apparently its network was widespread and active. Henri was the only child of the painter Alfred de Curzon and Amélie Saglio. Amélie was, according to her devoted son, a very brave and pious woman, quite intellectual and keen on music and art (she had studied with César Franck and painted striking flower bouquets). The Curzon and Saglio families had suffered heavy financial losses during the French Revolution and the revolution of 1848, and in 1871 during the Commune, Alfred and Amélie's apartment was burnt to ashes.³ Hence, although we do not really know what Curzon's political opinions were, one can surmise that he would not have been a very ardent republican. This is suggested by his collaboration with the royalist *Gazette de France*, and by a few sentences disapproving of the French Revolution, found in his

² See Norbert Dufourcq, "Henri de Curzon," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 106/1 (1946) 159–62.

³ Information about the family obtained from Henri de Curzon, *Alfred de Curzon, peintre (1820–1895): Sa vie et son oeuvre, d'après ses souvenirs, ses lettres, ses contemporains par son fils Henri de Curzon*, intro. by Louis de Fourcaud (Paris: H. Laurens, 1916).

biography of Grétry.⁴ Curzon married Nathalie Jacquinet de Presles, and several of his descendants appear today in the French “Who’s who”. In essence, Henri de Curzon originated from a traditional aristocratic and Roman Catholic family from which he would have inherited strong moral values.

He was first trained in history, at the *École des Chartes*, from 1879 to 1883, and his final thesis, expanded into a doctoral dissertation in 1888, was on the Knights Templar in Paris, a subject decidedly unrelated to music.⁵ He stopped writing on general history shortly after his doctorate, but we recently found an interesting review of the published thesis by a prominent positivist historian, Charles-Victor Langlois, which sheds light on Curzon’s position in late 19th-century historical scholarship. Langlois’s review was not very kind, pointing out its deficiency of method and even an important mistake in a dating issue.⁶ External reasons could also have been responsible for such a critical stand, but in any case it suggests that Henri de Curzon was probably not to be counted among the followers of positivist history, a movement that was openly prorepublican.



Young Henri de Curzon with his mother, by Alfred de Curzon.
In Henri de Curzon, *Alfred de Curzon, peintre (1820–1895)*.

Curzon seems to have been interested in a wide range of subjects, with music only gradually becoming his main topic. He started his career as an archivist in the Archives Nationales in 1882, where he eventually became keeper of the “section ancienne”. He retired from this position in 1926 to be vested with the responsibility of the library of the Opéra-Comique.

⁴ “Le moment allait bientôt venir où le public des théâtres resterait fermé à toute autre évolution que celle du sans-culottisme et à tout autre poème lyrique que ceux qui couvraient de boue rois et prêtres au nom de la liberté”. Henri de Curzon, *Grétry. Les musiciens célèbres* (Paris: H. Laurens, [1908]) 68–69.

⁵ Henri de Curzon, *Essai sur la maison du Temple de Paris* (thèse d’Ecole des Chartes, 1883); published as *La Maison du Temple de Paris: Histoire et description* (Paris: Hachette, 1888).

⁶ *Revue historique* 40/14 (May–August 1889) 173–74.

Being a historian trained at the École des Chartes, Curzon showed interest in the auxiliary sciences of history and was a competent and eclectic bibliographer. He compiled several bibliographies on various subjects (among them Alfred de Vigny, Mozart, and Saint Theresa)⁷ as well as catalogues of holdings in the Archives Nationales, and some of those on music and theater are still in use today.⁸

Fluent in German and Spanish, Curzon also translated plays from both languages, notably Hoffmann's *Fantasiestücke in Callot's Manier*, Schumann's writings, and Mozart's letters;⁹ the latter translation was only superseded by Geffray's in 1983. Curzon even published some "contes épiques" of his own, in 1909.¹⁰

From 1880 onwards, he wrote for various periodicals. In the beginning his focus was mostly on archaeology, but gradually he shifted towards music and theater. (His only practical musical skill seems to have been singing, as a fine amateur baritone.) Curzon wrote as a regular music columnist for the *Revue de la France moderne*, then for the *Gazette de France* until it ceased publication in 1915, and also for *Le guide musical* and *Le théâtre*. He succeeded Adolphe Jullien in the *Journal des débats* in 1928. He was a member of the Cercle de la Critique Musicale et Dramatique. He became the society's librarian after retiring from the Archives Nationales, and bequeathed his papers to it. Finally, as a historian of music and theater, Curzon contributed frequently to leading journals (*Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Théâtre* and various bulletins of French and international musicological societies¹¹) and produced a number of books, mainly biographies of composers or singers.

We have only limited indications of Curzon's position among the musicologists of his time. He was very much engaged in day-to-day music criticism. Since his early days, he had been a member of all French musicological societies, and was among those attending the important international congress in Paris in 1900, for which Romain Rolland served as secretary. Curzon, however, does not figure among the musicians or musicologists with whom Rolland corresponded,¹² nor was he ever mentioned by Rolland's widow at the time when she was working at identifying the possible addressees of her husband's letters in the musical field. Further, Curzon is never even mentioned in those letters we were able to read: He seems simply not to have existed in Rolland's world. In fact, perhaps not surprisingly, Curzon did not belong to the same intellectual circle as Rolland, a circle that included people like Prunières, Pirro, and Tiersot.

⁷ Henri de Curzon, *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à Alfred de Vigny* (Paris, 1897); idem, *Bibliographie térésienne: Ouvrages français et étrangers sur sainte Tère et sur ses oeuvres. Bibliographie critique* (Paris: Librairie des Saints-Pères, 1902); idem, *Essai de bibliographie mozartine: Revue critique des ouvrages relatifs à W.A. Mozart et à ses œuvres (extrait du « Bibliographe moderne », janvier-avril 1906)* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1906).

⁸ Henri de Curzon, *État sommaire des pièces et documents concernant le théâtre et la musique conservés aux Archives Nationales à Paris (extrait du « Bibliographe moderne », 1899, n°1)* (Besançon, 1899); idem, *Répertoire numérique des archives de la Maison du roi: Série O1* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1904).

⁹ E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Fantaisies dans la manière de Callot. Contes et nouvelles traduits de l'allemand par Henri de Curzon* (Paris: Hachette, 1891); Robert Schumann, *Écrits sur la musique et les musiciens*. Traduits par Henri de Curzon (Paris: Fischbacher, 1894–98); *Lettres de W.A. Mozart*. Traduction complète, avec une introduction et des notes, par Henri de Curzon (Paris: Hachette, 1888); *Nouvelles lettres des dernières années de la vie de Mozart*. Traduites par Henri de Curzon (Paris: Fischbacher, 1898); *Lettres de W.A. Mozart. I: 1769–1781; II: 1781–1791*. Traduction nouvelle et complète, par Henri de Curzon (Paris: Plon, 1928).

¹⁰ Henri de Curzon, *Contes épiques* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1909).

¹¹ An extensive bibliography of his writings on musical subjects is included in Annette Dieudonné, "Curzon, Emmanuel-Henri Parent", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952) vol. 2, 1827–30.

¹² Copies of letters are held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique.

Perhaps Rolland saw him as one of those “brillants écrivains de revue”, those mundane characters he despised so much, and whom he considered responsible for a great waste of time in the Internationale Musikgesellschaft before the First World War.¹³

Moreover, Curzon’s favorite fields of investigation, the opéra-comique and theater, were not valued highly by serious scholars at that time. His lack of methodology was not counterbalanced by the taste for original documents and exhaustive bibliography he showed in a number of works (but not in Delibes’s biography as mentioned above). Henri de Curzon remained a 19th-century man, writing mainly music criticism and biographies, though he was called upon for a contribution to the 1933 issue of Prunières’s *La revue musicale*, devoted to the 19th-century opéra-comique.¹⁴ His position seems to have been rather ambiguous, reflecting in a way the contradictions of musicology at its beginnings. Dictionaries, even during his lifetime, drew more attention to his activities as a music critic than to his other work. The 1931 French edition of Riemann’s dictionary describes him as a “critique musical”,¹⁵ and it is only in a 1930 volume of *La revue de musicologie* that he is referred to as a “musicologist”.¹⁶ The first edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Curzon had disappeared by the second edition) defines him as a music critic rather than a musicologist, and *The new Grove*, too, denies him the latter title, calling him a “critic” and “writer on music”.¹⁷ In truth, Curzon, who mostly wrote for publications that were holdovers from the 19th century or highly specialized, does not even seem to have been prominent as a critic. He was actually what we might call a “musicographe”, a writer on music, as Joël-Marie Fauquet terms him in his *Dictionnaire de la musique française au 19^e siècle*.¹⁸

In fact, there is no reason to believe that Curzon would have described himself as a “musicologist”. If we consider his motives and ambitions, he appears to have been an Epicurean and a very active amateur rather than a scholar, capable for example of writing detailed itineraries for mountain walks in the Pyrenees, which he published in *Le magasin pittoresque*.¹⁹ He certainly took pleasure in writing, and had a certain pride in his literary style, which reviewers often praised as “elegant”.²⁰ He also took pleasure in doing modest amounts of historical research and in finding primary sources that none had spotted before him.

PUBLISHING CONTEXT. To what extent was Curzon influenced by contemporaneous paradigms for biography writing?

According to Hans Lenneberg,²¹ early musicologists were uneasy about the very concept of musical biography, which was considered, following the influential definition

¹³ See Catherine Massip, “Romain Rolland musicologue: Les sources au Département de la Musique”, *Permanence et pluralité de Romain Rolland: Actes du colloque tenu à Clamecy 22–24 septembre 1994*, ed. by Anne-Marie Chagny-Sève (Nevers: Conseil Général de la Nièvre, 1995) 257–65.

¹⁴ “Les opéras-comiques de Boieldieu”, *La revue musicale* 140 (November 1933): *L’opéra-comique au XIX^e siècle*, 249–63.

¹⁵ Hugo Riemann, *Dictionnaire de musique*, trans. by Georges Humbert, ed. by André Schaeffner, with a collaboration of Marc Pincherle, Yvonne Rokseth, and André Tessier (3rd ed., Paris: Payot, 1931).

¹⁶ “Henri de Curzon: Elleviou”, review by Maurice Cauchie, *Revue de musicologie* 11/35 (August 1930) 222.

¹⁷ Malcolm Turner and Jean Gribenski, “Curzon, (Emmanuel) Henri (Parent) de”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 6, 789.

¹⁸ *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Fayard, 2003) 337–38.

¹⁹ Henri de Curzon, “Comment on monte au Mont-Perdu”, *Magasin pittoresque* 5 (1904) 345–49, 377–81.

²⁰ See for example review by Jane Arger, “Henri de Curzon: J.-B. Faure”, praising “l’élégant talent de M. de Curzon”, *Revue de musicologie* 5/11 (August 1924) 136.

²¹ Hans Lenneberg, *Witnesses and scholars: Studies in musical biographies* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988).

of musicology provided by Guido Adler in 1885,²² to be a subsidiary branch of the science. Nevertheless, these musicologists continued to approach their discipline essentially by writing biographies of composers. In France musicology emerged as a proper discipline at the turn of the century, and except for critical editions of scores, the first series of music books published there were devoted to biographies. These were *Les maîtres de la musique* (Master musicians), published by Félix Alcan, and *Les musiciens célèbres* (Famous musicians), issued by Henri Laurens, both of which began in 1906. In issuing these collections, the French were evidently imitating, after some delay, developments in England and in Germany. The Germans had started publishing the *Berühmte Musiker* series in 1898, and the English *Master musicians* series had followed one year later. Even the titles of both French series were translated directly from the German and English ones.

Henri de Curzon's biography of Delibes was not published in either of these series, although he did contribute four titles to them over the years. Examination of the biographies appearing in them up to 1939 reveals that all are in the brief format consistently used by Curzon for biography. More or less made for popularization, these biographies reflect up-to-date musical research. Meeting with great success, they became works of reference and remained on the open shelves in Paris music libraries until recently (many of the authors being among the founders of French musicology). Their very conciseness made the biographies of the two series all the more representative: In order to summarize a whole life within 150 to 250 pages, the authors were required to make highly significant choices.

Les maîtres de la musique: Études d'histoire et d'esthétique was for nearly 30 years edited by Jean Chantavoine,²³ a musicologist who was 29 when the series first appeared. Chantavoine had studied philosophy in France and music history in Germany, under Max Friedländer. After returning to France, he wrote books on music and worked as a music critic, later becoming the secretary general of the Paris Conservatoire (1923–37). Félix Alcan, the series publisher, had become well known for issuing scholarly titles in philosophy and history, not in music, though he did begin issuing other books on music while publishing *Maîtres de la musique*. Whose idea it was originally to launch the collection is not known; perhaps it was Chantavoine's when he came back from Germany. In any case, the serious-minded Alcan happened to get interested in this kind of publication just at the time musicology was entering French universities. Even the subtitle of the collection, "Studies in history and aesthetics", underscored its high ambition, while precise publication rules reflected its firmly scientific perspective.

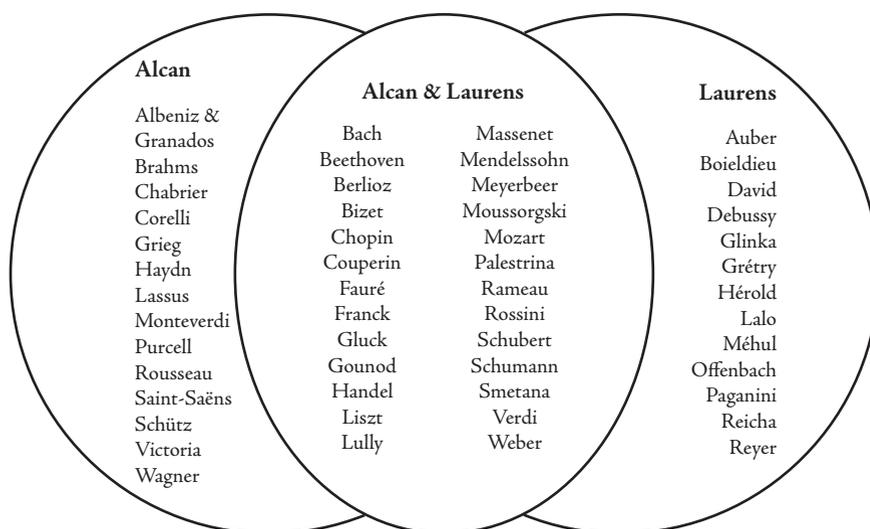
The other collection, *Les musiciens célèbres*, had no such pedigree and no such high purpose. Although it was born the same year, it never offered a real challenge. The publisher, Laurens, specialized mainly in coffee-table books on art and architecture, printed on beautiful paper and lavishly illustrated. Before moving on to musicians, he had experimented with a biographical series on painters called *Les grands artistes*. The aim of *Les musiciens célèbres* was clearly popularization, as expressed in the subtitle, "Collection

²² Guido Adler, "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885) 5–20.

²³ Jean Chantavoine (1877–1952) edited the collection from 1906 to 1933. In 1933 he was replaced by Léon Vallas (1879–1956). See Malcolm Turner, "Chantavoine, Jean (François Henri)", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 5, 487. Malcolm Turner and Jean Gribenski, "Curzon, (Emmanuel) Henri (Parent) de", vol. 6, 789.

d'enseignement et de vulgarisation", and as advertised by the publisher himself. The books were half as thick as those published by Alcan, and the bibliographies and lists of works were very concise, with musical examples replaced by illustrations that were better suited for a general audience. The illustrations, selected with care from among portraits or autograph manuscripts, were indeed interesting. The first editor of *Les musiciens célèbres* was the musicologist Elie Poirée (1850–1925), a librarian at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, and nearly 30 years older than Chantavoine. Serving as president of the French branch of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft in 1907, he was certainly more established than Chantavoine (though totally forgotten today), and represented the Lavignac generation of musicologists, born in the mid-19th century. He directed the series for about 20 years before being replaced by André Pirro (1869–1943).

The two series, differing slightly in purpose and form, were actually quite similar in their approach. Indeed they shared half of their subjects, and also about half of their nearly 40 authors.



A comparative table of composers included in *Les maîtres de la musique* and *Les musiciens célèbres* series.

Taking a closer look at these authors, we find that they fall into several categories. First there are musicologists, some well known even today, among them André Pirro, Henry Prunières (1886–1942), and Michel Brenet (1858–1918). Then come the university professors, specialists in philosophy or aesthetics who investigate music from the perspective of their own disciplines: for example, the professor of German literature and philology Henri Lichtenberger (1864–1941) on Wagner; and the philosopher, politician, and specialist in German philosophy Victor Basch (1863–1944) on Schumann. This type of author is represented only in the Alcan series. There are also composers like d'Indy or Koechlin. The fourth and last type are the music critics and writers on music, some of whom have the honor of still being referred to in leading music dictionaries, men like Camille Bellaigue (1858–1930) or Georges Servières (1858–1937), whereas others like the curator of the Musée du Conservatoire René Brancour (1862–1948) have been quite deservedly forgotten. Among the nearly 100 volumes to appear in the collections, more than half were written by musicologists,

the proportion being slightly higher in the Alcan series (nearly two thirds). Writers on music were responsible for slightly more than one title out of four.²⁴ The distribution of the subjects among authors is not surprising. It fairly reflects the development of French musicology at that time: Early composers were always treated by scholars, Mozart was in each case entrusted to a writer on music (Bellaigue and Curzon himself), and biographies of 19th-century composers were assigned to authors from all categories (and therefore were uneven in quality). Despite this variety, common features and concepts are observable in all these works.

IS CURZON'S *DELIBES* REPRESENTATIVE OF STANDARDS OF BIOGRAPHY IN FRANCE IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY? It was not to be expected that a biography written in the 1920s would incorporate a social or psychoanalytic approach. But still we were surprised at first by the absence in Curzon's biography of even basic facts of Delibes's life. His book is actually an account of Delibes's production rather than the story of his life and works. Yet a review of all seven composer-biographies Curzon wrote between 1908 and 1938 reveals much the same picture;²⁵ most of them, and not only the Delibes, too often resemble annotated catalogues. Curzon's fellow writers apparently did not disapprove of such an approach: If some reviews in specialized journals occasionally pointed out that the work rather than the life of a musician had been described, none of them disagreed with his method. Only once do we find a reviewer confessing to being bored with Curzon's Mozart biography.²⁶

In *Les maîtres de la musique*, most of the authors, possibly following the suggestion of the general editor, Chantavoine, completely separate lives from works. The section devoted to the composer's life is always shorter, and sometimes much shorter: one quarter of the whole in Calvocoressi's *Moussorgsky*, for example.²⁷ Covering the composer's life for these authors often meant providing a mere chronology of works with a description of the circumstances of composition and comments on the first performance and reception of each. Very exceptionally, as with Pirro's *Schütz*,²⁸ the section on the composer's life is larger than that on the works. Sometimes, as with Tiersot and his *Gluck*,²⁹ the writer simply did away with the composer's life, providing the reader with a sort of curriculum vitae before going chronologically from one work to another. The biographies of the Laurens series, *Les musiciens célèbres*, even though they generally deal with a composer's life and works within single chapters, also focus chiefly on the works.

This emphasis on the works as opposed to the life of a composer, common in all Europe at that time, has been explained, notably by Jolanta Pełacz,³⁰ with reference to the concept of the musical work as self-sufficient, as the expression of transcendental genius independent of human life—an idea formulated in Guido Adler's highly influential 1885

²⁴ Musicologists wrote 56 percent of titles, music critics and writers on music wrote 34 percent, composers wrote 13 percent, and professors from other fields 7 percent.

²⁵ *Grétry*. *Les musiciens célèbres* (Paris, H. Laurens, [1908]); *Meyerbeer*. *Les musiciens célèbres* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910); *Mozart*. *Les maîtres de la musique* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1914); *Rossini*. *Les maîtres de la musique* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1920); *Ernest Reyer: Sa vie et ses œuvres (1861–1909)* (Paris: Perrin, 1924); *Léo Delibes: Sa vie et ses œuvres (1836–1892)* (Paris: R. Legoux, 1926); *Mozart* (Paris: Nouvelle revue critique, 1938).

²⁶ Emile Bernard, "H. de Curzon: Mozart," *Revue des études historiques* 80 (1914) 362.

²⁷ Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, *Moussorgsky*. *Les musiciens célèbres* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1908).

²⁸ André Pirro, *Schütz*. *Les musiciens célèbres* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1913).

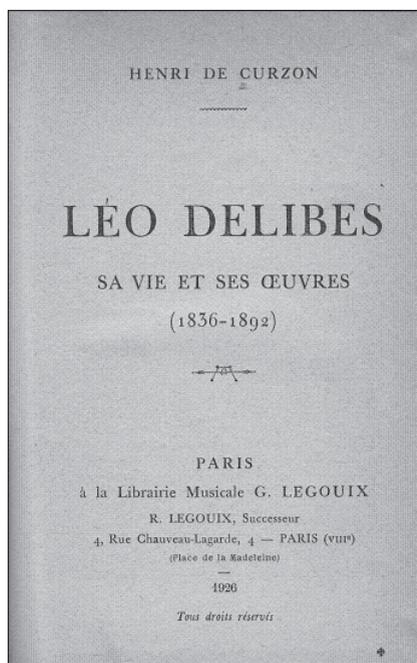
²⁹ Julien Tiersot, *Gluck*. *Les musiciens célèbres* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1910).

³⁰ Jolanta T. Pełacz, "Memory, history and meaning: Musical biography and its discontents," *Journal of musicological research* 23/1 (2004) 39–80.

definition of musicology.³¹ Curzon expressed a similar works-oriented conception of musical biography in his review of *Mozart* by Saint-Foix and Wyzewa.³² According to him, the authors had chosen the right method by reconstructing Mozart's inner life—what Curzon called his “musical life”—and by leaving aside the petty events of the composer's outer existence which would only have distracted the reader from the real understanding of his work. The general absence of anecdotes in Curzon's writings is therefore not surprising. He simply preferred not to mention them at all; others like Brenet chose to question their reliability rather than ignore them.³³

Although most musical biographies written early in the 20th century rejected narrative and speculation, some writers, among them Romain Rolland and later Guy de Pourtalès, continued to produce literary biographies meant for moral edification, in which commentaries and aesthetic exegesis shed light on the narration:³⁴ these biographies were heir to the old “herographies”, which indeed remained the underlying reference for any biographer. Curzon, in dealing with such an ordinary life as that of Delibes, must have been embarrassed; for such a subject, the attire of a classic or romantic hero would not do. This embarrassment would actually help to explain why Curzon, in writing of some orientations he disapproved of in Delibes's work, merely repeated the severe judgment of his predecessor Arthur Pougin as regards Delibes's personality.³⁵ Then, too, having inherited a romantic view of artists from his father, a painter, Curzon could not but compare Delibes with this image. In Curzon's eyes, a composer like Delibes, who had met with easy and wide success during his life, could not really be a “true” artist. Such an artist for Curzon had to be a reformer of the public's taste and not a mere follower.

Curzon's opinion was supported by the general view of Delibes—a composer then mostly despised by learned musicians and musicologists, in spite of the continuing success of his *Lakmé* in France and abroad. Delibes's slender reputation may explain



Henri de Curzon, *Leo Delibes: Sa vie et ses œuvres (1836–1892)* (Paris: G. Legouix, 1926). Title page.

³¹ Adler, “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft”.

³² Henri de Curzon, “Teodor de Wyzewa et Georges de Saint-Foix: W.A. Mozart, sa vie musicale et son œuvre, de l'enfance à la pleine maturité...”, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 46/73 (1912) 162–64.

³³ “Aussi retrouvons-nous à l'entrée de la biographie de Haendel les mêmes anecdotes qui embellissent l'histoire de maint artiste célèbre, et nous faut-il admirer le petit Georges-Frédéric s'exerçant la nuit, dans un grenier, sur un clavecin aphone. On doit supposer cependant que l'interdiction des études musicale ne fut pas absolue, puisque les mêmes auteurs rapportent qu'à sept ans le petit garçon joua de l'orgue en présence du duc de Saxe...”. Michel Brenet, *Haendel* (Paris: Laurens, 1912) 9.

³⁴ See Romain Rolland, *Vie des hommes illustres: Beethoven* (Paris: Cahiers de la Quinzaine, 1903); idem, *Haendel. Les maîtres de la musique* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1910); Guy de Pourtalès, *La vie de Franz Liszt. Vies des hommes illustres* (Paris: Gallimard, 1925); Guy de Pourtalès, *Wagner, histoire d'un artiste* (Paris: Gallimard, 1932).

³⁵ Arthur Pougin, *Musiciens du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1911).

why the Curzon biography was not published by Alcan or Laurens but by Legouix, a less important music publisher.

In any case Curzon was far from the only one to take such a severe stand: Any composer unable to fulfill the moral criteria of his biographer or live up to his own genius deserved little praise. Boschot on Berlioz is a famous example of such deprecation,³⁶ and among others in our two series, both biographers of Bizet show much irony and condescension towards their subject.³⁷

Obviously, no author at that time would have adopted what we would call a modern approach to his subject, the approach that considers the personality as being composed of a number of selves intermingled in horizontal complexity. Curzon and other biographers of his era, even Rolland, would only consider vertical complexity in their subject: Truth was to be found in the deepest self, the unity of which was never questioned. Curzon's judgment on Delibes's personality is not only deprecating but also over-simple and at times arbitrary. This same tendency to belittle his subjects is found in other biographies by Curzon: If Delibes was a hesitant character, easily influenced, Rossini was lazy and lacking courage.³⁸ Curzon never actually examined the relationships that may have existed between Delibes and his contemporaries: Delibes appears to compose in isolation, apart from other composers and artists, torn only between his own genius and the taste of the public.

Having surveyed early French composer biographies, the present writers may be better able to assess their own methods and to confront the challenges facing biographers. We believe we are now more aware than was Curzon of certain biases, for example those induced by our national and social origins, our education, our time, and our own personalities. It has become even clearer to us that, in order to offer a fair and even comprehensive account of Delibes's seemingly ordinary life, we will be obliged to investigate that life from a great many different angles. To us he would appear an ideal subject for sociological study. Finally, in the process we hope to shed light on musical works that we believe are deserving of renewed attention.

³⁶ Adolphe Boschot, *L'histoire d'un romantique: Hector Berlioz* (Paris: Plon, 1906–13).

³⁷ Willy (i.e., Emile Vuillermoz), *Bizet: Biographie critique*. Les musiciens célèbres (Paris: H. Laurens, 1911); Paul Landormy, *Bizet*. Les maîtres de la musique (Paris: F. Alcan, 1924).

³⁸ Henri de Curzon, *Rossini*. Les maîtres de la musique (Paris: F. Alcan, 1920).

THE ORIGINS OF THE AGENDA OF MEDIEVAL MUSICOLOGY: FRIEDRICH LUDWIG AND JACQUES HANDSCHIN

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For Reinhold Brinkmann on his 70th birthday

In 1973 Reinhold Brinkmann published a short essay on the state of medieval studies in music.¹ Concerned about the decreasing interest in the period among students and younger scholars, a trend he had noticed already then, Brinkmann looked for an explanation in the assumptions of musicologists active in the field. In particular, he focused on Friedrich Ludwig, one of the founding fathers of German musicology and, to this day, considered by many the most eminent figure in the study of medieval music, someone whose work continues to be held up as a model of how scholarship should be done.² Brinkmann criticized Ludwig for comparing Perotinus's quadruplum "Viderunt" to Bach's F-major toccata, because it applied criteria proper to a 19th-century autonomous work of art (criteria problematic even in relation to Bach) to medieval music, without ever questioning whether these can be legitimately applied. He pointed out that such a comparison gave Perotinus's piece an aesthetic quality it probably never possessed, and that it assumed without question a historical continuity from Perotinus to Bach.

This paper was written while I was a Guggenheim Fellow in Paris in 1997–98. Other versions of this paper have been read while I was an Astor Visiting Lecturer at Oxford University, on 17 March 1999, and at the University of California at Berkeley, on 2 April 1999. I would like to thank the following friends and colleagues for having either read earlier drafts of this paper or generously shared information with me: Karol Berger, Lawrence Bernstein, Reinhold Brinkmann, the late John Daverio, Annegrit Laubenthal, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Lewis Lockwood, Edward Roesner, Martin Staehelin, Rudolph Stephan, Reinhard Strohm, and Richard Taruskin. Special thanks to Friedrich Ludwig's grandniece Annelotte Malik from Göttingen who has kindly shared many biographical details with me otherwise not available. Portions of this paper have been published in my *Medieval music and the art of memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). I would like to thank the University of California Press for their permission to reprint here a part of the first chapter.

¹ Reinhold Brinkmann, "Schwierigkeiten mit dem Mittelalter", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 134 (1973) 202–03.

² See, for example, David Hiley, "Ludwig, Friedrich", *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com; and Ursula Günther, "Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen", *Musikwissenschaft und Musikpflege an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Martin Staehelin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987) 152–75. For a most recent example of an almost hagiographic approach to Ludwig, see Ulrich Bartels, "Musikwissenschaft zwischen den Kriegen: Friedrich Ludwig und seine Schule", *Musik der zwanziger Jahre*, ed. by Werner Keil (Hildesheim: Olms, 1996) 86–105.

Brinkmann then went on to list two central complaints about medieval scholarship: first, an obsessive concern with the study of sources and chronology (Brinkmann calls it “Faktenwissenschaft”) and with the production of new editions, which goes hand in hand with an unwillingness to ask new questions, questions that go beyond “Who did what when?”; second, a lack of regard for the larger intellectual framework and cultural context of music.

Provocative though it was, Brinkmann’s essay did not elicit any public reactions.³ And yet, its concerns are just as valid now as they were in 1973. Medieval musicology continues to attract fewer and fewer scholars; its best practitioners remain largely absorbed by the positivistic agenda established by Ludwig. Witness, to pick one example among many, Fritz Reckow’s and Wulf Arlt’s musical analyses of the Notre Dame repertoire, fine examples of the genre though they are, which are dominated by the 19th-century idea of the autonomous work, and more specifically, by Ludwig’s conception of medieval music, as I will show below.⁴ A fresh look at Ludwig’s background and achievement is needed if we are to understand his extraordinary hold on the way medieval musicology continues to be practiced.

FRIEDRICH LUDWIG: HIS LIFE, EDUCATION, AND WORK. Ludwig was born in Potsdam in 1872, a son of a gardener who tended the Potsdam Stadtrat Friedrich Hiller’s orchard.⁵ Since the Stadtrat had no children of his own, he decided to finance the education of the two sons of his gardener, neither of whom would have been able to study otherwise. It was a good investment, and both the Ludwig boys grew to become university professors. (Friedrich showed his gratitude by dedicating his dissertation to Hiller.) Ludwig’s mother was a staunch Lutheran, his father Roman Catholic, and all five children received a strict Lutheran upbringing. Ludwig remained a devout Lutheran until his death. This means that Ludwig attended Sunday services regularly throughout his life and was intimately familiar with Lutheran church music. His student Joseph Müller-Blattau points out that “Ein besonders inniges Verhältnis hatte er zur ältesten Kirchenmusik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem tiefsten religiösen Kern seines Wesens heraus.”⁶ As we shall see, this religious commitment had direct ramifications for his scholarship. Late in life, he chose to end an important university speech by reciting Luther’s choral: “Erhalt uns in der Wahrheit, gib ewigliche Freiheit, zu preisen Deinen Namen, durch Jesus Christus, Amen.”⁷

Ludwig started out as a historian. He first studied in Marburg with Karl Lamprecht and Max Lehmann, and then wrote his dissertation, *Untersuchungen über die Reise- und Marschgeschwindigkeit im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert* under Harry Breßlau in Strassburg.⁸ The dissertation, investigating the average speed of troupe movement during the crusades, won first prize in a student competition and is an outstanding

³ Communication with the author, 28 November 1997.

⁴ Fritz Reckow, “Das Organum”, *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. by Wulf Arlt (Bern: Francke, 1973) 434–96; Reckow, “Processus und structura: Über Gattungstradition und Formverständnis im Mittelalter”, *Musiktheorie* 1/1 (1986) 5–29; Wulf Arlt, “Denken in Tönen und Strukturen: Komponieren im Kontext Perotinus”, *Musik-Konzepte. 107: Perotinus Magnus*, ed. by Jürg Stenzl (München: text + kritik, 2000) 53–100.

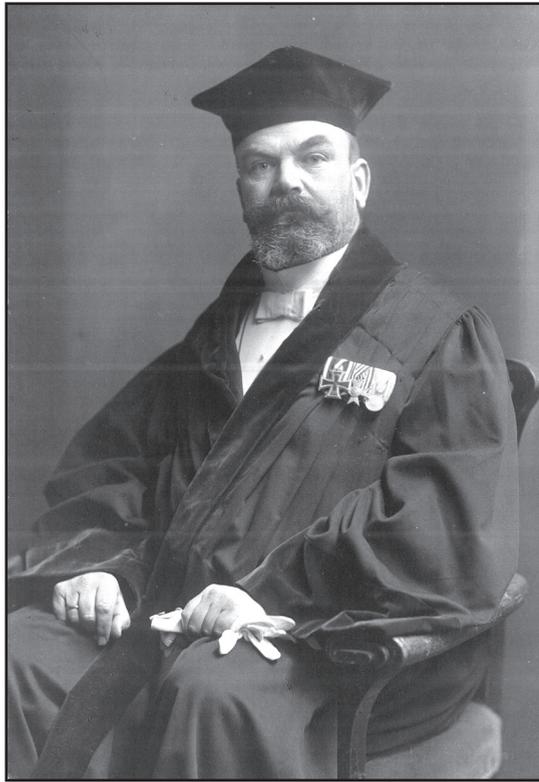
⁵ Communication from Ludwig’s grandniece Annelotte Malik in Göttingen.

⁶ Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Dem Andenken Friedrich Ludwigs* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1930) 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸ Friedrich Ludwig, *Untersuchungen über die Reise- und Marschgeschwindigkeit im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mittler, 1897).

example of positivistic research. Ludwig looked at every available document, literary account, and bill to compute the average speed of troupe movement during the crusades. He distinguished between trips on foot, by boat on a river, and by boat on the sea; he accounted for every night, every battle fought. He compared the speed of the troupe movements to that of the messengers. Every statement is supported by detailed footnotes. There are many references to the work of other historians, and there is not a trace of the arrogance he displayed in later musicological reviews. And yet, this dissertation is very much in the same style as his later musicological work: He is concerned only with narrowly defined questions of fact that can be directly answered by reading the sources, and he keeps speculation to an absolute minimum.



Friedrich Ludwig (1872–1930)

Having completed the dissertation, Ludwig continued his studies in Strassburg with the first German ordinarius in musicology, Gustav Jacobsthal, he wrote his habilitation with him, and in 1910, on Jacobsthal's retirement, he became his successor. Jacobsthal was probably the most important intellectual influence of his life. Ludwig dedicated his *Repertorium* to him, had Jacobsthal's motet "*Die Lehrer werden leuchten wie des Himmels Glanz; und die, so viele zur Gerechtigkeit weisen, wie die Sterne immer und ewiglich*" (Daniel 12:3) sung at his "Rektoratsrede" in Göttingen in 1930, and made arrangements to have the same motet performed at his own funeral. Jacobsthal's intellectual formation was shaped by the Romantic Palestrina revival in Berlin. Several of Ludwig's students stressed that this revival also formed the most important intellectual background for Ludwig. In fact, Joseph Müller-Blattau draws a direct line from Herder via Thibaut, Winterfeld, Bellermand, and Jacobsthal to Ludwig.⁹ I will examine this background later on.

Originally Ludwig wanted to write a major study of Italian trecento music, which would have included a detailed discussion of 14th-century notation, but the other medievalist of his generation, Johannes Wolf (1869–1947), managed to beat him to it and was the first to publish a study of trecento music,¹⁰ followed by a *Geschichte der*

⁹ Müller-Blattau, *Dem Andenken Friedrich Ludwigs*, 7, and Heinrich Besseler, "Friedrich Ludwig", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1930–31) 83–91, see especially 85.

¹⁰ Johannes Wolf, "Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 (1901–02) 599–646.

Mensuralnotation.¹¹ The latter is a landmark in the study of medieval music. It consists of three sections: a study of mensural notation, a list of sources, and transcriptions of many pieces never previously available. It is unclear whether Wolf knew that Ludwig was working on a similar notation project. When the book on mensural notation appeared, Ludwig wrote a devastating 44-page review, concentrating mainly on small inaccuracies in the description of the sources.¹² Here is an example of a typical Ludwig put-down:

Ich bin in der Lage, bei fast allen Beschreibungen von Handschriften des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts mehr oder weniger bedeutende Ungenauigkeiten konstatieren zu müssen. Die wichtigsten sollen, soweit es mein Material erlaubt, im folgenden in möglichster Kürze berichtet werden, um weiteren Verschleppungen der Fehler vorzubeugen.¹³

Similarly, Ludwig starts the discussion of new sections with the following sentence: “Die Beschreibung ist ganz unzureichend” (p. 614) or “Der Vergleich mit den anderen Handschriften ist nur als oberflächlich zu bezeichnen, kann aber hier nicht komplettiert werden” (p. 616). The interests of scholarship would have been much better served if Ludwig had read Wolf’s book before publication and given the author the corrections, so that Wolf might have incorporated them into his manuscript.¹⁴

One could argue that Wolf became the unfortunate victim of Ludwig’s zeal to introduce only the highest standards of scholarship into musicology. He had spent years analyzing the sources and had all of the correct information readily available. It would certainly not have served our discipline to hold back all of this merely to spare Wolf’s feelings. And indeed, this review and Ludwig’s subsequent publications have brought unprecedented standards of scholarship to our field. But one should remember that Wolf’s book, in spite of some inaccuracies, is one of the most fundamental studies in our discipline.

Even though the review gave the impression that much of the book needed to be rewritten, Ludwig abandoned his project and turned full-time to the other area that engaged his interest, the music of the 13th century. His work in this area culminated in the *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili* of 1910,¹⁵ to this day the most authoritative catalogue of, and book on, 13th-century organa and motets. It was a work for which he prepared many years, as one can see from his Nachlass in Göttingen. In the *Repertorium*, Ludwig gives the first detailed account of modal notation, lists all concordances in the 13th-century repertoire, orders them chronologically, and tries to establish which was the original and which a copy. One also finds detailed descriptions of all the sources of the period. The accuracy and ingeniousness with which the project has been executed make it to this day a model for our discipline.¹⁶

¹¹ Bessler, “Friedrich Ludwig”, 86; Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250 bis 1460* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904) 3 vols.

¹² It is unclear to me how Ulrich Bartels can deny that this is a negative review. See Bartels, “Musikwissenschaft zwischen den Kriegen”, 94.

¹³ Friedrich Ludwig, “Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250–1460: Nach den theoretischen und praktischen Quellen bearbeitet von Johannes Wolf”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 6 (1904–05) 609.

¹⁴ When discussing MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi 26, Ludwig admits in a footnote that Wolf has told him that he himself wanted to publish a correction, but Ludwig nevertheless goes on to say, “Ich glaube trotzdem die folgenden Zusätze und Berichtigungen nicht unterdrücken zu brauchen.” *Ibid.*, 614.

¹⁵ Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. I: Catalogue raisonné der Quellen. 1: Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation* (Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1910).

¹⁶ Let me give just one characteristic example of Ludwig’s virtuosity. Since the MS La Clayette was lost at the time, Ludwig tried to reconstruct its entire contents from a copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, coll. Moreau 1715.

The second part of the *Repertorium*, a catalogue of 13th-century motets, although finished and typeset in 1911, was only published in 1961 by Ludwig's student Friedrich Gennrich. The reasons for the delay are quite characteristic of the way Ludwig worked:¹⁷ He was a perfectionist and could not part with a work until he knew that everything was correct. First, he wanted to await publication of Jacobsthal's work on Montpellier MS H 196. Then, when he managed to look at Jacobsthal's Nachlass in 1913 (Jacobsthal had died in 1912), he discovered that his teacher was still in the early stages of research. Therefore, Ludwig saw no reason to take account of Jacobsthal's work in his study. Unfortunately, he had in the meantime lost interest in the project, was too busy with other projects, and there was always the fear that new sources might be discovered and that the *Repertorium* might not live up to his high standards. Heinrich Bessler, another Ludwig student, thought that Ludwig might have published the *Repertorium* in the 1920s, had he not been so overloaded with administrative duties.¹⁸ In the end Gennrich published the manuscript essentially as Ludwig left it.

It is worth noting here that in his Strassburg years Ludwig became friends and frequently consulted with the great Romance philologist Gustav Gröber, who had a similar passion for purely philological research. Gröber's *Übersicht über die lateinische Literatur von der Mitte des VI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (1902) is medieval Latin's equivalent of our *Repertorium*, "an overview so dense and well organized that it remains superseded and indispensable nearly a century after its initial publication."¹⁹

After the war, Ludwig had to leave Strassburg, and, after a short stay in Berlin, he was appointed to the musicology chair at Göttingen, where he stayed until his death in 1930. From 1929 to 1930 he was rector of the university, the first musicologist in Germany to be so honored.²⁰

In Göttingen, he returned to work on the 14th century. Just as he was the first scholar to understand the system of modal rhythm, he was the first to describe a phenomenon he called isorhythm. He published three volumes of the collected works of Guillaume de Machaut.²¹ The fourth volume, the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, although completely transcribed in the Nachlass, was only published in 1954 by Bessler.²² The Machaut edition set new standards of scholarship and remains the best edition of his works, with the isorhythmic structure immediately recognizable from the layout of the page and with most variants in the different sources accounted for in the notes.

Unfortunately, the copy did not include the Latin motets. In spite of this, Ludwig's amazingly accurate reconstruction of the entire content of the La Clayette MS was vindicated when the manuscript was found again (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521). See also Friedrich Ludwig, "Repertorium organorum... Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils", *Summa musicae mediæ ævi*, ed. by Friedrich Gennrich (Langen bei Frankfurt, 1961) vol. 2, 344.

¹⁷ Friedrich Ludwig, "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils", *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, ed. by Friedrich Gennrich, *Summa musicae mediæ ævi* 7 (Langen bei Frankfurt, 1961) foreword.

¹⁸ Bessler, "Friedrich Ludwig†", 87.

¹⁹ Jan Ziolkowski, "Ernst Robert Curtius (1886–1956) and medieval Latin studies", *The journal of medieval Latin* 7 (1997) 154. See also Ernst Robert Curtius, "Gustav Gröber und die romanische Philologie", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie* (Bern and München, 1960) 428–55.

²⁰ Jacobsthal's other student Peter Wagner had become a rector of the University of Fribourg in Switzerland in 1920–21. See John A. Emerson, "Wagner, Peter", *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

²¹ Guillaume de Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*. Publikationen älterer Musik (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926–29) 3 vols.

²² Guillaume de Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*, vol. 4, ed. by Heinrich Bessler from Ludwig's Nachlaß (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1954).

In 1924 Ludwig published a synthesis of all of his previous work in Guido Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (updated in 1929).²³ In addition, he published many substantial papers throughout his life.²⁴ Last but not least, his Nachlass, now at Niedersächsische Staats- und Landesbibliothek in Göttingen, includes diplomatic and modern transcriptions of most known manuscript of the 13th through 15th centuries. These transcriptions are so detailed and accurate, with extensive commentaries and musical analyses of the pieces, that Ludwig preferred them to microfilms.²⁵ The page layout of the transcription always reproduces the layout of the manuscript. The Nachlass has been consulted extensively by subsequent scholars who often checked their own transcriptions against Ludwig's and found the latter to be almost always accurate.²⁶

Why did Ludwig publish so little of the material that is now in his Nachlass? I believe the main reason was that at the beginning of his career he was convinced that there was no interest in performing the music of the period. Ludwig writes in 1905:

Der in erster Linie stehende Zweck von Untersuchungen und Publikationen über die mittelalterliche Mehrstimmigkeit ist kein praktischer, sondern ein wissenschaftlicher.²⁷

In 1906 Ludwig could not really imagine that anyone would ever want to listen to any medieval music with the exception of chant.

By 1921 the atmosphere had changed. In an article on Perotinus, Ludwig stressed that the primary goal of musicological research is to bring back to life music of the past.²⁸ He regretted that so little of the Notre Dame repertoire was available in modern transcription.²⁹ When Wilibald Gurlitt organized performances of medieval music at the Badische Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe, Ludwig wrote detailed and enthusiastic program notes with comments on the authenticity of the performances.³⁰ He was only too happy to provide modern transcriptions of organa, motets, and the final Kyrie from Machaut's Mass. Leoninus's and Perotinus's organum "Alleluia Pascha" with the appropriate motets were performed for the first time, and it is clear that these performances marked the beginning of medieval music performances in Germany. They were soon followed by performances organized by Besseler.³¹ Thus, by the end of Ludwig's life, the resurrection of medieval polyphony was well on its way, and he can be seen as one of the people who made it happen. And if Ludwig had lived longer, he might well have published more of the material included in his Nachlass.

Ludwig taught a greater variety of courses in his Göttingen years than one would expect from his publications:³² Seventeenth-century music history (four times), notation

²³ Friedrich Ludwig, "Die geistliche nichtliturgische/weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. by Guido Adler (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1924; second ed., 1929; reprint ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961) 157–295.

²⁴ For a complete list of his publications, see Besseler, "Friedrich Ludwig", 83–91.

²⁵ Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Straßburger Schule der Musikwissenschaft* (Würzburg: Tritsch, 1940) 13.

²⁶ Günther, "Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen", 155–56.

²⁷ Ludwig, "Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250–1460", 620.

²⁸ Friedrich Ludwig, "Perotinus Magnus", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 3/4 (November 1921) 361–70.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 369.

³⁰ Friedrich Ludwig, "Musik des Mittelalters in der Badischen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, 24.–26. September, 1922", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1922–23) 434–60.

³¹ Heinrich Besseler, "Musik des Mittelalters in der Hamburger Musikhalle, 1.–8. April, 1924", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1924–25) 42–54.

³² The courses were listed every year in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1920–30.

and paleography (four times), Haydn and Mozart (four times), reading of medieval writers on music (four times), Händel and Bach (twice), medieval polyphony (only once), Beethoven (three times), and the history of older instrumental music (three times). This shows that he was interested in composers and periods on which he never published.

Ludwig was only 58 years old when he died. It is astounding that one person could achieve as much as he did in such a short life span. When Ludwig started we knew next to nothing about medieval music. By the end of his life all existing sources had been transcribed and analyzed. In the process, he deciphered modal notation, discovered isorhythm, and traced the evolution of musical genres. Ludwig, then, was the first musicologist to apply the strict philological methods of classicists like Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Gustav Gröber to music. This meant a conscious decision to concentrate almost exclusively on sources to the exclusion of almost everything else. It is characteristic that in his lecture *Die Aufgaben der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte*³³ at the beginning of his career, he stressed that scholars have been much too concerned with theory and that sources should be much more central to the discipline. He praised the making of catalogs as “eine überaus lohnende Aufgabe”. Similarly, in his last lecture, *Die Erforschung der Musik des Mittelalters. Festrede im Namen der Georg August-Universität am 4. Juni 1930*,³⁴ where he sums up the achievements of the last 15 years, he was only concerned with the discovery of new sources and the proper evaluation of old ones.

Precisely because Ludwig concentrated narrowly on source studies and did them so well, scholars have been reluctant to question his presuppositions. Work that is interested only in “facts”, which asks no more than “Who did what when?”, appears to be presuppositionless. And yet we know that any scholar brings certain biases to his work. What were Ludwig’s? We need to examine his background, see what questions he asked and how he arrived at his conclusions, and we need to see to what extent we are still under his spell. In the following, I will show where Ludwig came from and what he did and did not bring to the study of medieval polyphony. I will juxtapose his view of the Middle Ages with that of the other great scholar of the first half of this century, Jacques Handschin, a scholar who seems to have had much less impact. And I hope to be able to show how the overwhelming presence of Ludwig has prevented us from addressing new questions.

THE PALESTRINA REVIVAL. I have mentioned earlier that several of Ludwig’s students stressed his background in the Romantic Palestrina revival. The movement was a direct result of the rise of autonomous music in the 18th century. Vocal music became subordinated to instrumental music. The central genres were symphonies, string quartets, and opera. Church music, which had taken center stage until then, was suddenly relegated to a secondary position. This matter gravely concerned many Christians, who therefore started looking to music of the past, in particular to the music of ancient Italian composers, for models.

³³ Friedrich Ludwig, *Die Aufgaben der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte* (München: Bayrische Druckerei & Verlagsanstalt, 1906).

³⁴ Friedrich Ludwig, *Die Erforschung der Musik des Mittelalters: Festrede im Namen der Georg August-Universität am 4. Juni 1930* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, W. Fr. Kaestner, 1930).

The first person to elevate Palestrina and his contemporaries to the highest realm was the Lutheran pastor Johann Gottfried Herder. During his studies in Königsberg from 1762 to 1764, he started an intense exchange with Johann Georg Hamann and Johann Friedrich Reichardt on the state of true church music. Herder's starting point was the observation that church music no longer affected the congregation as it used to.³⁵ Gradually, he came to the conclusion that, as he argued in his *Caecilia* (1793),³⁶ if church music composers would imitate great composers of the past, the congregations would be moved, "denn, heilige Caecilia, mit welchen Wunder- und Herzenstönen hast du deine Liebliche, Leo, Durante, Palestrina, Marcello, Pergolesi, Bach, Händel begeistert?"³⁷ He demanded further that church music should always be performed *a cappella*,³⁸ and that it should not be dramatic.³⁹ This immediately excluded Bach's cantatas from the service.

Herder's ideas were developed further by his old Königsberg friend Johann Friedrich Reichardt.⁴⁰ After a trip to Italy in 1783 where he heard Palestrina's music, he founded the *Concert spirituel* in 1784 in Berlin, in imitation of the Parisian concerts of the same name. His program notes for the concerts played an important role in the revival of church music. He wrote in his introduction to the *Concert spirituel*, "Echte Kirchenmusik kann nur die Erregung der Andacht zum Zwecke haben, und dieser wird durch hohe Simplizität im Gesange durch reine, edelgewählte und großgearbeitete Harmonie und majestätische Bewegung erreicht." In 1805 Reichardt wrote that the only subject of music was "der innere Mensch", and "die Wirkung aufs Herz ist der erste höhere Zweck der Tonkunst".⁴¹ Note the use of the adjectives "rein" and "innere" which are characteristic of the 19th-century attitude to classical polyphony and were still used by Ludwig. With Reichardt, the center of the movement was transferred to Berlin.

In 1789 the Singakademie in Berlin was opened by Carl Fasch to stimulate the revival of choral singing. In one of the central documents of the movement, E.T.A. Hoffmann's essay on "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik" of 1814, Palestrina is elevated to a central position:

Palestrina's simple, dignified works are conceived in the highest spirit of piety and love and proclaim godliness with power and splendor. His music can in fact be described by words with which the Italians have designated the work of many composers who are shallow and perfunctory beside him; it really is music from the other world (*musica dell'altro mondo*). The movement of the individual parts recalls plainsong; rarely do they exceed the compass of a sixth, and never does an interval occur that is difficult to pitch, or as they say, does not lie in the throat. It goes without saying that Palestrina, following

³⁵ See Hans Günther, *Johann Gottfried Herders Stellung zur Musik* (Leipzig, 1903) 9–13.

³⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Cäcilia*, Sämtliche Werke 16 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887, repr. ed. Hildesheim: Olms, 1994) 253–72.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 260.

³⁸ "Die Basis der heiligen Musik ist Chor... Nur auf dem Wege des Chors, (im weitesten Verstande genommen,) gelangt man jener Bewegung und Rührung, die diese Musik erfordert." *Ibid.*, 261–62.

³⁹ "Die heilige Stimme spricht vom Himmel herab; sie ist Gottes Stimme und nicht der Menschen; weh ihr, wenn sie, um sich sichtbar zu machen, ein theatralisches Gewand anleget! Diese Unsichtbarkeit, wenn ich sie so nennen darf, erstreckt sich bis auf die kleinsten Anordnungen und Verhältnisse der geistlichen Tonkunst. Ein Arie, ein Duett oder Terzett, das einzeln glänzt, jede Sylbe, in welcher der Dichter oder Künstler spricht, um sich zu zeigen, schadet der Wirkung des Ganzen und wird dem reinen Gefühl unausstehlich. Dramatische und Kirchenmusik sind voneinander so unterschieden, wie Ohr und Auge." *Ibid.*, 265.

⁴⁰ Walter Salmen, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt: Komponist, Schriftsteller, Kapellmeister und Verwaltungsbeamter der Goethezeit* (Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1963) 97 and 141.

⁴¹ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Berliner Musikzeitung* (1805) 53. See also Eugene Helm, "Reichardt, Johann Friedrich", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) vol. 11, col. 151–61.

the practice of the time, wrote only for voices, with no instrumental accompaniment. Praise of the highest and holiest should flow straight from the human breast, without any foreign admixture or intermediary.⁴²

Hoffmann differs from the others in that he does not believe it is possible to resurrect the old style for modern composition. For him Palestrina has been replaced by Beethoven. Rather than composing new music in the style of Palestrina, Hoffmann demands systematic study of the history of church music and publications of early music.

In 1825 the Heidelberg law professor Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut published a book entitled *Über die Reinheit der Tonkunst*, in which he argued that declining musical tastes could be refined through the reintroduction of old music into the Catholic and Lutheran service. He demanded editions of old music and considered “die Bearbeitung eines solchen Werkes weit ruhmvoller ... als das ewige leidige Selbstschaffen.”⁴³ He wanted to see the founding of church music schools where “reine Tonkunst” would be taught. In other words, he advocated for music what the Nazarenes advocated for art. The Nazarenes were German artists living in Rome who practiced Catholicism by painting religious works that were inspired by the art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Thibaut wanted people of superior moral quality to gather in societies to perform old music. “Rein”, a term we will often encounter in Ludwig’s writings, refers to many different things. The editor of the third edition of Thibaut’s book, Ministerialrat Dr. K. Bähr, described what the term “rein” implied for Thibaut:

Mit dieser “Reinheit” meinte er natürlich nicht die technische, die Reinheit des Tonsatzes oder der Aufführung, sondern die der *Tonkunst*; es war ihm eine ganz andere, höhere, ich möchte sagen *sittliche*, und man kann mit vollem Recht seine Schrift eine sittliche Tat auf dem musikalischen Gebiete nennen. Er hatte einen angeborenen Sinn für das wahrhaft Ideale und Großartige, für alles Edle, Erhabene und Reine und verband damit einen überaus feinen und sicheren Takt, es überall herauszufinden und darauf aufmerksam zu machen. Er sprach es vielfach und bestimmt aus, dass es eine Musik gebe, die, statt bildend, reinigend und kräftigend auf das Gemüt einzuwirken wie eben jene älteren Meisterwerke, verbildend und erschlaffend wirkt, die geeignet ist, Stimmungen und Gemütsrichtungen hervorzurufen, welche denen ganz analog sind, die durch eine unreine, verdorbene, mehr oder weniger unsittliche schlechte Lektüre erzeugt werden. Jener Standpunkt der “Reinheit” machte ihn zum unversöhnlichen Feind alles Seichten, Gemeinen, Ungesunden und Leichtfertigen, er leitete ihn nicht bloss bei der Wahl der Stücke, die er singen liess, sondern auch bei der Wahl der Mitglieder seines Singvereinen.⁴⁴

The immediate meaning of “rein” concerns the classical or classicist ideal of simplicity, but it also refers to the childlike naiveté of the Nazarenes. In music, the term “rein” implies strict counterpoint, a *cappella* style. But, in more general terms, it also expresses moral integrity and religious removal from the profane. True church music—or, as Thibaut calls it, “heilige Tonkunst”—presupposes “ein tiefes, beruhigtes, in sich gekehrtes, reines

⁴² E.T.A. Hoffmann, “Old and new church music”, *E.T.A. Hoffmann’s musical writings: Kreisleriana, the poet and the composer, music criticism*, ed. by David Charlton, trans. by Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 357–58.

⁴³ Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, *Über die Reinheit der Tonkunst*, ed. by Raimund Heuler (includes first ed. [1824] and second ed. [1826]; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1907) 15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, lxxxiv.

Gemüt”.⁴⁵ It almost goes without saying that Thibaut was deeply religious.⁴⁶ He wanted to hear only choral music in large cathedrals (he approved of instrumental music for concert halls) and banned all secular music from church:

Ich würde es also für unverzeihlich halten, wenn aus frommen Gesängen von Palestrina nur ein einziger Takt in ein Opernstück aufgenommen werden könnte; aber abscheulich wäre es auch dagegen, wenn in einer Messe nur das Kleinste vorkäme von der genialen Leichtfertigkeit, wodurch sich Mozarts Figaro auf eine fast einzige Art auszeichnet.⁴⁷

Thibaut set his ideas into practice: He conducted an amateur chorus that performed early music. His rehearsals were attended by Goethe, Tieck, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Hegel. Note that Thibaut’s book remained popular throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Bähr’s edition dates from 1907 and leaves little doubt that Thibaut’s ideas were just as relevant then as in 1825.⁴⁸

Strangely enough, another important figure in the movement was also a legal scholar, Carl von Winterfeld, the author of *Pierluigi Palestrina* (1822), *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter* (1843), and *Der evangelische Kirchengesang* (1843). In the latter book, Winterfeld proposed to have found a German Palestrina in Johannes Eccard. Winterfeld was an enthusiastic supporter of the Prussian monarchy and believed he found a similar attitude to his country in Johann Eccard.⁴⁹ Winterfeld supervised numerous publications of Eccard’s music. Another result of his book was that the Lutheran Church started to reintroduce the Lutheran chorale into the service and to sing Palestrina and Lassus motets in German translation. These developments paralleled the Catholic rediscovery of Palestrina and Gregorian chant.

Yet another Berlin figure, Eduard Grell (1800–86), was the most radical advocate of a *cappella* music in the style of Palestrina.⁵⁰ Grell was both a conductor at the Berlin Singakademie and a composition teacher at the Akademie der Künste, but the only kind of composition he taught was Palestrina style. He disapproved of all instrumental music and for this reason tried to boycott Joseph Joachim’s appointment to the Akademie.

Grell’s student Heinrich Bellermann was appointed to a professorship at Berlin University in 1867 and studied mainly 16th-century music history.⁵¹ His textbook *Der Contrapunkt* was published in Berlin in 1862 and dedicated to his teacher. Like Grell, he advocated composition in the style of Palestrina not because he longed for a past era, but because he considered Renaissance polyphony as something eternally true and

⁴⁵ Ibid., 41–42.

⁴⁶ Ibid., xxxi.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁸ According to Professor Martin Staehelin, the music library of the University of Göttingen, where all of Ludwig’s books went after his death, owned a copy of Thibaut’s book with annotations by Ludwig. As of October 2002, the book was listed in the catalogue, but could not be found. I would like to thank Christopher Reynolds for investigating this matter.

⁴⁹ Other legal scholars active in the Palestrina movement were E.T.A. Hoffmann and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder. See also Adolf Nowak, “Johannes Eccards Ernennung zum preußischen Palestrina durch Obertribunalrat von Winterfeld”, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1980) 203–300.

⁵⁰ Reinhold Brinkmann and Bernd Wiechert, “Grell, Eduard”, *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

⁵¹ The best account of Bellermann is in Dahlhaus, “Geschichte als Problem der Musiktheorie”, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1980) 412–13; see also Dietrich Sasse, “Bellermann, Heinrich”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–51) vol. 1, col. 1608–10.

superior. In his view, 19th-century music found itself in a state of sad decline. He wrote the following in the introduction to *Contrapunkt*:

Das vorliegende Buch ist daher recht eigentlich für den künftigen Gesangslehrer geschrieben, der durch dasselbe mit jenen Zeiten vertraut gemacht werden soll, in denen der Gesang allein für kunstgemäße Musik gehalten wurde und noch nicht durch den schädlichen Einfluß der Instrumentalmusik verdorben war. Gewiß hat die Instrumentalmusik auch ihren Wert und ihre Berechtigung; so lange sie sich nämlich in den bescheidenen Grenzen einer Nachahmerin des Gesanges hält und von jenem ihre Gesetze ableitet. Im Laufe der Zeiten, schon seit Anfang des achzehnten Jahrhunderts und noch früher, hat dieses Verhältnis sich aber geradezu umgekehrt.⁵²

Thus, it made sense for him to make every effort to resurrect the “old true style”. He published theory treatises, made an edition of the Locheimer Liederbuch, and edited many of Palestrina’s motets.

Bellermann’s student Gustav Jacobsthal shared with his teacher a passion for Palestrina and taught all of his students strict counterpoint in Palestrina style. Albert Schweitzer said about him: “Musical theory I studied under Jacobsthal, a pupil of Bellermann’s, who in his one-sidedness refused to acknowledge as art any music later than Beethoven’s. Pure counterpoint, however, one could learn thoroughly from him, and I have much to thank him for.”⁵³ For him Palestrina remained the greatest composer. Jacobsthal took historical research a step further than his teachers and became one of the first scholars to occupy himself seriously with medieval music. He began with a dissertation on mensural notation of the 12th and 13th centuries. He then started a long-term project on the precursors of Palestrina. He was by all accounts a perfectionist who worked slowly and systematically and published little. His most important book is *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche*,⁵⁴ considered by Ludwig and Bessler to be a model of musicological scholarship. He was beginning a project on the Montpellier Codex when he died. Even though most of his work is on medieval music, there is no doubt that the music which touched him personally and against which he measured all earlier music, was Palestrina.⁵⁵ Like some of the older scholars mentioned above, he also conducted a university choir in Strasburg. Ludwig published a catalogue of the scores the choir owned: 16th-century choral music is most prominent and was most often performed. In addition, the catalogue lists compositions by Grell, Bellermann, and Jacobsthal himself. But the choir also sang Zelter, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Lully, and Rameau.⁵⁶ It did not perform medieval music. It seems that Jacobsthal’s interest in the Middle Ages was more theoretical than practical.

Jacobsthal stands out from the group of Lutheran Palestrina-revivalists in that he was Jewish. Thus, one wonders if his passion for Renaissance polyphony was combined with the religious fervor of his teachers and his student Ludwig.

⁵² Heinrich Bellermann, *Der Contrapunkt* (3rd ed., Berlin: J. Springer, 1887) 8.

⁵³ Albert Schweitzer, *Out of my life and thought*, trans. by C.T. Champion (New York: Henry Holt, 1933) 10; see also Heinrich Bessler, “Jacobsthal, Gustav”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957) vol. 6, col. 1615–19, especially 1619.

⁵⁴ Gustav Jaconsthal, *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche* (Berlin, 1897).

⁵⁵ Friedrich Ludwig, “Gustav Jacobsthal”, *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 (1912) 67–70.

⁵⁶ Friedrich Ludwig, *Die älteren Musikwerke der von Gustav Jacobsthal begründeten Bibliothek des “Akademischen Gesang-Vereins” Strassburg* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1913).

In short, Ludwig's direct intellectual ancestry was in the Berlin Palestrina revival, a movement characterized by a rejection of contemporary music as religiously inappropriate and ineffective, and by attempts to revive a *cappella* polyphony for use in church. The religious motivation was centrally important: the musical revival was to serve religious goals. For some this meant a rejection of all contemporary or post-Palestrina music (Grell and Bellermann), for others (Hoffmann, Winterfeld, and Jacobsthal) it went hand-in-hand with an admiration for Beethoven. The movement resulted in a passionate interest in music history, including the music that predated Palestrina's, and contributed more than anything else to the founding of our discipline.

LUDWIG'S INTERPRETATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Now the question is, in what way did the Palestrina cult affect Ludwig's work? I think that we can safely say that he tried to continue the path of his teacher Jacobsthal to find out where Palestrina came from. From one of his earliest publications in 1902⁵⁷ to his last major publication—the 1929 version of his chapter “Die geistliche nichtliturgische/weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik”—he sees medieval polyphony as the first step on an evolutionary ladder leading up to the great master Palestrina. We read in the 1929 text: “Die Führung blieb im Mittelalter trotzdem doch stets bei den Vertretern des polyphonen Ideals, das für die reine Vokalmusik in Palestrina seine höchste und reinste Verkörperung fand.”⁵⁸ Notre Dame polyphony is considered important because only it will lead directly to Palestrina:

aber nur von hier aus, nur vom “Organum”, wie man es nannte, nur von diesem mehrstimmigen Gesang der fränkischen und der von ihnen lernenden britischen Kirchenchöre aus, nur von hier aus fand die Mehrstimmigkeit den Weg zur vollen künstlerischen Entfaltung der ungeahnt reichen in ihr schlummernden Kräfte, einen Weg, der zunächst in langwierigem, mühsamem Aufstieg erst nach mehr als einem halben Jahrtausend lebhafterer Entwicklung einen ersten in unvergänglichem Licht erstrahlenden Gipfelpunkte in der Polyphonie Palestrinas, dann in rascherem Zuge die Gipfelpunkte modernen polyphonen und harmonischen musikalischen Gestaltens in Bachs und Beethovens Schöpfungen erreichen sollte.⁵⁹

Note the constant use of metaphors for mountain climbing: “langwieriger, mühsamer Aufstieg”, and “Gipfelpunkt”. The style apart, the sentence might have come from Hoffmann's essay on the old and new church music. What it implies is that all monophonic and secular music (and this is especially true of music in the 14th century) is considered less important than that of Notre Dame. At this point it might be worth summarizing some features for which Palestrina's motets were praised: sacred texts, the same one in all parts, purely vocal texture, consonant counterpoint producing fully triadic vertical harmonies, slowly moving parts, imitation and canons (or at least independent voice leading) in all parts. When any of these are present, the pieces become more important and better for Ludwig. A genre like the 13th-century double motet, which does not lead

⁵⁷ Friedrich Ludwig, “Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4/1 (November 1902) 68.

⁵⁸ Included in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. by Guido Adler (2nd. ed. 1929; reprint, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961) 166.

⁵⁹ Ludwig, “Perotinus Magnus”, 363–64. See also Ludwig, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 166.

anywhere, does not get high marks. He admits that motets of this kind were widespread, but he considers them only “Übergangswerke”:

Und Übergangswerke sind es, wenn ihre Verbreitung in dieser Form teilweise auch groß ist; denn vor ihnen existieren die durchaus organischen Formen der weltlichen rein französischen und der geistlichen rein lateinischen Doppelmotette.⁶⁰

and he continues:

Es ist also völlig verkehrt, wenn in der modernen Literatur vielfach diese Werke [French triplum, Latin motetus and tenor] immer wieder als typisch für den Motettenstil des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Vordergrund gestellt werden und sie zum Beweis für die angebliche Unnatur nicht bloss der Motette, sondern auch der mehrstimmigen Musik dieser Zeit überhaupt dienen sollen.⁶¹

Because the tradition of double motets was not continued, they are marginal pieces.

Gregorian chant and Notre Dame polyphony are elevated to high positions, because both are sung by what he believes were large choruses in alternation with soloists.⁶² They are liturgical pieces which are used to enhance devotion. The 14th-century motet, on the other hand, receives less praise, because it is sung by a small ensemble (and, even worse, with instruments) and because it is secular. In a 1925 article on the polyphonic mass of the 14th century we read the following:

Was den Repertoirewechsel angeht, so scheint er mir zweifellos im Grunde auf einer im Innersten veränderten Stellung der großen Kirchenchöre zur mehrstimmigen geistlichen Musik zu beruhen. Die stetige, in langer beharrlicher Tradition Generationen beglückende, ganz im Dienst am heiligen Werk aufgehende Pflege auch der mehrstimmigen Musik im Gottesdienst, die deshalb durchaus nicht starr konservativ gerichtet zu sein brauchte und es in Chören wie z.B. dem Notre-Dame-Chor in Paris lange auch nicht gewesen ist, war — vielleicht schon im späteren 13. Jahrhundert — in Verfall gekommen. Die Zeit für große Propriumzyklen, deren Schöpfung und Ausführung stets festeste kirchenmusikalische Organisation und treue anhaltende Arbeit eines auf das beste geschulten Chores zur Voraussetzung hat, war zunächst vorüber. Sie kam erst im Gefolge der Kirchenreformbestrebungen, und zwar schon des 15. Jahrhunderts, wieder.⁶³

Ludwig’s view of choral music is clearly similar to that of Grell and Bellermann. Note the expression “im Dienst am heiligen Werk”, characteristic of the 19th-century Palestrina revival. A little later he says, when discussing isorhythmic motets, “ich sage: daß im Ganzen betrachtet die liturgische Mehrstimmigkeit dieses Jahrhunderts nicht zu den ragenden Gipfeln geistlicher Musik zählt.”⁶⁴ He ends the article by comparing Perotinus’s large pieces to the motets of the 14th century, and praises the former for having clarity, perfection, and harmony, qualities which he does not see in those of the next century, where the music has been influenced by “starke[n] Verfallssymptome[n]

⁶⁰ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 403.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 403.

⁶² On performance practice for Notre Dame polyphony, see Ludwig, “Musik des Mittelalters in der Badischen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe”, 434–60, especially 439.

⁶³ Friedrich Ludwig, “Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7/4 (December 1925) 431–32.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 434.

des kirchlich-religiösen Geistes bis hinauf zu dem vielfach arg weltlich sich gebahrenden Avignoneser päpstlichen Hof.”⁶⁵ For Ludwig the devout Lutheran, religious music should be performed by a choir without instruments, should be composed in a sacred atmosphere, and should come from a deep inner religious feeling.

In a 1921 paper he praises the compositions in the *Magnus liber organi* “aber gemeinsam ist allen, daß die junge mehrstimmige Kunst in innigster Verbindung mit der Liturgie bleibt.”⁶⁶ The full range of meanings inherent in the German “innig” is not adequately captured by the English “intimate”; there are additional connotations in German. “Innige Verbindung” (intimate union) with liturgy is precisely what Herder was trying to restore when he set out to reform Lutheran church music. “Innig” goes together with “innerlich”, the spiritual (often religiously tinged) world into which one escaped from everyday realities in the 19th century.⁶⁷

Ludwig approved of an organum when it has features which point in the direction of 15th- and 16th-century polyphony: voice exchange, imitation, and sequence.⁶⁸ His chronology of the various versions of the *Magnus liber* depends on how progressive the counterpoint is, the various versions are “in musikalisch aufsteigender Satzkunst begriffen.”⁶⁹ Note again the mountain-climbing metaphor.

The idea of musical progress is present throughout Ludwig’s writings, as one would expect from a scholar of his generation: In a paper from 1903, a two-part motet is considered more primitive than a three-part motet because he compares them to the four- or five-part motets of Palestrina.⁷⁰ Similarly, the motets in the *Roman de Fauvel* are “ein schwacher Abglanz” of the old motets, because they are now reduced to two parts.⁷¹ In the *Magnus liber* a tenor with strict rhythmic organization is always better than a tenor without such patterns, and it is considered to be later.⁷² And thanks to Ludwig’s research, to this day virtually every music history textbook will attribute the “earlier” organa to Leoninus and the “later” ones to Perotinus.

Ludwig and his contemporaries were convinced that great and original compositions had to be associated with a particular artist. Notre Dame polyphony could be taken seriously because names could be attached to it, the names of Leoninus and Perotinus, mentioned by Anonymous IV. (None of the *Magnus liber* pieces are attributed to Leoninus and Perotinus in the sources.) In a paper from 1902, Ludwig talks about “Künstlerindividualität”, and considers Perotinus’s version as the “definitive” (that is,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 434. See also Ludwig, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 176.

⁶⁶ Ludwig, “Perotinus Magnus”, 364 (my emphasis).

⁶⁷ Grimm’s dictionary defines “innig” as follows: “In der neueren Sprache häufig als edles Wort für tiefe Empfindung”, it is considered the equivalent of “andächtig, im Inneren wurzelnd”.

⁶⁸ Ludwig, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 227.

⁶⁹ Ludwig, “Perotinus Magnus”, 365.

⁷⁰ Friedrich Ludwig, “Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 5/2 (February 1904) 177–224, especially 181.

⁷¹ Friedrich Ludwig, “Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5/3 (July 1923) 184–222 and 5/4 (January 1924) 273–315, quotation on 279.

⁷² Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. I, 84–85. Carl Dahlhaus was the first to recognize Ludwig’s bias in 1967 in his *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte*: “The evolution of 13th-century music was described by Friedrich Ludwig, who established the basic traits of this period, as a succession of compositional innovations, each emerging from its predecessor, rather than as, say, a series of stages in which old and new existed side by side as integral parts of a liturgical corpus that represented a unified musical system.” Dahlhaus, *Foundations of music history*, trans. by J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 107.

final).⁷³ This view is repeated in a paper from 1909,⁷⁴ in the *Repertorium*, where he contrasts organum compositions of the 12th century with earlier ones. In the 12th century, composers succeeded in shaping the musical creations of Western nations in a new way:

so auch das musikalische Schaffen der abendländischen Völker von Grund auf neu zu gestalten und bald auf das Reichste zu entfalten; und zwar, nicht mehr, wie es die vorhergegangene Dichtungsepoche gelehrter Renaissance in der Zeit Karls des Großen versucht hatte, im Nachbilden und Anlehen an unzeitgemässe klassische Vorbilder, sondern im Ans-Licht-Ziehen und Ausbreiten bisher so gut wie verborgen gebliebener *origineller* [emphasis Ludwig's] künstlerischer Anlagen der Individuen dieser Zeit, Anlagen, zu denen auch die Fähigkeit des Schaffens und des Genießens mehrstimmiger Musik gehört.⁷⁵

In other words, while artists in the earlier Middle Ages were emulating classical models, in the 12th century composers had become original creative artists, and polyphony now required “a single individual”, an “Einzel-Individuum”.⁷⁶ Attributing pieces to Leoninus or Perotinus therefore continued to be a central issue for him, although in his last publication (1929),⁷⁷ he had become a little more cautious in his attributions to Perotinus (he realized it might be a bit much for one person).

Ludwig himself was fully aware that 13th-century authors often attributed compositions to somebody in order to enhance their value. In a paper of 1905 on the Codex Calixtinus, where pieces are attributed to popes and cardinals, he mentions that these attributions were only meant to impress and cannot be taken seriously.⁷⁸ Yet, it never occurred to him to question the attributions of Anonymous IV, even though he commented elsewhere that the theorist's descriptions of Notre Dame manuscripts were not accurate. Anonymous IV claims that Perotinus's books were used for a long time, and Ludwig was the first one to point out that there was no evidence to support this statement.⁷⁹

This attitude is closely related to Ludwig's wish to find the true and original version of a piece. It is characteristic of Ludwig's attachment to the Palestrina cult that he chooses the words “rein”, or “echt”, familiar to us from Reichardt and Thibaut, to describe the original version of a piece. With the exception of the Notre Dame organa, generally for Ludwig the original version is the best one. The idea that a later composer might have improved a composition or a text is not a serious option for him. Moreover, Ludwig firmly believed that one could arrive at the correct, original version of a polyphonic piece through proper philological work. He refers with admiration to the Catholic scholars who had managed to reintroduce “die *echte Fassung* des Gregorianischen Gesanges”.⁸⁰ This is somewhat toned down in his last lecture, “Die Erforschung der Musik des Mittelalters”, when he talks about chant melodies which are in “möglichst historischer Echtheit

⁷³ See, for example, in 1902, Ludwig, “Die mehrstimmige Musik”, 19–20.

⁷⁴ Friedrich Ludwig, “Die liturgischen Organa Leoninus und Perotinus”, *Riemann Festschrift: Gesammelte Studien. Hugo Riemann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht*, ed. by Carl Mennicke (Leipzig: Max Hesse Verlag, 1909) 203.

⁷⁵ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 1–2.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁷ Ludwig, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 56–57.

⁷⁸ Friedrich Ludwig, “Ein mehrstimmiges St. Jakobs-Offizium des 12. Jahrhunderts”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 19 (1905) 12.

⁷⁹ Ludwig, “Die liturgischen Organa Leoninus und Perotinus”, 203f.

⁸⁰ Ludwig, “Die Aufgaben der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte”.

wieder hergestellt”.⁸¹ In the same lecture he regrets that the troubadour chansons are not transmitted in their original version: “daß dabei diese oder jene Weise schon nicht mehr in der reinen Form des echten Originals, sondern schon mannigfach ‘zersungen’ weiter überliefert wird.”⁸² He assumes that there is *one* original version of the Minnelieder when he states, “daß auch bei den echt erscheinenden Weisen zunächst überall der Versuch unternommen werden muß, festzustellen, ob diese späte Überlieferung nicht die echte Form der Melodie schon entstellt hat.”⁸³ He complains that it is almost impossible to achieve a “reinen Text” of the *laude*.⁸⁴

Likewise, he simply assumes that the Notre Dame repertoire goes back to one common source, and that the different versions represent different stages in the development of Notre Dame polyphony. He considers W1 (*D-W MS 677* [Helmstedt 628]) to be the earliest version of the Magnus liber, and this scholar, who is so obsessed with “facts”, simply attributes fasc. 2, 3, and 4 to the “composer” Leoninus.⁸⁵ The “definitive Fassung” of the Magnus liber is reached with W2 (*D-W MS 1206* [Helmstedt 1099]) and attributed to Perotinus. And in this case, for once, the “final version” is the “best”, because it is least improvised, and more worked-out.⁸⁶ So here the wish for an evolutionary development overrides the search for the “original” version. In his discussions of motets, however, he is mainly concerned with establishing which version was first.⁸⁷ And the original version is for him the version where the text fits best. It does not occur to him that a later poet might have added a text that fits the music better than the earlier one.

The problem of finding the original version is closely connected to the fact that music from this period constantly makes use of the same material. This begins with the use of recurrent formulas and continues with larger melodic segments, entire voice parts, two-part frames to which a new part is added, or *contrafacta*. Ludwig was aware of such reworkings and interrelationships and described them in great detail throughout his career, especially in the *Repertorium*. The fact that there might be a contradiction between the Romantic ideal of the original composer and the constant use of the same melodic material must have also occurred to Ludwig. Maybe this is the reason why he never asked *why* medieval composers were constantly reusing material they did not invent themselves. He goes on for pages listing all of the interrelationships, but never tries to come up with an explanation or even notes that an explanation is needed. Instead, he tries to excuse the practice. We can observe this as early as 1903 in a paper entitled “Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter”,⁸⁸ where he criticizes openly what he calls “Hineinzwängung ursprünglicher einander fremder Glieder” into a new piece,⁸⁹ and concludes, “Aus derartigen Zusammenflickungen von Werken so verschiedener Kunstperioden ist eben kein organisches Kunstwerk zu

⁸¹ Ludwig, “Die Erforschung der Musik des Mittelalters”, 7.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸³ Ludwig, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 202.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁸⁵ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 15

⁸⁶ Ludwig, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 218.

⁸⁷ See, for example, *ibid.*, 236.

⁸⁸ Ludwig, “Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter”, 190–91. Here, too, he tries to find “die reine ältere Gestalt” of a motet that has been reworked.

⁸⁹ Ludwig, “Studien über die Geschichte”, 215.

schaffen.”⁹⁰ As a result, he considers composers who reuse and borrow their materials to be poor, such as, for example, Adam de la Halle, because of their “constant quotations.”⁹¹ This negative view of the practice is repeated in the *Repertorium*, where he discusses motets in W2:

deren Tenores sämtlich auf Modus-Bildung verzichten müssen, da hier der in der Motettengeschichte selten vorkommende Fall eintritt, daß die, wie es hier den Anschein hat, ganze Motette aus der musikalischen Anpassung und Vereinigung verschiedener vorher unabhängig von einander existierender Melodien zu einem zweistimmigen Satz besteht. Es ist ein an sich unkünstlerisches Verfahren, das man vielfach als typisch für die französische Motette ansah; sehr mit Unrecht, wie aus der Kleinheit der Zahl der Fälle hervorgeht, in denen es in der Tat statt hat und in denen es als Spiel des Witzes zu erklären ist.... Auch die Verbreitung dieser Werke ist nicht gross.⁹²

Ludwig does not realize that the quotations employed in these pieces rely on the same principle as the use of formulas, the reemployment of tenors, two-part structures, *contrafacta*, etc. Admittedly, there are few motets consisting entirely of quotations, but the principle of quotation is the same as in the organa of the *Magnus liber*. Rather than addressing the issue, he chooses to call these motets “unkünstlerisch” and to describe quotation as a game which was never widespread.⁹³ They are “unkünstlerisch” because they do not correspond to the 19th-century idea of the original and organically unified artwork.

Since Ludwig’s primary goal was the description and analysis of sources, he does not provide separate discussions of topics such as compositional process, notation, and performance practice. His views on these topics can be inferred from reading between the lines of his work. For instance, when discussing motets in the ninth fascicle of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, he makes it clear that the voices were not conceived simultaneously, but one after another.⁹⁴ More importantly, for Ludwig it goes without saying that all of medieval polyphony was composed in writing, just as the works of Beethoven were. Written composition is so self-evident for him that he does not even discuss it much. One can gather his view only indirectly when he discusses St. Victor melismas which were transformed into refrains of motets. He believes that first the melismas were set polyphonically and then the text was added. And he assumes that the poet-composer of the motet and the composer of the melismas used the same sources. He does not consider the possibility that these melismas might have been transmitted orally.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Ibid., 216.

⁹¹ Ibid., 207–15.

⁹² Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 217–28.

⁹³ In *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 373–74, Ludwig discusses motet no. 138 from Montpellier in a similar manner: “Verallgemeinernde Schlüsse sind indes aus dem Aufbau von Werken wie dieser Doppelmotette nicht zu ziehen, namentlich keine solchen, die die von manchen Seiten noch heute angenommene durchaus irrige Ansicht stützen könnten, eine Stileigenart der Motette sei die Verbindung mehrerer vorher unabhängig voneinander existierender Melodien. Erstens handelt es sich auch hier in den Oberstimmen nicht um die Benutzung selbstständig existierender voller Melodien, sondern nur um solche von refrainartigen Melodie-Abschnitten. Und zweitens zeigt auch das nur ganz vereinzelte Vorkommen so gebauter Werke, dass auch die Vereinigung von drei derartigen ganz verschiedenartigen musikalischen Gebilden zu einer Doppelmotette, ein Parodestück musikalischer Kombinationskunst, durchaus eine Ausnahme bildet.” See also Ludwig’s negative evaluation of Adam de la Halle in *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 432, and in his last publication, “Die geistliche nichtliturgische”, 258.

⁹⁴ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 12.

⁹⁵ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 155–57.

And yet, Ludwig is too good a scholar to ignore the evidence in the sources that points, if not to composition in the mind, at least to performance without the use of manuscripts. In his discussion of the motets in the ninth fascicle of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, he notes that the top voice begins on the recto page and is continued on the verso page. The tenor is only written on the verso page.⁹⁶ This means that the piece could not have been performed from the manuscript. But he stops the discussion at this point and does not ask himself how this motet might have been performed. In particular, he shies away from the conclusion that the piece might have been sung from memory. Similarly, he stresses that the fragment at Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Musik. Fragmente E III 230–231 (84–85) (Mü B^o) is the earliest source in which the music is copied in such a way that it can be performed from the manuscript.⁹⁷ In a 1905 paper he describes conductus motets that were notated without a tenor. Here Ludwig assumes that the tenors were not notated because they were so well known.⁹⁸ The conclusion that they were sung by heart seems inescapable. With all of this evidence, Ludwig might have considered the possibility that much of the early polyphony was improvised or performed by heart. But since he consciously limited his task to a description of the sources, he asked no further questions and did not allow himself any speculation.

Ludwig's passion for source studies went hand in hand with a rejection of other evidence, in particular music theory. As we have seen, in his review of Wolf's *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation*, he repeatedly criticized Wolf for paying more attention to theorists than to manuscripts.⁹⁹ In one of his later papers he judges theoretical treatises as follows:

Weder die Regeln über erlaubte und verbotene Zusammenklänge noch das Theoretiker-Gestammel über die Stimmführung geben einen Begriff davon, wonach die Kunst der Meister dieser Zeit strebt und was diesen als erlaubt gilt.¹⁰⁰

Ludwig rejects the views from the period because he knows better what the music is all about. His rejection of theory is part and parcel of his complete lack of interest in the cultural mind of the period, of trying to find out how *they*, rather than *he*, thought.

In his discussion of notation Ludwig is, on the one hand, remarkably free of evolutionary-progressive prejudices. Rather than lamenting the fact that modal notation is inferior to mensural notation—or, for that matter, the modern notational system—he stresses repeatedly that in spite of the fact that scribes did not have a specific sign for every note value at their disposal, the modal system was more than adequate for the rhythms it was meant to indicate, that it showed indirectly “den zu Grunde liegenden

⁹⁶ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 112.

⁹⁷ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 317.

⁹⁸ Friedrich Ludwig, “Über die Entstehung und die erste Entwicklung der lateinischen und französischen Motette in musikalischer Beziehung”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 7 (1905–06) 517. See also Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 428 where he describes a tenor in Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Ms. Bari 42 (Tu) in which the scribe has not written out the whole text, presumably because it was so well known.

⁹⁹ Ludwig, “Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250–1460”, 602.

¹⁰⁰ Ludwig, “Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils”, 288. Ludwig also disregards the study of theory as useless in “Die Aufgaben der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte” (München: Bayrische Druckerei und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1906).

Rhythmus absolut sicher.”¹⁰¹ Similarly, he says about the notation of motets in the third and fourth fascicle of Montpellier:

Auch für die hier neu hinzutretenden Werke, die uns nur in Mensural-Notation überliefert sind, speziell für die Werke des 4. und 3. Faszikels, würde die Quadrat-Notation ausreichen, da auch in ihnen durchgehends noch modaler Rhythmus herrscht, der die Voraussetzung zu einer im wesentlichen eindeutigen Aufzeichnung von Werken in Quadrat-Notation bleibt.¹⁰²

A little later he says that mensural notation became only necessary once composers had “emancipated themselves” from modal rhythm.¹⁰³

On the other hand, once he had solved how to read modal notation in sacred polyphony, he applied modal rhythm also to the chansons of the troubadours and trouvères, which are transmitted without rhythmic notation.¹⁰⁴ It did not occur to him that secular music might be performed differently from sacred polyphony, because in his worldview sacred polyphony was considered vastly superior to secular monophony.¹⁰⁵ Again, this view can be traced back to Hoffmann and the other adherents of the Palestrina cult.

In sum, I hope to have shown that Ludwig thought (and convinced others) that he was embracing a strict, presuppositionless *Wissenschaft*, when, in fact, his work is full of prejudices of the evolutionary-progressive kind.¹⁰⁶ He judged medieval polyphony by comparing it to Palestrina, arrived at a chronology on the basis of Palestrina’s style, and applied criteria from the 19th-century autonomous artwork concept in trying to attribute compositions to composers and to establish which version of a piece came first. Moreover, his work is full of blind spots; that is, it fails to ask fundamental questions. He did not address the issue that medieval composers constantly reuse the same material, and he had little interest in music theory and culture of the period. It might be thought that Ludwig’s work and approach were necessary and had to be continued *before* any other kind of work in this area could have been attempted, the standard claim of “Let’s get the music edited and available first.” But there is a scholar, Jacques Handschin, who shows that this is not true.

JACQUES HANDSCHIN: HIS LIFE, EDUCATION, AND WORK. Jacques Handschin was born in 1886 in Moscow of Swiss parents.¹⁰⁷ His father, a merchant, expected his exceptionally gifted son to take over the business. Therefore, he forced him to leave the German Gymnasium in St. Petersburg and attend a trade school in Neuchâtel.

¹⁰¹ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 44–45.

¹⁰² Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 347.

¹⁰³ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 348.

¹⁰⁴ Friedrich Ludwig, “Zur ‘modalen Interpretation’ von Melodien des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 11 (1910) 379–82.

¹⁰⁵ See Jacques Handschin, “Die Modaltheorie und Carl Appels Ausgabe der Gesänge von Bernart de Ventadorn,” *Medium aevum* 4 (1935) 78.

¹⁰⁶ Both Ursula Günther and Ulrich Bartels, in their recent articles on Ludwig’s scholarship, have not noticed Ludwig’s prejudices. They praise his objectivity. Bartels, in particular, is unable to see to what extent Ludwig was an evolutionary historian. His conclusion could not be further from mine: “Gerade weil Ludwig ein guter Kenner der gesamten abendländischen Musikgeschichte und nicht allein ein Spezialist für die Musik des Mittelalters war, ging er von der unbedingten ästhetisch-qualitativen Gleichwertigkeit der Epochen und ihrer jeweiligen Musikstile aus.” “Musikwissenschaften zwischen den Kriegen: Friedrich Ludwig und seine Schule”, 97–98.

¹⁰⁷ See Hans Oesch, “Handschin, Jacques Samuel”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956) vol. 5, col. 1440–43.



Jacques Handschin (1886–1955)

Handschin managed to graduate in 18 months rather than the normal three years and was allowed to complete the Gymnasium in St. Petersburg thereafter. In 1905 he started to study history and mathematics in Basel, but already in the same year he moved to Munich to read history, mathematics, philology, and economics. In addition, he took organ lessons and music theory with Max Reger. His parents were so angered by his music studies that they broke off contact with him and did not support him any further. When Reger moved to Leipzig the following year, Handschin followed him, making the entire trip on foot. He now took organ lessons with Karl Straube, the organist at the Thomaskirche, and attended a few lectures with Hugo Riemann. This, together with a few lectures by the ethnomusicologist Erich von

Hornbostel, remained the only formal musicological training Handschin ever received.

He next traveled to Paris to study organ with Charles-Marie Widor. From 1909 to 1920 he taught organ at the St. Petersburg Conservatory and was appointed professor in 1916. Simultaneously, he had a successful career as an organ virtuoso and accompanist to famous artists. He inspired several Russian composers to write for the organ: Glazunov, Ljapunov, Taneev, and Kryžanovskij. He also set up an acoustics laboratory together with Kovalenkov in 1920.

After the revolution Handschin decided to return to Basel, making the entire trip on foot and losing his *Habilitationsschrift* along the way. He was forced to start from scratch, was only able to get various small organist positions and experienced serious financial hardship until he became organist at the Peterskirche in Zürich. It was only at this point that he began to concentrate on musicology, and he received his doctorate with a dissertation on 13th-century polyphonic music written under Karl Nef at Basel in 1921. He became a professor of musicology at the Universität Basel in 1930 and an ordinarius in 1935, but continued as an organist at the Martinskirche in Basel until shortly before his death in 1955.

Handschin's eccentricity could not be further removed from the stuffy professional persona of Ludwig. There are many wonderful anecdotes in circulation about him. When it was becoming too hot on the organ balcony, he would take off his trousers in the middle of the service and hang them over the railing to the horror of the congregation. Similarly, many of his students remember meeting him on the streets of Basel in his morning robe and slippers on his way to the library.

He himself stressed repeatedly that he was an autodidact in musicology. He was one of the first to advocate close collaboration between musicology and ethnomusicology, probably because he had a good understanding for non-European music from his years in Russia (he had an extraordinary talent for languages) and his studies with Hornbostel. His main contributions to historical musicology are in the medieval area, including Byzantine and Syrian music. He was close to completing an edition of the polyphonic pieces of the St. Martial period when he died. Another central field of interest was the study of sound in its historical context, which resulted in *Der Toncharakter* of 1948. In the same year he also published a survey of music history, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, probably the only history textbook where all periods receive equal attention. And finally, there are several studies of Russian music.¹⁰⁸

HANDSCHIN'S INTERPRETATION OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Jacques Handschin's view of music history was very different from that of Ludwig. He was deeply opposed to an evolutionary interpretation of music history already at the beginning of his career. He stressed as early as 1930:

Ich möchte hier die Bemerkung einfügen, daß wir uns bemühen müssen, beim Aufstellen von Entwicklungsstadien in der Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit behutsam vorzugehen und die verschiedenen in Betracht kommenden Gesichtspunkte auseinanderzuhalten. Ein Denkmal, das "fortgeschritten" in der einen Hinsicht ist, kann in der anderen "zurückgeblieben" sein.¹⁰⁹

In *Musikgeschichte im Überblick* this view is voiced in many places:

Objektiverweise müssen wir von der Annahme ausgehen, jede Epoche verdiene unsere Beachtung in gleichem Maße.¹¹⁰

He envisions a future merge of ethnomusicology and musicology:

Dann wird, wie wir es uns vielleicht weiter ausmalen dürfen, die Musikgeschichte wohl jener vulgären "Dynamik" entkleidet sein, mit der man sie im 19. Jahrhundert zu umkleiden liebte: der Dynamik des selbständigen Fortschreitens zum Besseren, ja auch nur des Fortschreitens als solchen.¹¹¹

The difference between Ludwig's and Handschin's view of history is perhaps best illuminated in their respective discussion of the famous Summer Canon. In the first part of the *Repertorium* Ludwig praises the Summer Canon because of its canonic structure, its beautiful harmonies and melodies, and calls it "das einzige mehrstimmige Werk dieser Zeit, dem bei seiner tönenden Wiedergabe in seiner Originalgestalt ein unmittelbarer künstlerischer Eindruck auch auf den modernen Hörer beschieden

¹⁰⁸ For a complete bibliography see Hans Oesch and Janna Kniazeva, "Handschin, Jacques", *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com; and especially Hans Oesch, ed., *Gedenkschrift Jacques Handschin: Aufsätze und Bibliographie* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1957).

¹⁰⁹ Jacques Handschin, "Das Organum Traktat von Montpellier", *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1930) 52. See also his essay "Zur Biographie Hermanns des Lahmen", *Gedenkschrift Jacques Handschin: Aufsätze und Bibliographie*, 170–74 (the article was first published in 1935), where he expresses a strong dislike for the idea of progress in musicology and art.

¹¹⁰ Jacques Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick* (Lucerne: Räder, 1948) 16.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

schien”.¹¹² Handschin does not share Ludwig’s enthusiasm for this work, finding it both melodically and rhythmically simplistic and repetitive: “Die Verdoppelung führt, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, zur Plumpheit.”¹¹³ In an article on the Summer Canon, he contradicts Manfred Bukofzer, who had placed the Summer Canon in the 14th century because an earlier date would not have fit into the evolutionary scale of history. Handschin writes:

Modern musicians have perhaps been too impressed by the use of canonic devices in our composition, but this device is not in itself a sign of art, they have also been impressed by the “natural sweetness” of the harmony, but that only because it anticipates their cherished “perfect chord” habits. Objectively, we can only say that it exemplifies the English tendency, already mentioned, toward massive vocal sonority... Under these circumstances I think we ought not to force the Summer Canon into an evolutionary-order that is not its own by maintaining that binary rhythm could not possibly appear before it was duly recognized by (French) theorists.¹¹⁴

He concludes the article by placing the Canon back into the 13th century on the basis of paleographic evidence. Similarly, in *Musikgeschichte im Überblick* he stresses that the use of imitation can no longer be considered a sign of “progress” because if it were “ein so bedeutender Meister wie Ockeghem in dieser Hinsicht die Erwartungen etwas ‘enttäuscht.’”¹¹⁵

Likewise, Handschin stresses throughout his career that simpler pieces do not necessarily have to be earlier than more complex pieces. This view allowed him to question already in 1924 Ludwig’s dating of W1 as the oldest Notre Dame source, a dating inferred from the relative simplicity of the Magnus liber version. Similarly, Handschin questioned the chronology of the pieces found in the 11th fascicle of W1, which are simpler than the Magnus liber organum pieces from the other fascicles: “Dies zeigt, daß es sich im Vergleich zur Notre Dame-Schule um eine bescheidenere *Geschmacksrichtung* handelt, daß aber andererseits die *Entwicklungsstufe* nicht eine frühere sein kann.”¹¹⁶

Within the Magnus liber, Ludwig attributed the *organum purum* and simplest discant sections in W1 to Leoninus and the more complex discant sections in F and W2 to Perotinus. However, Helmut Schmidt, building on Handschin’s ideas, pointed out in a 1931 paper that the more complex discant sections occurred already in W1.¹¹⁷ What this implies, Schmidt thought, was that W1 could not simply represent the earliest, that is, Leoninus’s version of the Magnus liber organi. But Ludwig’s authority was such that Schmidt did not dare to say directly that this overthrows much of Ludwig’s chronology. It remained for Handschin to spell out this consequence of Schmidt’s findings.¹¹⁸ In *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, he pointed out the following:

Es ist ja erst noch festzustellen, ob diese Art Oberstimmengestaltung, die oft in einer und derselben Komposition zu finden sind, wirklich aufeinanderfolgende Epochen reprä-

¹¹² Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. I, 267.

¹¹³ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 195.

¹¹⁴ Jacques Handschin, “The Summer Canon and Its Background”, *Musica disciplina* 3 (1949) 79.

¹¹⁵ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 229.

¹¹⁶ Jacques Handschin, “Eine wenig beachtete Stilrichtung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit”, *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1924) 57.

¹¹⁷ Helmut Schmidt, “Zur Melodiebildung Leoninuss und Perotinus”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1931–32) 129–34.

¹¹⁸ Jacques Handschin, “Zur Leoninus-Perotinus-Frage”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1932) 319.

sentieren und nicht einfach im Sinne der ästhetischen Mannigfaltigkeit nebeneinander stehen.¹¹⁹

His conclusion on the simple pieces in the 11th fascicle of W1 was as follows:

Die relative "Bescheidenheit" der Faktur dieser Stücke erklärt sich also nicht, wie F. Ludwig gedacht hatte, dadurch, daß sie älter sein müssen wie die Notre-Dame Kompositionen oder daß sie in den St. Martial-Zusammenhang gehören, sondern dadurch, daß sie für eine wochentägliche Spezialmesse geschaffen wurden, die nicht den Glanz der Sonntags- oder Festmessen aufweisen.¹²⁰

While Ludwig, following his evolutionary-progressive presuppositions, generally sought to establish the chronology among the Notre Dame sources, Handschin, free of such presuppositions, was able to see that the stylistic differences among various versions of the repertoire did not necessarily have to be the result of an evolution. Rather, they could reflect different local preferences and practices. This is why, while Ludwig assumed that W1, as the earliest-because-simplest Magnus liber source, must have originated in Paris, Handschin was able to demonstrate in 1927, mostly on the basis of liturgical peculiarities, that it was prepared in Scotland.¹²¹ Ludwig corrected his mistake about the provenance of W1 in a paper from 1930 and cited Handschin's work,¹²² but characteristically insisted that he himself had independently come to the same conclusion concerning the provenance of W1 on the basis of paleographic evidence.¹²³

The interpretation of modal rhythm is another area where Handschin's open-mindedness led him to question the modal-rhythmic performance of troubadour and trouvère melodies advocated by Ludwig and his students. He attributed it correctly to the common prejudice that polyphonic music is superior to monophonic music and thus determines how the latter should be performed: "Ist nicht die Sucht, die Monodie des Mittelalters durchweg taktisch aufzufassen, im letzten Grunde ein Ausfluß unserer 'mehrstimmigen' Musikauffassung?"¹²⁴ Similarly, he questioned whether conductus is governed by rhythmic modes.¹²⁵ And in both cases his arguments are still valid today.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 176. See also Handschin's "A monument of English medieval polyphony: The manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677 (Helmst. 628)", *The musical times* 73/1072 (1 June 1932) 510–13.

¹²⁰ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 191.

¹²¹ Jacques Handschin, "Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1927–28) 513–58.

¹²² Friedrich Ludwig, "Über den Entstehungsort der grossen Notre Dame-Handschriften", *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1930) 49.

¹²³ Handschin, in turn, criticizes Ludwig for not having mentioned in his last major essay "Die geistliche nichtliturgische" that he had originally claimed that W1 came from France: "Ich muß noch erwähnen, daß F. Ludwig die von mir aufgestellte These von der englischen und jüngeren Provenienz der Handschrift W1 übernahm – aber ohne es sich merken zu lassen, daß er früher das Gegenteil behauptet hatte, was eine bedauerliche Unklarheit ergibt." Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 214.

¹²⁴ Jacques Handschin, "Die Modaltheorie und Carl Appels Ausgabe der Gesänge von Bernart de Ventadorn", *Medium aevum* 4 (1935) 78.

¹²⁵ Jacques Handschin, "Conductus", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952) vol. 2, col. 1615–26; idem, "Zur Frage der Conductus-Rhythmik", *Acta musicologica* 24/3–4 (July 1952) 113–30.

¹²⁶ Ernest Sanders, "Conductus and modal rhythm", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38/3 (fall 1985) 439–69; and Christopher Page, *Latin poetry and conductus: Rhythm in medieval France*. Royal Music Association monographs 8 (London: Royal Music Association, 1997).

Another important difference between the two scholars is that for Handschin notation and writing are not necessary to create great music. A high level of musical culture can exist without writing. He concludes as follows:

Der Schluss, den wir ziehen müssen, ist, daß ein hoher Stand der Musik und der Besitz einer Tonschrift nicht ohne weiteres einander gleichgesetzt werden darf. Ja, wenn wir es genauer überlegen, müssen wir sagen, daß ohne Notenschrift auszukommen unter Umständen sogar in höherem Maße ein Merkmal der Musikerschaft ist, als der Gebrauch einer solchen: denn bei gleicher Leistung muß selbstverständlich der Musiker, der sich auf keine Noten stützt, viel mehr im Kopfe haben als der andere.¹²⁷

Handschin's appreciation for cultures which did not know writing may have been the result of his studies with Hornbostel. Not only was he open-minded with regard to musical illiteracy, he recognized that worthwhile music could have been created by composers whose names were not recorded, and he was much less obsessed with attributing anonymous compositions. When he discussed music of the East in *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, he concluded "und ist doch der innere Wert einer Kultur nicht nach der Zahl der des Lesens und Schreibens Kundigen zu bemessen."¹²⁸

Handschin's discussion of the role of "paraphrasing" in medieval music is similarly open-minded. He was probably the first scholar to recognize the central importance of the practice of reusing the same material again and again in medieval polyphony.¹²⁹ He never tries to excuse this practice (so questionable from the standpoint of modern demands for artistic originality), but rather recognizes "paraphrasing" as a legitimate aesthetic goal for composers of the period. One of the reasons he is able to come to this conclusion was that he did not treat contemporary theorists with contempt. He recognized that the melodic formulas found in Petrus dictus Palma Ociosa's treatise were not different from those encountered in compositions of the period. And, even if he did not spell it out in much detail, he realized that the entire practice of "paraphrasing" relied on memorization:

Für die Alten blieb bei alledem das Gefühl des Vorhandenseins der Melodie gesicherter als für uns, weil sie mit einem bestehenden Erinnerungsbild gleichbedeutend war ... Hier wie dort singt der Komponist, indem er eine gregorianische Weise im Geiste hat.¹³⁰

In fact, Handschin had a good idea of the importance of *memoria* for medieval music.¹³¹ In an article on an important treatise from Milan, Ambrosiana J 20, he does not disregard the complex and, to a modern mind, boring instructions as theory for theory's sake, but realizes that if the contents of this treatise were properly memorized, it would allow the singers to improvise polyphonically.¹³²

¹²⁷ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 31.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹²⁹ Jacques Handschin, "Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1928) 513–59.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 556.

¹³¹ Handschin's discussion of the tonaries and the hand as mnemonic tools are short, but more perceptive than those of any other musicologist of that generation. On tonaries and nondiastematic notation he says, "Unser Standpunkt ist genau der entgegengesetzte: je ungenauer die Notierung, um so mehr müssen wir die alten Sänger ästimieren, die mit einer so rudimentären Gedächtnishilfe die Melodien richtig zu singen vermochten." *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 128. The hand and the solmisation syllables, he calls "eine Art Denkgymnastik". *Ibid.*, 155.

¹³² Jacques Handschin, "Aus der alten Musiktheorie. III–V", *Acta musicologica* 15/1–4 (1943) 2–23. see especially 11.

In general, he does not consider improvisation as less valuable than composition and stresses that both are “composition”, in one case oral, and in the other written:

Das Improvisieren, für das das Interesse neuerdings wieder zu regen beginnt, ist ein Komponieren, das statt auf dem schriftlichen auf dem “mündlichen” Wege erfolgt. Das kompositionstechnische Rüstzeug ist also hier wie dort daselbe. Dazu kommen als Anforderung beim Improvisieren Geistesgegenwart, behendes Erfassen und die praktische Beherrschung eines Instruments: beim Komponieren handelt es sich statt dessen darum, alles Keimende soweit ausreifen zu lassen, daß es der Wiederholung standhalte.¹³³

He is also aware that a highly developed art of composition, such as Josquin’s, goes hand in hand with highly developed improvisational skills.¹³⁴ Indeed, with regard to improvisation he shows that he understands the central importance of memory. In his discussion of Tomás de Sancta María’s treatise *Arte de tañer fantasia* from 1565, he quotes the theorist as saying that anybody who wants to learn how to improvise must first memorize as many compositions as possible.¹³⁵

In contrast to Ludwig, who was convinced that medieval polyphony was composed successively, Handschin argued from the beginning for the simultaneous conception of all parts because of all the motivic connections between the different voices.¹³⁶ When he discussed compositional process in Machaut’s chansons, he was aware that Machaut probably started with the top part, then wrote the tenor, and ended with the countertenor, but then he continues as follows: “obgleich ein wirklicher Komponist gewiß mit der Oberstimme auch den Tenor schon einigermaßen vor sich gesehen haben wird.”¹³⁷ The idea of simultaneous composition in Machaut’s works was only taken up again in 1989 by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson.¹³⁸

Most extraordinary of all is a paper entitled “Musicologie et musique”,¹³⁹ which Handschin wrote in 1949, anticipating some of the authenticity debates of the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁴⁰ He warns of the dangers of performers listening too much to musicologists¹⁴¹ and questions whether there is such a thing as a historically correct performance. He concludes by stressing the importance of imagination and “caprice” for the performance of music.

We have, then, in Handschin a scholar who brought no evolutionary prejudices to music, who tried to study medieval polyphony without comparing it to Palestrina

¹³³ Handschin, “Über das Improvisieren”, 327.

¹³⁴ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 271–72.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 262.

¹³⁶ Jacques Handschin, “Was brachte die Notre Dame-Schule Neues”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1924) 553; *idem.*, “Eine wenig beachtete Stilrichtung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit”, *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1924) 64; *idem.*, “Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1928) 543.

¹³⁷ Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 204.

¹³⁸ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional techniques in the four-part isorhythmic motets of Philippe de Vitry and his contemporaries* (New York: Garland, 1989).

¹³⁹ Jacques Handschin, “Musicologie et musique”, *International Musicological Society, Fourth Congress, Basel 1949* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951) 9–22.

¹⁴⁰ See Richard Taruskin, “On letting the music speak for itself”, *The journal of musicology* 1/3 (July 1982) 338–49 and *Text and act: Essays on music and performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Laurence Dreyfus, “Early music defended against its devotees: A theory of historic performance in the twentieth century”, *The musical quarterly* 69/3 (summer 1983) 297–322.

¹⁴¹ “J’ai... proclamé une fois que la musicologie n’est pas là pour donner des préceptes à la musique; mais cela a été assez mal accueilli.” Handschin, “Musicologie et musique”, 17.

or other later composers, and who did not impose the criteria of the 19th-century autonomous artwork concept to music of the Middle Ages. He had an independent and unconventional mind; he did not belong to any school, did not have a specific agenda, and was interested in music of all periods and cultures. He was a scholar who was constantly evolving, whose research agenda was not set once and for all, but was ever expanding, who was not afraid to ask new questions. Of course, he could afford to ask all of these questions because Ludwig had done all of the ground-breaking work. This allowed him the luxury of going beyond establishing facts. He is in many ways quite similar to Gröber's student Ernst Robert Curtius who also "faulted classical philology for its preoccupation with facts at the cost of ideas".¹⁴²

Handschin did not leave a major book on medieval music behind as Ludwig did, and he made no catalogues or editions. His most interesting ideas on chronology, stylistic differences, improvisation and memory, and compositional process appear almost as afterthoughts or footnotes, where they could easily be overlooked by subsequent scholars.

LUDWIG'S EFFECT ON POSTERITY. What influence did Ludwig have on musicology? Is it true that many of our views on medieval music are still influenced by his work? On the one hand, few scholars today would officially subscribe to Ludwig's evolutionary prejudices and most would support Handschin's idea that all cultures and periods are equally valid. On the other hand, there is no escaping the fact that musicological research of the Middle Ages has been dominated to a large extent by Ludwig's agenda, the discovery and analysis of musical sources. Moreover, even though Ludwig's evolutionary view is no longer considered valid, many of the questions and conclusions reached as a result of this view are still popular.

Let us first discuss the study of sources. Here is what Ludwig's student Friedrich Gennrich—in a booklet on *Die Straßburger Schule der Musikwissenschaft*¹⁴³ written on the occasion of the German reconquest of Alsace in 1940—maintained about future research in the Middle Ages: "Nur neues Quellenmaterial kann unser Wissen erweitern, alles andere bedeutet ein allmähliches Sich-Erschöpfen in mehr oder weniger unfruchtbaren Kombinationen und Spekulationen über das bisher veröffentlichte... Material."¹⁴⁴ He made it clear that he wanted to continue the tradition of Jacobsthal and Ludwig. Within this tradition, but only within it, the idea that further knowledge depends on the discovery of new sources is believable, since knowledge consists in nothing but the description and analysis of the physical make-up and the content of the sources, as well as their neat ordering in time and space. And the frightening prospect that the discovery of new sources might at some point come to an end is believable, because

¹⁴² Jan Ziolkowski, "Ernst Rober Curtius (1886–1956) and medieval Latin studies", *The journal of medieval Latin* 7 (1997) 152.

¹⁴³ Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Straßburger Schule der Musikwissenschaft* (Würzburg: Triltsch, 1940). Gennrich gives the impression of being an enthusiastic Nazi in the booklet. Yet, a large part is devoted to praising the contributions of Jacobsthal to musicology. Since Jacobsthal was Jewish, it must have taken some courage to write so enthusiastically about him. I would like to thank Professor Rudolph Stephan for telling me that Jacobsthal was Jewish. In his review of the book, Werner Korte promptly referred to Ludwig's teacher as "der Jude Jacobsthal". See also *Judentum und Musik: Mit dem ABC jüdischer und nichtarischer Musikbessener*, ed. by Hans Brückner and Christa Maria Rock (3rd ed.; München: Hans Brückner Verlag, 1938) 132, referring to Theodor Fritsch, *Handbuch der Judenfrage* (39th ed.; Leipzig: Hammerverglag, 1935). See also *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, ed. by Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld Verlag, 1941) 121.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

what is meant by “sources” is documents with music notation on them. Handschin called Ludwig “the scholar whose motto was the facts, the facts, and still the facts,”¹⁴⁵ but he forgot to add that the range of “facts” considered relevant within this tradition was exceedingly narrow.

What are the most important questions asked in recent years, and in what way do they still reflect Ludwig’s evolutionary prejudices? Let us start with the question of chronology in the *Magnus liber*. Ludwig had attributed the *organum purum* and discant pieces with simple tenor patterns to Leoninus, and the rhythmically and motivically more complex pieces to Perotinus. Even though Handschin had raised doubts about this chronology and suggested that *organum purum* and discant might simply represent two different aesthetic options, Ludwig’s attributions to Leoninus and Perotinus remained essentially unquestioned until Edward Roesner’s 1981 article entitled “The problem of chronology in the transmission of organum duplum.”¹⁴⁶ Roesner shows that discant sections could also be replaced by *organum purum* sections.¹⁴⁷ He concludes:

I suggest, then, that a passage in sustained-tone writing is not necessarily earlier than one setting the same chant segment in discant, and that the course taken by a particular organum could include either expansion or reduction in the size of melismas, and the addition or removal of cadence figuration.¹⁴⁸

A little later he continues:

I have suggested that there are alternative explanations for variations that are customarily viewed according to an evolutionary hypothesis. My point is not that one interpretation will always be right and the other wrong, but rather that the nature of the music often makes it impossible to arrive at a decision.¹⁴⁹

Similarly, many scholars after Ludwig have spent much of their time trying to attribute pieces to Leoninus and Perotinus,¹⁵⁰ to find out who they were,¹⁵¹ and how to distinguish their styles. If Roesner is correct in his conclusions, any attempts to attribute compositions to either Leoninus or Perotinus are futile.

¹⁴⁵ Handschin, “A monument of English medieval polyphony”, 510–13, quotation on p. 510.

¹⁴⁶ Edward Roesner, “The problem of chronology in the transmission of organum duplum”, *Music in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 365–99. Scholars who continued to repeat Ludwig’s view were Rudolf Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus Liber und seiner Nachfolge* (Wien: Hermann Böhlau, 1969); Heinrich Husmann, “The origin and destination of the *Magnus liber organi*”, *The musical quarterly* 49/3 (July 1963) 311–13; and Hans Tischler, “The evolution of the *Magnus liber organi*”, *The musical quarterly* 70/2 (spring 1984) 163–74.

¹⁴⁷ Roesner, “The problem of chronology”, 371–72.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 379.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 284. But even Roesner’s article did not put an end to Ludwig’s chronology. In the most recent and authoritative 1989 book on Notre Dame of Paris—Craig Wright, *Music and ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)—Ludwig’s view is reiterated. On page 258, Wright states, “If this was so, then the great book of organum was completed by the end of the 12th century, though his successors probably continued to modify his creations, making them rhythmically more explicit and writing substitutes for his discant sections.” See also pp. 244–45, where Wright frequently refers to the more rhythmically structured sections as more “developed.”

¹⁵⁰ Ernest H. Sanders, “The question of Perotinus’s oeuvre and dates”, *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966.*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967) 241–49; Hans Tischler, “Perotinus revisited”, *Aspects of medieval and Renaissance music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966) 803–17; *idem.*, “The early cantors of Notre Dame”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19/1 (spring 1966) 85–87; *idem.*, “The evolution of the *Magnus liber organi*”, 163–74.

¹⁵¹ See, for example, Wright, *Music and ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*.

Scholars have continued to analyze medieval polyphony with criteria derived from the 19th-century autonomous artwork concept. Perotinus, in particular, has been hailed as the first modern “composer”. In the introduction to an edition entitled *The works of Perotinus*, the editor Ethel Thurston writes very much in Ludwig’s spirit:

he [Perotinus] developed the use of unifying devices such as imitation, exchange of parts [Stimmtausch], and melodic variation, which have become part of contrapuntal practice ever since. Like Bach and Mozart after him, he focussed diverse national influences into well organised large scale masterpieces which were the high point of the periods.¹⁵²

Similarly, Fritz Reckow’s discussion of Perotinus reminds us of Ludwig’s analysis of Notre Dame polyphony: He sees in him a great composer who has reworked Leoninus’s more improvisational pieces into fully worked-out compositions in the modern sense, “deren Einmaligkeit und Endgültigkeit auch darin zum Ausdruck kommt, dass... Komponisten erstmals erwahnt werden”.¹⁵³ The organum is analyzed much like a Bach fugue, as a work of a great composer, concerned with planning out every detail and integrating it within larger formal structures. When comparing different versions of a piece, Reckow, just as Ludwig, will consider the more regular version the better one.¹⁵⁴ Reckow admits in a footnote that his analysis is not reflected in statements by 13th-century music theorists:

Inwieweit die Bemühungen um grossformale Geschlossenheit von den Zeitgenossen überhaupt wahrgenommen und gewürdigt sind, ist allerdings schwer zu ergründen; selbst der gewiss nicht unbeschlagene Anon. 4 begeistert sich vor allem an dem Übermass der colores und pulchritudines – in der Hauptsache recht stereotyper Formeln – in dem dreistimmigen Alleluia Dies sanctificatus.¹⁵⁵

Roesner has shown that what Reckow considers “advanced” was, in fact, earlier than the “improvised” style. What this means, then, is that the “composer” of the “more advanced” pieces, did not consider them to be greater artworks than the “improvised” sections, since they were replaced with “less developed” music. As an alternative to Reckow’s analysis, Roesner suggested a study of formulas (the *colores* and *pulchritudines* of Anonymous IV) as a better way to approach the music, to ask which formulas are fixed, which are variable, and what is their function. Roesner’s student Stephen Immel has already made an important beginning in the study of formulas in his paper on the Vatican Organum treatise, which he associates with Notre Dame.¹⁵⁶ I have offered a different explanation of the “progressive” elements such as modal rhythm, imitation, and the use of talea and color, an explanation more in agreement with 13th- and 14th-century culture and not derived from Ludwig’s evolutionary prejudices.¹⁵⁷ I think they are mnemonic devices used for the composition and transmission of music, similar to structural devices imposed on literary texts that have been explored in Mary Carruthers’s *The book of memory*.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Ethel Thurston, ed., *The works of Perotinus* (New York: Kalmus, 1970) 1.

¹⁵³ Reckow, “Das Organum”, 434–96, especially 449.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 466–74.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 492.

¹⁵⁶ Stephen C. Immel, “The Vatican Organum treatise re-examined”, *Early music history* 20 (2001) 121–27.

¹⁵⁷ Anna Maria Busse Berger, “Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame polyphony”, *Journal of musicology* 14/3 (summer 1996) 263–98. See also my *Medieval music and the art of memory*, chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁵⁸ Mary Carruthers, *The book of memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Similarly, questions which Ludwig failed to ask are now also being addressed: No scholar of medieval music today would still try to excuse the constant reuse of the same material in motets.¹⁵⁹ Instead, scholars are beginning to understand that the use of formulas and quotations is central to the creative process in the Middle Ages. I believe that they are intimately connected with the culture of *memoria*.¹⁶⁰

To sum up, Ludwig completed a necessary and tremendously impressive body of work. In fact, it was so impressive that subsequent scholars preferred to refine his answers rather than seeing that some of his questions were wrong-headed and other questions went unasked. Why did it take musicology so long to go beyond Ludwig? I think there are several reasons why Ludwig's influence was so strong: first, he published a book rather than a series of articles, as Handschin did. And this book, the *Repertorium*, was a catalogue which simply had to be consulted by anyone who wanted to work on Notre Dame polyphony and motets, while later scholars could easily skip reading Handschin's articles. Second, Ludwig left a great number of devoted students behind who continued the kind of work he started. And third, the analysis of sources is a subject which lends itself to teaching, it is a topic, which anybody endowed with sufficient patience and intelligence can learn.

I hope that by showing where Ludwig's strengths and prejudices were, by showing that subsequent scholars have taken over several assumptions from Ludwig, even though they no longer subscribe to his world view, we will ultimately arrive at a new picture of medieval music, a picture more in line with cultural practices of the period.

¹⁵⁹ In a recent book on motets, Mark Everist makes it clear that reusing the same material is central to the genre of the motet. Everist, *French motets in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁶⁰ See Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Die Rolle der Mündlichkeit in der Komposition der 'Notre Dame-Polyphonie,'" *Das Mittelalter* 3 (1998) 127–43.

THE FOUNDING OF FRENCH MUSICOLOGY: LOOKING AROUND PIERRE AUBRY'S WORKSHOP (1896–1910)

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“MUSICOLOGY” AS EVIDENCE. Only a few studies have been dedicated to 20th-century French music historians;¹ these have usually singled out Pierre Aubry (1874–1910) as the founder of French musicology. In particular, Aubry's lectures delivered in 1898 at the Institut Catholique de Paris are considered to mark the birth of French musicology, and their publication in 1900, its baptism.² Pursuing a pragmatic program, Aubry presented through them a history of scholarly efforts (the early lectures being devoted to Jumilhac, Lebeuf, Gerbert, Fétis, and Coussemaker) as well as a disciplinary *modus operandi* (the later ones evoking problems of methodology in relation to philology, history, and bibliography).

John Haines has focused on the idea of creating genealogical trees for French musicology, producing four branches, or pantheons, of the scholarly ancestors of Jules Combarieu (1895), Pierre Aubry (1898), Hugo Riemann (1900–05), and Friedrich Ludwig (1905).³ These trees permit Haines to deconstruct the discursive manipulations of the contexts within which these scholars have been viewed. He examines the bids for legitimacy based on the authority of the scholars' musicological grandfathers together with nationalist claims.

Jane Fulcher has looked at Aubry and other French music historians from much the same perspective, explaining that at institutions such as the École des Hautes Études

¹ Émile Haraszti, “La musicologie, science de l'avenir”, *Histoire de la musique*, ed. by Roland Manuel (Paris: Gallimard, 1963) vol. 2, 1549–92; Remy Campos, “*Mens sana in corpore sano*: L'introduction de l'histoire de la musique au Conservatoire”, *Le Conservatoire de Paris: Regards sur une institution et son histoire*, ed. by Emmanuel Hondré (Paris: Association du Bureau des Étudiants du CNSMDP, 1995) 145–71; Philippe Bachmann, *La musicologie en France entre impasse et mutations: État des lieux et enjeux politiques* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1992) 208; Christian Corre, *Écritures de la musique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996) 207.

² Pierre Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale: Histoire et méthodes. Cours professé à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 1898–1899 par Pierre Aubry, archiviste-paléographe* (Paris: H. Welter, 1900) 134 p.

³ John Haines, “Généalogies musicologiques aux origines d'une science de la musique vers 1900”, *Acta musicologica* 73/1 (2001) 21–44.

Sociales (founded in Paris in 1900 and noted sponsor of lectures by elite academics), “the musical culture interacted even more integrally and consistently with intellectual and political cultures; such institutional venues for the debate over musical values and historiography were an inseparable part of the musical culture, which they would soon affect”.⁴

We can add that Aubry’s *Huit chants héroïques de l’ancienne France (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, published in 1896,⁵ belongs to the same cultural ambit. In its foreword, Gaston Paris, a pundit of Romantic philology in France in the second half of the 19th century, was very clear about the publication’s nationalist program:

The old France was heroic: Among our ancestors were always men ready to die for an idea, for honor, for their lord, for their homeland, for their religion; but it is hardly in lyric poetry that this heroism has expressed itself; rather, it is to be found in epic poetry or in history.... The songs that one will read in this collection offered to the public may also disappoint modern readers.⁶

... what the words render only incompletely, music will render in a richer way... It is possible to trace the attempts of the heroic sentiment to incarnate itself in sound and rhythm on French soil, from the 12th to the 18th century. Perhaps more than one of these songs will live again, and cause that very soul which was the soul of our ancestors during sublime moments of their lives, to pass once more over our lips.⁷

In his own writings, Pierre Aubry did not support the nationalist discourse advanced by Gaston Paris, but rather attempted to prove the authenticity of patriotic inspiration among French authors using his expertise in philology. On the other hand, Aubry was a product of the nationalist culture of the Third Republic, during which Germany was perceived as both a rival and as a model for its scientific erudition, scholarly organization, and nationalist ideology.⁸ Consequently Aubry is an ideal subject for studies of cultural history (which was the heir to intellectual history).⁹

⁴ Jane Fulcher, *French cultural politics and music from the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 60. Romain Roland was the first director of the École des Hautes Études Sociales.

⁵ Pierre Aubry, *Huit chants héroïques de l’ancienne France (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles): Poèmes et musique recueillis et publiés avec notices historiques par M. Pierre Aubry*, pref. by M. Gaston Paris (Paris: Union pour l’Action Morale, [1896]) 19 p. of text and 25 p. of music.

⁶ “La vieille France fut héroïque: il se trouva toujours parmi nos ancêtres des hommes prêts à mourir pour une idée, pour l’honneur, pour leur seigneur, pour leur patrie, pour leur religion; mais ce n’est guère dans la poésie lyrique que cet héroïsme a trouvé son expression: il faut la chercher dans la poésie épique ou dans l’histoire.... Aussi les chants qu’on lira dans le recueil offert ici au public pourront-ils produire chez les lecteurs modernes quelque déception.” Ibid., 5.

⁷ “Ce que les paroles ne nous donnent que d’une façon incomplète, la musique nous le donnera plus richement.... On suivra avec intérêt, depuis le douzième siècle jusqu’au dix-huitième, les tentatives faites par le sentiment héroïque, sur la terre de France, pour s’incarner dans des sons et des rythmes; plus d’une de ces mélodies revivra peut-être, et fera repasser un instant sur nos lèvres l’âme même qui fut, à des moments sublimes de leur vie, l’âme de nos aïeux.” Ibid., 7.

⁸ John Haines writes, “Aubry’s work was in part motivated by a passionate patriotism born of the Franco-Prussian conflict. This was evident in his early collection of French nationalistic songs, especially suited to a country ‘which has been singing and fighting for ten centuries’, as literary scholar Gaston Paris explained in the preface to Aubry’s *Huit chants héroïques de l’ancienne France (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, (2nd ed.; Paris, 1896).” “The footnote quarrels of the modal theory: A remarkable episode in the reception of medieval music”, *Early music history* 20 (2001) 94, footnote 6.

⁹ This trend lasted in France for 20 years. For a survey see Roger Chartier, “L’histoire culturelle”, *Une école pour les sciences sociales: De la VI^e Section à l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, ed. by Jacques Revel and Nathan Wachtel (Paris: Éditions du Cerf; Édition de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1996) 73–92; Jean-Pierre Rioux and Jean-François Sirinelli, eds., *Pour une histoire culturelle* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1997) 455; Pascal Ory, *L’histoire culturelle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004) 96.

WRITING HISTORY AS A PROBLEM. Aubry's case is not exceptional. Evaluations made by a few scholars interested in the work of late-19th- and early-20th-century French music historians always oscillate between two poles. Either they produce genealogies of scholars (for which Haines offered a specific and sophisticated account, explaining that these erudite families are multiple and concurrent¹⁰), or they write cultural history in which music historians are treated as musicians, in other words, as passive figures concerned only with nonmusic issues such as politics or culture. It is important to note that both approaches are essentially founded on discourses. The first approach has the problematic consequence of collapsing historiographers' observations into the words used by the people they are studying. Haines, for example, says nothing more about Aubry than what Aubry declares about himself; hence Aubry's generalization of the Benedictine model for the treatment of ancient texts will be justified by Haines's partisan genealogy.

A convenience for some scholars, a strength of the cultural studies paradigm for others, this primacy of discourse has led to a partial view of what it means to write music history, and to neglect an important part of what Aubry himself meant by "musicologing". As we have already seen, the second part of Aubry's *La musicologie médiévale: Histoire et méthodes*—including the essays "La méthode philologique dans les sciences musicologiques" (lecture of 1 June 1899), "La méthode historique dans les sciences musicologiques" (31 May 1899), and "Éléments de bibliographie musicale" (June 1899)—centers on tools and methods, in other words, Aubry's workshop. Even so, scholars have not considered music history by Pierre Aubry as an activity but rather as a completed product, that is, a published discourse.

In any case, surveys of music historiography generally do not provide a definition of the discipline, but only consider when the word "musicology" appeared¹¹ (as if that were a sufficient reason for the formation of the discipline) while providing an outline of the institutionalization process by listing the earliest university chairs, journals, and musicological conferences. Such a restricted definition makes the investigation of connections between musicology and other disciplines difficult.

In addition to regarding history writing as a completed product instead of a process, scholars can succumb to other forms of "textualism". Examples of this include the suppression of the modes of proof in a scholar's historical operations and the reduction of the question of truth to a consideration of rhetoric and documentary authenticity. This textualism often reveals the historiographer's ethical preoccupations, through which good musicologists become the discoverers of manuscripts or the inventors of

¹⁰ Gordon A. Anderson, for example, dedicates his 1977 edition of the Bamberg manuscript to "Pierre Aubry / 1874–1910 / In memoriam", and writes in the introduction: "Ever since 1908, when Pierre Aubry published his great scholarly edition of the Bamberg manuscript in three volumes [in a footnote: *Cent motets du XIII^e siècle, publiés d'après le Manuscrit Ed. VI.6 de Bamberg, I: Reproduction photographique; II: Transcription en Notation Moderne; III: Etudes et Commentaires*, Paris, 1908], the works presented in this new edition have become well known both to scholars and performers, and his edition quickly became indispensable for the scholarly study of thirteenth-century music. However, for present-day needs a completely new edition based on Aubry's work but conforming to modern standards of editing has become an urgent desideratum". Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Compositions of the Bamberg manuscript*. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (olim Ed. IV. 6). American Institute of Musicology: Corpus mensurabilis musicæ 75 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1977) ix.

¹¹ Some cite François-Auguste Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'Antiquité* (Gand: C. Annot-Braeckman, 1875 and 1881), 2 vols.; others cite Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale*.

theories. With Aubry, the history of his scholarly life—and his dramatic death in a fencing accident—become a matter of moral justice.¹²

This approach also emphasizes scholarly innovation, as Jacques Chailley did in discussing the controversy between Jean-Baptiste Beck and Aubry, where he pays tribute to the discoverer of the modal theory of troubadour tunes while deciding—40 years after the theory was put forward—to accept the Aubry-Ludwig theory (rather than the Beck-Aubry one).¹³

A final consequence of this approach is that the scholar's adherence to a professional group is not viewed in the round, as something concretely shared with other historians, but merely as a list of alleged kinships—Haines's genealogy—or imagined relationships. In short, it is viewed as the sum of the influences historiographers attribute to their predecessors.

A HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL TECHNIQUES. In order to explore these blind spots of music historiography, we should outline our own point of view. We believe that during the last decades, the investigation of music historiography has not been exhaustive; the work has been limited to discursive topics. Moreover, in France, historians affiliated with the journal *Annales* have neglected historiography, and during the past 15 years (as books on historiography began to appear, and historiography courses and seminars spread through French universities) research has been limited to an account of methods used by historians or to genealogical discourses about the main historians and principal scholarly currents. These approaches, which developed independently of social history, neglect the criteria set forth for the modern investigation of history (dominant in France since the 1930s and associated with Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch).

Some ten years ago Jean-Claude Perrot advocated the inclusion of intellectual history within the field of social history.¹⁴ However, intellectual history has been understood as a form of textual history, and a few historians who attempted to write histories of historical research have not resolved all the problems outlined above.¹⁵ Therefore, a possible path to resolving these difficulties could be to borrow methodologies from the history of science¹⁶ and the anthropology of techniques, which link ideas with tools, and abstract matters with material things, without dissolving one into the other.

The main knowledge that has been acquired is that human activities are based on externalizing through the use of material tools—and this is also valid for intellectual practices.¹⁷ Science not only lies in the content of articles or books, but also in laboratories

¹² This is the reason that the rumor of Aubry's disguised suicide spread and was accepted. For a restatement of the question, see John Haines, "The 'modal theory,' fencing, and the death of Aubry," *Plainsong and medieval music* 6/2 (October 1997) 143–50.

¹³ Jacques Chailley, "Quel est l'auteur de la 'théorie modale' dite de Beck-Aubry?" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1953) 213–22.

¹⁴ Jean-Claude Perrot, *Une histoire intellectuelle de l'économie politique (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècle)* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1992) 496.

¹⁵ Gérard Noiriel, *Sur la "crise" de l'histoire* (Paris: Belin, 1996) 343.

¹⁶ For an outline of the French situation in the history of sciences during the last ten years, see Dominique Pestre, "Pour une histoire sociale et culturelle des sciences: Nouvelles définitions, nouveaux objets, nouvelles pratiques," *Annales histoire, Sciences sociales* (May–June 1995) 487–522; Yves Cohen and Dominique Pestre, eds., "Histoire des techniques," *Annales histoire, Sciences sociales* (July–October 1998); and Roger Guesnerie and François Hartog, eds., *Des sciences et des techniques: Un débat* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1998).

¹⁷ André Leroi-Gourhan, *Le geste et la parole. II: La mémoire et les rythmes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1965) 285; and for a recent interpretation of the theories of Leroi-Gourhan: Bernard Stiegler, *La technique et le temps* (Paris: Galilée; Citée des Sciences et de l'industrie, 1994–2001) 3 vols.

(where gestures adjust to tools).¹⁸ The system of proof in science is not only a question of instruments and measures, but also a problem of agreement between the scientists themselves and their public—agreement that rests on institutions, rules, networks, and various objects.¹⁹

In order to introduce a new historiographic approach and pay attention to the practice of individual historians, we must turn to new sources and archives, among which the most instructive are the working documents of historians themselves. In one of his articles, John Haines made use of the papers of Aubry's main rival, Jean-Baptiste Beck.²⁰ Nevertheless, he did not study the methodology of the German musicologist (although he had at his disposal an "odd assortment of facsimiles, transcriptions, and notes [that] sat ... for over thirty years"),²¹ but instead he accurately described some of Beck's manuscripts, mentioning when Beck indicated other published versions, or when he superimposed in various manuscripts different versions of the same musical work [fig. 1].²² Haines used Beck's papers as links connecting the historian's initial ideas with his conclusions and published works.

Aubry's papers, however, can be studied not as material for the investigation of a genesis of "definitive works" but only as a record of his actions. Around 1900 Aubry and his colleagues considered the main task of the historian to be collecting documents and sources, which they can then examine critically and upon which they can base their conclusions. As a consequence of their interest in publishing editions of archival sources and writing historical narratives, the number of catalogues and indexes significantly increased at the end of the 19th century. Aubry himself produced a bibliographic reader entitled "Éléments de bibliographie musicale", which was his last published course presented at the Institut Catholique (June 1899).²³ In this work he explained the following:

the advantage of bibliography is twofold: The knowledge of bibliographic repertoires saves the erudite, first, from repeating work already done and published; then, it allows him to achieve his work faster by avoiding the recreation of original research.²⁴

The organization of sources and techniques for cataloguing documents was central to the research methodology of early–20th-century historians and philologists, and the success of methodic or positivist history around 1900 was widely indebted to index cards which were, at the time, a new research tool. Aubry's archive (nowadays containing gaps) is a vast collection of sheets of paper organized into thematic groups [fig. 2]. His index cards consist of double sheets, 18 × 23 cm in size, which are frequently cut to a single

¹⁸ Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory life, the construction of scientific facts* (London: Sage Publication, 1979). A French translation was published as follows: Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *La vie de laboratoire: La production des faits scientifiques* (Paris: La Découverte, 1988).

¹⁹ Christian Licoppe, *La formation de la pratique scientifique: Le discours de l'expérience en France et en Angleterre (1630–1820)* (Paris: La Découverte, 1996).

²⁰ John Haines, "The first musical edition of the troubadours: On applying the critical method to medieval monophony," *Music & letters* 83/3 (August 2002) 351–70. Papers by Jean Beck are preserved at the Scheide Music Library at Princeton.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 352.

²² *Ibid.*, 362.

²³ Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale*, 125–34.

²⁴ "Le bienfait de la bibliographie est double: la connaissance des répertoires bibliographiques évite à l'érudit, premièrement, de refaire un travail déjà fait et publié; ensuite, lui permet d'aller plus rapidement au but qu'il se propose en évitant de recommencer des recherches originales." *Ibid.*, 125.

sheet. With his large handwriting, on each card he wrote one (rarely two) excerpt(s) from an original document. Such a methodology made it possible for him to combine fragments extracted from primary documents.²⁵ For example, on four handwritten pages with extracts from the book *Les Œuvres de Philippe de Vitry*, edited by Prosper Tarbé (Reims, 1850), concerning the Strasbourg manuscript C.22, Aubry indented lines, lists, and columns to replace Tarbé's continuous layout [figs. 3 & 4]. Still, he did not modify his notes much, and in one instance he copied the whole of the F fragment from pages 156–57, interpolating a paragraph taken from fragment E on pages 155–56. This work was not an analytical synthesis but only a copy of the original work organized into a new format.

This kind of methodology is still used in contemporary research, and therefore it might not appear as strange as it actually is. As a matter of fact, one difficulty in doing historiographic research of this period is that one must set aside one's own research methodology and experience in favor of making and using index cards in order to access the epistemological landscape of the scholarship one is studying.

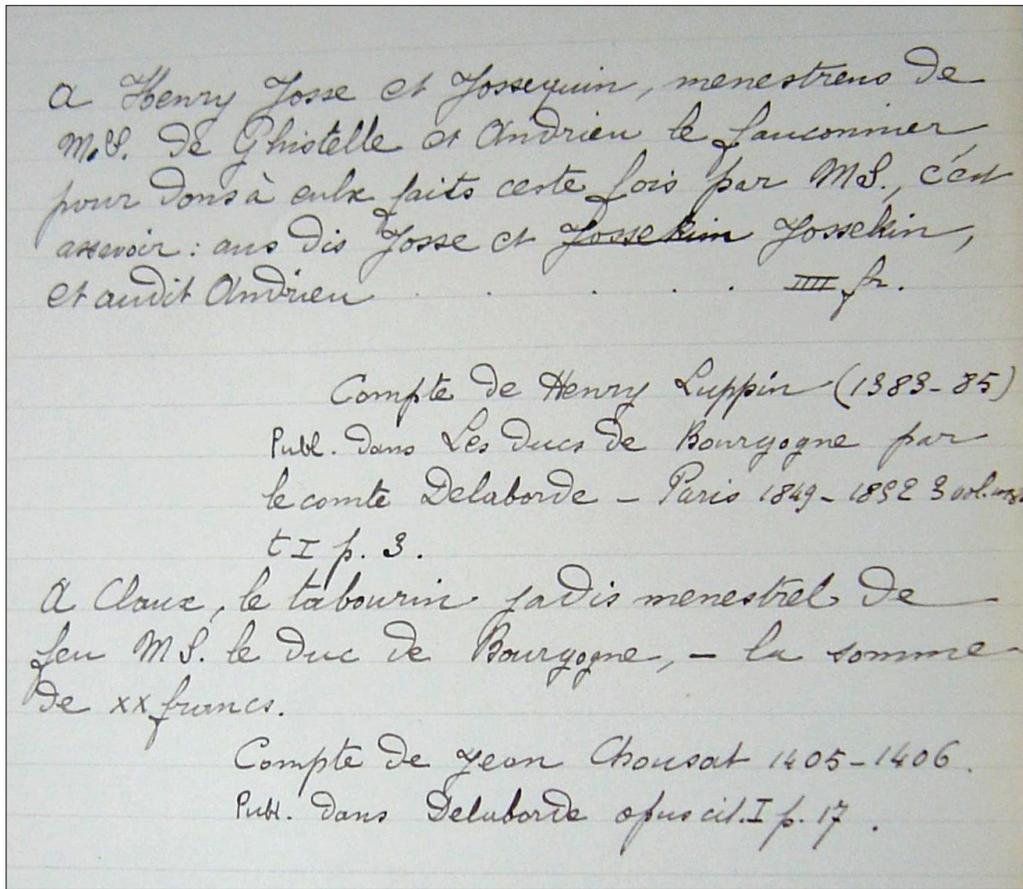
In 1898, in a textbook for historians-in-training, Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos theorized about the use of index cards versus notebooks, in which notes appear one after the other.²⁶ The notebook method provides a false economy of writing, leading to the disruption of proper classifications and combinations of data. Moreover, it forces the historian to reread the entire notebook in order to recover the desired notes. Another inconvenience is the use of headings planned in advance in order to co-locate related texts. Such a system is problematic "because it makes the insertions unpractical, and the classification system, once adopted, too rigid."²⁷ On the contrary, with index cards,

each text is noted on a loose movable sheet, with indications of the source given as precisely as possible. The advantages of this artificial means are obvious: The index cards' mobility allows them to be classified at will, with many varied combinations, or even to change their place: it is easy to gather all the texts of the same kind and to make intercalations in each group as lucky findings occur. As for documents which are interesting according to different points of view and which could be inserted in several groups, it is enough to write several copies of the index cards which support them, or to represent these index cards, as much as needed, with reference marks. Besides, it is materially impossible to make up, classify, and use documents if not on index cards, whenever large document collections are involved. Statisticians, financiers, and, it is

²⁵ "The production of the sources or the redistribution of space... In history, everything begins with the gesture of *putting aside*, of collecting, of mutating into 'documents' some objects divided between various places" ("L'établissement des sources ou la redistribution de l'espace... En histoire, tout commence avec le geste de *mettre à part*, de rassembler, de muer ainsi en 'documents' certains objets répartis autrement.") Michel de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) 84.

²⁶ Livre II: "Opérations analytiques". Section I: "Critique externe (critique d'érudition)". Chapitre IV: "Classement critique des sources", Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, foreword by Madeleine Rébérioux (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1898; reprint Paris: Kimé, 1992) 284.

²⁷ "Ce système laisse à désirer, car les intercalations sont incommodes, et le cadre de classement, une fois adopté, est rigide". *Ibid.*, 93.



1. Aubry's index card. *Comptes et documents d'archives sur les musiciens des cours royales et seigneuriales*, Service des Archives du Rectorat de l'Académie de Paris, papiers Aubry, carton 1.

said, men of letters who observe [in reference to French Naturalism], have established this nowadays, as well as scholars.²⁸

... at the top of each index card, you must write down, if necessary, the date and, in any case, a rubric; you must multiply *cross-references* and indexes; you must indicate (on index cards put away) all the sources you used, in order not to risk, by mistake, redoing archival researches already done; and so on. — Practicing this regularly makes historical works of a scientific character easier and more solid.²⁹

²⁸ "Chaque texte est noté sur une feuille détachée, mobile, munie d'indications de provenance aussi précises que possible. Les avantages de cet artifice sont évidents: la mobilité des fiches permet de les classer à volonté, en une foule de combinaisons diverses, au besoin de les changer de place: il est facile de grouper ensemble tous les textes de même espèce, et de faire, à l'intérieur de chaque groupe des intercalations, au fur et à mesure des trouvailles. Pour les documents qui sont intéressants à plusieurs points de vue et qui auraient droit à figurer dans plusieurs groupes, il suffit de rédiger à plusieurs exemplaires les fiches qui les portent, ou de représenter celles-ci, autant de fois qu'il est utile, par des fiches de renvoi. Du reste, il est matériellement impossible de constituer, de classer et d'utiliser des documents autrement que sur fiches, dès qu'il s'agit de recueils un peu vastes. Les statisticiens, les financiers, et, dit-on, les littérateurs qui observent, l'ont constaté de nos jours, aussi bien que les érudits." *Ibid.*, 95.

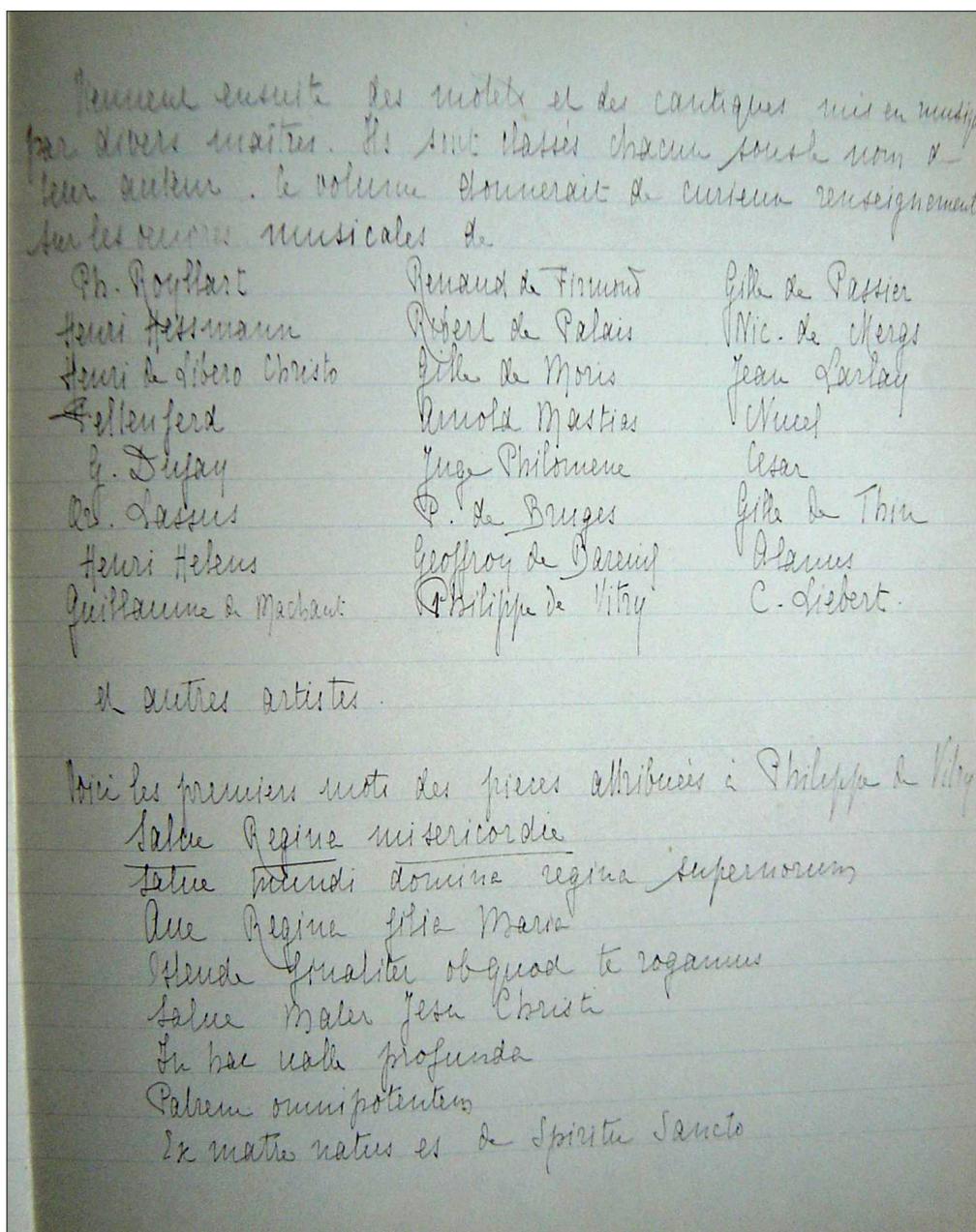
²⁹ "En tête de chaque fiche, inscrire, s'il y a lieu, la date, et, en tout cas, une rubrique; multiplier les *cross-references* et les indexes; tenir état (sur des fiches rangées à part) de toutes les sources utilisées, afin de ne pas être exposé à recommencer, par inadvertance, des dépouillements déjà faits; etc. — L'observation régulière de ces pratiques contribue beaucoup à rendre plus aisés et plus solides les travaux d'histoire qui ont un caractère scientifique." *Ibid.*, 100.

punctis : nota quod quatuor. — De ligatura notularum — De conjunctionibus notularum. — Sequitur de alterationibus notularum: pro quo notandum. — Regula generalis: cognoscant qui canere volunt, etc. — Viennent ensuite deux textes allemands intercallés par Henri de Lauffenbourg : en voici le titre : *In der mensurali musica so heissend die noten lang. — Von dem manucordio.* — Le texte latin reprend ensuite sous les titres suivants : *De organis. Cognita omni consonantia fistularum — Aliæ regulæ notularum non ligatarum : quatuor sunt. — De ligatis primis. — De mediis notulis. — De ultimis ligatis. — De pausis.* — Viennent ensuite des motets et des cantiques mis en musique par divers maîtres. Ils sont classés chacun sous le nom de leur auteur. Voici les premiers mots de ceux attribués à Ph. de Vitry : *Salve, Regina misericordiæ. — Dominus vobiscum : Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Mathæum. — Salve, mundi Domina, regina supernorum — Ave, Regina filia, Maria. — Ostende finaliter ob quod te rogamus. — Salve, Mater Jesu Christi, solo verbo concepisti. — In hac valle profundâ. — Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cæli. — Ex matre natus es de spiritu sancto. — O ho ! ho ! ho ! venari autem musicæ. — Veni, sancte spiritus.*

Plus loin, sous le n° 69, se trouvent ces mots : *Apollinis ecclipsatur numquam lux compagatur signorum ministerio bis sex, quibus harmonica fulget arte basilica musicorum collegio multiformibus figuris : ex quo nitet J. de Muris, modo colorum vario Philippus de Vitriaco, etc.*

Ce volume donnerait de curieux renseignements sur les œuvres musicales de Ph. Royllart, Henry Hessmann, Henric de libero Christo, Feltenferd, G. Dufay, Or Lassus, Henri Helens, Renaud de Firmont, Robert de Palais, Gilles de Moris, Arnold Mastias, Juge Philomene, P. de Bruges, Geoffroy de Barreuil, Gilles de Pasier, Nic. de Mergs, Jean Larlay, de Cambray, Nucel, César, Gilles de Thin, Alanus, G. Liebert et autres artistes. V. notre note sur G. de Machault. (E)

(G) Voici quelques lignes de cette curieuse épître : nous les empruntons au recueil des lettres familières de Pétrarque, publié à Lyon en 1601. V. page 578 à 586 : — *Amicus aures amicus sermo pulsabit, non tam blandus quam verax, neque tam compositus quam fidelis. — La vérité dite par un ami n'offense jamais. Pétrarque veut combattre les préjugés et la faiblesse d'esprit de Vitry... Non præsagiebas me de manibus suis tuas literas inspecturum ; quod si eventurum cogitasses nunquam perfectò tam molliter, tam demissè, nunquam, (da veniam viris nominibus)*



3. Pierre Aubry, index card about the Strasbourg's manuscript, folio 3, Service des Archives du Rectorat de l'Académie de Paris, papiers Aubry, carton 1.

On a small scale such individual sheets can inherit the quality of the documents themselves, giving to philologists or historians an ability to handle them in controllable space and time. This major historical revolution is not separable from a sociotechnical complex such as the scientific philology taught at the École des Chartes in Paris (founded in 1821 to train archivists for the nation). Aubry, having studied and graduated there

with a dissertation on the scholarly approach to the trouvère songs,³⁰ talked about index cards in his last course (1899):

It is sufficient, in order to use the bibliographic elements filled with the information I have given, to transcribe these indications onto index cards according to the current rules of writing bibliographic index cards, and to classify these index cards in a double way:

1. by alphabetical order of authors' names;
2. by methodical or alphabetical order of subjects.

With the assistance of devoted collaborators, we have undertaken to do this work on a large scale for general musicology. One can do as much with more restricted subjects. In this way, it becomes evident one more time that the ordinary methods of science can be applied to musical science: The most important thing is to use a scientific mind.³¹

The relative silence concerning one of Aubry's most time consuming activities is explainable. People always have trouble speaking about what is deeply assimilated. A research technique can be assimilated so deeply that it becomes part of oneself, more exactly an extension of one's body. It is one of the tools proposed by André Leroi-Gourhan. Thus the foundation of musicology is not only the acclimation of a critical method from the field of literature to the field of music, but is especially the creation of a collective discipline; discipline defined as a set of rules with the double meaning of subordination and proceedings. The École des Chartes has a central position in inculcating³² the critical discipline as both an intellectual and a physical cleverness.³³ It is in that school of philology that Aubry learnt to recombine texts following the protocols shared within a scholarly community. Possessing this ability, Aubry attempted to configure the future of music history as a discipline.³⁴

³⁰ Pierre Aubry, *La philologie musicale des trouvères par Pierre Aubry, Licencié en Droit et Licencié ès Lettres* (Extrait des Positions de thèses de l'École des Chartes.) (*Promotion de Toulouse.*) (Toulouse: Imprimerie et Librairie Édouard Privat, 1898) 11. On this topic, see Rémy Campos, "Philologie et sociologie de la musique au début du XX^e siècle: Pierre Aubry et Jules Combarieu," *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines* 14 (2006): *Musique et sciences humaines: Rendez-vous manqués*, 19–47.

³¹ "Il suffit, pour mettre en œuvre les éléments bibliographiques fournis par les sources que je viens d'indiquer, de transcrire sur fiches lesdites indications, d'après les règles ordinaires de la rédaction des fiches bibliographiques, et de faire ensuite un double classement de ces fiches: 1 par ordre alphabétique de noms d'auteurs; 2 par ordre méthodique ou alphabétique de matières. Nous avons nous-même, avec l'aide de dévoués collaborateurs, entrepris ce travail sur une vaste échelle pour la musicologie générale. On peut le faire aussi bien sur des sujets plus limités. De la sorte, il apparaît une fois de plus que les procédés ordinaires de la science sont applicables à la science musicale: le tout est d'apporter un esprit scientifique". Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale*, 133.

³² Yves-Marie Bercé, Olivier Guyotjeannin, and Marc Smith, eds., *L'École nationale des Chartes: Histoire de l'École depuis 1821* (Paris: Gérard Klopp Éditeur, 1997) 326.

³³ One can read the preliminary proclamation of the first "Cours de musicologie sacrée" taught by Aubry on 11 January 1899 as an application of the École des Chartes program to music (diplomatic criticism, criticism of narrative sources, juridical sciences and, of course, philology; p. 1): "One cannot set a musical text in another way than a literary text, and, *mutatis mutandis*, in both cases, the method is similar". ("Un texte musical ne s'établit pas autrement qu'un texte littéraire, et, *mutatis mutandis*, dans l'un et l'autre cas, la méthode est semblable.") Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale*, 1. "[If we must study musicology scientifically, it's because] we don't want to be disowned by our masters who, in the University, in the Collège de France, in varying State schools, teach history brilliantly and philology; we want these respected scholars to recognize like a distant (but faithful) echo, applied to music, the lessons we have been given". ("[S'il faut étudier ainsi scientifiquement la musicologie, c'est] pour ne pas être renié de ceux qui sont nos maîtres, qui, dans l'Université, au Collège de France, dans les diverses écoles de l'État, enseignent avec éclat l'histoire et la philologie, pour que ces savants respectés puissent reconnaître, appliqué à l'art musical, comme un écho lointain, mais fidèle, des leçons que nous avons reçues.") *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴ At the end of his opening lesson at the Institut Catholique, Aubry declared the following: "Regarding the Middle Ages, if one wants to study the history of music, it is necessary to do it on the same basis and on the same methods as proper history: The history of music in the past doesn't belong to musicians but to historians." ("si l'on veut étudier



We have seen here two models of historiographic research. The first examines only the finished works of musicologists and studies their manuscripts within a genetic context. The aim of such an investigation is to assess the importance of the old scholarly production from the viewpoint of our contemporary scholarly landscape. The second model takes an interest in the working methods of musicologists in order to outline the nature of the produced knowledge as well as its modes of production.³⁵ For example, Pierre Aubry wrote about troubadours and trouvères, about musical life in the 13th century, and about Armenian songs, concurrently reading books, studying manuscripts, cutting up sections from other writings, making index cards, and sorting books in his Paris apartment. Historiographers should be concerned with all his papers, because each small fragment documents an aspect of his intellectual and physical activities. So the questions of the synthesis and the writing of narrative are not the only aspects—and not even the primary ones. The central problem is, in fact, not only the classification of manuscripts in the sense of a logical order, as Aubry learned it at the École des Chartes, but also spatial order: the disposition of Aubry's workshop.

The historian's exercise concentrates as much on content as on the art of displacing, compiling, transcribing from one support to the other. Historiographers are generally blinded by the noble side of the field of musicology (like Aubry's speculations about the rhythm of songs). Reading, classifying, and copying documents with steadiness is no less part of the historian's profession than theoretical reflection, as shown by the recurring debates about the problematic link between "chartistes", old pupils of the École des Chartes, and historians, old students of the University,³⁶ who practice with eyes and hands. These activities partake of the system of proof which is founded on the presence of footnotes on the printed page documenting the original source material.³⁷

The positivist or methodical project is to reconfigure this double order (logical and spatial) limited to a discipline. The programs of the Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale and the Répertoire International de Sources Musicales are the result of this new order of archives and of scholarly discourse, as well as the outcome of efforts occurring in Pierre Aubry's private library.

l'histoire de la musique il faut le faire, en ce qui concerne le moyen âge, sur les mêmes bases et avec les mêmes méthodes que l'histoire proprement dite: l'histoire de la musique dans le passé n'appartient pas aux musiciens, mais aux historiens".) Aubry, *La musicologie médiévale*, 12.

³⁵ For a synthesis of these problems, see Nicolas Donin, "Instruments de musicologie", *Filigrane: Musique, esthétique, sciences, société* 1 (1^{er} semestre 2005) 141–79.

³⁶ Maurice Prou, *L'École des chartes et l'histoire: Cette brochure ne peut être mise dans le commerce (Extrait de la Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement)* (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1910) 11. The response in the school review is found as follows: "L'École des Chartes et l'histoire", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes: Revue d'érudition consacrée spécialement à l'étude du moyen âge* 71 (1910) 706–09.

³⁷ Anthony Grafton, *The footnote: A curious history* (rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997) 241.

CURT SACHS AS A THEORIST FOR MUSIC MUSEOLOGY

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For organologists, Curt Sachs (1881–1959) remains one of the founders of their discipline, mainly due to his classification of musical instruments. The system that he established with Erich von Hornbostel in 1914 is “logical as well as universal”. “Hornbostel’s and Sachs’s scheme—writes Margaret J. Kartomi—has had the most use and the greatest effect of any classification of instruments” during the last century, even if “use of the scheme has mostly been limited to its upper one to three steps of division”. On the other hand, “its adoption in museums has been nowhere near as widespread as that of Dewey’s scheme in libraries”. Even if this universal system is strongly influenced by the evolutionary thinking in both the sciences and the humanities of the end of the 18th century and the 19th century, Kartomi reminds us that it served with great efficiency as a “conceptual framework for cross-cultural comparative purposes in their own writings and to remedy the still somewhat chaotic state of instrument collections in museums”.¹ Among many attempts to further develop or revise this scheme, the collective work done over the years by the Comité International des Musées et Collections d’Instruments de Musique (CIMCIM), a branch of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), had no real effective issue.² On the contrary, the Hornbostel-Sachs scheme seems to retain its strong position: In 1993 it was discussed by Klaus-Peter Brenner in the context of evolutionary thinking and its role in organology,³ and in 1994, Peter Simon published a new analysis of the scheme and a table for it.⁴ Finally, in the field of music iconography, RIDIM’s Commission Mixte has recently unanimously confirmed its acceptance as the most useful classification for instruments.⁵

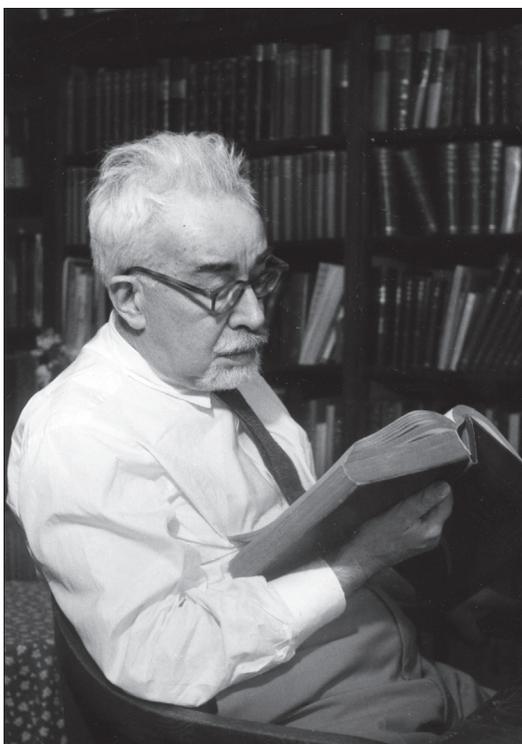
¹ Margaret J. Kartomi, *On concepts and classifications of musical instruments*. Chicago studies in ethnomusicology (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990) 171, 168.

² See Claudie Marcel-Dubois, “Rapport du groupe de travail ‘Problèmes de typologie et de classification en organologie musicale’”, *CIMCIM newsletter* 10 (1982) 22–23; 11 (1983) 40–52; 13 (1987) 23; 14 (1989) 10–11.

³ Klaus-Peter Brenner, “Bemerkungen zum Entwicklungsgedanken in der Musikinstrumentenkunde”, *Georgia Augusta: Nachrichten aus der Universität Göttingen* 58 (May 1993) 9–24.

⁴ Peter Simon, “Die Hornbostel/Sachs’s Systematik der Musikinstrumente: Merkmalarten und Merkmale—Eine Analyse und zahlenmässige Erfassung”, *Instrumentenbau-Zeitschrift* 5 (1994) 19–30.

⁵ Antonio Baldassarre, “The actual situation of RIDIM”, *Musique—images—instruments* 7 (2005) 223–24.



Curt Sachs in his library, New York, the early 1950s.
Photographer unknown, Coll. of Florence Gétreau. Courtesy
of Gabrielle Forrest-Sachs.

Howard Mayer Brown notes that “through instruments Sachs became interested in the music of non-Western culture, and hence a pioneer ethnomusicologist”.⁶ And just as in organology, he continues to hold his position also as one of the founders of ethnomusicology, as has been demonstrated by Kay Kaufman Shelemay in her collection of significant contributions to the field, *A century of ethnomusicological thought*, which includes a reprint of Curt Sachs’s 1957 article “The lore of non-Western music”.⁷

Considering Curt Sachs’s research in the field of dance, it would be interesting to update Suzanne Youngerman’s 1974 article “Curt Sachs and his heritage: A critical review of world history of the dance with a survey of recent studies that perpetuate his ideas”.⁸ Sachs’s work also appears in Artur Simon’s collection of writings, *The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, 1900–2000: Collections of traditional music of the world*.⁹ Far from attempting any summary here of Sachs’s prodigious understanding of the role of music

⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, “Sachs, Curt”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) vol. 16, 374.

⁷ Kay Kaufman Shelemay, ed., *A century of ethnomusicological thought*. Garland library of readings in ethnomusicology 7 (New York: Garland, 1990).

⁸ Suzanne Youngerman, “Curt Sachs and his heritage: A critical review of *World history of the dance* with a survey of recent studies that perpetuate his ideas”, *CORD news* 6/2 (July 1974) 6–19.

⁹ Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, “Denkschrift über die Vereinigung der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente mit dem Phonogrammarchiv beim Psychologischen Institut zu einem Staatlichen Museum der Tonkunst/Memorandum on the amalgamation of the Collection of Old Musical Instruments with the Phonogrammarchiv at the Psychological Institute into a Staatliches Museum der Tonkunst”, *Das Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv, 1900–2000: Sammlungen der traditionellen Musik der Welt/The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, 1900–2000: Collections of traditional music of the world*, ed. by Artur Simon (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2000) 109–15.

and other arts within world cultures and of his universally accepted publications, I would like to emphasize an aspect of his accomplishment neglected in the collection of articles published in his honor in 1965 by Gustave Reese and Rose Brandel: *The commonwealth of music*.¹⁰ Sachs is indeed an enduring reference for organologists, ethnomusicologists, and choreologists, but he was also a precursor of music museology. As director of the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin from 1919, he worked hard to reorganize this collection. Already in January 1920 he directed a report to the Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung entitled “Denkschrift über die Zukunft der Staatlichen Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente zu Berlin-Charlottenburg”, offering in seven points an intellectual and practical program to modernize this public collection,¹¹ and offering also a sort of sketch for his memorandum published in 1934 (on which I will concentrate later). Although Sachs experienced great difficulties in obtaining funding and the go-ahead from his superiors, he did have the energy to produce in 1922 an important catalogue of the collection that remains a model in music museology.¹² This systematic catalogue is not only an important step in the development of methodology (in the lineage of Carl Engel,¹³ Victor Mahillon,¹⁴ Georg Kinsky,¹⁵ and Julius von Schlosser,¹⁶ among others); it also documents some 1800 instruments that were destroyed during the Second World War. Moreover, while immersed daily in this collection, Sachs was inspired to write his masterful books *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (1929) and *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde* (1930). In order to demonstrate to French musicologists the importance and aims of the Berlin Museum, in the fall of 1932 he published in Henry Prunières’s *Revue musicale* a short informative article entitled “A travers un musée d’instruments”, in which he gives a short historical introduction to the collection, focussing on what would be required for its further development:

The museum, coming out of its early youth, fond of anecdotes and rarities, concentrates its efforts on instrument families since the 16th century.... During the last years, the museum followed the way required by musicology, it stopped to confine itself to three or four centuries of modern civilization, but is trying to enlarge systematically its horizon far away from the narrow borders of the West.¹⁷

Distancing himself from the curiosities collected in the early days of the museum, Sachs indicates here that he has acquired in a systematic way “ensembles” of objects and

¹⁰ Gustave Reese and Rose Brandel, eds., *The commonwealth of music: In honor of Curt Sachs* (New York: Free Press; London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965).

¹¹ Alfred Berner, “Die alte Musikinstrumenten-Sammlung in Berlin”, *Wege zur Musik* (Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz; PKB, 1984) 80–85.

¹² Curt Sachs, *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente bei der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin: Beschreibender Katalog* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1922).

¹³ Carl Engel, *A descriptive catalogue of musical instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1870).

¹⁴ Victor-Charles Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles* (Gent: Ad. Hoste; Bruxelles, Th. Lombaerts, 1880–1912).

¹⁵ Georg Kinsky, *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910–12).

¹⁶ Julius von Schlosser, *Die Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Wien: Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1920).

¹⁷ “Le musée, au sortir de la prime jeunesse, toujours friande d’anecdote et de rareté, concentre ses efforts sur les familles d’instruments depuis le XVI^e siècle.... Ces dernières années, le musée a poursuivi le chemin prescrit par la musicologie, il cesse de se confiner en trois ou quatre siècles de civilisation moderne, mais il essaie d’élargir systématiquement son horizon au delà des bornes étroites de l’Occident.” Curt Sachs, “A travers un musée d’instruments”, *La revue musicale* 13/129 (September–October 1932) 35–39.

that, in keeping with the aims of musicology, he is gradually developing the collection so as to include non-Western instruments. If libraries have to preserve musical notations, he argues, an instruments museum has to “awaken the life of sound” (“réveiller la vie sonore”). Written in French (Sachs had been educated at the Lycée Français in Berlin in the 1890s) and published shortly before his emigration to Paris, this article stands out in a most special way.¹⁸

During the summer of 1932, André Schaeffner submitted to Curt Sachs his new classification of musical instruments (published in the same issue of *La revue musicale* as Sachs’s article).¹⁹ The correspondence between the two scholars, preserved at the archives of the Musée de l’Homme in Paris,²⁰ shows that Sachs endorsed his system and that he sought to submit Schaeffner’s work to Hornbostel, indicating that the subject and reputation of the proposal’s author made this work worthy of a detailed examination (“Le sujet même et le poids de son auteur nous demandent un examen minutieux”). Schaeffner’s classification (which rejected the category of idiophones) was further developed and published in his seminal book *Origine des instruments de musique* (1936),²¹ but, as pointed out by Margaret Kartomi, it was never translated into English and has had little impact outside France.²² Georges Henri Rivière, the young associate director of the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, took the opportunity that this exchange provided to visit Curt Sachs in Berlin in September 1932, having already arranged for him to be invited to the Paris museum. On 20 June 1933 Sachs gave a lecture on comparative musicology at the Institut d’Ethnologie, and on 30 June another one on the history of the dance (related to his recent publication *Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes*) at the Musée Guimet. Sachs expressed his gratitude to Rivière at the end of July, saying that he had been happy in Paris and moved by the hospitality he had received. These preliminary contacts assumed great importance after Sachs was deprived by the National Socialist regime of all his academic positions (30 September 1933). Paul Rivet, director of the Musée d’Ethnographie, invited Sachs officially on 24 October “to collaborate in the classification of the musical instruments of our collections in collaboration with M. Schaeffner”.

Why was this invitation so targeted and so specific? For political reasons? Was Schaeffner—already a well-known musicologist, music critic, and skilled curator—a bit anxious to be obliged to work with such an immense personality as Curt Sachs? In 1929 Rivière had made Schaeffner responsible for creating a department of organology and for preparing a comparative exhibition room of musical instruments, and had invited him to participate under Marcel Griaule in the famous field study “Mission Dakar–Djibouti”, which took place in 1931.²³ Also in 1931, Schaeffner published his

¹⁸ Albrecht Schneider, “Musikwissenschaft in der Emigration: Zur Vertreibung von Gelehrten und zu den Auswirkungen auf das Fach”, *Musik in Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur*, ed. by Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer Zenck, and Peter Petersen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1993) 186–211.

¹⁹ André Schaeffner, “D’une nouvelle classification méthodique des instruments de musique”, *La revue musicale* 13/129 (September–October 1932) 215–31. A first version of the article was published one year earlier as “Projet d’une classification nouvelle des instruments de musique”, *Bulletin du Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro* 1 (January 1931) 21–25.

²⁰ Archives du Musée de l’Homme. Dossier “Curt Sachs”. Schaeffner’s first letter bears no date (July 1932 ?), Sachs’s first answer is dated 9 July 1932.

²¹ André Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique: Introduction ethnologique à l’histoire de la musique instrumentale* (Paris: Payot, 1936).

²² Kartomi, *On concepts and classifications*, 176.

²³ Gilbert Rouget, “L’enseignement de l’ethnomusicologie en France”, *Revue de musicologie* 59/1 (1973) 26. See also

monograph on Stravinsky and an expanded French version of Hugo Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*.

Having the benefit of financial support from the Universal Jewish Alliance and from the Rockefeller Foundation, Sachs took full advantage of his four-year stay at the Musée du Trocadéro, which turned to be more ambitious than originally planned. Sachs first prepared for the museum a temporary exhibition on religious dance which was based on the material included in his recent book on the history of the dance (1933) and published a short report about it in *Courrier d'art*. The catalogue of this exhibit has not been produced. A (translated) paragraph from the report gives an idea of the intellectual framework that had inspired Sachs:

Dance is the mother of all arts. Music and poetry act in time; sculpture and architecture in space; while dance lives in time and space together.... Dance is also part of daily life. But being free from practical aims, it has never lost its ecstatic and hence sacred character. In all periods and through all profanations, it gives and shall always offer something of the ardent desire of humanity for victory over gravity, transfiguration of body and soul, exaltation of creature to the level of creator, a reaching into the infinite, to God.²⁴

At the same time, Sachs was certainly at work on the French translation of his book on dance.²⁵ A report preserved in the archives of the Musée de l'Homme indicates that he also made transcriptions of some recordings at the Trocadéro sound archives and energetically sought to fill in its lacunae. What is more, he began a systematic work on African instruments in collaboration with André Schaeffner, worked on a monograph devoted to Ethiopian musical instruments, and on another one about Madagascar. The latter research, based on instruments preserved in Paris, was published in French as *Les instruments de Madagascar*.²⁶

Sachs gave lectures at the Sorbonne and at the Institut d'Ethnologie during the time when Marcel Maus was professor there, and hence had an important influence on the scholarly and museological training of Claudie Marcel-Dubois, who in 1934 joined the department of musical ethnography at the Musée du Trocadéro, assuming responsibility for its sound archives. Maguy Andral, her collaborator from 1945 and successor from 1981, confided to me shortly before her death that Marcel-Dubois had received a truly "individual education" with Curt Sachs during the time when she was preparing her doctorate on Indian instruments. She acknowledged the important influence of Sachs:

Denis Paulme-Schaeffner, "André Schaeffner 1895–1980", and "Bibliographie des écrits d'André Schaeffner", *Revue de musicologie* 68 (1982): *André Schaeffner*, 363–65; 401–08.

²⁴ "La danse est la mère des arts. Musique et poésie vont dans le temps ; c'est dans l'espace que jouent sculpture et architecture ; mais la danse vit, à la fois, dans le temps et dans l'espace [...]. La danse, elle aussi, se mêle à la vie quotidienne. Mais n'étant pas soumise à des buts pratiques, elle n'a jamais perdu son caractère extatique et par là sacré. Par tous les époques et à travers toutes les profanations, elle donne et donnera toujours un peu de ce qui est le désir ardent de l'humanité : la victoire sur la gravité, la transfiguration du corps en âme, l'exaltation de la créature à la hauteur du créateur, l'élargissement à l'infini, à Dieu." Curt Sachs, "La danse sacrée: A propos de l'exposition au Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro", *Courrier d'art* (1934) 159–62.

²⁵ *Histoire de la danse*, trans. by L. Kerr. *L'espèce humaine* 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1938).

²⁶ *Les instruments de Madagascar*. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 28 (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1938). On the title page Sachs is presented as "ancien professeur à l'Université de Berlin, Ancien chargé de mission au musée d'ethnographie de Paris, Professeur à l'Université de New-York".

About 1933, pioneers in the field of comparative musicology had to leave Hitlerite Germany. Hornbostel went to the United States, Sachs stayed four years in France before becoming an American citizen. All these circumstances stimulated American and French ethnomusicological activities.... Sachs ... had a definitive influence on our work and specifically on an unexpected aspect for a specialist in comparative musicology, I mean the development of research on musical prehistory in Europe²⁷ and France.²⁸

Marcel-Dubois refers to Curt Sachs in an article she published in 1936 in the *Revue de musicologie* entitled "Prolégomènes à une préhistoire musicale de l'Europe", where she outlines diachronic aspects of the early history of music in Europe, later developed in Sachs's *The rise of music in the ancient world, East and West* (1943).

Sachs also used this opportunity to be involved with the development of the Musée du Trocadéro, publishing in 1934 the first theoretical essay dealing with general issues of music museology: "La signification, la tâche et la technique muséographique des collections d'instruments de musique" (Meaning, task and techniques of musical instrument collections).²⁹ A true manifesto devoted to the aims of museums of musical instruments, restoration policies, principles for a museographic program, and technical aspects for a concrete realization, this very developed article has never been published in English, although it was translated.³⁰ The absence of an English-language version probably explains why the article has had a smaller impact than many of his other main works. As the basis of this article, Sachs drew on his extensive museum experience gained in Berlin. However, I wonder if he used for this essay also some written sources such as an article by Adolphe Le Doucet, Count of Pontécoulant, written in 1861 on the occasion of the founding of the Musée Instrumental at the Paris Conservatoire.³¹ In five installments Count Pontécoulant, author of the famous *Organographie*,³² provides a critical review of Antoine Clapisson's "organization plan" and proposes guidelines for the activities, acquisition policy, and exhibiting of this formerly private collection, which had been purchased by the French government.³³ Some of the ideas that Sachs would present in a more systematic and theoretical way were already discussed in this document. For example, Pontécoulant objects to exhibitions of irrelevant objects and souvenirs, deplores the absence of a section devoted to instrument makers, and says that the new Paris museum seems to be only a gallery filled by a traditional collector, the cabinet of an amateur. He criticizes Clapisson's plan for its lack of grandeur, rationality,

²⁷ Curt Sachs, "Prolégomènes à une préhistoire musicale de l'Europe", *Revue de musicologie* 17/57 (1936) 22–26.

²⁸ "Vers 1933 les pionniers de l'école de musicologie comparée durent quitter l'Allemagne hitlérienne. Hornbostel partit aux Etats-Unis, Sachs résida quatre ans en France avant de devenir citoyen américain. Cet ensemble de circonstances stimula les activités ethnomusicologiques tant américaines que françaises.... Sachs ... eut une influence certaine sur nos travaux et entre autres sur un point assez inattendu pour un comparatiste à savoir le développement des recherches de ce qu'il appelait la préhistoire musicale d'Europe et France." Claudie Marcel-Dubois, cours d'ethnomusicologie, Institut d'ethnologie, 21 novembre 1961. Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Département musique et parole. Ms. dact. 15 p.

²⁹ Curt Sachs, "La signification, la tâche et la technique muséographique des collections d'instruments de musique", *Museion* 27–28 (1934) 5–36. The article was signed "Prof. Curt Sachs, Ancien Directeur du Musée instrumental de Berlin".

³⁰ My thanks to Laurence Libin for this information.

³¹ Adolphe Le Doucet, comte de Pontécoulant, "Musée instrumental", *L'art musical* (11 April 1861) 145–47; (25 April 1861) 161–62; (2 May 1861) 169–70; and (16 May 1861) 187–88.

³² Adolphe Le Doucet, comte de Pontécoulant, *Organographie: Essai sur la facture instrumentale. Art, industrie, commerce* (Paris: Castel, 1861).

³³ Florence Gétreau, *Aux origines du Musée de la Musique: Les collections du Conservatoire de Paris, 1793–1993* (Paris: Klincksieck; Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996) 91–97.



Curt Sachs and his daughter Gabrielle, New York, the early 1940s.
 Photographer unknown. Coll. of Florence Gétreau.
 Courtesy of Gabrielle Forrest-Sachs.

and sophistication, as well as a failure to achieve its own aims. The introduction to Sachs's essay shows the same concerns:

We try to provide each collection, whatever its nature, with a purpose, one justifying and rewarding efforts and the funds raised for it. When we are thinking about a public collection, we first have to consider the type of public to whom we wish to speak; whether to all visitors, the ignorant as well as the initiated, or only to specialists, to artists, to scholars. When this question has been answered, one will consider the function of the museum: Does it aim to teach, or only to entertain, to initiate or to divert? In other words, do we address first intelligence or sensations, or both together? Do we preserve relics or documents?³⁴

Sachs is aware that a museum's aims will continue to change, depending on who is asking the question, and he knows that a final consensus can probably never be achieved. But as aims change, so must form and methodology. Reminding us that many private

³⁴ "Nous cherchons à donner un but à une collection quelle qu'elle soit, but qui la justifie et récompense les efforts et les frais qu'elle occasionne. Dès que l'on étend le problème à la collection publique, il faut se demander tout d'abord à quel genre de public on désire s'adresser ; sera-ce à tous les visiteurs, profanes et initiés, ou aux seuls spécialistes, aux artistes, aux savants ? Puis, une fois cette question résolue, on se demandera quelle doit être la fonction du musée : tendra-t-elle à instruire ou seulement à récréer, à initier ou à distraire ? En d'autres termes, fera-t-on appel à l'intelligence ou au sentiment, ou bien à tous les deux à la fois ? Conservera-t-on des reliques ou des documents ?" Sachs, "La signification", 5.

collections the world over were created by very different personalities (musicologists, makers, industrialists, publishers, amateurs) and then bought by governments and transformed into public institutions, he underlines that collection keepers must become progressively more professional (pp. 6–7). He also encourages general museums in possession of historical instruments—usually exhibited as moribund—to negotiate a deposit of the instruments in a specialized museum. In surveying the different kinds of museum visitors (musicologists, musicians, makers, artists, connoisseurs, inventors, the general public) (p. 8), Sachs immediately takes into account hearing and vision (p. 9): Provocatively enough, he says that “an inaudible instrument is a nonsense, quite like an invisible painting.” He describes the difficult aspects of conservation (environment, use, adaptation, transformations, denaturing), complaining that in America, even specialized museums leave instruments in exactly the condition they were in when acquired, without regard for restoration or sound, exhibiting, for example, keyboards under locked glass (p. 11). And in this connection, he provides for the first time theoretical guidelines for restoration (pp. 12–15), underlining how much uncertainty, doubt, and contradictory evidence are involved, and how much each instrument calls for an individual decision and for its own restorational procedure.

Quoting Viollet-le-Duc as a counter-example, and at the same time rejecting purists who mean to return to the original condition of a harpsichord altered by the restoration of its wood surface, he emphasizes the indestructible unity of the instrument as a “historical document” (p. 12)—a principle still discussed today in our music museums. Value, taste, skill, maker, and historical interest are all criteria to be taken in account in the scientific and artistic decisions of the curator. Generally speaking, but with exceptions depending on each individual collection, every transformation undergone by an instrument in keeping with its type (for example, the renewal of the surface of a harpsichord case) will be preserved, whereas those conflicting with its type (for example, a viola da gamba which has been adapted as a cello, or a lute adapted as a guitar) will be undone. Sachs distinguishes two situations where a restoration to a playable condition is for him indefensible: when the sounding part has been totally lost, or when restoration might destroy the instrument’s archeological value (p. 13). Three principles underlie decision-making in connection with restoration:

Vocal restoration [that is, of the sounding part] will follow exclusively and fully the relevant historical data: the restorer will avoid correcting the object.... Any attempt to adapt an instrument to modern requirements ... renders the purposes of the museum null and void.... Museums having several instruments of the same type will make an exception, in order to provide instruments for ensembles of early music. In doing this, they will select from among less remarkable items in the collection.³⁵

As we outlined in the introduction to a recent reprint of this article in *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles*,³⁶ Sachs’s ideas on restoration are for the most part outdated

³⁵ “La restauration de la voix aura à suivre exclusivement et intégralement les données de l’époque en question : le restaurateur s’interdira rigoureusement de corriger l’objet [...] Mais tout essai tendant à adapter l’instrument aux exigences modernes [...] rend illusoire la raison d’être des musées [...]. Les musées disposant d’un certain nombre d’instruments du même type feront, à bon droit, une exception pour avoir des spécimens en état de fournir des voix dans un ensemble composé pour exécuter de la musique ancienne. Ils consacreront cet usage des exemplaires qui ne sont pas les plus remarquables.” Sachs, “La signification”, 14.

³⁶ Curt Sachs, “La signification, la tâche et la technique muséographique des collections d’instruments de musique”, pref. by Florence Gétéreau. *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles* 16 (2003): *Musiques à voir: La musique dans les musées de*

today, since policies, technology for assessment, documentation, and treatment methods have all changed considerably in the past decades, due to work by CIMCIM and other institutes concerned with conservation.³⁷

In coming to the most neglected part of his essay, that having to do with the exhibition of instruments (pp. 15–31), Sachs focuses his argument on “the major idea” of an installation rather than the collection per se. Rejecting the old-fashioned gallery displays in which organization was types of instruments in a chronological order (influenced by 19th-century ideas of progress), he considers that the mechanisms of instruments will no longer attract our attention in the music museum, but rather their sound. Calling upon history to support his demonstration, Sachs considers that organology, as a subdiscipline of musicology, is also a segment of the history of civilizations. Therefore a music instrument museum ought to be of interest not only to amateurs, instrument makers, musicians, and musicologists, but to all scholars.

Later in this essay, Sachs draws attention to the museological debates of the prior decades—whether museums were to be divided between exhibition collections (*Schausammlungen*) and study collections (*Studiensammlungen*). He reports on the annual conference on museology, architecture, and art museum installation held by the International Office for Museums (the ancestor of ICOM) in that same year (1934) in Madrid.³⁸ Here, Paris curators had been particularly active, with Louis Hauteceur giving an important paper on museum architecture and proposing to divide collections into those for exhibition and those for study. Having been invented by Wilhelm von Bode, this concept was reaching Europe via American museums at the time, and there was concern for defining a “living museum”.³⁹ Also in 1934, Sachs reports, the famous Paris architect Auguste Perret was proposing a program to transform the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro,⁴⁰ a plan later rejected. It seems clear that when Sachs was writing his essay, he was concerned with this project⁴¹ and was aware of this international debate over whether or not exhibited objects are a part of an ensemble, elements of an organism. Finally, with regard to historic, ethnographic, and regional museums, Sachs stresses that all themes were to be sustained by a narrative: The museum as an educational institution had to be a link between science and life.

Although Sachs in his essay did not adopt Rivière’s terminology of *unicum* and *typicum*, he considered that for the music museum—divided between an artistic and a scientific approach to the material—masterpieces and documents are part of this narration (p. 19). Developing the idea that music, before becoming an “art”, forms part of

société, 11–41.

³⁷ Cary Karp, ed., *The conservation and technology of musical instruments: A bibliographic supplement to Art and archeology technical abstracts* 28 (Marina del Rey, Calif.: Getty Conservation Institute, in association with the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1992); Robert L. Barclay, ed., *The care of historic musical instruments* (Edinburgh: Museums & Galleries Commission, CIMCIM; Ottawa: Canadian Conservation Institute, 1997).

³⁸ *Muséographie: Architecture et aménagement des musées d’art. Conférence internationale des études, Madrid, 1934*, issued under the auspices of the Société des Nations; Office international des musées; Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 2 vol. [Paris, 1935].

³⁹ Nina Gorgus, *Le magicien des vitrines: Le muséologue Georges Henri Rivière* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l’Homme, 2003) 73–79, chapter “Les musées sur le plan international: Les débats muséologiques de l’entre-deux-guerres et leur influence sur Rivière”. German version appeared as *Der Zauberer der Vitrinen: Zur Museologie Georges Henri Rivière* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 1999).

⁴⁰ Gorgus, *Le magicien des vitrines*, 316, note 26.

⁴¹ In May 1935 he wrote to Georges Henri Rivière: “I will not stop thinking of the important decisions of these weeks, that will determine the future of our museum. And I hope that you will allow me to collaborate in its transformation”. Archives du Musée de l’Homme. Dossier “Curt Sachs”, letter from Curt Sachs to Georges Henri Rivière, 14 May 1935.

civilization as a whole, Sachs argued that prehistoric music instruments are ritual tools, charms, and spirits exclusive of any purely aesthetic conception. Taking into account his own theories about the evolution and migration of music instruments in *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*, he proposed as a permanent exhibition an introductory room showing the “prehistory of music” following the chapters of his book (pp. 20–22) and, for modern times, groupings of related instruments with large historical European contexts like Renaissance, Baroque style, etc, so as to trace growing and diminishing trends in instrument making, taste, fashion—all as part of the “dynamic” of music.

It is also interesting that Sachs employed many terms to define the different sound-colors (*Klangfarben*) of each period, as part of his demonstration: sound-colors were in turn precise and transparent, multi-colored and distinct, rich and contrasted, opaque and dark, monochromatic, etc. His aim here was to avoid uniformity and boredom in the exhibition. While willing to integrate into the exhibition to demonstrate the technical aspects of instruments, he recommended music iconography to provide information (hence variation between two- and three-dimensional objects) to stimulate attention. Scenography had for him two purposes: to focus on exceptional pieces, and to make the visitors more comfortable. Technical aspects discussed by Sachs ranged from field of vision, contrasts in colors for rooms and backgrounds, design, labels, and the integration of live or recorded music. (Schaeffner using a phonograph in the exhibition rooms of the Musée du Trocadéro is given as example.)

After this long chapter on scenography, Sachs focuses on the question of systematic catalogues, giving a short summary of known and existing publications and expressing the wish that somebody would once and for all trace a sort of history of instrument catalogues, to reflect developments in criticism and its evolution towards the object-centeredness, its evolutions in terminology, descriptive language, and standards of expertise.

Finally, Sachs discusses the distinctive status of public music collections, considering that this class of museums, among all museums, will always suffer from a “minority problem”. He concludes his essay by recommending intuition and experience as guides to the museologist, and insisting on the leading role played by the “personality which clears the path to action”:

The future of instrument museums does not depend on their budgets and administrative organization, but on the training, energy, knowledge, mental horizon, and taste of their curators.⁴²

Many of his propositions go far beyond “aesthetic” concepts of Western music, and of so-called art museums, reflecting instead the concerns of a “universalistic” musicologist with a forward-looking vision, active during a crucial moment in the evolution of the museum.

It is quite hard to know if Sachs’s guidelines were ever applied in realizing concrete projects. Schaeffner, who had direct contact with Sachs during these years, opened a real music section in the permanent exhibition of the Musée de l’Homme only in 1959; there is no evidence to suggest that he was ever influenced by Sachs in any intellectual or practical way. Probably Schaeffner did not approve of Sachs’s stratigraphic division of musical instruments, of their evolution and migration, as developed in *Geist und*

⁴² “L’avenir des musées instruments ne dépend ni du budget ni de l’organisation administrative, mais de la qualité de leurs conservateurs, de leur énergie, de leurs connaissances, de leur horizon et de leur goût.” Sachs, “La signification”.

Werden der Musikinstrumente,⁴³ and considered it difficult to relate instruments to chronology and social organization. John Henry van der Meer, the famous organologist and eminent curator of the music department in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, seems to have been the first to quote Sachs's essay⁴⁴ (being polyglot, he had easy access to it) in an article written on the occasion of that museum's new building in 1969; in so doing Van der Meer stimulated an intellectual debate about what should be done for the music section of the exhibition. Van der Meer organized in Nuremberg an international symposium on a similar subject (*Die Bedeutung, die optische und akustische Darbietung und die Aufgaben einer Musikinstrumentensammlung*). He remained one of the very few professionals to refer to Sachs's article.⁴⁵ Friedemann Hellwig, his collaborator, a renowned restorer and one of the presidents of CIMCIM, maintained this intellectual heritage in coordinating a CIMCIM meeting on the theme of musical exhibitions in Scandinavia in 1982, all reports of working groups being published in 1986 as a sort of manual.⁴⁶ During the past decade, many important new music museums have been opened; astonishingly, these have not stimulated any new attention to published writings on the theory of music museology. Even Sachs's vademecum continued to be quite neglected⁴⁷ until the annual meeting of the Société Française d'Ethnomusicologie, which was devoted in 2002 to *Musiques à voir: La musique dans les musées de société*. As a tribute to Curt Sachs and his founding principles, his text was reprinted to introduce the volume of proceedings,⁴⁸ giving it, we hope, a new life and impact. And "La signification, la tâche et la technique muséographique des collections d'instruments de musique" has recently been translated for the first time in German, by Veronika Gutmann, for the symposium *Klang–Gedanke–Instrument: Curt Sachs und die Musikwissenschaft heute*, held in September 2006 in the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin.

⁴³ André Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de musique* (Paris; La Haye: Mouton, 1968) 359–70.

⁴⁴ John Henry van der Meer, "Gedanken zur Darbietung einer Musikinstrumentensammlung", *Museums Kunde* 3 (1964) 152–64, see p. 164.

⁴⁵ *Studia musico-museologica: Bericht über das Symposium "Die Bedeutung, die optische und akustische Darbietung und die Aufgaben einer Musikinstrumentensammlung"* (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum; Stockholm, Musikhistorischen Museum, 1969) 126 p. See p. 46. Also John Henry van der Meer, "The collection of historic musical instruments at the Germanic National Museum, Nuremberg", *CIMCIM newsletter* 6 (1978) 15–28.

⁴⁶ Friedemann Hellwig, "Basic concepts of musical instrument presentations", *CIMCIM newsletter* (1986): *Musical instrument exhibitions in Scandinavia: A study of the basic concepts, educational objectives, and conservational techniques of three recently installed exhibitions by the International Committee of Musical Instrument Collections (CIMCIM) of the International Council of Museums (ICOM)*, 41–47.

⁴⁷ No reference has been made in the following publications and events: Ingeborg Stein, "Konzeptionelle Konsequenzen eines Musikmuseums: 'Exponat Musik'/Conceptual consequences of a music museum: 'Exhibition item music'", *Information für die Museen in der DDR* 4 (1989) 4–31. Reprinted as "Exponat Musik: Konzeption und Realisation eine Musik-Museums/Exhibition item music: The conception and realisation of a music museum", *Beiträge zur musicalischen Quellenforschung. IV: Bad Kostritz. Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Heinrich-Schütz-Haus* (1998) 123–47; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing heritage", *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology* 39/3 (1995) 367–80; Journées d'étude, Paris, Cité de la Musique, *Muséologie et musique* (16 October 1997). Unpublished. Colloque international *Musica & museo*, organized by Mario Armellini and Lorenzo Bianchoni (Bologne: *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 2001) forthcoming publication.

⁴⁸ *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles*. 16 (2003): *Musiques à voir, La musique dans les musées de société*, 11–41.

“THOSE UNHEARD ARE SWEETER ...”?
HUNGARIAN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN THE 20TH
CENTURY: AN INCOMPLETE HISTORY

André Balog

RÉPERTOIRE INTERNATIONAL DE LITTÉRATURE MUSICALE

To the memory of Zsigmond László

The historiography of 20th-century Hungarian music has been dominated by two towering figures, Bartók and Kodály, duly reflecting the music itself. Bartók's predominance as a composer has transcended the borders of Hungary, but he was also an influential teacher who trained a generation of Hungarian musicians at the Zeneakadémia in Budapest. After Bartók's death in 1945, Kodály became the single most important personality in Hungarian music; there was virtually no aspect of musical life in Hungary—from composition to pedagogy, from publishing to broadcasting—in which he did not exercise an active hand.

One of the effects of the long shadows cast by Bartók and Kodály—through no design of their own—has been that other 20th-century Hungarian composers, and even entire schools of composition that did not fall into the Bartók–Kodály “line”, have been more or less overlooked by historians of Hungarian music. Indeed, not until the relatively recent ascendancy of Ligeti and Kurtág had there been a wide awareness of the existence of 20th-century Hungarian music apart from the works of Bartók and Kodály. Within Hungary, a music historiography that was inordinately skewed in favor of Bartók and Kodály has been largely the rule throughout much of the second half of the 20th century, and only since the fall of communism has significant interest emerged in the work and the life of other, neglected 20th-century Hungarian composers.

It had not always been so. Before World War II, the dominant personality in Hungarian music was Ernő Dohnányi.¹ Not only did he hold almost all the reins of Hungarian musical life in his hands, but as a composer he was perceived as an equal member of what appeared to be a triumvirate of the cream of a generation of Hungarian composers: Bartók–Kodály–Dohnányi. Yet, after his emigration and the communist

¹ He was also known as Ernst von Dohnányi.

takeover, Dohnányi's name was virtually erased from Hungarian music history.² Other composers who did not tow the communist line—László Lajtha, for example—suffered similar neglect, though not to the extent of Dohnányi's obliteration. With few exceptions, the common fate of 20th-century composers put on a shelf by politically slanted historiography seems to be that, even if interest emerges in their work posthumously, it cannot measure up to the reception those composers could have achieved had they been given their due in their lifetime.

While the omissions of communist-influenced Hungarian music historiography have begun to be corrected during the last decade and a half—thanks to the work of a handful of dedicated, diligent musicologists³—the enduring “secret” of 20th-century Hungarian music history remains, inexplicably, an effect of the discriminatory cultural policies exercised on musical life in Hungary between the two world wars.

As recently as 2001 a major exhibition was mounted in Budapest with the aim of celebrating and comprehensively displaying the history of Hungary's 1000-year-old music culture.⁴ A section was devoted to Hungarian artists “at home and abroad”, ostensibly to pay tribute to the inordinately large number (compared with the small population of the country) of 20th-century Hungarian musicians who gained their fame and livelihood outside Hungary. Indeed, a cursory look at the helm of major American symphony orchestras at mid-century—Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, for example—makes us aware of the number of Hungarian conductors—Fritz Reiner (and his successor, Georg Solti), Antal Dorati, Eugene Ormandy, George Szell⁵—who made their careers outside Hungary. If we surveyed other areas of music worldwide, including instrumental playing, singing, choral conducting, and pedagogy, we could be similarly astonished by the large number of Hungarian musicians who gained prominence among their ranks. What drove these musicians to leave their native country and try their luck, often against daunting odds, abroad? The answer is simple, yet it is rarely spelled out in music histories and is often missing from “official” biographies of musicians published in Hungary to this day.⁶ The reason for the exodus of vast numbers of Hungarian musicians during the first half of the 20th century can be given in one word: anti-Semitism.

On 22 September 1920 the Hungarian parliament ratified Statute XXV, which has come to be known as the *numerus clausus* law. The legislation limited to 6% the

² In an essay for a Festschrift celebrating Kodály's 75th birthday, József Ujfalussy—one of Hungary's eminent musicologists—vividly recalled the festive atmosphere of the premiere, 19 November 1923, of *Psalmus hungaricus*, stating that “two” significant Hungarian works were first heard that day by the public, the other being Bartók's *Táncszvit* (Dance suite). In fact, three works were presented together that day, the third being Dohnányi's *Ünnepi nyitány* (Festival overture), each commissioned for the 50th anniversary of the unification of Budapest. Dohnányi's presence on the program was obliterated from the record, as was his name for many years from music historiography in Hungary. József Ujfalussy, “A *Psalmus hungaricus*”, *Kodály Zoltán 75. születésnapjára*, ed. by Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1957) 21.

³ I am indebted to the following scholars for their pioneering work in recovering the unduly neglected accomplishments of the three musicians discussed in this paper: Deborah Kiszely-Papp, László Gombos, James A. Grymes (on Ernő Dohnányi); Tibor Tallián (on László Weiner); Melinda Berlász, Emőke Solymosi-Tari (on László Lajtha); and last but not least Lóránt Péteri, who—in a number of essays—has undertaken the general investigation of cultural policies regarding music during the communist era.

⁴ Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 30 March–29 October 2001.

⁵ If our sampling extended to other continents, the conductors Ferenc Fricsay and István Kertész, among others, could also be included.

⁶ It was left unexplained in the 2001 exhibition and its extensive catalogue. András Batta, “Magyar művészek itthon és a nagyvilágban” [Hungarian artists at home and abroad], *Symphonia Hungarorum: Magyarország zenekultúrájának ezer éve* [*Symphonia Hungarorum: One-thousand years of music culture in Hungary*], ed. by János Kárpáti (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum; Magyar Zenetudományi és Zenekritikai Társaság, 2001) 201–15.

number of Jewish students admissible to higher education.⁷ With this act—the first such legislation in Europe in modern times—Hungary rolled back the emancipation its Jewish citizens had achieved in 1867 upon the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It may be noted that in 1920 Mussolini's March on Rome was two years in the future, and Hitler would not publish his *Mein Kampf* until 1925. Thus, Hungary's pride of place as the first herald of the dawn of European political anti-Semitism remains incontestable.

The guiding spirit behind the *numerus clausus* law was Miklós Horthy, a right-wing admiral who had overtaken Hungary with a coup d'état in the fall of 1919, after a short-lived Bolshevik regime had lost its grip on the country. Under Horthy's 25-year-long regency—although his political interests would occasionally permit liberal forces to gain a measure of carefully circumscribed prominence—the two leitmotifs of the regime remained insusceptible to change: whether *piano* or *fortissimo*, his propaganda machine would drum out the twin themes of anticommunism and anti-Semitism.

Regarding culture the Horthy regime was as conservative as would befit an authoritarian Christian–Right pseudodemocracy. Many prominent figures of the artistic avant-garde who had consorted with the Bolshevik government in 1919 were forced into exile. Progressive artists who stayed in Hungary were systematically marginalized in favor of the regime's official culture, which tended to be religious and imbued with a kitschy nationalism. Béla Bartók spent the interwar years in virtual internal exile in Hungary, refusing all official involvement with the regime, until, in 1940, he ultimately left the country for actual self-exile.

As Hungary linked its destiny ever more closely to Nazi Germany in the 1930s, three successive rounds of discriminatory legislation sealed the fate of its Jewish community. Although these statutes were ostensibly intended to “assure the effective balance of social and economic life” (1938/XV), and “limit the encroachment of Jews in the public sphere and the economy” (1939/IV), and finally, to “modify and defend marriage rights” (1941/XV),⁸ their real purpose was plain to see: this was the early solution; the final solution would follow in due course.

The reaction of progressive intellectuals in Hungary to these laws was prompt and eloquent, but sadly ineffective. The first day the legislation was debated in parliament, Bartók, Kodály, and 57 other figures from the vanguard of Hungarian culture published an open letter of protest.⁹ Nevertheless, the law was passed on 18 May, but before the end of that year a second, even stricter round of anti-Jewish measures was put before the legislature. The 1938/XV statute excluded Hungarians deemed “racially” Jewish from virtually all aspects of public and economic life; it effectively banned Jews from performing on the stages of theaters, opera, concert halls, and radio.

The Jewish community's response to the restrictions concerning the arts was more vigorous than in other areas. They promptly created an arts program, known by the acronym OMIKE,¹⁰ which sponsored regular seasons of theater, cabaret, concerts of

⁷ Randolph L. Braham, *A magyar Holocaust* [The politics of genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary], trans. by Tamás Zala et al. (Budapest: Gondolat; Wilmington, Del.: Blackburn, 1988) 38.

⁸ Róbert Vértess, ed., *Magyarországi zsidótörvények és rendeletek, 1938–1945* [Laws and edicts concerning Jews in Hungary, 1938–1945] (Budapest: Polgár, 1997).

⁹ *Pesti napló* (5 May 1938).

¹⁰ The Országos Magyar Izraelita Közművelődési Egyesület (OMIKE), a Jewish community organization, had existed since 1909, but its arts program (Művészakció) was conceived in 1939, in response to the summary banishment and the resulting loss of livelihood of Jewish artists. Performances, in addition to the Goldmark-terem (Budapest, VII.

choral, orchestral, and chamber music, and presented oratorios as well as fully staged operas¹¹ in the 382-seat Goldmark-terem, which—since it was located in the Jewish community center in Budapest—fell outside the quota system imposed on other, “legitimate” theaters. In addition, OMIKE mounted art exhibitions of the works of Jewish artists, who suddenly found themselves banished from galleries and museums. Thus, audiences flocking¹² to the musical and dramatic performances were able to view the work of these artists, and by purchasing them they could assure the financial survival of their otherwise unemployed creators. Many of the concerts and opera performances were introduced with scholarly lectures by the musicologist Zsigmond László. The excellence of the musical performances was assured by OMIKE’s music director, Vilmos Komor, the freshly sacked conductor of the Budapest Opera.

One of the stars of OMIKE—which offered a regular subscription program, and many of the patrons attended performances week after week—was the young composer and conductor László Weiner.¹³ A pupil of Kodály’s at the Academy of Music, Weiner was recognized by his fellow students as being in line for the “passing of the torch” from his master. Weiner’s duo for violin and viola was presented at an OMIKE concert in 1940 by its two dedicatees, Viktor Ajtay (Axler) and Pál Lukács. Ajtay was one of the most frequently featured violinists of the OMIKE programs, but he would become even better known after World War II as the concertmaster of the Metropolitan Opera and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Those in the know would also recognize him as the “security guard” of Raoul Wallenberg’s¹⁴ Swedish Legation in Budapest during the murderous winter of 1944.

In 1941, the year his sonata for viola and piano won second prize at an anonymous competition of the Hungarian ministry of culture, Weiner conducted one of the most ambitious undertakings of the OMIKE Arts Program: They performed, with 180 participants, Händel’s *Judas Maccabeus* at the Central Synagogue¹⁵ of Budapest at a benefit concert for destitute musicians. The role of Simon was sung by Dezső Ernster, who would become the principal bass of German repertoire at the Metropolitan Opera from 1946 to 1963. One of the Jewish Women was interpreted by Vera Rózsa, who would marry Weiner the following year.

The liberal press in Budapest frequently applauded the musical excellence of the OMIKE performances,¹⁶ and certain ostensibly benign cultural events, such as the concert on 7 December 1942 celebrating Kodály’s 60th birthday, became occasions for covert political protest. Kodály, whose “Aryan” credentials were unassailable, not only

Wesselényi utca 7.), were also held at the Hollán-utcai Kultúrterem (Budapest, V. Hollán utca 21/B) and the Bethlen-téri Előadóterem (Budapest, VII. Bethlen Gábor tér 2.)

¹¹ Tibor Tallián, “Az OMIKE Művészakció operaszínpada, 1940–1944” [Opera at the Arts Program of OMIKE, 1940–1944], *Muzsika* 39/1 (1994) 14–18.

¹² “Flocking” is not an exaggeration: The hall was filled to capacity at virtually all the performances held there from the inception of the arts program till its forcible shutdown by the authorities in 1944.

¹³ He was no relation to the composer Leó Weiner.

¹⁴ Raoul Wallenberg (1912–1947?), the scion of a Swedish banking family, arrived in Budapest on 9 July 1944 with the mission of saving Hungary’s remaining Jews from extermination. Financed by the U.S. War Refugee Board and operating under the auspices of the embassy of the neutral Kingdom of Sweden, Wallenberg and his colleagues at the Swedish legation succeeded in rescuing tens of thousands from the Nazis’ claws; his superiors in their final report for the U.S. government credited him with saving the lives of 100,000 Jews. During the Russian takeover of Budapest, Wallenberg was taken into “protective custody,” and disappeared in the Soviet gulag.

¹⁵ Budapest, VII. Dohány utcai zsinagóga.

¹⁶ István Péterfi, *Fél évszázad a magyar zenéletben: Válogatott zenekritikák, 1917–1961* [Half a century in Hungarian musical life: Selected music reviews, 1917–1961] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1962).

attended the performance, but he waited until everyone in the audience was seated before he took his seat in the first row. Friend and foe alike understood the meaning of this gesture of solidarity with the persecuted. One of the musicians playing Kodály's chamber works that evening was the 18-year-old János Starker, whose promise would have seemed irrefutable already at that tender age had his very survival not been brought into question by the circumstances. For the sake of symmetry, Starker would keep Ajtay company as the "fire marshal" of Wallenberg's Legation during the winter of 1944.

Before the end of 1942, Weiner was drafted into a forced-labor battalion of the Hungarian army. Kodály wrote letters to high officials and did everything he could to extricate him from "service", to no avail. On 25 July 1944 László Weiner was killed in the concentration camp of Łuków, Poland. He was 28 years old.¹⁷ We will never know what Weiner's mature compositions would have sounded like, nor can we have an inkling of what effect he would have had on the development of Hungarian music in the latter half of the 20th century, had he been allowed to live.

Between the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1944, 738 performances were presented by OMIKE, attracting a total of 272,000 spectators and assuring the livelihood of 430 artists.¹⁸ The evening of 19 March 1944, *Delila*, a play by the pariah playwright Ferenc Molnár, was scheduled to be given at Goldmark-terem. The performance did not take place. In the morning hours of that incongruously sun-filled, spring-like Sunday Hitler's troops marched into Hungary, and the Arts Program of OMIKE came to an end. Within hours, the systematic extermination of Hungarian Jews would begin. We do not know how many musicians perished among the some 568,000 Hungarian Jews and the uncounted Hungarian Roma killed at Auschwitz and elsewhere in the Holocaust, and it is impossible to estimate the number of those who were prevented from pursuing a career in music by the *numerus clausus* and other discriminatory regulations of the interwar period.

After 1945 democracy was momentarily restored in Hungary, but Russia, which had liberated the country from the Nazis, kept its occupying army in place and retained control of the key departments of government. Forcible sovietization was put in motion, and within a few years Hungary became a satellite of Stalinist Russia. Novel methods of discrimination were introduced: People were now evaluated on the basis of their "class origin", perceived past political activities and allegiances, or the measure of their putative Marxist convictions. To boot, these criteria were applied in a haphazard fashion, and untold numbers of those singled out for persecution simply fell victim to randomly applied state-controlled terror. Both the cryptofascist regime of 1920 to 1945 and the communist dictatorship of 1948 to 1989 were eager to impose complete control over the arts. Their tastes ran the gamut from the staunchly conservative to the outright reactionary; both systems were self-admitted enemies of the avant-garde. Freedom of expression was strictly censored—in fact nonexistent—throughout the tenures of both antidemocratic regimes. Thus, the justly celebrated flowering of Hungarian music in the 20th century in fact came about in the face of cultural repression throughout most of the era.

¹⁷ For the most complete survey of László Weiner's career in print, see Tibor Tallián, *Weiner László, 1916–1944* [László Weiner, 1916–1944] (Budapest: s.n., 1994).

¹⁸ Magda Horák, ed., "Ősi hittel, becsülettel a hazáért!": OMIKE Országos Magyar Izraelita Közművelődési Egyesület, 1909–1944 ["With ancient faith and rectitude in the country!": OMIKE National Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association, 1909–1944] (Budapest: Háttér, 1998) 572.

ERNŐ DOHNÁNYI. In 1920 Béla Bartók, reporting from Budapest for an American journal, sweepingly declared that “musical life in Budapest today may be summed up in one name—Dohnányi”.¹⁹ Indeed, from the end of World War I to the end of World War II, Dohnányi was involved in virtually every aspect of musical life in Hungary.²⁰ This multifariousness of Dohnányi’s would prompt comparisons with Leonard Bernstein: Both enjoyed success and social prominence from a young age, they possessed widely recognized glamour, and each was active as pianist, conductor, composer, music administrator—head of a major orchestra—pedagogue, and broadcaster.

Ernő Dohnányi was born in 1877 in Pozsony (now Bratislava), which was, after Budapest, Hungary’s most urbane center at the time. The family was intensely musical, and visiting musicians of the first rank often performed chamber music in the Dohnányi home. At 17, when it came time to continue his musical studies at a major conservatory, Ernő Dohnányi made a surprising choice: he decided on Budapest over such better established places of learning as Vienna or Berlin. The Országos Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia in Budapest, barely 20 years old at the time, had yet to acquire the prestige it has come to know since. (Dohnányi’s own imprimatur has played no small part in the recognition of the institution.) Equally significantly, Dohnányi persuaded the young Bartók—with whom he had gone to the same high school in Pozsony—to continue his studies at the Budapest conservatory as well. It is difficult to imagine today, when Bartók’s name is universally recognized and Dohnányi’s renown has all but disappeared, that in the first decades of the 20th century, Bartók was very much the junior partner of their team.

Dohnányi excelled in both piano and composition. Brahms put Dohnányi’s op. 1, the piano quintet in C minor, on the program of the Vienna Tonkünstlerverein when Dohnányi was just 18. As a young pianist his performances were acclaimed in Dresden, Vienna, Berlin, and London.²¹ In 1899 he won first prize at Bösendorfer’s 25th-anniversary competition with his piano concerto in E minor. The following year he married Elza Kunwald, and in 1902 a son, János György (Hans), and in 1903 a daughter, Grete, were born. The family settled in Berlin, where, by the age of 30, Dohnányi was named full professor at the Königliche Musikhochschule.

In 1915, however, Dohnányi moved to Budapest, principally because he did not want to wear a German uniform in the Great War. At this time his solo piano repertoire included approximately 125 works, and between 1915 and 1925 he gave 350 performances in Budapest alone. In 1916 he began teaching at the Országos Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia, his alma mater, but he soon angered the faculty by proposing radical reforms in virtually all aspects of teaching. Although his proposals were dismissed at the time, in 1918 he would succeed in having them adopted, and those methods are in place at the school to this day.

In February 1918 the short-lived government of the Hungarian republic appointed Dohnányi to the directorship of the Budapest conservatory.²² He accepted on the condition that Kodály be named deputy director. After a Bolshevik revolution overtook the country in March, Dohnányi left for an extended concert tour of Scandinavia in

¹⁹ Béla Bartók, “Post-war musical life in Budapest to February 1920”, *Musical courier* 80/18 (1920) 42–43.

²⁰ The exception was opera, where Dohnányi’s influence was minimal.

²¹ He made his first U.S. tour in 1900.

²² The republic also renamed the school Országos Magyar Zeneművészeti Főiskola, at once removing from its name the “royal” reference, and raising its status to that of an institution of higher education.

order to escape the chaotic conditions. Unfortunately, his name remained not only on the masthead of the conservatory, but—along with those of Bartók and Kodály—on a “directorship of music” that had been set up by the republic to oversee musical life in Hungary. In November, with Horthy’s right-wing counter-revolution in control of the country, a counter-attack was launched against Dohnányi and his colleagues. Dohnányi, Bartók, and Kodály were suspended, among others, and Kodály was about to be put on trial. Dohnányi succeeded in saving him by writing a letter of vehement protest, in which he assumed full responsibility for the “sins” of the former directorate.

Dohnányi was formally fired on 17 August 1920. He continued concertizing, giving on average 15 concerts a month. For years Dohnányi refused all contact with Hungary’s rulers, but by the late 1920s—with both Bartók and Kodály having been back at the conservatory since 1921–22—he was oddly isolated in his stance. By this time Horthy’s rule was consolidated, recognized by most Western powers, and Dohnányi might have felt that he could be a more effective force in the cultural life of Hungary if he found a *modus vivendi* with the regime.

He began teaching again at the Conservatory of Music²³ in the 1928–29 academic year. In 1931 he was named music director of Magyar Rádió, and he rose to the directorship of the conservatory once again upon Hubay’s retirement in 1934. Among Dohnányi’s pupils during these years would be such later luminaries as Géza Anda, György Cziffra, George Feyer, Boris Goldowsky, Andor Földes, György Faragó, and Georg Solti. But the disciple to whom his name was perhaps most attached was Annie Fischer, who won First Prize at the first Zongoraművészek Nemzetközi Liszt Ferenc-versenye, an international piano competition organized by Dohnányi in 1933. Among the judges were Wilhelm Backhaus, Béla Bartók, Alfredo Casella, Alfred Cortot, Edwin Fischer, Ignazy Friedmann, Mischa Levitzky, Max Pauer, Egon Petri, Emil Sauer, Arthur Schnabel, and Donald Francis Tovey.²⁴ (Rahmaninov was invited, but could not come because of problems with his stateless passport.) Once the winner was chosen, a vitriolic attack was launched in the Hungarian press, questioning Dohnányi’s integrity as presiding judge. One of his chief antagonists was the socialist journalist Sándor Jemnitz.²⁵

Dohnányi’s behavior in the face of the 1938 and 1939 acts of anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary was exemplary. From 1938, calls had been coming forward for the formation of a “Chamber of Music”—on the model of the German Reichsmusikkammer—whose very reason for being would be to exclude Jewish Hungarian musicians from its ranks. Dohnányi, whose task it was to establish the chamber, effectively sabotaged the project, and it never came to fruition.²⁶ At the Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, he persistently resisted pressure to discriminate against Jewish students and faculty. Finally, in 1941, when Bálint Hóman, Hungary’s pro-fascist minister of cultural affairs, demanded the firing of two Jewish professors, György Faragó and Ervin Major, from the conservatory, Dohnányi resigned from his directorship in protest.

²³ Since 1925 it has been called the Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola.

²⁴ The “star-studded” jury came together thanks to Dohnányi’s internationally recognized personal cachet.

²⁵ Jemnitz (1890–1963), a composer and left-leaning music critic, was a disciple of Schoenberg, and thus Dohnányi’s antagonist on both aesthetic and political grounds.

²⁶ János Breuer, “Töredékek Dohnányiról. III: A Zenei Kamara körül” [Fragments about Dohnányi. III: The Zenei Kamara], *Muzsika* 41/11 (November 1998) 19.

In May 1944, two months after the German occupation of Hungary, rather than letting go of “non-Aryan” members of the Budapesti Filharmóniai Társaság Zenekara—Dohnányi’s orchestra since 1919—he dissolved the ensemble. After Hitler’s Hungarian quisling, Ferenc Szálasi, staged a coup d’état on 15 October, Zoltán Sámly was appointed as the fascist intendant of Hungary’s by then nonexistent musical life. Sámly paid Dohnányi a visit and demanded his resignation from Magyar Rádió. Dohnányi simply threw him out of his office.

In November 1944, Dohnányi appeared at a reception given by Szálasi for the elite of Hungarian cultural life. By this time, since 5 April 1943, his son, Hans von Dohnányi—who was living in Berlin and held a high position in German counter-espionage—and Hans’s wife Christine Bonhoeffer, as well as her brothers Klaus and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, had been arrested for their part in the plot against Hitler. Dohnányi could not obtain any information on his son’s whereabouts. In the last days before the final defeat of Germany in 1945, Hans von Dohnányi and the two Bonhoeffer brothers were executed along with scores of other anti-Nazi resisters.²⁷

In late November 1944, Dohnányi left war-torn Hungary for Austria. He spent most of 1945 in Neunkirchen am Walde in western Austria, where he performed for U.S. troops. In August 1945, he was to conduct the opening concert of the Salzburg Festspiele, but problems arose. In Hungary, a commission led by Jemnitz had been designated to purge musical life from “fascist elements”. Dohnányi was initially put on a Hungarian list of war criminals, but soon he was unambiguously cleared from the list.²⁸ In 1946, after months of wrangling with the occupying authorities, he was cleared to perform in the American Zone. Many concerts followed in Austria, but also in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and in December 1946 he played Beethoven’s 32 piano sonatas over two weeks in the Mozartsaal in Vienna. At 69, this was his last appearance at the site of his youthful triumphs.

In November 1948, when Dohnányi was invited to perform in Boston, a smear campaign started in a Hungarian-American journal, *Az ember*,²⁹ which eventually found its way into the legitimate American press as well. Dohnányi was accused of anti-Semitism, collaboration with the Nazis, and perhaps most absurdly of all, of having suppressed the music of Bartók and Kodály. Concerning the latter charge, the numbers speak for themselves: In one sample year in the 1930s, Bartók was played 81 times on Hungarian Radio, while Liszt 127 times, Dohnányi 67 times, and Kodály 65 times. Dohnányi’s orchestra, the Budapesti Filharmonikusok, performed 17 works by Bartók at 71 concerts between 1920 and 1944; of these, seven were world premieres.³⁰ Although many of Dohnányi’s former colleagues, several of them of Jewish descent, testified on his behalf, some of the accusations would linger for a long time, and in many circles Dohnányi is seen as a “tainted” musician to this day. Bartók himself did not live to testify, but in his last completed work, the 3rd piano concerto, he sent his great friend an *envoi* in the form of a quote from Dohnányi’s 1917 variations on a Hungarian folk song, op. 29.

²⁷ Ernő Dohnányi’s daughter Grete was married to Karl Friedrich Bonhoeffer (1899–1957), Klaus and Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s brother.

²⁸ 32.951 sz 1945.I.M.

²⁹ György Ruttkay, “Dohnányi Ernő Szálasi szolgálatában” [Ernő Dohnányi in Szálasi’s service], *Az ember* (11 December 1948).

³⁰ János Breuer, “Dohnányi Ernő születésnapjára” [For Ernő Dohnányi’s birthday], *Népszabadság* (27 July 2002).

In 1949 Dohnányi accepted a teaching position at Florida State University in Tallahassee. He continued to teach and perform until the day he died—on a recording assignment in New York—at the age of 83. At one time he had set himself the goal of devoting himself exclusively to composing after the age of 60. That was not to be.

In 1927 Dohnányi’s teacher in piano at the Academy of Music, István Thomán, wrote the following about him: “One of the prides of my musical career is that one of the greatest of musicians, Franz Liszt, was my teacher—my other chief pride is that another of the greatest musicians, Ernő Dohnányi, was my pupil.”³¹

LÁSZLÓ LAJTHA. László Lajtha was born a decade after Bartók and Kodály, in 1892. Late in life, Lajtha would credit Bartók with fighting the battles for the acceptance of the avant-garde for those who came after him.³² This statement was all the more generous in light of Lajtha’s own tremendous difficulties in having his music accepted, or even heard, in his lifetime.

Lajtha came from a well-to-do bourgeois family. At 15 he was accepted into a preparatory class of the Zeneakadémia in Budapest, where he went on to obtain a diploma, but at his father’s insistence he also completed a degree in political law. In 1909 he spent three months in Leipzig studying counterpoint and performances of Bach’s works at the Thomaskirche. He spent most of 1911 to 1913 in Paris, where he studied with Vincent d’Indy. In many ways Lajtha’s Parisian experience marked him most profoundly, both personally and artistically. He was present at the premieres of Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du printemps* and Debussy’s *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, he became a friend of Maurice Ravel, Albert Roussel, and Florent Schmitt, and most importantly, he established a lifelong friendship with Henry Barraud.

Lajtha enlisted at the outbreak of the World War I and spent the next four years on the front as an artillery officer. While in the trenches his preoccupation with music did not cease, however. In letters to his parents he requested music paper for composing, and reported to his fiancée on his studies of the works of Bartók, Stravinsky, and Debussy, the score of *Don Giovanni*, as well as Beethoven’s last string quartets. Always in the French vein—and a quasi-musical one—he was also reading Romain Rolland’s *Jean Christophe*.

Lajtha’s first published work, nine piano fantasias titled *Des esquisses d’un musicien*, appeared in 1913.³³ They immediately created a stir in Budapest and Vienna, and the young composer would thereupon be regarded as one of the great hopes of the European avant-garde. In 1920, in a letter to Peter Warlock, Bartók confidently declared that “apart from Kodály and Lajtha, [Hungary has] no valuable composers,”³⁴ and elsewhere characterized Lajtha’s early works as being “amazingly bold.”³⁵ In 1932, at the inaugural concert of the composers’ group Le Triton,³⁶ the program featured works by Lajtha, Prokof’ev, Honegger, and Roussel, in that order. Beginning in 1928 Lajtha published at Alphonse Leduc, Paris; he was the only Hungarian composer who published in France.

³¹ Bálint Vázsonyi, *Dohnányi Ernő* [Ernő Dohnányi] (Budapest: Nap, 2002) 314.

³² János Breuer, *Fejezetek Lajtha Lászlóról* [Chapters about László Lajtha] (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1992) 24–38.

³³ Budapest: Rózsavölgyi, 1913.

³⁴ Denijs Dille, “Négy Bartók-levél Philip Heseltine-hoz” [Four letters of Bartók to Philip Heseltine], *Muzsika* 8 (1965).

³⁵ Anon., *Laszlo Lajtha* (Paris: Leduc, 1987).

³⁶ Paris, 16 December 1932.

Lajtha's French orientation would not go unnoticed in Hungary. Between the two world wars, the pro-German rulers of Hungary, fueled by resentment for the loss of territories in the Versailles peace treaties, regarded mere affinity for France as suspect, if not outright treason; later, under the puppet regime imposed on Hungary by Stalin after World War II, a single letter from the West could land the recipient in the Hungarian gulag.

In 1947 Lajtha was invited to England to compose the score for a film version of T.S. Eliot's play *Murder in the cathedral*. He spent a year in London. The musical material for the film would also find expression as his opp. 44 through 46, which included his third symphony. By the time he and his wife returned to Budapest (their two sons stayed in the West), they found themselves in a sovietized Hungary. Lajtha was forced to retire from his position as director of the Nemzeti Zenede, which brought his very livelihood into question. Eventually—through the help of Gyula Ortutay, who was minister of education and religious affairs³⁷—a position was carved out for Lajtha, directing a small, semi-independent ethnomusicological research group.

Intransigent as ever, Lajtha took on virtually exclusively those "elements" who were blacklisted by the communists: Benjamin Rajeczky and György Marosy were former Cistercians, the musicologist Margit Tóth and the transcriber Éva Gábor had been nuns until the suppression of religious orders, and Cecilia Teleki, a countess who spoke five languages, served as translator. The team would come to be known as "Noah's Ark". Lajtha, accompanied by Margit Tóth and Zsuzsanna Erdélyi (the latter a specialist in song texts), would spend eight to ten days each month in remote villages of Hungary, collecting traditional music. Their research included instrumental music, which had not been a focus of Bartók and Kodály, and their tours covered western Hungary, an area left largely unexplored by the other two pioneering ethnomusicologists. To supplement his income, Lajtha also managed to find work as a part-time lecturer in ethnomusicology at the Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola in Budapest.

While Lajtha performed all this activity (which included lengthy and uncomfortable train rides) with great diligence—he regarded his colleagues as disciples—he frankly considered it secondary to his composing. There was not enough time left for composition, however, and his comic opera, *Le Chapeau bleu*, on a libretto in French by Salvador de Madariaga, was still waiting to be orchestrated since its completion in 1950. It appears that Lajtha might have deliberately prolonged his work on the opera, whose plot took place in France around 1700, because it represented for him "an island of love and beauty"³⁸ in a sea of dross.

When it came to new compositions, which had scant hope of being performed in Hungary, even though they were regularly programmed in France and in other Western countries, Lajtha would concentrate on his symphonies, ultimately completing nine altogether, several of which were quasi-explicit responses to the political situation in Hungary. The most notorious of these was his symphony no. 7, written in 1957, which was an undisguised lament for the defeated Hungarian uprising in 1956. In addition,

³⁷ Gyula Ortutay (1910–78), an ethnologist, came into the government as a member of the Independent Smallholders' Party, and at this time still retained, despite encroaching communist dominance, a measure of independence in matters the communists did not consider of primary political importance.

³⁸ Emőke Solymosi Tari, "A szeretet és a szépség szigete": Adalékok Lajtha László művészetének 17–18. századi inspirációjához ["The island of love and beauty": The 17th- and 18th-century inspiration of László Lajtha's music], *Magyar zene* 41/3 (2003) 327–36.

at a time when the antireligious campaign of the communist regime was in full force, he composed two Masses (1950, 1952), a Magnificat (1954), and three hymns to the Blessed Virgin (1958). The hymns were premiered in 1962 at the State University of New York under the baton of their dedicatee, Nadia Boulanger. At least two of Lajtha’s religious works composed during the 1950s were written expressly for suppressed religious orders, which continued to meet in secret, and with which he kept close contact through Margit Tóth.³⁹

Lajtha spent the 1950s in what has come to be known as “internal exile” in Hungary. His applications for a passport were repeatedly refused; he was not allowed to see his sons—or meet his grandchildren, who were all born abroad—for some 14 years. He was interrogated on three separate occasions by ÁVH, the communist secret police. But he could not be intimidated. He maintained an extensive correspondence with his family abroad, as well as his friends and publisher in France, through the services of the director of the Budapest office of the Alliance Française, Guy Turbet-Delof, who agreed to transmit his letters in the diplomatic pouch of the French Embassy. In these letters, which have come to light since 1989, Lajtha’s contempt for the regime is expressed undisguised. Yet he was not without hope: In an interview given two months before his death,⁴⁰ he repeated a statement he made in 1946, when—on his first visit to France after World War II—he was asked how he had spent the war years: “À la recherche de la beauté perdue”, he replied.

³⁹ Melinda Berlász, “Lajtha Lászlónak a Leduc kiadóhoz intézett levelei” [László Lajtha’s letters to the Leduc publishing house], *Zenatudományi dolgozatok* (1990–1991) 115–31; (1992–1994) 161–80.

⁴⁰ Marianne Gách, “A szépséghez sokféle út visz: Lajtha László a zenei stílusról, a balettről, a filmről” [Many different paths lead to beauty: László Lajtha on musical style, ballet, and film], *Lajtha László összegyűjtött írásai* [Collected writings of László Lajtha], ed. by Melinda Berlász, 297–99 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1992). First published in *Film, színház, muzsika* (7 December 1962).

MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY AND *TERRA INCOGNITA*: THE CASE OF DRAGAN PLAMENAC

Ennio Stipčević

ODSJEK ZA POVIJEST HRVATSKE GLAZBE
ZAVOD ZA POVIJEST HRVATSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI, KAZALIŠTA I GLAZBE
HRVATSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI

At the beginning of scene 2 in Shakespeare's comedy *Twelfth night, or, What you will* Viola asks, "What country, friends, is this?" After Captain's reply, "Illyria, lady", she asks herself, "And what should I do in Illyria?" It is not surprising that the great English bard had only hazy concepts about Illyria, as the Croatian lands were called in Renaissance times. Current curiosity will be satisfied as a rule by the information that Croatia is a small country in Europe, located somewhere halfway between the Portuguese Atlantic coast and the Caucasus. Somewhat more precise information would be that it is located between Venice and Vienna, whose political protectorate it had the privilege to enjoy for several centuries. Anything more detailed would be mere geographical fussiness, unworthy of Shakespeare's theater.

However, poorly known regions are distinctly attractive to archeologists and historians, and *terra incognita* can become a source of unexpected insights. During the 1930s and 1940s, one particular musicologist with a global reputation discovered in early Croatian music his own *Iliad* and Hissarlik Mountain.¹

Dragan Plamenac (Zagreb, 8 February 1895—Ede, The Netherlands, 15 March 1983) was a member of the prominent Jewish Siebenschein family from Zagreb.²

¹ Francis H. Eterovich and Christopher Spalatin, eds., *Croatia: Land, people, culture*, 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964–98), is accessible for the general reader. For general information on music in Croatia see Josip Andreis, *Music in Croatia* (Zagreb: Muzička Akademija, Muzikološki Zavod, 1974; 2nd ed., 1982); Lovro Županović, *Centuries of Croatian music*, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar, Koncertna Direkcija Zagreb, 1984–89); Ennio Stipčević, *Hrvatska glazba: Povijest hrvatske glazbe do 20. stoljeća* [Croatian music: History of Croatian music before the 20th century] (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1997).

² See Ennio Stipčević, *Ivan Lukačić* (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar, Koncertna Direkcija Zagreb, 2007) and also entries on Plamenac in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 19, 889–90, and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2005) *Sachteil* vol. 13, 660–61. See also Gustave Reese, "Autour de Plamenac", *Essays in musicology in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday*, ed. by Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969; repr. ed.: New York: Da Capo Press, 1995). A volume of the Croatian musicological journal *Arti musices* 17/2 (1986) was dedicated to Plamenac, and it includes the following articles: Koraljka Kos, "Dragan Plamenac, istraživač i objavljiivač rane glazbe" [Dragan Plamenac, researcher and editor of early music]; Ennio Stipčević, "Hrvatska glazbena prošlost u muzikološkim radovima Dragana

During his childhood, Zagreb was a typical Central European city. The Siebenschein family's house graced one of the squares in the center of the city, and already in early childhood Dragan had gained a sound knowledge of the English, French, German, and Italian languages and was familiar with Latin. As a youth he started using the pseudonym *Plamenac* (the Croatian word for flamingo, *phoenicopterus ruber*), and that is how he signed himself in 1915 on the edition of his *Trois poèmes de Ch. Baudelaire*, a cycle of expressionist songs for voice and piano.³ Domestic critics greeted his attempt as a composer—quite unusual in the music output of Croatia at that time—with a complete lack of understanding and, it seems, their rough rejection deeply hurt the young Plamenac, who then turned to scholarly work.

He was educated over a prolonged period and in various centers: After graduating and earning his doctorate in law at Zagreb University, he went on to study composition in Vienna (with Franz Schreker), and then composition (with Vitezslav Novak) and piano (with Karel Hoffmeister) in Prague. He continued with studies of musicology in Paris and Vienna, and among his teachers were André Pirro and Guido Adler. His outstanding dissertation *Johannes Ockeghem als Motteten- und Chansonkomponist*, which he defended before Adler in Vienna, confirmed him as an expert of high merit possessing broad musical and overall cultural knowledge. He gained an international reputation in 1927 when he edited the first volume of Ockeghem's collected works.⁴ With later editions of Ockeghem's works and other monuments of European music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (for example, *Codex Faenza*, the chansonnier from Seville, and the chansonnier from Dijon⁵), he reinforced his reputation as a skillful and authoritative paleographer. In addition, his quests for and discoveries of old, barely known music showed persistence and ingenuity worthy of a real detective. He is still remembered today for those very qualities.

The reputation still enjoyed by Plamenac and his musicological work is clearly shown by the latest (1992) edition of Ockeghem's motets and chansons, published by the American Musicological Society with Richard Wexler and Dragan Plamenac as editors. It is also notable that the collection of papers edited by Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow, published in 1969 to celebrate Plamenac's 70th birthday, was reprinted in 1995. However, in addition to the credit due to him for publishing monuments of

Plamenac" [Croatian musical past in the musicological studies of Dragan Plamenac]; Zdravko Blažeković, "Dragan Plamenac i Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod" [Dragan Plamenac and the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod]; Lovro Županović, "Oris skladateljstva Dragana Plamenca" [Outline of Dragan Plamenac's composition]; Harold E. Samuel, "Zbirka Dragana Plamenca na sveučilištu Yale" [The Dragan Plamenac collection at Yale University]; and Ennio Stipčević, "Bibliografija muzikoloških radova Dragana Plamenca [Bibliography of musicological studies of the Dragan Plamenac].

³ Dragan Plamenac, *Trois poèmes de Ch. Baudelaire, chant et piano* (Zagreb 1915; repr. ed., Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti; Muzički Informativni Centar, Koncertna Direkcija Zagreb, 1991), with foreword by Koraljka Kos.

⁴ See Johannes Ockeghem, *Sämtliche Werke. I: Messen I–VIII*. Publikationen älterer Musik 1/2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; Deutsche Musikgesellschaft, 1927); 2nd corrected edition: *Collected works. I: Masses I–VIII*. American Musicological Society. Studies and documents 3 (New York: American Musicological Society, 1959); *Collected works. II: Masses and Mass sections IX–XVI*. American Musicological Society. Studies and documents 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, published for the American Musicological Society, 1947; 2nd ed., New York: American Musicological Society, 1966); *Collected works. III: Motets and chansons*, ed. by Richard Wexler and Dragan Plamenac (s.l.: American Musicological Society, 1992). For a complete list of Plamenac's works, see *Essays in musicology* (p. 385–91) and *Arti musices* (p. 237–45).

⁵ See *Keyboard music of the late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117*. American Musicological Society. Corpus mensurabilis musicae 57 (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972); *Dijon, Bibliothèque publique, manuscript 517*. Publications of medieval musical manuscripts 12 (Brooklyn: Institute of Medieval Music, 1970).

European mediaeval and Renaissance music, Plamenac also played a key role in the development of Croatian musicology.

After the successful defense of his dissertation in Vienna, he took up an appointment as assistant to the conductor Bruno Walter at the Berlin Städtliche Oper. Over the next few years Plamenac devoted himself to fundamental research of early Croatian music, and he was able to consult a host of professional literature available in the well-stocked libraries in Berlin and other European centers. He leafed through old library catalogues and uncovered a whole body of printed music by Croatian Renaissance and Baroque authors, unknown until then. When he returned to his homeland in 1928, he was offered the position of assistant professor as the first-ever lecturer in musicology at Zagreb University.



Dragan Plamenac (1935)

His tenure as assistant professor at Zagreb University (1928–39) was crucial for Plamenac's study of early Croatian music; during those years he actively perused the music archives in Dalmatia and visited European libraries in search of manuscript and printed music collections. Finally, after years of intensive research, he published an article on Ivan Lukačić (1574–1648) and his motets in the Zagreb daily *Obzor*.⁶ This newspaper article was received as a first-class cultural event, a musicological find without precedent in Croatia. Plamenac had discovered an unknown collection of Baroque monody and polyphony, music that nobody at that time could possibly have conceived as springing from Croatian soil.

In the following year (1935) Plamenac organized a concert entitled *Iz hrvatske muzičke poršlosti. Svjetovna i duhovna djela 16. i 17. stoljeća* (From Croatia's musical past: Secular and sacred works of the 16th and 17th centuries) at the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in Zagreb. For the first time after several centuries, Croatian Renaissance and Baroque music resounded at the concert, all of it written by composers of whom nothing had been known until then. The high level of masterly polyphony and the richness of instrumental textures made a profound impression on the domestic audience. Certain compositions from that Zagreb concert were broadcast on radio programs in Zagreb, but also in Prague and in Paris.

Between 1934 and 1938 Plamenac acquainted the public in Croatia with a series of Croatian Renaissance and Baroque composers of whom they had been completely unaware: He published monograph studies about the composers, gave lectures, and compiled and edited the first contemporary edition of selected motets by Ivan Lukačić.⁷ In those few years the concept of Croatian music was fundamentally altered

⁶ Dragan Plamenac, "Nepoznat hrvatski muzičar ranoga baroka: Ivan Lukačić (1574–1648) i njegovi moteti [Unknown Croatian musician of the early Baroque: Ivan Lukačić (1574–1648) and his motets], *Obzor* 75/293 (1934) 6.

⁷ Ivan Lukačić, *Odabrani moteti/Selected motets (1620)* (Zagreb: Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, 1935; 2nd ed., 1975).



Photographs from the concert of works by Vinko Jelić, Andrea Patricio, Giulio Schiavetti, and Tomaso Cecchini, which Dragan Plamenac organized in the series *Iz hrvatske muzičke prošlosti* (From Croatia's musical past) in the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in Zagreb on 19 December 1935. In the performance the singers Zdenka Horvat, Vjera Richter, Maja Živojnović, Maja Božin, Štefica Šćukanec, Nada Udovč-Brejc, Fjodor Sahno, Zlatko Šir, Nikola Šterle, Dragutin Bernardić, Milan Prebanda, and Lav Vrbanić participated. Plamenac presented the introductory lecture, conducted the ensemble, and provided piano accompaniment.

through his efforts, and the inception of Croatian art music was moved back several unimagined centuries into the past. Moreover, the way in which Plamenac presented the results of his research—basing the new conceptions on archival research and on exhaustive knowledge of musicological literature, lexicography, and paleography—set new standards in Croatian music historiography.⁸ This marked the real beginning of contemporary Croatian musicology. In the introductory study to the edition of Lukačić's motets, Plamenac wrote with unconcealed elation:

As a monument to musical practice in Dalmatia at the beginning of the 17th century, Lukačić's work is in many ways a document of the utmost importance to the historiography of our music, and our culture as a whole. Primarily, it is to us ... the first example of domestic creativity known to date in the field of early figurative music. So not every trace of domestic activity in this field of art has been obliterated after all!⁹

Plamenac's most extensive study of early Croatian music dates from 1938. It was a richly documented monograph about Tomaso Cecchini, the Italian composer who, with numerous printed collections of Masses, psalms, motets, madrigals, and instrumental

⁸ Most important studies on Croatian music are now reprinted in Dragan Plamenac, *Glazba 16. i 17. stoljeća u Dalmaciji: Osam studija* [Music of the 16th and 17th centuries in Dalmatia: Eight essays], ed. by Ennio Stipčević (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar, Koncertna Direkcija Zagreb; Split: Književni krug, 1998).

⁹ "Kao spomenik muzičke prakse u Dalmaciji na početku 17. vijeka, Lukačićovo je djelo za historiju naše muzike, naše kulture uopće, u više pravaca dokument najvećega značenja, Prije svega nam je ono ... dosad prvi poznati primjer domaćega stvaranja na polju stare figuralne muzike. Dakle se ipak nije zatro svaki trag domaćem radu i djelovanju na ovom umjetničkom području!" Ivan Lukačić, *Odabrani moteti (duhovni koncerti) iz djela "Sacrae cantiones", 1620* [Selected motets (sacred concertos) from the collection *Sacrae cantiones, 1620*], ed. by Dragan Plamenac. Izdanja Hrvatskog Glazbenog Zavoda 11 (Zagreb: Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod, 1935; 2nd ed., 1975) 5.



sonatas, laid the foundation of the Baroque style in Dalmatia at the beginning of the 17th century.¹⁰ It is highly regrettable that this voluminous study remains only in Croatian and is thus inaccessible to international scholarship. The study on Cecchini was a *summa* of sorts of Plamenac's research up to that time into Renaissance and Baroque Croatian music, a text that was to be read with the greatest attention by Croatian musicologists in the decades to come.

At the invitation of the American Musicological Society in 1939 Plamenac traveled to New York, where he gave a lecture on Renaissance music in Dalmatia at an international congress. This lecture evoked a great deal of interest and marked the beginning of the inclusion of early Croatian music in mainstream professional literature.¹¹ He lived in America for the rest of his life, where he held a professorship at the University of Illinois (1954–63), was visiting professor at the University of Pittsburgh (1964–65), and at the University of California, Santa Barbara (1967), and published extensively on the results of his musicological and paleographic research.

In 1954 Gustave Reese included Plamenac's chapter "Music in the Adriatic coastal areas of the Southern Slavs"—in fact, a slightly altered version of the New York lecture of 1939—in his book *Music in the Renaissance*.¹² For the following few decades that concise chapter in Reese's standard monograph was to be the main source of information about Croatian Renaissance music for the international professional public. Plamenac's studies that appeared between the 1934 article in a Zagreb newspaper and this concise study in Reese's *Music in the Renaissance* in 1954 shared one particular constant: his sense of wonder at the worth of music by Croatian composers that he found in European libraries and archives. His very earliest studies often showed his sincere delight and joy with the new insights that he was uncovering.

One should also mention here a tragic episode that permanently affected Plamenac. During World War II, the Siebenschein family, as was the case with the majority of the Jewish population in Croatia, was not spared the calamities of war. The family property was ransacked and the major part of Plamenac's valuable library and microfilm collection was either destroyed or stolen. Since he had found himself in the United States at the end of the 1930s, Plamenac soon had to accept the fact that a great part of his meticulously collected musicological documentation, along with the rare books that he had been buying for years in secondhand bookstores all over Europe, had been lost forever in the winds of war.

It is not surprising, therefore, that almost everything that Plamenac wrote about Croatian music after World War II represents, in fact, a *corrigenda et addenda* in relation to his earlier, pre-war writings. In the mid-1960s he started once more to publish in his homeland. Those publications included the modern critical edition of four motets by Giulio Schiavetti,¹³ which are among the most significant works of the

¹⁰ See Dragan Plamenac, "Toma Cecchini, kapelnik stolnih crkava u Splitu i Hvaru u prvoj polovini XVII stoljeća: Bio-bibliografska studija [Tomaso Cecchini, the chapel master of the cathedrals in Split and Hvar in the first half of the 17th century: A bio-bibliographic study], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 262 (1938) 77–125.

¹¹ See Dragan Plamenac, "Music of the 16th and 17th centuries in Dalmatia", *Papers read at the International Congress of Musicology, held at New York, September 11th to 16th*, ed. by Arthur Mendel, Gustave Reese, and Gilbert Chase (New York: American Musicological Society, 1944) 21–51.

¹² Dragan Plamenac, "Music in the Adriatic coastal areas of the Southern Slavs", in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954) 757–62.

¹³ Giulio Schiavetti (Julije Skjavetić), *Četiri moteta/Four motets* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1974).

Croatian Renaissance. In the introductory study he drew attention to the influence of Adrian Willeart and the polyphonic music of the Low Countries on Schiavetti's style, an influence that reached the Croatian coast of the Adriatic sea by way of Venice.¹⁴ Plamenac's observations about the presence of Dutch polyphony in the Croatian regions has been confirmed by later research into the Renaissance music of Dubrovnik.¹⁵

Plamenac's judgments on Croatian and Renaissance music were rooted in the positivistic historiography of the German school, and each value judgment was based on a particular document or concrete archival record. His rarely expressed aesthetic judgments are recognizably elitist, reflecting the influence of the aesthetics of Benedetto Croce. In the first place Plamenac was attracted to the monuments of developed musical cultures, such as, for example, printed polyphonic Renaissance music or early Baroque monody. He regarded transcriptions of folklore music and Baroque popular songbooks as being of lesser value, even though these very indicators of autochthonic music could perhaps have attracted the interest of the international public. It is only in recent years that efforts have been made to study in more depth the folklore and popular strata of early Croatian music.¹⁶

All original editions of Croatian Renaissance and Baroque music that Plamenac discovered were published outside of Croatia. In other words, right up until the mid-19th century, there were no printing shops in Croatia that specialized in printing music. During that era of the political division of the Croatian lands, Croatian composers were simply obliged to have their music printed outside their homeland, in printing shops from Rome and Venice to Vienna and in northern European anthologies. Despite the obvious unfavorable consequences of the lack of music printing shops in the Croatian lands, a positive effect was that Croatian Renaissance and Baroque composers became an integral part of the broader events in European music. It was exactly this common denominator of Croatian and European masters—Italian, Central European, Dutch—that Plamenac studied most.

Plamenac often returned in his research to the same or similar themes, and to old, well-known places. It was as though he refreshed his memory and deepened his comprehension by retracing his steps. He returned to Zagreb almost every year after the war ended and devoted himself passionately to tracing his lost microfilms and transcriptions of the works of early Croatian composers. He died during one of his journeys, in the township of Ede in the Netherlands. He was on his way to a congress in Bydgoszcz in Poland, where he intended to read his paper about Damjan Nembri (1584–ca. 1648)—a Benedictine priest born in Hvar in Dalmatia who was unknown until then—and his collection of polyphonic psalms *Brevis et facilis psalmodium* (Venice, 1641). That study was published posthumously, remaining one in a series of uncompleted works in progress.¹⁷

¹⁴ The introductory study to the 1974 edition was translated into Italian: "Julije Skjavetić (Giulio Schiavetti) e i Motetti a cinque et a sei voci del 1654 (annotazioni bibliografiche)", *Subsidia musica veneta* 2 (1981) 21–38.

¹⁵ See Miho Demović, *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik vom Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Gustav Boose, 1981).

¹⁶ See Koraljka Kos, "Style and sociological background of Croatian Renaissance music", *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* 13/1 (1982) 55–82, with extensive bibliography; Ennio Stipčević, "The presence of the past: The earliest musical notations of folk music in Croatia", *The world of music* 49/3 (1998) 9–24.

¹⁷ See Dragan Plamenac, "Damjan Nembri of Hvar (1584–c. 1648) and his vesper psalms", *Musica antiqua Europae Orientalis* (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 1982) 669–85; reprinted in modern ed. of Nembri's *Brevis et facilis psalmodium*, ed. by Ennio Stipčević (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar, Koncertna Direkcija

So it was that Plamenac's Netherlands and Dalmatia, and his long journeys and solitary research came together in his death. Just as the results of his many years of research into Croatian Renaissance and Baroque music started to emerge, and just as Croatia finally ceased to be *terra incognita* on the map of early European music, Dragan Plamenac relocated into history.

It was a happy circumstance for Croatian music historiography in its early stages that it had an expert such as Dragan Plamenac. On the other hand, in Plamenac's studies, Croatian Renaissance and Baroque music had its first, but also authoritative interpreter on the international scene. And the fact that, thanks to Plamenac's efforts, Croatia ceased to be *terra incognita* in the musical scene during the 1930s and 1940s in no way contradicts the fact that Viola's sentence—"What country, friends, is this?"—is still relevant today. Historiography teaches us that we are never knowledgeable enough about history itself.

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GOD AND REVOLUTION: REWRITING THE ABSOLUTE. BENCE SZABOLCSI AND THE DISCOURSE OF HUNGARIAN MUSICAL LIFE

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In 1960 Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno encapsulated the final metaphysical experience of Gustav Mahler's music into the following sentence: "In it the absolute is conceived, felt and longed for, and yet it does not exist. He no longer accepts the ontological proof of the existence of God which all previous music repeated parrot-fashion."¹ Nine years later Hungarian musicologist Bence Szabolcsi seemed to reformulate Adorno's proposition happily. While the sense of nostalgia with which Szabolcsi endowed Mahler's music seems to be a domesticated version of Adorno's metaphysical negativity, one might connect Szabolcsi's concept of a never-existing past or a golden age with the more abstract category of the Absolute in Adorno. In Szabolcsi's somewhat complicated formulae, the bygone world the composer recalls

can have been visible once: but this is not certain. The only certainty is that the composer would like to bring it [that is, the bygone world] back to [present] life, even though he has just merely imagined his longing for it. At any rate, he wants and demands us to believe it is real and to long for it and to believe in it.²

In the very kernel of aesthetic, historical, stylistic, or even technical arguments, one might likely find straightforward metaphysical questions when studying some products of 20th-century Hungarian musicology. In other words, a certain part of this literature tended to reduce musicological issues to the question of whether a musical work was able to recite the proofs of God's existence in a convincing manner. In the following, I would like to discuss this phenomenon through the writings of Bence Szabolcsi. In

¹ Theodor W. Adorno, "Afterthoughts", *Quasi una fantasia: Essays on modern music*, trans. by Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1992) 109.

² "Valamikor talán látható volt; de ez nem mindig bizonyos. Csak annyi bizonyos, hogy a költő szeretné visszahozni az életbe, akkor is, ha csak elképzelte; hogy vágyódik utána; s mindenképp azt akarja, sőt megköveteli, hogy mi is valónak lássuk, hogy kívánczunk utána és higgyünk benne." Bence Szabolcsi, "Zene, illúzió, nosztalgia: Brahms, Mahler és Kodály" [Music, illusion, nostalgia: Brahms, Mahler, and Kodály], ed. by Lóránt Péteri, *Muzsika* 44/1 (January 2001) 20–24. Manuscripts and broadcast talk: from 1969.

doing so, I wish to raise questions pertinent to the doctrinally determined musical discourse in Hungary after the communist takeover; and to the destiny of 20th-century Jewish intellectuals of the country.

Bence Szabolcsi (1899–1973) studied composition with Zoltán Kodály at the Országos Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia (the present Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music) in Budapest in the late 1910s. Afterwards he wrote his thesis in Leipzig. In the 1920s we see him as a leading scholar of Hungarian musicology who acted as an apostle of Kodály's ideology on folklore-based art music. However, he had not been able to embark on a standard academic career until the end of World War II. Owing to Hungary's anti-Jewish legislation, from 1938 on he suffered the same deprivation of civil rights as did other Hungarian citizens of Jewish origin. Upon his return from forced labor and the loss of his only son (who was deported to Auschwitz), he established a new life in postwar Hungary. He was appointed professor at the Zeneművészeti Főiskola in 1945 and elected a corresponding member of the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia in 1948.³ Additionally, he had a substantial role in the country's informal and semi-informal musical life. His so-called Bartók-seminar was a point of reference for many young composers, music teachers, and other intellectuals.⁴ His inspiration by Wilhelm Dilthey's *Geistesgeschichte*, however, earned him a dubious reputation in communist political circles in the years following the Stalinist takeover of 1948. The communist cultural apparatus was also provoked by his public rejection of the Soviet communist party's 1948 resolution on music.⁵ Szabolcsi published an article in which he protested against the critique of "formalism" in modern music, against the demand of "public accessibility" of art, and against the isolation from the West urged by the resolution. Interestingly enough, Szabolcsi only briefly touched upon the question of compositions inspired by folk music, then a dominant feature in modern Hungarian music. The fact that he failed to exploit the obvious overlaps between the aesthetic and academic-educational agendas of Zoltán Kodály and that of the *Ždanovščina* (those are the preferences for folkloristic national classicism, for the vocal genres, and for the artistic role and identity of being an "educator of the people") had to do with his rejection of any direct political intervention in the arts.⁶ It comes as no surprise to learn that around 1949–50, the decision-making bodies of Hungarian cultural policies often mention Szabolcsi as an "enemy". In 1951, however, the political leaders of cultural life turned to new tactics: their aim now was to win Szabolcsi and Kodály over by making a common cause with them. The new tactics rested on the acknowledgment of their professional authority and artistic reputation, and their central positions in the informal networks, often patron-client relations, of Hungarian musical life, beyond the overlapping agendas I have mentioned above. In 1951, Szabolcsi took the position of president of the Soviet fashion Magyar Zeneművészek Szövetsége (Association of Hungarian Musicians) which had been established in 1949. At the same

³ For Szabolcsi's most detailed biography, see György Kroó, *Szabolcsi Bence* (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, 1994).

⁴ János Maróthy, *Zene, forradalom, szocializmus: Szabó Ferenc útja* [Music, revolution, socialism: The way of Ferenc Szabó] (Budapest: Magvető, 1975) 500–03; Tibor Tallián, "Termékeny közszellemet, szabad polifóniát, felszabadult tavaszi légkört...": Szabolcsi, a zenepolitikus" ["Let us have a productive collective spirit, a free polyphony, and a relieved atmosphere of spring": Szabolcsi as a music politician], *Magyar zene* 21/4 (December 1980) 403.

⁵ "Decree 'On the Opera The Great Friendship by V. Muradeli,' issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) on February 10, 1948"; for an English translation, see Andrey Olkhovsky, *Music under the Soviets: The agony of an art* (New York: Praeger, 1955) 280–85. Contemporary publications of the resolution in Hungarian: *Szabad Nép*, 17 February 1948; *Új Szó*, 19 February 1948.

⁶ Bence Szabolcsi, "Az Új Világ zenei vitája: Szabolcsi Bence hozzászólása" [The debate on music in the journal *Új Világ*: A contribution by Bence Szabolcsi], *Új Világ* 1/6 (June 1948) 5–6.

time, he became the founding father of the institutionalized Hungarian musicology: When the Committee of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences held its first meeting in 1951, it was co-chaired by Bence Szabolcsi and Zoltán Kodály. The Department of Musicology at the Academy of Music too was founded in 1951 under the leadership of the musicologist Dénes Bartha and Bence Szabolcsi. In 1953 the Academy of Sciences set up the Folk Music Research Group with Kodály as its leader. In the course of the counter-revolutionary communist restoration after 1956, Szabolcsi lost some of his influence as a public figure, but he preserved and reinforced his unique position within the field of musicology as the founding director of the Budapest Bartók Archives (1961), which was, in fact, a multifunctional institute for research in musicology.⁷

In 1921 the young Szabolcsi wrote his first essay to appear in print on Mozart. He was then 22. The essay reveals his belief that classicism and the ideal of the classical artwork is nothing but the aesthetic projection of God and the absolute.⁸ Just one year later Szabolcsi claimed to have identified the decisive features of Mozartian classicism in the works of Kodály. In his article on Kodály's instrumental music, he regarded the polar opposites of classicism and romanticism as general aesthetic categories rather than historical styles. According to Szabolcsi, the classicism of Kodály

experiences the [musical] form as an inner power and reality, and conquers it *a priori* as opposed to all romanticisms for which the form remains to be a mere exterior possibility never attainable, not even through a synthesis. The new "classicism" does not even want to hear of the great romantic separation between world and man; it aspires—unconsciously, or, rather, through experiencing them anew—to a complete union with God and the world.⁹

Szabolcsi's approach to the other end of the polarity, that is, to romanticism, was informed by similar considerations. In his *A zene története* (History of music) of 1940, he contrasted Palestrina and Mozart on the one hand with Berlioz and Mahler on the other. In this context, he defined romanticism as an unfulfilled longing for God.

[Palestrina] left for all of his struggles as a victor in advance, he could achieve totality even in fragments, and in all his grief there was some happiness. He is an example of the believer filled by God, who received the reward at the start, unlike all those tragic and frustrated heroes of God's struggle, the sceptical believers, the "Berliozes" and "Mahlers", for whom exactly the reward, the fulfillment did remain invisible or unattainable.¹⁰

⁷ As for his career and status in Hungarian musical life after World War II, see Lóránt Péteri, "Adalékok a hazai zenetudományi kutatás történetéhez (1947–1969)" [Contributions to the history of the institution of Hungarian research in musicology (1947–1969)], *Magyar zene* 38/2 (May 2000) 161–91; and idem, "Szabolcsi Bence és a magyar zeneélet diskurzusai (1948–1956)" [Bence Szabolcsi and the discourse of Hungarian musical life (1948–1956)], *Magyar zene* 41/1 (February 2003) 3–48; 41/2 (May 2003) 237–56, especially 10–27.

⁸ Bence Szabolcsi, *Mozart* (Budapest: Dick Manó, 1921).

⁹ "Belső hatalomként és valóságként éli át és a priori hódítja meg a formát – ellentétben minden romantikával, melynek a forma csak külső, még szintézis által is örökre elérhetetlen lehetőség marad. Az új 'klasszicizmus' hallani sem akar többé világ és ember nagy romantikus kettészakítottágáról; öntudatlanul – helyesebben szólva: újra átélve – a teljes eggyé válást akarja Istennel és a világgal." Bence Szabolcsi, "Die Instrumentalmusik Zoltán Kodály's", *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 4 (1922) 270–73. See also Bence Szabolcsi, *Kodályról és Bartókról* [On Kodály and Bartók], by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1987) 5–8, quotation from p. 6.

¹⁰ "[Palestrina] minden harcába eleve győztesen indult, teljes lehetett a töredékben is, és minden fájaldalmában volt valami boldogság, akár a Mozartéban. Az istennel elvelt hitvallónak az a példája ő, aki a jutalommal kezdhette, szemben az Isten harcának elégedetlen és tragikus hőseivel, a hitetlen hitvallókkal, a Berliozokkal és Mahlerekkkel, akiknél épp a jutalom, a beteljesülés maradt láthatatlan vagy elérhetetlen." Bence Szabolcsi, *A zene története* [The history of music] (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1940) 130–31.

Let us compare this with another one which can be found in a writing of Szabolcsi, published in 1955. Although the genre of the latter is music criticism, considering Szabolcsi's position in this period and the fact that the article was about new, representative works of two leading communist composers, it can be regarded rightly as a cultural-political declaration. One of the compositions was Ferenc Szabó's oratorio *Föltámadott a tenger* (In fury rose the ocean).¹¹ The oratorio is based on the poems of Sándor Petőfi, a 19th-century Hungarian poet whose work was closely linked with the national movement and who died in a battle during the war of independence arising from the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. The other composition with which Szabolcsi dealt was Endre Szervánszky's concerto of 1954,¹² a symphonic work in five movements which was dedicated to the memory of Attila József, one of the greatest 20th-century Hungarian poets. József was an unorthodox Marxist, inspired also by Sigmund Freud. In Szabolcsi's analysis, Szabó's oratorio had been influenced by the style of Kodály's music, and it was characterized by "a harmonic completeness, a dramatic totality". On the other hand, the musical style of Szervánszky's concerto was indebted to Bartók, and it manifested "an almost never subsiding angst, violent pain, and a gloomy straightening up". Leaving behind the stylistic analysis, which he regarded as yielding no more than the outer shell of the musical work, Szabolcsi identifies the core of the polarity as follows: "The content of Szervánszky's work is how the revolution reaches maturity in the people, while the fulfilled revolution, the hymn of freedom are in the centre of Szabó's".¹³

It seems that in Szabolcsi's writings from the late 1940s onwards, God was gradually replaced by revolution. Considering the functions and qualities with which Szabolcsi endowed the revolution, it seems safe to claim that the latter took over the same contextual role God had possessed previously. Revolution, as well as the God of the Jewish-Christian tradition, is concurrently embedded in historical time, and is elevated somehow over and above history. Furthermore, revolution or God is the pledge of the teleological nature of historical time. Revolution is a radiant point breaking the linearity of history. Good omens announce its advent, and its commencement means the beginning of salvation. Finally, one might identify revolution with incarnation in the theological system. Within this context, classicism elevates the fulfilled revolution, whereas romanticism expresses the presentiment of revolution or sublimates the fallen revolution.

Needless to say, such a linear, salvation-centered approach to history, within which qualitative changes are linked with revolutions, was not alien to the ideological framework preferred by the communist political powers. While Szabolcsi did not accept in a straightforward manner class struggle and class relativism as key concepts of sociocultural history, his substitution of revolution for God was not without far-reaching consequences. The incarnation of the only God has a unique nature within Christian mythology, while there are plenty of revolutions in history. It required political- and social-historical confabulations for Szabolcsi to "absolutize" revolutions.

¹¹ Ferenc Szabó, *Föltámadott a tenger* for tenor solo, mixed choir and orchestra (1955).

¹² Endre Szervánszky, *Concerto József Attila emlékére*, for orchestra (1954).

¹³ In the order of the citations: "harmonikus egész, a drámai teljesség"; "szinte enyhülés nélküli szorongás, vad fájdalom és komor felegyenesedés"; "Hogyan érik meg a népben a forradalom – ez a tartalma az ő [ti. Szervánszky] művének, ahogyan Szabóénaak a beteljesült forradalom, a népszabadság himnusza áll a középpontjában." Bence Szabolcsi, "Két új magyar mű és komoly zenénk állapota" [Two recent Hungarian works and the state of affairs in our classical music], *Szabad Nép* (3 July 1955) 4. *Szabad Nép* was the daily paper of the communist party.

As late as 1947, Szabolcsi designated Beethoven as an artist in a biblical alliance with God. As for the *Missa solennis*, he went so far as to characterize its composer as a Christ-like figure, and emphasized the mediating function of the artist between mankind and God.¹⁴ One might not like Szabolcsi's interpretation, but one can scarcely question it using empirical arguments. However, it seems to be rather problematic that a few years later he found the ally of the canonic composers in "the people itself", or more specifically, in the current "new" and "revolutionary" class of society. Within this construction, the composer (be he Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Glinka, Musorgskij, or Bartók) takes his creative force from his covenant with the "new community", a sort of chosen people, as opposed to the "feudal world". More importantly, the composer achieves his stylistic revolution by giving voice to the previously silent masses. For the purposes of his argument, Szabolcsi necessarily simplified and streamlined the historically relative concepts of the "artist" and "his audience", and their historically changing relationship.¹⁵

In 1950 Szabolcsi published an article in which he emphasized that although Beethoven's first allies were the "enlightened aristocracy and the enlightened bourgeoisie", afterwards the composer cancelled this alliance, since the bourgeoisie was frightened by the consequences of the French Revolution, and made preparations for a "new repression". Thus, Beethoven entered into an alliance with "the people itself".¹⁶

There is no room here for demonstrating in detail how Szabolcsi manipulated the topic of revolution when interpreting the work of such 19th-century composers as Verdi¹⁷ and Liszt.¹⁸ However, it is worth taking a look at the tricky way in which he reshaped the social meaning of Schubert's aesthetics. In his *A zene története*, he still interpreted Schubert's attitude as a search for spiritual-transcendental values to compensate for the lost political functions of life:

Let us make fire, and withdraw to the house in cool evenings. The melody is still free, and the human soul may still flourish in it; as may the eternal wandering driven by the magic of the distance and the thirst of the soul.¹⁹

However, in an article from the 1950s, the Schubertian "melody" is no more a compensation for, but a sublimation of repressed political activities, even carrying a hope for political changes in the future:

Let us continue the revolution in our dreams; the melody is still free, and not even imperial censorship can shackle it—let us sing in the increasing shadow, let us sing until someone overhears it somewhere, some time.²⁰

¹⁴ Bence Szabolcsi, *Beethoven: Művész és műalkotás két korszak határán* [Beethoven: The artist and the work of art between two eras] (Budapest: Új Idők, 1947). See also Kroó, *Szabolcsi Bence*, 499–500.

¹⁵ Bence Szabolcsi, "A zene történelmi hangváltásairól" [On the historical changes of the tone of music], *Népzene és történelem* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1954) 154–77, see especially 168–69.

¹⁶ Bence Szabolcsi, "Beethoven (1770–1827) születésének 180. évfordulójára" [For the 180th anniversary of Beethoven's birth], *Szabad nép* (17 December 1950) 4.

¹⁷ Bence Szabolcsi, "Verdi (1813–1901) halálának 50. évfordulójára" [For the 50th anniversary of Verdi's death], *Szabad nép* (28 January 1951) 11.

¹⁸ Bence Szabolcsi, "Liszt Ferenc halálának hatvanötödik évfordulójára" [For the 65th anniversary of Ferenc Liszt's death], *Szabad nép* (29 July 1951) 8.

¹⁹ "Rakjunk tüzet, hűvös estéken húzódjunk a szobákba. A melódia még szabad s az emberi lélek még kivirulhat benne; és kivirulhat benne az a végtelen vándorút, melyre a távolság igézete s a lélek szomjúsága kerget." Szabolcsi, *A zene története*, 286.

²⁰ "Folytassuk a forradalmat álmainkban; a melódia még szabad, a császári cenzúra sem verhet rá bilincset – daloljunk, daloljunk a növekvő homályban, daloljunk, míg meg nem hallják valahol, valamikort." Bence Szabolcsi, "Schubert halálának százhuszonötödik évfordulójára" [For the 125th anniversary of Schubert's death], *Szabad nép* (19 November 1953) 3.

One might suppose that Szabolcsi's revolution-centric framework was the gate through which composers entered the canon of the state socialist musical culture of the country. However, the composers whom Szabolcsi seemingly introduced to this canon were there already. It seems that Szabolcsi readily accepted the circumstance that the demons and fallen angels of his music history (such composers as Wagner, Bruckner, Mahler, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky) were the antiheroes of the state socialist cultural political doctrine at the same time.²¹ Thus, by twisting his teleology, Szabolcsi confirmed the existing order of a politically informed discourse on music.

Finally, let me mention another aspect of the same story. I believe that the underlying concern of Szabolcsi's "fulfilled" classicism and "dissatisfied" romanticism, especially as archetypically manifested in Kodály and Mahler, was the construction of Central-European Jewish self-identification. Szabolcsi was socialized in a turn-of-the-century, Hungarian-speaking Jewish family, which provided him with an identity based on the sensitive balance of a strong Jewish faith and cultural heritage on the one hand, and a late-romantic political-cultural Hungarian nationalism on the other.²² This identity collapsed under the circumstances of post-World War I revolutions and the peace treaty of Trianon. Given the strong anti-Semitic tendencies of the early 1920s in Hungary, it is not surprising that traditional nationalism was no longer attractive for a young Jewish intellectual. However, Kodály's ideal of a new spiritualized "Hungarian-ness" manifested in cultural texts rather than in politics offered a chance of maintaining a complex Hungarian-Jewish identity.²³ This explains that, concurrently with his extensive research on the origins of Hungarian folk music, Szabolcsi studied early Jewish sacred music during the interwar period.²⁴ In this context, the converted and "nationless" Mahler was, of course, a frightening counter-example. The very identity from which Szabolcsi tried to escape was Jewishness as stranger-ness and excluded-ness.²⁵ However, the triumphant classicism of the "Fairyländchen-Hungary" of Kodály's music (as Szabolcsi formulated it²⁶) was not enough to rescue Szabolcsi from the real Hungary which treated him as a stranger and secondary citizen because of his Jewish origin at the time of World War II. The climate of the Stalinist period was not favorable to work out the aesthetic and metaphysical consequences of his life experience of the horror.²⁷ His tragedy was, indeed, that he remained locked in his earlier classicistic and teleological beliefs after having had experiences which certainly negated every classicism, which certainly questioned the presence of God and the teleological sense of the history of mankind.

²¹ For the Hungarian concert life of the period, and for its ideological-canonical ramifications, see Tibor Tallián, *Magyarországi hangversenyélet, 1945–1958* [Concert life in Hungary, 1945–1958] (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1991). For Szabolcsi's approach to the composers mentioned above, see Szabolcsi, *A zene története; "Sztravinszkij, Európa bálványa"* [Stravinsky, the idol of Europe], *Szivárvány* 2/4 (January 1924) 12–13; "Kodály és Európa" [Kodály and Europe], *Zeneközöny* 15/3 (January 1925) 1–3.

²² For his early years, see Kroó, *Szabolcsi Bence*, vol. 1.

²³ Kodály's oratorio *Psalmus hungaricus* (1923) might be regarded as a musical manifestation of the ideological complex discussed above. It is important, too, that Kodály's Hungarian nationalism of the 1930s had a decided anti-German, and a more or less unspoken anti-Nazi, inflection. See, for example, his "Mi a magyar a zenében?" [What is Hungarian in music?] of 1939 in Zoltán Kodály, *Visszatekintés 1*, ed. by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1964) 75–80.

²⁴ See his studies collected in Bence Szabolcsi, *Zsidó kultúra és zenetörténet* [Jewish culture and music history], ed. by György Kroó (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó; MTA Judaisztikai Kutatócsoport, 1999).

²⁵ For Mahler, see, for example, Peter Franklin, "A stranger's story: Programmes, politics, and Mahler's third symphony", *The Mahler companion*, ed. by Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 171–86.

²⁶ Szabolcsi, "Zene, illúzió, nosztalgia", 20–24.

²⁷ For his and his family's destiny in the years of the Holocaust, see Kroó, *Szabolcsi Bence*, 502–08.

ORPHEUS IN THE JUNGLE: CONSTRUCTING MUSIC HISTORY IN A NOVEL

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Sisyphus, a musician, is permitted to take a holiday. Fleeing New York, he spends it in the tropical rain forest in the south of Venezuela, where he is able to experience the “birth of music” as the climax of his journey back to the origins. On this occasion Sisyphus meets Orpheus in the shape of a medicine man. The reason the shaman is recognized as Orpheus could be due not least to the author’s reading: as he is writing his novel *Los pasos perdidos*, Alejo Carpentier (1904–80) pulls out a book, similar to Francesco Petrarca after having climbed Mont Ventoux.¹ It is not Augustinus this time but the Viennese Hermann Broch who is consulted. Partly as a result of this prime-origin scene, the would-be composer recovers his creative power, and he resolves to complete a composition that he had begun years ago. Sisyphus wants to take advantage of his more-or-less forced return to New York by supplying himself with enough writing materials. His aim is to return to the jungle in order to continue composing under favorable conditions, comparable to Gustav Mahler, who could only concentrate on his work when on holiday in his composing hut at the lake. But “The vacation of Sisyphus”—the first proposal for the book’s title—comes to a premature end.²

What could be the reason for the author of the first music history of Cuba, also a teacher of the history of civilization for many years, to set aside scholarly accuracy in favor of his belletristic ambitions?³ We will try to pursue this question at three levels. Firstly, there is the novel written from the perspective of Sisyphus the musician on holiday. Secondly, there is Alejo Carpentier’s perspective, who travelled to the jungle like his protagonist, reading old and recently published travelogues. Thirdly, there is the perspective of the reader of today, who has found out that the “Shirishanas,”⁴ mentioned as

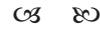
¹ Alejo Carpentier, *The lost steps*, trans. by Harriet de Onís (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); Spanish edition: *Los pasos perdidos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003). References to the novel will be cited in brackets within the text.

² See Hermann Herlinghaus, *Alejo Carpentier: Persönliche Geschichte eines literarischen Moderneprojekts*, ed. by Renate Oesterhelt. Schreiben andernorts (München: edition text + kritik, 1991) 109.

³ Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946); English translation: *Music in Cuba*, ed. and intro. by Timothy Brennan, trans. by Alan West-Durán. Cultural studies of the Americas 5 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

⁴ Carpentier mentions “Shirishanas” also in his, “El último buscador de El Dorado”. *Obras completas* 8 (México, D.F.:

the shaman's tribe in the novelist's "Note", enjoy a certain popularity among ethnologists as "Yanomami".⁵ Moreover, from essays or lectures by Carpentier the contemporary reader knows that the Cuban, living in Venezuela when he wrote *Los pasos perdidos* (published in 1953), held Hermann Broch's *Death of Virgil* in high esteem.⁶



The protagonist is commissioned to get hold of native musical instruments for the collection of his former teacher and friend, the curator of the Museum of Organography. Sisyphus, earning his money in an advertising agency, feels degraded by this work, living his poor life in New York. A small scholarship gives him the chance to resume his promising beginnings, when he assisted the curator in sketching a new theory that would revolutionize the common perception of the origins of music. We abbreviate Sisyphus's adventurous journey and its circumstances to rejoin him after he has found the legendary "funerary roaring jar" (p. 116)⁷ and witnesses the origin of music.⁸

In the novel the author prepares the reader for this threnody only by the fact that the curator knows and supports Sisyphus's ingenious "theory of mimetism-magic-rhythm" (p. 20), and he is also convinced that Sisyphus will be able to discover the musical instruments described in an old travelogue by "Father Servando de Castillejos", which are "employed by certain Indians in funeral rites" (p. 22). On his way to the origins there are repeated allusions to "dances of death" (p. 48) and mourning rites (p. 118),⁹ but only in the very surroundings of the shaman's singing is the purpose of the "threnody" described explicitly as "the earliest attempt to combat the forces of annihilation which frustrate man's designs" (p. 166).

It is not only remarkable that the treatise, which motivated the journey, is a fictitious text by a fictitious figure (therefore the mention of Petrarca's famous letter earlier), it is also remarkable that a sound document of the "Threne", described as the birth of music, "forms part of the archives of Venezuelan folklore" according to the "Note" at the end of the novel (p. 252).¹⁰ The novel abounds with allusions to learned books as

Siglo Veintuno Editores, 1985) 192.

⁵ Just a small note on the identification of the "Shirishana" with the Yanomami: Spanish sources from the late 18th century mention "Oayacas" for the first time; Humboldt ("Guaicas") as well as Schomburgk ("Kirishana") had almost no contact with them, as in the whole 19th century there were only cursory meetings. Theodor Koch-Grünberg had contact with them in 1910–11, and he also mentions Yanomami groups. In 1947 James P. Barker succeeded in living with the Mahekodotedi (Upper Orinoco)—that is the village where the first ethnographic studies were made by the German team Otto Zerries and Meinrad Schuster in 1954–55. See Jörg Helbig, "Kurze Ethnographie der Yanomami", *Yanomami: Indianer Brasiliens im Kampfum Überleben. Otto Zerries zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Jörg Helbig, Oswald Iten, and Jacques Schiltknecht (Innsbruck; Frankfurt am Main: Penguin, 1989) 106; Otto Zerries, *Waika: Die kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas*, ed. by Otto Zerries. Veröffentlichung des Frobenius-Institut an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954–55 nach Südost-Venezuela 1 (München: Klaus Renner, 1964) 2–4.

⁶ Alejo Carpentier, "Problemática del tiempo y el idioma en la moderna novela latinoamericana" and "Problemática de la actual novela latinoamericana", *Ensayos: Obras completas* 13 (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintuno Editores, 1990) 212; 33.

⁷ "And, above all, with that unpleasant solemnity which characterizes everything touching upon death, there stood the jar of uncouth, sinister sound, reminiscent of the hollow echo of the tomb, with the two reeds let into its side just in the book that described it for the first time." Carpentier, *The lost steps*, 157.

⁸ "In the mouth of the shaman, the spell-working orifice, the *Threne*—for that was what this was—gaspd and died away convulsively, blinding me with the realization that I had just witnessed the Birth of Music." *Ibid.*, 167. See the original, Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, 188: "del órfico ensalmador".

⁹ "Protesting against death in keeping with a rite that had come down from remote times. For all this was, primarily, a kind of desperate, defiant, almost magic protest at the presence of Death in the house." *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁰ *The lost steps*, a novel, not a research paper, hence has at its core a contemporary recording, a piece of music that

well as to literary texts. The reader, who is not able to identify all references *prima vista*, may confidently guess that “Father Servando”, so to speak the responsible author of the project “Journey Back to the Source”,¹¹ is as respectable an author as Quevedo, Shelley, or Schiller.

In order to underpin the primordial and prehistoric aspects and purpose of the threnody, the narrator, our New York Sisyphus, dates it earlier than no lesser writers than Aeschylus, Homer, and the Pharaoh Unas.¹² These are not accidental findings by a dilettante reader, but deliberate mentions of historical milestones. In Aeschylus’s *Persians*, the oldest known complete tragedy, the dead king Dareios responds to the chorus’s incantations with these humorous words: “Not easy is the way out of the tomb”.¹³ In the *Odyssey* the healing incantation for Ulysses’s wound is sung,¹⁴ and, according to the novel, the “journey to the other world” was to be protected by the Egyptian pyramid texts from the Old Kingdom. The embedded historic-literary allusions are deliberate, the identification with “orphyic” ambitions very clear: A dead person is to be brought back to life.¹⁵ Consequently it is Orpheus whom Sisyphus meets in the jungle, and Orpheus is presented as the ancestor of the sonata.¹⁶ This deduction alone would not earn Alejo Carpentier honorable mention in an intellectual history of music.

The summit meeting of Sisyphus and Orpheus in the tropical forest not only outlines the venerable dimension of the traditional and at the same time contemporary lament. From this illuminating encounter the would-be composer derives a renewed definition of his goals as “contrapuntalist”, which he describes both modestly and immoderately as “always ready to employ his leisure in seeking a victory over death in an arrangement of neumes” (p. 249). That repetition of the Orpheus motif at the end of the novel is not accidental, and the interpretation of the message about the missionary’s death as the triumph of Saint Sebastian, a Christian figure succeeding Orpheus, is no less significant.¹⁷

The lack of paper that tortures the composer in the paradise-like jungle also represents the diminished chance of leaving behind an orphyic work in order to leave a lasting document.¹⁸ This is the point where Sisyphus abandons the insights he had obtained in the “Valley where Time had Stopped”, and reminds himself of his obligation

is presented as the important secondary effect of an invented historic character, whose invented travel book formed the pretext and motif of the voyage of exploration.

¹¹ “Viaje a la semilla”, 1944.

¹² “I could see beyond the dirge with which Aeschylus revived the Persian Emperor; beyond the rune with which the sons of Autolykus stanchd the dark blood that flowed from Ulysses’ wounds; beyond the song designed to protect the Pharaoh Unas against serpents’ stings in his journey to the other world.” Carpentier, *The lost steps*, 179.

¹³ Aeschylus, *Persians*, trans. by Herbert Weir Smyth, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926) vol. 1, line 688.

¹⁴ Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. by A.T. Murray, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1919) book 19, line 457.

¹⁵ “Most appropriate to the original conception of the threnody, which was a magic song intended to bring a dead person back to life.” Carpentier, *The lost steps*, 195.

¹⁶ “At the memory of an authentic threnody, the idea of the *Threnody* revived in me, with its statement of the cell-word, its verbal exorcism turning into music when confronted with the need for more than one intonation, more than one note, to achieve its form—a form which, in this case, was that demanded by its magic function, and which, with its alternation of two voices, two ways of growling, was in itself the embryo of the sonata.” *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁷ “Fray Pedro de Henestro had found the supreme reward a man can confer on himself: that of going to meet his death, defying it, and falling in combat which, for the vanquished, is the arrowed victory of St Sebastian, the rout and final defeat of death.” *Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁸ “What was done was not completely done until someone else had seen it”—“to accomplish the true act of creation.” *Ibid.*, 213.

to history—not as a human being, but as an artist.¹⁹ He himself had been called back to life from the darkness of New York (p. 195) thanks to the experiences of his tropical holiday. But things go on just as in the old story, with the result of orphic incantation: “Today Sisyphus’ vacation came to an end” (p. 250). Already Ovid tells us that Sisyphus was permitted to pause only during the lament of Orpheus.



Together with the Cuban musicologist and composer Hilario González (1920–99),²⁰ Alejo Carpentier travelled to the Venezuelan jungle, where he lived with the “most elementary” Indian tribes for one month. According to Carpentier, it was on the trip made in July 1947 that he had the idea of writing the novel.²¹ As the first result of this journey, Carpentier wrote a kind of travelogue, *El libro de la Gran Sabana*.²² We know the tribes with whom he was in contact. Today one prefers to call them by the names they use themselves: Therefore the “Guahiba” are the assimilated Hiwi, the non-assimilated tribe is called Cuiva; “Mariquitaires” means Makiritare, who call themselves Yekuana; the “Macaws” are the Piaroa, today known as De’áruwa.²³ To demonstrate the birth of music from the spirit of “threnody”, the writer wanted to use the most elementary, most primitive, most untouched culture known—the Shirishana.²⁴

In contrast to them, the Piaroa excel by their “superior culture”;²⁵ moreover, the legendary “roaring jar” can be found among this tribe. Carpentier treats the desired musical instrument in two articles, each time referring to Padre Gumilla’s book *El Orinoco ilustrado* from 1745,²⁶ not to *Fray Servando de Castillejos*. Unlike the “cross between a drum and a rhythm-stick” (p. 22) that he had discovered in Puerto Ayacucho,²⁷

¹⁹ “If my calling had been any except that of composing music—the calling of a scion of the race.” *Ibid.*, 249. See the original, Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, 279: “oficio ce cabo de raza”.

²⁰ In 1942 Carpentier wrote a ballet *Romeo y Julieta*, with music by Hilario González.

²¹ There seems to have been at least two other trips to the interior of Venezuela, in 1931 and 1948.

²² This was published in the newspapers *El nacional* and *Carteles* from January to May 1948.

²³ In a somewhat strange, sarcastic article by the Venezuelan writer and *El nacional* colleague Guillermo Meneses from September 1948, “Carpentier returned from the jungle”, we are informed about the tribes visited by the novelist: “Guahiba villages” and “Cuibas”, “Mariquitaires” and “Macaws”. See Roberto González Echevarría, *Alejo Carpentier: The pilgrim at home* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1977) 170–73. In his “Note” to *The lost steps*, Carpentier himself mentions the “Guahibos”, “Piaroa” and “Shirishana”; in a radio contribution he speaks only of “Shirisana” [sic] and “Guatichana” (Alejo Carpentier, “La cultura en Cuba y en el mundo”. Weekly radio program, La Habana, 26 February 1965; quotation according to Klaus Müller-Bergh, “Alejo Carpentier: Autor und Werk in ihrer Epoche”, *Materialien zur lateinamerikanischen Literatur*, ed. by Mechtild Strausfeld [Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976] 99).

²⁴ “Not everything resounding at the top of one’s voice is music incantating ill people or ventriloquism”: In his article “El último buscador de El Dorado”, *Obras completas*, vol. 8, 192, Carpentier seems to anticipate his prime-origin scene, which he built in to the novel five years later, and put it in ironic perspective, and he also seems to want to keep the distance to the “primitive Sherishana”.

²⁵ This could not be found in Carpentier’s *Obras completas*, but it is in Alejo Carpentier, “Die Menschen, die man Wilde nennt”, *Farben des Kontinents* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003) 79.

²⁶ See Isabel Aretz, *Música de los aborígenes de Venezuela* (Caracas: Monte Avila editores, 1991) 13, 36; Isabel Aretz, *Instrumentos musicales de Venezuela* (Cumaná: Universidad de Oriente, 1967) 214, also: Tabla VI, number 56: “Flautas de cántaro según Gumilla”.

²⁷ Alejo Carpentier, “El mundo del tiempo detenido”, *Obras completas* (1987) vol. 10, 536: “Extraordinario tambor idiofónica del Alto Orinoco, del que yo había visto un ejemplar en Puerto Ayacucho, hace años, y que constituye un término medio, un eslabón perdido, entre el ‘Bastón de ritmo’ de los hombres más primitivos, y el tambor de madera ahuecada, que se situó ya en el comienzo de una evolución organográfica que habrá de conducir a los membranófonos de las orquestas actuales.” Contribution for *El nacional* (16 January 1952).

Carpentier obviously knows the jar only from photographs taken by Juan Baumgartner²⁸ and Alain Gheerbrant.²⁹

Let us take these two names as an opportunity to sketch out Carpentier's "information network" in Caracas, as far as that is possible from Vienna. Juan Baumgartner is mentioned as "Johann M. Baumgardtner" in an article about an *Exposición médico etnográfica* in the Museo de Ciencias Naturales in Caracas. This exhibition is interesting for Carpentier not least because of the musical instruments presented. According to this article, the novelist talked to the curator Dr. Baumgartner, who also appears in Alain Gheerbrant's expedition report, this time as the head physician in Puerto Ayacucho and a Piaroa specialist.³⁰

Gheerbrant's French Orinoco-Amazon expedition from 1948 to 1950 is the topic of the two articles mentioned earlier. "The Orinoco came into fashion,"³¹ Carpentier writes at a time when, soon after Gheerbrant's nonscientific exploration, a French-Venezuelan research team had discovered the Orinoco's sources (27 November 1951). One member of this expedition, the head of the French team, was Joseph Grelier, formerly a member of Gheerbrant's crew.³² Another was José M. Cruzent, director of the museum at exactly the time when Baumgartner had been curator of the *Exposición médico etnográfica*;³³ he, too, is mentioned by Carpentier in the contribution about Gheerbrant's book of plates.³⁴ Shortly before this article, Carpentier had written about Gheerbrant's expedition report published by Gallimard; always up to date in his research, Carpentier had read a preprint in a French magazine, curious about the petroglyphs documented in it.³⁵

In summary, these were the novelist's links to the two current expeditions that had more intense contact with the Yanomami, keeping the publishing date of *Los pasos perdidos* in 1953 in mind: Carpentier knew Gheerbrant's report as well as his book of

²⁸ "Contemplando las espléndidas fotografías documentales tomados por el doctor Johann M. Baumgardtner—organizador de esta exposición—en los ritos tribales de los indios piaroas o sálivas, nos topamos con una jarra musical que se hace sonar por medio de dos cañas huecas, con bronca sonoridad. Y de pronto, tenemos la emoción de advertir que el instrumento que así se toca, presentemente, es el mismo que aparece en uno de los grabados del Orinoco ilustrado del padre Gumilla." Alejo Carpentier, "El mundo del tiempo detenido," *Obras completas*, vol. 10 (1987) 536.

²⁹ "Während zwei Musiker den Krug mit den beiden Mundstücken, den uns Pater Gumilla in seinem alten Missionsbuch gezeigt hatte, unheilvoll brüllen lassen." Carpentier, "Die Menschen", 79. This article refers to the second book by Alain Gheerbrant (after *L'expédition Orénoque-Amazone, 1948–1950* [Paris: Gallimard, 1952], *Des hommes qu'on appelle sauvages: Album de l'expédition Orénoque-Amazone* (Paris: Editions Robert Marin, 1952); this "album" without pagination contains two photographs of the so-called "femme du diable", one in action with two musicians, the other with the instrument on the ground.

³⁰ Gheerbrant, *L'expédition*, 107, 285, 293, 298. Fifteen years later, in 1967, Dr. Juan Baumgartner appears again—as the contact person for Lajos [Luiz] Boglár, *Wabari: Eine südamerikanische Urwaldkultur* (Hanau am Main: Müller & Kiepenheuer, 1982) 13–28; this Hungarian ethnologist has written an essay about the De'aruwa, containing a photograph taken by Edgardo González Niño: It shows the jar called "worrah" that forms part of the Cisneros collection in Caracas. Luiz Boglár, "Warime: Die Macht der Masken", *Orinoko-Parima: Indianische Gesellschaften aus Venezuela. Die Sammlung Cisneros*, issued under the auspices of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland GmbH Bonn (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1999) 166 [photograph].

³¹ Carpentier, "Die Menschen", 78.

³² Pablo J. Anduze, *Shailili-ko. Descubrimiento de las fuentes del Orinoco* (Caracas: Talleres Graficos Ilustraciones, 1960) 49.

³³ José M. Cruzent, "Artes e industrias rurales de Venezuela: La influencia indígena", *Boletín indigenista venezolano* 1/1, 3–4 (June–December 1953) 423: "El autor es Director del Museo de Ciencias y miembro ad-honorem de la Comisión Indigenista". See Pablo J. Anduze, *Shailili-ko* (Caracas: Talleres Graficos Ilustraciones, 1960) 46. See also www.museo-de-ciencias.org.ve/textosmamut3.htm; and the obituary notice in *El nacional* from 24 February 2005, www.el-nacional.com/canales/salud/Noticias.asp?ID=1171.

³⁴ Carpentier, "Die Menschen", 78.

³⁵ Carpentier, "Das große Dschungelbuch", *Farben des Kontinents* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003) 75–77. A later article covers the Paris edition of the recordings made by Pierre Gaisseau during the Gheerbrant exploration: Alejo Carpentier, "Una edición del Museo del Hombre", *Obras completas*, vol. 11 (1987) 401–03 [*El nacional*, 22 March 1954].

plates; he knew Baumgartner personally; he knew at least the name of Cruxent, and it seems obvious to assume he also knew Pablo J. Anduze. Anduze, who not only worked as an entomologist but was also interested in anthropology, was the author of a report about the search for Orinoco sources. Although this book was published late in 1960, the preface says that the manuscript dates from 1951;³⁶ such delays are not rare, as we know, for instance, from the German explorations to the Waika/Shirishana/Yanomami by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster, made in 1954–55; their books were finally published in 1964 and 1974.³⁷ But there are no reports about Orpheus the shaman living with the Shirishana.

The medicine man as Orpheus: Alfred Métraux, the former authority with regard to South American shamanism and the unspoilt culture of the Shirishana,³⁸ does not report this conception. Nor do Theodor Koch-Grünberg³⁹ and Robert Schomburgk,⁴⁰ whose historical travelogues Carpentier had studied in the Biblioteca Nacional de Venezuela in Caracas. Orpheus the shaman is a theory formulated by Eric Robertson Dodds, published for the first time in 1951 in the classic book *The Greeks and the irrational*.⁴¹ Mircea Eliade's famous opus about shamanism was published the same year in Paris and treated the figure of Orpheus only marginally.⁴² To summarize the literature relevant at the time: The former ethnographic research as well as the old travelogues cannot be seen as invitations to an Orpheus reading of the medicine man's singing; it was a renowned philologist who suggested a shamanic determination of Orpheus, while the religious historian was more than cautious with such an interpretation.



What could have interested Alejo Carpentier in Hermann Broch's *Death of Virgil*? Broch says that "all problems of artistic production" are discussed in the context "of an antiquity evoked in great splendour",⁴³ and in a "musical" form at that.⁴⁴ The English

³⁶ Pablo J. Anduze, *Shailili-ko* (Caracas: Talleres Graficos Ilustraciones, 1960) 18.

³⁷ It is quite possible that Carpentier made sceptical remarks on Gheerbrant's report just because it had been published so early, already two years after the end of the exploration tour. Besides, Pablo J. Anduze had been considered to be with Zerries and Schuster in 1954, but financial problems prevented his participation.

³⁸ Alfred Métraux, "The hunting and gathering tribes of the Rio Negro basin", *Handbook of South American Indians. III: The tropical forest tribes*, ed. by Julian H. Steward (Washington, D.C.: U.S.G.P.O., 1948) 861.

³⁹ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco: Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordbrasilien und Venezuela in den Jahren 1911–1913. I: Schilderung der Reise* (Berlin: Reimer, 1917); *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. III: Ethnographie* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1923).

⁴⁰ Robert Hermann Schomburgk, *Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoko während der Jahre 1835 bis 1839*, ed. by Otto Alfred Schomburgk (Leipzig: Wigand, 1841).

⁴¹ "He combines the profession of poet, magician, religious teacher, and oracle-giver. Like certain legendary shamans in Siberia, he can by his music summon birds and beasts to listen to him. Like shamans everywhere, he pays a visit to the underworld, and his motive is one very common among shamans—to recover a stolen soul." Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973) 147.

⁴² Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris: Payot, 1951). German trans. by Inge Köck, *Schamanismus und archaische Ekstasetechnik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003) 369–76. Earlier contributions to the shamanism subject by Eliade are listed on p. 10–11. Ake Hultkrantz's ethnographic study, published in 1957, declares that—unlike North America—the Orpheus subject is not evident in South America. With little restriction, shaman travels have been excluded from the research records. The focus had been exclusively on ordinary people: See Maria Susana Cipolletti, *Jenseitsvorstellungen bei den Indianern Südamerikas* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983) 146, 200.

⁴³ Carpentier, "Problemática del tiempo", 212.

⁴⁴ This is according to Andreas Kurz, *Alejo Carpentier und die deutsche Kultur* (unpublished "Diplomarbeit" from Universität Wien, 1991) 115; I was not able to find the reference in Carpentier's *Obras completas*.

edition, like the German one published in 1945, contains information about the musical “composition” in the “Translator’s Note” that Broch himself helped devise.⁴⁵ Apart from the stated formal aspect of the four parts, there is an inner connection to music relating to “suspended time”. A further discussion of this would take too long,⁴⁶ so we will content ourselves with summarizing the novel in order to sketch the “problems of artistic production” that Carpentier did not mention explicitly.⁴⁷

Very ill and weak, the old Virgil returns from Greece to Italy. His journey to the palace of Emperor Augustus in Brindisi leads him through “Misery Street”,⁴⁸ where he is attacked and mocked by the mob. Nightly feverish dreams and self-accusations lead him to the decision to destroy the “Aeneid”. That also means a condemnation of the idea of art for art’s sake. After long debates with his friend Augustus, Virgil revises his decision in favor of posterity. The uneventful novel comprises a single day, and the last chapter, called “The homecoming”, represents a lyrical journey towards death, a kind of reverse journey, suspending the Genesis day by day, ending in a roaring crescendo “beyond speech”.⁴⁹

There are two prominent motifs besides the close link to music that can be found in both novels: the motif of backward travel and that of the opus that outlives its author.⁵⁰ Both protagonists finally opt for a lasting opus, a decision based on a nexus of ethical and aesthetic arguments. The idea of opting for a lasting document that claims to be art is indebted to Simonides from Keos—to whom we owe the first written evidence of the sound-effects produced by Orpheus—and to his conception of memory: memory instead of lamenting the dead.⁵¹

The Shirishana’s conception is completely different, and it is among them that Carpentier installs the lamenting medicine man. It is the essayist Carpentier who draws a distinction between “music before music”⁵² and music as an aesthetic end in itself. Carpentier the novelist indicates this formula in the context of setting Shelley’s *Prometheus unbound* to music.⁵³ The transformation of a pre-aesthetic impulse in a lasting

⁴⁵ Hermann Broch, *The death of Virgil*, trans. by Jean Starr Untermeyer (New York: Vintage, 1995) 485–88. In the first German edition (New York: Pantheon, 1945) as well in the Spanish one (*La muerte de Virgilio* [Buenos Aires: Editorial Peusner, 1946]) there is no comment by Broch, only an expression of thanks.

⁴⁶ On this question, see Andreas Vejvar, “Eine Threnodie im Zeichen von Heulkrug, Maraca und Engel: Zur Idee der Aufhebung der Zeit in *Los pasos perdidos*”, *Alejo Carpentier: Jahrhundertgestalt der Moderne in Literatur, Kunst, Musik und Politik*, ed. by Elena Ostleitner and Christian Glanz (Strasshof; Wien; Bad Aibling: Vier-Viertel-Verlag, 2004) 65–90.

⁴⁷ See George Steiner, “Dream City”, *The New Yorker* (28 January 1985) 92–97: “The *Death of Virgil* represents the only genuine technical advance that fiction has made since *Ulysses*.”

⁴⁸ Broch, *The death of Virgil*, 42.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 482.

⁵⁰ In the secondary literature one can find derivations from mystic sources for *The lost steps* as well as for *The death of Virgil*. Concerning *Los pasos perdidos*, the complex of Orpheus the shaman or the shaman as Orpheus, respectively, suggests that Sisyphus’s time-travel should be read as a kind of shamanistic initiation rather than as a mystical experience of a European nature in the sense of Heinrich Seuse or Meister Eckhart. That can result in an extended understanding of “calling” as described at the end of the novel. See Michael Rössner, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Paradies: Zum mythischen Bewußsein in der Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988) 379, reference 227, who mentions the contribution by Esther P. Mocega González, “Los pasos perdidos: A proósito de la estructura mística del viaje”, *Texto crítico, veracruz* (A.IV. Nr. 9, 1–4/1978), 71–82; concerning Broch see Anja Grabowsky-Hotaminidis, *Zur Bedeutung mystischer Denktraditionen im Werk von Hermann Broch* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995) 237–48.

⁵¹ See Peter Matussek, “Berauschnende Geräusche: Akustische Trancetechniken im Medienwechsel”, *Rauschen: Seine Phänomenologie und Semantik zwischen Sinn und Störung*, ed. by Andreas Hiepkö and Katja Stopka (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001) 235.

⁵² Alejo Carpentier, “América Latina en la confluencia de coordenadas históricas y su repercusión en la música”, *Obras completas*, vol. 13 (1990) 302: “Así, la música fue música antes de ser música.”

⁵³ Carpentier, *The lost steps*, 192: “I was striving for a musical expression that should come from the unadorned word, from the word prior to the music.”

opus does not exist among the Yanomami; quite the contrary. Nor can this culture be situated in the line of threnody conceptions that Carpentier wanted to postulate with historical references to Aeschylus or Pharaoh Unas. Lamenting the dead in order to forget is the very opposite of Simonides, Homer, and Co.⁵⁴

In the novel the hunter to whom the incantation was applied “had been dead for several hours” (p. 166). In Koch-Grünberg’s and Gheerbrant’s books one finds only curing or funeral chants, and the later ethnographic results confirm those judgements. It is remarkable that a significant factor is not mentioned in Carpentier’s novel: the incineration of the body followed by pulverization of the bones, and the ceremonial consumption of a concoction made of banana soup, ashes, and pulverized bone fragments. One could assume that the novelist knew about the lack of distinction between illness and death in South America; when a medicine man loses consciousness after having snuffed the yopo powder, for instance, the Yanomami speak of his death. The Quevedo motto⁵⁵ of the novel’s final chapter seems to confirm the conception of South American indigenous cultures, that death occurs in stages and shades.⁵⁶ But after such “temporary” deaths—like fainting, illness, ecstatic experiences, etc.—life does not go on for ever: At some point in time the second, final death will occur. Although there is a (very limited) notion of reanimation or resurrection, the Yanomami will do anything in order to avoid the return of a dead person to the living. Oblivion is the aspired purpose, achieved not least by destroying the dead person’s belongings, by the ban on mentioning his or her name, by celebrating the repeated rituals of mourning including the consumption of the banana concoction. Oblivion serves the purpose of making the return of the dead impossible, since a return can only be imagined as a return of evil ghosts.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ According to Isabel Aretz de Ramón y Rivera (“Indigenous music of Venezuela”, *The world of music: Journal of the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation* 25/2 [1982] 22–37) there are four main purposes of shamanistic chants: cure, propitiation, defense, and telling facts concerning the past. For the Yanomami she distinguishes between the “nocturnal chant for incantation”, the “preparation to receive the hikula”, the “question: what happens?” and the “Heaven melody”, the “supreme shamanistic chant”. Pablo Montoya, “La música del Treno”, *Alejo Carpentier et ‘Los pasos perdidos’*, ed. by Carmen Vásquez (Paris: Indigo & Côté-Femmes Éditions, 2003) 109–19; he is not interested in Carpentier’s construction of the threnody.

⁵⁵ “And what you call dying is finally dying, and what you call birth is beginning to die, and what you call living is dying in life.” Carpentier, *The lost steps*, 215.

⁵⁶ See Maria Susana Cipolletti, *Jenseitsvorstellungen bei den Indianern Südamerikas* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983) 16–17.

⁵⁷ To this topic see Gabriele Herzog-Schröder, *Okoyoma—Die Krebsjägerinnen: Vom Leben der Yanomami-Frauen in Südvenezuela* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003) 25–26; Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Gabriele Herzog-Schröder, Marie-Claude Mattei-Müller, *Ethnologie Yanomami*. Publikationen zu wissenschaftlichen Filmen Sonderband 10 (Göttingen: Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, 2001) 117–32, 169–84; Gabriele Herzog-Schröder, “Yanomami: Die Aus-der-Wade-Geborenen”, *Orinoko—Parima: Indianische Gesellschaften aus Venezuela. Die Sammlung Cisneros*, issued under the auspices of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland GmbH Bonn (Ostfeldern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1999) 34–49; William J. Smole, *The Yanoama Indians: A cultural geography* (Austin; London: University of Texas Press, 1976) 25–26, 214; Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster, *Mabekodotedi: Monographie eines Dorfes der Waika-Indianer (Yanoama) am Oberen Orinoco (Venezuela)*. Veröffentlichung des Frobenius-Instituts an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954–55 nach Südost-Venezuela 2, ed. by Otto Zerries (München: Klaus Renner Verlag, 1974) 144–55; Otto Zerries, *Waika: Die kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas*. Veröffentlichung des Frobenius-Instituts an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954–55 nach Südost-Venezuela 1, ed. by Otto Zerries (München: Klaus Renner Verlag, 1964) 213–15, 233–36. See also Beth A. Conklin, *Consuming grief: Compassionate cannibalism in an Amazonian society* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001) 13, 162 (only these two references concern the Yanomami).

Could Carpentier have known more about the Yanomami's culture before the publication of his novel in 1953?⁵⁸ If he had been interested, he could have quenched his thirst for knowledge through José Cruxent, director of the Museo de Ciencias Naturales in Caracas from 1948 to 1962. His small contribution published in 1953 is the first document about cremation and the banana-soup meal among the Yanomami.⁵⁹ It is also possible that Carpentier met the missionary James P. Barker during his trip to the jungle in 1947. At the time Barker was stationed in the very village where Cruxent took his photograph of the incineration. The missionary had been a useful contact for many researchers, probably including Cruxent, and he was not only the first person to write a Yanomami dictionary but also to produce the first exhaustive essay on their culture.⁶⁰

It had to be Orpheus: Whoever reads the novel carefully will read the medicine man's incantation as an orphic one. Whoever knows more about how the novel came to exist will not be able to banish the impression that Carpentier acted like Petrarca's alpinist:⁶¹ Without looking too closely, he prefers to become absorbed in his reading of an authority—Broch instead of Augustinus. For it had to be an orphic threnody. Sisyphus had arrived at his understanding of his calling as a composer thanks to the prime-origin scene of the threnody; Carpentier, too, had very precise conceptions of his calling: as the poet of the *real maravilloso americano*, incantating the "marvellous American reality". After *El reino de esto mundo* (The kingdom of this world), a historical novel about Haiti and voodoo, a new topic presented itself: An old European myth could be rediscovered by projecting it into the Venezuelan jungle. Carpentier's premise and main interest as a novelist was what linked people, the amalgamation of Old and New World, the universal traits of humanity.⁶² Carpentier the researcher who was interested in shades and differentiation was permitted to take a holiday.

⁵⁸ According to Patricia Rubio de Lértora, Richard A. Young, *Carpentier ante la crítica: Bibliografía comentada* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1985) 661, 677, 657, the first review of "Los pasos perdidos" came out in the Caracas newspaper *El nacional* on 18 December 1953 (by Carlos Durante), followed by "El Papel Literario", a supplement of *El nacional*, on 25 February 1954 (by Rafael Pineda) and "Carteles", 12 and 21 March 1954 (by Salvador Bueno). So we have to assume that the novel was published late in 1953.

⁵⁹ José M. Cruxent, "Indios Guaika: Incineracion [sic] de cadáveres", *Boletín indigenista venezolano* 1/1 (January–March 1953) 149–50 (with a photograph, taken by Cruxent, on the next page: "Indio Guaika removiendo los restos incinerados de un cadáver").

⁶⁰ James P. Barker, "Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika", *Boletín indigenista venezolano* 1/3–4 (June–December 1953) 433–89. (This volume was published in 1955.)

⁶¹ See Ruth Groh and Dieter Groh, *Die Außenwelt der Innenwelt: Zur Kulturgeschichte der Natur* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996) 22: The famous Petrarca letter is a fictitious document of an idealized autobiography.

⁶² See Alejo Carpentier, *Farben eines Kontinents* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003) 91, 161–71; this compilation first came out as *Visión de América: Fragmentos de una crónica de viajes*, ed. by Alejandro Cánovas Pérez (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1998), and is also available in a Mexican edition (Losada: Oceano Grupo Editorial, 1999).

ROBERT STEVENSON'S IBERIAN WORLD CONNECTIONS: HAYDN AND INTERCONNECTED MUSIC HISTORIES IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

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FUNDAÇÃO PARA A CIÊNCIA E TECNOLOGIA, LISBON

Recent studies of the dissemination of instrumental music during the 18th and early 19th centuries have furthered the understanding of its circulation, reception, and reproduction throughout the Iberian Peninsula and its New World colonies. Still, research on the dissemination of Classic composers in Iberia and Latin American countries has been hampered by the shortage and inadequacy of primary sources, and by assumptions about the function and dynamics of instrumental music in these regions. In this context the work of Robert Stevenson (b.1913) stands out as a major contribution to Latin American music scholarship. His approach is extensive and influential, first in uncovering primary sources, and second in broadening the treatment of specific topics that tap into the newer epistemological frameworks of transculturality and interconnections of diverse music histories, as shown in his article “Haydn’s Iberian world connections.”¹ This article provides a detailed account of Haydn’s reception in Spain, Portugal, and in Latin America, presenting musical practices at court, biographical information about historical figures connected with Haydn, contract details, and the bonds established between Haydn and his Spanish patron María Josefa de la Soledad Alonso Pimentel (1752–1834), the ninth Duchess of Osuna, as well as holdings of early prints and copies of Haydn’s music in Latin American music centers.

Stevenson points to sources documenting the 1787 commission of Haydn’s *Musica instrumentale sopra le 7 ultime parole del nostro Redentore in croce* for the Good Friday Three Hours Service at Cádiz, a service established by the Mexican-born priest José Saenz de Santamaría, Marqués de Valde-Iñigo.² Most important, however, is the information on the origins of this type of Spanish New World devotion, which was “instituted by the Jesuits on the occasion of an earthquake at Lima in 1687.”³ According

¹ Robert M. Stevenson, “Haydn’s Iberian world connections”, *Inter-American music review* 4/2 (spring–summer 1982) 3–30.

² *Ibid.*, 8.

³ F.L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian church* (2nd ed., London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), cited in Stevenson, “Haydn’s Iberian world connections”, 10.



1. Joaquim Pedro Quintela,
Conde do Farrobo (ca. 1845).

to Stevenson's sources, the Jesuit Francisco del Castillo "had begun in 1660 the custom of assembling worshippers at Lima on Good Fridays from noon to three for meditation on the seven last words", which evolved into a practice of "intercalating the seven words with music", an idea originated by the Peruvian-born Jesuit Alonso Bedoya (1655–1732). In 1783 the 9th Duque de Hajar (Pedro de Alcántara Fadrique Fernández de Hajar) from Madrid commissioned Guillermo Ferrer to write a series of organ adagios to be performed during the Three Hours devotion, when "the church was darkened with heavy blanket-type curtains drawn over the windows".⁴ In a correspondence between Haydn and Francisco Micón, cited by Stevenson, Haydn "confessed that his composition owed more to the descriptions of such performances rather

than to his creative fancy ... since they were so vividly and uniquely portrayed [by Micón] that he felt as if he was reading only musical notes, and not a literary description."⁵

In this example, Stevenson's research identified the links and bonds established between cultures situated and formed on different continents, tapping into the larger structures of music's dissemination and processes in the realm of transcultural relations, and indicating possibilities for proceeding with a different set of analytical tools to gain a clearer picture of these relations. His writings provide a direction for the examination of insufficiently known primary sources, many of which he lists in his *Renaissance and Baroque musical sources in the Americas*.⁶ Still, there is a pressing need for critical studies of instrumental music practices that privilege the analyses of social contexts and the internal and external processes that may have affected them.

Although dependent on vocal genres and forms, instrumental music poses a different set of problems. Accounts of instrumental music performances differ radically when contemporaneous reports, such as those found in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1825, are juxtaposed with late 19th-century accounts such as Benevides (1883) and Vieira (1900). This may indicate a misleading perception of instrumental practices that has become rooted in the historical perception of early 19th-century musical life in the Iberian region and colonial correlates. Benevides, regarding the influence of musical Classicism in Portugal, states:

We don't have any reports to this day that the sublime sacred compositions of Handel and Haydn have been sung in the "recital salons" [*salão das oratórias*]; the German

⁴ Stevenson, "Haydn's Iberian world connections", 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶ Robert M. Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque musical sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: Organization of the American States, General Secretariat, 1970).

school has not been seen at the São Carlos' Theater, neither on the stage nor in the living room! Such is the decadence of the musical art and of the public's taste in Lisbon that the compositions, then recent, of Mozart, Handel, Haydn, etc., were not performed!⁷

Or still, Vieira comments on a program of two concerts at the Teatro das Laranjeiras, the private theater owned by the Conde do Farrobo: "Out of 35 numbers, only Beethoven's quintet is noticeable; almost everything else are opera arias and fantasies based upon them".⁸ Nevertheless, a closer examination of the concert program reveals that, apart from Beethoven's quintet, 11 other instrumental pieces were included, of which only six were fantasies on opera themes. These Vieira omits from his commentary.

In juxtaposition, on 12 January 1825 the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* described quite a different reality regarding the Teatro das Laranjeiras:

The private theater of the Baron of Quintela at the Laranjeiras ... is already finished. It will be illuminated by gas.... upon his return from a long trip, in which he was accompanied by the renowned clarinetist Canongia, the musical *saraus*⁹ have been resumed on Sunday nights.... symphonies, overtures, and concertinos of Haydn, Krommer, André, C.M. v. Weber are usually performed ... and also concertos for clarinet by Canongia and concertos for violin by Giordani.

Considered by Carvalho (1898–90) as the "Portuguese Rothschild", the Conde do Farrobo, also known as Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801–69) [fig. 1] owned this private theater on the Quinta das Laranjeiras (completed around 1820) [figs. 2 and 3]. The Visconde Benalcanfor described it in the following manner in 1874:

Like Trianon and the gardens of Versailles of Louis XIV ... at the Conde do Farrobo's Laranjeiras one could find, for 20 years, whatever was most unique in Lisbon for its elegance, talent, and wealth ... Kings and Princes attended more than one of those magnificent parties, and the opulence and good taste of the Conde do Farrobo became famous among the most grandiose of Europe.¹⁰

The prosperous Count, owner of a private palace and theater, was one of the founders of the renowned Teatro São Carlos and the Conservatório Real de Lisboa.¹¹ Throughout his lifetime he pursued a legal battle regarding the sales value of a tobacco company he acquired along with textile industries and insurance companies, which led him to bankruptcy towards the end of his life. This may have caused the dispersion of his estate, including his music collection, which is described in MS 4986 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon.

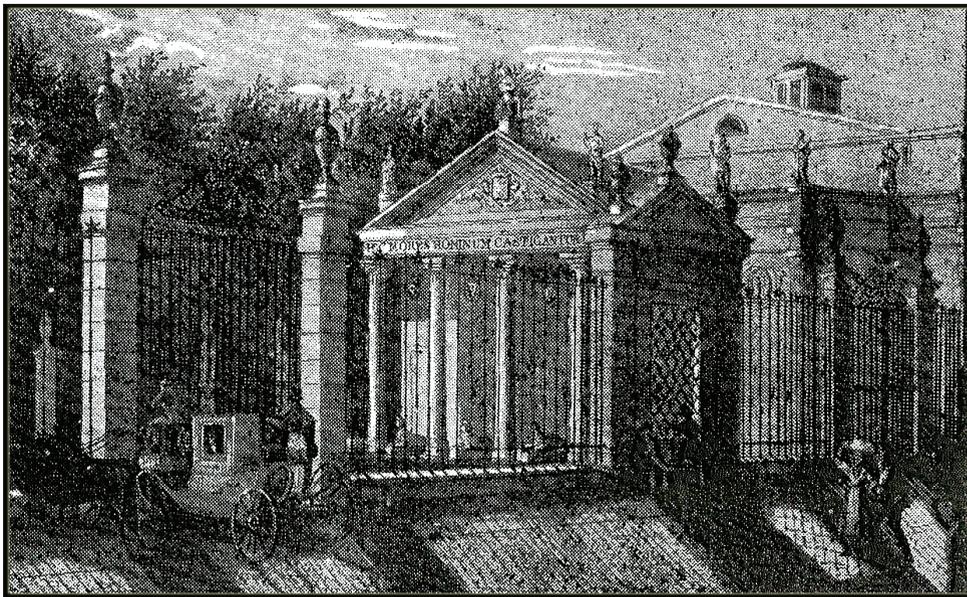
⁷ Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa: Memórias, 1883–1902* (Lisboa: Typ. e Lith. de Ricardo de Souza & Salles, 1902). *Continuação de: O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa desde a sua fundação em 1793 até à actualidade: Estudo histórico / por Francisco da Fonseca Benevides* (s.l.: s.n., 1883). The English translations in this paper are by the author.

⁸ Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de músicos portugueses: História e bibliographia da música em Portugal* (Lisboa: Lambertini, 1900) 405.

⁹ These are early evening domestic concerts where one would find a variety of musical practices, mainly reflecting amateur performances in informal settings. This type of practice became common in Brazil and still is: the term is still in use to convey the idea of an informal, talkative, and pleasant session of music, where words and music may be presented within a given space.

¹⁰ Quoted in João Pinto de Carvalho (Tinop), *Lisboa d'outros tempos* (Lisboa: Livraria de António Maria Pereira, 1898–99) vol. 1, 98–99.

¹¹ "Lemos, Maximiliano" and "Farrobo, Conde de", *Encyclopedia Portuguesa illustrada: Diccionario universal* (Porto: Lemos & C.ª, Sucessor, 1900–09) vol. 4, 665–66.



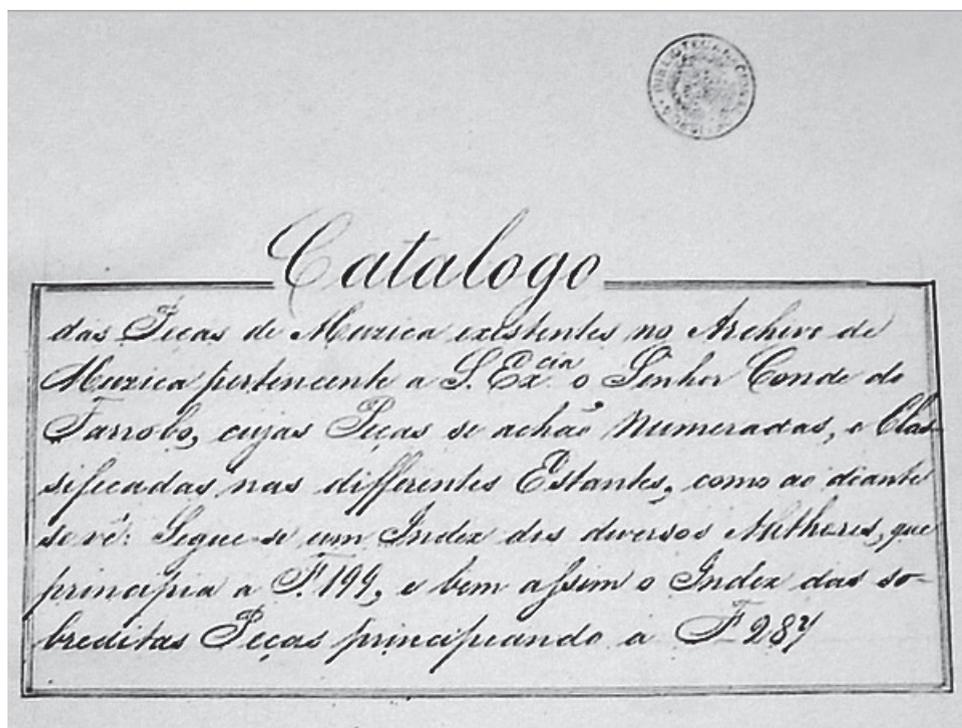
2. Lisboa, Teatro das Laranjeiras (ca. 1820).



3. Entrance ticket, dated 1857, authorizing ten individuals to enter the *Quinta* on Thursdays, signed by Farrobo and other. *Convite*, B.N.L., no. 10828.

Musicologists in Portugal—in particular Manuel Carlos de Brito, David Cranmer, and Joseph Scherpereel—have published a significant body of works on 18th- and early-19th-century instrumental music practices.¹² Cranmer, for example, has shown that altogether Portugal was not an atypical country within the European context of its time, especially concerning the first performances of Mozart, pointing to the Lisbon production of *La clemenza di Tito* held in 1806.¹³ Though 15 years after Mozart's death, the Lisbon production, nevertheless, preceded the first performances of the opera in Milan and Naples in 1807 and 1809 respectively. Furthermore, a study of the circulation of Haydn's works documents a very different situation from that reported (and thus transmitted over time) by Benevides and Vieira.¹⁴

The handwritten catalogue of compositions once owned by the Conde do Farrobo is now housed at Lisbon's Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (MS 4986) [fig.4]. It reveals Quintela's substantial knowledge of instrumental music by 18th-century composers, and



4. The title written on the catalogue of compositions once owned by Joaquim Pedro Quintela, Conde do Farrobo. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, MS 4986

¹² Manuel Carlos de Brito, "Concertos em Lisboa e no Porto nos finais do século XVIII", *Estudos de história da música em Portugal* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1989) 167–87; Manuel Carlos de Brito and David Cranmer, *Crônicas da vida musical Portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional; Casa da Moeda, 1990). David Cranmer, "As primeiras execuções em Portugal de óperas de Mozart", *Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical* 62 (July–Sept. 1989) 25–27; Joseph Scherpereel, *A orquestra e os instrumentistas da Real Câmara de Lisboa de 1764 a 1834* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Serviço de Música, 1985).

¹³ *La clemenza di Tito* was first performed in Prague at the Národní Divadlo on 6 September 1791, for the Prague coronation of Leopold II.

¹⁴ The research was mainly conducted at the Centro de Estudos Musicológicos at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

foremost among them, Haydn.¹⁵ This demonstrates that instrumental music practice in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in the Iberian Peninsula was not as unfamiliar and unknown as Benevides and Vieira have tried to convey.¹⁶ At first the catalogue was considered to have only secondary significance, since the compositions themselves were not found. Nevertheless, it is important for its listings of countless instrumental works by Austrian and German composers (Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven), as well as several other late 18th-century composers.

The catalogue is organized in three parts: (1) an index of works, (2) an index of composers, and (3) an index to the catalogue itself.¹⁷ The first part, *Index das peças de música*, is organized alphabetically by genre, providing the following rubrics for each item: *N.os*, *Título das peças*, *Qualidade de acompanhamento*, *Autores*, and finally *Na estante n.º*, a shelf number indicating the location of the work. The latter demonstrates a practical concern, possibly for easy retrieval for use in countless musical activities, including parties, private concerts, *saraus*, and more.

Pieces are listed in numerical order (1 to 947), in addition to approximately 168 unnumbered entries, for a total count of 1115 works. The alphabetical order was not strictly followed within each genre. However, the numerical ordering suggests a sequence that preexisted the elaboration of this catalogue.

This was verified through a complete reordering of the pieces in an attempt to restore the presumed original sequence. This procedure revealed a grouping by genres of instrumental music either in several or in single large blocks. For example, a given genre is numbered from 1 to 5, but may continue later from 10 to 12. The gaps found in the numbering of the works suggest the existence of a different or previous arrangement of the material at the time the catalogue was elaborated. Why would the cataloguer maintain such sequence and not adopt a new one that would better reflect a thorough classification by genre?

As new materials were added at different periods to the collection, the numbering continued in an aleatory manner. These additions could have been acquired from a third party or may reflect an earlier family collection, since the Conde do Farrobo's father, the first Baron of Quintela, was a major patron of the arts, sponsoring, for example, the construction of the Teatro São Carlos, Lisbon's main opera theater.

This would also explain the chronological range of the music, with works dating from the late 1760s to the first decades of the 19th century, including pieces by Rossini, who had a strong impact on the European music scene at the time. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reported in 1825 that, after the relaunching of concerts at Bomtempo's Sociedade Philharmonica, "only the first concerts began with symphonies by Haydn; in later concerts, these were replaced with overtures by Rossini and other composers."

¹⁵ The undated catalogue, measuring approximately 24 × 30 cm, is bound in cloth and bears no indications of the names of its scribes. Its title page reads as follows: "Catálogo das Peças de Música existentes no Archivo de Música pertinente a S. Ex^{cia}. o Senhor Conde do Farrobo, cujas Peças se achão Numeradas, e Classificadas nas diferentes Estantes, como ao diante se vê: Segue-se um Index dos diversos Autores, que principia a F. 199, e bem assim o Index das sobreditas Peças principiando a F. 287." [fig. 4]

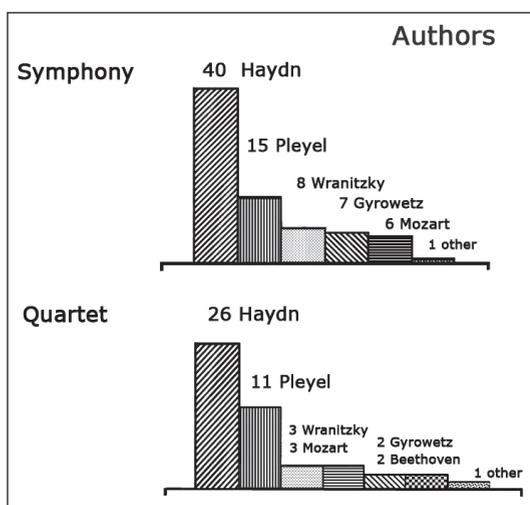
¹⁶ Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa*; and Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de músicos portuguezes*.

¹⁷ The third part is an index to the contents of the first part ("Index to the pieces of music"). For example, arias and ariettas with piano accompaniment or orchestra are to be found on page 1 of the "Index to the pieces of music"; the arias for several instruments are to be found on page 3; and so forth.

The catalogue also presents two distinct scribes, both still unidentified: The earlier one is precise and balanced and is well within 18th-century standards, while the later one is less strict and more informal, revealing a less careful or perhaps less educated calligraphist. (In some cases, for example, severe ink spills are to be found.) Although the total number of works in the catalogue shows the dominance of instrumental genres, entries by the later hand show an increase in the acquisition of operatic genres (or of genres related to the opera), indicating a change in musical taste away from instrumental music towards vocal works and opera. Regarding the symphonies and quartets, the two most favored instrumental genres of Classicism and most quantitatively represented in the catalogue, Haydn's works represent 51% and 54% respectively [fig. 5].

Included among them are such important works as the quartet version of *Musica instrumentale sopra le 7 ultime parole*, which Stevenson considered to be "Haydn's paramount large work composed for the [Iberian] peninsula".¹⁸ Among the vocal genres, under "oratorios" are listed, *Il ritorno di Tobia* (1775), *Die Schöpfung* (1798), and *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801), as well as Beethoven's *Cristo sul Monte Olivetti* (1803) and Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto* (1817).

Similar contexts are to be found in Spain and Mexico. Printed music represents over 60% of the 18th-century collection at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, as presented in the *Catálogo de impresos musicales del siglo XVIII en la Biblioteca Nacional* by María Mena.¹⁹ Further, a collection similar to that of Conde do Farrobo can be found in Mexico, where the inventory of *papeles de música*, compiled in 1801 [fig. 6], after the death of the Mexican music merchant José Fernandez Tauregui (fl. 1780s),²⁰ shows the predominance of works by Haydn, followed by other composers of the Classic period. His large collection of printed sheet music was worth 7452 *reales*²¹ and occupied 44 boxes, while manuscript parts were worth only 460 *reales* and occupied seven boxes. The



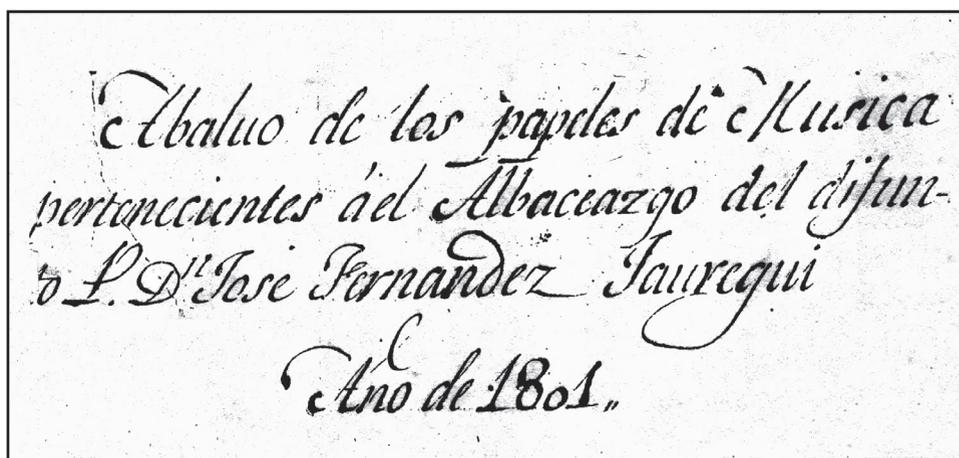
5. Comparative quantitative sampling of symphonies and quartets in the collection of Conde do Farrobo.

¹⁸ Stevenson, "Haydn's Iberian world connections".

¹⁹ María Mena, *Catálogo de impresos musicales del siglo XVIII en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General el Libro y Bibliotecas, 1989). This catalogue was one of Spain's first efforts in contributing to RISM, updating previous catalogues (for example, by Anglés and Subirá) and providing identification of Spanish court musicians. There is a pressing need to establish a similar effort in Portugal and in Latin American countries.

²⁰ *Abaluo de los papeles de Musica pertenecientes del Albaceazgo del Difunto el D. José Fernandez Tauregui. Año de 1801. Ciudad de México*, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), *Tierras*, vol. 1334, exp. 1º [fig. 6]. www.agn.gob.mx/. I thank Dr. Evgenia Roubinova for pointing out and kindly sending a copy of this document.

²¹ *Reales* was Mexican currency in usage during the late 18th century. In 1497 the Catholic King and Queen Fernando and Isabel created the *ducados*, pieces in gold. In that year, monetary unity was instituted in Spain and called the *real*. During more than 200 years, the *peso* or *real* were the effective symbols of wealth in *Nueva España*.



6. The title page of the inventory of *papeles de música* (1801), compiled after the death of the Mexican music merchant José Fernandez Tauregui (fl. 1780s).

list of his musical instruments showed a collection worth an estimated 2395 *reales*—less than 50% of the value of the printed music collection.

A relevant issue here is how to connect such fragmented information into an organic whole, in order to gain a larger perspective that yields information on music's function and meaning at a given time, its production, circulation, and transmission. Such research implies a more contextual, rather than a textual, approach—a departure from the autonomous view of musical works.

Regarding Latin American music research in general, one needs first to consider how to establish a balance between the development of a new methodology (which includes analytical methods and tools) and the establishment of the groundwork for the preservation of primary sources. Secondly, one must question whether a new framework should (or could) proceed based on general musicological perspectives and methodologies or, instead, be drawn and constructed from the specific objects of study.²²

The scope and breadth of the foundations formed by Stevenson in his patrimonial work range from his 1970 typewritten publication entitled *Renaissance and Baroque musical sources in the Americas*, which describes archives in ten Latin American countries, to his many articles, books, and anthologies of music. Such fundamental work provided the basis for the writing of general surveys such as his *Music in Mexico: A historical survey*.²³ Nevertheless, one needs to ask what kind of history Latin America needs in order to approach and construct its musical canon: one constructed from “within”, implying work done locally from local points of view, or one constructed “externally”, implying the use of perspectives borrowed or taken from hegemonic views that do not always account for musical practices that are peripheral to prevailing economic and cultural centers.

One could envision such dynamics by first considering a horizontal perspective that would balance past and present, aiming towards a constructive approach to music

²² See also Maria Elizabeth Lucas, “Processos de trabalho na pesquisa musicológica”, *Encontro anual da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música*, 1996, Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro: ANPPOM, 1996) 87–92.

²³ Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A historical survey* (New York: Crowell, 1952).

research that deals simultaneously with the preservation of primary sources but also proceeds to include the so-called secondary or fragmented material in order to critically reexamine acquired views. A second fundamental question is whether it is at all possible or even desirable to produce larger surveys based in such fragmented documentation. This could be seen as a vertical perspective, in which research departs from a small, compressed, and raw nucleus and projects itself towards an unfolding knowledge of musical practice [fig. 7].

A third question could add another dimension to these dynamics, relating the socially affluent musical constructions to other forms of music-making, especially indigenous and popular genres, juxtaposing and analyzing the type of *in loco* cultural miscegenation that took place in specific contexts and structures of colonial and post-colonial societies.

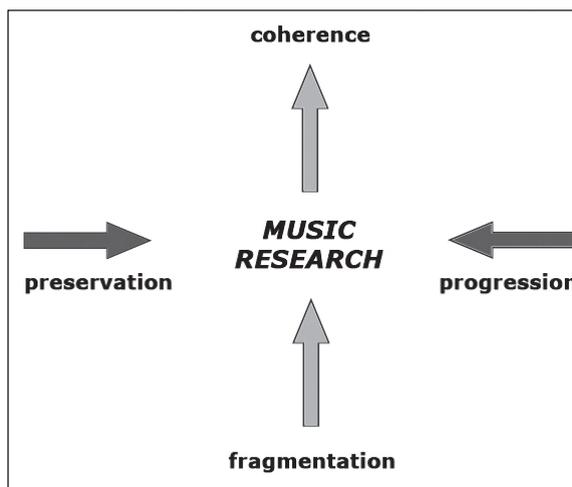
In the relatively short lecture given at the Library of Congress in 1969 entitled *Philosophies of American music history*, Stevenson questioned some

points that define certain approaches (or philosophies) to musicology, raising questions such as the following:

What criteria for determining musical value does the historian accept, and why? ... Is the historian teleologically minded, or ... does he envision ... music history as moving forward to some recognizable goal? If so, is the goal toward which history leads understood to be always higher and better than anything that had preceded it?²⁴

In presenting different perspectives from music historians of North and Latin American countries, Stevenson further notes the fact that “no self-respecting Latin American [musicologist] would dream of beginning with the music brought over tardily by Cortés, Pizarro, et al. Instead they begin with the music of the Tupinambás, Incas, Mayas, etc.”²⁵

With this framework in mind, Stevenson taps into broader perspectives of musicological research convergent to and protective of an all-inclusive historiography of music. This type of historiography would probably also consider the indigenous reactions to music and the processes involved in such a crossroads of diverse influences. And how different would that research be from today's cross-cultural mix of styles and genres?



7. Perspectives in music research.

²⁴ Robert M. Stevenson, *Philosophies of American music history*. A lecture delivered in The Whittall Pavilion of The Library of Congress, 9 January 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1970) 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

Such a multi-dimensional approach would also consider relations within and between different social classes, with special attention to the forms of symbolic empowerment attributed to music as a cultural object or product to be sold, exchanged, and possessed, among other forms of social distinction in the Bourdieu sense.²⁶ What significance and meaning may be conveyed by the Conde do Farrobo's rich and very modern musical archive? Was his access to cultural goods and his up-to-date knowledge of what was best and most fashionable a demonstration of his class distinction? Could that not have been the same impetus that drove the Duchess of Osuna to insist on the delivery of 12 Haydn works every year?

From that perspective, to what extent was music Classicism the first world-wide musical fad driving Haydn to world-class stardom, occupying a position similar to a pop idol in his own time? The process of rethinking music may nevertheless stem from other perspectives.²⁷ In my view, this rethinking may be generated from very small objects, using frameworks and analytical tools that may yield data and the inference of musical processes and their meaning to human musical activities. From a Latin American point of view, it is fairly easy to envision an all-embracing "new musicological" perspective stemming from miscegenation and a culturally diverse context. A reconsideration of Blacking's sense of music as an innate musical capacity of mankind and a defining characteristic of being human, in opposition to stifling Western elitist conceptions of music and its exclusivist approach to artistic creativity, would readily offer a broader outlook on historical musicology.

Taking one further but final step, one may visualize these theoretical propositions by making use of some analogies drawn from Stephen Hawking's concepts on the "shape of time", and the effect of quantum theory on "space-time".²⁸ As in Hawking's quantum cosmology, if one would also consider looking into the past through a "light cone",²⁹ such musicological fragments would act as quantum gravitational events shaping our perspectives on historical reconstruction. In addition, Hawking's concept of "imaginary time"³⁰ also develops the notion of multiple histories. Although only *one* history is viable in *real time* (e.g., for the development of intelligent life), in terms of today's historical narrative reconstruction this supposed *real* version is dependent on the availability of documentation, and most of all, on the capacity of individuals to select and interpret them. However, within these selective and interpretative processes reside the factors which would actually allow the expansion of multiple historical versions (as if in imaginary time) that could be inferred from a given set of data extracted from wide-ranging sources.

The proposed dynamic and expanding concept of music research, one that may actively find in all-inclusive procedures the directions and responses to a more

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *O Poder Simbólico* (Lisboa: DIFEL, 1989).

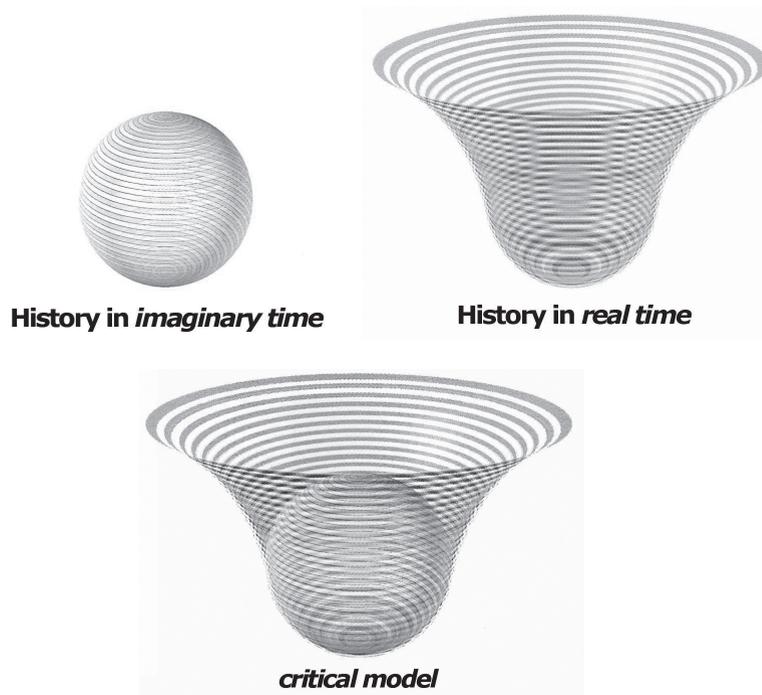
²⁷ This is not to be mistaken with what Nicholas Cook considered "one more dutiful and tempted musicologist reporting on a [Haydn] connection ... simply too great to ignore ... [and] moved by academic pressures." Nicholas Cook and Mark Everest, eds., *Rethinking music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) v.

²⁸ In Euclidean space perception, the universe has three dimensions of space and one dimension of time. In relativistic contexts time cannot be separated from the three dimensions of space because it depends on an object's velocity relative to the speed of light, and also the strength of intense gravitational fields which can slow the passage of time.

²⁹ "As we look out at the universe, we are looking back in time, because light had to leave distant objects a long time ago, to reach us at the present time. This means that the events we observe lie on what is called our past light cone." Stephen Hawking, *The beginning of time*. Lecture available at www.hawking.org.uk/lectures/bot.html.

³⁰ Imaginary time is time measured by *imaginary numbers*, adding a fourth dimension to Einstein's general relativity theory, and thus enriching the possibilities of linear time.

contextualized and objective approach to past music practices, should be capable of unfolding histories from otherwise supposed musicological *black holes*, inviting a perspective in which possibilities of imaginary time would allow the closest possible account of past music practices in real time musicological narratives [fig. 8].



8. Shapes of time: History in imaginary time (infinite possibilities, shown as a sphere), real time (one expanding history), and shape of proposed critical model. Based on Stephen Hawking's *O universo numa casca de noz*, trans. by Ivo Korytowski (São Paulo: Arx, 2001) 90.

PERSONALITIES: COMPOSERS

NATIONALISM, LIBERALISM, AND COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICE: A TALE OF TWO 19TH-CENTURY BACH EDITIONS

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Though the historiography of 19th-century art music has tended to identify certain composers—Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Brahms, and others—as having been uniquely attentive to musical tradition, we should bear in mind that these composers lived in a century in which historical consciousness was not only a defining feature, but was very much taken for granted. The emergence of music history as a scholarly discipline in these composers' lifetimes substantiates the frequent observation that historical awareness was in fact as a cornerstone of 19th-century European liberal culture.

I would go a step further and suggest that historical consciousness in 19th-century Germany, including the production of music-historical scholarship, often took the form of commemoration. Commemorative practice might be understood as a four-stage process: the identification of a culturally significant historical moment or figure; the creation of what we might describe as commemorative "texts"; the transmission of these texts through rituals of remembrance; and the constitution of a community through shared cultural historical knowledge. Commemoration is a useful framework for reconsidering historical consciousness because it illuminates the process by which the past is represented, is circulated as knowledge, and is perpetuated as so-called tradition.¹ If we accept historical consciousness as a central feature of 19th-century European culture, then I believe a broadened conception of what constitutes commemorative activity will further our understanding of the function of history in 19th-century German musical culture.

With this in mind, I would like to consider two editions of Bach's complete works undertaken in the 19th century: one begun in 1801 and overseen by Johann Nikolaus Forkel and a second produced at mid-century under the auspices of the Bach-Gesellschaft of Leipzig. As I will describe, each project, though similar in scope and arising from related impulses, is reflective of a distinct moment in German political

¹ For a fuller discussion, see Mark Burford, *The real idealism of history: Historical consciousness, commemoration, and Johannes Brahms's "years of study"* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2005).

and intellectual history. Beyond this context, I hope to also illustrate how, in a century characterized by historical consciousness, music scholarship—and in this particular case Bach scholarship—itsself functioned as a form of commemorative practice in German musical culture.

Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818) began his career as a music scholar at the Universität Göttingen, where he matriculated in 1769 and remained affiliated for the rest of his life. Forkel's long association with the university was formative for his thought and writing on music. From around the 1760s, the Universität Göttingen had begun to cultivate a historical method rooted in Enlightenment ideals of cosmopolitanism. The university's approach to historical scholarship, typically referred to as "universal history", took for granted the unity of world humanity and intellectual history. As August Ludwig Schlözer, one of Göttingen's most prominent spokesmen, wrote in 1772: "The human race is a unit. It comes from one ancestor, lives on one planet, and in spite of its wide distribution it has one nature".²

Forkel's application of universal history to the study of music history is clear in the *Einleitung* (Introduction) to his never-completed *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*. Also embracing a relatively holistic view of world civilization, Forkel's model of musical progress in the *Einleitung* presumed an accumulation of human knowledge through the transmission of prior discoveries throughout the world, throughout history. As much as he saw the progression of history as an upward trajectory, with modern European society topping the hierarchy, Forkel, reflecting the pragmatism of universal history, argued that contemporary civilization could only maintain this course of development through an inclusive, transnational historical consciousness that would benefit "all of humanity".³

Forkel never completed his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*; he was sidetracked primarily by his duties as the self-appointed adviser to the groundbreaking edition of Johann Sebastian Bach's "complete" works being initiated in Leipzig by Hoffmeister & Kühnel. Simultaneously, and apparently in conjunction with the Bach edition, Forkel was busy writing the work for which he is perhaps best known, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, published, also by Hoffmeister & Kühnel, in 1802.

Forkel was hardly a solitary figure in his admiration of Bach. Scholarship of recent years has tempered the popular long-standing claim that Bach slipped into virtual obscurity after his death.⁴ Still, the fact remains that outside of dispersed pockets of connoisseurs, Bach's iconic status was not common coin in the second half of the 18th century. In fact, between 1752 (when a second edition of *Die Kunst der Fuge*

² Quoted in Robert Levanthal, "Progression and particularity: Herder's critique of Schlözer's universal history in the context of the early writings," *Johann Gottfried Herder: Language, history, and the Enlightenment*, ed. by Wulf Koepke (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1990) 30. See the discussion of the "Historical School" at the Universität Göttingen in Herbert Butterfield, *Man on his past: The study of the history of historical scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955) 39–44.

³ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, "Einleitung" to *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig: Schwickertschens Verlag, 1788) vol. 1, §28. Forkel's *Einleitung* is translated in its entirety in Doris Powers's dissertation *Johann Nikolaus Forkel's philosophy of music in the "Einleitung" to volume one of his Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik (1788): A translation and commentary with a glossary of eighteenth-century terms* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1995).

⁴ See, for example, Christoph Wolff, "On the recognition of Bach and the Bach chorale: Eighteenth-century perspectives," *Bach: Essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991) 382–90; and the essays by Hans Joachim Hinrichsen ("Johann Nikolaus Forkel und die Anfänge der Bach-Forschung", 193–253) and Karen Lehmann ("Die Idee einer Gesamtausgabe: Projekte und Probleme", 255–303) in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, ed. by Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997) vol. 1.

appeared) and 1800, not a single work by Bach was published in Germany, other than his harmonized chorales and isolated musical examples in various theoretical treatises.⁵

The situation changed almost overnight. In 1801 alone, three separate publications of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* were undertaken in Germany, in addition to the Hoffmeister & Kühnel complete works edition, the first of its kind.⁶ Forkel's scholarship played a particularly pivotal role in drawing more widespread attention to Bach's output and its music-historical significance. In this respect, Forkel was at the forefront of a fin-de-siècle renaissance that grew unabated and solidified Bach's stature in the 19th century and, in turn, for the present day.

Notably, the surge of interest in Bach around 1800—or more accurately, the *generation* of interest in Bach through the commemoration of his music—came amidst a string of defeats of German-speaking states by France during the Napoleonic Wars. The impact of these events eroded any prevailing sense of German identity to the point that in 1799 Hegel, in his first political essay, announced “Germany is no longer a state” and lamented “the perfect isolation of the [German] individual from his kind.”⁷ At the same time, arising from these humiliations, which included the eventual French occupation of Berlin, was a flood of nationalist sentiment, spearheaded by many members of Germany's intellectual and artistic elite.

Viewed in this context, the contrasts, both in tone and motivation, between Forkel's 1788 *Einleitung* and his 1802 Bach biography—subtitled “For patriotic admirers of true musical art”—are significant. In the biography's preface, remarkable for its bombast, Forkel promoted Hoffmeister & Kühnel's “complete and critically correct edition of Sebastian Bach's works,” asserting unequivocally that its value to music scholarship was exceeded only by its commemorative function.

This undertaking is not only of the highest advantage, in every respect, to the art itself, but must contribute more than any other kind to the honor of the German name. The works which Johann Sebastian Bach has left us are an invaluable national patrimony, with which no other nation has anything to be compared. Whoever rescues them from the danger of being disfigured by faulty copies, and being thus gradually consigned to oblivion and destruction, erects to the artist an imperishable monument and deserves well of his country; and everyone to whom the honor of the German name is dear is bound to support such a patriotic undertaking and to promote it to the utmost of his power. I considered it as my duty to remind the public of this obligation, to rouse this noble enthusiasm in the breast of every true German.... [T]he preservation of the memory of this great man (let me be allowed to repeat it) is an object in which not merely the interest of the art but the honor of the nation itself is deeply involved.⁸

⁵ Arthur Mendel, “Introduction,” *The Forkel–Hoffmeister & Kühnel correspondence: A document of the early–19th-century Bach revival*, ed. by George Stauffer (New York: C.F. Peters, 1990) xxiv. The two-volume collection *Johann Sebastian Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, containing 370 chorale settings by Bach, had been published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1783–87. Friedrich Blume also noted that “until about 1800 there was, in fact, almost nothing of [Bach's] whole output in print.” See Friedrich Blume, *Two centuries of Bach: An account of changing tastes*, trans. by Stanley Godman (New York: Da Capo Press, 1978) 30. Jim Samson has claimed that “during the second half of the eighteenth century more and more of [Bach's] music became available for study.” See “The great composer,” *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*, ed. by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 275. In relative terms this is certainly true, though it does not obscure the important point that this availability was almost exclusively restricted to discrete circles, as I will address below.

⁶ Mendel, “Introduction,” xxiv.

⁷ See James Sheehan, *German history, 1770–1866* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 240–43.

⁸ Forkel, *On Johann Sebastian Bach's life, genius, and work*. Excerpted in *The new Bach reader: A life of Johann Sebastian Bach in letters and documents*, ed. by Hans David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff (New York: W.W.

It would appear that in light of the political crisis, Forkel's pooling of the knowledge of "all of humanity" in his general history of music had been put on hold "to raise a worthy monument to German art".⁹ This decided shift away from a more transnational historiography was an endeavor not only to affirm Bach's historical significance, but to vernacularize it as well.¹⁰

One of the more striking features of Forkel's preface is its clear illustration of the fine line between history and memory, and of remembering as a cultural practice. Warning the reader of the danger of Bach's works being "consigned to oblivion", Forkel's project—which all true Germans are "bound to support"—is undertaken in part for the establishment of a collective memory of Bach. This call on the individual members of a community to never forget—a reminder to remember—is the essence of commemoration. French historian Pierre Nora has described this type of appeal, which cultivates a sense of responsibility to perpetually recall socially agreed upon meanings of the past, as "duty-memory". Remembering one's history is to remember one's identity, or, to paraphrase Nora, to *be* German is to *remember* one is German.¹¹ In this respect, Forkel's Bach scholarship, while undoubtedly a watershed music-historical accomplishment, also represents a form of commemorative practice. The 1801 Bach edition unambiguously announced its intention to serve as a vehicle of memory, "an imperishable monument" to Bach, to art music, and to German identity.

One final but I believe important observation is that even as it lobbied for a cultural unification of the German nation, Forkel's Bach scholarship articulated a class-based politics of inequality among Germans. Forkel's correspondence reveals his strategy of first establishing Bach's preeminence among the elite classes of society who would then encourage "the ever widening distribution of Joh. Seb. Bach's compositions". Hoping to confer maximum prestige on the biography, Forkel demonstrated a meticulousness that verged on obsessive, even going so far as to demand that Bach's daughter, who had apparently fallen on hard times, be written out of the family history, and be paid off for the slight. "On behalf of J.S. Bach's daughter nothing can be said in this work", he advised Hoffmeister & Kühnel. "The poverty of this daughter is inappropriate to the great art of her father. But have the goodness to pay to this person in my name 1 *Louis d'or* and charge the same amount to my account."¹² Forkel felt that such ruthless micromanagement was justified by the need for Bach—and for Bach scholarship—to be representative of German achievement of the highest standards: "If such a work is to be read by people of quality", Forkel argued, "it must make its appearance before them with a certain elegance—otherwise they will throw it aside as common stuff" (19 July).

Norton, 1998) 419–20.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and vernacular in history," *Public culture* 12 (2000) 591–625.

¹¹ Pierre Nora, "Between memory and history: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (spring 1989) 15–16. In his essay "Was ist Deutsch?" Richard Wagner argued that Germans were uniquely inclined toward founding their cultural identity on "glorious memory", and expressed some ambivalence about this somewhat problematic "obligation to build such a fantastic edifice from relics of the past". See Richard Wagner, "What is German?," *Art and politics*, trans. by William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996) 153.

¹² Letter dated 9 August 1802. Forkel urged that the volume "be printed in a clean and sharp typeface, and on good paper"; insisted that "if a portrait of Bach is included, it must be a fine one" (July 16); suggested that if the pages are set instead of glued it "will make a better impression" (July 19); and reminded the publishers that the text must be "most carefully proofread" (August 9). All of the Forkel letters cited here were written in 1802 and appear in *The Forkel–Hoffmeister & Kühnel correspondence*. They will be cited in the text by date.

Unfortunately, these goals adversely affected Forkel's editorial recommendations for the Bach edition. The designation "complete works" is, in fact, doubly misleading. Aside from the fact that, as it turned out, only Bach's keyboard works were published, Forkel discouraged the inclusion of any composition that he felt did not exhibit as "entirely perfect an art" as he believed to be befitting of Bach. "You will certainly have to publish the corrected Two-Part Inventions", he told Hoffmeister & Kühnel in a postscript to the letter of 19 July. "At the same time you could abandon the *Toccata*. It is a very early and imperfect piece."

Alongside Forkel's nationalist ideals certainly stood his stated objective "to furnish the true Artist with a gallery of the most instructive models".¹³ But Forkel's Bach biography and the complete works edition also suggest the ways in which 19th-century music-historical scholarship emerged as a form of commemorative activity, particularly in moments of sociopolitical uncertainty, and how music-historical knowledge served as a marker of social class, supporting the cultural hierarchies within which "art music" in part derived its meaning.

As I mentioned above, until the more public manifestations of the Bach revival in the 19th century, the most dedicated and knowledgeable champions of Bach's music largely belonged to small, private coterie: court-based musicians and theorists in Berlin, independent patrons and connoisseurs in Vienna, informal brotherhoods of organists throughout Protestant, German-speaking regions, church music directors in bastions of tradition like Leipzig, circles that gathered around private collectors of early music scores, and so on. As progressively wider swathes of the middle class began to traditionalize German culture, such groups continued to be clearinghouses for sources of older music, with their central figures acting as adjudicators of music-historical significance. It is difficult to overstate the importance of these micro-communities for the institution of modern musical scholarship as they framed—and moreover *enabled*—the reception of older music by many so-called historically conscious 19th-century composers, audiences, and scholars.

Beyond being frameworks for shared historical memory, such seemingly atomized groups were part of a larger 19th-century phenomenon often referred to as *Vereinwesen*, or "associational life". Much has been written about the flourishing of associations, clubs, and societies from the late 18th through the first half of the 19th century in Germany. Generally, these were freely organized aggregations founded to pursue some specified purpose in an independent and self-determined manner. The forms these German associations took were innumerable: reading circles, singing societies, science clubs, recreational groups, fraternal orders, among many, many others. Having no official affiliation (for example, with the church or state), they collectively formed an independent sphere of communal activity apart from more official civic institutions, and therefore functioned in part as a counterweight to authoritarian state power.

German associations were intimately connected with the growth of bourgeois civic influence and the spread of liberalism. With Prussia's jurisdiction over other German-speaking states on the rise, and the suppression of political opposition increasingly severe, associations often served as covert conduits of progressive social and political thought. As one historian noted, associations were effectively training schools for liberals

¹³ David, Mendel, and Wolff, eds., *The new Bach reader*, 422.

during the first half of the 19th century.¹⁴ The implicit liberal temper of many German associations can be recognized in their common valuation of secular education, political awareness, modern scientific advancements, artistic culture, and the cultivation of the rational faculties believed requisite for full participation in the public sphere. Members of Germany's middle classes flocked to these associations not only to socialize and to pursue their interests, but also to attest autonomous yet civic-minded identities.

In other words, associational life contributed to a project of consensus building in 19th-century German middle-class society. Associations helped to forge supralocal personal and political ties among like-minded citizens through networks of information sharing, and facilitated the exchange of knowledge through their activities and publications. One of the most important functions of associations, therefore, was their role in marshalling a body of shared knowledge—often shared *historical* knowledge—that in turn became the basis of a more broadly based collective memory and cultural identity.

Not surprisingly, then, commemorative activity was an integral component of German associational life. The Gustav-Adolf-Verein, for example, was founded in 1833, to honor the memory of Gustavus Adolphus, the 17th-century king of Sweden who defended Protestant Germany during the Thirty Years War. Perceiving a mystical connection between this Protestant resistance and the Prussian defeat of Napoleonic forces, the founders of the Gustav-Adolf-Verein were inspired by a ceremony commemorating the bicentennial of this historic “German” victory.

Similarly, in 1840 a group of Cologne citizens founded the Dombauverein, or cathedral building society, to oversee the completion of the long-abandoned Cologne cathedral. The statutes of the Dombauverein stipulated that rebuilding would follow the original design of the cathedral down to the last detail so as to honor the uniquely German genius of its medieval *Urplan*.

Even one of the most popular movements in central and northern Germany, the Turnervereinen, or gymnasts' clubs, served as “a cult of remembrance” that sought to commemorate the contributions of voluntary militias during the Wars of Liberation. Aside from their recreational function, the clubs aimed “to evolve specifically civilian forms of bodily prowess and patriotic commitment” as a symbolic memorial re-enactment of German popular resistance during the Napoleonic wars.¹⁵

The founding of the Bach-Gesellschaft in Leipzig fits this pattern of historical commemoration through association. A notice in the July 1850, issue of the popular music journal *Signale für die musikalische Welt* announced the establishment of the society, which was clearly conceived as functioning within the orbit of associational life (see the appendix to this article for a full translation of this announcement). Like the Cologne Dombauverein, the Bach-Gesellschaft was established for a specific task: to commemorate the centennial of Bach's death by publishing the first complete edition of

¹⁴ James Sheehan, *German liberalism in the nineteenth century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) 14. My discussion of associational life draws on Sheehan, especially pages 7–18, and particularly on Thomas Nipperdey's definitive article “Verein als soziale Struktur in Deutschland im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert”, *Geschichtswissenschaft und Vereinswesen im 19. Jahrhundert: Beiträge zur Geschichte historischer Forschung in Deutschland*, by Harmut Boockmann, Arnold Esch, Hermann Heimpel, Thomas Nipperdey, and Heinrich Schmidt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) 1–44.

¹⁵ See Kevin Cramer, “The cult of Gustavus Adolphus: Protestant identity and German nationalism”, *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914*, ed. by Helmut W. Smith (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2001) 97–120; Michael J. Lewis, *The politics of the German Gothic revival* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993) 25–56; and Christopher Clark, “The wars of liberation in Prussian memory”, *Journal of modern history* 68 (1996) 559–66.

his works, a “monument” to Bach “adequate to the demands of science and art”. Private collectors were urged to share their “Bachian treasures” with the new association; directors of existing associations were called upon to encourage the active participation of their members in the enterprise.¹⁶ The 21 cosigners identified themselves as a band of “highly-regarded men,” educated elites undertaking the project “in the name of serious and faithful research”.

The Bach-Gesellschaft was founded in the wake of the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, when German liberalism was politically challenged by the recent course of events, but its values—among them the esteem of modern science—were nonetheless central to the consolidation of bourgeois society. As the announcement declared, a legitimate attempt to rectify the “incomplete... knowledge of Bach’s creations” must meet “the demands of science”. The society, therefore, sought to accomplish a double authenticity: an authentic *representation* of Bach’s music through access to reliable sources, and an authentic *transmission* of those sources to the edition’s consumers through critical, scientific method. The contrast with the complete works edition overseen a half-century earlier by Forkel, who openly omitted “imperfect” pieces and inconvenient biographical details, is striking.¹⁷

Like Forkel, however, the Bach-Gesellschaft not only emphasized Bach’s music-historical gravitas but also sought to memorialize his traditional significance. In their exhortation Bach is conceived as an embodiment of German cultural traditions and social structures that admittedly belong to an earlier time, but that, if properly preserved, hold benefits for “the purification and restoration of [modern] society”.¹⁸ In other words, the 1850 Bach edition illustrates how a purportedly objective, scientific attempt to ensure that the original sources and the resultant text were indistinguishable was deeply informed by beliefs in intrinsic sociocultural links between past and present, between tradition and modernity.

With the possible exception of Beethoven, Bach was unequalled as a cultural palimpsest and as an object of the German music-historical imagination in the 19th century. And indeed, as I have hopefully shown, both the Napoleonic-era Bach scholarship of Johann Nikolaus Forkel and the mid-century mission of the Bach-Gesellschaft drew upon German nationalist discourse, shed light on the relationship between historical knowledge and social class, and indicate an ongoing dialogue between private and public spheres in 19th-century Germany.

But by invoking the rhetoric of commemoration, these two “monuments” to Bach also point to the true potency of commemorative activity, in whatever form, which I believe lies less in the maintenance of a thing called “tradition” than in the active cultivation of practices and processes of traditionalization. Recognizing how, through the rhetoric of commemoration, 19th-century German musical discourse contributed to such processes, invites us to consider the ways in which not only tradition, but more importantly social relations have been articulated through the practice of music scholarship.

¹⁶ The first volume of the complete edition appeared in 1851, the last (volume 64) in 1900, at which point the *Bach-Gesellschaft* was dissolved, in accordance with its charter.

¹⁷ The founders of the Bach-Gesellschaft, perhaps aware of Forkel’s subjective interventions, state flatly in the announcement: “Arbitrary changes, omissions, and additions are out of the question.”

¹⁸ Walter Frisch has described how claims about the salutary effects of Bach’s music remained a staple of German musical discourse well into the 20th century. See “Bach, Brahms, and the emergence of musical modernism”, *Bach perspectives* 3, ed. by Michael Marissen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) 126–31.

APPENDIX

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FOUNDING OF THE BACH-GESELLSCHAFT.
SIGNALE FÜR DIE MUSIKALISCHE WELT 8/30 (JULY 1850) 289–91.
Translation by Mark Burford.

A national undertaking

Among the many ways in which the death anniversary of the great German master of music Johann Sebastian Bach, which falls on July 28th of this year, will be worthily celebrated, we have a particularly notable thought of how to praise him just as felicitously and consequentially. Namely, the idea, which originated in Leipzig, to establish the most marvelous and sincere monument to the German master through the publication of a beautiful and correct edition of Bach's complete works. A number of men who are highly regarded in the realm of music have banded together for this purpose. We are including their plan in greater detail and in their own words below. We hereby invite all German artists and friends of art to participate numerously and enthusiastically in this endeavor, which concerns the honor of the nation. As W.H. Riehls quite accurately stated in an essay in the *Augsberger allgemeinen Zeitung*, Johann Sebastian Bach is among those wondrous spirits who can win a battle like the oath of the dead. Of him it must in fact be said that when he died he both closed an artistic epoch and began a new one. Even though one hundred years have passed since he died, he has nonetheless established a new epoch. What we describe as the latest development of musical classicism—the reform established by Mendelssohn and which found in him its most singular manifestation—hearkened back to Bach, nurtured and invigorated by his spirit. Heaven knows, considering how incomplete the knowledge of Bach's creations still generally is today, with what magic the master will attract those who approach him in the truest sense, the reaction that will certainly be generated by the greater dissemination of his work in the musical world, though only in the course of time. We consider it a favorable sign that the present generation is willing and able to study Sebastian Bach, not only for music, but also for the purification and restoration of society. Whoever does not understand the old *bürgerlich* Cantor in the fold of his ten music-making sons, borne by the customs of his position and the transmission of his art, does not understand Bach's artistic genius.

Call for the foundation of a Bach Society

On 28 July 1750, Johann Sebastian Bach died in Leipzig. The recurrence of this day after one hundred years is an exhortation to all true devotees of authentic German music to establish a monument to the man that is worthy of him and of the nation. An edition adequate to the demands of science and art, through thoroughness and critical treatment, will fulfill this purpose in the purest manner. In what follows, the undersigned, united in their wish to promote this undertaking with all their power, lay before the admirers of this great master the basic means through which we intend to bring this edition into existence.

Our task is to publish in a collected edition all works by Joh. Seb. Bach that, through reliable transmission and critical research, have been verified as being by him. Wherever possible, this will be based on the original manuscript or the edition overseen

by the composer himself—where this is not possible, we will use the best available source—in order to establish the true form of the compositions, certified through critical examination during transmission. Arbitrary changes, omissions, and additions are out of the question.

Publication will be overseen by a Bach society, whose members will pay annual dues in the amount of 5 Thaler. Since the vagaries of the book trade must be avoided, the sum accumulated through these dues will be applied exclusively to production costs requisite for the publication of Bach's compositions. For every contribution of 5 Thaler, the participant will receive annually a sample of the published compositions for that year along with a summary documenting expenditures; for the dues paid in 1850, these will be received in 1851, and so on. Without being luxurious in format, print, or paper, the presentation will be distinguished from ordinary publications in a manner befitting a national undertaking. The more subscribers there are, the more we will be able to publish annually, and the sooner completion of the great works will be achieved: with 300 participants, we roughly estimate a production of as many of 50–60 sheets. The plates will remain the property of the society.

Publication will proceed in the following sections:

- 1) Vocal music a) with and b) without accompaniment
- 2) Instrumental compositions a) for organ, b) piano, c) orchestra

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WRITING A NATION'S MUSICAL TASTE: HAWKINS, BURNEY AND THE POPULARIZATION OF HÄNDEL IN THE FIRST HISTORIES OF MUSIC

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If George Frideric Händel had been born in Munich, Salzburg or Vienna and baptized a Roman Catholic he would never have written for or during the Hanoverian regime works such as the *Water music*, the coronation anthems, *Messiah*, *Israel in Egypt*, or the *Music for the royal fireworks*. The counterfactual point is painful to consider, if only in terms of the deprivation of the pleasure, excitement, solace, and commonality that millions of primarily English-speaking performers and listeners have derived from those musical works. Of course, Händel was born in Halle, raised a Lutheran and first came to England in 1710 aged 26, but those facts and numerous others have not prevented the contingency of the junctures or choices that he faced from being bleached out in the earliest tellings of his life story. The substitute narrative—one of English economic advantages and professional opportunities, of an eventual broad popular acceptance and enjoyment of his music during his lifetime, and of Händel's religiosity in service to the Church of England—combines intense patriotism with a narrow ideology to express an inevitability absent from the life actually lived. To understand how the substitute narrative was adopted by the early historians (and almost all their successors), I examine the first histories of music from an angle uncommon to musicology: as a means of uncovering the ways in which a nation's musical taste can be regulated through language.

England may have been losing its American colonies in 1776 but it was gaining significant publications—in addition to the *Declaration of independence*—such as the first volume of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* and Adam Smith's *Wealth of nations*. The first volume of Charles Burney's *A general history of music* led off the music-historical horse race in January, though we should note that it is not concerned with music in England.¹ John Hawkins's *A general history of the science and practice of*

Versions of this paper were presented at Scenes of Writing, 1750–1850, an international conference held at the University of Wales, Gregynog, July 1998, and at the RILM conference, Music's Intellectual History, at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, March 2005.

¹ Charles Burney, *A general history of music, from the earliest ages to the present period*, 4 vols. (London: printed for the author, and sold by T. Beckett, J. Robson, and G. Robinson, 1776–89). Citations in this article are to Frank Mercer's

music appeared in five volumes in November, and soon found favor with reviewers.² In it was included the first major treatment of Händel to follow the world's first extended biography of a composer, John Mainwaring's *Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederic Handel* of 1760.³ Burney first addressed the history of Händel in his "Sketch of the life of Handel" in *An account of the musical performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon in commemoration of Handel* (1785), some of which he transferred to the last volume of his *History*, issued in 1789.⁴ The General Histories of music have maintained their importance due not merely to their premiership but also to what has been seen as high levels of accuracy and research, and continuing dependence upon them for certain facts and interpretations.

To question the national relevance of Händel may seem quixotic, for who could doubt that Händel continues to maintain that position in Britain? But, as the following remarks will reveal, it is only by adjusting the meaning of terms such as "popular", "nation", "public", and "audience" that Hawkins and Burney can overcome the obvious fact that Händel's audience was highly restricted, being drawn during his lifetime from the wealthiest 0.5% of the population.⁵ Scholars of the history of ideas or aesthetics might argue that the advancement of society or the experience and evaluation of art is always going to be confined to a select group of individuals. Admittedly, the lack of formal education in the 18th century for the vast bulk of the population (almost all girls and many boys) means that our notions of democratic accessibility to the arts do not apply. Nonetheless, it is possible to talk realistically of issues and events that have national significance—which involve people beyond the elite—such as military campaigns, taxation, enclosure, and dearth. As historical writing plays a large part in ensuring a composer of elite music high status beyond his class and time, we should examine the language of privilege.

ECONOMICS. In telling a story of the coming of a genius to England, the authors of the two General Histories utilize the myth of the free-born, *laissez-faire* professional entrepreneur who could be successful based on talent, application and the commercial market place; in other words, a story about how they thought England operated or should operate at the time.⁶ Hawkins writes the beginning and end of Händel's time

edition in 2 volumes (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Comp., 1935).

² John Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music*, 5 vols. (London: printed for T. Payne and Son, 1776). Citations in this article are to the Novello edition in two volumes, continuously paged (London: Novello, 1853); reprinted, with an introduction by Charles Cudworth (New York: Dover, 1963). Bertram H. Davis, *A proof of eminence: The life of Sir John Hawkins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973) 142, notes that "the *Gentleman's magazine* concluded its five-part review in June [1777] with a commendation of Hawkins's portrait of Händel, which is 'drawn with that glow, that pathos, which distinguishes portraits *con amore*, and does equal honour both to the painter and his subject'".

³ [John Mainwaring], *Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederic Handel* (London: Dodsley, 1760; republished in facsimile, New York: Da Capo, 1980). The book included a "Catalogue of works" by James Harris, and "Observations on the works" in which Mainwaring was assisted by Robert Price. The life section was excerpted in the *Gentleman's magazine* (April–May 1760) 159–61, 213–18. Johann Mattheson had included an entry on Händel in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740) based on first-hand knowledge, especially of their years together in Hamburg.

⁴ Charles Burney, *An account of the musical performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon... in commemoration of Handel* (London: for the benefit of the Musical Fund; sold by Payne and Robinson, 1785; rep. ed. Amsterdam: Knuf, 1964).

⁵ For justification of this point, which has considerable implications for the commercialization of leisure argument, see my "Patronizing Handel, inventing audiences: The intersections of class, money, music and history", *Early music* 28/1 (February 2000) 32–49.

⁶ For Mainwaring, Händel is "the sublime though flawed genius, triumphing over his inherent faults", as Peter Kivy

in England in terms of financial success; the publisher John Walsh supposedly earning £1500 from the publication of *Rinaldo*, Händel's first opera in England, and Händel leaving an estate worth £20,000 at his death.⁷ Burney gives a high profile to Händel's finances, noting his royal pensions, his "charity and generosity", and his valuable estate, amassed "in spite of temporary adversity, powerful enemies, and frequent maladies of body, which sometimes extended to intellect".⁸ Following the economic struggles of the 1730s and early 1740s Händel became financially successful, as his biographers note, and as his accounts at the Bank of England attest.⁹

The authors attribute Händel's financial success late in life to his ability to attract a less than elite audience—"the public"—to his oratorios, a rationale that is not surprising given the authors' need for an explanation that did not contradict what they had written about the elite audience turning away from his operas.¹⁰ Not even the thickest rose-tinted spectacles could hide the fact that opera-going was an elite pastime. But the price of tickets was no lower for oratorio than for opera ($10/6$ for a place in a box or the pit, 5s. for the first gallery).¹¹ In terms of family income, Händel's royal pensions of £600 a year alone put him in the top 0.3% of the population. Such a rarified position could have been identified by the authors but they chose to disguise it.¹²

Entrepreneurial freedom means the freedom to fail. The authors do not shy away from Händel's financial difficulties in the 1730s and 1740s. Indeed, rather the opposite. They dwell on them and turn them into an object lesson in the value of hard work and perseverance in the face of implacable female resistance. Society women are roundly criticised for daring to counter a man, a genius, and an entrepreneur.¹³ Analysis of Händel's finances by a 20th-century scholar has shown that much of Händel's supposed economic plight has been exaggerated.¹⁴ He was never in serious danger, never had his manuscripts confiscated, never debunked to the Continent leaving debts. For much of his life, even before he became music director of the Royal Academy of Music, he invested in stocks and government securities. His financial success from 1746 onwards

puts it. "Mainwaring's *Handel*: Its relation to English aesthetics", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17/2 (summer 1964) 170–74. Note the parallel meaning: Händel is the effective though flawed businessman, triumphing over his external opponents.

⁷ Hawkins, *A general history*, 858 and 911, which includes almost a whole, lengthy paragraph on Händel's finances. Mainwaring concludes his first paragraph by stating that Händel bequeathed to his niece "the greatest part of his ample fortune".

⁸ Burney, *An account*, 38.

⁹ See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A documentary biography* (London: A & C Black, 1955) 835–41, and Ellen T. Harris, "Handel the investor", *Music & letters* 85/4 (November 2004) 521–75.

¹⁰ Burney: Händel was "opposed and oppressed by the most powerful nobles and gentry!" *A general history*, vol. 2, 827. The strategy enabled Hawkins and Burney to praise another "self-made" man like themselves, and permitted them to write Händel as participant, model, and beneficiary.

¹¹ Mainwaring has misled subsequent commentators into suggesting that in doing away with season subscriptions oratorio-going somehow became more affordable. He wrote that Händel "was so averse to subscription-engagements, that he resolved to be for the future on a quite different footing. No prospects of advantage could tempt him to court those by whom he thought he had been injured and oppressed". *Memoirs*, 125–26. As Händel did have some subscription seasons for oratorios this may refer to opera production rather than subscriptions as such.

¹² Estimates of the distribution of incomes and population were compiled by Gregory King in 1688 (revised 1698) and Joseph Massie in 1755 (revised 1759), and were published. See Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Revising England's social tables, 1688–1812", *Explorations in economic history* 19 (October 1982) 385–408.

¹³ See my "Margaret Cecil, Lady Brown: 'Persevering enemy to Handel' but 'Otherwise unknown to history'", *Women & music* 3 (1999) 43–58, and "Monsieur le Comte de Saint-Germain: The great pretender", *The musical times* 144/1885 (winter 2003) 40–44.

¹⁴ William C. Smith, *Concerning Handel: His life and works* (London: Cassell, 1948) 9–64. See also my "Royal patronage of Handel in Britain: The rewards of pensions and office", *Handel studies: A Gedenkschrift for Howard Serwer* (Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 2009) 127–53.

was not the result of writing new oratorios but of the lack of operatic competitors and a fashionability for certain of his works. That Händel was to die worth thousands of pounds (millions in today's money) becomes a tribute to the economic system, which ultimately rewards genius, and to the people (the English) who utilize it so effectively.

POLITICS. Händel's career was written as if he were free to develop it as he wished, subject only to the demands of his audiences (the marketplace). The ideology has a long heritage, evolving from Magna Carta, through the Reformation, Shakespeare, the civil war, the not entirely peaceful dynastic changes that ended the reign of the Stuarts, and the Bill of Rights. For the authors to imagine any other circumstance for England was impossible, comfortably situated as they were, enjoying the benefits of a legal career and an inheritance, in Hawkins's case, or a successful teaching and publishing career in Burney's. Both men had worked their way into positions of authority through diligence, patronage and some luck. Naturally they wished to extol the virtues of a commercial society while downplaying patronage, a common trope among writers of the period.¹⁵ But how free was Händel and in what areas under his control could he be said to assert freedom? He was certainly not free when he worked for the Royal Academy of Music in the 1720s, though in some respects that was the most successful period of his career. During the 1730s and early 1740s he was unable to engage the singers he wanted and unable to attract the audiences he needed to cover his costs. On the other hand he felt sufficiently free to reject the invitation from Lord Middlesex to write operas for the Italian opera company in 1743.

One of the significant junctures in Händel's life was his visit to Dublin. Mainwaring, Hawkins, and Burney in his Commemoration volume, all write that Händel went to Dublin following the rejection of *Messiah* by the London theater audience.¹⁶ Burney rewrote this story in his *General history*, for he was able to show that Händel composed *Messiah* in London and carried the score with him to Dublin, where the first performance was given on 13 April 1742. Burney states that in trying "to wipe off the national stain, of the oratorio... having 'met with a cold reception' in England" he "has taken considerable pains to obtain a minute and accurate account of the musical transactions of the great musician, during his residence in that kingdom" of Ireland.¹⁷ That rejection of the work should be considered a *national* stain, akin, perhaps, to defeat in battle, is striking, for only members of the elite had heard the work and it played no role among the broad populace of the nation at that time. Unable to function liturgically it could not be part of regular church services, established or not. There is an underlying Anglo prejudice in the idea that, in providing the welcome for "one of the most sublime of his compositions", the Irish exhibited better taste than the English.¹⁸ Furthermore, Ireland was a colony,

¹⁵ Mainwaring: Händel "resolved to go to Italy on his own bottom, as soon as he could make a purse for that occasion. This noble spirit of independency, which possessed him almost from his childhood, was never known to forsake him." *Memoirs*, 41.

¹⁶ Mainwaring: "For even his *Messiah* had met with a cold reception. Either the sense of musical excellence was become so weak, or the power of prejudice so strong, that all the efforts of his unparalleled genius and industry proved ineffectual." *Memoirs*, 131. — Hawkins: "it was but coldly received by the audience; the consciousness whereof, and a suspicion that the public were growing indifferent towards these entertainments, determined him to try the temper of the people of Ireland." *A general history*, 890. — Burney: "it would remain a perpetual stigma on the taste of the nation, if it should be recorded, that his *Messiah*, that truly noble and sublime work, was not only ill-attended, but ill-received, on its first performance in 1741." *An account*, 24–25.

¹⁷ Burney, *A general history*, vol. 2, 1005.

¹⁸ Hawkins, *A general history*, 890.

not a kingdom, and those people who attended the first and subsequent performances in Dublin were the leaders of the Protestant ascendancy. While some were native to Ireland they all owed their allegiance to the Hanoverians.¹⁹ As such they were not a part of the Irish people but the rulers of England's closest off-shore colony. In a single sentence Burney draws attention to his own efforts, expunges a nonexistent stain, insults the Irish while praising the ascendancy, and elevates *Messiah* to a position that it was not to enjoy until the mid-19th century, namely a popular favorite.²⁰

In order to finesse the huge disparity in numbers between the Händel-loving members of the elite and the other 99.8% of the population, Hawkins and Burney are forced to use “popular”, “people”, and “nation” quite contrary to their friend Samuel Johnson. He defined “popular” as meaning

vulgar, plebian
suitable to the common people
beloved by the people
studious of the favor of the people
prevailing or raging among the populace

He defined “people” as

a nation: those who compose a community
the vulgar
the commonality: not the princes or nobles
persons of a particular class
men, or persons in general

A few examples of contrary usage from Burney and Hawkins. Burney: “The opera of *Rinaldo*... was the delight of the nation during many years.”²¹ Actually, it was performed in London during six seasons (1711, 1712, 1713, 1714–15, 1717, and 1731) a total of fifty-three times.²² If Händel had “obligations... to the English nation”, as Hawkins maintains,²³ then they were less than evident to the vast majority of the population. Hawkins attributes the improvement in Händel's fortunes following his return from Dublin as the result of “a change in sentiment in the public... [T]he *Messiah* was received with universal applause.”²⁴ Burney concurs: Händel “found a general disposition in the public to countenance and support him” in 1743.²⁵ Only music historians would have the audacity to define a nation so narrowly!

¹⁹ See J.L. McCracken, “Protestant ascendancy and the rise of colonial nationalism, 1714–60”, *A new history of Ireland. IV: Eighteenth-century Ireland, 1691–1800*, ed. by T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 105–22 (106–07).

²⁰ Burney's sarcastic and demeaning attitude towards the Irish is revealed in his review of Joseph Walker's *Historical memoirs of the Irish Bards*, in *The monthly review* (December 1787). See Harry White, “Carolan and the dislocation of music in Ireland”, *Eighteenth-century Ireland* 4 (1989) 55–64.

²¹ Burney, *An account*, 10.

²² See Winton Dean and J. Merrill Knapp, *Handel's operas, 1704–1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) 183. See also my “Bragging on *Rinaldo*: Ten ways writers have trumpeted Handel's coming to Britain”, *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 10 (2004) 112–31.

²³ Hawkins, *A general history*, 858.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 890.

²⁵ Burney, *An account*, 27. In this context, both Hawkins and Burney overlook Händel's economic and health difficulties from 1743 to 1745.

The writers seek to claim national significance for Händel even before his arrival in England, for he is the servant of the Elector George, who will succeed Queen Anne. Soon Händel is working for the nobility, first as a private musician and then on their collective behalf. Following that, he supposedly turns to “the public”, a ploy that the authors could use not only to “popularize” Händel but also to criticize his opponents as anti-progress, anti-English, and anti-popular. The authorial strategy of writing a broader public for Händel than he actually had mirrors the democratization of genius and privilege that the English constitution supposedly embodied. Lest it be thought that this is academic exaggeration, I instance Johnson’s “Dedication to the King” in Burney’s Commemoration book, which he begins by emphasizing that very point: “greatness of mind is never more willingly acknowledged, nor more sincerely revered, than when it descends into the regions of general life” ([iii]). The powerful trope of financial success combines with the ancient idea of the public recognition of genius and the role Händel played in celebrating the Hanoverian dynasty and its English adherents, to produce for Hawkins and Burney an image of the nationally significant musician.

Other linguistic sleights of pen include:

using false contrasts. Hawkins and Burney use the opposition of certain members of the aristocracy and gentry to explain Händel’s turning to “the people” for support when his audience comprised other members of the elite. They also write that Händel was a part of the ruling elite, but at the same time suggest that he was independent of it and even struggled against it. According to Burney the qualities that distinguish English music are male and military, which contrast with the “effeminate” Italian sound, ignoring, when necessary, the fact that Händel wrote effeminate Italian operas for over 30 years.

using anachronistic adulation. Burney reports that Händel’s reception in England in 1710 “was as flattering to himself as honourable to the nation.”²⁶ Hawkins says that “the applause [*Rinaldo*] met with was greater than had been given to any musical performance in this kingdom.”²⁷

implying that the carriage class equals “the people”. Burney writes that before the initial concert of the Händel Commemoration, “persons of all ranks quitted their carriages with impatience and apprehension”²⁸ as if all ranks could afford carriages! Elsewhere Burney emphasizes that audience’s high rank (ii).

suggesting that Händel’s active support of charities in aid of musicians and foundlings made him “popular”. Only in 1750 did *Messiah* become a regular part of the elite’s season, being performed annually as a fund-raiser for the Foundling Hospital. Tickets to these events cost ¹⁰/₆. As the capacity of the Hospital chapel was limited to 700 there were on occasion two performances but even 1400 hardly constitute popularity when London boasted over 600,000 inhabitants.

The rhetorical device of assuming a generality of appreciation for Händel diffused among “the people”, coupled with the monological voice, conspire simultaneously to include the reader among the initiates while failing to indicate accurately the very restricted demographic limits of that appreciation.²⁹ The contradiction between

²⁶ Burney, *An account*, 9.

²⁷ Hawkins, *A general history*, 814.

²⁸ Burney, *An account*, 25.

²⁹ Monological in the Bakhtinian sense, in contrast with dialogic voices of the novel, for instance. See Mikhail Bakhtin,

the argument for a popular Händel and against vulgar taste is especially acute for Hawkins who, despite invocation of “the public” in his final paragraph on Händel, cannot relinquish his belief that it is only “judicious hearers” whose admiration will be engaged in hearing Händel’s music.³⁰ Earlier he had been particularly dismissive of what he characterized as the vulgar taste for the new art music of the 1770s and “common popular airs and country-dance tunes.”³¹

RELIGION. According to his biographers Händel “was a man of blameless morals, and throughout his life manifested a deep sense of religion”, as Hawkins put it.³² For Burney, Händel was “always impressed with a profound reverence for the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion.”³³ They agree that in “the last two or three years of his life [that] he was used to attend divine service in his own parish church of St. George, Hanover-square”;³⁴ “he was truly pious, during the last years of his life, and constantly attended public prayers, twice a day, winter and summer, both in London and Tunbridge.”³⁵ It would be remarkable if Händel had not worshipped at his local parish church. “[T]he Church of England was an integral and indispensable part of the theory and practice of governing”, as David Hempton points out, so it is highly unlikely that Händel would have worshipped anywhere else.³⁶ Hawkins writes, rather unkindly, that even though Händel was brought up a Lutheran, “he was not such a bigot as to decline a general conformity with [the church] of the country which he had chosen for his residence”, one in which “no man suffers any molestation or inconvenience on account of his religious principles.”³⁷ Only paid-up members of what Jonathan Clark has described as England’s *ancien régime* could make such a claim, one that does not put either Hawkins or Händel (who supposedly made the remark) in a tolerant light.

The authors confuse the alleged personal piety of Händel with the writing of oratorios and sacred works. The former is not necessary to the latter. Burney claims that “from this period [1740], Händel may be said to have devoted his labours to the service of the church,”³⁸ but this was a very special church as the sacred works could not be used regularly in the overwhelming majority of churches, for musical or liturgical reasons, or because they remained unpublished during his lifetime. Indeed, simply in terms of chronology, Burney is wrong because the only church pieces Händel wrote after 1740 were the Dettingen Anthem and *Te Deum* (1743), the Anthem on the Peace and the Foundling Hospital Anthem (1749). Even the three hymn settings of words by Charles Wesley (ca. 1747), were for solo soprano and continuo. The oratorios were theatrical entertainments. The desire to write Händel’s conformity, to sanctify his character and to extend his relevance are part and parcel of the ethical urge so commonly found in the biographies of the period.

The dialogic imagination, ed. by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

³⁰ Hawkins, *A general history*, 919.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 893.

³² *Ibid.*, 910.

³³ Burney, *An account*, 31.

³⁴ Hawkins, *A general history*, 910.

³⁵ Burney, *An account*, 34.

³⁶ David Hempton, *Religion and political culture in Britain and Ireland: From the glorious revolution to the decline of empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 3. There is also the practical difficulty of travel for a blind man.

³⁷ Hawkins, *A general history*, 911.

³⁸ Burney, *An account*, 24.

Would Burney's 857 subscribers have wanted to read an account that more accurately portrayed Händel's place and that of his audiences in elite society? Probably not, because they understood themselves to represent and constitute the nation. They accepted and wished to retain their role as the cultural guardians of the nation. There would be no voluntary surrender of this power. Its exercise was portrayed by Hawkins and Burney, in a typically elitist diversionary move, as more democratic than it actually was even by the standards of the time.³⁹ Thirteen per cent of Burney's subscribers were royalty or nobility (and that excludes younger sons and daughters of aristocracy and their spouses, knights and baronets and their wives). Burney had announced that he needed a minimum of 500 subscribers, and when the list stalled at around 400 he was fearful that he had lost the faith of his readers.⁴⁰ In the event, he exceeded all expectations, including those of his rival, Hawkins, whose *General history* was reduced in price in 1784, after 8 years of struggling to find buyers despite the plaudits of reviewers.⁴¹

For Hawkins and Burney, Händel was the finest musical achievement of England because of his genius and skill, his religiosity, his ability to make money, and the discovery by audiences listening to his music that music could convey "dignity and grandeur of sentiment".⁴² In their attempts by writing to make Händel popular (that is, known and appreciated by the people at large on a par with selected military figures such as Admiral Vernon), the authors succeeded in blinding subsequent historians to his actual status and that of contemporary audiences; in reinforcing the sentiments of the reading audience of its rightfulness as auditors of Händel's music and as regulator of the nation's musical patrimony; and in creating an image of Händel as a virtuous celebrity.⁴³

³⁹ The total population of England was about 5.246 million in 1715. Roughly 42% of the population was aged under 21. The number of voters (male only) in England in 1715 was about 260,000. Therefore about 17% of the adult male population had a vote, i.e., almost all the middling and upper sorts when defined as those with annual family incomes above £50. For the statistics see E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The population history of England, 1571–1871* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), appendix 3; and Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons, 1715–1754*, *The History of Parliament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), vol. 1, 79.

⁴⁰ *The letters of Dr Charles Burney*, ed. by Alvaro Ribeiro, S.J. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) vol. 1, 162.

⁴¹ The *History's* less than stellar sales are attributable to its higher cost, the smear campaign orchestrated by Burney, and its turgid style.

⁴² Hawkins, *A general history*, 914.

⁴³ For popular figures see Gerald Jordan and Nicholas Rogers, "Admirals as heroes: Patriotism and liberty in Hanoverian England", *Journal of British studies* 28 (July 1989) 201–24, and Kathleen Wilson, *Sense of the people: Politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**COMPARISON OF THE FIRST GENERAL HISTORIES OF MUSIC
AND THEIR AUTHORS**

Author	Sir John Hawkins	Dr. Charles Burney
Dates	1719–1789	1726–1814
Title	<i>A general history of the science and practice of music</i>	<i>A general history of music, from the earliest ages to the present period</i>
Imprint	London: printed for T. Payne and Son	London: printed for the author: and sold by T. Beckett, J. Robson, and G. Robinson. Vol. 2 sold by Robson and Robinson. Vols. 3 & 4 sold by Payne and Son, Robson and Clark, G.G.J. and J. Robinson
Publication date	November 1776	vol. 1: January 1776; vol. 2: 1782; vols. 3 & 4: 1789
Price	6g.	
Volumes	5	4
Size	quarto	
Print run	≈100 sets	print run of vol. 1: 1047 copies subscribed by 857 persons (including 50 copies each to Becket and Robson, and six to Robinson)
Sales	disappointing; Payne reduced price in 1784	vol. 1 reprinted November 1776; 2nd, revised, edition issued 1789
Dedication	to the King	to the Queen, written by Samuel Johnson
Illustrations	numerous, of both music and people	limited in first two volumes
Subscription proposal		April 1773: 2 vols., with illustrations, 2g. Non-subscribers 3½g. Size: quarto. Illustrations. To be published in 1774. Advertised on publication in <i>The public advertiser</i> , 22 February 1776, general price £1 11s. 6d. in boards. “The Subscription Books are delivered by the Author only, at his House in St. Martin’s Street, Leicester Fields.”
Front and back matter	no table of contents, no chapter or section titles; index in vol. 5	table of contents, some section titles; index in vols. 3 and 4
Writing begun	1770	1773
Other activities	lawyer, magistrate 1761– and chairman of Middlesex Quarter Sessions 1763–1778, editor and biographer	music teacher, <i>literateur</i>
Honors	knighthood 1772	Fellow of the Royal Society of the Arts 1764; Oxford University D.Mus. 1769; Fellow of the Royal Society 1773

Roger Lonsdale has claimed that Burney’s volume one was “one of the most fashionable books of the year”. *Dr. Charles Burney: A literary biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, 181. About 1100 copies of volume 1 were available in January 1776, and it was reprinted in November (the number of copies at present is unknown). *Decline and fall’s* first edition, issued in February, comprised 1000 copies in quarto, costing 1g. in boards; the second edition, issued in June numbered 1500 copies; the third, issued in May 1777 numbered 1000 copies. By 1802 11,600 copies of the quarto edition (in 6 volumes) and

16,450 copies of the octavo (in 12 volumes) had been printed, or roughly 4,000 sets of the quarto and 8,000 sets of the octavo, not including the Dublin reprints. See Nicolas Barker, "A note on the bibliography of Gibbon, 1776–1802", *The library*, 5th ser., 18 (1963) 40–50.

Burney's *An account of the musical performances* had a print run of 2,000 copies. See *The letters of Dr Charles Burney*, ed. by Alvaro Ribeiro, S.J. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) vol. 1, 447.

HANDEL'S RECEPTION AND THE RISE OF MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BRITAIN

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The year 1776 brought historic changes to Britain. Revolution in its American provinces ended with the founding of the United States, which tore apart the British soul. For a nation who had hitherto understood itself to be the land of the free and the home of the brave, America's independence was an identity crisis: either allow disobedience to the Crown or establish order through civil war.¹ The King's decision is well known; even more so is its outcome: America was lost to Britain.

Loss and pain create (or invoke) opportunities for self-reflection, however. It was also in 1776 that Britain gained in awareness through seminal achievements of the mind. *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, by Adam Smith, instituted modern economics.² Edward Gibbon's *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* brought European historiography to a sublime peak.³ With ink still fresh on the pages of *A voyage towards the South Pole, and round the world*, James Cook was embarking on a third naval expedition in hopes of discovering new lands for the British Crown.⁴

Amidst such distinguished company the *General histories of music* of Dr. Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins arrived.⁵ The scope, methodology, and sheer effort put into these works were without precedent.⁶ Hawkins's five thick volumes of narrative

Although RILM uses the original spelling of Händel's name, at the author's request in this article the English variant is used.

¹ See James E. Bradley, *Popular politics and the American Revolution in England: Petitions, the crown, and public opinion* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986) 216. Also, Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 164–65.

² Adam Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

³ Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire... volume the first* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

⁴ James Cook, *A voyage towards the South Pole, and round the world, performed in His Majesty's ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775*, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777).

⁵ Charles Burney, *A general history of music, from the earliest ages to the present period. To which is prefixed, a dissertation on the music of the ancients... volume the first* (London: author, 1776); John Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music*, 5 vols. (London: T. Payne, 1776).

⁶ "I spared no expence or pains either in acquiring or consulting [printed materials]... With respect likewise to manuscript information, and inedited materials from foreign countries, few modern writers have perhaps expended more

were “the produce of sixteen years labour”.⁷ Touting his professionalism, Burney wrote, “I have frequently spent more time in ascertaining a date, or seeking a short, and in itself, a trivial passage, than it would have required to fill many pages with conjecture and declamation.”⁸ Music scholarship was coming of age.

The rise of music historiography in Britain can be approached from various angles: the tradition of empiricism, the emergence of nationalism, the shifting paradigm in music aesthetics, and so on. The angle I am concerned with here is the reception of Handel in the middle of the pivotal 18th century (1730s–1780s). By examining vital intersections of the two phenomena, I will suggest that Handel’s reception was not simply a contributing factor in this development but more likely a precondition for its appearance.

DEFINITIONS. I should clarify first some terminological issues. The critical weight we assign nowadays to historiography was hardly known in 18th-century Britain. If Johnson’s *Dictionary* is of any help, historiography was simply the art of writing history,⁹ rather than—as Forkel would have it—“history writing that has become conscious of its own ends and purposes.”¹⁰ In this sense, the projects of Burney and Hawkins were as distant from the philosophical concerns of Forkel as London was from Göttingen.¹¹ Also, the empirical historiography of Burney and Hawkins appeared in a variety of formats—as critical reflections, brief accounts, memoirs, and so on—in the works of other authors. Few of them had, of course, the material, intellectual, and psychological resources, not to say the ideological conviction, of the two distinguished writers. Thus, I do not limit my examination to the multi-volume *Histories* of Hawkins and Burney, or to the year 1776. I rather tend to view the rise of music historiography as a wave beginning with Avison’s *Essay on musical expression* (1752),¹² arriving at its peak in 1776 and receding, on whatever level one is ready to accept, in 1789 with the concluding volumes of Burney’s *History*.¹³ If 37 years seems too long a period, we should remember that Hawkins needed 16 years and Burney at least 20 to complete their respective works.¹⁴

money and time, undergone greater fatigue, or more impaired their health in the search of them, than myself.” Burney, *History*, vol. 1, iv, v.

⁷ Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, preface, [2].

⁸ Burney, *History*, vol. 1, xii.

⁹ Johnson defines history in three ways, as “The knowledge of facts and events,” “Narration; relation,” and primarily in the words of Pope, “A narration of events and facts delivered with dignity” (the definition remains unaltered in subsequent editions): Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*, 2 vols. (London: J. Knapton et al., 1756) 1: [HIP HIS–HIV HOB].

¹⁰ Vincent Duckles, “Johann Nicolaus Forkel: The beginning of music historiography,” *Eighteenth-century studies* 1/3 (spring 1968) 277.

¹¹ On Forkel’s project, see Duckles, “Forkel,” 277–90.

¹² Charles Avison, *An essay on musical expression* (London: C. Davis, 1752). Burney himself designates this work as the starting point of serious music criticism in Britain: “Musical criticism has been so little cultivated in our country, that its first elements are hardly known. In justice to the late Mr. Avison, it must be owned, that he was the first, and almost the only writer, who attempted it. But his judgment was warped by many prejudices.” Burney, *History*, vol. 3, vi.

¹³ Both Burney and Hawkins acknowledge earlier historiographical projects: “attempts have been made at different periods to trace the rise and progress of music in a course of historical narrative”: Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, xviii (review in xviii–xxii).

¹⁴ Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, preface, [2]; Burney calls his *History* “a work that has been thirty years in meditation, and more than twenty in writing and printing”: Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 684. On the other hand, both works were the outcome of part-time study and writing.

CHRONOLOGY. The rise of music historiography in Britain coincided with the end of Handel's creative career and the anxiety it generated about English music. Avison's *Essay on musical expression* from 1752 and the debate it set off came at the very moment of Handel's disarmament as a composer.¹⁵ In fact, a critical issue in the Avison-Hayes debate was the status of Handel in English music.¹⁶ The mid-to-late 1750s was a period of concern for Handelians. Italian opera made an impressive comeback in 1754–55 thanks to Signora Mingotti, who "revived the favour of our lyric theatre, with considerable splendor."¹⁷ Letters from March 1755 speak of a "poor Handel [who] has been most ungratefully neglected this year",¹⁸ and report that "The oratorio was miserably thin; the Italian opera is in high vogue, and always full."¹⁹ That same year, Thomas Arne openly challenged Handel by performing oratorios against Covent Garden's series,²⁰ prompting someone to observe "the Town at Present is much fonder of Arne than Handel."²¹ In the 1757 blockbuster *An estimate of the manners and principles of the times*, John Brown censured the public neglect of Handel's music.²² Perhaps not coincidentally, the following year saw one of the first extensive discussions of Handelian repertoire in William Hughes's *Remarks upon music*.²³

Handel's death in 1759 marked the end of an age for English music. And it is the big events, the peaks and discontinuities, which create the incentive for historiography. Exactly in 1759, Hawkins began work on his *History*.²⁴ In the conclusion of his magisterial project in 1789, Burney, too, admits that this work "has been thirty years in meditation."²⁵ The cultural anxiety following the composer's demise found expression in

¹⁵ Deteriorating sight forced Handel to interrupt the composition of *Jephtha* on 13 February 1751. A month later Sir Edward Turner recorded that "Noble Handel hath lost an eye": Sir Edward Turner to Sanderson Miller, 14 March 1751[1]: *An eighteenth-century correspondence: Being the letters of... to Sanderson Miller, Esq., of Radway*, ed. by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton (London: John Murray, 1910) 165. The beginning of the 1752 season found Handelians in despair: "I am sorry to say that I believe this Lent will be the last that he will ever be able to preside at an oratorio; for he breaks very much, & is I think quite blind on one eye": Thomas Harris to James Harris, 9 January 1752: *Music and theatre in Handel's world: The family papers of James Harris, 1732–1780*, ed. by Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 281. Temporary improvement from eye surgery did little to reverse his plunge to darkness, and in January 1753, the press reported "Mr. Handel has at length, unhappily, quite lost his sight": [unidentified London newspaper], 27 January 1753: Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A documentary biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955) 731.

¹⁶ The entire corpus of this debate is available in *Charles Avison's Essay on musical expression: With related writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison*, ed. by Pierre Dubois (Aldershot, U.K.; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2004).

¹⁷ Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 463.

¹⁸ C. Gilbert to Elizabeth Harris, 11 March [1755]: Burrows and Dunhill, *Handel's world*, 304.

¹⁹ Mary Delany to Mrs. Dewes, 3 March 1755: *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. by Lady Llanover, 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1861) vol. 3, 338–39.

²⁰ See Ilias Chrissochoidis, *Early reception of Handel's oratorios, 1732–1784: Narrative—studies—documents*, 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2004) vol. 1, 295–97.

²¹ William Shenstone to Lady Luxborough, [29–]30 March 1755: *The letters of William Shenstone*, ed. by Marjorie Williams (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939) 438.

²² [John Brown], *An estimate of the manners and principles of the times* (London: Davis & Reymers, 1757) 46.

²³ William Hughes, *Remarks upon church musick. To which are added several observations upon some of Mr. Handel's oratorio's, and other parts of his works* (2nd ed.; Worcester: R. Lewis, 1763; original edition, 1758). Not only does Hughes make references to the *Estimate* (Remarks, 42) but he also paraphrases Brown's quotation of the "Colossus" passage in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*:

Why Man, he doth bestride the narrow World	Why Man! He does bestride the Musick World
Like a Colossus; and we petty Men	Like a Colossus; and We poor, petty Composers,
Walk under his huge Legs; and peep about,	Walk under his huge Legs, and pick up a
To find ourselves dishonourable Graves	Crotchet to deck our humble Thoughts
([Brown], <i>Estimate</i> , 44)	(Hughes, <i>Remarks</i> , 46)

²⁴ Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, preface, [1].

²⁵ Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 684. For the complications in dating Burney's project, see Kerry S. Grant, *Dr. Burney as critic and historian of music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) 49.

the *Memoirs of the life of the late George Frideric Handel*, a substantial work of biography and criticism.²⁶ Its appearance in the spring of 1760 and the role of John Christopher Smith, Jr. in its creation suggest that it was meant as a publicity tool for the first post-Handel oratorio season. In 1763 John Brown's *Dissertation on the rise, union, and power . . . of poetry and music* (an ambitious specimen of old-fashioned historiography) concluded with a scheme of reforming Handelian oratorio.²⁷ Handel features prominently in Burney's *Tours*, either as a topic of discussion with foreign celebrities or as a yardstick of assessing musical development on the Continent.²⁸ The historiographical *annus mirabilis* of 1776 coincided with the institution of the "Concert of Antient Music", a hothouse of the Handelian cult.²⁹ Burney's *Account* of the Handel Commemoration Festival was the official chronicle of the monumental performances in Westminster Abbey.³⁰ With that same event Burney concludes his *History*,³¹ whose last volume also includes the monumental "Review of Handel's operas".³²

SUBJECT MATTER. British music historiography dealt not simply with the course of music through the ages, but also with the fluctuation of music's status in the previous two centuries. Modernists sought to highlight the achievements of their own age, to make evident how much music had advanced in recent decades, and to promote the new Italian style.³³ This was the incentive for Burney's celebrated tour. In *The present*

²⁶ [John Mainwaring], *Memoirs of the life of the late George Frederic Handel* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760; repr. ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1980).

²⁷ John Brown, *A dissertation on the rise, union, and power, the progressions, separations, and corruptions, of poetry and music. To which is prefixed, The Cure of Saul. A sacred ode* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1763) 232–38.

²⁸ "But it seems to be with the serious French opera here, as it is with our oratorios in England"; "But for this kind of music [i.e., sacred], that of Handel will, I believe, ever stand superior to all other writers; at least I have heard nothing yet on the continent of equal force and effect"; "[Farinelli] gave me an account of his first performance at court to his late majesty George the II. in which he was accompanied on the harpsichord by the princess royal, afterwards princess of Orange, who insisted on his singing two of Handel's songs at sight"; "With respect to a true oratorio chorus accompanied with instruments in the manner of Handel's, I heard but few all the time I was in Italy": Charles Burney, *The present state of music in France and Italy: Or, The journal of a tour through those countries, undertaken to collect materials for a general history of music* (London: T. Becket, 1771) 32, 157, 216, 365; "for [Gluck] is as formidable a character as Handel used to be: a very dragon, of whom all are in fear"; "[Gluck] went [to England] at a very disadvantageous period; Handel was then so high in fame, that no one would willingly listen to any other than to his compositions"; "Faustina . . . spoke much of Handel's great style of playing the harpsichord and organ when she was in England"; "[Wagenseil] has a great respect for Handel, and speaks of some of his works with rapture"; "[Gluck] is a great disciplinarian, and as formidable as Handel used to be, when at the head of a band"; "[Hasse] always spoke respectfully of Handel, as a player and writer of fugues, as well as for the ingenuity of his accompaniments, and the natural simplicity of his melody"; "In 1727 he [Quantz] arrived in London, where he found the opera in a very flourishing state, under the direction of Handel"; "I was particularly delighted with a chorus in [CPE Bach's *Passione*], which for modulation, contrivance, and effects, was at least equal to any one of the best choruses in Handel's immortal *Messiah*". Charles Burney, *The present state of music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 2 vols. (London: T. Becket, J. Robson, and G. Robinson, 1775) vol. 1, 259, 267, 320, 329, 344, 351; vol. 2, 187, 255–54 [reversed pagination].

²⁹ See William Weber, *The rise of musical classics in eighteenth-century England: A study in canon, ritual, and ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 173–77, 205, 248. Burney comments: "Here the productions of venerable old masters, particularly those of Purcell and Handel, are performed by a select and powerful band, with such correctness and energy, as the authors themselves never had the happiness to hear". Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 683.

³⁰ Charles Burney, *An account of the musical performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon . . . in commemoration of Handel* (London: For the Benefit of the Musical Fund, 1785).

³¹ "And such is the state of practical Music in this country, that the increase of performers [in the Handel festivals following the commemoration], instead of producing confusion, as might have been expected, has constantly been attended with superior excellence of execution". Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 683.

³² Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 222–436.

³³ Avison begins his *Essay on musical expression* thus: "As the public Inclination for Music seems every Day advancing, it may not be amiss, at this Time, to offer a few Observations on that delightful Art": Avison, *Essay*, 1. Even Hawkins admits that "the art of combining musical sounds is in general better understood at this time than ever" (Hawkins, *History*, vol. 5, 432). The attitude is not new, however. Jessie Ann Owens finds most of 16th- and 17th-century writers

state of music in France and Italy from 1771, he explains that “music was never in such high estimation, or so well understood as it is at present, all over Europe... no one of the liberal arts is at present so much cultivated, nor can the Italians now boast a superiority over the rest of Europe in any thing, so much as in their musical productions and performances.”³⁴

Antiquarians, by contrast, viewed this progress as unscientific and dangerous, driven as it was by unchecked innovation. Holding on to English and Continental masters of the past, they struggled to remind their contemporaries of music's perfection in the context of vocal polyphony and church tradition. William Hayes, for instance, titles his response to Avison in 1753 “REMARKS ON Mr. AVISON'S ESSAY ON MUSICAL EXPRESSION. WHEREIN The Characters of several great Masters... are rescued from the Misrepresentations of the above Author; and their real Merit asserted and vindicated.”³⁵ Other central statements can be found in Hawkins, particularly in *An account of the institution and progress of the Academy of Ancient Music* (1770) and the preliminary discourse in his *History*,³⁶ where he condemns “the almost total ignorance which prevails of the merits of most of the many excellent artists who flourished in the ages preceding our own.”³⁷ To make my suggestion fully transparent, the underlying historiographical concern at this period is not music's past in itself but rather the course that led to the art's current state of perfection or degeneracy, depending on which side one chooses.

When we perceive that the rise of music historiography in Britain was as much about the present as it was about the past, we are in a position to appreciate Handel's role in generating this discourse. Great artists leave long shadows and Handel is a dream of an example.³⁸ In the early specimens of British historiography, he is by far the most talked-about composer. Two of these, actually, are entirely devoted to his life, work, and legacy: the *Memoirs* of 1760 and the *Commemoration account* of 1784. Handel is a bone of contention in the Avison-Hayes debate and in Oliver Goldsmith's essay on national schools of music (1760).³⁹ His oeuvre receives extensive discussions in Hughes's *Remarks on music*, the bulky pamphlet *An examination of the oratorios* (1763), and John Potter's *Theatrical review* (1772), and becomes a target of reformation in John Brown's *Dissertation on... poetry and music*.⁴⁰ Hawkins's references to Handel run to more than 60 continuous pages, prompting a reviewer to call him “justly the hero of this

on music to generally value the music of the present more than that of the past. Jessie Ann Owens, “Music historiography and the definition of ‘Renaissance’”, *Notes: Quarterly journal of the Music Library Association* 47/2 (December 1990) 307.

³⁴ Burney, *France and Italy*, 2, 3.

³⁵ [William Hayes], *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on musical expression* (London: J. Robinson, 1753); see also his affirmation that, with regard to English cathedral music, “the further we look back, the more excellent the Composition will be found, and the most properly adapted to the sacred Purposes of Devotion”. Hayes, *Remarks*, 45.

³⁶ [John Hawkins], *An account of the institution and progress of the Academy of Ancient Music, with a comparative view of the music of the past and present times. By a member* (London: [?], 1770); Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, lxxiv–lxxix.

³⁷ Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, lxxvii.

³⁸ See Ellen T. Harris, “Handel's ghost: The composer's posthumous reputation in the eighteenth century”, *Companion to contemporary musical thought*, ed. by John Paynter, Tim Howell, Richard Orton, and Peter Seymour, 2 vols. (London; New York: Routledge, 1992) vol. 1, 208–25.

³⁹ See [Oliver Goldsmith], *The British magazine* 1 (1760) 74–76, 181–84; and Chrissochoidis, *Early reception*, vol. 1, 322–23.

⁴⁰ [?John Brown], *An examination of the oratorios which have been performed this season, at Covent-Garden Theatre* (London: G. Kearsley, R. Davis, and J. Walter, 1763); [John Potter], *The theatrical review; Or, New companion to the play-house* (London: S. Crowder, J. Wilkie and J. Walter, 1772) 2 vols.

work”.⁴¹ And the single largest chapter in Burney’s *History* concerns the London career of Handel as an opera composer.⁴² Perhaps we should not forget that Hawkins used Handel also as a primary source, beginning with his biographical sketch of Agostino Steffani probably from the 1750s,⁴³ when Handel had both the time and incentive to revisit past events.

SOCIAL CONTEXT. Handel qualified as a privileged historical subject in a number of ways. From a reception standpoint, Burney and Hawkins wrote for readers who were already positively inclined towards Handel.⁴⁴ Moreover, many who supported these historiographical projects were Handel partisans. Hawkins, a child of the Academy of Ancient Music, had social contacts with Handel and his circle,⁴⁵ and dedicated his *History* to George III, a professed Handelian.⁴⁶ Burney, too, received crucial help in his European Tour by Lord Sandwich,⁴⁷ who would later become the moving spirit of the Concert of Antient Music and the Handel Commemoration Festival.⁴⁸ It was Sandwich, actually, who passed on to the King Burney’s prospectus of a chronicle of the 1784 Festival.⁴⁹ Notwithstanding his modernism, Burney was too conscious of his social position to resist a decidedly pro-Handel audience.⁵⁰

MATERIAL CONDITIONS. Materially, too, Handel was the best match for the new type of empirical historiography. His prolific output and long presence in a vibrant public space formed rich documentary ground for historiographical discourse.⁵¹ The glamor and controversy he generated fill over 1500 pages in news stories, poems, and critical commentary.⁵² Hayes’s assertion of “his Works being almost out of Number” is not an

⁴¹ *The gentleman’s magazine* 47 (1777) 274.

⁴² Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 222–436.

⁴³ [John Hawkins], *Memoirs of the life of Sig. Agostino Steffani, some time master of the Electoral Chapel at Hanover, and afterwards Bishop of Spiga* ([London, ?1740–1758]).

⁴⁴ On 21 April 1784, John Stanley communicated to Charles Burney that “there is little reason to suppose that any other than M^r Handels Musick would succeed, as people in general are so partial to that, that no other Oratorios are ever Well Attended”. *The letters of Dr Charles Burney. I: 1751–1784*, ed. by Alvaro Ribeiro, S.J. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 417, n6.

⁴⁵ Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, biographical sketches and memoirs* (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1822) vol. 1, 195.

⁴⁶ “He hears no other Music if he can help it, & therefore knows every movement of Handel’s popular works”. Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 1 September 1784, in Burney, *Letters*, 437.

⁴⁷ “Lord Sandwich has been pleased to honour me with Letters to all our ministers & Consuls resident in the several Cities through which it is my design to pass”. Charles Burney to Count Firmian, 22 June 1772, Burney, *Letters*, 118–19. The Earl of Sandwich to James Harris, Jr., 8 June 1772. Burrows and Dunhill, *Handel’s world*, 677; see also letters to James Harris, Jr., from his father and from James Gray, 30 June and 3 July 1772. *Ibid.*, 678–79.

⁴⁸ See Weber, *Classics*, 149–51. In 1785 Horace Walpole marveled “at the Earl, who at our age can enter so warmly into any pursuits and find them amusing! It is pleasant to have such spirits, that after going through such busy political scenes, he can be diverted with carrying a white wand at Handel’s jubilee—and for two years together!” Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, Monday 20 June 1785, in *Horace Walpole’s correspondence with the Countess of Upper Ossory II*. The Yale edition of Horace Walpole’s correspondence, vol. 33, ed. by W.S. Lewis and A. Dayle Wallace (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1965) 468.

⁴⁹ See letter of Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 31 July 1784. Burney, *Letters*, 423–24.

⁵⁰ Grant, *Burney*, 243–44, 287–89.

⁵¹ “The long residence of Handel in this country, the great number of his compositions, and the frequent performance of them, enable us to form a competent judgment of his abilities”. Hawkins, *History*, vol. 5, 282. Historically, Josquin was the first composer whose reception benefitted from the print culture; see Jessie Ann Owens, “How Josquin became Josquin: Reflections on historiography and reception”, *Music in Renaissance cities and courts: Studies in honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. by Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1997) 271–80.

⁵² See Deutsch, *Handel*, revised as *Handel Handbuch. IV: Dokumente zu Leben und Schaffen*, ed. by Walter Eisen and Margret Eisen (Kassel; Basel; London: Bärenreiter, 1985), and Chrissochoidis, *Early reception*, 654–1432.

exaggeration.⁵³ An evaluative chart from 1776 gives Handel the highest score in the category of “quantity published or known”, 18/20, with the second highest mark being only 9/20.⁵⁴ Handel’s printed music before 1800 amounts to over 1500 items;⁵⁵ and Winton Dean estimates that the dramatic odes and oratorios of the composer received 586 performances during his lifetime alone.⁵⁶ When Avison offers musical examples, he chooses Handelian repertoire because “these Instances must also be most universally understood”.⁵⁷ Burney’s famous chapter on Italian opera in England would have been unthinkable without the author’s collection of early English newspapers.⁵⁸ But the increased coverage of music in the London press owed substantially to Handel.⁵⁹ By raising the stakes of musical life, he helped make it a visible sector of British culture, as it had never been before.⁶⁰

IDEOLOGY. Even ideologically, Handel was useful to modernists and antiquarians alike. For Hawkins, he formed a historiographical terminus in the development of music. He is the last of the masters who brought music to perfection. After him, music ceases to be a science and there is no reason to engage with it.⁶¹ Also, when in 1776 the founders of the Concert of Antient Music had to determine the minimum age of their performing repertoire, they settled on 20 years, a range sufficient enough to include the entire Handelian oeuvre.⁶² Burney, on the other hand, used Handel to dismiss the dusty old masters of Hawkins. With Handel’s oratorios and church music still popular, one can easily dispense with the awkward harmonies of John Blow, for instance. This might well explain Burney’s decision to engrave four pages with “Specimens of Dr. Blow’s Crudities” in his *History*.⁶³ In other words, Handel’s music was sufficiently old and dignified to supplant old English masters, but still popular enough to check modern trends.⁶⁴ It could serve both agendas for different reasons.

UTILITARIANISM. The novelty of producing historical accounts of music obliged many authors to explain their projects in terms of music’s social usefulness. Burney offers a comprehensive statement in the preface of his first *Tour*: “in England, perhaps more than in any other country, it is easy to point out the humane and important purposes to which [music] has been applied”. He cites as examples the benefit performances of *Messiah* for the Foundling Hospital and similar events for other public institutions.⁶⁵ Surely benefit concerts in England preceded Handel.⁶⁶ Yet it was his sacred music,

⁵³ Hayes, *Remarks*, 129.

⁵⁴ *The gentleman’s magazine* 46 (1776) 544.

⁵⁵ George J. Buelow, *A history of Baroque music* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004) 622, 32n.

⁵⁶ Winton Dean, *Handel’s dramatic oratorios and masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) 640.

⁵⁷ This note appears in the second edition of Avison’s *Essay on musical expression* (London: C. Davis, 1753) 65n.

⁵⁸ Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 194–532.

⁵⁹ And vice versa, as Handel’s reputation owed much to the rise of public space and the explosion of print culture in early 18th-century Britain.

⁶⁰ In the early part of his career, “Mr. Handel had gotten possession of the public ear, and the whole kingdom were forming their taste for harmony and melody by the standard of his compositions”. Hawkins, *History*, vol. 5, 196.

⁶¹ See Hawkins, *History*, vol. 5, 429–32.

⁶² Weber, *Classics*, 169.

⁶³ Burney, *History*, vol. 3, 449–52. See also Grant, *Burney*, 21 and 143.

⁶⁴ “Handel is more and more respected ... among eminent dilettanti”. Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 670.

⁶⁵ Burney, *France and Italy*, 4–5.

⁶⁶ See, for instance, the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy: Weber, *Classics*, 104–13; also, the Cavendish Weedon’s

oratorios, and personal performances that revitalized such events, socially and financially. This was the case in 1731, when his (“Utrecht”) *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* became a regular feature of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy;⁶⁷ in 1739, with the hugely successful performance of *Alexander’s Feast* for the fund to support deceased musicians and their families;⁶⁸ in 1742, with the historic premiere of *Messiah*;⁶⁹ and, of course, in the 1750s and beyond with the annual performances of the same oratorio for the Foundling Hospital.⁷⁰ Handel’s music attracted crowds and boosted revenue for charity concerts.⁷¹ The rise of music historiography in Britain was a response to the rise of music’s prestige, and for this last Handel had a large share of responsibility, certainly the largest among contemporary composers.

NATIONAL FAME. The use of the phrase “general history” in the titles of Hawkins’s and Burney’s projects should not obscure their Anglocentricism. These narratives were written by native historians for an English audience and bore dedications to British monarchs (the King and the Queen, respectively).⁷² Their national significance cannot be underestimated. For example, about 60% of volumes 3 and 4 in Burney’s *History* are dedicated to music in England.⁷³ In this context, the national identity of Handel is particularly significant. He was born in Germany, found glory in Italy, and came to England as a celebrated master of the Italian style. The Hanoverian succession in 1714 put his career in a unique trajectory, as he represented Continental influence in a multinational kingdom ruled by a foreign dynasty. On the one hand, he was living proof of London’s power to attract foreign talent; on the other, he legitimized the Hanoverian monarchy through music whose appeal is still felt hundreds of years later (e.g., “Zadok the Priest”, *Music for the royal fireworks*). His heavy accent and rough manners were tokens of a foreign background, yet his *Te Deums*, royal anthems, oratorios, and odes revitalized English music.

This dual position of Handel generated vital critical discourse. Well after his naturalization, in 1727, the composer was still treated as an outsider. In 1733 Dr. Hearne censured the participation in the Oxford Act of “One Handel, a foreigner (who, they

monthly concerts: Ruth Smith, *Handel’s oratorios and eighteenth-century thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 160–67.

⁶⁷ “[T]he Collection... is very near double what has been given in any other year”: *The country journal: Or, The craftsman*, Saturday 27 February 1731, [2]. See also Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 98.

⁶⁸ See the report in *The London daily post, and general advertiser*, Thursday 22 March 1739, [1].

⁶⁹ See the report in *George Faulkner. The Dublin journal*, Tuesday 13 – Saturday 17 April 1742, [2].

⁷⁰ Hayes asserts, “As a moral, good, and charitable Man, let Infants, not only those who feel the Effects of his Bounty, but even such who are yet unborn, chaunt forth his Praise, whose annual Benefaction to an Hospital for the Maintenance of the *Forsaken, the Fatherless, and those who have none to help them*, will render HIM and his MESSIAH, truly Immortal and crowned with Glory”. Hayes, *Remarks*, 130.

⁷¹ By 1761 Handel was considered to be the third “greatest benefactor” of the Foundling Hospital. Frederick Kielmansegge, *Diary of a journey to England in the years 1761–1762*, trans. by Countess Kielmansegge (London; New York; Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902) 87.

⁷² “[a]lmost every country in Europe that has cultivated the polite arts, has, since the revival of learning, produced a history of Music, except our own... I knew that a history of Music was wanted by my countrymen”. Burney, *History*, vol. 1, iv, v.

⁷³ Volume 3 has 622 numbered pages. Of these, 370 describe the state of English music since Henry VIII. Burney offered a lion’s share to Elizabethan music “for the honour of our country; as I fear no other period will be found in which we were so much on a level with the rest of Europe, in musical genius and learning” (Burney, *History*, vol. 3, 149). Of the 685 numbered pages in volume 4, 406 are devoted to English music history, including the progress of Italian opera in London.

say, was born in Hanover)".⁷⁴ Another Oxfordian, several years later, urged "Let *British* verse and harmony content!" instead of having English music controlled by Handel, who "careless of a foreign fame, / Fix[es] on our shore, and boast[s] a *Briton's* name".⁷⁵ When in 1753 William Hayes attacked Avison for not counting Handel as an English composer, he got the reply: "Is Mr HANDEL an *Englishman*? Is his very Name *English*? Was his Education *English*?"⁷⁶ The same topic resurfaced in 1760 in the aptly named *British magazine*. This time, however, the order of positions changed. Placing Handel at the head of the English School, Oliver Goldsmith elicited a reaction that the composer had remained a German to the end of his life.⁷⁷ Goldsmith's defense is characteristic of the changing attitudes to the composer: "Handel was originally a German; but, by a long continuance in England, he might have been looked upon as naturalized to the country... Handel in a great measure found in England those essential differences which characterize his music."⁷⁸ The simplistic view of Handel as a cultural intruder/savior, one that reflected the Tory/Whig political division, gave way to an image of productive reciprocity. A German composer had shaped much of English musical life in the first half of the century; but Britain, too, had transformed his musical outlook, leading him from Italian opera to English oratorio. Thus, Handel offered an exemplary case of how British culture could absorb foreign influence; and this was a critical attribute for a rising Empire. To the extent that the *General histories* of Burney and Hawkins were meant to be British intellectual monuments of the late 18th century, Handel was an ideal subject.

Finally, Handel qualified as a British icon not only on artistic grounds but also because of his life narrative.⁷⁹ Biographers stress his independence, hard work ethics, solid Protestantism, and philanthropy, all of which were understood as defining attributes of a Briton. His career path of gradual disengagement from aristocratic patronage and Italophile nobility paralleled England's liberation from Catholicism. Above all, his painful release from London's Italian opera could easily serve as a metaphor for Britain's conflict with Catholic Powers.⁸⁰ When Hayes refers to Handel as "The Man, who hath so bravely withstood the repeated Efforts of *Italian Forces*", he recognizes a British hero.⁸¹ And celebrating heroes was one of the major objectives of historical biography at that time.⁸²

I began this essay with the seemingly off-topic link between Britain's political failures and intellectual vitality in 1776. Another such link will conclude my discussion

⁷⁴ Hearne's Diary, Thursday 5 July 1733. *Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed. by H. E. Salter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921) vol. 11, 224.

⁷⁵ "On our late taste in musick", *The gentleman's magazine* 10 (1740) 520.

⁷⁶ [Charles] Avison, *A reply to the author of remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression in a letter from Mr Avison to his friend in London* (London: C. Davis, 1753) 45.

⁷⁷ *The British magazine* 1 (1760) 74–76, 181–84.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁷⁹ See Chrissochoidis, *Early reception*, vol. 2., 589–602, 608–11.

⁸⁰ For this critical stage in Handel's career, see Carole Taylor, "Handel's disengagement from the Italian Opera", *Handel: Tercentenary collection*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London: Macmillan, 1987) 43–60. The role of warfare in shaping British national identity is explored in Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁸¹ Hayes, *Remarks*, 129.

⁸² The editor of *Biographia Britannica* (1747), for instance, defined his project as "a BRITISH TEMPLE OF HONOUR, sacred to the piety, learning, valour, publick-spirit, loyalty, and every other glorious virtue of our ancestors, and ready also for the reception of the WORTHIES of our OWN TIME, and the HEROES of POSTERITY": *Biographia Britannica: Or, The lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, down to the present times... volume the first* (London: W. Innys, et al., 1747) viii.

of British music historiography, a subject that I consider wonderfully open-ended. In 1550 Giorgio Vasari opened a new chapter in the intellectual history of Europe with *Le vite* of Italian artists.⁸³ Biographical accounts were no longer the privilege of kings, generals, politicians, or saints. Artists, too, were entitled to historical preservation. Two centuries and a quarter later, music got its own wide historiographical recognition. It did so thanks to the contributions of exceptional musicians, because, in Hawkins's phrasing, "the lives of the professors of arts are in some sort a history of the arts themselves".⁸⁴ Of these, no one had as deep and lasting influence on a modern society than George Frideric Handel.⁸⁵ To say that the rise of music historiography in Britain owed directly to Handel may sound an exaggeration. But if Vasari's *Le vite* was unthinkable without Michelangelo,⁸⁶ are we sure we can imagine the *Histories* of Hawkins and Burney without the colossal legacy of Handel?⁸⁷

⁸³ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (Firenze: [Lorenzo Torrentino], 1550); an expanded version appeared in 1568, whose life of Michelangelo was extracted as an offprint titled *La vita del gran Michelagnolo*. For its significance, see Lisa Pon, "Michelangelo's lives: Sixteenth-century books by Vasari, Condivi, and others", *The sixteenth century journal* 27/4 (1996) 1015–37.

⁸⁴ Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, preface, [6]; in a survey of music writing during the Renaissance, Jessie Ann Owens finds that "Many of the writers identify a particular composer as a hero responsible for bringing music to its present state of perfection and correcting the abuses of the past." Owens, "Historiography", 309.

⁸⁵ And not only in Britain. Michael Kelly relates that, during his sojourn in Vienna, Gluck showed him "a full-length picture of Handel, in a rich frame. 'There, Sir,' said he, 'is the portrait of the inspired master of our art; when I open my eyes in the morning, I look upon him with reverential awe, and acknowledge him as such, and the highest praise is due to your country for having distinguished and cherished his gigantic genius'." Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ed. by Roger Fiske (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) 129.

⁸⁶ For Vasari's treatment of Michelangelo, see Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and history* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995) 183–84. Among composers, Josquin was the first to be compared with Michelangelo, by Cosimo Bartoli in 1567. Owens, "Historiography", 310–11; following Handel's death, Burney reserved this link for Gluck: Kelly, *Reminiscences*, 130.

⁸⁷ There is a strong current of influence between art history, Vasari in particular, and British music historiography. Avison's *Essay on musical expression* includes a separate section on the analogy between music and painting, which elicits an impressive reaction from William Hayes: Avison, *Essay* [1752], 23–31; Hayes, *Remarks*, 21–32. Hawkins draws on the history of painting to legitimize his project: "a retrospect to the musical productions of past ages is no such absurdity, as that a curious enquirer need decline it. No man scruples to do the like in painting: the connoisseurs are as free in remarking the excellencies of Raphael, Titian, Domenichino, and Guido, as in comparing succeeding artists with them". Hawkins, *History*, vol. 1, lxxix. Available in English at least by 1719 (William Aglionby, *Choice observations upon the art of painting. Together with Vasari's Lives of the most eminent painters* [London: R. King, 1719]), Vasari's *Le vite* had a considerable influence on the genesis of the two *General histories*. According to Hawkins's daughter, the "History of Music" begun... on the instigation of Horace Walpole...". Hawkins, *Anecdotes*, 143. Walpole was the compiler of *A catalogue of engravers, who have been born, or resided in England* (Strawberry-Hill: [?], 1763) and the multi-volume *Anecdotes of painting in England* (Strawberry-Hill: Thomas Kirgate, 1765–1771), and considered himself a disciple of Vasari (see his letter to Richard Bentley, Sunday 23 February 1755, in *Horace Walpole's correspondence with... Richard Bentley...* The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, vol. 35, ed. by W.S. Lewis and A. Dayle Wallace (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 207–08. Burney took direct inspiration from Vasari. In a letter to William Mason from 27 May 1770, he cites *Le vite* claiming to "see no reason why the life of an eminent musician should not afford as much entertainment as that of a Painter" and compares the entertainment value of da Vinci's life to that of Farinelli's: Grant, *Burney*, 49–50. Both Vasari and Leonardo are mentioned in his *History* (Burney, *History*, vol. 4, 81; *History*, vol. 3, 150). Coincidence or not, finally, the *Handel Memoirs* appeared the same year as the first modern edition of Vasari's biography of Michelangelo (an offprint of the 1568 edition of *Le vite*): Pon, "Michelangelo", 1035.

HUGO WOLF AND THE “EVOLUTION” OF THE LIED

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Music histories uniformly herald Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, and Wolf as the masters of the 19th-century lied, but these four composers are not accorded the same level of praise. Wolf is typically credited with perfecting an expressive language that surpasses that of his predecessors. For example, Eric Sams, one of most frequently cited lied scholars of the 20th century, states: “The Wolfian lied... continued the Schubertian tradition, culminating in a complete theatre of the mind, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* for voice and piano.”¹ Because Wolf is seen as transferring the Wagnerian idiom to the lied and as developing a highly expressive, dissonant tonal language, he is often lauded as an innovator, and much of his success at text-setting is attributed to his use of through-composed structures. Ernest Newman, a Wagnerian and one of Wolf’s fiercest champions, asserts: “every page [of Wolf’s songs] looks different from the others; Wolf, it can be seen, applies a different treatment to each song. There are no formulas, no clichés, either in the voice or the accompaniment. The reason was that Wolf saturated himself with the poems he set as no songwriter ever did before.”² These overwhelmingly positive assessments of Wolf’s lieder have been perpetuated by most 20th-century historians. But a closer examination of the literature and of Wolf’s music itself reveals that these conclusions rely on songs in the Mörike and Goethe collections, and that some of his other works, especially those in the *Italienisches Liederbuch*, show a composer approaching lieder in rather different and more traditional ways, often allowing for a looser fusion of text and music. This unambiguous reliance on traditional song forms and lyrical and tonal gestures ultimately leads one to question how the history of the lied is framed and whether the popular teleological approach, seeking out works that demonstrate ever more intricate linkages between the text and music, is the best way to understand the genre or Wolf’s output. In order to demonstrate the need to consider Wolf’s traditional-style songs in more detail and their relationship to the history of the lied, I will concentrate on some of the formal issues in the *Italienisches Liederbuch*, emphasizing the passages in which

¹ Eric Sams, “Lied. IV: The Romantic lied”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) vol. 10, 844.

² Ernest Newman, *Hugo Wolf* (London: Methuen & Co., 1907; repr., New York: Dover, 1966) 179.

traditional formal structures in the music are at odds with the meaning or structure of the words in “Wohl kenn’ ich Eueren Stand” (no. 29).

Wolf’s last songbook comprises settings of Italian folk songs translated into German by Paul Heyse. Wolf set the first 22 between 1890 and 1891, and the remaining 24 in one of his last outpourings in 1896. Lied scholars have often acknowledged that these pieces rely on repeated gestures and song forms, and that in some the word-music relationship seems to be looser than in the songs of the earlier volumes. By the time Wolf began this collection his health had already begun to decline, and some writers have interpreted his repeated use of set forms, particularly in volume two, as evidence that his health was impacting his compositions. Although this cannot be discounted, whether he used traditional song forms as a creative crutch or as a creative experiment, many of the resulting lieder are quite beautiful and contain passages demonstrating his sensitive treatments of the texts and his compositional skill. Wolf was just as pleased with these settings as he was with others, and in 1891 he joyfully wrote to his close friend and supporter Emil Kauffmann declaring the works he had completed so far to be “the most original and artistically consummate” he had ever written. When Kauffmann reviewed the first volume of these songs he similarly praised not only their beauty but also their originality.³ Such claims were not unusual for either Wolf or Kauffmann, but what is unusual is that Wolf also described some of the Italian songs as absolute music, and suggested that they could be played by a string quartet.⁴ That a lied should be absolute music represents a completely new position for Wolf and perhaps even a rejection of Wagnerian aesthetics. In his earlier years as a music critic and unabashed supporter of Wagner, Wolf had enjoyed lampooning the lieder of Brahms as absolute music because he claimed Brahms ignored the words.⁵ Wolf himself did not comment on this ironic swerve, and while almost all commentaries on the *Italienisches Liederbuch* have acknowledged the accuracy of Wolf’s epithet they have neither investigated the “absolute” characteristics, nor sought to understand the implications this reversal has for histories of the genre. Typically, scholars agree with Wolf’s idea that many pieces in the second part of the Italian songbook could be played by a string quartet.⁶ Frank Walker, the author of the first critical monograph on Wolf, is just one of the writers to concur, and he cites the contrapuntal nature of one song, “Wohl kenn’ ich Eueren Stand”, to demonstrate the point. But rather than exploring this issue further, he emphasizes that even in these types of songs Wolf’s keen interpretations of the words are evident, and he attests that “the idea of Wolf as absolute musician is, indeed almost inconceivable.”⁷

One of the chief means of examining music described as absolute is to consider its form. But in discussions of Wolf’s songs, form is often deemphasized or not mentioned at all. The volumes on the lied by Brody and Fowkes and, more recently, Stein and

³ As cited by Frank Walker, *Hugo Wolf: A biography* (2nd ed.; New York: Knopf, 1968; repr. ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 296. Emil Kauffmann, review of Wolf *Italienisches Liederbuch I*, *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 24/28 (6 July 1893) 399.

⁴ Walker, *Hugo Wolf*, 392.

⁵ I explore some of the issues involving Wolf’s criticisms of Brahms’s lieder and their subsequent influence in “Hugo Wolf and the reception of Brahms’s lieder”, *Brahms studies* 2, ed. by David Brodbeck (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) 91–111.

⁶ Sams, “Lied. IV”, 843. Sams notes that such textures had already appeared in the Mörke volume and were in part due to the composer’s linear thinking, which had been influenced by his very early choral pieces. See also Susan Youens, *Hugo Wolf: The vocal music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 124–25.

⁷ Walker, *Hugo Wolf*, 392.

Spillman are the only ones that note the form of each Wolf piece they discuss.⁸ In most other analyses of individual songs the large-scale form is neglected in favor of descriptions of individual measures and their relationship to the text. In more general surveys of Wolf's output, form is usually explained by a mere statement that many of the songs are through composed, and this conclusion is also frequently repeated during discussions of Brahms's use of strophic forms, which is usually seen as less successful. For example, Lorraine Gorrell concludes the following:

Coherent formal organization is basic to Brahms's songs, just as it is characteristic of his writing in general. Although he constantly sought to create variety in his songs, Brahms channeled this variety into recognizable forms, particularly the strophic variation and ABA forms. Brahms does not express the nuance of every word in his settings, and therefore fewer of his songs are through composed than are those of his contemporary Hugo Wolf.⁹

Such statements perpetuate the idea that Brahms relied on abstract musical structures and ignored the words, while Wolf freely responded to every detail in a poem. Although these types of conclusions praise Wolf's attention to the text, they also tend to deemphasize or even ignore his employment of traditional sectional forms and his skillful organization and development of musical motives—a trend in Wolf scholarship to which I will return.

Reinhard Strehl completed the only study devoted to the forms in Wolf's lieder in 1964, and one of his most surprising findings is that through-composed songs only slightly outnumber those in binary or ternary forms.¹⁰ Strehl's work, however, is rarely cited, perhaps because his classifications are problematic, with a number of pieces being placed under more than one of the formal rubrics. Although this reflects real ambiguities in Wolf's music it does not make for a convincing statistical analysis.¹¹ Furthermore, Strehl's definitions of forms, particularly bar form, are quite loose and allow for significant changes in melodic contour and harmony in sections that are normally literal repeats. Nevertheless, his conclusion is worth considering, especially as my own survey of Wolf's lieder, despite significant differences in the classification of individual songs, demonstrated the same type of importance of traditional sectional forms.

Monographs and dissertations on Wolf's lieder do mention his use of binary and ternary forms, but this is often done in introductory generalizations about the composer's style and is not fully explored in discussions of specific pieces. Paul Boylan, for example, observes that Wolf's piano parts often develop independently from the text-shaped vocal line, forming binary or ternary structures that are not always determined by the original poems. Nevertheless, this observation does not prevent Boylan from labeling Wolf's lieder as the "Zenith of the German art song."¹² That other commentators have

⁸ Elaine Brody and Robert A. Fowkes, *The German lied and its poetry* (New York: New York University Press, 1971) chapter 8. Deborah Stein and Robert Spillman, *Poetry into song: Performance and analysis of lieder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁹ Lorraine Gorrell, *The nineteenth-century German lied* (Portland, Or.: Amadeus, 1993) 268.

¹⁰ Reinhold Strehl, *Die musikalische Form bei Hugo Wolf* (Ph.D. diss., University of Göttingen, 1964).

¹¹ Strehl was writing in the 1960s prior to the time that music theorists enjoyed discussing ambiguities, thus it is not surprising that he did not adequately address this issue. More recent theorists, however, have also ignored the topic. Many have focused on the ambiguities in the large-scale forms of such canonic composers as Beethoven and Brahms, but they have been less interested in small genres. Theorists who have studied ambiguities in Wolf's lieder usually concentrate on harmonies and not form.

¹² Paul Boylan, *The lieder of Hugo Wolf: Zenith of the German art song* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1968)

avoided exploring the organization of Wolf's musical ideas is because of important preconceptions of Wolf and biases in recent methodologies. Large-scale organization has been avoided because Wolf's employment of traditional structures and techniques might negate his importance as an innovator who worked spontaneously. More recently, formal structures have been deemphasized because writers favor hermeneutic or neo-Riemannian approaches to explaining Wolf's (innovative) harmonies. (This consistent emphasis on innovation is ultimately due to the influence of the New German School, and because through-composition can produce unique forms it meshes with the aesthetics of this School much more easily than the tradition-entrenched sectional forms or strophic variation.)

Many of the pieces in the *Italienisches Liederbuch* are among the shortest that Wolf wrote, as they set a single stanza of six to eight lines. Although 13 of them are through composed, 30 are either binary or ternary. Approximately 50% of these sectional pieces begin with a repeated phrase or period. The length of the repeated material and whether the vocal line repeats as well as the piano varies with each song. Most of these pieces are remarkably tonal, and some of their vocal lines are among the most lyrical Wolf wrote.

Predictably, the ternary songs use all or part of the initial repeated material in their third and final sections, and similarly, some of the binary songs recapitulate part of their initial repeated strains in the postludes. In some cases these concluding recollections as well as the repeats at the start of the songs are not directly related to the original poems, and as a result they contradict the popular assessments of Wolf's songs as being text-driven. Moreover, these structures are tied to specific types of tonal and lyrical idioms. That Wolf employed this combination so frequently in the *Italienisches Liederbuch* suggests that he was using some of Heyses's poems to explore the ways to compress traditional tonal elements, lyrical melodies and adventurous harmonies into small-scale forms. In some ways this is akin to Beethoven's late experiments with compressed forms in his Bagatelles. As others have noted, Wolf deliberately drew attention to the size of the

songs in this collection by placing "Auch kleine Dinge" first. In ternary form, this song has the same structural and stylistic features I described above. Perhaps it is this emphasis on structure that Wolf was acknowledging when he described some of the Italian songs as resembling absolute music. "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand", which Walker and others have described as absolute music, demonstrates some of these ideas.¹³

Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand

(*Italienisches Liederbuch*, no. 29)

Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand, der nich gering.
Ihr brauchtet nicht so tief herabzusteigen,
Zu lieben solch ein arm und niedrig Ding,
Da sich vor Euch die Allerschönsten neigen.
Die schönsten Männer leicht besieget Ihr,
Drum weiß ich wohl, Ihr treibt nur Spiel mit mir.
Ihr spottet mein, man hat mich warnen wollen,
Doch ach, Ihr seid so schön! Wer kann Euch grollen?¹⁴

392 and elsewhere. Boylan is also one of the first scholars to draw attention to Wolf's formal ambiguities, but even he does it in a limited way. In most cases he attributes the ambiguity to Wolf's interest in representing the poem: "In der Frühe' demonstrates Wolf's ability to fashion a through-composed musical structure which creates an aural illusion of binary form.... This compositional device serves to underscore the intrinsic unity of the poem and, at the same time, be responsive to the shift in poetic mood" (p. 104).

¹³ Walker, *Hugo Wolf*, 392.

¹⁴ "I know well your station in life, which is no mean one. You had no need to descend so low as to love so poor and lowly a creature, when the handsomest of all must bow before you. You easily surpassed even the most handsomest men, so I know all too well that you are only trifling with me. You are mocking me, as people tried to warn me; but oh, you are so handsome! Who could be angry with you?" Translation after Eric Sams, *The songs of Hugo Wolf* (London: Methuen,

The song begins by firmly establishing the tonic, C major, with a parallel period in which the voice and piano begin simultaneously. The first phrase ends in m. 4 on a dominant minor ninth, which allows for a strong return to the tonic at the opening of the next phrase. The contrary motion within the piano part, the prominent leaps in the vocal line, and the contrasting dynamics all depict the opposing social positions of the man and his lowly admirer. The suspensions, passing dissonances, and gentle lyricism, particularly in the piano part, depict both the woman's love and her unease. Beginning in m. 5, the piano repeats its first two measures and then alters the second two to lead away from the tonic. The modal mixture and the dissonances at the cadence in m. 8 capture the women's quandary: She is impressed by the man's handsome features but threatened that other women of higher standing also admire him. By contrast, the music in mm. 5–6 does not so neatly mesh with the text. There is nothing in Heyses's poem that prompts the repetitions of the piano's first two measures. Moreover, a reading of the original poem would keep the second and third lines together, whereas Wolf separates them by placing rests in the vocal line and emphasizing the beginning of the third by bringing back the piano's initial melody.

Langsam und breit. (♩ = 56)

Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand, der nicht ge-ring, Ihr brauch-tet nicht so tief —

f (*sehr ausdrucksvoll*)

p

— her-ab zu stei-gen, zu lie-ben solch ein arm- und nie-drig Ding

molto cresc.

1. Hugo Wolf, "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand", mm. 1–6.

The second half of the song begins with an immediate move towards flatter, softer keys, and with further developments of the triplet neighbor motive from m. 8. Although the woman is enraptured she knows she is being toyed with, and she states this in an angular melodic line in m. 12. Nevertheless, in the following phrase, she teasingly professes she cannot resist the man. Wolf could have quickly moved back to the tonic by

resolving the first-inversion dominant seventh in m. 13 to F and then using it as a pivot to return to the C-major tonic. Instead he slides toward A^b major. With appropriate pauses, a melodic climax, and chromatic harmonies, he captures the breath-taking effect of the man. As the woman throws off her reservations and confesses, “Who could be angry with you?”, the melody rapidly plunges an octave, emphasizing the minor third. This descent and the piano’s gradual progression to a hanging dominant seventh do not correspond to the woman’s bravado that Heyses’s text conveys; rather Wolf portrays the pain and heartache she will feel when she is thrown aside.

Ihr spot - tet mein, man hat mich war - nen wol - len, doch ach, Ihr seid so schön!

Wer kann Euch gro - len?

(sehr ausdrucksvoll)

2. Hugo Wolf, “Wohl kenn’ ich Eueren Stand”, mm. 13–18.

After two beats of silence, the piano’s postlude loudly brings back the tonic and a variant of the first phrase. While the associated contrary motion might refer to the woman’s mixed emotions, the successively shorter motivic repetitions in the tenor line along with the A^b in the final measure seem to depict her disappointment and sorrow on being rejected. But what does the return itself signify? Is it that Wolf breaks away from foreshadowing the woman’s doom to rejoin her reverie? But how can she return to her initial state, with the exact same expressive markings, after the painful collapse in m. 16? If Wolf’s interpretation of the poem has any validity, surely he would have been better to break off on a dissonance and either end without a postlude, or with one that slowly restores the tonic major. Perhaps one could understand Wolf’s postlude as a framing device used by a narrator who recounts the story as a warning to others. But if that were the case there would probably be a prelude to establish the frame.

The first issue I want to emphasize is the contradiction between the traditional parallel period in the piano and the first three lines of text. This type of phrase structure, and a related one in which the entire first phrase or period is repeated, has been used for centuries. It accounts for the first half of pieces in bar form and it appears in numerous lieder depicting serenades, which may be in binary or ternary form. For example, both Brahms’s “Ständchen” (op. 14, no. 7) and Schumann’s (op. 36, no. 2) have this structure. In such cases the first strain of music is literally repeated. By contrast, Wolf frequently writes a new melodic line over the repeated material in the piano. He uses this type of varied repetition more frequently in the *Italienisches Liederbuch* than in

his other collections, and, due to the small size of these pieces, the repeated material is often a phrase, rather than a complete period. These pieces are often (though not always) tonally stable and in a major key. Wolf's lieder prior to the Italian songbook that exhibit these tonal and formal characteristics, including "Der Musikant" and "Das Ständchen" (*Gedichte von Joseph von Eichendorff*, nos. 2 and 4), are often much longer, and consequently their opening phrases are not such a dominating influence. Although in some cases the repetitions within the parallel period can be related to repeated words, as in Brahms's "Ständchen", in many others, including lieder by Schumann, there is no textual relationship.

The other passage in which the text and music seem to be at odds occurs during the last line of text and the subsequent return of the opening material in the postlude. In order for the song to be a coherent structure, the tonally stable first half has to be balanced by a tonally stable conclusion. In some cases, as in "Auch kleine Dinge", Wolf successfully achieved this balance by returning to the tonic and a variant of the opening material for the singer's last phrase. But in "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand" he anticipates the woman's painful response to rejection (which is not in Heysé's text) and uses a dissonant last phrase for the voice. As a result, the tonic does not reappear until the postlude. Although this conclusion certainly reestablishes the tonic and balances the first half of the song, the poem does not suggest such a return, nor does it suggest the associated abrupt change in mood. Wolf frequently makes use of ternary structures or employs fragments of the first part of a song in the postlude, but usually this can be linked to the text. This is particularly the case in traditional serenades to a woman at a window or similar songs in which a loved one comes into view and then departs. In "Ihr jungen Leute" (*Italienisches Liederbuch*, no. 16) a young girl asks soldiers to help her innocent man through the trials of battle. The accompaniment is full of military sounds, and the tonic postlude repeats the accompaniment of the original vocal phrase with a diminuendo and a final varied echo repetition. This song also employs the same type of varied repetition in its opening section as "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand", but the significant difference is it returns to the tonic and the opening material before the postlude. Schumann's "Ständchen" (op. 36, no. 2) is somewhat closer to "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand" in that it is not in ternary form, but its final line of text is set to a dominant prolongation and the last word coincides with the arrival of the tonic. The following postlude combines the bass line of the opening with recollections of the concluding melodic material, which represent the loved one's calls. Heysé's poem "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand" does not closely resemble the serenade genre to which these other songs belong, and therefore perhaps should not have prompted Wolf to employ this musical form. Furthermore, none of the other songs cited above exhibit the same type of disjunction in mood between the music for the last lines of text and the return of the opening music, which is so troubling in Wolf's setting.¹⁵

¹⁵ One other somewhat puzzling aspect of *Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand* is the main key—C major. According to Sams, Wolf often used this key "for plainness and directness of character or expression", as in *Der Soldat I* from the Eichendorff songbook (*The songs of Hugo Wolf*, 12). As Youens has observed, the opening and the very end of *Ein Ständchen Euch zu bringen* (*Italienisches Liederbuch*, no. 22), which is a comic serenade, also employ the directness of C (*Hugo Wolf: The vocal music*, 135). By contrast, it is not so easy to interpret the C major of *Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand*. Perhaps it refers to the woman who initially describes herself as a poor humble creature. But in Heysé's poem this woman turns out to be a more sophisticated type, who might only use C ironically.

The structures I have been discussing also occur in 19th-century piano music, including in some miniatures by the composers Wolf admired—Beethoven, Schumann, and Chopin. This relationship to Chopin is made even more significant by *Mein Liebster singt am Haus* (*Italienisches Liederbuch*, no. 20). In addition to its form, this lied employs Chopin's styles of piano figuration, melodic ornamentation, and ambiguous and shifting phrase structures. It also raises the same types of questions regarding the text-music relationships as I described in *Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand*: The second period begins with material from the opening, even though the words do not prompt a repetition; and the piano postlude recapitulates the opening material with the traditional fading serenade departure, but does not reflect the emotional pain described immediately before.¹⁶ Most piano miniatures, however, are like Wolf's earlier songs: They are longer than the songs in Wolf's Italian collection and do not include the type of sudden pronounced tonicizations or dissonances immediately prior to the return of the tonic that Wolf employs.

Traditional views of Wolf's compositional process do not lend support to my thesis that Wolf used some of the short texts in the Italian songbook to explore the abstract, or absolute, problem of how to manipulate a traditional song form in a compressed space while using expressive dissonances and a tonal framework. For example, Boylan writes,

Interior structural logic within [Wolf's] songs was not his goal as a musical craftsman. Rather, the combination and interaction of the musical elements which generate structure were to emerge naturally from the sense and meaning of the poetry and resulted in a unique and individualized structure for each song he was to compose.¹⁷

Still others prefer to emphasize the composer's own repeated claims that he worked in an inspired flash. However, more recent studies would seem to support my hypothesis. These include Margaret Jestremski's and Susan Youens's publications on Wolf's sketches and compositional process; Martin Just's on Wolf's reliance on small models or motives; and Hans Eppstein's study showing how Wolf's piano parts were composed before the vocal lines.¹⁸ These authors portray Wolf as carefully crafting his music, at times concentrating more on its structure than on the text. Attacking the question of Wolf's compositional process from another angle, Jestremski has also raised serious questions as to whether historians have correctly interpreted the letters in which Wolf reports composing or finishing pieces in amazingly short periods of time.¹⁹

That Wolf was thinking of the music's form while composing the *Italienisches Liederbuch* is further suggested by one of the shortest pieces in the collection, "Nicht länger kann ich singen" (no. 42). In this song Wolf portrays a serenader who uses the

¹⁶ I explored this song in greater detail in my paper "Brahms, Wolf, and the girls," *Musikologica Austriaca* 26 (2007) 113–24.

¹⁷ Boylan, *The lieder of Hugo Wolf*, 47.

¹⁸ Margret Jestremski, *Hugo Wolf Skizzen und Fragmente: Untersuchung zur Arbeitsweise* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002), see especially pp. 281–315; Susan Youens, "The song sketches of Hugo Wolf," *Current musicology* 40 (1990) 5–37; Martin Just "Modellrepetition in Hugo Wolfs Mörike-Liedern," *Liedstudien: Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martin Just and Reinhard Wiesend (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1989) 403–40; Hans Eppstein, "Zum Problem von Hugo Wolfs Liedästhetik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 46/1 (1989) 70–85.

¹⁹ Jestremski's theses have not been accepted by a number of senior Wolf scholars who continue to favor the idea of Wolf composing impulsively. This was particularly clear during the questions following Jestremski's paper at the Internationales Hugo Wolf Symposium in Slovenj Gradec, on 6 November 2003. Leopold Spitzer, who has contributed to the editorial work for the *Wolf Gesamtausgabe* and who has investigated the manuscript sources of Wolf's *Corregidor*, was one of the critics, and he also reviewed Jestremski's book in the *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 59/2 (2004) 72–73.

type of form I discussed above in which traditional structures are not an exact fit for the poem. As in "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand", the first two measures are repeated at the beginning of the second phrase, which then modulates. A mere two measures later, in m. 11, Wolf abruptly introduces breaks in both the vocal line and the piano, and then returns to the tonic and restates the opening phrase in both the piano and voice. The voice part breaks off in the third measure and, typically for Wolf, ends on a dissonance; the piano continues alone and varies the original fourth measure to include a final authentic cadence, with a ritard and fade. The rests prior to the final phrase disrupt the text, which runs on from the previous line, and the only justification for the repetition itself is the idea of the man's continuing lonely musings.

Nicht länger kann ich singen
(*Italienisches Liederbuch*, no. 42)

Nicht länger kann ich singen, denn der Wind
Weht stark und macht dem Atem was zu schaffen.
Auch fürcht' ich, daß die Zeit umsonst verrinnt.
Ja wär' ich sicher, ging' ich jetzt nicht schlafen
Ja wüßt' ich was, würd' ich nicht heim spazieren
Und einsam diese schöne Zeit verlieren.²⁰

3. Hugo Wolf, "Nicht länger kann ich singen", mm. 10–14.

Wolf himself jubilantly reported to Melanie Köchert that he (and not Heyse) deliberately paired this song with the subsequent one, "Schweig' einmal still".²¹ In this second song we learn that the serenader's loved one finds his music intolerable. Both songs are in A minor and variants of the opening motive of "Nicht länger" are used throughout "Schweig' einmal still". Ultimately it is these variants that musically depict the woman's closing insult.

Schweig' einmal still
(*Italienisches Liederbuch*, no. 43)

Schweig' einmal still, du garst'ger Schwätzer dort!
Zum Ekel ist mir dein verwünschtes Singen.
Und triebst du es bis morgen früh so fort,
Doch würde dir kein schmuckes Lied gelingen.
Schweig' einmal still und lege dich auf's Ohr!
Das Ständchen eines Esels zög' ich vor.²²

²⁰ "No longer can I sing, for the wind blows strong and taxes my breath. Also I fear that time slips away fruitlessly. If I were really sure, I should not now go to bed. If I really knew, I should not now be walking home and wasting this lovely time in loneliness." Translation after Sams, *The songs of Hugo Wolf*, 362.

²¹ Letter of 23 April 1891. *Hugo Wolf: Letters to Melanie Köchert*, ed. by Franz Grasberger, trans. and ed. by Louise McClelland Urban (New York: Schirmer, 1991) 190 and 200–01.

²² "Do be quiet, you wretched babbler out there! Your damned singing makes me sick. Even if you kept it up until daybreak you'd never achieve a decent song. So do be quiet and go to bed! I'd rather be serenaded by a donkey." Translation

Wolf had already alluded to the protagonist's ineptitude by the deliberate misaccentuations and ungainly leaps in the opening melody of "Nicht länger". I would like to suggest that the misalignment of the text and musical form, with the traditional postlude coming in too early, is similarly an illustration of the song maker's inadequacy, and that perhaps Wolf was poking fun at himself for his experiments with—or reliance on—this type of ternary form and fading close. The subsequent longer song also uses a variant of the same form, but with a much more convincing fusion of text and music. This time the repeated opening measures become a traditional piano prelude that the voice then takes up and develops. A word repetition in the penultimate line instigates a return to the tonic and the opening phrases, which are further developed. The subsequent postlude makes use of the initial motive and, more significantly, the motivic developments of the preceding measures, which had imitated the sounds of a donkey (mm. 19–20).²³ As in "Wohl kenn' ich Eueren Stand", the intricate motivic work in both of these songs, as well as the amount of linear writing in "Nicht länger", further demonstrate attributes associated with absolute music.

The image shows a musical score for Hugo Wolf's "Schweig' einmal still", measures 18–21. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major and 2/4 time, with lyrics: "Das Ständ-chen ei-nes E - sels zög' ich vor." The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and sixteenth notes, with dynamic markings such as *sf*, *f*, and *ff*.

4. Hugo Wolf, "Schweig' einmal still", mm. 18–21.

Youens's chapter on Wolf in *The Cambridge companion to the lied* is titled "Tradition and innovation."²⁴ She demonstrates that while Wolf chose poets from earlier decades, including Goethe and Eichendorff, his musical style and portrayal of humor and sexuality were innovative. In her earlier monograph on Wolf's vocal works, her penetrating analyses reveal the ways Wolf was influenced by earlier lied composers, especially Schumann. Although it is the earlier songs that more clearly exhibit these influences, Wolf remained indebted to traditional elements of lied composition throughout his life. In particular, some of the Italian songs seem more concerned with combining expressive dissonances within the framework of traditional tonality, lyricism, and song forms than with completely faithful musical representations of Heyses's poems.

In his brilliant study of the late 19th-century lied, Edward Kravitt describes the influence of Wolf's New German style of lied on such composers as Max Reger, Arnold Schoenberg, and Richard Strauss. But he also stresses the ultimate strength of tradition and the eventual retreat of many composers, including Reger, Strauss, and Mahler, to the traditional lyrical lied.²⁵ Wolf's choice of translations of folk song texts for his last

after Sams, *The songs of Hugo Wolf*, 363.

²³ Youens's offers a wonderfully detailed and entertaining description of the comic elements in this song in *Hugo Wolf: The vocal music*, 132–33.

²⁴ Susan Youens, "Tradition and innovation: The lieder of Hugo Wolf", *The Cambridge companion to the lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 204–22.

²⁵ Edward F. Kravitt, *The lied: Mirror of late romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), see especially chapter 2.

two collections (the Spanish and the Italian), his lyricism, and his manipulations of song forms might be viewed as manifestations of a similar retrenchment. Yet the *Italienisches Liederbuch* does include songs in the innovative style of the Mörike collection. Conversely the earlier collections, including the Goethe songbook, contain traditional-style pieces with simpler harmonies and lyrical melodies. Surveys of lieder and general music histories tend to ignore these works because they cannot be easily incorporated into the neat teleological narrative that such publications favor. Nevertheless, traditional elements and, in particular, manipulations of form are crucial to understanding Wolf's style and the genre of the lied.

SCHOENBERG IN AMERICA RECONSIDERED: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATION

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Like innumerable refugees from Nazi Europe, Arnold Schoenberg, pioneer of musical modernism and one of the most polarizing figures in 20th-century music, spent an important part of his creative life in the United States. During his American years from 1933 to his death in 1951, he not only produced significant compositions, but also contributed greatly to America's musical culture and education. Yet comparatively little research has been done on Schoenberg's American years, his works composed in the U.S., and the American reception of his music and ideas.¹ Instead, critics and scholars have perpetuated unexamined clichés. Most striking, however, is the fact that discussions of Schoenberg's American career tend to convey a variety of predominantly negative interpretations. This paper traces and analyzes depictions of Schoenberg's American period in specialized literature about Schoenberg, exile studies, and reference works in order to identify clichés, gaps, changing trends, and their authors' agendas. There is no chronological development toward a balanced picture of Schoenberg in America to date, but rather a continuous partisan confrontation of selected observations. Thus pertinent and influential views about Schoenberg's personality, his American compositions, and his work as a teacher will be discussed.

1. SCHOENBERG'S PERSONALITY. Central to many accounts of Schoenberg's American sojourn is the pejorative image of Schoenberg as a European in exile, an outsider in Southern California, a snob and an untouchable icon with a forbidding and hermetic

I would like to acknowledge the generous grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft which enabled me to do extensive research on this topic in the United States from 1997 to 1999. The article is also published in the book: *The fruits of exile: Central European intellectual emigration of America in the age of fascism*, ed. by Richard Bodek and Simon Lewis. Used with the permission of the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S.C.

¹ Among the most informative articles are Walter Rubsamen, "Schoenberg in America," *The musical quarterly* 37/4 (October 1951) 469–89; Alan Lessem, "The emigré experience: Schoenberg in America," *Constructive dissonance: Arnold Schoenberg and the transformations of twentieth-century culture*, ed. by Juliane Brand and Christopher Hailey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 58–68; and Dorothy Crawford, "Arnold Schoenberg in Los Angeles," *The musical quarterly* 86/1 (spring 2002) 6–48.

aura.² Jan Meyerowitz declared that Schoenberg “was not in the least Americanized.”³ Jost Hermand emphasized the incompatibility of Schoenberg’s “nonconformist” and elitist attitude toward art music and his strong interest in Zionism on the one hand, and his chosen place of residence, Los Angeles, on the other, thus declaring him out of place in a commercially and hedonistically oriented environment not completely immune to xenophobia or anti-Semitism.⁴ David Schiff described Schoenberg as “disoriented by his new cultural surroundings”, and Anthony Heilbut pointed out that “Schoenberg’s American career was plagued by disappointment and inattention.”⁵ Kevin Starr conveys a particularly unbalanced and negative image of Schoenberg: “Despite his long residence in Los Angeles, from 1934 to 1951 ... Schoenberg remained a figure so detached, so alienated, as to seem not to exist in Los Angeles at all, or at the least, not to derive much satisfaction from his life there.”⁶ Malcolm MacDonald summarizes that “for most of his time in America he felt isolated and bypassed by the musical world, little performed and little understood in a comparative cultural backwater.”⁷ But if so, had not Schoenberg also been a nonconformist and outsider in Europe? How did these and other writers arrive at such views?

The psychological complexity and changeability of Schoenberg’s personality, which reveals on the one hand varying degrees of sensitivity, vulnerability, authoritarianism, and elitism, and on the other hand idealism, gratitude, pragmatism, and generosity, led to conflicting statements in letters, essays, speeches, and interviews during a particularly trying period in the composer’s life. Thus Schoenberg commentators, whether aiming at a negative or a positive portrait, could always substantiate their views by using appropriate quotations from primary Schoenberg sources. To this date a largely one-sided and negatively flavored impression of Schoenberg’s American years persists. Biographies generally lack in-depth discussions of Schoenberg’s acculturation, embracement of the English language, American life and culture, and interactions with Americans, and therefore support the thesis of Schoenberg as an elitist and outsider. Schoenberg biographers, however, often stress his contact with other émigrés, thereby making him appear to be a so-called “bei-uns-ki”.⁸ This applies to the early influential

² Lately Elizabeth Keathley and Richard Taruskin have criticized this prevailing and one-sided view, which has been furthered partly by innumerable positivistic and analytical studies of Schoenberg’s compositional techniques. See Elizabeth Keathley, “Dick, Dika, Dickest: Dika Newlin’s ‘Thick description’ of Schoenberg in America”, *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Center* 4 (2000) 309–10 and Richard Taruskin, “The poietic fallacy. Review of *Arnold Schoenberg’s journey*, by Allen Shawn”, *The musical times* 145/1886 (spring 2004) 13.

³ “[E]r hat sich aber, wie es bei einer so großartigen Persönlichkeit gar nicht anders möglich war, nicht im geringsten amerikanisiert.” Jan Meyerowitz, *Arnold Schönberg* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1967) 30. See also Michael Mäckelmann, *Arnold Schönberg und das Judentum: Der Komponist und sein religiöses, nationales und politisches Selbstverständnis nach 1921* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1984) 257.

⁴ See Jost Hermand, “A survivor from Germany: Schönberg im Exil”, *Exil: Literatur und Künste nach 1933*, ed. by Alexander Stephan (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1990) 108; and Jost Hermand, “Ein Überlebender aus Deutschland: Zur Radikalität von Arnold Schönbergs zionistischer Wende”, *Judentum und deutsche Kultur: Beispiele einer schmerzhaften Symbiose*, ed. by Jost Hermand (Köln: Böhlau, 1996) 177. Hermand also claimed that Schoenberg “sprach, empfand und dachte weiterhin ‘deutsch’, ja komponierte sogar ‘deutsch.’” Hermand, “A survivor”, 108.

⁵ See David Schiff, “Schoenberg’s cool eye for the erotic”, *The New York times* (8 August 1999), 30; and Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in paradise: German refugee artists and intellectuals in America, from the 1930s to the present* (New York: Viking Press, 1983) 135–36.

⁶ Kevin Starr, *The dream endures: California enters the 1940s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 382–83, 363.

⁷ Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg* (London: J.M. Dent, 1976) 49–50. All in all MacDonald, however, strives for a balanced Schoenberg portrait. See also Eberhard Freitag, *Schönberg* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1973) 136–37.

⁸ German speaking exiles who moved exclusively in émigré circles in Los Angeles and used to say complacently “bei uns daheim war alles besser” (Back home [in Europe] everything was better) were dubbed “bei-uns-kis”.

monographic studies by Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt and Willi Reich, both of whom were students of Schoenberg, Alban Berg, or Anton Webern who stayed in Nazi Europe. Both Stuckenschmidt and Reich offer a mostly Eurocentric outlook by emphasizing the image of their “suffering hero” and by seeking to cope with their own immediate past.⁹ The much-quoted collection of Schoenberg correspondence (1958) selected and compiled by European Schoenberg student Erwin Stein also reinforces—in its presentation of mostly pejorative letters from the American period—the picture of a dissatisfied and disappointed Schoenberg.¹⁰ Most “Schoenberg in America” chapters of later monographs are heavily modeled on these publications.¹¹

There are, however, occasional attempts (mostly by American writers) to contextualize, humanize, and popularize the “American” Schoenberg. Walter Rubsamen, an American musicologist and Schoenberg’s colleague at UCLA, gave a comprehensive account of Schoenberg’s American years wherein he discussed, besides Schoenberg’s professional occupations, his interactions with numerous musicians and friends (going far beyond the popular mentioning of his friendly relationship with George Gershwin and Oscar Levant), his extraordinary hospitality and frequent parties, his leisure time activities, and even his superstitions.¹² Dika Newlin deconstructed the image of Schoenberg as a “disembodied historical force” and aloof authority in her Schoenberg articles and book *Schoenberg remembered*, a frank memoir of her experience as a Schoenberg student at UCLA.¹³ She also discussed, for instance, Schoenberg’s secret weakness for film and TV—anathema to most Schoenberg biographers who prefer to focus on his criticisms of the Hollywood film industry.¹⁴ Yet Rubsamen’s and Newlin’s efforts have been sharply criticized, and Newlin’s book has even been

⁹ See Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg: His life, world and work* (New York: Schirmer, 1977, originally published as *Schönberg: Leben, Umwelt, Werk* [Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1974]), 476–78, 483. Reich’s two short chapters dedicated to Schoenberg’s American years consist for the most part of quotations. Willi Reich, *Schoenberg: A critical biography*, trans. by Leo Black (Edinburgh: Longman, 1971; originally published as *Arnold Schönberg oder Der konservative Revolutionär* [Vienna: Fritz Molden, 1968]) 189–235.

¹⁰ See Erwin Stein, ed., *Arnold Schoenberg letters*, trans. by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (London: Faber, 1964; originally published as *Arnold Schönberg Briefe* [Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1958]) 197–301. Thousands of letters Schoenberg wrote during his American years have remained unpublished and have not been taken into consideration by recent Schoenberg biographers.

¹¹ See Wilhelm Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne: Arnold Schönberg* (Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1998); and Manuel Gervink, *Arnold Schönberg und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2000). Sinkovicz titled the chapter on Schoenberg’s American years “Isolation—der Komponist im amerikanischen Exil”, and he preferred to call America Schoenberg’s “Gastland” (host land) Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 249–313. See also Dominique Jameux, *L’école de Vienne* (Paris: Fayard, 2002) 595–641.

¹² Rubsamen, “Schoenberg in America”, 469–89. Besides Gershwin, Schoenberg’s musician friends included Richard Buhlig, Henry Cowell, Oscar Levant, Alfred Newman, Roger Sessions, and Adolph Weiss as well as émigré musicians like Joseph Achron, Hanns Eisler, Rudolf Kolisch, Darius Milhaud, Nicolas Slonimsky, and Edgard Varèse. Schoenberg also socialized with figures from other fields, writers, critics, architects, film makers, actors, psychologists, and physicists. Many of them were regular guests at his home, and some became his regular tennis or ping pong partners. Rubsamen himself was acquainted with Schoenberg. He was, however, satirized by Schoenberg in his essay “Text from the third millennium” (1948), supposedly written by the fictitious musicologist Hugo Triebsamen (composed of Hugo Riemann and Walter Rubsamen). For a discussion of Schoenberg’s friendship with Henry Cowell see Sabine Feisst, “Arnold Schönberg und Henry Cowell: Eine unbekannt Freundschaft”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 55/1 (spring 1998) 57–71.

¹³ Dika Newlin, “Schönberg in America, 1933–1948: Retrospect and prospect”, *Music survey* 1/5 (1949) 128–31; *Music survey* 1/6 (1949) 185–89, and *Schoenberg remembered: Diaries and recollections, 1938–1976* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1980).

¹⁴ Newlin, for instance, recounts that toward the end of his life Schoenberg discovered TV, and like many other Americans, watched shows like *Hopalong Cassidy* with a TV tray in his lap. Newlin, *Schoenberg remembered*, 337–38. Pauline Alderman reports about Schoenberg’s thorough enjoyment of spy and western films in the 1930s in her article “I remember Arnold Schoenberg”, *Facets—University of Southern California* (1976) 49–58. See also Sabine Feisst, “Schoenberg and the cinematic art”, *The musical quarterly* 38/1 (spring 1999) 93–113.

derisively dubbed “Schoenberg dismembered”.¹⁵ Most recently Matthias Henke and Allen Shawn humanized Schoenberg and presented him in a new and more positive way in their short Schoenberg biographies, elaborating on his manifold nonmusical creative activities in America, including his designs of toys for his children, his interest in bookbinding, and his interactions with family and friends.¹⁶ Yet Shawn’s endeavor received mixed responses.¹⁷ Further, one finds scattered statements challenging the status quo of Schoenberg scholarship. American exile specialist Laura Fermi remarked that “Schoenberg too benefited from his transplantation to American soil. He became more human, entering into closer contact with the contemporary world.”¹⁸ MacDonald correctly pointed out that Schoenberg wrote and spoke English as much as possible and “made it almost as flexible and vivid (if somewhat idiosyncratic) a medium of self-expression as his German.”¹⁹ And the American Schoenberg scholar Alexander Ringer wrote that, due to Schoenberg’s soon “thoroughly Americanized young family”—his two youngest sons were born in the U.S.—“American thought and behavior” gradually got a hold on him.²⁰ These views together with several other recent studies should now be further investigated and should shape future biographies.

2. HEALTH AND FINANCES. The majority of European Schoenberg commentators, among them Stuckenschmidt, Eberhard Freitag, and Manuel Gervink as well as authors of encyclopedia articles, elaborate on Schoenberg’s health and financial problems in America, suggesting a stark contrast between his seemingly prosperous European years and his depressing years in America. As in the case of Béla Bartók, these writers therefore nourish the idea that America treated an artist of such eminent stature inappropriately, establishing what Malcolm Gillies called an “American guilt” theory.²¹ The emphasis on his initial discomfort with the debilitating weather, his asthma attacks, and his stressful low-level teaching conditions in Boston and New York, as well as the increased (age-related) health problems late in his life overshadows the fact that Schoenberg spent about 12 (out of ca. 18) years of his American career in good health and relative happiness.²² Many writers stress that Schoenberg’s heart attack in 1946 and several other ailments drove him even further into isolation and into a five-year long agony. In *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* one can, for instance, learn that Schoenberg “led the

¹⁵ Newlin conveyed that Rubsamen’s essay “drew the wrath of some Schoenberg friends for its stress on the composer’s superstition”. See Newlin, *Schoenberg remembered*, 90. German musicologist Michael Mäckelmann criticized Newlin’s “Schoenberg in America” articles as follows: “Verklärte Schilderungen seiner amerikanischen ‘Laufbahn’, zumal wenn sie diese als ‘erfolgreich’ bezeichnen, verfehlen mit Sicherheit die Realität der künstlerischen wie auch der persönlichen und materiellen Nöte, denen Schönberg bis zum Lebensende in Amerika ausgesetzt war.” See Mäckelmann, *Arnold Schönberg und das Judentum*, 256.

¹⁶ Matthias Henke, *Arnold Schönberg* (Hamburg: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001); and Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg’s journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002) 248–49, 264.

¹⁷ Taruskin, “The poetic fallacy”, 7–34.

¹⁸ Laura Fermi, *Illustrious immigrants: The intellectual migration from Europe, 1930–41* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 223.

¹⁹ MacDonald, *Schoenberg*, 44. This can be seen in Schoenberg’s innumerable English letters and other writings and recordings of speeches. A negative take on Schoenberg’s linguistic efforts is (not surprisingly) offered by Starr: “While Schoenberg was willing to surrender his German cursive handwriting in favor of standard Latin script and even to make a headlong assault on the English language, which he blended with German to achieve a new tongue, he refused to accommodate either himself or his music to émigré, much less to American tastes.” Starr, *The dream endures*, 282.

²⁰ Alexander Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk* (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2002) 287.

²¹ Malcolm Gillies, “Bartók in America”, *The Cambridge companion to Bartók*, ed. by Amanda Bayley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 194.

²² Schoenberg already suffered from asthma and other health problems in Europe.

withdrawn existence of an invalid.”²³ This point of view certainly supports the “isolation theory”, but it contradicts Schoenberg’s busy work schedule during that period, including private lessons in composition, lectures and courses at UCLA, the Music Academy of the West in Carpinteria, California, and at his home. His creative achievements since 1946—which comprise his string trio (1946), *A survivor from Warsaw* (1947), *Phantasy* for violin with piano accompaniment (1949), several vocal works, numerous writings, and the textbook *Structural functions of harmony* (1947)—refute the notion of Schoenberg as an invalid.

Schoenberg’s “financial misery” is another much discussed and distorted subject in the majority of European accounts of Schoenberg’s American years. Most biographers blame financial issues (and thus America and American institutions) for Schoenberg’s limited compositional output and unfinished works. Meyerowitz claimed that the “financial misery did much harm to his creative work.”²⁴ And Wilhelm Sinkovicz assured that “during his emigration years, Schoenberg was never able to devote himself in peace to tasks which he would have liked to solve.”²⁵ Other commentators dwelt upon Schoenberg’s financial insecurity induced by his mandatory retirement from UCLA in 1944 at age 70, which yielded a pension averaging \$40 per month (for an eight-year tenure).²⁶ It is rarely mentioned that in Schoenberg’s case UCLA extended the retirement age by five years. Stuckenschmidt describes this situation as well as the rejection of Schoenberg’s application for a Guggenheim fellowship in 1945 (for which the applicant age limit was 40 years) as “embarrassing.”²⁷ Other authors dramatically claimed that Schoenberg was “suddenly forced into deep poverty” and that “Arnold Schoenberg was starving.”²⁸ Despite the years of economic depression and World War II, Schoenberg experienced financial security with an income drawn from university teaching, lectures, private lessons, commissions, and royalties. From 1936 on he could rely on a yearly income of between \$4800 and \$5400 from UCLA (equivalent to circa \$71,108.74 and \$63,019.53 in 2007), he lived in a Spanish colonial-style house in Brentwood Park that he had bought for \$18,000, and he was maintained by domestics.²⁹ And though after 1944 Schoenberg had to cut back financially, teach private students, sell manuscripts to the Library of Congress, and accept lucrative commissions, he never came close to starving. How could he have afforded to send CARE packages to Europe in 1946? Furthermore, in this period Schoenberg’s greatest financial success in the United States occurred with Antony Tudor’s choreographed version of *Verklärte Nacht*, the *Pillar of*

²³ See Reich, *Schoenberg*, 227; Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 304; and Oliver Neighbour and H. Wiley Hitchcock, “Arnold Schoenberg,” *The new Grove dictionary of American music*, ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Press Limited, 1986) 158–59.

²⁴ “Die finanzielle Not hat seiner schöpferischen Arbeit viel Schaden zugefügt.” Meyerowitz, *Arnold Schönberg*, 5.

²⁵ “Schönberg war während seiner Emigrationsjahre nie imstande, sich in Ruhe jenen Aufgaben zuzuwenden, die er gern gelöst hätte.” Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 286.

²⁶ Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 285. The pension was initially \$28.50 and rose to \$ 40.38 per month by 1945.

²⁷ Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 469. Edgard Varèse’s several applications for a Guggenheim were also rejected.

²⁸ “Arnold Schönberg ist am Verhungern”, Alma Mahler-Werfel, *Mein Leben* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1960) 278, see Alma Mahler quoted in Freitag, *Schönberg*, 151, and Hermand, “A survivor”, 112.

²⁹ Michael Kater believes that with an annual salary between \$4800 and \$5400, Schoenberg was exploited by UCLA authorities. See Michael Kater, *Composers of the Nazi era: Eight portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 187. Kater, however, fails to mention that Schoenberg’s salary was well above the average full-time American wage of \$1146 (1936) and \$2292 (1944) equaling \$16,977.21 and \$26,748.29 in 2007. See Scott Derks, ed., *The value of a dollar, 1860–1999* (Lakeville, Conn.: Greyhouse Publishing, 1999) 207–30 and *National income and product accounts of the United States, 1929–2000*, CD-ROM (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2001).

fire, which has been performed countless times since 1942.³⁰ ASCAP granted him an allowance of \$1500 per annum in addition to royalties, friends raised money for him, and the National Institute of Arts and Letters awarded him with \$1000 (1947).³¹

3. JUDAISM AND POLITICS. In contrast to aspects such as Schoenberg's personality, health, and finances, his serious involvement in Judaism and the Jewish national cause (especially from 1933 to 1939 and during his last years) received little or no attention in early Schoenberg literature. This is an important biographical feature, since Schoenberg invested much time and energy in Jewish matters, resulting in numerous writings and creative and political activities, including public speeches for Jewish organizations. Knowledge about Schoenberg's intense preoccupations with noncompositional subjects might also help to eradicate speculations as to why Schoenberg did not compose or complete more works during his American years. Schoenberg biographers including Meyerowitz, Reich, and Freitag limited themselves to brief remarks on this issue in their discussions of Schoenberg's religious and religiously oriented works, including his *Kol nidre* setting (1938) and *A survivor from Warsaw* (1947).³² And Stuckenschmidt, in his 500-page Schoenberg monograph, dedicated little more than a page specifically to Schoenberg's engagement with Judaism.³³ Similarly, MacDonald touches only briefly on this subject.³⁴ Yet the path-breaking articles and books on Schoenberg and Judaism by Ringer and Michael Mäckelmann undoubtedly influenced some of the more recent Schoenberg publications and encouraged further specialized studies on this subject.³⁵ Ringer and Mäckelmann cast light on Schoenberg's complex attitude toward the conventions of his Jewish faith (which he never practiced in a conventional way—his wife and children remained Roman Catholic), his unusual views about assimilation and anti-Semitism, his fight for unanimity amongst Jews, his attempts to found a Jewish Unity Party, and his idiosyncratic approach to Zionism (involving the establishment of an independent Jewish State through uncompromising and militant means). Lately Schoenberg biographers such as Gervink, Ringer, and Shawn have begun to incorporate discussions of Schoenberg's public speeches (for instance, "The Jewish situation", given in 1933) and his most substantial essay on Jewish politics, his "Four-point program for

³⁰ This success is mentioned by Rubsamen, Reich, and Ringer. See Rubsamen, "Schoenberg in America", 480; Reich, *Schoenberg*, 214; and Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk*, 59. Yet Stuckenschmidt touches only briefly on two performances of *Pillar of fire* one of which was conducted by Schoenberg himself on 8 February 1945. Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 453, 470.

³¹ Schoenberg had been a member of ASCAP since 1939. Rubsamen stated in 1951: "As it turned out, the royalties from ASCAP, subsequently increased in most generous fashion, were a boon to the composer during the last years of his life." Rubsamen, "Schoenberg in America", 471.

³² Sinkovicz, who completely omitted discussions of Schoenberg's occupation with Judaism in his monograph, also belongs in this list of names.

³³ Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 368–67.

³⁴ MacDonald, *Schoenberg*, 56.

³⁵ See Mäckelmann's above quoted monograph and Alexander Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg: The composer as Jew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Hermand's above quoted two essays; Charlotte Cross and Russell Berman, eds., *Political and religious ideas in the works of Arnold Schoenberg* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000); William Kangas, "The ethics and aesthetics of (self)representation: Arnold Schoenberg and Jewish identity", *Year book of the Leo Baeck Institute* 45 (2000) 135–69; Steven Cahn, "Dépasse l'universalism: Une écoute particulariste d'Un survivant de Varsovie op. 46 et du Kol nidre op. 39 de Schonberg", *Ostinato rigore: Revue internationale d'études musicales* 17/1 (2001) 221–34; idem, "Kol nidre in America", *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002) 203–18; idem, "On the representation of Jewish identity and historical consciousness in Schönberg's religious thought", *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 5 (2003) 93–108; David Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, Bernstein* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Jewry" (1933–38).³⁶ They, however, mostly refrain from a critical assessment of the anti-democratic and authoritarian positions which mark Schoenberg's efforts.³⁷

Besides Schoenberg's preoccupation with Jewish matters, his peculiar attitude throughout his American years toward politics in general, and toward political writings, deserve more elaboration and clarification beyond a brief contextualization of his politically motivated settings of Byron's *Ode to Napoleon* (1942) and *A survivor from Warsaw*. This has not been achieved in early literature on Schoenberg.³⁸ Recent German biographies and exile studies from 1993 through 2002, however, have dedicated more attention to his ideas about politics (which he kept private, for the most part) and have provided more insight into his strong and continuous rejection of communism and fascism, his reservations about democracy, his concern with the rights of minorities, and his preference for monarchy.³⁹ Mäckelmann, Albrecht Dümling, Gervink, and Ringer, for instance, explain Schoenberg's caution in political matters (as opposed to his political activism in the case of Jewish matters) and long-term refrain from open criticism of Hitler as measures to protect his family and friends in Nazi Europe.⁴⁰

4. SCHOENBERG'S LATE WORK. In 1954 Theodor W. Adorno expressed his belief that the problems Schoenberg poses are no longer objective, "but a product of public opinion, which keeps ready so many clichés for his work."⁴¹ This is especially true for Schoenberg's works composed in America. By the time he came to America, he was already infamously known as a radical and nonconformist composer of structurally complex and aesthetically challenging works. He was considered the "Avatar of twelve-tone music."⁴² And although Schoenberg himself claimed that he was not aware of any

³⁶ Gervink, *Arnold Schönberg*, 290–91, 302–06; Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk*, 252ff., 271–73, 288. (Ringer provides political contextualization throughout his very personally written Schoenberg biography.) The importance of Schoenberg's engagement with Judaism was recently questioned because he did not practice his Jewish faith at home nor at the temple. Camille Crittenden, "Texts and Contexts of *A survivor from Warsaw*, op. 46", *Political and religious ideas*, 246.

³⁷ See, for instance, Bluma Goldstein, "Schoenberg's *Moses and Aron*: A vanishing Biblical nation", *Political and religious ideas*, 187–89.

³⁸ See, for instance, Stuckenschmidt's, Reich's and Freitag's monographs. Schoenberg's political views, his residency in America, and not least his musical individualism hindered his reception in GDR for many years. Yet from the mid-1970s on, musicologists such as Mathias Hansen and Frank Schneider approached the topic of Schoenberg in America by focusing on his antifascist engagement. Frank Schneider, "Versuch einer musikgeschichtlichen Positionsbestimmung", *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 16/2 (1974) 75–95, 277–96; idem, "Schönberg und die politische Musik", *Beiträge der Musikwissenschaft* 20/1 (1978) 23–27; Mathias Hansen, "Ode to Napoleon: Zum antifaschistischen Engagement Arnold Schönbergs", *Arbeitsheft 24. Forum: Musik in der DDR. Arnold Schönberg 1874–1951. Zum 25. Todestag des Komponisten*, ed. by Mathias Hansen and Christa Müller (Berlin: Akademie der Künste der DDR, 1976) 79–88. See also Hanns-Werner Heister, "Zum politischen Engagement des Unpolitischen", *Herausforderung Schönberg: Was die Musik des Jahrhunderts veränderte*, ed. by Ulrich Dibelius (München: Hanser Verlag, 1974) 27–46; idem, "Musikalische Reaktion und politisches Engagement: Über drei Werke Arnold Schönbergs", *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 16/4 (1974) 261–76; and Wes Blomster, "The reception of Arnold Schoenberg in the German Democratic Republic", *Perspectives of new music* 21/1–2 (fall–summer 1982–83) 114–32.

³⁹ Albrecht Dümling, "Zwischen Außenseiterstatus und Integration: Musiker-Exil an der amerikanischen Westküste", *Musik im Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur*, ed. by Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer-Zenck, and Peter Petersen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1993) 315; Gervink, *Arnold Schönberg*, 309; Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk*, 286–93. This attitude could be viewed as a form of adaptation to American politics and an instance of what Martin Jay termed "deradicalization." See Martin Jay, "The German migration: Is there a figure in the carpet?" *Exiles and emigrés: The flight of European artists from Hitler*, ed. by Stephanie Barron and Sabine Eckmann (Los Angeles: Harry Abrams, 1997) 331.

⁴⁰ See Gervink, *Arnold Schönberg*, 309–10, and Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk*, 286.

⁴¹ Theodor W. Adorno, "Einführung in die Zweite Kammer-symphonie von Schönberg (1954)", *Theodor W. Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, vol. 18 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998) 629.

⁴² Heilbut, *Exiled in paradise*, 74.

changes caused by his emigration to the United States, many others remarked on the different nature of his “American” works, pitting the steadily progressive “European” against the eclectic and retrogressive “American” Schoenberg.⁴³

4.1. HETEROGENEITY. Many early Schoenberg biographers, most notably Stuckenschmidt and Reich, included very favorable descriptions of Schoenberg’s American compositions. Yet their commitment did not prevent numerous other commentators from viewing his “American” oeuvre as more eclectic and heterogeneous than his European output. In their eyes, Schoenberg seemed to sacrifice his former stringent “l’art pour l’art” principles by using both tonal and twelve-tone elements, and by conceiving utilitarian, sacred, and politically engaged music. Schoenberg champion Adorno considered his late works as “fragmentary” and “catastrophes” whereby the compositional procedure means everything and the musical material has no significance.⁴⁴ He criticized Schoenberg’s mixing of old and new compositional techniques in *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* and his piano concerto (1942) as “forced” and “impure.”⁴⁵ Pierre Boulez, adherent of the post-World War II serialist movement, went even further, bluntly declaring this approach to be vain and flawed:⁴⁶

But what are we to think of Schoenberg’s American period, during which the greatest disarray and most deplorable demagnetization appeared? How could we, unless with a supplementary—and superfluous—measure, judge such lack of comprehension and cohesion, that reevaluation of polarizing functions, even of tonal functions? Rigorous writing was abandoned in those works. In them we see appearing again the octave intervals, the false cadences, the exact canons at the octave. Such an attitude attests to maximum incoherence—a paroxysm in the absurdity of Schoenberg’s incompatibilities.⁴⁷

These verdicts seem to have influenced Schoenberg scholarship, since research on the majority of Schoenberg’s American works was limited for a long time. More recently, however, new and positive interpretations of the disparate tendencies in Schoenberg’s late works have been offered. His efforts are now also understood as “processes of disjuncture and disruption, establishing frames of narrative, language and musical style only to shatter them by the intrusion of radically dissimilar elements that refuse assimilation.”⁴⁸ Other commentators drew attention to Schoenberg’s anticipation of “the

⁴³ Albert Goldberg, “The sounding board: The transplanted composer,” *The Los Angeles times* (14 May 1950).

⁴⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, “Arnold Schoenberg, 1874–1951,” *Prisms*, trans. by Samuel and Shierry Weber (London: Neville Spearman, 1967; originally published as *Prismen: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* [Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1955] 171); and Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of modern music*, trans. by Anne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Bloomster (New York: Seabury Press, 1973; originally published in German as *Philosophie der neuen Musik* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1949] 119–20).

⁴⁵ Adorno, *Prisms*, 168.

⁴⁶ Boulez also wrote in 1961: “Son activité américaine est bizarrement partagée entre certaines oeuvres purement sérielles et des œuvres de conciliation, où il s’efforça d’opérer une synthèse entre des données tonales et des exigences de la série... c’est pourquoi les dernières œuvres de Schoenberg apparaissent entachées d’une certaine vanité: les composantes n’en sont guère homogènes.” Pierre Boulez, “Arnold Schoenberg,” *Encyclopédie de la musique*, ed. by François Michel (Paris: Fasquelle, 1961).

⁴⁷ Pierre Boulez, “Schoenberg is dead (long version),” *Notes of an apprenticeship*, trans. by Herbert Weinstock (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1968) 268–76; originally published in French as *Pierre Boulez: Relevés d’apprenti*, ed. by Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966) and in a short version in English in *Score 6* (1952) 18–22.

⁴⁸ Arnold Whittall, “Schoenberg since 1951: Overlapping opposites,” *The musical times* 142/1876 (fall 2001) 18 and David Isadore Lieberman, “Schoenberg rewrites his will: A survivor from Warsaw, op. 46,” *Political and religious ideas*, 212.

broad availability of historical styles and self-conscious manipulation of earlier music in the output of composers we do not normally associate with Schoenberg, such as Crumb, Foss, Berio, and Rochberg.”⁴⁹ They also emphasized that most of Schoenberg’s European works revealed conflicting tendencies as well—rigorous modernism and elements referring to the past.⁵⁰

4.2. TONALITY—ACCESSIBILITY. But the most puzzling and controversial aspect of Schoenberg’s American works is his more frequent and emphatic consideration of triadic harmony in pieces like the suite in G major for string orchestra (1934) and the theme and variations for windband (1942). They reveal an unmistakably retrospective quality. The premiere of Schoenberg’s first American work, his suite in G, triggered, for instance, the following response by *The New York times* critic Olin Downes:

Only one thing more fantastical than the thought of Arnold Schönberg in Hollywood is possible, and that thing has happened. Since arriving there about a year ago, Schönberg has composed in a melodic manner and in recognizable keys. That is what Hollywood has done to Schönberg. We may now expect atonal fugues by Shirley Temple.⁵¹

Schoenberg wrote the article “On revient toujours” (1948), defending his continuous “longing to return to the older style” and his occasional decision to “yield to that urge” in an attempt to avoid speculations about a capitulation of twelve-tone composition.⁵² While Schoenberg only called his suite in G and theme and variations for windband “Nebenwerke” (secondary or minor works) and categorized these two pieces as utilitarian or pedagogical music, Adorno spoke of a “long list of ‘secondary works’” (“parerga”), including such compositions as the *Kammersymphonie* op. 38 (1939) and *Kol nidre* (1941).⁵³

Yet Hanns Eisler, Adorno, and others did not overlook the fact that these works were more accessible and conciliatory toward audiences.⁵⁴ Eisler, the rebellious Schoenberg

⁴⁹ Joseph Auner, “Schoenberg’s Handel concerto and the ruins of tradition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49/2 (summer 1996) 312.

⁵⁰ Many works from his dodecahonic suite op. 25 (1921) through his string trio op. 45 (1946) combine twelve-tone ideas and elements and techniques of the past. Dahlhaus already wrote in 1983 that “all the impulses that emerged in the last decade were already present (albeit under different historical conditions) in Schoenberg’s late works.” Carl Dahlhaus, “Schoenberg’s late works,” *Schoenberg and the new music*, trans. by Derrick Puffet and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 168; see also Auner, “Schoenberg’s Handel concerto,” 312 and Whittall, “Schoenberg since 1951,” 12–14.

⁵¹ Olin Downes, “New suite by Arnold Schoenberg,” *The New York times* (13 October 1935). See also Lawrence Gilman, “New music by Schoenberg,” *New York herald tribune* (19 October 1935).

⁵² Leonard Stein, ed., *Style and idea: Selected writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, trans. by Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 109.

⁵³ Adorno, *Philosophy*, 120. This led other authors to conclude that tonally marked works such as the *Kammersymphonie* op. 38, the *Variations on a recitative* op. 40 for organ and the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* op. 41 are inferior within Schoenberg’s American compositions: “Au cours des années 1939, 1940 et 1941, Schoenberg n’écrit pas d’œuvre importante.” Pierre Barbaud, *Schoenberg* (Paris: Editions Main D’Œuvre, 1997) 151.

⁵⁴ “It is hardly a matter of coincidence that all of these secondary works of his later years have one thing in common: a more conciliatory attitude towards the public. There is a deep relationship between Schoenberg’s inexorability and his particular manner of conciliation.” Adorno, *Philosophy*, 121. Adorno also tried to explain Schoenberg’s desire to compose tonally again: “It is common knowledge that Schoenberg in his earlier years was forced to earn his living through the orchestration of operettas. The investigation of these forgotten scores might well be worth the effort, not only because it can safely be assumed that therein he was not able completely to suppress himself as a composer but, above all, because they might possibly give evidence of that counter-tendency which emerges more and more clearly in the ‘secondary works’ of his later years, precisely at that point in his career when he gained total command over his material.” Adorno, *ibid.*, 121. In a further step, Adorno claims that Schoenberg’s conciliatory music was written for a false society and acknowledges thus its right to consume such music: “His inexorable music represents social truth against society. His conciliatory

student and temporary exile, even declared, after his remigration to East Germany in 1948, that Schoenberg “fell prey to the delusions that accompany capitalist culture.”⁵⁵ And while Schoenberg firmly maintained in 1950 that he had “made no concessions to the market”, young composers in Darmstadt including Boulez followed Eisler’s and Adorno’s footsteps and accused Schoenberg of adapting to the new cultural situation with retrogressive and accessible compositions.⁵⁶ According to avant-garde-oriented or left-wing perspectives, Schoenberg’s—as well as Bartók’s, Erich Korngold’s, and Kurt Weill’s—tonal or audience-friendly works are examples of “deradicalization”, and are thus of “slight importance.”⁵⁷ This view can still be found in some Schoenberg monographs and exile narratives of the 1990s, where authors attach more importance to the “adversarial energy of émigrés”, and state that the “artistically significant works, which came forth ... owe nothing to their adaptation to the new circumstances, but everything to their opposition.”⁵⁸

In recent years, however, some less negative interpretations have emerged. Schoenberg commentators now tend to interpret his increased number of tonal and other retrospectively marked works less as a compromise of the composer’s integrity than, more positively, as reflections of his émigré experience, in that, “[f]or the exile his past is almost everything and the present is like a bottomless night.”⁵⁹ In this sense Schoenberg’s tonal works can be viewed as “anchors to a more solid past to which he [Schoenberg] remained actively connected in a way that Webern and even Berg and succeeding generations did not.”⁶⁰ Schoenberg’s tonal music as well as his arrangements of his own and classical works of the past are also considered as sincere attempts to reach out to American publishers, conductors, performers, and audiences out of a desire or necessity to communicate with the new environment.⁶¹ They are seen as “responses to the unfamiliar culture”, as directed by outer circumstances such as commissions and encouragements from publishers or performers, and as works “influenced by the pragmatic atmosphere of the United States.”⁶² Interestingly, Alan Lessem viewed

music recognizes the right to music which, in spite of everything, is still valid even in a false society—in the very same way that a false society reproduces itself and thus by virtue of its very survival objectively establishes elements of its own truth.” Adorno, *ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁵ Eisler quoted in Heilbut, *Exiled in paradise*, 157. Unlike Schoenberg, Eisler successfully made concessions to the American market as a film composer in Hollywood from 1942 to 1948. Soon thereafter, back in the GDR, Eisler unsuccessfully attempted to rehabilitate Schoenberg’s music, which had been branded as “decadent formalism”.

⁵⁶ See Goldberg, “The sounding board”; Ernst Krenek, “America’s influence on its émigré composers”, *Perspectives of new music* 8/2 (spring–summer 1970) 112–17 (originally published as “Amerikas Einfluss auf eingewanderte Komponisten”, *Musica* 13 (1959) 757–61; and Boulez, “Schoenberg is dead”, 273.

⁵⁷ See Jay, “The German migration”, 328. See also “The Suite with its unexpected return to the principle of tonality, is a work of slight importance.” Gerald Abraham, “Arnold Schoenberg”, *Grove’s dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. Henry C. Colles, supplementary vol. (4th ed., London: Macmillan, 1940).

⁵⁸ “Die künstlerisch bedeutensten Werke, die aus ihr [der viel beklagten kulturellen Isolation der Emigranten] hervorgingen, verdanken sich nicht der Anpassung an die neuen Verhältnisse, sondern der Opposition.” Albrecht Dümmling, “Zwischen Außenseiterstatus und Integration: Musiker-Exil an der US-amerikanischen Westküste”, *Musik im Exil*, 331. See also Jay, “The German migration”, 332.

⁵⁹ Jarrell Jackman, “Exiles in paradise: German emigrés in southern California, 1933–1950”, *Southern California quarterly* 61/2 (1979) 183.

⁶⁰ Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg’s journey*, 255. Crawford, on the other hand, considers Schoenberg’s extensive teaching of the music of the past as a possible incentive for a stylistic change: Crawford, “Arnold Schoenberg in Los Angeles”, 33.

⁶¹ Krenek, “America’s influence”, 113.

⁶² Claudia Maurer Zenck, for instance, declares Schoenberg’s two serial solo concertos as instances of acculturation in that they are opportunities through which Schoenberg could “present himself in a more popular way”. Claudia Maurer Zenck, “Challenges and opportunities of acculturation: Schoenberg, Krenek, and Stravinsky in exile”, *Driven into paradise: The musical migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. by Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 182; and see Krenek, “America’s influence”, 112. Sinkovicz

Schoenberg's tonal compositions as "public" and his dodecaphonic compositions as "private" works.⁶³ Others believe that the exile freed Schoenberg from the pressure to stay the modernist course and enabled him to handle compositional materials more flexibly, allowing an interaction between law and freedom.⁶⁴

Yet in contrast to this tendency, certain writers have kept stressing Schoenberg's resistance to adapt to American culture. In support of an "isolation" theory, these commentators deny instances of acculturation and conformist tendencies in Schoenberg's artistic output after 1933. Schoenberg is either praised for challenging American culture or criticized for exhibiting European cultural superiority.⁶⁵ Freitag stated that "in the USA Schoenberg remained nonconformist, an outsider, not least because he did not subordinate himself to the mechanisms of the market."⁶⁶ Similarly Dorothy Crawford asserted that the "American idea of market force—which necessarily lowers the aspirations of the individual in order to satisfy the greatest number of consumers—remained alien to him."⁶⁷ Hermand insisted that Schoenberg never changed his elitist attitude toward art as mass entertainment, that he composed "German" music, and that his late works, including his tonal works, remained complex and incomprehensible to a general audience.⁶⁸ Other authors elaborated on the new more sophisticated and freer kind of tonality used in Schoenberg's American works and on the (supposedly) great contrast between his retrospective works like the suite in G and neoclassical compositions by Stravinsky.⁶⁹

4.3. ENGAGED MUSIC. Unlike most of Schoenberg's European works, his *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* and *A survivor from Warsaw* document more evidently than his other tonally marked dodecaphonic and nondodecaphonic late works an unusual change in his artistic approach and acculturation, and have caused controversies among Schoenberg commentators. Herein Schoenberg not only used the English language, but also embraced the concept of engaged art, an idea that was very topical among his compatriots, American composers Marc Blitzstein, Aaron Copland, Elie Siegmeister, and others in the 1940s. In his vivid musical indictments of Hitler, Nazism, and the Holocaust, Schoenberg (who once objected to Berg's *Wozzeck* of 1922 on the grounds that "music should rather deal with angels than with officer servants" and rejected Eisler's engaged music in the 1920s) seems to have contradicted his ideals of autonomous

explained Schoenberg's motivation to complete his tonal *Kammersymphonie* op. 38 (1906–39) as follows: "Jedenfalls war Schönberg bald klar, daß nur mit solchen 'Rückfällen' in die Tonalität in Amerika Fuß zu fassen war." Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 263.

⁶³ Lessem, "The emigré experience", 59.

⁶⁴ Christian Martin Schmidt, "Arnold Schönberg: Doyen der Wiener Schule in Amerika?" *Innenleben: Ansichten aus dem Exil: Ein Berliner Symposium*, ed. by Hermann Haarmann (Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1995) 126; and see Marc Kerling, "Kontinuität und Bruch: Leitlinien im Spätwerk. Verarbeitungsstrategien der Exilsituation", *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Center* 4 (2002) 42–43.

⁶⁵ Crawford, "Arnold Schoenberg in Los Angeles", 34, and Hermand, "A survivor," 108–10 and "Ein Überlebender," 177; see also the general discussion on opposing views of the émigrés "deradicalization" and accommodation to American culture in Jay, "The German migration", 332–33.

⁶⁶ Freitag, *Schönberg*, 136.

⁶⁷ Crawford, "Arnold Schoenberg in Los Angeles", 34.

⁶⁸ Schoenberg "sprach, empfand, und dachte weiterhin 'deutsch', ja komponierte sogar 'deutsch.'" Hermand, "A survivor", 108. "Denn auch seine nicht-dodekaphonischen Werke der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre ... sind alles andere als leicht verständlich, das heißt ebenso wenig 'eingängig' wie seine zwölftönigen Kompositionen." *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶⁹ See René Leibowitz, *Schoenberg and his school*, trans. by Dika Newlin (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949) 118, 126 (originally published as *Schoenberg et son école*, Paris: Editions Janin, 1947); and see Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 389–90.

music.⁷⁰ Purists such as Adorno therefore questioned whether these works belonged to the aesthetic realm.⁷¹ On the other hand, other scholars maintained that Schoenberg's engaged music did not sacrifice, but rather enlarged the concept of autonomous art.⁷² While most Schoenberg biographers described his politically inspired works in very positive terms and compared them to masterpieces of the past, including Beethoven's opera *Fidelio*, some scholars took exception to the Napoleon-Hitler parallel invoked by Schoenberg's setting of Lord Byron's *Ode to Napoleon* and the "super-topicality" of *A survivor from Warsaw*.⁷³ The latter work in particular has received a wide variety of interpretations. It has been considered a "testament to Schoenberg's own spiritual struggle", a "personal parable of his experiences as a Jew", a manifestation of "political eschatology" and a modern "Ode to Joy".⁷⁴ It has also been viewed as a reflection of Schoenberg's alienation, anger, and withdrawal from German music as well as a work whose "impetus came more from immediate external circumstances than from an intrinsic imperative to create such a piece."⁷⁵ The work was inspired by dancer Corinne Chochem and commissioned by the Koussevitzky Music Foundation. Further *A survivor from Warsaw* has been rejected as an "abominable banality" and Hollywood kitsch.⁷⁶

4.4. NUMBER OF (COMPLETED) WORKS. A further misconception and cliché pertaining to Schoenberg's American works arises from speculations about the reason for their limited number. During his 17-year sojourn in America, Schoenberg completed 15 original compositions, canons, and six arrangements of his own and other composers' works. Numerous pieces were left unfinished, including music for piano, organ, string quartet, a large-scale programmatic symphony based on Jewish themes, and last but not least, his oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter* (begun in 1917) and the opera *Moses und Aron* (begun in 1930). Many commentators therefore suggest that Schoenberg's mental state, heavy teaching load, and financial struggle in America prevented him from composing more works and from finishing others. Biographers, for instance, see the Guggenheim Foundation, which denied Schoenberg a grant in 1945, as being more or less responsible for foiling Schoenberg's completion of *Die Jakobsleiter* and *Moses und Aron*.⁷⁷ Often

⁷⁰ "Musik solle sich lieber mit Engeln als mit Offiziersdienern beschäftigen." Hanns-Werner Heister, "Zum politischen Engagement", 37.

⁷¹ "[I]n this piece [*A survivor from Warsaw*], Schoenberg, acting on his own, suspends the aesthetic sphere through the recollection of experiences which are inaccessible to art." Adorno, "Arnold Schönberg", *Prisms*, 171–72.

⁷² See Hermann Danuser, "Composers in exile: The question of musical identity", *Driven into paradise*, 162 and Friedrich Zehentreiter, "Guilty glory: Zum Verhältnis von ästhetischer Autonomie und biographischer Krise am Beispiel der *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* op. 41 (1942) von Arnold Schönberg", *Exilmusik: Komponisten während der NS-Zeit*, ed. by Friedrich Geiger und Thomas Schäfer (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1999) 141–62.

⁷³ See Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 486; see also Heister, "Zum politischen Engagement", 37 and Dirk Buhrmann, "Arnold Schönbergs *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* op. 41", *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002) 68. See Meyerowitz, *Arnold Schönberg*, 82.

⁷⁴ Michael Strasser, "A survivor from Warsaw as personal parable", *Music & letters* 76/1 (February 1995) 52; Reinhold Brinkmann, *Arnold Schönberg und der Engel der Geschichte* (Wien: Picus Verlag, 2001) 53–54, 60, see also Christian Martin Schmidt, "Schönbergs Kantate *Ein Überlebender aus Warschau*", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 33/4 (winter 1976) 277.

⁷⁵ David Isadore Lieberman, "Schoenberg rewrites his will: *A survivor from Warsaw*, op. 46", *Political and religious ideas*, 212, and Crittenden, "Texts and contexts", 247.

⁷⁶ Taruskin, "The poietic fallacy", 34. In an earlier article Taruskin also expressed his disapproval of *A survivor from Warsaw*'s "B-movie clichés, the Erich von Stroheim Nazi barking 'Achtung,' the kitsch-triumphalism of the climactic, suddenly tonal [sic!] singing of the Jewish credo." Richard Taruskin, "A sturdy musical bridge of the 21st century", *The New York times* (24 August 1997).

⁷⁷ Meyerowitz, *Arnold Schönberg*, 29; Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 469; MacDonald, *Schoenberg*, 48; Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 286; and Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg's journey*, 272. Few biographers point out that the age limit

America per se is blamed for his meager creative output:⁷⁸ “The United States was not the place where Schoenberg’s ideas could fall on fertile ground,” stated Sinkovicz.⁷⁹ And Lessem viewed the relative “unresponsiveness of publishers, performers, and audiences” in America as an inhibiting factor for his artistic productivity.⁸⁰

In this respect most Schoenberg commentators fail to consider his many non-musical interests and activities—political, religious, and social engagements, extensive writing (theory books, poems, essays, correspondence), painting, handcraft, sports, card and chess playing, dedication to his young family, relatives, and countless friends—which became his priority at times and undoubtedly took time away from composing.⁸¹ These activities could explain at least in part why Schoenberg was not a generally prolific composer. And although Schoenberg’s biographers tend to take his own words at face value (to the detriment of more critical distance), they seem to have overlooked his comment on this issue: “Maybe I would have written more when remaining in Europe, but I think: nothing comes out, what was not in. And two times two equals four in every climate.”⁸²

5. SCHOENBERG: THE TEACHER AND HIS STUDENTS. Another negative and in part misleading impression, emerging from most accounts of Schoenberg’s American teaching career, is that Schoenberg was dissatisfied with the teaching conditions—teaching load, educational system, and students—in America. In most biographies, this impression is created by quoting some critical remarks Schoenberg made about teaching in America, by a primary focus on his first and stressful teaching job at the Malkin Conservatory in Boston and New York, and by sparse coverage of his eight-year tenure at UCLA, where the teaching conditions were more favorable.⁸³ Detailed information on his private composition lessons and seminars, and elaborate discussions on the nature of his teaching activities are generally omitted.⁸⁴ Such a perspective certainly underscores the image of Schoenberg as a European elitist and undermines his unwavering pragmatism, idealism, and adaptability. Yet it is an indisputable fact that Schoenberg, a passionate and devoted teacher throughout his life, quickly adjusted to the needs and expectations of the American educational system by providing a high-

for applicants for a Guggenheim fellowship was 40. See Henke, *Arnold Schönberg*, 149. Adorno’s supposition that Schoenberg did not finish the large-scale oratorio and opera because “the urge to bring a work to a conclusion was totally alien to him” is outlandish. Adorno, *Philosophy*, 120–21.

⁷⁸ Krenek, “America’s influence,” 117.

⁷⁹ “Die USA waren nicht der Platz, an dem Schönbergs Ideen auf fruchtbaren Boden fallen konnten.” Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 254–55.

⁸⁰ Lessem, “The émigré experience,” 59.

⁸¹ However, both Henke and Shawn included chapters on Schoenberg’s multifarious nonmusical activities in their recent monographs. See “Lieber Vollmensch als Halbgot: Anmerkungen zur Person” in Henke, *Arnold Schönberg*, 7–21; “Games” and “On being short” in Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg’s journey*, 247–52.

⁸² See Goldberg, “The sounding board”.

⁸³ The two most often quoted critical remarks are drawn from Schoenberg’s letters to German conductor Hermann Scherchen and his fellow émigré composer Ernst Krenek. In 1936 he wrote to Scherchen: “I have been teaching at one and next year shall be teaching at the other of the two universities here. But unfortunately the material I get has had such an inadequate grounding that my work is as much a waste of time as if Einstein were having to teach mathematics at a secondary school.” In 1940 Schoenberg confided to Krenek: “I share your opinion of American students of music. It’s a great pity that the grounding is bad.” Yet he continued saying “I was not enthusiastic about German teaching either ... But American young people’s intelligence is certainly remarkable.” See Stein, ed., *Arnold Schoenberg letters*, 198, 210. These utterances, however, should not be generalized and applied to Schoenberg’s entire teaching career in America as they refer to his teaching of music minors and undergraduate music.

⁸⁴ Stuckenschmidt, *Schoenberg*, 373–80; Freitag, *Schönberg*, 137.

mindful and conservative teaching approach (preferred in academia).⁸⁵ Further, it should be assumed that Schoenberg—while less happy about teaching undergraduates and music minors—would have enjoyed working with such gifted and prepared students as John Cage, Patricia Carpenter, Lou Harrison, Richard Hoffmann, Earl Kim, Leon Kirchner, Oscar Levant, Dika Newlin, Leonard Rosenman, William Russell, Leonard Stein, and Gerald Strang. All of these students were to make distinguished careers as composers, performers, scholars, and teachers.

While much has been made of Schoenberg's European students in Schoenberg monographs, little has been said about his American students.⁸⁶ In fact, the majority of biographies generally accuse his American students of lacking qualification, perseverance, and a thorough knowledge of the musical canon.⁸⁷ Composers from the Hollywood film industry who studied with Schoenberg come off even worse, as they are charged with superficial curiosity and with only wanting to learn a few tricks in little time.⁸⁸ This distorted view was furthered by Oscar Levant's more entertaining than accurate satirical memoir *A smattering of ignorance* (1940).⁸⁹ Most of the above mentioned students are absent from the majority of biographical accounts. Cage, Levant, Newlin, and Schoenberg's teaching assistants at UCLA—Leonard Stein and Gerald Strang—are generally mentioned only in passing.⁹⁰ Their voices have been neglected, too, although much could be learned from an in-depth study of their accounts and notes. Thus the impression arises that Schoenberg's American students could not withstand comparison to his European disciples, a view underpinned by the following statement of 1951: "Strangely enough, only a very few out of the hundreds of musicians who studied with Schoenberg at UCLA have become composers of some reputation: Gerald Strang, Leon Kirchner, Simon Carfagno, Earl Kim, Dika Newlin, and Don Estep."⁹¹ In 1967 Meyerowitz bluntly concluded that "among the

⁸⁵ See Lessem, "The emigré experience", 65. The heritage of Schoenberg's teaching in America can be found not only in several textbooks on harmony, counterpoint, and composition (*Models for beginners in composition*, *Structural functions of harmony*, *Preliminary exercises in counterpoint*, *Fundamentals of musical composition*) tailored to the needs of American students, but also in numerous articles on music education and proposals for music schools.

⁸⁶ Gervink provides a chapter on Schoenberg as a teacher in Europe in his Schoenberg monograph, yet refrained from discussing his American teaching career. See Gervink, *Arnold Schönberg*, 216–24.

⁸⁷ Meyerowitz, *Arnold Schönberg*, 29–30; Freitag, *Schönberg*, 143; Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 264–65; Gervink, *Arnold Schönberg*, 294.

⁸⁸ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Arnold Schoenberg*, trans. by Edith Roberts and Humphrey Searle (New York: Grove Press, 1959), 112 (originally published as *Arnold Schönberg* [Zurich: Atlantis, 1951]); Reich, *Schoenberg*, 200–01; MacDonald, *Schoenberg*, 46; Lessem, "The emigré experience", 62–63; Kater, *Composers of the Nazi era*, 191.

⁸⁹ "There is rarely a period in Hollywood when all the orchestrators and most of the movie composers are not studying with one or another of the prominent musicians who have gone there to live recently. At one time the vogue was for Schoenberg, who came with a great reputation, of course, as a teacher. However, most of the boys wanted to take a six weeks' course and learn a handful of Schoenberg tricks." Oscar Levant, *A smattering of ignorance* (New York: Doubleday, 1940) 125–26. My article "Arnold Schoenberg and the cinematic art" seeks to correct the misconceptions about Schoenberg's interactions with composers working in the Hollywood film industry.

⁹⁰ Freitag, *Schönberg*, 149; Stuckenschmidt, *Schönberg: Leben, Umwelt, Werk*, 408, 450, 455–57.

⁹¹ Rubsamen, "Schoenberg in America", 473. From Rubsamen's list Simon Carfagno and Don Estep sank into obscurity. Rubsamen drew his conclusion from a statement by Schoenberg pertaining to his European and American students: "The harshness of my requirements is also the reason why, of the hundreds of my pupils, only a few have become composers: Anton Webern, Alban Berg, Hanns Eisler, Karl Rankl, Winfried Zillig, Roberto Gerhard, Nikos Skalkottas, Norbert von Hannenheim, Gerald Strang, Adolph Weiss. At least I have only heard of these." See "The blessing of the dressing (1948)" in *Arnold Schoenberg, Style and idea*, ed. by Dika Newlin (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950) 118. From Schoenberg's list von Hannenheim is now forgotten, Rankl and Zillig are remembered as conductors. Few of his European students—Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Hanns Eisler, Roberto Gerhard, and Nikos Skalkottas—became well-known composers.

hundreds of American students Schoenberg taught there is not one composer worth mentioning.”⁹²

In the past few years some Schoenberg commentators have begun to cast a different, more positive light on Schoenberg’s teaching activities.⁹³ Others embarked upon more detailed studies of Schoenberg’s teaching methods in America and his development of textbooks tailored to the needs of American students.⁹⁴ Yet studies focusing on Schoenberg’s interactions with his students are still rare.⁹⁵ Such studies could in part illuminate reasons for his immense popularity with younger generations of musicians and the great influence Schoenberg had on American academia after his death.

6. INFLUENCE AND RECEPTION IN AMERICA. The common perception that “Schoenberg’s ideas could not fall on fertile ground”, that there was no “productive preoccupation” with his work, and that his music was “practically not performed” in America is a myth inviting scrutiny.⁹⁶ Undoubtedly this misconception grew out of Schoenberg’s own worries about his legacy and the dissemination of his music, which contradict the assumption that he was not interested in the (music) market. Schoenberg’s concern about being neglected was prompted in part by the feeling of what his fellow émigré Ernst Krenek called the “echolessness” of the vast American expanses—a notion implying that artists, for lack of feedback, were often unaware of the full scope of the reception of their work in this large country.⁹⁷

While Schoenberg commentators stress that he was first of all and undeniably a highly popular and influential teacher and elevated academic standards, they do not mention that his innumerable students spread his gospel and perpetuated his legacy in manifold ways. European biographers report about Schoenberg’s revival in Europe after World War II, yet tend to overlook the fact that his presence in the United States also nurtured interest in modernism among the young composers and performers who did not study with him, including Milton Babbitt, Elliott Carter, Robert Craft, George Perle, and George Rochberg.⁹⁸ In the 1950s and 1960s Schoenberg’s compositional ideas not only became important and much respected subjects of study in academia, but atonality and serialism also came to be the preferred compositional techniques for

⁹² Meyerowitz, *Arnold Schönberg*, 30. By the 1960s John Cage and Lou Harrison had gained international recognition as composers, and Leon Kirchner and Earl Kim had become professors of composition at Harvard and Princeton.

⁹³ Henke, *Arnold Schönberg*, 131, 135, 143; Ringer, *Arnold Schönberg: Das Leben im Werk*, 287; Crawford, “Arnold Schoenberg in Los Angeles”, 15–28.

⁹⁴ See Murray Dineen, “Gerald Strang’s manuscript notes to Arnold Schoenberg’s classes (1935–1937): Construction and the two learnings”, *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002) 104–18; Colleen Conlon, “Classical form as teaching tool: Schoenberg’s pedagogy in composition”, *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002) 271–77, and Robert Pascall, “Theory and practice: Schoenberg’s American pedagogical writings and the first movement of the fourth string quartet, op. 37”, *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002) 229–44. See also Sointu Scharenberg, *Überwindung von Prinzipien: Betrachtungen zu Arnold Schönbergs unkonventioneller Lehrtätigkeit* (Saarbrücken: Pfau Verlag, 2002).

⁹⁵ Michael Hicks, “John Cage’s studies with Schoenberg”, *American music* 8/2 (summer 1990) 125–40; David Bernstein, “John Cage, Arnold Schoenberg and the musical idea”, *John Cage: Music, philosophy, and intention, 1933–50*, ed. by David W. Patterson (New York: Routledge, 2002) 15–45. Schoenberg’s students Patricia Carpenter, Warren Langlie, Lois Lautner, Robert Nelson, Dika Newlin, David Raksin, William Russell, Leonard Stein, and Gerald Strang provided rich source materials.

⁹⁶ “Die Stätte der erhofften Triumphe aber wurde es nicht, im Gegenteil: Die USA waren nicht der Platz, an dem Schönbergs Ideen auf fruchtbaren Boden fallen konnten... Die amerikanische Musikgeschichte lief nach Gesetzen ab, die denen seiner Musik diametral entgegengesetzt waren. Dessen sollte er sich bald schmerzhaft bewusst werden.” Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 254–55. “Die erwünschte produktive Auseinandersetzung fand nicht statt.” Sinkovicz, *Mehr als zwölf Töne*, 279. “Sa musique n’est pour ainsi dire jamais jouée.” Leibowitz, *Schoenberg and his school*, 141.

⁹⁷ Krenek, “America’s influence”, 117.

⁹⁸ Jameux, *L’école de Vienne*, 643.

many American composers. Schoenberg gained visibility in the press through his own contributions, articles, and letters to the editors, and regularly provoked invigorating discussions and debates about modernism by others.

Furthermore, the much deplored small number of performances Schoenberg received between 1933 and 1951 in America, after all amounting to hundreds of events, has to be considered in relative terms. The limited number must be seen against the background of a country coping with the Great Depression, countless other struggling indigenous and exile-seeking composers in the 1930s, and the economic burden caused by World War II in the 1940s. Thus it is not surprising that during these years populist leanings dominated concert programming and that, if Schoenberg's music was performed, his most accessible works were given preference. The number of Schoenberg performances also needs to be compared with the much smaller number of performances of modernist works by such fellow émigrés as Bartók, Krenek, and Edgard Varèse, or indigenous composers including John Becker, Ruth Crawford, Charles Ives, Wallingford Riegger, Carl Ruggles, and Roger Sessions.



In surveying most literature on Schoenberg in America, three pejorative perspectives seem to prevail. In one view the emphasis is on Schoenberg the elitist, lone genius, and composer of complex music who stubbornly refused to adapt to his chosen new environment of Southern California. In another view Schoenberg's manifold attempts to accommodate to American life and the American music scene by compromising his progressive European compositional approach is severely criticized and even derided ("Two Schoenbergs?").⁹⁹ In a further perspective certain problems, including financial issues (aggravated by increased health problems), the type of teaching activity Schoenberg had "to put up with," and a reluctant reception of his music, are indirectly blamed on America and its "retarded" or commercially oriented culture ("American guilt theory").¹⁰⁰

Reasons for such one-sided viewpoints lie in the fact that Schoenberg's personality and work reveal conflicting tendencies, that his music and aesthetics are still controversial and polarizing, and that Schoenberg commentators approach their subject with widely differing agendas. Biographers are often heavily influenced (if not blinded) by Schoenberg's sometimes pessimistic perspectives. Schoenberg's own preference of biographies that stress discussions of his works, his strong opinions, and his (European) students' worshipful attitude toward him, led to hagiography-like portraits suggesting the image of Schoenberg as a strong and incorruptible musical prophet.¹⁰¹ Thus most

⁹⁹ Such bisectional biographical views dividing a composer's career into a superior European and inferior American period have also been applied to Bartók, Weill, and others. See Gillies, "Bartók in America", 190–201; Stephen Hinton, "Kurt Weill: Life, work, and posterity", *Amerikanismus, Americanism, Weill: Die Suche nach kultureller Identität in der Moderne*, ed. by Hermann Danuser and Hermann Gottschewski (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2003) 209–20.

¹⁰⁰ See especially literature on Schoenberg of European provenance, for instance, Gabriele Eder, "Arnold Schönberg und die New Yorker Musikkritik", *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 4 (2002) 292–308. See also Gillies's critical discussion of Hungarian literature on Bartók where America is accused of treating this eminent composer inappropriately: Gillies, "Bartók in America", 193–95.

¹⁰¹ See Egon Wellesz, *Arnold Schönberg* (Leipzig: E.P. Tal, 1921, published in an English trans. by William Kerridge, London: J.M. Dent, 1925) and Leibowitz, *Schoenberg et son école* and René Leibowitz, *Schoenberg* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1969).

Schoenberg biographies, especially in their treatment of Schoenberg's American period, distinguish themselves by a strong focus on his works to the detriment of a comprehensive biographical contextualization. As these texts are primarily written by Europeans, principally German and Austrian Schoenberg adherents, and are still widely used, a Eurocentric outlook tends to mark our view of Schoenberg in America today.¹⁰² As a result, concerns with Schoenberg's threatened yet unshakeable artistic identity and curtailed conditions of his life are prominent, and a successful European career is thereby pitched against a disappointing American period. Other predominantly European left-wing Schoenberg commentators observed and criticized instances of acculturation, and reproved Schoenberg's changes in artistic attitude and direction in America, which they interpreted as character weakness. New and more holistic perspectives have been explored occasionally and with increased frequency in recent years by a younger generation of biographers, including German musicologist Matthias Henke and American composer Allen Shawn. Yet balanced and elaborate discussions of Schoenberg's American years are still rare. More broadly based biographical approaches informed by ideas of cultural theory, by new exile studies, and by more research on Schoenberg's manifold interactions with Americans have yet to be applied to Schoenberg's life and work in the United States. Such research is urgently needed to overcome the widespread view of his later years as "la douloureuse période américaine."¹⁰³

¹⁰² Stuckenschmidt's 1974 *Schoenberg* monograph is still the most comprehensive biography on Schoenberg to date. While much important Schoenberg research is done by American scholars, there are very few Schoenberg biographies by Americans or non-Europeans.

¹⁰³ André Riotte, "Preface" in Barbaud, *Schoenberg*, 9.

STRAVINSKY STRATÈGE ? LE COMPOSITEUR FACE À L'EXÉGÈSE DE SON ŒUVRE EN EUROPE (1926–34)

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L'art d'Igor Stravinsky a fait l'objet d'une littérature exceptionnellement abondante depuis les années 1920 tant son œuvre a oscillé énigmatiquement entre révolution et tradition. Derrière cet intérêt massif des critiques, des analystes et des historiens, ne devine-t-on pas aussi la volonté de Stravinsky lui-même de faire parler de lui et de façonner l'image du plus grand compositeur du XX^e siècle ? Pour satisfaire ce désir de polarité, le compositeur n'a pas hésité à convoquer autour de lui les plus grands intellectuels de son temps et à s'impliquer dans l'élaboration non seulement du discours sur son œuvre, mais aussi dans la confection de ce qu'il s'est attaché à représenter : une icône culturelle.

Sur le plan du discours tenu par Stravinsky par rapport à son œuvre, il ne fait aucun doute que l'impact de ses propos a été largement tributaire des idées des personnalités dont le compositeur a su s'entourer. Aussi importe-t-il de cerner l'apport des relations que le compositeur a entretenues avec des hommes tels que Pierre Souvtchinsky ou Jacques Maritain.¹ Le présent article se donne pour but de mettre en évidence la manière dont Stravinsky a géré les premiers ouvrages consacrés à son œuvre et d'accéder ainsi à une meilleure connaissance du discours stravinskien et des conditions de son élaboration.

Dès la première représentation du *Sacre du printemps* en 1913, et suite aux critiques très violentes que la création avait suscitées, Stravinsky a commencé à nourrir une méfiance extrême à l'égard de tout texte s'attachant à expliquer sa musique. Les premiers articles d'envergure dans les années 1910 et 1920 l'ont souvent froissé car ils lui donnaient le sentiment de voir ses conceptions dénaturées. Au milieu des années 1920, plusieurs auteurs entreprirent de fixer l'activité créatrice de Stravinsky en rédigeant des ouvrages monographiques, phénomène qui s'amplifia très vite : entre 1926 et 1934, on ne dénombre pas moins de onze éditions différentes exclusivement consacrées au compositeur. Quinze

¹ Sur l'influence de Souvtchinsky dans la *Poétique musicale* de Stravinsky, voir Valérie Dufour, « La Poétique musicale de Stravinsky : Un manuscrit inédit de Souvtchinsky », *Revue de musicologie* 89/2 (2003) 373–92 et Valérie Dufour, « Stravinsky vers Souvtchinsky : Thèmes et variations sur la Poétique musicale », *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung* 17 (mars 2004) 17–23. Voir Valérie Dufour, *Stravinski et ses exégètes, 1910–1940* (Bruxelles : Éditions de l'Université, 2006), dont le présent article met quelques aspects en exerque.

années plus tard, le nombre est doublé. Notre analyse se concentrera ici précisément sur la période 1926–1934. Il y eut dix monographies consacrées au compositeur en cinq ans (de 1929 à 1934), soit une moyenne de deux par an.

- Alfredo Casella, *Igor Strawinski* (Roma : A.F. Formiggini, 1926)
Igor Glebov [Boris V. Asaf'ev], *Kniga o Stravinskome* (Leningrad : Triton, 1929)
Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz, *Souvenirs sur Igor Strawinsky* (Paris : Nouvelle Revue Française, 1929)
Boris de Schloezer, *Igor Stravinsky* (Paris : Claude Aveline, 1929)
Paul Collaer, *Strawinsky* (Bruxelles : Équilibres, 1930)
Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky's sacrifice to Apollo* (London : Hogarth Press, 1930)
André Schaeffner, *Strawinsky* (Paris : Rieder, 1931)
Herbert Fleischer, *Strawinsky* (Berlin : Russischer Musik Verlag, 1931)
Domenico De' Paoli, *L'opera di Strawinsky* (Milano : Giovanni Scheiwiller, 1931)
Jacques Handschin, *Igor Strawinski : Versuch einer Einführung* (Zürich ; Leipzig : Kommissionsverlag von Hug & Co, 1933)
Domenico De' Paoli, *Igor Strawinsky (da Loiseau de feu a Persefone)* (nuova edizione riveduta ed aggiornata ; Torino : G.B. Paravia, 1934)

Nous examinerons l'attitude du compositeur face à ces premières publications réparties sur six pays européens : Allemagne, Angleterre, Belgique, France, Italie et Russie. Pour chaque ouvrage, nous aborderons systématiquement les questions suivantes : l'auteur a-t-il fait part de son projet à Stravinsky ? Y-a-t-il eu intervention du compositeur dans l'élaboration du travail ? Si oui, de quelle manière a-t-il assisté l'auteur, quels éléments retenaient plus particulièrement son attention ? Et, enfin, quel a été son jugement devant la version définitive ?

L'examen repose sur deux types de sources : d'une part la correspondance entre le compositeur et les auteurs, et d'autre part la bibliothèque personnelle de Stravinsky qui contient ses propres exemplaires parfois truffés de remarques, de corrections, de points d'interrogation ou d'exclamation auxquels nous tenterons de donner une signification.²

L'ÉCHEC DE COLLAER. Contrairement à l'ordre apparent dicté par les dates de publication, Paul Collaer est le premier à avoir entrepris la rédaction d'une monographie consacrée à Stravinsky.³ L'initiative était née dans l'esprit de l'auteur suite à la grande confiance que le compositeur lui avait témoignée à l'occasion de divers articles et programmes de concerts rédigés au début des années vingt. Stravinsky accueillit le projet avec enthousiasme et apporta dans un premier temps son aide à l'auteur en lui communiquant les données nécessaires à l'établissement d'une biographie et d'un premier catalogue de ses œuvres.⁴

Le Russischer Musik Verlag à Berlin avaient marqué leur accord pour publier le livre, qui tendait dès lors à devenir « la biographie officielle » de Stravinsky, puisque soutenue par son propre éditeur. Mais ce dernier avait subordonné la publication du livre à l'avis du compositeur. Entreprise au cours de l'année 1923, la rédaction de la monographie fut achevée en juillet 1925 et le manuscrit complet présenté par Collaer au

² La bibliothèque de Stravinsky est conservée au sein des archives du compositeur à la Fondation Paul Sacher de Bâle (Suisse), reprise ci-dessous par le sigle CH-Bps, Coll. I.S.

³ Paul Collaer (1891–1989), musicologue et musicien belge, organisateur des Concerts Pro Arte à Bruxelles dans les années vingt au cours desquels il a été le grand promoteur de la musique de Stravinsky.

⁴ Pour les détails la relation entre Collaer et Stravinsky, voir le premier chapitre de notre livre, *Strawinsky à Bruxelles : 1920–1960*, préface de Robert Wangermée (Bruxelles : Académie Royale de Belgique, 2003).

compositeur au même moment. Après avoir fait patienter l'auteur plusieurs mois pour lui faire part des corrections qu'il voulait voir apportées au manuscrit, Stravinsky écrit finalement à Collaer : « Dans l'esprit de votre ouvrage tout entier, je ne me reconnais malheureusement pas, ni dans ma vie privée, ni dans mon œuvre. »⁵ Profondément aigri par la sentence du compositeur, Collaer décida de ne pas faire paraître le livre. Stravinsky n'a jamais, semble-t-il, exposé à Collaer les raisons précises d'un refus aussi catégorique.

Collaer ne prit la décision de publier le livre, sans l'imprimatur du maître, qu'en 1930.⁶ Il convient de noter ici que l'exemplaire du livre de Collaer acquis par Stravinsky à ce moment-là ne porte aucune annotation de sa main, contrairement à tous les autres ouvrages qui l'avaient irrité. Sans en exposer ici tout le développement,⁷ signalons qu'un examen de la correspondance entre Collaer et d'autres amis communs du compositeur tend à montrer que l'élément qui avait heurté Stravinsky était lié à l'importance que Collaer avait accordée au rôle de Diaghilev dans l'épanouissement de sa carrière ;⁸ cela aurait fortement déplu à Stravinsky, compte tenu des différends que ce dernier avait eus avec le maître des Ballets Russes lorsqu'il avait commencé à mener sa carrière en dehors de cette organisation. Mais cet élément de réponse n'explique pas pleinement l'attitude pour le moins ambiguë du compositeur ; la qualité intrinsèque du livre de Collaer pourrait susciter quelques doutes ici ou là, mais, d'une manière générale, l'affaire Collaer met en évidence la volonté de Stravinsky de contrôler le discours sur son œuvre et l'image de l'artiste qu'il incarne.

LA MINIATURE DE CASELLA. Dans la bibliographie stravinskienne, le *Igor Strawinski* d'Alfredo Casella, sorti de presse en 1926, apparaît souvent comme la première monographie consacrée au compositeur.⁹ Pourtant, pour avoir eu entre les mains l'opuscule (6.5 × 11 cm), mince d'une quarantaine de pages de texte, nous refuserons de parler ici de monographie au sens général d'une étude complète et détaillée. Casella y dresse un rapide portrait du compositeur – en forme de miniature – accompagné d'une chronologie commentée de ses compositions.

D'après la dédicace que l'on peut lire sur l'exemplaire du compositeur,¹⁰ le petit livre ne lui a été offert qu'en mai 1935. Peut-on pour autant penser que Stravinsky n'avait pas acquis l'opuscule de Casella avant cette date ? En outre, il est probable que le compositeur n'eut pas non plus connaissance de son élaboration : la correspondance de Casella à Stravinsky est muette à cet égard. Les relations entre Stravinsky et Casella sont donc de moindre importance dans le cadre de cette étude. On ne décèle même aucune intervention ni réaction du compositeur.¹¹

⁵ Lettre de Stravinsky à P. Collaer, 10 octobre 1925 dans *Paul Collaer : Correspondance avec des amis musiciens*, présentée et commentée par Robert Wangermée (Sprimont : Mardaga, 1996) lettre 25–27, reproduite dans V. Dufour, *Stravinsky à Bruxelles*, 232.

⁶ Paul Collaer, *Stravinsky* (Bruxelles : Équilibres, 1930).

⁷ Voir Valérie Dufour, « Paul Collaer et Igor Stravinsky : Lettres inédites au compositeur », *Revue belge de musicologie* 56 (2002) 99–116.

⁸ L'édition de 1930 est d'ailleurs dépourvue de toute l'introduction biographique que Collaer avait rédigée d'après un entretien avec le compositeur. Collaer publiera ce chapitre introductif sitôt après le décès de Stravinsky (P. Collaer, « Introduction à la vie et l'œuvre d'Igor Strawinsky », *Revue générale* 5 (1971) 21–37 avec une petite préface témoignant du profond sentiment d'injustice qu'il avait éprouvé suite à la désapprobation du compositeur.

⁹ Alfredo Casella, *Igor Strawinski* (Roma : A.F. Formiggini, 1926). Alfredo Casella (1883–1947), pianiste, chef d'orchestre et compositeur italien.

¹⁰ *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., exemplaire personnel de Stravinsky : IS B 1262.

¹¹ Notons cette remarque que le compositeur fit à Roman Vlad à la sortie de presse de son livre en 1958 : il lui dit qu'il était désolé de ne pouvoir prendre connaissance de l'ouvrage parce que « Italian is slow going with me » (*CH-Bps*,

RAMUZ ENTRE PARENTHÈSES. En tant que recueil de souvenirs de la collaboration Ramuz–Stravinsky pour l'*Histoire du soldat* et des moments privilégiés que cette aventure avait laissés dans la mémoire de l'écrivain, le livre *Souvenirs sur Igor Stravinsky* n'entre pas dans la catégorie des ouvrages d'exégèse musicale traités ici. Cependant, il faut retenir l'attitude de Stravinsky pour le moins évasive lorsque l'écrivain suisse lui demande d'écrire quelques pages pour le livre :

Bien sûr que j'ai des réactions, cher Ramuz ; mais quand on me demande, comme vous venez de le faire, de les fixer par des notes ou remarques, je recule comme un escargot rentrant dans sa coquille : je sens qu'on va toucher au nu. Je m'explique : il s'agit de dire des choses intelligentes dans ces cas, et vous êtes sûrement de cet avis. Chacun (et moi aussi) peu[t] dire des choses intelligentes ; mais si on me demande de les écrire c.à.d. de les fixer je suis subitement pris d'une certaine inquiétude, faute de compétence dans le métier de les formuler.¹²

Ce sentiment « d'incompétence dans le métier de les formuler » prendra tout son sens au cours de l'exposé qui suit ; en effet, nous montrerons comment le compositeur s'est exprimé non pas en son nom propre, mais par l'intermédiaire d'auteurs choisis pour cela, par lui.

CONTRE ASAF'EV. Stravinsky n'eut jamais de contact direct avec le musicologue Igor Glebov, pseudonyme de Boris Asaf'ev.¹³ Bien qu'il connût ses travaux, le compositeur n'a jamais daigné leur accorder son estime, comme en témoigne notamment cet échange avec Ernest Ansermet ; de retour d'une tournée de concerts en Russie en avril 1928, le chef d'orchestre écrivait au compositeur :

Moscou et Leningrad sont musicalement aussi différents qu'avant la guerre. Et j'ai hâte de vous dire qu'il n'y a pas de lieu où vous soyez mieux aimé et compris qu'à Leningrad, du moins dans un petit milieu qui en est l'élite. Il y a là un homme qui est non seulement tout près de votre musique, mais de vos idées et de vos goûts. Je ne sais si vous le connaissez, c'est Boris Assafieff, dit Igor Glebov. C'est une merveille d'être, extrêmement touchant et excessivement fort. Non seulement il vous sent complètement, mais il vous devine. Vous auriez dû le voir se jeter sur la partition de *Mavra* et des *Symphonies* qu'il ne connaissait qu'en transcription de piano. Après quelques heures de lecture, il m'a apporté inscrites sur une feuille une trentaine de fautes de la partition *Mavra*.¹⁴

La réponse de Stravinsky ne se fit pas attendre :

Je métonne de l'enthousiasme que vous remportez de Boris Asafieff. Personnellement je ne le connais pas, mais j'ai eu souvent l'occasion de lire ce qu'il écrit sur la musique – si vous lisiez ça vous changeriez peut-être votre opignon [sic]. J'ai lu ce qu'il écrivait sur Rimsky et Tchaïkovsky et j'étais très surpris de constater son appartenance plutôt [sic] au clan de André Rimsky et Steinberg qu'au clan opposé à ce nit de vieilles gueppes

Coll. I.S., lettre de Stravinsky à R. Vlad, 10 juin 1958, PSS 104.1–02016). Il convient de remarquer encore qu'aucun des ouvrages en italien présents dans la bibliothèque de Stravinsky ne porte d'annotations de sa main, contrairement aux ouvrages dans les langues qu'il pratiquait : le russe, le français et l'anglais.

¹² CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., lettre de Stravinsky à C.F. Ramuz, 16 décembre 1928, PSS 101.1–1417.

¹³ Boris Asaf'ev (1884–1949), compositeur et musicologue russe originaire de Saint-Petersbourg, auteur de plusieurs études en russe sur Čajkovskij, Liszt, Rimskij-Korsakov, Chopin, Musorgskij et Skrjabin.

¹⁴ Lettre du 10 avril 1928, E. Ansermet à I. Stravinsky, dans Claude Tappolet (éd.), *Correspondance Ansermet–Stravinsky (1914–1967)*, 3 vols (Genève : Georg éditeur, 1990–92) vol. 2, 145.

[sic], car on m'avait toujours signalé Asafieff comme le seul qui compte véritablement en Russie aujourd'hui.¹⁵

Stravinsky ignorait vraisemblablement qu'Asaf'ev était alors sur le point de terminer une monographie sur lui. L'étude d'Asaf'ev, intitulée *Kniga o Stravinskome* (Un livre sur Stravinsky), parut durant l'été 1929 à Leningrad.¹⁶ Il ne s'agit ni d'une biographie ni d'une suite d'analyse des œuvres, mais d'un essai d'interprétation esthétique et philosophique. Dans l'introduction de la traduction anglaise du livre publiée en 1982, Robert Craft, le pourtant zélé assistant de Stravinsky, en parle comme une des plus brillantes interprétations de la musique du compositeur, qui continue à surpasser les plus récentes et les plus exhaustives études sur le sujet.¹⁷ Pourtant, vues les déclarations du compositeur, ses innombrables annotations dans les marges, ses points d'interrogation, ses points d'exclamation et ses commentaires rageurs, il est clair que l'intéressé avait désavoué l'ouvrage.

Stravinsky s'insurge contre la dimension historique et sociale qu'Asaf'ev met en exergue ; le compositeur lui rétorque : « Ça c'est pour les communistes ». ¹⁸ Lorsque Asaf'ev parle « d'une ferme conviction que l'on peut réduire chaque chose à une forme plus simple et plus claire... que la vie est un mécanisme, que les réflexes déterminent tous nos comportements dans le monde matériel, et que les considérations économiques conditionnent tout le travail créatif », Stravinsky lui rétorque : « Est-ce de l'ironie ou une révérence au communisme ? » ¹⁹ Stravinsky refuse aussi certaines interprétations plus ou moins philosophiques : Asaf'ev associe par exemple la question de la vie et de la mort à l'opéra *Le rossignol*. En outre, il conteste la plupart des analyses des œuvres jusque *Mavra* et ne manque jamais de soulever la moindre faille. Ainsi, lorsque Asaf'ev parle de l'andantino du *Rossignol* comme d'un nouvel épisode musical, Stravinsky s'exclame : « Et vous n'avez pas remarqué que le chant de la reine déjà présent au début du second acte correspond à la même musique. » ²⁰

À moins que l'on puisse interpréter les pages vierges de toute annotation du compositeur comme signe d'approbation, Stravinsky n'a laissé dans son livre qu'une seule remarque positive : « C'est important » (Asaf'ev s'exprime alors sur la valeur de l'accentuation dans la musique instrumentale) que l'on serait tenté de considérer comme indice d'une certaine reconnaissance de la valeur de l'ouvrage de la part du compositeur.

En soutenant la réédition du livre en 1982, Craft se devait de donner une justification au rejet de Stravinsky à l'égard de ce livre :

Stravinsky was annoyed that an infidel Marxist, living so far from the center and with only the rarest opportunities to hear the music, had penetrated it so profoundly – and it is inconceivable that Stravinsky did not realize that Asaf'ev understood him as no

¹⁵ Lettre du 20 avril 1928, I. Stravinsky à E. Ansermet, dans *ibid.*, vol. 2, 147. Les relations de Stravinsky avec Andrej Nikolaevič Rimskij-Korsakov, fils du compositeur, et avec le compositeur Maximilien Steinberg, époux de la fille du même compositeur, s'étaient dégradées au moment de l'arrivée de Stravinsky dans le monde musical parisien.

¹⁶ Igor Glebov [Boris Asaf'ev], *Kniga o Stravinskome* (Leningrad : Triton, 1929).

¹⁷ Robert Craft dans la préface de B. Asaf'ev, *A book about Stravinsky*, trad. Richard French (Ann Arbor : UMI, 1982).

¹⁸ Cité d'après Victor Varuntz, « Stravinsky protestiert... », *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung* 6 (mars 1993) 35–37. Dans cet article, Varuntz cite en traduction allemande les principales annotations que Stravinsky a faites dans son exemplaire du livre d'Asaf'ev.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 35–37.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

one else ... After all, to be completely understood by anyone is threatening, and who, least of all Igor Stravinsky, wants an alter-ego ?²¹

Craft rend évident que l'attitude de Stravinsky dissimule son sentiment d'irritation et d'insécurité face aux analyses judicieuses de sa musique et de son projet esthétique. En outre, le compositeur semble se crispier sur la question de l'appartenance intellectuelle de l'auteur : non seulement ouvertement communiste à ses yeux, mais aussi familier d'un groupe de compositeurs russes (dont Maximilien Steinberg) auxquels l'auteur du *Sacre* s'est toujours opposé. Stravinsky refusait de voir cette image de la nouvelle Russie associée à sa personne.

À plusieurs endroits du livre, et dès l'introduction, Asaf'ev exprime sa crainte non seulement de voir l'art de Stravinsky perdre son originalité depuis quelques années, mais aussi surtout de voir le compositeur se fourvoyer dans son idée de tirer son inspiration dans les musiques du passé : « Ses derniers ballets manquent de substance à un degré redoutable. »²² Cela ne pouvait pas manquer de heurter le compositeur, déjà assailli de toute part par les attaques répudiant son néoclassicisme. Stravinsky a dû aussi être excédé de lire dans la préface : « C'est grâce à ce qu'il a emporté de son pays natal qu'il a pu maintenir sa position de 'chéri' auprès des snobs européens. Mais il ne pourra pas toujours être leur 'chéri' » ;²³ face à cette vérité, il ne pouvait pas considérer Asaf'ev comme le porte-parole de son œuvre et voyait plutôt en lui un détracteur.

Du côté des autres musicologues, même les plus proches du compositeur, le livre d'Asaf'ev a été, semble-t-il, bien accueilli ; Jacques Handschin avait d'ailleurs eu l'intention d'en donner une traduction dès 1931, mais Stravinsky s'opposa à l'initiative.²⁴

LA PERSPICACITÉ MENAÇANTE DE SCHLOEZER. Stravinsky avait eu l'occasion, à maintes reprises, de lire les critiques de concerts signées par Boris de Schloezer²⁵ dans le quotidien russe publié à Paris *Les dernières nouvelles* ; une trentaine sont soigneusement conservées dans ses archives.²⁶ La correspondance de Stravinsky avec les acteurs de la vie musicale des années 1920 révèle une méfiance extrême à l'égard de Schloezer, bien qu'il fut déférent à l'égard de sa musique et n'avait encore jamais témoigné d'une attitude de rejet. Ce que Stravinsky ne supportait pas dans ses analyses tient, une fois encore, de la trop grande lucidité dont le musicologue faisait preuve. Par ailleurs, Schloezer s'était également illustré dans la défense d'autres compositeurs, tel Skrjabin, dont l'image de romantique total était à l'opposé de l'anti-romantique absolu que Stravinsky s'attachait à représenter. Il y avait manifestement dans l'esprit de Stravinsky un refus de voir son œuvre interprétée par un critique qui ne soit pas exclusivement voué à son art. Aussi, la correspondance ne fera aucune allusion à un éventuel projet de collaboration entre les deux protagonistes.²⁷

²¹ R. Craft dans la préface de B. Asaf'ev, *A book about Stravinsky*, viii.

²² Cité d'après Asaf'ev, *A book about Stravinsky*, 2.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Lettre du 20 février 1931, J. Handschin à I. Stravinsky, dans *Stravinsky : Selected correspondence*, édité par Robert Craft (London ; Boston : Faber & Faber, 1985) vol. 3, 134.

²⁵ Boris Fédorovitch de Schloezer (1881–1969) est un philosophe et musicologue de père russe et de mère belge. Après ses études en Sciences sociales à l'Université de Bruxelles, il s'est fixé en France en 1921. Il a été quelques années secrétaire de rédaction de la *Revue musicale* et chroniqueur de la *Nouvelle revue française*. Il était par ailleurs le beau-frère d'Aleksandr Skrjabin, auquel il avait consacré ses premiers articles.

²⁶ *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., PSS 103.1–003 à 081.

²⁷ De Schloezer et Stravinsky ont échangé quelques lettres en russe entre 1922 et 1924 (il en subsiste quatre dans les

Le livre de Schloezer²⁸ parut en France quelques mois avant celui de Boris Asaf'ev ; Stravinsky reçut son exemplaire dédié à la fin du mois de mai 1929 : « Pour Igor Stravinsky en témoignage d'admiration et de profonde reconnaissance pour tout ce que m'a révélé son art, ce livre où j'ai tenté, bien imparfaitement sans doute de percer le secret de son œuvre immense. »²⁹ Tout le problème des écrits Stravinskyens de Schloezer réside dans le fait que le compositeur n'appréciait pas que l'on décèle, que l'on révèle les secrets de son œuvre, à moins, sans doute, qu'il n'en donne lui-même la clef. Schloezer fut donc une autre victime des marges parsemées de commentaires rageurs du compositeur.

Contrairement au livre d'Asaf'ev, l'ouvrage de Schloezer ne s'attache nullement à une présentation chronologique des œuvres, mais se présente comme une étude esthétique divisée en quatre chapitres : « Le Russe et l'Européen », « La technique », « Le problème du style » et « Un art classique ». Dans son exemplaire, le compositeur a relevé 17 extraits pour lesquels il manifeste clairement sa contrariété par des points d'interrogation et des soulignements nerveux. Il ne s'exprime pas dans le premier chapitre, mais commence à nous livrer ses mécontentements dans le chapitre consacré aux procédés techniques. Ses contestations portent sur quatre matières traitées par Schloezer : les analyses rythmiques, le traitement de la musique vocale, l'origine des textes et les emprunts au folklore.

« Quel sotise [sic] », écrit-il – face à l'interprétation que Schloezer donne de l'usage de la mesure dans l'œuvre du compositeur :

Le créateur de rythmes a besoin d'une limite stable, dans le cadre de laquelle et sur laquelle puisse s'exercer son effort. Et c'est précisément ce que lui offre la barre de mesure : un obstacle, mais aussi un point d'appui. Jamais sauf dans un court passage du *Chant dissident* et dans un autre du *Rag-Time*, jamais Stravinsky ne détruit la mesure : il lutte contre elle, il la désarticule...³⁰

Le compositeur trouve « complètement faux » le passage suivant :

Dans les « Augures printanières », on voit Stravinsky inscrire dans le cadre d'une mesure à deux temps quatre mètres différents, dont le relief se précise grâce justement à la fixité et à l'uniformité du cadre qui les renferme. Le rythme ici est soutenu harmoniquement, mais il pourrait être aussi bien donné par un instrument de percussion car les timbres et la hauteur relative des sons n'ont ici aucune importance...³¹

Ce qui irrite Stravinsky semble tenir au fait d'une interprétation de sa musique, telle qu'il ne l'avait pas envisagée, et traitant cela de « bavardage ».

Après l'aspect rythmique, ce sont les observations du musicologue concernant le traitement de la voix qui déplaisent. Là où Schloezer dit que la voix est traitée de manière instrumentale, dans une œuvre telle que *Renard*, Stravinsky rétorque : « Dieu que c'est faut [sic] ». ³² Le compositeur écrit encore : « Il est tout à fait gaga ce passage de Schloezer » face à une explication dans laquelle l'auteur tente de montrer que le retour à

archives de Stravinsky), puis la correspondance s'interrompt totalement jusqu'en 1958 ; on trouve ensuite cinq lettres en français de Schloezer à Stravinsky (de 1958 à 1963), sans intérêt dans le cadre de cette étude.

²⁸ Boris de Schloezer, *Igor Stravinsky* (Paris : Claude Aveline, 1929).

²⁹ CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., IS B 1267.

³⁰ B. de Schloezer, *Igor Stravinsky*, 77.

³¹ Ibid., 78.

³² Ibid., 85.

un style vocal se fait, à partir des *Quatre chants russes*, en parallèle à un retour à un texte portant une signification déterminée.³³

Viennent ensuite, dans le même chapitre, quelques considérations sur les textes utilisés par Stravinsky :

Les uns, [dit Schloezer], sont des créations du génie populaire, d'autres, tel celui de *Noces*, appartiennent au compositeur, et quand on examine la langue dans laquelle sont écrits ceux-ci, et tout particulièrement *Noces*, on voit que l'auteur prend les plus grandes libertés avec le style populaire, mêlant les dialectes et les époques sans nul souci de « vérités historiques » ou d'exactitude philologique. Au point de vue philologique, en effet, le langage qu'emploient les personnages de *Noces* est quelque chose d'hybride, de véritablement monstrueux : on ne peut lui fixer nulle époque historique.³⁴

Le compositeur ponctue cette phrase d'un point d'interrogation, d'un trait dans la marge et remarque : « [*Noces*] appartient au génie populaire aussi. » Ce qui agace ici, c'est que le musicologue soutient l'hypothèse selon laquelle il aurait effectivement emprunté les textes de *Noces* à l'art populaire, mais profondément altérés (probablement pour des raisons musicales) – voire complètement inventés ? – en les dénuant de toute 'enveloppe' historique. À l'affirmation de Schloezer : « Jamais personne en Russie n'a parlé cette langue, qui est une composition artificielle de style archaïque », Stravinsky répondit : « Si, voyez Kirievski. »³⁵ Nous reviendrons sur ce point dans la section consacrée au livre de Schaeffner qui cite cette source.

L'auteur se penche aussi sur la délicate question de la présence de thèmes empruntés au folklore. Schloezer affirme que « quelques-uns des thèmes du *Sacre* sont originaires du Nord de la Russie où les anciennes traditions musicales se sont le mieux conservées. »³⁶ Stravinsky ne nie pas, mais demande : « Lesquelles ? » Par contre, lorsque le musicologue cite les deux mélodies des « Cercles mystérieux des adolescents » et le second motif de « L'action rituelle des ancêtres » comme étant, précisément, des thèmes tirés du folklore,³⁷ le compositeur s'insurge : « Pas vrai ! » Selon Schloezer, le refrain du second tableau, que les amis du fiancé scandent sur des paroles liturgiques, est inspiré d'une chanson de soldat d'allure burlesque et la mélodie du fiancé rappelle une phrase de l'office des morts : Stravinsky souligne et annote la marge de trois points d'interrogation et de trois points d'exclamation.³⁸ Observons qu'aujourd'hui, les analyses du *Sacre* donnent indiscutablement raison à Schloezer. Ce qu'il faut retenir, c'est la manière dont Stravinsky nie ces emprunts et extériorise son indignation face à une analyse perspicace, et révélant ses procédés d'écriture.

Concernant l'influence de Stravinsky sur la jeune génération, Schloezer dit que Stravinsky fut peu imité jusqu'à *Pulcinella* (soit jusqu'au néoclassicisme) parce que « l'action qu'exerçait l'auteur était plutôt négative en ce sens qu'elle sapait d'autres influences et aidait les jeunes à s'en débarrasser, ne leur offrant rien d'autre en retour. »³⁹ Stravinsky répondit : « Et *Petrouchka* ? », puis : « Ce n'est pas l'action négative du *Sacre*, c'est le vide des jeunes. »

³³ Ibid., 86.

³⁴ Ibid., 87–88.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 100.

³⁷ Ibid., 100–101.

³⁸ Ibid., 102.

³⁹ Ibid., 109.

Poursuivant son investigation au sein des œuvres néoclassiques, Schloezer se penche sur *Mavra* et sur la notion de pastiche : « *Mavra* n'est nullement un pastiche ; mais ce n'est pas un opéra-bouffe italien, c'est l'image concrète de ce genre musical, son type pur, dont les œuvres originales de l'époque pourraient être considérées comme des variantes. » La réponse de Stravinsky laisse penser que cette explication possède une certaine valeur à ses yeux : « Pas si simple que ça ! C'est la demi-vérité. »⁴⁰ Schloezer, constatant que Stravinsky se tourne constamment vers le passé (Bach, Händel, Lully), et le maître de lui répondre : « Mais oui ! Car c'est à peu près [sic] impossible de se tourner vers le futur qui est un inconnu. »⁴¹

Le chapitre intitulé « Un art classique » ne soulève pas la contrariété du compositeur ; il relève simplement un passage dans lequel le musicologue parle de l'art classique (celui de Mozart) comme anti-réaliste et idéaliste. Stravinsky marque une fois de plus son désaccord dans la marge par une note en russe signifiant « exactement le contraire ». ⁴² Il est certain que le livre de Schloezer a retenu toute l'attention de Stravinsky. Non seulement, il est très probable que ce soit le premier ouvrage qu'il ait lu sur lui (puisqu'il semble acquis qu'il n'ait pas lu le premier opuscule de Casella et que l'ouvrage d'Asaf'ev date de 1929).

Comme pour Asaf'ev, le rapport de Stravinsky à l'ouvrage de Schloezer montre que le compositeur ne pouvait pas tolérer que l'on publiât un essai sur son œuvre en dehors de son contrôle. La querelle entre les deux hommes s'est surtout envenimée après la sortie du livre alors que l'orientation néoclassique de Stravinsky se précisait. Schloezer est toujours resté, dans le monde musical français de la première moitié du XX^e siècle, un représentant de l'opposition à Stravinsky. Pour étoffer le dossier Schloezer, on pourrait citer les innombrables lettres adressées à Stravinsky par ses collègues dans lesquelles ceux-ci lui témoignent de leur indignation à l'égard de ce que Schloezer écrit dans ses critiques. Desormière dit : « Qu'un Boris de Schloezer se permette d'écrire des articles de critique musicale c'est une rigolade mais qu'il en profite pour nous montrer tout le mesquin et l'aigri de son personnage c'est tout de même exaspérant. »⁴³ La querelle tacite entre Stravinsky et Schloezer prendra fin après l'adhésion du compositeur au sérialisme ; en 1963, une dernière lettre du musicologue au compositeur résume l'engagement de Schloezer vis-à-vis de Stravinsky :

Votre œuvre a nourri ma pensée, ma sensibilité, et mes travaux d'esthétique musicale vous doivent plus qu'à quiconque, Bach excepté. C'est de votre musique bien entendu qu'il s'agit et non de vos considérations sur la musique, car en dépit de votre extraordinaire lucidité, comme tout artiste de génie, vous faites infiniment plus et tout autre chose que vous ne voulez et croyez faire. Ainsi, que vous l'admettiez ou non, votre musique est expressive comme l'est toujours le vivant. Après *Mavra*, je vous ai souvent attaqué et pourtant, au moment même où je me détournais de vous, je ne pouvais résister à la splendeur baroque d'*Oedipus Rex*.... Votre rôle historique est immense et les historiens de l'avenir verront sans doute en vous à la fois le plus révolutionnaire des traditionalistes de ce siècle et le plus traditionaliste des révolutionnaires mais pour

⁴⁰ Ibid., 110–111.

⁴¹ Ibid., 115.

⁴² Notons que c'est la seule annotation en russe et écrite à l'encre rouge, ce qui pourrait laisser supposer que Stravinsky a lu plusieurs fois l'ouvrage.

⁴³ CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., lettre de R. Desormière à Stravinsky, 29 juin 1938, PSS 103.1–068.

nous vos contemporains, vous aurez été avant tout le généreux dispensateur de joies musicales inépuisables.⁴⁴

Si Schloezer était tellement méprisé par l'entourage professionnel de Stravinsky, c'est probablement par complaisance envers le compositeur, mais aussi parce que chacun savait que le jugement que le musicologue posait avait un poids et qu'il n'était pas sans conséquences. En effet, les critiques dressées contre le néoclassicisme de Stravinsky par les néosérialistes jusqu'à la fin des années 1940 trouvent leur origine dans les écrits de Schloezer et il faut peut-être voir en lui la source des jugements de René Leibowitz et Pierre Boulez condamnant la période néoclassique de Stravinsky.

STRAVINSKY SELON SCHAEFFNER : DE L'AUTRE CÔTÉ DU MIROIR. En gardant à l'esprit que le *Strawinsky* de Schloezer parut en mars 1929 et que le compositeur reçut un exemplaire en mai de la même année, nous constatons que, dix jours plus tard, André Schaeffner⁴⁵ est convoqué chez Stravinsky pour un entretien. Nous ne pouvons manquer de faire un lien entre les deux faits et soulever l'hypothèse d'une volonté de la part de Stravinsky de superviser un travail de Schaeffner pour en faire une réponse et un contrepoids à Schloezer. En effet, Schaeffner avait confié quelques mois plutôt à Stravinsky qu'il avait l'intention d'écrire un ouvrage sur son œuvre.⁴⁶

D'après la correspondance de Schaeffner au compositeur, on peut se faire une idée des circonstances de ces conversations. Les lettres montrent que Stravinsky a suivi de près le travail de rédaction et, surtout, qu'il a apporté ses propres corrections aux épreuves. André Schaeffner est donc le premier musicologue à avoir rédigé un ouvrage à partir de plusieurs entretiens avec Stravinsky. En outre, dans les carnets de notes⁴⁷ de Schaeffner, véritables journaux de bord, on découvre une chronologie des rencontres de la plus grande précision :

[1^{er} extrait du cahier⁴⁸]

Mercredi 5 juin 1929 : entretien avec Strawinsky de 11h à 12h $\frac{3}{4}$ du matin
Lundi 10 juin : 2^e entretien avec Strawinsky de 3h à 5h $\frac{1}{2}$ et de 7h à 9h passées
Jeudi 20 juin : 3^e entretien avec Strawinsky de 7h à 8h du soir
Vendredi 21 juin : 4^e entretien de 7h du soir à minuit $\frac{3}{4}$
Jeudi 26 septembre : 5^e entretien de 4h $\frac{3}{4}$ environ à 7h $\frac{1}{2}$
Mercredi 2 octobre : Dîner avec Igor Strawinsky chez Rivière
Lundi 7 octobre : Strawinsky me joue son *Capriccio* et je lui lis le chapitre sur le *Sacre*
Vendredi 11 octobre : plusieurs rencontres dans le studio et dans le hall Pleyel

[2^e extrait du même cahier, daté du 6 avril 1931⁴⁹]

Igor Strawinsky Commencé le 11 juin 1929
Chapitre sur le *Sacre* commencé le 18 juillet

⁴⁴ CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., lettre de B. de Schloezer à Stravinsky, 30 mai 1962, PSS 103.1-073.

⁴⁵ André Schaeffner (1895-1980), musicologue et ethnomusicologue français.

⁴⁶ Denise Paulme-Schaeffner, avant-propos inédit, commandé par Eric Humbertclaude pour un projet avorté de réédition du livre *Strawinsky*. Le tapuscrit est daté du 1^{er} décembre 1990, copie communiquée par Eric Humbertclaude.

⁴⁷ Une partie de la collection Schaeffner est déposée à la Fondation Paul Sacher, mais elle n'est pas encore inventoriée ; ces carnets de notes en sont issus. L'autre partie, inventoriée et dépouillée, se trouve à la Bibliothèque Gustav Mahler à Paris.

⁴⁸ CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., A. Schaeffner, Cahier intitulé [Notes : décembre 1920-février 1937], pages non numérotées, fonds non inventorié.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

[Chapitre] fini en octobre
 Repris le début en juillet 1930,
 achevé en septembre.
 Chapitre sur *Petrouchka* commencé le 30 septembre
 Chapitre sur *Le Rossignol* commencé le 5 février 1931
 Livre fini le lundi de Pâques 6 avril 1931
 Reçu le livre le samedi 6 juin
 (le 5 juin 1929, je faisais la connaissance d'Igor)

Craft précise que Stravinsky a accordé plusieurs entretiens à Schaeffner non seulement à Paris à l'automne 1929, mais aussi au début de janvier 1930, à Nice, où il l'invita à examiner des documents, ainsi qu'à Pâques de la même année.⁵⁰

Un autre élément complètera l'historique : Schaeffner envoie le livre à Stravinsky le 9 juin 1931 avec cette dédicace : « Au maître Igor Stravinsky, en le remerciant de tout l'enrichissement qu'il a bien voulu donner à ce livre de foi et d'amour avec ma respectueuse admiration. André Schaeffner. » Stravinsky était en possession de trois exemplaires de l'ouvrage mais aucun ne porte d'annotations de sa main (mises à part deux coquilles) : le contenu serait donc conforme à sa pensée. Le compositeur avait semble-t-il trouvé en Schaeffner un jeune musicologue (il s'agissait pour celui-ci d'une première étude d'envergure), fanatique de son art :

Nous croyons nécessaire, à l'heure où se répandent déjà bien des légendes sur Stravinsky, où une information peu sûre porte à une témérité des théories sur son art, d'éclairer en sa présence de nombreux points de son histoire et de l'histoire de chacune de ses œuvres. La genèse de celles-ci, les intentions – qui furent précises – de leur créateur, les moyens techniques qu'il choisit à cet effet, la succession chronologique des œuvres et leur degré de parenté formelle, – voilà d'abord la matière de notre étude et qui pourra dans une certaine mesure fixer entre quelles limites doit jouer l'interprétation de l'art stravinskien.⁵¹

On peut donc difficilement parler ici d'un ouvrage d'exégèse musicale au sens strict du terme puisque tout le matériau et les clefs d'analyse semblent avoir été confiés à l'auteur par le compositeur. Nous sommes donc ici en présence d'un point très important de critique historique.

Prenons deux points délicats qui avaient soulevé la désapprobation de Stravinsky lors de sa lecture de Schloezer – la présence de thèmes populaires dans le *Sacre* et l'origine du texte de *Noces* – et comparons les commentaires de Schaeffner à ceux de Schloezer sur les points litigieux. Concernant la présence de mélodies du folklore dans le *Sacre*, Stravinsky niait ce fait alors que Schloezer tentait de le mettre en évidence. Dans l'ouvrage de Schaeffner, on trouve l'affirmation selon laquelle le premier thème exposé au basson dès la deuxième mesure du *Sacre* « est le *seul*⁵² de toute la partition qui ait été emprunté au folklore russe. Ce thème figura dans un recueil de chansons lituanienes. »⁵³ On a le sentiment ici que Stravinsky (à travers Schaeffner) minimise à l'extrême son recours au folklore russe. Or, les recherches ont prouvé le contraire : l'imagination musicale de Stravinsky fut stimulée par la manipulation de chansons

⁵⁰ Vera Stravinsky et Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in pictures and documents* (New York : Simon & Schuster, 1978) 637.

⁵¹ André Schaeffner, *Igor Stravinsky* (Paris : Rieder, 1931) 5.

⁵² Nous soulignons.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 43.

populaires.⁵⁴ Il y avait manifestement dans les propos de Schloezer un des plus grands points de l'exégèse des œuvres de Stravinsky que ce dernier ne voulait pas voir exposé. En citant comme emprunt au folklore un seul thème, alors que le recours à la tradition populaire irrigue toute sa première période créatrice, Stravinsky pousse Schaeffner à en minimiser la réalité.

Concernant les textes utilisés par Stravinsky, Schaeffner cite précisément le recueil d'où ils sont tirés : les chants de *Noces* du recueil de poésies populaires de Pëtr Vasil'evič Kireevskij.⁵⁵ C'est bien à cette anthologie que Stravinsky avait renvoyé Schloezer en l'interpellant dans la marge.⁵⁶ Schaeffner cite deux autres sources sans références précises : « les recueils de Saharov⁵⁷ et le dictionnaire des expressions russes de Dal. »⁵⁸ Le musicologue français ne fait cependant aucune référence à un éventuel remodelage des textes par Stravinsky, ainsi que le montrait de Schloezer, et pourtant les recherches récentes ont encore prouvé que son intuition était bonne. Goubault le résume avec clarté : « [Stravinsky] a établi un montage d'épisodes-types, de dictons, de phrases, de mots traditionnels de noces russes, dont certains n'ayant pas de signification très précise ont été choisis en vertu de leur 'salive musicale.' »⁵⁹ Schloezer avait nettement pressenti cette manipulation en disant ironiquement que les textes de *Noces* appartenaient au compositeur,⁶⁰ mais Stravinsky ne souhaitait pas que son intervention dans les textes originaux fût mise en exergue.

Le *Strawinsky* de Schaeffner sera la référence pour tous les auteurs à venir, qui le citent avec l'assurance de se référer au compositeur lui-même. De plus, il fut le seul ouvrage sur Stravinsky publié en français entre 1931 et 1948, alors que de nombreuses études sortaient de presse, chaque année, partout ailleurs, et dans toutes les langues. Nous serions tentée de dire qu'avec l'ouvrage de Schaeffner, Stravinsky livre sa monographie officielle.

DU CÔTÉ ALLEMAND : FLEISCHER, HANDSCHIN (ET STUCKENSCHMIDT). C'est en 1931 et 1933 que sortent de presse les deux premières monographies en allemand consacrées à Stravinsky. La première, due à Herbert Fleischer, fut publiée par Russischer Musik Verlag à Berlin.⁶¹ Cette même maison avait, quelques années auparavant, soutenu le travail de Paul Collaer qui avait finalement échoué à cause de la désapprobation de Stravinsky. Les responsables n'avaient cependant pas abandonné le projet de publier la monographie ; en tant qu'éditeurs des œuvres de Stravinsky, ils pressentaient l'intérêt d'un livre lié à la collection des partitions musicales. La seconde publication allemande est un opuscule d'une quarantaine de pages de la plume de Jacques Handschin.⁶² Notons qu'une troisième publication aurait dû voir le jour sous la plume de Hans

⁵⁴ Voir notamment Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian traditions : A biography of the works through Mavra* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1996) ; voir en particulier le chapitre consacré aux sources musicales du *Sacre*, 891–933.

⁵⁵ A. Schaeffner (*Igor Strawinsky*, 62) cite Pëtr Vasil'evič Kireevskij, *Piesni, sobranija* (Moskva, 1868–79).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ivan Petrovič Saharov, *Skazanija russkogo naroda*, 3 vols (Sankt-Peterburg, 1841).

⁵⁸ Vladimir Ivanovič Hal', *Poslovičie russkogo naroda* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1862) ; A. Schaeffner, *Igor Stravinsky*, 62.

⁵⁹ Christian Goubault, *Igor Stravinsky* (Paris : Champion, 1991) 189.

⁶⁰ Voir ci-dessus la section consacrée à de Schloezer.

⁶¹ Herbert Fleischer, musicologue allemand auteur de deux monographies : *Strawinsky* (Berlin : Russischer Musik Verlag, 1931) et *La musica contemporanea* (Milano : Hoepli, 1938).

⁶² Jacques Handschin (1886–1955), musicologue et organiste suisse d'origine russe. J. Handschin, *Igor Strawinski : Versuch einer Einführung* (Zurich ; Leipzig : Kommissionsverlag von Hug & Co., 1933).

Stuckenschmidt;⁶³ celle-ci, selon un document conservé dans la correspondance de Stravinsky,⁶⁴ aurait dû prendre la forme d'un dialogue.⁶⁵

Les rapports entre Herbert Fleischer et Stravinsky ont été limités ; la correspondance adressée par le musicologue au compositeur débute au moment où l'auteur achève son ouvrage. Il est improbable, dans ces circonstances, que Stravinsky ait eu une quelconque influence sur la rédaction du livre : le musicologue a donc écrit sans l'accompagnement du compositeur. L'ouvrage a soulevé la critique.

Dans son exemplaire personnel,⁶⁶ Stravinsky a inséré deux coupures de presse. L'une des deux est une annonce en forme de résumé de l'ouvrage signé par Fleischer lui-même.⁶⁷ C'est dans la marge de ce petit article que Stravinsky a établi le lieu de son indignation. Stravinsky s'interroge (points d'interrogation dans la marge) notamment devant cette phrase de Fleischer : « Die starke Betonung des Schmerzes in allen tiefgründigen Werken Strawinskis verrät den Pessimisten, ja des Nihilisten.... Hinter der Welt der Erscheinungen, hinter dem Leben ruht, das Nichts. » Plus loin, alors que l'auteur évoque *Petruška* et l'existence humaine limitée, reposant dans la mélancolie, Stravinsky écrit en rouge dans la marge : « ? Moi c'est juste le contraire !. »

Stravinsky évoque d'ailleurs cet extrait dans une lettre à F.V. Weber, directeur du Russischer Musik Verlag :

Il y a un mois, [Fleischer] m'a écrit une très gentille lettre dans laquelle il exprime des idées qui n'ont rien à voir avec son article de *Berliner Tageblatt*... Cet extrait de son livre m'avait donné un sentiment très négatif à cause de sa complète incompréhension de mes intentions, dans notamment *Petrouchka* et le *Sacre* ; j'étais totalement déçu et abattu.⁶⁸

Dans la lettre à laquelle Stravinsky fait référence, Fleischer dit à Stravinsky qu'il est prêt à mettre le point final à son livre, le remercie pour le bonheur que la « pénétration » de son œuvre lui a donné et lui fait l'éloge de son art.

Si Stravinsky est resté en retrait de toute implication par rapport à l'ouvrage de Fleischer, en revanche, l'opuscule de Jacques Handschin a retenu toute son attention. À plusieurs reprises, les lettres de Handschin au compositeur montrent que ce dernier était au courant de l'avancement du travail, qu'il témoignait à l'auteur une confiance totale, et corrige les épreuves du livre avec la plus grande attention.⁶⁹ On ne peut parler ici d'une réelle collaboration comme ce fut le cas avec Schaeffner. Néanmoins, Stravinsky a témoigné d'un soutien constant à l'auteur. Il convient encore de noter que le compositeur proposera à l'auteur d'en faire une traduction russe avant même que

⁶³ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901–88), critique musical et musicologue allemand. Ce n'est que bien plus tard qu'il publiera un ouvrage sur Stravinsky : *Strawinsky und sein Jahrhundert* (Berlin : Akademie der Künste, 1957).

⁶⁴ *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., « Vorpruch zu einem geplanten Strawinsky-Buch », PSS 104.1–1060.

⁶⁵ Le dialogue sera la formule privilégiée des livres de Stravinski et Robert Craft à partir de 1959.

⁶⁶ *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., IS B 1265. Le livre porte la dédicace de l'auteur : « Dem genialen Igor Strawinsky, Der die Musik in die Sphaeren des SPIRITUS DIVINUS zurückerkanke. In beständiger Verhörung, Herbert Fleischer, 21 Oktober 1931 ».

⁶⁷ Herbert Fleischer, « Strawinskis Weltbild », *Berliner Tageblatt* (16 septembre 1931).

⁶⁸ Original en russe : *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., lettre de Stravinsky à F.V. Weber, 29 septembre 1931, PSS 083–066.

⁶⁹ Lettre de J. Handschin à I. Stravinsky, 22 février 1933, dans *Stravinsky : Selected correspondance*, vol. 3, 136. Les épreuves sont conservées à la Fondation Paul Sacher, PSS 095–1530 à 1560 ; note de la main de Stravinsky « Épreuves de la brochure de Jacques Handschin sur moi. Igor Strawinsky 1933 ».

l'opuscule ne paraisse en allemand :⁷⁰ ne fait-il pas voir dans cette requête une volonté de fournir un contrepois russe autorisé à l'ouvrage libre d'Asaf'ev ?

LE SACRIFICE DE WHITE À STRAVINSKY. En 1930, Eric Walter White élargit la littérature consacrée à Stravinsky au domaine anglophone.⁷¹ Son initiative ne doit rien à Stravinsky et son travail a été mené sans la complicité du compositeur. Avec trois monographies, White a été le commentateur le plus abondant de l'œuvre de Stravinsky.⁷² Stravinsky laisse des témoignages d'indifférence à tendance hostile face à ce musicologue volontaire ; ainsi White lui écrivait, à propos de sa première monographie parue en 1930 et intitulée *Stravinsky's sacrifice to Apollo* :

Le livre que je viens d'écrire sur votre musique va paraître en février ou mars chez le Hogarth Press, Londres, et sera le premier qu'on a publié en Angleterre. Je ne sais pas si ce que j'y ai écrit vous plaira ou non – les critiques sont toujours si insuffisantes – mais il fallait écrire ce petit livre, et j'espère que vous me permettrez de vous en envoyer un exemplaire. Il faut ajouter que je suis assez jeune ; je n'avais que dix-huit ans quand j'ai assisté à la première de votre piano Concerto. Or je suis parmi les 10 % du public qui aime votre musique, et il faut que nous fassions quelque chose avec les 90 % qui ne l'aime point – surtout en Angleterre.⁷³

Stravinsky n'a semble-t-il pas répondu à cette lettre. Les archives de White (conservées à la University of Texas, Austin) ne contiennent aucune lettre du compositeur avant 1950. D'autre part, l'exemplaire ayant appartenu à Igor Stravinsky ne porte aucune dédicace de l'auteur. Le seul avis sur White est une lettre écrite à Harold Box après la sortie du deuxième livre de White en 1947 :

Sorry not to share your reaction to your description of this musicograph as "a most ardent Stravinsky." Not his previous book, "Stravinsky's sacrifice to Apollo" nor his present work on me do advocate his understanding of my entire creative output. I wonder reading his two books on me, why write at all when exhibit such consistent restrain and an absolute absence of genuine enthusiasm, nothing to say of his utter lack of discrimination of facts. How can you praise his writing on me and believe him an "ardent" follower of my music and my ideology ?⁷⁴

Si Stravinsky n'a pas manifesté franchement son opinion par rapport au premier ouvrage au moment de sa sortie, en revanche il a clairement réprouvé le second. Or, le troisième sera une sorte de réconciliation due à l'entremise de Robert Craft, lequel suggérera à White de refondre ses recherches dans un nouvel ouvrage ; alors, il recevra l'appui du compositeur et de son assistant. L'importance et le nombre de remarques que l'on peut examiner, autant dans la correspondance entre les deux hommes que dans les marginalia et les épreuves des ouvrages de 1947 et 1966, réclament une étude spécifique. On retiendra surtout le coup de théâtre de cette réconciliation. Stravinsky, n'ayant pas

⁷⁰ Lettre de J. Handschin à I. Stravinsky, 29 décembre 1932, dans *Stravinsky : Selected correspondance*, vol. 3, 135–136.

⁷¹ Eric Walter White (1905–85), musicologue anglais, également compositeur, poète, éditeur et traducteur. Outre ses travaux consacrés à Stravinsky, il a publié des ouvrages sur Benjamin Britten et sur l'histoire de l'opéra anglais.

⁷² Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky's sacrifice to Apollo* (London : Hogarth Press, 1930) ; *Stravinsky : A critical survey* (London : John Lehmann, 1947) ; *Stravinsky : The composer and his works* (London : Faber & Faber, 1966). Les deux derniers ouvrages ont connu plusieurs éditions dans différentes langues.

⁷³ *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., lettre de E.W. White à Stravinsky, 1 décembre 1929, PSS 105.1–0045.

⁷⁴ *CH-Bps*, Coll. I.S., lettre de Stravinsky à H. Box, 6 août 1947, PSS 087–2037.

trouvé son interprète privilégié en anglais et, vu le succès rencontré par le second ouvrage de White, s'impliqua, par pure stratégie dans le dernier White.

DE' PAOLI : SCHAEFFNER À L'ITALIENNE. Si l'on exclut le livre-miniature de Casella de 1926, c'est Domenico De' Paoli qui introduit la première monographie en italien en 1931.⁷⁵ Celle-ci a été suivie trois ans plus tard d'une seconde édition entièrement revue et augmentée.⁷⁶ Le critique musical avait été présenté au compositeur par Malipiero en 1926, mais les deux hommes n'ont pas entretenu de relations avant 1932.⁷⁷ Aussi la première édition a été écrite indépendamment du compositeur. Mais le second ouvrage est le fruit d'une collaboration avec l'artiste : l'échange de lettres révèle que De' Paoli a séjourné à plusieurs reprises à Voreppe, auprès de la famille Stravinsky, dans le courant de l'année 1933 ; les commentaires de ces visites tournent autour de l'avancement du travail de De' Paoli. Et une comparaison des dédicaces de l'auteur présentes dans les exemplaires personnels du compositeur montre également que la seconde édition est redevable à l'apport de Stravinsky :

Dédicace dans l'exemplaire de 1931 :

« à M. Igor Stravinsky, ce simple essai d'interprétation de son œuvre admirable.
Domenico de' Paoli. Milan, janvier MCMXXXII. »⁷⁸

Dédicace de l'exemplaire de 1934 :

« au maître Igor Stravinsky, pour le bien qui m'est venu de lui et de son art. Son reconnaissant Domenico de' Paoli. Paris, Novembre MCMXXXIV. »⁷⁹

On retrouve une fois de plus le même cas de figure : face à un ouvrage réalisé sans sa collaboration, le compositeur suscite une nouvelle monographie au travers de laquelle il s'exprime. Cette situation rappelle de manière évidente les circonstances de la gestation de la monographie de Schaeffner, fruit des informations et des consignes du compositeur. Nous serions tentée de voir en De' Paoli l'exégète italien de Stravinsky.⁸⁰

Aucune des deux éditions ne porte d'annotations de la main du compositeur. D'ailleurs, aucun des ouvrages pour lesquels il s'est impliqué n'en comporte. Stravinsky a néanmoins conservé dans ses archives un compte rendu de l'ouvrage de 1931. L'auteur de celui-ci, l'écrivain suisse Charles Albert Cingria, ami du compositeur, en fait l'éloge et commence son article en ces termes : « La compétence dans la critique musicale est si rare qu'un livre comme celui-ci, un livre parfaitement renseigné, explicite et utile, ne saurait manquer de faire époque. »⁸¹ De' Paoli est, selon Cingria, « le rédacteur officieux

⁷⁵ Domenico De' Paoli, *L'opera di Stravinsky* (Milano : Giovanni Scheiwiller, 1931). Domenico De' Paoli, critique musical italien (1894–1984), directeur de concerts de musique de chambre à l'Institut d'Art de Milan (1923–25), rédacteur de la revue *Musique d'aujourd'hui* à partir de 1929.

⁷⁶ De' Paoli, *Stravinsky (da Loiseau de feu a Persefone)*, (Torino : G.B. Paravia, 1934).

⁷⁷ CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., lettre de G. F. Malipiero à I. Stravinsky, 11 mai 1926, PSS 100.1–1334.

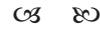
⁷⁸ De' Paoli, *L'opera di Stravinsky*, exemplaire de Stravinsky : CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., IS B 1273.

⁷⁹ De' Paoli, *Stravinsky (da Loiseau de feu a Persefone)*, exemplaire de Stravinsky : CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., IS B 1274.

⁸⁰ Stravinsky témoignait une grande confiance à De' Paoli à qui il avait proposé de réaliser la traduction italienne de ses *Chroniques de ma vie*, achevées peu de temps après la parution de la seconde édition du livre de De' Paoli (CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., lettre du 6 décembre 1934, I. Stravinski à D. De' Paoli, PSS 100.1–1388). Celui-ci avait encore projeté en 1951 de consacrer une nouvelle monographie au compositeur, mais le projet n'aboutira pas.

⁸¹ Charles-Albert Cingria, *L'œuvre de Stravinsky* par Domenico De' Paoli, *La nouvelle revue française* (1 octobre 1933), 634. CH-Bps, Coll. I.S., 100.1–1366, document conservé avec la note manuscrite de Stravinsky : « Abstract de Ch. A. Cingria sur le livre de D. De' Paoli sur moi ».

de Stravinsky en Italie. »⁸² Le terme « officieux », qu'il soit compris dans son sens de « caché » ou de « au service de », répond parfaitement à la stratégie que nous mettons en évidence, à savoir une intervention dissimulée du compositeur dans une série d'écrits sur lui.



La question de l'implication de Stravinsky ne s'arrête pas au corpus d'ouvrages ici traités. Le phénomène aura tendance à s'amplifier après 1934. En effet, dès l'année suivante, Stravinsky commande la rédaction de *Chronique de ma vie* à Walter Nouvel mais, cette fois, il signe l'ouvrage.⁸³ En 1942, paraît *Poétique musicale*, rédigée par Roland-Manuel et Pierre Souvtchinsky, une fois encore signée par le compositeur.⁸⁴ Tous les rédacteurs approuvés étaient d'une manière ou d'une autre sous le contrôle du maître. La plupart de ces auteurs étaient honorés de la situation parce que Stravinsky faisait sur eux l'effet d'un dieu auquel ils étaient entièrement « dévoués », pour reprendre le terme que nombre d'entre eux plaçaient dans la correspondance avec le compositeur.

Les deux livres signés par le compositeur, mais aussi la monographie livrée par Théodore, le fils de Stravinsky en 1948,⁸⁵ ou encore la série d'ouvrages signés Stravinsky et Craft dans les années cinquante et soixante, sont le prolongement de la logique qui s'installe au tournant les années vingt et trente

L'analyse comparée des premières monographies consacrées à Stravinsky montre que l'artiste n'a pas laissé libre cours à l'exégèse. Il s'est attaché une série de commentateurs à travers desquels il a fixé les limites de l'interprétation de son œuvre, en réaction aux travaux des auteurs ayant agi indépendamment de lui. Pour chaque pays, ou plutôt chaque zone linguistique, le compositeur dispose d'un porte-parole : Schaeffner en France, Handschin en Allemagne, De' Paoli en Italie. Ils seront tous perçus, dans leur pays, comme les spécialistes du maître. Manœuvre d'un stratège qui prépare et met en place ses défenseurs.

Enfin, du point de vue de la critique historique, il nous semble capital de faire la part des choses entre un discours libre et un discours sous contrôle. Il convient de repenser l'usage de la bibliographie et l'usage du terme d'exégète. Schloezer ou Asaf'ev ont été des auteurs libres et indépendants, développant leur critique en toute impartialité ; ils ont accompli un travail d'exégèse au sens premier, dont on mesure aujourd'hui la pertinence. Schaeffner et De' Paoli ont produit un discours directement conditionné par Stravinsky, avant tout interprètes des conceptions du compositeur. Sans verser dans une simplification manichéenne, ce corpus bibliographique montre une différence de statut à laquelle il faut rester attentif dans l'appréhension des sources et dans la genèse du discours stravinskien.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Igor Stravinsky, *Chroniques de ma vie*, 2 vols (Paris : Denoël & Steele, 1935–36).

⁸⁴ Igor Stravinsky, *Poétique musicale* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1942).

⁸⁵ Théodore Stravinsky, *Le message d'Igor Stravinsky* (Lausanne : F. Rouge, 1948).

RECONSTRUCTING LIGETI

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The geographical settings of Ligeti's early years are well established. Born in 1923 to Jewish parents who had been integrated into the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy, he first lived among the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, the region that Hungary lost to Romania after World War I. After World War II, he moved to Budapest, where he lived for the best part of 11 years. Yet although this is a clear enough outline, Ligeti scholarship provides scant details. Studies by Griffiths, Floros, Michel, Burde, Toop, Lobanova, and Steinitz refer to the period by drawing almost exclusively on Ligeti's own accounts; they tend to use his interview statements as central sources, taking them to be straightforward representations of what happened.¹

One way to improve on this rather limited view of his early years would be to research the contexts from a broader perspective, taking archival sources, wide-ranging secondary literature, and other interviewees as sources.² An alternative would be to use precisely the sources already used by the writers I have mentioned, but rather than reading them as two-dimensional representations of the past, examine them as an individual's construction of that past, that is, as history. Read as history, Ligeti's various narratives are open to historiographical study, and this project has at least two potential benefits. First, it enriches our sense of Ligeti's relationship to the world around him, in other words, his "identity"; and second, it opens us to new ways of listening to his mature works.

Ligeti, when read as a subject for historiography, reveals a surprising quality. We usually regard him as critical, imaginative, humorous, and original. We are familiar with Ligeti the scientist, the composer who tries something once, and then always moves on to a new experiment. So if I propose that, specifically in the 1960s, he was also a

The author gratefully acknowledges the support of the British Academy towards researching and presenting this paper.

¹ Paul Griffiths, *György Ligeti* (London: Robson Books, 1983); Constantin Floros, "Versuch über Ligetis jungste Werke", *Für György Ligeti: Die Referate des Ligeti-Kongresses, Hamburg 1988*. *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991) 335–48; Pierre Michel, *György Ligeti: Compositeur d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Minerve, 1985); Wolfgang Burde, *György Ligeti: Eine Monographie* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1993); Richard Toop, *György Ligeti* (London: Phaidon, 1999); Marina Lobanova, *György Ligeti: Style, ideas, poetics* (Berlin: Ernst Kuhn, 2003); Richard Steinitz, *György Ligeti: Music of the imagination* (London: Faber, 2003).

² I attempt to do this in my study *Ligeti, Kurtág and Hungarian music during the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) of which this paper is a small part.

nostalgic, that term does not seem quite to fit, especially as nostalgia was then—and still is now—regarded with embarrassment, even distaste. The negative connotations of nostalgia are surely linked with the modernist taboo on death, grief, and mourning that Philippe Ariès has exposed so eloquently.³ For nostalgia is essentially a longing for something that is no longer with us, whether a person, a place, or a time.

As an idealization, as history without guilt, nostalgia evidently has its dangers. As a longing for putative authenticity or for a repeat of the unrepeatable, it is intellectually untenable; and nostalgia for religious redemption, for a life beyond death, is similarly open to modern refutation. These attributes of nostalgia bespeak an uncritical reaffirmation of past values, they hint at a blinkered desire to resurrect things “as they once were”. In her magnificent monograph on nostalgia, Svetlana Boym groups such tendencies under the notion of a “restorative nostalgia,”⁴ which is patently alien to Ligeti. Yet there are also nostalgic sensations that are ambivalent and ambiguous, which Boym has termed “reflective nostalgia”. These are longings suffused with knowledge of their fruitlessness, memories tinged with an awareness of their fluidity. Such sensations are part of the modern progressive, teleological understanding of time that is evidently part of Ligeti’s consciousness. The notion that the past cannot be recovered depends entirely on this: One is a product of the other.

Understood as a by-product of modernity, then, nostalgia as an ambivalent and shifting sorrow about the past might surely fit into Ligeti’s identity. It will fit yet more specifically if we recall that he had made a very particular and irreversible journey through time and space when he left Hungary in 1956. He lost his close environment in the People’s Republic of Hungary on leaving and became a nonperson there. Moreover, he had travelled to the West, where the East was regarded as backward and suspect. And in fact, he did not speak about his past much. Although we have now become used to Ligeti’s prolific recollections about his past, he did not begin putting these into print until 12 years after his arrival. A private correspondence between musicologist Harald Kaufmann and Ligeti is the earliest trace we have of how he situated himself geopolitically. It dates from 1968. This is where I will begin.

Their exchange of letters came about while Kaufmann prepared a dictionary entry on Ligeti, and they discussed how to categorize him. In a move that bespeaks both the modernist taboo on nostalgia, and Ligeti’s desire to become a member of the progressive West, he refuted musical connections with all three of the geographical and cultural elements of his past. With Romania he had “no relation”, he said; it had always been foreign, and he learned the Romanian language only at secondary school. Nor did he have any link with the Jewish heritage. Yet this he could not express with such ease. Rather, while affirming that he was of authentic Jewish stock, of “guaranteed” Jewish origin, he revealed a profound regret that he had no personal contact with it:

Unfortunately I have very little to do with the Jewish tradition (probably less than Mahler and Schoenberg), for my parents were by and large already what they called ‘assimilated Jews’ in the K.u.K. monarchy. I regret now as an adult, it’s almost unpleasant

³ Philippe Ariès, *Western attitudes toward death: From the middle ages to the present*, trans. by Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

⁴ Svetlana Boym, *The future of nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

to me, that I observe the Jewish tradition as something exotic, as if from a distance. This is a sort of disguised Jewish complex.⁵

While he exorcised his Romanian past and transformed his Jewishness into a sense of absence and loss, he divided up the third ingredient, Hungarian culture, into several components. He retained a strong link with both the language and the literature, he claimed, but had no special connection with Bartók. As his interviews from this period indicate, the Hungarian musical past was not something that he wished to, or could, recognize in his present, even when directly questioned about it.

Let us explore the intervening years, though, for there was an evolution in the period following 1956. As archived letters between Ligeti and other émigré Hungarians testify, when he first left the country he had what he called “dreadful homesickness”. The homesickness was not simply about longing to be back where he had been, for he had hated it there. As he wrote in Hungarian to the London-based journalist János Weissmann in January 1957, “Naturally I’d be happiest if I could live in Hungary—were it possible”; but what he called the “unbearable airlessness” of the artistic scene there made it inconceivable.⁶ The problem seems to have been a more general sense of trauma, something that correspondence with Hungarians could alleviate. He specifically asked Weissmann to write to him in July of the same year, saying of their correspondence, “You can’t imagine how good it is in this foreignness.”⁷

In fact in his first years in the West the feelings about time and place fall into three main areas. First, recent memories were appalling, and he needed to share them with Hungarians. His ex-teacher Sándor Veress, who had settled in Switzerland after leaving the country in 1949, was a primary recipient of his expositions. As Ligeti explained to him at Christmas 1956, Hungarian life was almost unimaginable for an outsider:

Life at home, the horrors of the everyday, the detailed mechanisms of the regime, the way one is not simply a victim, but is at once a part and practitioner of the tyranny ... the unstoppable inhuman automatization, this you can sense fully only inside, in the inner recesses of the engine.⁸

⁵ “Mit dem Jüdischen steht es so, dass ich leider wenig Beziehung zur jüdischen Tradition habe (wahrscheinlich weniger als Mahler und Schönberg), da bereits meine Eltern weitgehend das waren, was »assimilierte jüdische Bürger« in der k.u.k. Monarchie waren. Das bedaure ich jetzt, als Erwachsener, eigentlich, fast unangenehm ist es mir, dass ich die jüdische Tradition eher als ein Exotikum betrachte, von der Ferne her. Das ist auch eine Art von verkapptem Juden-Komplex.” 25 July 1968. “Briefwechsel György Ligeti/Harald Kaufmann (1958–1970)”, in Harald Kaufmann, *Von innen und außen: Schriften über Musik, Musikleben und Ästhetik*. Ed. by Werner Grünzweig and Gottfried Krieger (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1993) 231. “Otthoni helyzetünk a mindenkit sújtó politikai nyomáson túl művészi szempontból is lehetetlen volt: nemcsak abban, hogy egészen háttérbe voltunk szorítva, előadási és kiadási kilátások nélkül, hanem abban is, hogy az európai zenétől és kultúrától való elzártságunk miatt tűrhetetlen légszomjban szenvedtünk. Eljövetelem nem amolyan “kis kirándulás” Európába. Természetes, hogy a legboldogabban akkor lennék, ha Magyarországon élhetnék – ha lehetne.” See also Ligeti to Weissmann, 7 July 1957, GLC, PSS, Microfilm 109.1: 001181: “Még arra is kérem, hogy ha ideje enged, írjon nekem néha. Nem tudja elképzelni, mennyire jól esik ez ebben az idegenségben.”

⁶ “Az, hogy eljöttem onnan – pedig igazán súlyos honvágyom van – orthagyva “előkelő” zeneakadémiai tanári állást, biztos megélhetést, beleugorva a teljes bizonytalanságba elsősorban azért történt, mert kibírhatatlanak tartottam a vidéekiesség önelegült légtörtelenségét.” Ligeti letter to Weissmann, 25 January 1957. Paul Sacher Stiftung (hereafter PSS), György Ligeti Collection (hereafter GLC), microfilm 109.1: 001167.

⁷ Ligeti letter to Weissmann, 12 July 1957. PSS, GLC, microfilm 109.1:001181.

⁸ “Az otthoni életét, a mindennapok apró borzalmait, a rendszer finommechanizmusait, azt, hogy az egész ember nemcsak áldozata, de egyben önkéntelenül is részese, gyakorlója a zsarnokságnak, az egész [?] szerű, meg nem állítható embertelen automatizmust, ezt egészen [meg]érezni csak bent, a gépezet belsejében lehetett.” Letter to Sándor Veress, dated “1956 Christmas”. PSS, Sándor Veress Collection (hereafter SVC). At the time of writing, this collection of correspondence is not archived systematically.

Yet as this quotation makes clear, his hatred of his past environment was entangled in a sense that he too was part of it. As he wrote to Weissmann six months later, Hungarian music had become parochial and yet self-satisfied, but:

Of course I can't preside above Hungarian music in this way, because I'm swimming in it myself, and to this day haven't really clambered beyond epigonism. I was only different from the others in so far that I sensed there was a problem, and didn't sit self-satisfied at my premières, content with the fact that I was played.⁹

If the hatred of the past, and the hatred of the self, were two of his primary uncomfortable sensations, then the third was his profound dislike for the place in which he found himself. Writing to Weissmann from Cologne, he admitted to hating Germany, and to feeling uncomfortable with the people. And he described the city's post-war landscape in haunting tones. It was, he said, "surrealistically bizarre". "The more mushroom-like hypermodern neon blocks spring up the more the ruins emanate their mood of death—the corpses and the living... it has a peculiarly acrid flavour". In the midst of this space, the cathedral was "like a dream".¹⁰ Thus Ligeti—uneasy with his past and yet unsure about his present and future—occupied a sort of floating, in-between position. And what is startling about the way he presented this in-betweenness to correspondents was that he repeatedly drew on one particular concept to evoke place and sensation, namely "atmosphere".

This prompts a question regarding the relationship between his private struggles and his public compositions. Would it, I am tempted to ask, be too fanciful to look to the titles of his works to create some sort of narrative for his evolution from 1956 to 1968? For the sense of strangeness he describes in his letters is actually paralleled in the titles. The intangible quality of *Atmosphères* needs no special pleading, but it is not the only one that gives itself away. *Glissandi* evokes an indefinable location: it is neither here nor there, but somewhere moving in between. *Volumina* suggests and describes, without defining. Ligeti's sense of a gulf between Budapest and Cologne had emerged in his work titles even before leaving the East: he began writing the piece he called *Viziók* (Visions) in 1956 on hearing a radio broadcast of Western European electronic music. The "visions" were surely a response to a distant, ungraspable other world. Toop tellingly suggests that writing *Viziók* was, "the turning point in Ligeti's creative life, the moment at which he resolutely set out to find and enter a Promised Land".¹¹ And while he experienced the gulf between Hungary and the avant-garde from one side in 1956 and came up with *Viziók*, when he experienced it from the other, in the ensuing years, he would rework *Viziók* and entitle it *Apparitions*. The title of the ensuing *Aventures* is evidently evocative of disorienting journeys, while *Lontano*, of 1967, suggests a distance traveled that can, at last, be named. At his point Ligeti was returning to familiar generic titles with his cello concerto (1966), string quartet no. 2 (1967–68), and wind quintet (1968). These works continue to suggest musical gulfs and rifts too wide to be straddled,

⁹ "Persze nem ítélkezhetem így a magyar zene felett, hiszen magam is benne úszkálók és mindeddig igazán nem tudtam kimászni az epigon magatartásból. Abban különböztem csupán a többiek zömétől, hogy éreztem hogy baj van és nem ültem önelégülten a premiumaimon és a 'játsszottságom'-on." Ligeti letter to Weissmann, 12 July 1957. PSS, GLC, microfilm 109.1:001185.

¹⁰ "Különben Köln atmoszférája idegesítő és szürrealistán bizarr: a romok annál erősebb halálhangulatot árasztanak, minél több gombaszerűen nőtt hipermodern neonkombináció van rajtuk – a hullák és élők zsbivásárszerű tömkelege: ennek van valami különösen fanyar zamata." Ligeti letter to Veress, 20 February 1957. PSS, SVC.

¹¹ Toop, *György Ligeti*, 43. Italics original.

but they handle the musical symbols of the incommensurability between lost and found within solid, recognizable genres.

These titles are clearly only hints of ideas, and as such, are very limited as sources. But probing the compositions themselves is more rewarding. For as an early correspondence between Kaufmann and Ligeti reveals, *Atmosphères* was at one stage conceived not as an abstract set of sound masses, but as the delineation of a submerged requiem Mass. The various sections outlined the movements of the Mass, passing through the *Dies Irae*, *Lacrymosa*, and *Agnus Dei*. *Atmosphères* was, then, a meditation on loss and death.

It would not be long before Ligeti would produce a more obvious, if fragmentary, *Requiem*, a work in which the ultimate position of in-betweenness, Purgatory and the Day of Judgment, would occupy a dominating position. In writing his *Requiem* he was looking back on historical repertoires and religious practices, and also on his own earlier compositions written in memory of those passed away, and in celebration of those still living. His two cantatas of 1945 had described the crucifixion and resurrection, the latter—symbolically—dedicated to the “home-comers” after World War II. He had also been occupied for part of 1955 with a Hungarian translation of the epic of Gilgamesh, “Istar’s journey to hell”: his *Requiem* revisits his early idea of setting a mythical journey into and out of hell. Yet although the *Requiem* evokes the idea of hope beyond Purgatory, it does not provide it. Rather, it revisits the memory of hope, rather than hope itself. The *Requiem* mourns the modern consciousness of what Boym calls the “impossibility of mythical return”.¹² As Ligeti said of the final *Lacrymosa* movement, its similarities to the opening *Introitus* does not signify a return, but rather a “spatially distant backward look”, offering listeners “a sense of *déjà vu*”, in “twilight”. The light is not in the present, but “already ... in the past”.¹³

In an oft-quoted explanation about his first sound mass works we find Ligeti coupling a depiction of a pale glimmering light with a sense of grief.

In my early childhood I once dreamt that I could not make my way to my little bed (which had bars and for me signified a haven) because the whole room was filled with a finely spun but dense and extremely tangled web.... Besides myself, other living creatures and objects were caught in this immense web: moths and beetles of all sorts, which were trying to get to the weakly flickering candle in the room; and enormous damp, dirty pillows, whose rotten stuffing was bulging out through the rips in the covers....

*These transformations were irreversible; no earlier state could ever recur. There was something inexpressibly sad about this process: the hopelessness of elapsing time and of the irretrievable past.*¹⁴

These poignant words suggest an experience of loss, and they also reveal a longing to regain something. Meanwhile, by framing the experience in a dream memory, the loss is detached from Ligeti’s conscious experience. It functions as an anaesthetic for the pain of irreversibility. A related strategy may lie behind the way that Ligeti combined a recollection of his uncle’s printing works in Dicsőszentmárton with a fictional tale about clocks by Gyula Krúdy when he provided an explanation of his *Poème symphonique*.¹⁵

¹² Boym, *The future of nostalgia*, 8.

¹³ From György Ligeti, “Requiem”, *Wort und Wahrheit* 23/4 (1968) 308–13, cited in Lobanova, *György Ligeti*, 137.

¹⁴ György Ligeti, “States, events, transformations”, trans. by Jonathan Bernard. *Perspectives of new music* 31/1 (winter 1993) 165, 164. (Original text from 1960.) My italics.

¹⁵ Steinitz, *György Ligeti*, 129.

This piece detaches itself from any pain of recollection: Its 100 metronomes parody the cultural practice of music. Another piece from this period, *Fragment*, is a direct self satire (on *Apparitions*): it is as if he could not dare to take himself and his memories too seriously, lest he become a “pitiful monument” to his own grief.¹⁶

If these various reflections reveal the sorts of subjugated longing that Ligeti emanated in a general modernist sense, then let me close by pointing to one more concrete, geopolitical one. In the correspondence with Kaufmann in 1968, with which I began, having stripped himself of a Romanian, Jewish, and Hungarian musical heritage, Ligeti suggested that the best way to categorize himself was as an Austrian composer. This was partly because he had written his most important compositions to date while living in Austria; he was also a legal Austrian citizen; and he knew that for reasons of marketing, he needed a simple, national, or at least city-based allegiance. It was better not to be “a Hungarian composer of guaranteed Jewish origin, born in Romania and resident in Vienna.” But all these reflections about practicalities led him to reveal what he really felt attached to, which he said was not modern Austria at all. Rather, it was a context well and truly of the past. As he wrote to Kaufmann, drawing on Robert Musil’s renowned nickname for old Austro-Hungary,¹⁷ “If I had a musical home somewhere, then it would be old (not today’s) Austria, only and exclusively Kakanian. (Can one put ‘Kakanian composer’ in a dictionary?)”¹⁸ Ligeti’s reflective nostalgia, then, was for a specific time and place after all: it was a long-lost homeland in the Dual Monarchy within which his parents had been assimilated Jews.

¹⁶ The phrase is Boym’s from *The future of nostalgia*, xv.

¹⁷ Robert Musil, *The man without qualities* (London: Picador, 1995). Original text begun in 1921, and emerging volume-by-volume in 1930 and (posthumously) in 1943. Musil’s work is in itself nostalgic, charting the last days of a disintegrating monarchy.

¹⁸ 25 July 1968. He followed this with an ironic and humorous passage written in the letter style of Mozart, clearly playing with the idea (having just finished his string quartet) of being a composer of Viennese descent, a “Hofcompositeur”, as Mozart called himself at such times. 25 July 1968. “Briefwechsel György Ligeti/Harald Kaufmann (1958–1970)”, in Kaufmann, *Von innen und außen*, 232.

NATIONAL STUDIES

ENTRE INSTRUMENTALISATION ET SÉCULARISATION : L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE DU PLAIN-CHANT DE NIVERS À LEBEUF

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L'historiographie française du plain-chant durant les XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles est presque exclusivement l'œuvre de praticiens ou de théoriciens du chant ecclésiastique et de la liturgie. Parce qu'éloigné des lieux de production de l'érudition les plus exposés, leur domaine d'écriture n'était pas a priori concerné par l'utilisation orientée de la République des Lettres que Louis XIV avait érigé en système au moment de fonder l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Pourtant, si l'historiographie qui découlait de cette institutionnalisation explorait dans un relatif consensus les fondements politiques de la monarchie, celle consacrée au plain-chant donna lieu à des contradictions dont la netteté incite à prendre en compte son inscription dans le contexte ecclésiastique de l'époque. Au moment où l'Église Gallicane affirmait son souci d'indépendance dans sa Déclaration des Quatre Articles (1682), la liturgie et son histoire pouvaient-elles éviter de devenir un réservoir d'arguments au service de courants antagonistes ? Tenter de répondre à cette question nécessite donc d'explorer l'hypothèse d'une corrélation entre histoire de l'Église et historiographie du plain-chant qui, désireuse de se hausser à la hauteur de la science des érudits,¹ en partageait les mêmes potentialités d'instrumentalisation.

UNE ÂGE D'OR INDISPUTÉ. Aborder les origines du plain-chant à la fin du XVII^e siècle conduit l'ensemble des auteurs à insister sur l'ère carolingienne pour des raisons épistémologiques – les sources antérieures à cette période sont encore lacunaires et peu interprétées² – mais également symboliques. En effet, Charlemagne demeure le symbole

¹ Cf. le titre du traité de dom Pierre-Benoît Jumilhac, *La science et la pratique du plain-chant* (Paris : Billaine, 1673).

² Les manuscrits occidentaux du haut Moyen Âge étaient dénués de notation explicite, mal connus et peu interprétés. De ce fait, dom Caffiaux, en ne compilant que des sources de seconde main et/ou théoriques, peut construire une période depuis les temps christiques, temps de l'introduction du plain-chant, jusqu'à Guido, personnalité devenant alors le symbole de la sortie d'une préhistoire du chant ecclésiastique ; cf. dom Caffiaux, « De la musique depuis la naissance du Christianisme jusqu'à Guy d'Arezzo », Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 22537, fol. 83 et suiv. Chez la plupart des autres auteurs, si cette période d'indéfinition s'achève avec le VIII^e siècle, elle ne permet pas de constat beaucoup plus précis. Les allusions au chant demeurent rares et concernent la seule psalmodie : Lebeuf fait remonter son origine aux premiers chrétiens qui voulurent rendre la récitation des psaumes « animée & soutenue de quelques sons mélodieux » ;

d'une entité territoriale – l'Empire³ – et de fusion entre celle-ci et l'Église : il est donc, selon l'expression de Robert Morrissey, ce point où commence l'histoire⁴ et à partir duquel elle se déroule jusqu'à Louis XIV. Dans ce contexte, les historiographes du plain-chant sont sensibles à la globalité de la réforme carolingienne. Lebeuf estime ainsi que « Charlemagne, après avoir étendu son Empire plus qu'aucun des Rois ses prédécesseurs, essaya de donner à ses Etats, & principalement aux Gaules, le même éclat qu'elles avoient eu sous la domination des Romains ». ⁵ Une telle analyse construit alors l'image d'un empereur restaurateur des Lettres en accentuant – conformément à l'historiographie française du XVIII^e siècle⁶ – la détermination personnelle du monarque.

Fin de la barbarie, début d'une ère nouvelle : le règne de l'empereur représente donc un passage de témoin de l'Antiquité à la civilisation médiévale. Or, ce transfert s'impose de façon indispensable au moment d'aborder le domaine particulier du plain-chant. À ce titre, il offre des possibilités meilleures que d'autres domaines de recherche : là où des savants tels Montfaucon se perdent en conjonctures comparatistes englobant l'ensemble de l'Antiquité païenne dans une tentative éperdue de relecture chrétienne, le chant ecclésiastique présente de rassurantes concordances théoriques et terminologiques avec la musique des Anciens, quitte à ignorer les apports exogènes⁷ au chant des premiers chrétiens pour mieux révéler les traces d'une vérité antique originelle. Pour Lebeuf comme pour les autres, « L'Église, dès le V^e ou VI^e, siècle, n'a fait qu'adopter le chant

Jean Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique* (Paris : Cl.-J.-B. et Jean-Th. Hérissant, 1741) chapitre IV, 51. Mais Lebeuf ne se prononce pas sur les racines hébraïques de cette pratique : son avis devait recouper la croyance de ses contemporains en un développement du chant chrétien grâce aux seules communautés de langue grecque et latine. Le transfert du chant des Anciens dans le chant de l'Église trouvait ainsi une explication aussi sûre que confortable ; cf. « Lettre écrite de Bordeaux, le 1. Mars 1729, au sujet de l'Assemblée publique de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de cette Ville, tenuë après la S. Martin », *Mercur de France* (avril 1729) 711. En revanche, c'est bien au règne de Pépin que Lebeuf fait remonter le renouveau de la science du chant à laquelle se résume la plus grande partie de la science musicale carolingienne ; cf. Lebeuf, *De l'état des sciences dans l'étendue de la monarchie française sous Charlemagne...* (Paris : Jacques Guérin, 1734) 59.

³ Cf. Robert Morrissey, *L'empereur à la barbe fleurie : Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France* (Paris : Gallimard, 1997) 24.

⁴ Robert Morrissey, « Charlemagne », *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris : Gallimard, 1997) t. III, 4390. Dans une optique moins ouvertement gallicane, Lemaire, chantre de Beauvais, distingue simplement la supériorité de l'après en regard de l'avant : « La discipline Ecclesiastique estant decheuë notablement dans cette Eglise vers la fin de la premiere race de nos Roys, les premiers de la seconde prirent grand soin de procurer son rétablissement ; & comme la diversité qui étoit pour lors dans le chant de l'Office divin de plus Eglises, pouvoit causer de grands inconveniens, le Roy Pepin le Bref voulant y donner ordre, envoya au Pape Estienne & obtint de luy douze Clercs tres-habiles dans le chant Ecclesiastique, *Carminum divinatorum peritissimos*, pour les répandre sans doute dans les Eglises de France, & pour en faire autant de Prechantres... » ; François Le Maire, *De la dignité de chantre dans les églises metropolitanaires et cathedrales* (s.l., [1682]) 17.

⁵ Lebeuf, *De l'état des sciences dans l'étendue de la monarchie française sous Charlemagne...*, 4. Beaucoup plus hermétique à cette période, l'abbé Goujet refuse catégoriquement le parallèle entre les suites du règne de Charlemagne et l'Antiquité : « Cette prétention est insoutenable. L'on doit plutôt dire avec le célèbre Loup de Ferrieres, que les Sciences ayant été tirées comme de la poussiere, & remises en honneur par les soins de Charlemagne, on continua de les cultiver sous ses successeurs. » ; abbé Goujet, *De l'état des sciences en France, depuis la mort de Charlemagne, jusqu'à celle du Roi Robert* (Paris : Par la Compagnie des Libraires, 1737) 2.

⁶ Cf. Morrissey, « Charlemagne », 4396–97.

⁷ Hormis la vénération de la théorie des Anciens, l'ignorance des sources pré-chrétiennes et notamment hébraïques du chant ecclésiastique s'inscrivait dans un contexte global « [d'insistance] sur l'originalité transcendante de la forme revêtue par le christianisme » (Bruno Neveu, *Érudition et religion aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* [Paris : Bibliothèque Albin Michel, 1994] 365) que les grégorianistes du XIX^e siècle contribueront à perpétuer, voire à accentuer. Dans le domaine du chant ecclésiastique, dom de Vert transpose exactement ce silence dans son étude des origines de la pratique antiphonique ; cf. Claude de Vert, *Explication simple, litterale et historique des cérémonies de l'Église pour l'instruction des nouveaux-nouvrtis* (Paris : Chez Florentin Delaulne, 1706–1713) t. IV, 6–8.

du Paganisme ».⁸ L'héritage théorique des Anciens lui étant unanimement reconnu,⁹ le chant ecclésiastique bénéficie donc d'une double aura. À la croisée des théories de Du Bos et de celles de Moreau, et à la suite de Mabillon,¹⁰ les musicographes font de l'histoire liturgique sous Charlemagne une question de continuité et de ressourcement¹¹ au service d'une véritable « guerre à l'ignorance ».¹²

Toutefois, s'il apparaît comme naturel, cet accent sur les confins des VIII^e et IX^e siècles place les historiens du plain-chant dans une situation originale au regard de l'ensemble du courant érudit néogallican.¹³ En effet, ce dernier est essentiellement marqué par une fascination pour l'Antiquité des premiers chrétiens¹⁴ alors qu'à l'inverse le Moyen Âge concentre l'opprobre des savants. Pourtant adepte de la dialectique usuelle de l'archéologie liturgique,¹⁵ l'abbé Lebeuf répercute cette spécificité de l'étude historique du chant ecclésiastique en s'imposant un décalage d'idéal et une *coupure inaugurante*¹⁶ différente. En fait, la période carolingienne apparaît chez les plainchantistes comme une antiquité de substitution déterminée par un glissement comparable à celui opéré chez les érudits au fil du XVII^e siècle, alors que le déclin de l'humanisme consacrait l'abandon de la sacralisation du paganisme au profit de l'antiquité chrétienne.¹⁷ Scrutateurs des restes tangibles du passé, les historiens du plain-chant attribuent donc au premier Moyen Âge le rôle de d'âge idéal, alimentant conséquemment leur relative méfiance à l'égard des débuts de l'ère moderne.¹⁸ Au contraire, la périodisation de l'Antiquité chrétienne idéale établie

⁸ Lettre de l'abbé Lebeuf à La Curie du 28 décembre 1728, citée par Ernest Petit, « Correspondance de l'abbé Lebeuf avec Lacurne de Sainte-Pallaye », *Annuaire historique du département de l'Yonne*, 1884, 48^e année (Auxerre : G. Rouillé, 1883) 258. Moins catégorique, dom Caffiaux considère le plain-chant comme une dérivation moins raffinée de la musique des Anciens ; cf. dom Caffiaux, « Dissertation 7^{ème} sur le chant et sur la musique de l'Église », Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 22536, fol. 235r.

⁹ Cf. Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, chapitre I, 2.

¹⁰ Morrissey, « Charlemagne », 4393.

¹¹ Le poids accordé au règne de Charlemagne est d'ailleurs tel que Lebeuf ne concède que difficilement et localement la connaissance du chant « grec » dans les Gaules pré-carolingiennes : « Quoique je n'aye osé faire remonter le Chant Grec dans nos parties occidentales & septentrionales des Gaules plus haut que le neuvième siècle, je sçai cependant que dans la sçavante Province où sont situées les Villes d'Arles & de Marseille, on chantoit indifferemment Grec & Latin, même parmi le vulgaire au VI. siecle » ; Lebeuf, « Extrait d'un Mémoire envoyé par M. le B. Chanoine & Souchantre d'Auxerre, à l'occasion de ce qui est dit de la Messe Grecque de Saint Denis & d'un Rit de Saint Victor de Marseille dans le second Volume du Mercure de Decembre dernier », *Mercure de France* (juillet 1729) 1541.

¹² Lebeuf, *De l'état des sciences dans l'étendue de la monarchie française sous Charlemagne...*, 5. La conclusion de sa dissertation est néanmoins plus nuancée ; cf. *ibid.*, 95 et 97–98.

¹³ Cette particularité de la musique au sein du discours de l'exemplarité antique n'avait d'ailleurs pas échappé à l'un des principaux historiens de l'Église d'alors, Claude Fleury, pour qui « Notre musique moderne semble en être fort éloignée [de la perfection antique]. Dans cet art on n'a pas des modèles permanents comme la sculpture ou l'architecture que l'on travaille depuis deux cents ans à rétablir sur l'antique » ; cité par Neveu, *Érudition et religion*, 352.

¹⁴ Pour une approche du contenu variable de cette période, cf. Neveu, *Érudition et religion*, 60 et 334. Conformément à cette orientation de l'idéal néogallican, Pasquier Quesnel considérait que la phase de décadence de l'Église souvrait à partir du concile de Nicée ; cf. Frédérick Vanhoorne, « Histoire corrompue et vérité immuable : Le temps de l'église selon les jansénistes », *La représentation de l'histoire au XVII^e siècle* (Dijon : Éditions Universitaires de Dijon, s.d.) 180.

¹⁵ Alors que les occurrences de cette position sont nombreuses pour la première partie de sa carrière, ce n'est que de façon plus diffuse que Lebeuf retrouve de tels accents à l'approche de 1730. Cf. néanmoins Lebeuf, « Extrait d'un mémoire envoyé par M. le B. Chanoine & Souchantre d'Auxerre, à l'occasion de ce qui est dit de la Messe Grecque de Saint Denis & d'un Rit de Saint Victor de Marseille dans le second volume du Mercure de décembre dernier », *Mercure de France* (juillet 1729) 1534.

¹⁶ Sur ce concept, cf. Michel de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire*, Folio histoire (s.l. : Gallimard, 2002 [1^{ère} éd., s.l. : Gallimard, 1975]) 26.

¹⁷ À l'inverse, les analystes enthousiastes des premiers siècles chrétiens ne peuvent évoquer le chant sur cette période que par l'accumulation d'autorités et de préjugés (cf. Grancolas, *Traité de la Messe et de l'Office Divin...* [Paris : Chez Jacques Vincent, 1713], « De l'origine & de l'usage du chant dans l'Église », 240–59), tout en limitant le devenir post-carolingien du plain-chant à un traitement allusif.

¹⁸ Cette analyse a été parfaitement résumée pour le cas de l'abbé Lebeuf par L. Gossman, *Medievalism and the ideologies of the Enlightenment* (Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968) 18.

par des érudits tels le père Thomassin¹⁹ repose sur quatre jalons – Jésus-Christ, Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugues Capet – dont l'étagement chronologique exclut une large part de l'histoire du chant.

Face à ce décalage, l'insistance des plainchantistes à prouver les fondements grecs de la théorie du plain-chant n'en devient que plus compréhensible : là où les historiens de l'Église établissaient, à la manière de Fleury, une descendance évidente entre païens et premiers chrétiens,²⁰ les musicographes ne pouvaient que jouer sur une filiation lointaine dont ils forçaient la complétude pour doter le chant ecclésiastique d'un *âge d'or* crédible combinant héritage théorique et restes concrets de la renaissance carolingienne.²¹

ORIGINE CONTRE ORIGINES. L'importance de la période carolingienne est donc relayée par la plupart des auteurs ; les motivations de l'introduction de la liturgie romaine dans les Gaules ne troublent pas plus leur unanimité.²² Le choix en faveur du chant grégorien leur apparaît soit comme une affaire de goût,²³ soit comme une question de stratégie politique parfaitement menée par le pouvoir carolingien.²⁴ La distinction entre les diverses approches réside plutôt en amont et en aval de cette période admirée unanimement. À ce titre, un premier groupe d'auteurs pourrait être constitué sur le critère de leur approche acritique de l'origine grégorienne du plain-chant. Présente chez Nivers, cette tendance est encore plus marquée chez ceux qui, comme Millet, suggèrent la méta-sacralité du chant de Grégoire,²⁵ ou bien personnalisent à outrance le rôle de ce pape dans la constitution de l'antiphonaire au point de faire de lui un précurseur

¹⁹ Cité d'après *l'Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Église touchant les bénéfices et les bénéficiers* (1678) par Neveu, *Érudition et religion*, 372.

²⁰ Cf. Neveu, *Érudition et religion*, 337 et 347.

²¹ La terminologie modale néo-antique forgée à la fin du XVII^e siècle par Claude Chastelain et perpétuée par Lebeuf participe certainement de cette accentuation coûte que coûte des racines grecques du chant ecclésiastique ; sur ce vocabulaire particulier, cf. Monique Brulin, « L'Antiphonaire de Paris en 1681 », *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII^e siècle* (Versailles : Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles ; Paris : Klincksieck, 1997) 109–23.

²² Ce n'est qu'au XIX^e siècle que ce processus sera présenté comme la conséquence d'une obéissance aux desiderata pontificaux.

²³ « Le Chant Romain étoit plus varié que l'ancien Chant Gallican ; c'est ce qui le fit goûter davantage » ; Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, chapitre II, 15. À ce point de vue se rattache également celui de Grancolas dans son second important ouvrage : « C'est pour cela que Pepin & Charlemagne charmés de cet Office, l'introduisirent dans leurs Etats, & firent supprimer toutes les autres manières quoique anciennes, avec lesquelles on y avoit jusqu'alors célébré le Service divin ... » ; Jean Grancolas, *Commentaire historique sur le Breviaire romain* (Paris : P.-N. Lottin, 1727) t. I, 11.

²⁴ « En effet, ce fut alors [au VIII^e siècle] que la France commença à entrer en plus grande relation avec Rome que dans les siècles précédens, par rapport aux rites Romains, que Pepin & Charlemagne entreprirent de faire recevoir ; & l'on crut en composant de nouveaux Livres pour l'Office Divin, pouvoir y introduire tout de qui faisoit honneur aux Eglises de Rome & de France. » Lebeuf, *Dissertations sur l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Paris, suivies de plusieurs éclaircissements sur l'histoire de France* (Paris : Chez Lambert et Durand, 1739) t. I, 45–46. Cette version demeure proche de celle de Lebrun (Lebrun, *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe, suivant les anciens auteurs, et les monumens de toutes les églises du monde chrétien*, nouvelle édition [Liège : Chez J.J. Tutot ; Paris : Chez G. Desprez, 1777–1778] t. III, 228) et de Caffiaux (« De la musique depuis la naissance du christianisme jusqu'à Guy d'Arezzo », Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 22537, fol. 102r), tout en prenant ses distances avec celle du chanoine Bocquillot. Ce dernier insiste plutôt sur la perte de la diversité liturgique qui régnait jusque-là : « Ces Livres étoient différens dans les Eglises qui avoient de différens Missels. Charlemagne ôta cette diversité autant qu'il put, en obligeant les Eglises de France & d'Allemagne de prendre les Livres de l'Eglise de Rome, comme elles en avoient déjà pris le chant sous le règne de Pepin son pere. » Lazare André Bocquillot, *Traité historique de la Liturgie Sacrée ou de la Messe* (Paris : Chez Anisson, 1701) 212.

²⁵ « Il est certain que ces saints personnages [saints Ambroise et Grégoire] ont été poussés, plutôt par une inspiration divine, que par leur propre mouvement, à nous donner un chant tout saint & tout divin... » Jean Millet, *Directoire du chant grégorien* (Lyon : Chez Jean Gregoire, 1666) 3, cité par Cécile Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers : Un art du chant grégorien sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris : Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2004) 68. L'orientation de Millet est d'autant plus marquée que sa manipulation des périodes récentes est nettement plus historique.

des notations alphabétiques.²⁶ Chez ces mêmes auteurs, la survalorisation de la source grégorienne favorise une historiographie du « tout ou rien » au moment d'aborder le devenir du chant romain après son introduction dans les Gaules. Si l'historien généraliste Goujet rattache le plain-chant du X^e siècle à la seule source romaine,²⁷ Nivers – en citant Dupeyrat – considère à l'inverse que, après la contribution de Pépin le Bref à la diffusion du *vrai* chant romain, Charlemagne et ses successeurs trouvèrent une situation déjà compromise au point de devoir incessamment reprendre ce répertoire à sa source.²⁸ La genèse du répertoire romano-franc est alors ramenée au rang de vaste dilution de la source originelle : « [sous Louis le Débonnaire], le véritable Chant Gregorien ne subsistait plus que dans la mémoire de quelques Romains ». ²⁹ Ainsi, Nivers jette les bases d'une histoire du plain-chant assimilée à une histoire de la corruption de sa révélation.³⁰

En revanche, d'autres auteurs définissent un courant remplaçant cette même source grégorienne dans un tout autre contexte historique. Parmi eux, Lebeuf approche sans complexe la figure fondatrice de Grégoire en se contentant de noter « [qu']On continue aussi en quelques lieux de regarder saint Grégoire comme Patron des Chantres ... », à la manière du père Lebrun constatant que « La Liturgie de Rome ne vient de Saint Pierre que par tradition ». ³¹ Cette approche critique se poursuit naturellement au moment de discuter le contenu de l'antiphonaire romain. À son sujet, Lebeuf livre même une clef que la musicologie grégorienne ne retrouvera que bien plus tard. Loin de faire du chant de saint Grégoire un œuvre organique, consciente et illustrative d'un projet pontifical, il refuse de faire de l'antiphonaire grégorien autre chose que le résultat d'une méthode

Paraphrasant souvent Zarlino, Millet sait évoquer la renommée que connurent Josquin, Brumel, Mouton ou Lassus tout en reconnaissant le décalage esthétique entre leurs œuvres et le goût du XVII^e siècle.

²⁶ « En effet, on ne sauroit s'imaginer la peine que prit cet incomparable Pontife à le régler, parmi une foule d'autres soins, & d'autres grandes occupations qui l'accabloient continuellement, & combien il travailla pour rendre cet ART plus facile qu'il n'avoit esté jusques alors. C'est aussi ce qui luy acquit un honneur particulier dans l'Eglise, où il a toujours esté considéré comme le premier d'entre les Latins, qui reduisit au nombre des sept premieres lettres de l'Alphabeth, toute cette ennuyeuse multitude de Caracteres, & de noms difficiles à retenir, dont les Grecs avoient embarassé cette science. » Lancelot, *L'art de chanter ou metode [sic] facile pour apprendre en fort peu de temps les vrais principes du plein chant & de la musique, & pour les mettre surement en pratique* (Paris : Chez André Pralard, 1685) iii–iv. Cf. également la « Lettre écrite de Bordeaux ... » (711) et Le Maire (*De la dignité de chantre*, 13). Cette croyance en la pureté originelle grégorienne s'appuyait principalement sur le sacramentaire attribué à saint Grégoire et fut perpétuée jusque tard dans le XX^e siècle ; cf. Jean Deshusses, « Grégoire et le sacramentaire grégorien », *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris : Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986) 637–44, et notamment la conclusion de cette contribution p. 642. En revanche, les auteurs du XVIII^e siècle privilégient une veine plus modérée (cf. dom Caffiaux, « De la musique depuis la naissance du christianisme jusqu'à Guy d'Arezzo », Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. fr. 22537, fol. 98v) ou bien contradictoire (cf. Granelas, *Commentaire historique sur le breviaire romain*, t. I, 13, 114 et 203).

²⁷ Goujet rappelle le rattachement incontestable d'Odon de Cluny à Rémy d'Auxerre, et celui de ce dernier à Alcuin. Mais il ajoute que Rémy fut « peut-être même [tributaire] de ces Chantres Romains qui avoient enseigné l'art du chant aux François. » ; Goujet, *De l'état des sciences en France*, 47. Au contraire, Lebeuf a plutôt tendance à proposer une généalogie descendante partant de Rémy, passant par Odon de Cluny (cf. « Lettre de M*** à M. H. Chanoine de l'Église Cathédrale de *** sur le choix que les Musiciens ont fait de Ste Cecile pour leur Patronne, *Mercur de France* [janvier 1732], 39) et débouchant sur Gerbert qui eut pour disciple Robert le Pieux et l'évêque Fulbert » ; cf. Lebeuf, « Dissertation sur l'état des sciences dans les Gaules depuis la mort de Charlemagne, jusqu'à celle du Roy Robert », *Recueil de divers écrits* (Paris: Jacques Barois fils, 1738) t. II, 8.

²⁸ Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, *Dissertation sur le Chant Grégorien* (Paris : Aux dépens de l'Auteur [Christophe Ballard], 1683) 33–35.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

³⁰ « Par tous ces estranges & differens evenemens, nous voyons que le Chant Gregorien a esté corrompu & alteré quantité de fois, en plusieurs lieux, & en differens temps ... » *Ibid.*, 34.

³¹ Note marginale dans Lebrun, *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prieres et des cérémonies de la messe*, t. III, 137. Le liturgiste oratorien confirme plus loin son approche sans complaisance de l'œuvre de saint Grégoire : « [il] s'appliquoit à tant de choses pour l'édification de l'église, qu'il ne faut pas exiger de lui une critique exacte des faits qui étoient beaucoup plus anciens que son tems. Aussi quelque respectable que soit son autorité, on peut examiner les faits après lui, & suppléer à sa critique. » *Ibid.*, t. II, 145.

pragmatique³² et d'un style mélodique développé en aval du pontificat de Grégoire.³³ Son analyse recoupe alors les thèses néogallicanes les plus radicales considérant que « saint Jérôme n'est point l'auteur ni du Lectionnaire ni de l'Antiphonier Romains : que le pape Gelase peut bien y avoir travaillé aussi bien que saint Grégoire ». ³⁴ La situation documentaire connue par Lebeuf ne pouvait que confirmer son scepticisme : selon son propre constat, les sources romaines notées les plus anciennes n'étaient pas antérieures aux plus anciennes sources gallicanes.³⁵ Finalement, dans le cadre paradoxal d'un domaine de recherche éminemment ecclésiastique, cette réserve à l'égard de l'héritage grégorien place ces écrits en résonance avec les courants intellectuels les plus avancés du XVIII^e siècle. Cette mise à plat de la *gesta* grégorienne participait en effet de ce « desserrement de la dépendance par rapport à Dieu »³⁶ que les progrès de la science historique, mais également les traces durables de la spiritualité janséniste provoquèrent au sein des milieux érudits. Par ricochet, Charlemagne apparaît comme le bénéficiaire de cette personnalisation contestée du chant grégorien : l'empereur finit par apparaître comme un nouveau Grégoire.

Proches des milieux gallicans, ces mêmes auteurs se distinguent dans leur analyse des suites de l'introduction du chant romain sous le règne des carolingiens. Malgré la nature de la mission des chantres pontificaux envoyés dans les Gaules,³⁷ Lebeuf insiste évidemment sur la relativité de cette appropriation du rite romain, limitée notamment par des questions pratiques³⁸ ou, plus significativement, par le zèle gallican attribué à certains prélats.³⁹ Finalement, appliquant au domaine liturgique un thème

³² « En un mot, quoiqu'il n'eût fait que lui donner un nouvel ordre, l'ouvrage passa sous son nom, & communiqua par la suite au corps du Chant d'Eglise, le nom de Chant Grégorien ». Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, chapitre III, 31. Dans la même veine, Lebeuf ouvre un chantier également appelé à se poursuivre jusqu'au XX^e siècle en évoquant la compilation de l'antiphonaire grégorien au cours de plusieurs pontificats : « Le Pape Leon II. que les monuments d'Italie représentent comme fort curieux du Chant, passe pour y avoir aussi touché ». Ibid., 31.

³³ En fait, le chant grégorien n'est jamais pour Lebeuf qu'un répertoire particulier « réglé de certaine manière par saint Gregoire & par quelques-uns de ses successeurs ». Lebeuf, « Extrait d'un Mémoire envoyé par M. le B. Chanoine & Souchantre d'Auxerre », 1537.

³⁴ Grancolas, *Traité de la Messe et de l'Office Divin ...*, 233. Cet auteur considère en outre que « ce fut principalement sous Grégoire VII qu'il fut plus parfait » (repris dans son *Commentaire historique sur le Breviaire romain*, t. I, 14).

³⁵ Cf. son étonnement à ce sujet dans la lettre de Lebeuf à La Curne du 28 décembre 1728, citée par Ernest Petit, « Correspondance de l'abbé Lebeuf avec Lacurne de Sainte-Pallaye », *Annuaire historique du département de l'Yonne*, 258.

³⁶ Morrissey, *L'empereur à la barbe fleurie : Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France*, 252.

³⁷ « [Les chantres romains vinrent] adoucir les gosiers des François & leur apprendre à chanter avec plus de propreté... », Lebeuf, « Dissertation sur l'état des sciences dans les Gaules depuis la mort de Charlemagne, jusqu'à celle du Roy Robert. », 95. Malgré ce constat, Lebeuf n'évoque que ponctuellement la mission des chantres romains, ici en termes de pratique plus que de répertoire et sans détailler les anecdotes sur lesquelles dom Caffiaux s'étend ; cf. dom Caffiaux, « De la musique depuis la naissance du christianisme jusqu'à Guy d'Arezzo », Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 22537, fol. 103r-v.

³⁸ Dans sa dissertation de 1734, Lebeuf émet l'hypothèse d'une origine pratique à l'échec de l'introduction du chant romain : les chantres francs « ne purent apprendre à couler comme il faut sur certains endroits du chant ni à y donner les agréments convenables ». Lebeuf, *De l'état des sciences dans l'étendue de la monarchie française sous Charlemagne*, 62.

³⁹ Cette orientation renvoie aux interventions attribuées par l'historiographie actuelle à Alcuin puis saint Benoît d'Aniane ; cf. Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge* (Aubier, Paris : Beauchesne, 2000) 200–01. Lebeuf s'exprime sans retenue à ce sujet : « La déférence que l'on eut pour le Prince [Charlemagne], empêcha les écrivains du tems de faire connoître l'importance dont il étoit de retenir les plus beaux morceaux de la Liturgie Gallicane. Plusieurs Evêques en firent conserver autant qu'ils purent, admettant le mélange de la Romaine. Mais pas un seul auteur n'eut le courage de faire remarquer en quoi consistoit ce mélange, ni les raisons qui l'autorisoient. Au moins il n'en est resté aucun écrit connu. » ; Lebeuf, *De l'état des sciences dans l'étendue de la monarchie française sous Charlemagne*, 70. La variabilité d'introduction du rite romain dans les Gaules est également évoquée chez Grancolas (*Traité de la Messe et de l'Office Divin*, 232), Bocquillot (*Traité historique de la Liturgie Sacrée*, 222), Lebrun (*Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe*, t. III, 167–68 et 265) et, en se limitant au chant, chez Bourdelot (l'arrivée des chantres pontificaux « déplut fort aux musiciens François » ; Pierre Bourdelot, *Histoire de la musique depuis ses origines* [La Haye-Francfort : Aux dépens de la compagnie, 1743] [1^{ère} édition 1715], 189). Mais la perspective historique de cet auteur reste considérablement plus

historiographique développé dès le XVI^e siècle et campant un Charlemagne tempérant l'application des ordres papaux,⁴⁰ Lebeuf résume en une phrase la situation liturgique incertaine et finalement créative du IX^e siècle en estimant que « On [s']adonna tellement [au plain-chant], qu'on peut dire que ceux qui se mêlèrent depuis dans la France de faire du Chant, l'enrichirent de pièces qui égaloient, & même qui surpassoient souvent celles de l'Antiphonier Romain ». ⁴¹

Toutefois, une distinction strictement binaire entre historiographies « romaine » et « gallicane » ne trouve pas de vérification au moment d'aborder les développements du répertoire romano-franc. Malgré des discours divergents sur la question des origines du chant romano-franc, les historiographes les plus idéologiquement marqués ont en commun de professer un pessimisme historique absolu quant à son devenir. S'il s'inscrit dans la veine primitiviste des érudits gallicans,⁴² un auteur comme Grancolas enchaîne systématiquement les étapes d'une corruption progressive au contact de la *musique*, reflet sonore de la *mondanité* et des vanités terrestres :

S. Gregoire donna un peu plus de tour au chant. Adrien I. & Charlemagne le rendirent plus mélodieux.... Enfin Guido l'Aretin moine de S. Benoît, ayant trouvé la game [sic] sur la fin de l'onzième siècle, le chant parvint au point où on l'a vû depuis ; on donna aux Antiennes & aux Répons des airs plus modernes ; on y introduisit des diminutions pour le rendre plus musical ; ... on en vint même jusqu'à y mêler des airs profanes & tout-à-fait mondains.⁴³

L'histoire du chant ecclésiastique est alors conçue comme une transposition de celle du rite gallican : bien qu'étant le plus invariable des rites paléo-chrétiens selon ces auteurs,⁴⁴ son abandon marque le début d'une phase de déclin continu jusqu'au XVII^e siècle. Or, cette perversion inéluctable est également décrite par les auteurs aussi « romains » que Nivers dont la chronologie repose sur une force de la corruption telle que l'état primitif de pureté du chant grégorien est sans cesse reculé au point d'être dénié.⁴⁵

Face à cet étrange rassemblement d'opposants autour d'une même idée, Lebeuf est pratiquement le seul à proposer une alternative historiographique. Son *Traité* névite pas totalement ce processus d'inquisition rétrospective où le chant ecclésiastique se voit suspecté de péché contre la Vérité. Toutefois, si ses procédés peuvent annoncer ceux de la restauration grégorienne – dont l'étude comparative de diverses versions d'une même pièce –, la base en est radicalement différente : le répertoire référentiel est celui

anecdotique que chez Lebeuf ; résonnant de la querelle des Goûts, le propos de Bourdelot se résume à une transposition de la situation du XVIII^e siècle (cf. *ibid.*, 185).

⁴⁰ Morrissey, *L'empereur à la barbe fleurie : Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France*, 173–74.

⁴¹ Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, 15.

⁴² Cf. son avis sur le chant des premiers chrétiens dans Grancolas, *Traité de la Messe et de l'Office Divin*, 250–51.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 251 et 252. À la suite de cet exposé, Grancolas multiplie complaisamment de nombreuses citations d'autorités médiévales condamnant des abus dans la composition ou la pratique du chant ecclésiastique.

⁴⁴ Ainsi chez Lebrun, « La liturgie Gallicane qu'on abandonna avoit alors tant d'antiquité, qu'en remontant jusqu'aux premiers siècles, nous ne trouvons aucun vestige de changement dans l'ordre de la messe. » Lebrun, *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe*, t. III, 230.

⁴⁵ Au comble de sa logique, Nivers se résigne à ne trouver ni époque ni lieu recelant cette pureté : même Rome n'incarne pas l'état originel de son propre chant ; cf. Nivers, *Dissertation sur le Chant Grégorien*, 41. Cette ardeur à discréditer les sources anciennes de toute nature hormis le référent immatériel de l'antiphonaire grégorien, n'est pas sans rappeler la démarche du père Hardouin qui, quelques décennies plus tard, tente le pari d'une Église libérée de l'Histoire par l'accusation de supercherie portée contre toutes les autorités anciennes : Nivers ne contribue-t-il pas à développer l'idée d'un plain-chant à la fois dégagé de toute patine historique et ouvert à l'interventionnisme contemporain ?

constitué progressivement entre Charlemagne et saint Louis,⁴⁶ et non l'antiphonaire grégorien. De plus, les avis les plus sévères de Lebeuf sont réservés aux périodes récentes de l'histoire liturgique : selon lui, certaines églises laissèrent « dégénérer » leur psalmodie « depuis l'avant-dernier siècle »,⁴⁷ ce XVI^e siècle que Lebeuf place au terme de son parcours chronologique. Mais sa conception de l'histoire du chant ecclésiastique diffère fondamentalement de celle de ses prédécesseurs en raison d'une perception du temps réellement différente : à la linéarité partagée par tous, il substitue une généalogie complexe et foisonnante. Au regard du fixisme souvent professé avant lui, l'historiographie de son *Traité* prend les formes d'une *fausseté*⁴⁸ que Lebeuf se refuse à considérer comme telle : il inaugure ainsi une approche partiellement dégagée des postulats théologiques couramment assumés par les érudits ecclésiastiques.⁴⁹ Son regard se fait donc rétrospectif, nuancé, ouvert à des ruptures multiples – Charlemagne, la généralisation de la notation guidonienne,⁵⁰ le concile de Trente – et apte à des contradictions synchroniques. Le temps de saint Louis devient ainsi celui d'offices « d'un chant aussi bizarre que l'étoient les paroles »⁵¹ et celui de « Chants tendres & affectueux ». ⁵² C'est d'ailleurs de ces excroissances du chant romano-franc, stimulées notamment par le développement de l'ordre de Cluny,⁵³ que Lebeuf fait naître l'idée d'un particularisme cantoral français à partir de l'étude de chants tardifs.⁵⁴ Sa démarche est alors inverse de celle de Nivers : si ce dernier prend acte de la diversité des chants diocésains, c'est pour considérer le chant romain comme « la source de tous les autres ». ⁵⁵ De son côté, grâce à des méthodes déjà philologiques, Lebeuf détermine les fondements d'une pluralité de traditions en recherchant les caractéristiques d'une identité gallicane dès avant l'ère carolingienne,⁵⁶ mais également après. Il cherche notamment à isoler une

⁴⁶ Le chapitre VII du *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique* (146–149) donne même en exemple des chants tardifs dont certains copiés au début du XV^e siècle et que Lebeuf apprécie positivement.

⁴⁷ Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, 58.

⁴⁸ « Toujours semblable à elle-même, [la vérité] ne porte nul caractère, qui ne soit marqué au coin de sa sincérité. Au contraire la fausseté se trouve à chaque pas en contradiction avec elle-même. Ses voies sont tortueuses. Dire le oui & le non, par rapport aux mêmes objets, voilà son langage, voilà son caractère. » ; doms Tassin et Toustain, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique* (Paris : Guillaume Desprez ; Pierre-Guillaume Cavelier, 1750) t. I, xv.

⁴⁹ Pour les auteurs du *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, « L'homme est né pour la vérité. Sans cesse un secret penchant l'y rappelle. S'il veut invariablement s'en écarter ; il faut qu'il donne la torture à son esprit, qu'il se roidisse perpétuellement contre la nature. Or quelque corrompue qu'elle soit par le péché ; sa corruption ne va pas à détruire en elle tout amour du vrai. Il y vit cet amour, & la vanité même l'y voit avec complaisance. Il est donc impossible, que l'homme persévère dans une volonté efficace, de prendre en toutes choses le contrepied de la vérité. Un état si violent n'est pas naturel : & tout ce qui ne l'est point ne sauroit se soutenir. » ; doms Tassin et Toustain, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, xv. Au contraire, si un modèle extérieur pour la démarche de Lebeuf était à identifier, il serait plutôt à chercher autour de la stratégie ecclésiologique de Bossuet, combinant fixisme doctrinal et reconnaissance du magistère vivant de l'Église.

⁵⁰ Conformément à un schéma déjà présent chez René Ouvrard et repris par dom Caffiaux, Lebeuf estime que cette notation permit de se dégager de « l'ancien chaos ». Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, 3. Toutefois, il ne considère pas les notations pré-guidoniennes comme des entraves au développement du répertoire et de sa pratique : « L'obscurité de cette science, & sa difficulté [avant Guido] n'empêcheront pas une infinité de Sçavans de composer des pièces de chant, ni ne rebuta pas les jeunes gens qui aspireroient aux emplois de l'Église. » ; Lebeuf, « Dissertation sur l'état des sciences dans les Gaules depuis la mort de Charlemagne, jusqu'à celle du Roy Robert », 99–100.

⁵¹ Lebeuf, *L'état des sciences en France, depuis la mort du roy Robert, arrivée en 1031, jusqu'à celle de Philippe le Bel, arrivée en 1314* (Paris : Chez Lambert & Durand, 1741) 119.

⁵² Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, 139.

⁵³ « Plusieurs Chapitres de Cathédrale s'associerent avec les principales Maisons de cet Ordre. » Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, chapitre III, 42.

⁵⁴ Cf. son étude de « l'Office de la Trinité d'Estienne de Liège », *ibid.*, 43–44. Ce répertoire est déjà isolé dans Lebeuf, « Dissertation sur l'état des sciences dans les Gaules depuis la mort de Charlemagne, jusqu'à celle du Roy Robert », 101.

⁵⁵ Nivers, *Dissertation sur le Chant Grégorien*, préface.

⁵⁶ Cf. sa recherche des formules psalmodiques gallicanes dans son *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, 32–37.

« manière de traiter le Chant différente plus ou moins des Chants venus de Rome »⁵⁷ antérieure à la réforme carolingienne et cultivée dans le répertoire romano-franc. Cette *manière* définit alors des chants devenant « des modèles à imiter »,⁵⁸ ce qu'il fera dans son travail au service de la réforme des livres liturgiques parisiens.⁵⁹ Cet éloignement d'avec le pessimisme historique l'entraîne également à se positionner avec prudence à l'égard du réformisme médiéval cistercien : sans attaquer de front la figure de saint Bernard,⁶⁰ Lebeuf ne peut en adopter « [le] postulat selon lequel il existe une vérité en matière musicale, celle d'une tradition non corrompue, et que cette vérité est une ».⁶¹ Finalement, alors que dom Caffiaux peinait à concilier la définition de la musique comme un don de Dieu avec « l'inconstance de l'homme en cette partie »,⁶² Lebeuf s'engage le plus souvent sur une voie résolument ouverte aux risques de l'histoire.⁶³

VERS UNE ANALYSE ECCLÉSIOLOGIQUE DE L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE MUSICALE. La délimitation de courants historiographiques à partir desquels s'articuleraient des personnalités comme celle de Lebeuf constitue un premier pas dans la clarification de convergences de pensée. Mais cette cartographie des auteurs ne permet pas de comprendre les raisons dynamiques de leur éclatement, raisons relevant de la confrontation entre des attitudes personnelles et des données socio-religieuses collectives qui concernaient autant les auteurs que leur public majoritairement constitué d'ecclésiastiques. Parmi ces contingences figure certainement l'ecclésiologie de l'histoire dont chaque plainchantiste établit une version nuancée à partir d'une base partagée par tous. De prime abord, chacun de ces liturgistes aborde le plain-chant en développant une structure de pensée marquée par l'organisation chrétienne du temps au sein de laquelle les deux bornes de la Genèse et l'Apocalypse sont centrées sur l'Incarnation, événement conduisant à l'ouverture du temps de l'Église et séparant l'action de la latence. Le rapprochement de ce pattern avec leur historiographie du plain-chant s'opère alors ainsi :⁶⁴

Genèse	Incarnation	<i>tempus Ecclesiae</i>	Apocalypse
{ Antiquité }	Grégoire		
	Grégoire + Charlemagne	déclin	réforme liturgique
	Charlemagne		

1. Correspondance entre historicismes religieux et liturgique.

⁵⁷ Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, chapitre II, 19 ; reformulé plus tard dans le même ouvrage (ibid., 43).

⁵⁸ Ibid., chapitre II, 19.

⁵⁹ Sur cette réforme, cf. Xavier Bisaro, *Une nation de fidèles : L'Église et la liturgie parisienne au XVIII^e siècle* (Tours : C.E.S.R. ; Turnhout : Brepols, 2006).

⁶⁰ Sa discussion sur l'attribution des textes sur le chant attribués au saint lui permet de le dégager habilement de son approche critique.

⁶¹ Claire Maître citée dans Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, 58.

⁶² Dom Caffiaux, « Preface », Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 22536, fol. 2r. Le bénédictin considère donc avec prudence que cette multiplicité résulte d'un parcours désordonné vers l'état de perfection de son temps, illustration *in fine* de la perfection divine. Cf. ibid., fol. 2v.

⁶³ Isolée dans le champ d'étude musicologique, cette caractéristique est néanmoins à inscrire à la suite de l'évolution des études bibliques au XVII^e siècle : dans ce domaine, la tendance globale était désormais à la conscience d'une évolution historique de la philosophie et de la religion, et non plus au fixisme indiscuté. Cf. François Laplanche, *La Bible en France entre mythe et critique (XVI^e-XIX^e siècle)* (Paris : Albin Michel, 1994) 69-71.

⁶⁴ Cette comparaison est d'autant plus valable que l'Incarnation sépare le temps de l'attente du temps de l'action, comme l'antiphonaire grégorien isole les origines païennes du plain-chant de son intégration liturgique.

La divergence principale affecte le point de basculement de cette dynamique historique. Chez Nivers et les *romains*,⁶⁵ l'antiphonaire attribué à saint Grégoire⁶⁶ isole les origines païennes du plain-chant de sa transformation en pratique liturgique chrétienne. Au contraire, avec Lebeuf et quelques autres auteurs de sensibilité gallicane, c'est la réforme carolingienne et le IX^e siècle qui assure cette fonction.

La poursuite de cette histoire fournit un autre critère de distinction entre les auteurs. La diversité d'acception de la notion de *tradition* laisse ainsi place aux tenants d'une *tradition magistérielle*, alors que les auteurs gallicans introduisent une *tradition documentaire* héritée de l'érudition ecclésiastique⁶⁷ et appliquée au plain-chant. Là où Nivers fait de l'antiphonaire et du graduel romains la source du « véritable Chant Gregorien »,⁶⁸ ils évitent ce terme – au profit de ceux de *chant ecclésiastique* et *plain-chant*⁶⁹ – et préfèrent souligner l'hétérogénéité de la source grégorienne. Pour Lebeuf, si l'antiphonaire grégorien fut élaboré à partir de l'héritage théorique grec, son organicité était à contester :

Ce [chant] Romain étoit déjà assez varié de lui-même ; puisque saint Grégoire en composant l'Antiphonier n'avoit fait que compiler, c'est-à-dire, prendre des Chants de tous côtés, qu'il avoit réunis ensemble, & desquels il avoit fait un volume.⁷⁰

Mais là où d'autres gallicans renouent avec l'idée d'une décadence inéluctable, Lebeuf refuse de travailler à partir de la vérité « constante & uniforme, dans toutes ses parties, dans toutes ses circonstances »⁷¹ théorisées par les praticiens de la diplomatie ecclésiastique. Et c'est lui, l'appelant gallican, qui abandonne finalement le postulat de cette même vérité, unique, originelle et obscurcie au fil des âges alors que les *romains* comme les jansénistes l'appliquent au plain-chant avec une étonnante convergence de vue.⁷²

C'est alors vers un autre conditionnement collectif qu'il convient de se tourner afin de poursuivre la compréhension de ce paysage complexe : l'évolution de l'historiographie du plain-chant nécessite en effet d'être replacée dans la perspective de l'opposition forte entre romains et gallicans autour de 1700. Consciemment ou non, ces auteurs écrivent dans un contexte de tension croissante au sein de l'Église gallicane. À partir du début du XVIII^e siècle, une profonde recombinaison des forces en présence est en cours.

⁶⁵ Ce qualificatif renvoie à la mouvance « catholique romaine française » identifiée par Bernard Chedozeau et reprise par Cécile Davy-Rigaux pour décrire la position de Nivers.

⁶⁶ Cette attitude apparaît fermement exprimée chez Nivers en dépit de la « définition large du 'chant grégorien' » analysée par Cécile Davy-Rigaux au fil des productions de l'organiste de Saint-Sulpice. Cf. notamment Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, 317.

⁶⁷ Pour l'application de ces concepts aux travaux érudits, f. Neveu, *Érudition et religion*, 341.

⁶⁸ Nivers, *Dissertation sur le Chant Grégorien*, 147.

⁶⁹ Cf. Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, 38 dont la note 24 sur Lebeuf.

⁷⁰ Lebeuf, *Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, chapitre III, 30. Pour une connaissance actualisée de la nature de l'antiphonaire « grégorien », cf. Michel Huglo, « L'antiphonaire : Archétype ou répertoire originel ? », *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris : Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986) 661–69.

⁷¹ Tassin et Toussaint, *Nouveau traité de diplomatie*, xv.

⁷² Il est en effet possible de comparer le fondamentalisme grégorien inauguré par Nivers dans sa *Dissertation* (source grégorienne révélée, parcours historique corrompue au cours duquel la Vérité du message originel tend à disparaître, puis phase de rétablissement) avec cette appréciation de l'ecclésiologie janséniste résumée par Frédérick Vanhoorne : « Le fixisme de la doctrine est tel [chez les jansénistes] qu'il aboutit à la négation du rôle du magistère : au fil des époques, l'Église n'interprète ni ne développe jamais la doctrine, elle se borne à remettre au jour (et non à jour) des éléments de la vérité qui sont connus depuis l'époque apostolique mais dont l'évidence s'est perdue. » Vanhoorne, « Histoire corrompue et vérité immuable », 177. Le rapprochement opéré par Cécile Davy-Rigaux entre Nivers et les courants érudits prend alors tout son sens. Inversement et toujours aussi paradoxalement, Lebeuf n'est pas totalement éloigné de la position jésuite considérant que « l'histoire porte la vérité [et qu'elle] en est le vecteur et non le principe corrompue ». *Ibid.*, 178.

Gallicanisme ecclésiastique et jansénisme tendent alors à converger, alors que l'autorité civile ralliait la papauté dans la lutte contre l'influence de Port-Royal. Le profil de carrière de chacun des plainchantistes, mais également les soubresauts de l'histoire ecclésiastique les guident alors vers des orientations s'organisant en trois temps [fig. 2].

L'historiographie « romaine » se développe principalement durant la Paix Clémentine : une fois scellée la réconciliation provisoire entre les diverses factions de l'Église, Nivers peut alors proclamer « [qu']entre tous les Lieux ou le Chant Gregorien s'est corrompu, Rome a toûjours eu l'avantage ». ⁷³ À l'inverse, les étapes préalables à l'Appel, réponse vigoureuse à la promulgation de la Constitution *Unigenitus* en 1713, sont contemporaines d'une réaction historiographique nettement gallicane. La relation entre tradition et magistère constituant un des thèmes centraux de la querelle agitant alors l'Église, le plain-chant et l'histoire de la liturgie dans son ensemble deviennent un écran sur lequel les événements contemporains sont projetés. C'est pour cette même raison que l'historiographie de Lebeuf peut se développer dans toute sa singularité. Bien qu'il soit un brillant disciple d'érudits gallicans, et spécialement de Claude Chastelain, il perturbe cette opposition frontale de deux camps. Avec lui, le plain-chant trouve sa place à la table de travail de l'historien : les sources documentaires ne sont plus simplement un prétexte, mais bien un véritable matériau questionné à la lumière d'un sentiment gallican relativement maîtrisé. Là encore, ce processus est à analyser en considérant à la fois une carrière personnelle, mais plus encore l'histoire ecclésiastique. Si Lebeuf participe activement à la contestation gallicane à partir de 1717, ⁷⁴ il envisage une nouvelle posture à l'approche des années 1730 : alors que la fronde appelante régressait, il était temps d'adopter une nouvelle position sur l'échiquier ecclésiastique. Lebeuf écrivit son *Traité* non seulement avec le recul des temps par rapport au début du siècle, mais également dans une situation inédite. L'agitation épiscopale laissait place désormais à celle des milieux parlementaires et, conséquemment, l'histoire liturgique perdait son utilité à être instrumentalisée. Jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, elle devenait un domaine de recherche relativement serein.

Souvent évoquée dans ses liens à l'histoire de l'épistémologie, ⁷⁵ l'historiographie française du plain-chant est également indissociable du contexte ecclésiastique au sein duquel les auteurs évoluent. À ce titre, les concepts forgés par Michel de Certeau sur l'importance du *lieu* d'où écrit l'historien semblent particulièrement opérationnels : selon cet auteur, « l'activité productrice et la période *connue* s'altèrent réciproquement ». ⁷⁶ Dès lors, instance de légitimation pour les uns, source de condamnation pour les autres, l'historiographie du plain-chant reflète les ambitions de forces antagonistes avant que, de ces limbes agitées, n'émergent les bases d'une pratique scientifique en des temps pacifiés. Mais ce qui nous apparaît comme une évidence semble avoir été oublié peu de temps à peine après Lebeuf. Les présupposés idéologiques de la restauration grégorienne ne sont rien d'autres que le résultat d'une réactivation du débat entre romains et gallicans. Au long de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, l'opposition entre une supposée Tradition véritable et des traditions locales pas toujours bien définies constitua une nouvelle fois

⁷³ Nivers, *Dissertation sur le Chant Grégorien*, 41.

⁷⁴ Signataire de l'Appel, Lebeuf fut également un artisan de sa diffusion au sein du chapitre cathédral et du diocèse d'Auxerre.

⁷⁵ Cf. notamment Philippe Vendrix, *Aux origines d'une discipline historique* (Liège : Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1993).

⁷⁶ Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire*, 59.

le cœur d'une querelle historiographique. Mais ne doit-on pas encore aller plus loin ? Quel est en effet notre rapport actuel avec l'historiographie récente du plain-chant développée dans un contexte si fortement marqué ? Sommes-nous toujours avertis du lien entre notre époque et notre propre historiographie ? En raison de sa position stratégique au cours des siècles qui précédèrent le nôtre, l'historiographie du plain-chant n'a certainement pas fini de nous poser ces questions.

“THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS”: EVALUATIONS BY THE ACADEMIE DES BEAUX-ARTS OF WORKS BY WINNERS OF THE PRIX DE ROME (1803–CA. 1840)

Cécile Reynaud

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

When the Trojan prince Paris made the judgment to give an apple to the goddess Aphrodite, she fulfilled her promise and led him to the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris's abduction of Helen angered the Greeks, sparked the Trojan War, and led to the end of Trojan civilization. The judgments I speak of today led to no such catastrophe, but they did have great influence on the lives and careers of French composers of the 19th century and beyond.

Before the great French Revolution, and reestablished after that cataclysmic event, a curious and unique institution was fostered in France that was charged with making official aesthetic pronouncements. That organization was the Institut de France, which encompassed several *académies* of which one was eventually named the Académie des Beaux-Arts. This academy sponsored various educational programs, the most famous of which became the Prix de Rome.¹ Sent to Rome to study the art of classical antiquity and of the Italian Renaissance and beyond, prize winners, among them musicians, were obliged during their tenure there (five years in the early part of the 19th century) to send to the Institut de France the fruits of their labors in accordance with the particular requirements imposed by the Academy. Each year these works, called *envois* (the word, representing the works sent from Rome, became a technical expression), were subject to evaluation by members of the Institut in Paris.

In 1803, in the aftermath of the revolutionary uprisings and after a long interruption caused by them, the Académie de France in Rome was installed in a new location, one that it still occupies to this day, namely, the Villa Médicis. It was precisely at this time that certain disciplines were newly incorporated into the competition for the Grand

I am grateful to Professor Peter Bloom of Smith College for his assistance in preparing the English version of this article.

¹ See, for example, Henry Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome* (Paris: Plon, 1924); *L'Académie de France à Rome aux XIX et XX siècles: Entre tradition, modernité et création*, ed. by Anne-Lise Desmas. Collection d'histoire de l'art de l'Académie de France à Rome (Roma; Paris: Somogy Editions d'Art, 2002); *Maestà di Roma: Da Napoleone all'unità d'Italia. D'Ingres à Degas, les artistes français à Rome*. Académie de France à Rome [Exposition Villa Médicis, Rome, 7 March–29 June 2003] (Milano: Electa, 2003).

Prix de Rome, to wit, the arts of engraving and of music. Musicians thus saw themselves recognized,² on a par with their fellow fine-artists, as worthy of assuming a central place among the arts considered at once official and academically respectable.

The overseer of the Académie de France in Rome, the Institut de France, the reincarnation of the academies abolished by the Revolution, was organized into three *classes*: *sciences morales et politiques*, *sciences physiques et mathématiques*, and *littérature et beaux-arts*. Music would be under the aegis of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, thus uniting musicians with artists and writers, a situation in which one may see a sign of the newly elevated status of the musician—manifest in another way, only several years earlier in 1795, by the establishment of a Conservatoire de Musique under the direction of Barnard Sarrette. After long debate and discussion among members of the Institut, professors and directors at the Conservatoire, and various political figures, a Prix de Rome in musical composition was in fact established, thus sending musicians to join the painters, sculptors, and architects already resident in Rome at the Académie de France.

Why a Prix de Rome in musical composition? The early debates on the question, during meetings at the Institut, turned on the civic or civilizing role that art was to play in society. This was the very important role played by music during revolutionary festivals, when members of the music section of the Institut—including Gossec and Méhul—were participants. The Académie de France in Rome would later manifest its remembrance of that civic role by assigning to its *pensionnaires*—or what in English one would call its “fellows”—the obligation to send back to Paris a Te Deum dedicated perhaps to the military accomplishments of the French army: Thus we find a Te Deum by Victor Dourlen (winner of the Prix de Rome in 1805) performed at Saint-Louis des Français, after the capitulation of Danzig, in the spring of 1807.³

But it was, of course, the trip to Italy and the cultural enrichment and inspiration such a voyage would provide that were the recurrent subjects of the early deliberations regarding a Prix de Rome in music, as were, also, the need to have French music known on the Italian peninsula and the need for French composers to come to know Italian music.

The necessity of the sojourn in Italy was the primary argument for the establishment of a new competition. The text that established the competition was prepared and printed for the first time in 1803. Here Italy is invoked as a rival to France in the field of musical composition. One must remember that at the time, a taste for *italianisme* was very much *à la mode* in France. The chapel masters at Napoléon’s Imperial Court were the Italians Giovanni Paisiello and, subsequently, Ferdinando Paër. The notion of sending French composers to Rome was thus generated not only by the desire to introduce French music into Italy, but also to have French composers better understand Italian music.

The commentaries made by the members of the Institut on the works sent by the fellows in Rome, and the commentaries on the works of those who never became *pensionnaires*, are indicative of the important role that Italy was seen to occupy in the larger musical formation of young composers. For example, composers are frequently

² See Auguste Blondeau, *Voyage d’un musicien en Italie (1809–1812), précédé des observations sur les théâtres italiens*, ed. by Joël-Marie Fauquet (Liège: Mardaga, 1993); Cécile Reynaud, “La création du grand prix de Rome de composition musicale”, *L’Académie de France à Rome aux XIX et XX siècles*, 3–14.

³ See Archives of the Académie de France à Rome, box “Suvée/P.A. Paris, comptes”, file “intérim Pâris”, letter dated in Rome, 18 June 1807, signed by Alquier.

urged in one way or another not to sacrifice melody to harmony, something that is reminiscent of the battle that raged throughout much of the 18th century—the so-called *Querelle des bouffons*—between those who saw French music as overly engaged with harmony and Italian music as overly engaged with melody. The archives of the Institut contain several early reports regarding the competition. One of these, from 1804, concerns the necessity that the future prize-winner follow the Italian model:

Since melody is the product of genius, while harmony is the result of science, melody ought to be preferred to harmony. It is better to touch listeners by melodic lines than to astonish them by chords. But the essential art of the composer is to follow the “laws of nature” which would have melody united with harmony by the attractive forces of elegance and energy.⁴



What can we say about the *envois* properly speaking, and how were they treated? In 1804 the founding regulations for the Prix de Rome, issued at the time of a regular meeting of the Institut, defined in the following way the required works that the music fellows were to send each year:

Each year, musicians will be obliged to send to the *class des beaux-arts* of the Institut an analysis of the principal works of a celebrated past master, beginning with Palestrina, the founder of the Italian school; they will furthermore be obliged to send a *scène italienne* of their own composition with its text selected from the work of Metastasio; a *scène française* with its text selected and sent to the fellow (from Paris) by the *classe des beaux-arts*; a piece of (vocal) church music in four parts, in the first year, in five parts in the second year, and continuing in this way up to a piece in eight parts, in the fifth year. The music “fellows” will furthermore seek out and collect, in all the Italian towns where they will spend a significant amount of time, the oldest folk melodies they can find, attempting, by examining the traditional features of those melodies, to explain their origins and purpose. This research will form the subject of a historical notice that will be set down at the head of each fellow’s collection of melodies.⁵

From this first definition of the responsibilities of the fellows and their *envois*, we may draw several conclusions regarding the significance accorded by the Institut to the Prix de Rome in music composition.

What the Institut clearly had in mind was a large-scale program of music education, one that included not only composition but also music history and analysis as well as what one might wish to call the study of ethnomusicology *avant la lettre*. Furthermore,

⁴ “La mélodie étant l’œuvre du génie, et l’harmonie le résultat de la science, la mélodie doit être préférée à l’harmonie ; il vaut mieux toucher par des chants que d’étonner par des accords ; mais le grand art du compositeur est de suivre l’instinct de la nature qui veut que la mélodie soit unie à l’harmonie par l’attrait de la grâce et l’ascendant de la force.” Marcel Bonnaire, *Procès-verbaux de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts, publiés par la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (Paris, 1940) vol. 2, 213–14, session of 28 January 1804.

⁵ “Les musiciens seront tenus d’envoyer, chaque année, à la classe des Beaux-Arts de l’Institut : l’analyse des principaux ouvrages d’un grand maître ancien, en commençant par Palestrina, fondateur de l’école italienne ; une *scène italienne* de leur composition, dont les paroles seront prises dans Métastase ; une *scène française*, dont les paroles seront choisies et envoyées par la *classe des beaux-arts* ; un morceau de musique d’Eglise à quatre parties la 1^{ère} année, à 5 la 2^e année, et ainsi de suite jusqu’à 8 la 5^e année. Les pensionnaires musiciens recueilleront dans toutes les villes d’Italie où ils séjourneront quelque temps, les airs populaires les plus anciens, en s’appliquant à la recherche de particularités traditionnelles qui pourront servir à en expliquer l’origine et l’usage. Ces recherches serviront de matière à une notice historique qui sera placée à la tête de chaque recueil”. Ibid., vol. 2, 213–14.

the role of Italy itself is clearly affirmed, specifically in the area of ethnomusicology but also, more generally, in the recognition of Italy's larger musical and artistic patrimony: Palestrina, understood broadly as the founder or father of Italian music; and Metastasio, understood as the ideal poet for musical setting.

The physiognomy of this program would change during the course of the 19th century. The regulations of 1846, for example, no longer carry the provision regarding the analysis of an Italian repertoire; nor do they carry the provision regarding research into Italian folk airs and melodies. As for the obligation to set texts in Italian and French, the fellow is now required to fulfill this condition only in alternate years, writing in one year an oratorio or opera in the French style, and in another year an oratorio or opera in the Italian style. Most importantly, we find, in the regulations of 1846, the appearance of instrumental music, as the *envois* are now to include a symphony.

In 1846, then, the Institut expected first year fellows to complete two scores:

One of these scores will be an oratorio on a text in French, Italian, or Latin, or, at the fellow's discretion, a different work of sacred character, such as a solemn Mass or a Requiem Mass or a Te Deum.

The second score will be a French or an Italian opera, whose libretto will be selected by the fellow from a work that has already been performed, unless he has been supplied with a newly composed libretto that has been approved by the director of the Académie de France in Rome.

In the course of his second and third years in Italy, the fellow will fulfill the same obligations as in his first year, except that he may replace the oratorio or other sacred work by a symphony in four movements, and that he may vary these pieces in such a way that, if he sends in one year an oratorio and an Italian opera, he must then send in the following year a Mass and a French opera.⁶

At the end of the 19th century, the transformation of the regulations becomes even more clear. The alternation of French and Italian music is no longer required, and the component of instrumental music has become every bit the equal of vocal music. I quote the regulations from 1894:

In the first year, [the fellow] is to compose a major work of chamber music [in the form] of his own choice, but preferably a string quartet. [He is furthermore] to compose six short pieces for voice with orchestral accompaniment, and to make a reduction of this work for voice and piano.

In the second year, he is to compose a symphony in four movements, or a large-scale symphonic composition in one or several parts, along with a reduction [of this work] for piano two or four hands.

⁶ "L'une de ces partitions sera un oratorio, sur des paroles françaises, italiennes ou latines, ou bien, au choix des pensionnaires, un ouvrage de musique sacrée, soit une messe solennelle, soit une messe de requiem, ou un Te Deum.

La seconde partition sera un opéra français ou italien, dont le pensionnaire choisira un livret parmi les ouvrages déjà représentés, à moins qu'on ne lui fournisse un poème nouveau qui sera agréé par le directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome.

Pendant le cours des seconde et troisième années, ce pensionnaire remplira les mêmes obligations, avec cette différence qu'il pourra remplacer l'oratorio ou l'ouvrage de musique sacrée par une symphonie composée de quatre morceaux et qu'il devra varier ses morceaux de manière que, s'il envoie une année un opéra italien et un oratorio, il adresse l'année suivante une messe et un opéra français." *Règlements pour les pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome* (Paris, 1846) article 27, p. 23.

He is also to compose *either* a dramatic *scena*, on either a French or Italian text, for one, two, or three voices and orchestra, *or* a motet for voices and orchestra, along with a separate reduction [of the score] for voice and piano.

In the third year, he is to compose *either* an oratorio on a French, Italian, or Latin text, *or*, at his discretion, a Solemn Mass or a Requiem Mass; *or* a Te Deum, *or* a large-scale vocal and instrumental work with soloists, chorus, and orchestra; *or*, finally, an opera in three acts, either comic or tragic, on a libretto that may be either old or new.⁷



Let me now make some brief comparisons between the treatment of the *envois* prepared by musicians and those prepared by other artists, who were also required to send to Paris a certain number of prescribed works annually. Indeed during the entire 19th century, the artists' *envois*—sculptures, paintings, and the like—were not only put on exhibition in a large hall at the École des Beaux-Arts, but were also subject to criticism both from members of the Institut and from members of the press. For the musicians, for whom no space was reserved for public performance other than the once-a-year ceremony for the distribution of the newly awarded Prix de Rome under the dome in the Palais de l'Institut, there was no criticism other than that which occurred within the walls of the Institut itself. Such criticism is to be found, then, only in the comments of the members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which are preserved in manuscript in the *procès verbaux* or minutes of the meetings that may be found in the archives of the Academy. These minutes have been partially published in an on-going edition sponsored by the École des Chartes under the direction of Jean-Michel Leniaud.⁸

The comments on the musical *envois* were sometimes made in private meetings of the Academy, which usually took place on a Saturday during the month of October, at the time of the various deliberations on the current year's competition for the Prix de Rome. Those comments were included for the most part in the minutes of the *séances publiques* or open meetings of the Academy des Beaux-Arts, also traditionally in October, when all the academies that constituted the Institut de France came together for the final decisions and then for the prize-giving ceremony itself.

What can we learn from the comments on the *envois*? First, we see that the "École de Rome" was generally seen as a kind of citadel for the continuance of a certain traditional style. However, if, in the comments on painting and sculpture, Rome seems to function as a refuge against the debasement of taste witnessed (by some) in Paris, it is rare indeed that the comments on music are self-congratulatory about having sent musical artists to Rome. This is highly curious, considering that the necessity of having French musicians

⁷ "Dans la 1ère année, composer une œuvre importante de musique de chambre à son choix, de préférence un quatuor pour instruments à cordes. Composer six pièces de courte durée pour chant avec accompagnement d'orchestre et réduction pour chant et piano.

Dans la 2e année, composer soit une symphonie en 4 parties, soit une œuvre symphonique en un ou plusieurs morceaux, avec réduction de piano à 2 ou 4 mains en partition.

Composer soit une scène dramatique à un, deux ou trois personnages sur des paroles françaises ou italiennes avec orchestre, soit un motet également avec orchestre et réduction séparée pour chant et piano.

Dans la 3e année, composer un oratorio sur des paroles françaises, italiennes ou latines, *ou* bien à son choix soit une messe solennelle, soit une messe de Requiem. ; soit un Te Deum; ou une œuvre vocale et instrumentale avec soli, chœurs et orchestre, ou enfin un opéra, soit tragique, soit comique, en 3 actes au moins sur un livret nouveau ou ancien ..."

Règlements pour les pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome (Paris, 1894), article 25.

⁸ Jean-Michel Leniaud, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, 1816–*, 6 vols. (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001–05).

rub shoulders with Italian music was one of the central reasons for the creation of a Rome Prize in music in the first place.

In the 1830s the École de Rome was considered a bastion of resistance to the new and ever-emerging school of romantic painting led by Eugène Delacroix. The period of five years in Rome was designed to inoculate talented young artists against the corrupting environment of the art world in Paris.

For musicians, curiously enough, the importance of Italy and Italian culture was rarely invoked during the first decades of evaluating the Rome Prize competitions, when it came to judging the value of the *envois* of the fellows in musical composition. And it has to be admitted—as the evidence suggests—that the regulation regarding the analysis of Italian music and ethnomusicological research was apparently not enforced. The general influence of Italy is mentioned, but only in the context of explaining the weaknesses of certain works in which classically minded members of the Institut perceived the excessive influence of Rossinian ornamentation, for example, ornamentation that seemed gratuitous and contrary to the flow of the music. Thus in the 1817 report on the *scène italienne* sent from Rome by Auguste Panseron, who had won the Prix de Rome in 1813, we read as follows:

The author could easily have dispensed with writing some ornaments that do nothing but diminish the expressive value of the vocal line and that serve only to conceal the musical phrases which, in themselves, are sufficiently well crafted to need no such auxiliary means of support. On this point one may also take note of the abuses of so many of this century's singers, who take it upon themselves to sing ornaments even in those places where the composer has deemed them perfectly useless.⁹

Similarly, in a report from the following year, we read:

The first act of an Italian opera by M. [Pierre] Roll appears to be solidly structured and composed with great facility. One might like to have more energy and more melodiousness, and there are, here, some tedious moments. It would be relatively easy for this student to avoid such failings, which arise not from any personal limitations but rather from some defective examples found in the contemporary Italian school against which he was simply unable to defend himself.¹⁰

The importance accorded to melody and to its primacy over harmony is, none the less, a sign that the members of the Academy were still imbued with Italian taste. But this importance is couched in terms that are usually quite banal: The proper academic melody should be “simple”, elegant, and gracious. More interesting is the word *naturel*, used to describe the melodies of the works of Pierre Roll in 1817, which suggests that for the Institut, following the rigid lines of the classical doctrine, the beauty of a particular work depends upon its greater or lesser capacity to imitate nature. Also

⁹ “L’auteur aurait pu se dispenser d’écrire quelques ornements qui ne font que nuire à l’expression du chant et qui ne servent qu’à masquer des phrases assez bonnes par elles-mêmes pour n’avoir pas besoin de ces moyens auxiliaires. On peut d’ailleurs s’en rapporter sur ce point à la facilité des chanteurs de ce siècle qui se permettent d’en placer même aux endroits où l’auteur en a jugé l’emploi inutile.” Ibid., vol. 2, 194, 8 November 1817.

¹⁰ “Le premier acte d’un opéra italien, par M. Roll, est d’une bonne facture et paraît composé avec facilité. On y désirerait plus de verve et plus de chant, il a aussi quelques longueurs. Il sera facile à ces deux élèves d’éviter ces défauts qui ne tiennent point à leurs dispositions particulières, mais proviennent de quelques exemples défectueux dans l’école actuelle d’Italie, dont ils n’ont pu se défendre.” Ibid., vol. 2, 531: “Séance publique de l’Académie royale des Beaux-Arts du 3 octobre 1818”.

deriving from the classical doctrine is the notion that musical declamation, in order to translate a particular sentiment properly and truly, must remain close to natural declamation. On the cantata *Sapho*, by Désiré Beaulieu, who won the Prix de Rome in 1810, we read the following:

In the arias, the melodies are expressive, but one might reproach them for lacking originality and grace. This essential failing is the result not of an impotent imagination; it is rather the result of an exaggerated system of declamation that destroys the kind of true sentiment without which music loses all of its charm.¹¹

What the Academies call "style", in the end, harkens back to their first pronouncements to the fellows in musical composition. There again it is a question of adapting a part of their musical language as precisely as possible to the subject at hand. A lack of such adaptation was felt particularly in the *envois* of a religious character. The style is rarely appropriate to the subject: For a Mass by Panseron in 1815, we read that

the style of this Mass is in general not at all up to the level of the subject, the color of the Mass is of a far too theatrical hue, and its composition is lacking in the sort of learned construction that in church music one may use without fear.¹²

By 1817 this same Auguste Panseron had apparently made great progress, because "the entirety of his Requiem Mass for four voices and orchestra appeared [to the judges] to be well conceived and marked from one end to the other by a severity of style totally appropriate to the subject".¹³ In 1812, on the other hand, Désiré Beaulieu, in his *Miserere*, "had well understood the style appropriate to the music of the church, whether by remaining calm and immobile, or by manifesting deep emotion and grand, realistic images".¹⁴

In the 1830s the commentaries on the *envois* from Rome begin to attribute greater importance to the art of orchestration, something that one does not find earlier on. In the *séance publique* of 30 October 1830 we find the following commentary on a Requiem by Guillaume-Ross Desprésaux:

The artistry with which he introduced the valved trumpets accompanied by the trombones, with singing in a dialogue with the trumpets, seems to us likely to produce a highly emotional effect.¹⁵

¹¹ "Dans les airs, la mélodie est expressive, mais on pourrait leur reprocher de manquer d'originalité et de grâce. Ce défaut essentiel ne vient point d'une imagination impuissante ; on doit l'attribuer à un système de déclamation exagérée qui détruit le véritable sentiment, sans lequel la musique chantée perd tout son charme." Ibid., vol. 1, 444: "Séance publique du 2 octobre 1813."

¹² "Le style de la messe n'est point à la hauteur du sujet ; à l'exception des quatre fugues qu'elle renferme, et dont le travail et la conduite sont assez bien combinés, la couleur est trop dans le goût théâtral, et la composition est dénuée de cette facture savante qu'on peut sans scrupule employer dans la musique sacrée." Ibid., vol. 1, 484: "Classe des Beaux-Arts—Séance publique du samedi 28 octobre 1815".

¹³ "L'ensemble général de cette œuvre nous a paru bien conçu et la sévérité du style convenable au sujet s'y soutient d'un bout à l'autre." Ibid., vol. 2, 193, 8 November 1817.

¹⁴ "Le compositeur a bien saisi le style qui convient à la musique d'église, soit qu'elle reste impassible, soit qu'elle ait des sentiments et de grandes images à peindre." Ibid., vol. 1, 428, 3 October 1812.

¹⁵ "L'art avec lequel il a introduit les trompettes à clé accompagnées par les trombones qui chantent aussi en dialoguant avec elles, nous paraît susceptible de produire un effet des plus pathétiques." Ibid., vol. 5, 348, "Rapport fait par Hippolyte Lebas lors de la séance publique du samedi 30 octobre 1830".

On Berlioz in 1832:

M. Berlioz has composed *Resurrexit et iterum venturus est*. This fellow of the Academy, in whom we recognize a lively imagination, great enthusiasm, and originality carried sometimes to the point of abnormality, today has the right to the most admirable praises in giving us the proof that he has been able to profit from the advice of a wise critic. His *Resurrexit* is written throughout with warmth, and in a large and effortless manner. The voices and the orchestra are properly organized. He has been able to produce effects that are at once new and yet original.¹⁶

And in the same year (1832) we read again an evaluation of Berlioz that emphasizes the necessity of coherence in the musical work:

The first piece is a quartet by M. Berlioz. This piece does not seem to be complete; [it seems to] lack unity, which is so essential to all the arts.¹⁷

In 1834, on Ambroise Thomas, who had won the Prix de Rome two years earlier, a similar idea regarding the coherence of the style appears:

The *Tuba mirum* of his *Requiem* is particularly remarkable; its melody is of precisely the right color. But we must especially praise the idea of having confided to three trombones the music of the accompaniment.¹⁸

In conclusion, several tendencies may be observed from an examination of the evaluations of the envois that were prepared by members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France. Of central importance to the judges is the general benefit of the Italian experience to the development of the character of the artist, temporarily freed as he was from the “corrupting” influence of Paris. In the specifically musical realm, even the influence of Rossini is sometimes perceived as pernicious, but the traditional Italian preference for melody over harmony is approved. What seems to be most significant, on the basis of assessments made in and around 1830, is the laureates’ ability to adapt his musical style to the subject at hand and to bring to it all appropriate musical (melodic, harmonic, orchestral, formal) means.

¹⁶ “M. Berlioz a composé un *Resurrexit et iterum venturus est*. Ce pensionnaire, dans lequel on a reconnu une imagination vive, de l’exaltation, de l’originalité portée quelquefois jusqu’à une certaine bizarrerie, a droit aujourd’hui à de plus justes éloges, en nous donnant la preuve qu’il a su mettre à profit les avis d’une sage critique. Son *Resurrexit* est écrit en entier avec chaleur, d’une manière simple et large. Chant, orchestre, tout y est à sa place. Il a su produire des effets nouveaux, mais naturels.” Ibid., vol. 5, 377, “Rapport ... lu par Quatremère de Quincy lors de la séance publique du samedi 13 octobre 1832”.

¹⁷ “Le premier morceau est un quartetto de M. Berlioz. Ce morceau ne semble pas un ouvrage complet ... s’écartant du principe d’unité, si essentiel dans tous les arts.” Ibid.

¹⁸ “Le *Tuba mirum* [de son *Requiem*] est surtout remarquable, la mélodie a la couleur convenable. Mais il faut surtout louer l’idée d’avoir confié aux trois trombones l’exécution du thème des accompagnements.” Ibid., vol. 5, 398, “Rapport ... lu par Quatremère de Quincy lors de la séance publique du samedi 11 octobre 1834”.

VIEWING THE PAST: DIFFERING CONCEPTS OF EARLY MUSIC HISTORY IN 19TH-CENTURY GERMANY AND FRANCE

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The 19th century is commonly seen as the beginning of history writing in a modern sense, and this is also true for music-history writing. A long-standing idea of an everlasting progress of music was replaced at that time with a profound skepticism toward contemporary music; historians rediscovered early music as an independent body of works with rights equal to modern music. As a reaction to the Enlightenment, rationalism, and secularization, and inspired by the leading ideas of Romanticism and historicism, early music, and in particular medieval music, was conceived as a remedy for the contemporary music situation. While this scenario applies to both Germany and France, the individual shaping of this restoration movement reveals considerable differences between the two countries.

Literary Romanticism played a crucial role in Germany in preparing and reinforcing the phenomena of historicism and restoration.¹ A growing feeling of loss of confidence in his own time led Novalis to discover the Middle Ages as an epoch that satisfied his longing for the hidden, symbolic, and mythical.² The image of a “pure” church music was shaped by expectations projected back into the past, and writers such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, or E.T.A. Hoffmann perceived it as the extreme opposite of contemporary church music. Complaining about the secular character of music heard in churches of their day, with its operatic and theatrical bent, they kept insisting that church music of a true kind must regain a spirit of transcendence, unification, and order.

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina arose as the perfect personification of this kind of early and “pure” church music. His works seemed to embody everything lacking in

¹ Walter Wiora, “Restauration und Historismus”, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik. II: Vom Tridentinum bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976) 219; and Karl Gustav Fellerer, “Zur Choralbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 41 (1957) 136–46.

² Novalis, “Die Christenheit oder Europa: Ein Fragment [1799]”, *Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe Friedrich von Hardenbergs, II: Das philosophisch-theoretische Werk*, ed. by Hans-Joachim Mähl and Richard Samuel (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978) 732, 733, 750.

contemporary church music, namely, it was “simple, true, childlike, pious, strong and powerful”.³ But how did Palestrina gain such a status of “*exemplum perfectum*”? First of all, the reception of his music was continuous since the 17th century.⁴ Second, the perfect balance between fixed rules of composition and artistic elaboration allowed Palestrina’s music to become in the 18th and 19th centuries an excellent example for teaching the art of counterpoint, for which it is still used. Third, Palestrina was simply by far the earliest composer known in those days, which made him a kind of “medieval” composer.

It should be stressed here that the German rediscovery of Palestrina had its starting point in the Protestant north, and it was embedded in a discussion of aesthetic problems.⁵ The Berliner Singakademie under Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch and Carl Friedrich Zelter performed Palestrina’s compositions already at the beginning of the 19th century. The Heidelberger Singakademie—led by the Protestant lawyer Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut and of key importance for the dissemination of Palestrina’s music and that of other 16th-century composers—likewise did not aim at a liturgical use of early music. Thibaut and his singers declared their intention to resist the decline of contemporary church music in a private, closed circle.⁶ Thus the role of Palestrina was clearly shaped by an early–19th-century aesthetic discourse and by literary Romanticism, by the “dreams of the poets”.⁷ In addition the growing field of musicological research as represented by the two prize-winning studies of Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and François-Joseph Fétis on Franco-Flemish composers contributed to a general increasing interest in 16th-century music.⁸

The Catholic reception of Palestrina started slightly later, and it was characterized from the outset by a strong interest in the relationship between early music and its liturgical use. This movement was prepared by the Munich-based circle of Johann Michael von Sailer, Caspar Ett, and Johann Kaspar Aiblinger, who had in mind a far-reaching new assessment of art in the service of religion and the church, and aimed at making 16th-century compositions available for use in the liturgy.⁹ They considered art to be a subordinate servant of the church,¹⁰ which consequently made the Caecilian movement in the first place a liturgical movement, including a tendency toward regulation and dogmatism. Both of these characteristics were deeply rooted in the reformers’ conviction that church music had to be firmly connected with the liturgy.¹¹

³ E.T.A. Hoffmann, “Alte und neue Kirchenmusik [Juli 1814]”, *Schriften zur Musik. Nachlese*, ed. by Friedrich Schnapp (München: Winkler, 1963) 216.

⁴ Otto Ursprung, “Palestrina und Palestrina-Renaissance”, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925) 513–29. On the edition of Palestrina’s works since the 18th century, see Martina Janitzek, *Studien zur Editions-geschichte der Palestrina-Werke vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis um 1900* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2001).

⁵ Winfried Kirsch, ed., *Palestrina und die Kirchenmusik im 19. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989; Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 1995); James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic imagination: Interpreting historicism in nineteenth-century music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶ Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst* (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1825).

⁷ Philipp Spitta, “Palestrina im sechzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert”, *Deutsche Rundschau* 79 (April 1894) 93.

⁸ Richard Hohenemser, *Welche Einflüsse hatte die Wiederbelebung der älteren Musik im 19. Jahrhundert auf die deutschen Komponisten?* (Ph.D. diss., München, 1899; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900) 17.

⁹ Otto Ursprung, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1931) 264; Johannes Schwermer, “Der Caecilianismus”, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik. II: Vom Tridentinum bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976) 226–29.

¹⁰ Sigmund Josef Zimmern, “Das Verhältnis der Musik zu den anderen schönen Künsten in der Kirche”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1892) 58–65.

¹¹ Philipp Harnoncourt, “Der Liturgiebegriff bei den Frühcaecilianern und seine Anwendung auf die Kirchenmusik”, *Der Caecilianismus: Anfänge–Grundlagen–Wirkungen. Internationales Symposium zur Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Hubert Unverricht (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988) 75–108.

With the appointment of Johann Michael von Sailer as the bishop of Regensburg in 1829, this city became the most important center for applying these new ideals. All of the following happened in Regensburg: Carl Proske, Sailer's physician, began publishing his extensive collection of early church music in the series *Musica divina* (1853–64); in 1868 Franz Xaver Witt initiated the Allgemeine Caecilienverein, an institution that became a far-reaching and important promoter of the reformers' ideas; Franz Xaver Haberl started publishing a collection of Palestrina's works as a monument to this "perfect" representative of early sacred music; and finally in 1874 a school of church music was founded in Regensburg.

Basing the Caecilian reform on the inseparable connection between church music and liturgy inevitably brought up the deeply rooted and old conflict between the artistic autonomy of church music and its serving role as requested by the church. The dogmatic attitude of the reformers was revealed in numerous writings on "true and pure" church music,¹² which all prescribed how church music should behave and how it should be firmly separated from contemporary secular music.¹³ In this radical separation, which should lead to a museum-like solidification in the long run, the fear of the unpredictability of new developments revealed itself. This is also the reason why even the Masses by Haydn and Mozart were rejected: Their instrumental texture and the important role of speech rhythm and declamation brought these works far too close to human subjectivity. In contrast, 16th-century polyphony, with its alleged lack of affects and its supposed "celestial," "eternal" peace, seemed to be the perfectly adequate answer for a creation founded on supertemporal laws.¹⁴

Despite Caecilian reformers' high esteem for early music and the Middle Ages, the most representative genre of medieval sacred music, Gregorian chant, did not appear at the center of their efforts. The reason for this was the critical misconception that Palestrina was the author of the version of chant that was preserved in the *Editio Medicea*. Consequently Franz Xaver Haberl made every effort to sanction the *Editio Medicea*. His efforts reached their climax when he obtained a 30-year privilege to publish his Neo-Medicea edition in 1870.¹⁵ The supposed authorship of Palestrina led to the Caecilian reformers' belief that the version of chant transmitted since about 1600 was the only true one.¹⁶ In doing so, they did not take part in the efforts to restore the original form of chant which was so strongly pursued in France.

As in Germany, the restoration movement in France was a reaction against Enlightenment, rationalism, and specifically against the French Revolution, as well as

¹² See, for example, Raymund Schlecht, *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik: Zugleich Grundlage zur vorurtheilslosen Beantwortung der Frage. "Was ist echte Kirchenmusik"* (Regensburg: A. Coppenrath, 1871).

¹³ Carl Emil von Schafhaut, *Der achte Gregorianische Choral in seiner Entwicklung bis zur Kirchenmusik unserer Zeit: Ein Versuch zur Vermittlung in der Streitfrage. Welche ist die wahre katholische Kirchenmusik* (München: J. Lindauer, 1869) 162: "Von diesem Aufflammen [i.e., fur die heilige Kirche und ihre Interessen] kann gegenwartig gar nicht einmal die Rede sein, wo Richard Wagner, ohne zu riskieren, in's Irrenhaus gesperrt zu werden, offen aussprechen darf: seine liederliche Zukunftsmusik musse alle Religion verdrangen und werde dieselbe reichlich ersetzen, ja das Heil der Menschheit werde einstens aus seiner Zukunftsmusik erbluhlen."

¹⁴ August Gerstmeier, "Das Geschichtsbewusstsein in den musiktheoretischen Schriften des fruhen 19. Jahrhunderts als Wurzel des Caecilianismus", *Der Caecilianismus: Anfange–Grundlagen–Wirkungen. Internationales Symposium zur Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Hubert Unverricht (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988) 22, 23.

¹⁵ Jean Pierre Schmit, "Die Choralbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert", *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik. II: Vom Tridentinum bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1976) 258.

¹⁶ Philipp Harnoncourt, "Katholische Kirchenmusik vom Cacilianismus bis zur Gegenwart", *Traditionen und Reformen in der Kirchenmusik: Festschrift fur Konrad Ameln zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Gerhard Schuhmacher (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1974) 78–133.

against contemporaneous church music. From its beginnings the restoration movement in France was characterized by a consideration of the original form of Gregorian chant and its accompaniment, which was placed at the center of the quest for a genuine French church music.

This became obvious already in Prosper Guéranger's *Institutions liturgiques* from 1840, in which he, the founder of Solesmes, emphasized that his primary concern was a restoration of the Roman Catholic liturgy, which had almost totally disappeared after the French Revolution. He did not satisfy himself with the new admiration of the Gothic architecture, but rather he demanded that cathedrals be given back the liturgy they deserved and the chant that once sounded within their walls.¹⁷ Guéranger definitely aimed to reestablish Gregorian chant in its original form and to recreate the unity with Roman liturgy,¹⁸ and therefore he demanded that the numerous dialects of chant performed in France be replaced with the chant's earliest tradition. In doing so, Guéranger inaugurated the critical, source-based method of musicological research.

It is important to keep in mind that the restoration movement, with its tendency to strengthen anew the role of the supernatural, found its focus in Germany in 16th-century polyphony, whereas the most important role in France was played by Gregorian chant. The longing for a reunification with the Roman liturgy and the reestablishment of Gregorian chant were the outcome of a renewed esteem for traditional values. But the rediscovery of the medieval musical heritage of France was not pursued only by Solesmes but also by many musicological researchers, seeking the oldest genuine French national music, what led to an "archéologie musicale"¹⁹ with the goal to "restore" the musical heritage of France, similar to the restoration movement in medieval architecture. These musical archaeologists, such as Félix Danjou, stayed in close contact with Solesmes and pursued the same goals.

The greater importance of chant as compared to vocal polyphony within the French restoration movement should be seen as a direct result of the development of church music in France. Chant played a most important role since the Middle Ages in France, and it was not displaced in the 18th century by orchestral Masses as it was in Germany.²⁰ In addition, France did not have a firmly established tradition of vernacular hymns. Consequently church music, as well as music theory, were more tightly connected to chant in France,²¹ while the strong tradition of vernacular hymns in Germany resulted in a far weaker relationship to chant. This was one of the reasons that chant in the Caecilian movement played a less important role than vocal polyphony. Within the

¹⁷ "N'est-il pas temps de se souvenir que nos Églises n'ont pas seulement souffert dans leur murailles, leur voûtes et leur mobilier séculaire, mais qu'elles sont veuves surtout de ces anciens et vénérables cantiques dont elles aimaient tant à retentir; ... La Liturgie n'est-elle pas l'âme de vos Cathédrales ?" Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* (Paris: Julien, Lanier, 1840) vol. 1, xix.

¹⁸ "Aujourd'hui, cette unité est rompue, cette harmonie est brisée; si le reste du monde prie encore avec Rome, la France a déchiré cette communion si touchante, si sacrée ... Il n'y a guère plus d'un siècle que nous n'avions qu'une prière avec l'Eglise Romaine : pourquoi n'y reviendrions-nous pas?" Ibid., 499–500.

¹⁹ "Le triomphe de nos chants liturgiques et populaires du moyen-âge est complet: nous le répétons, c'est presque une ère nouvelle pour l'archéologie nationale." Félix Clément, *Les chants de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris: Librairie Archéologique de Victor Didron, 1849) 12.

²⁰ Hermann Beck, "Die Musik des liturgischen Gottesdienstes im 18. Jahrhundert (Messe, Offizium)", *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik. II: Vom Tridentinum bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976) 182; Elmar Seidel, "Die instrumentalbegleitete Kirchenmusik", *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik. II: Vom Tridentinum bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976) 245.

²¹ Heinz Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 32 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1964) 74.

Protestant German tradition chant itself also lost importance compared to the reworking of chant within the great tradition of cantus firmus compositions in the works of Bach and Schütz, the rediscovered heroes of Protestant church music.

Thus the restoration movement in France largely differs from its German counterpart. Most important in France were the efforts to restore chant in its original form, primarily pursued in Solesmes, which resulted in the replacement of the *Editio Medicea* with the *Editio Vaticana*.²² Seeking the earliest chant tradition through the movement of the “archéologie musicale”, as Solesmes has done, it also broadened the general scope of medieval music history. Researchers such as Fétis set up rules of cardinal importance for subsequent researchers, namely to verify the findings of music history in the musical sources. Fétis could not find this verification to any significant extent in music history writings of his own day,²³ since it was clearly influenced by the work of Solesmes and eventually spread from the restoration of chant in its proper sense to the studying of early music in general.²⁴ This becomes obvious in the work of Edmond de Coussemaker and his writings on and publishing of the monophonic and polyphonic repertoires of the Middle Ages.

The leaders of the restoration movement in France became aware of the fact that the newly discovered early music could become a sort of remedy for the contemporary music situation only if it was used as a basis of music education. Since their restoration movement was firmly tied to the rediscovery of a French national musical heritage, it was only natural to think of the tradition of the *mâitrises*. Although they had disappeared almost totally during the French Revolution, they could nevertheless serve as a model for the new institutions that taught church music.²⁵

The first to establish such an institution was Alexandre-Étienne Choron, who founded the École Primaire de Chant in 1817. Although in the end this school did not succeed, he nevertheless united all the characteristic traits that were adopted by subsequent schools for church music in Paris: Choron’s École provided an alternative to the Conservatoire and the Opéra, he regarded chant and early music as the basis of musical education, he supported the creation of new church music, he established a series of public concerts with a focus on early music, and he also started to publish early music.

A similar program was set up by the Société des Concerts Musique, Religieuse et Classique, founded in 1843 by Joseph Napoléon Ney, Prince de la Moskova, but which

²² Felice Rainoldi, “Das Graduale Romanum von Dom Prosper Guéranger bis 1974”, *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 31 (2001) 27–51.

²³ “Quant à l’histoire de la musique en elle-même, pour laquelle Marpurg, le P. Martini, l’abbé Gerbert, Burney, Hawkins et Forkel ont fait des recherches très-estimables, mais qui n’avait pas été examinée suffisamment à ses sources ... on peut dire avec assurance que depuis peu d’années seulement on est entré dans la voie qui seule peut conduire au but, parce qu’on s’est attaché à la recherche des monuments pour les étudier avec soin”. François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1860) vol. 1, xvii.

²⁴ “Une des causes de ces échecs répétés a été l’ignorance ou la négligence des manuscrits. *Les sources ! encore les sources ! toujours les sources !* a dit un des maîtres de l’École de Chartres. L’archéologie musicale n’est devenue une science que le jour où elle s’est appropriée cette règle. Cette transformation ... a été consommée par les Bénédictins dans leurs *Paléographie* ; je ne crois pas qu’il soit possible aujourd’hui de méconnaître l’orientation nouvelle et définitive que ce monument a donnée aux études de plain-chant, et, du même coup, à l’histoire de la musique tout entière”. Jules Combarieu, *Théorie du rythme dans la composition moderne d’après la doctrine antique suivie d’un Essai sur l’archéologie musicale au XIX^e siècle et le problème de l’origine des neumes* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1897) 188–89.

²⁵ Denis Havard de la Montagne, “Alexandre Choron (1771–1834), ou, Petite histoire de la musique religieuse depuis la Révolution”, *Musica et memoria*, www.musimem.com/choron-bio.htm.

again existed only for a few years.²⁶ Ten years later François-Xavier Croizier, a former pupil of Choron, tried to establish a Conservatoire de Musique et de Chant Religieux. He was obviously well supported by the clergy but did not have much political support, and his Conservatoire failed. On the other hand, his Protestant rival Louis Niedermeyer succeeded with the foundation of his École Niedermeyer.

Niedermeyer considered Gregorian chant and its accompaniment to be the basis of music education, which totally agreed with the high esteem for the earliest church music within the restoration movement in France. The combination of music education, public concerts of the students, and the publishing of early church music and a newsletter discussing fundamental questions of performance practice proved to be of great importance for the further development of chant in France. It is important to note that teaching at the École Niedermeyer, in particular the method of chant accompaniment, was not restricted to church music; it also deeply influenced the generation of younger composers then at the École, such as André Messager and Gabriel Fauré.

But the most important institution that strongly shaped the relationship between early music and its history on the one hand, and contemporary music on the other, was surely the Schola Cantorum, founded in Paris in 1894 by Alexandre Guilmant, Vincent d'Indy, and Charles Bordes. Its program reveals the heritage of Choron and Niedermeyer:²⁷ The basis of its music curriculum was Gregorian chant and early music, public concerts were organized in order to project the ideals of the reformers to the public, editions of early church music and a newsletter, *La tribune de Saint-Gervais* (1895–1929), highlighted questions of music history, music theory, and performance practice.

Teaching music history gained the greatest importance at the Schola, which established close connections to Solesmes and the restoration of chant. But the most important influence that the Schola exerted on the development of music in France was through the composers of church music, who were given new solutions based on early church music, and also through composers in general, who found here a way to create a new and genuine French music, independent of the overwhelming influence of Wagner.

So from the outset the restoration movement in France was accompanied by efforts to apply the new knowledge about early music, as acquired by Solesmes and the “archéologie musicale”, and with it to provide a basis for the education of musicians and composers. The national impetus of the restoration movement in France made Gregorian chant and early music in general the center of all efforts. The restriction to the music by Palestrina, as observed in German Caecilianism, did not take place in France. This allowed for a much broader stylistic diversity of religious music, but it was also connected to musical developments outside of church music. This way medieval and early music did not influence only church music but also the general compositional development in 19th-century France.

It is important to stress that the church music schools in France, from Choron and Niedermeyer to the Schola Cantorum, regarded themselves as heirs of the *maitrises*, indebted to their initial function, but significantly enough no longer run by the church. The restoration of church music in France, though inspired and influenced by the

²⁶ Hans Eckardt, *Die Musikanschauung der französischen Romantik*, ed. by Heinrich Bessler. Heidelberg Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1935) 41.

²⁷ Gabriel Fauré as a former student of the École Niedermeyer later mentioned that he considered the Schola to be a successor of Niedermeyer's institution: “Un chœur d'élèves faisait entendre tout ce que Saint-Gervais chante aujourd'hui.” Roger Valbelle, “Entretien avec M. Gabriel Fauré”, *Excelsior* (12 June 1922).

liturgical restoration movement of Guéranger, was not confined to the inner circles of the church as it was in Germany. Thus in France the church, an institution that was still weakened at that time, was replaced by secular, civil institutions. These schools did not restrict themselves to the teaching of church music but aimed to provide a general music education. This led to a strong influence that was not confined to the field of sacred music, but that spread into the history of composition in 19th-century France in general.

THE ALLGEMEINE DEUTSCHE MUSIKVEREIN: FORGING GERMAN NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH NEW MUSIC

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Recent scholarship has begun to unravel the complex relationship between music and German national identity, as we see in the recent essay collection entitled *Music and German national identity*.¹ The musical underpinnings of the revolutions of 1848–49 have been addressed by Carl Dahlhaus and Sanna Pederson, among others,² and whether from the perspectives of the politics of Wagner’s Bayreuth or the social meanings of musical modernism, the musical culture of the *Gründerzeit* has also received considerable scholarly attention.³ However, little research has been dedicated to the contribution of art music to the formation of the German nation between 1848 and 1871, at a time when the politics of *Kultur* encouraged the creation of associations and activities that instilled national identity through the identification and promotion of a common German culture. As Wolfgang Mommsen observes, “for the educated bourgeoisie, the development of a rich cultural life ... was a means for the promotion of their political ideals, in particular for a ... constitutionally composed German nation-state.”⁴ Mommsen attributes to the Niederrheinische Musikfeste a significance for the

For their assistance in the preparation of this paper, I recognize with thanks funding from the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada, access to and permission to quote from the papers of the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein (ADMV) at the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, and insights into the period and Liszt provided by Sanna Pederson, Erica Quinn, and Pauline Pocknell. I am especially grateful for the ongoing support of Evelyn Liepsch of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, who has curated the ADMV archive for well over a decade with professional knowledge and personal engagement.

¹ Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, ed., *Music and German national identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

² See, for example, Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-century music*, trans. by J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Sanna Pederson, “Romantic music under siege in 1848”, *Music theory in the age of romanticism*, ed. by Ian Bent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 57–74

³ One of the best studies of the politics of Wagner’s Bayreuth remains Winfried Schüler’s *Der Bayreuther Kreis von seiner Entstehung bis zum Ausgang der Wilhelminischen Ära: Wagnerkult und Kulturreform im Geiste völkischer Weltanschauung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1971). Detailed studies of the Central European musical modernism in the 1890s can be found in *Wien 1897: Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres*, ed. by Christian Glanz. *Musikleben: Studien zur Musikgeschichte Österreichs* 8 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999).

⁴ Wolfgang Mommsen, *Bürgerliche Kultur und künstlerische Avantgarde: Kultur und Politik im deutschen Kaiserreich*

“cultivation of a national musical life, [intimately] bound together with [liberal] social and political goals”.⁵

After the failed revolution of 1848–49, the German bourgeoisie may have initially been kept from politics, with the large-scale establishment of political parties only after the *Reichsgründung*, yet in culture the middle class discovered a realm in which the state could not hinder its striving for national unity and in which it could develop an identity. Already the mid-1850s brought forth such associations as the Allgemeine deutsche Kunstgenossenschaft (in 1856) and the Deutsche Schillerstiftung (in 1859). The Kunstgenossenschaft was comprised of visual artists who had as common goals the creation of a German national gallery and the regular staging of national art exhibitions. Their major exhibition in 1858 in Munich had as its motto: “That unity which the fatherland cannot yet offer us, we wish to establish at least in German art. We want national art and through it national unity.”⁶

Like the practising artists of the Allgemeine deutsche Kunstgenossenschaft, Franz Liszt and his New-German musician-colleagues participated in this nationalist cultural discourse when at a festival in Weimar in 1861 they founded the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein (ADMV).⁷ They created this society for the cultivation and advancement of German musical life,⁸ through the performance of new music at annual festivals that took place in cities within German-speaking Europe. Ultimately, the founders of the ADMV believed they were contributing to the German national cause by both drawing together various musical factions and fostering the development of the next generation of German composers.

Beyond the drive toward a German national identity through large-scale cultural activities, further historical, social and cultural factors had led to the creation of the ADMV: German festive culture and *Vereinswesen* of the early and middle 19th century, the Leipzig Tonkünstlerversammlungen of the late 1840s, Liszt’s plans for the Goethe-Stiftung (1849), the Neu-Weimar-Verein of Liszt’s adherents from the 1850s, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* under Franz Brendel’s editorship (after 1845), the Leipzig Tonkünstlerversammlung of 1859 with Brendel’s official naming of the New-German School, and—in some ways most significantly—the person of Franz Liszt.

Yet this coryphaeus of the New-German movement was not German by birth, so how could a nationalist German cultural organization arise upon that basis? Already in 1859, at the festival in Leipzig, Franz Brendel articulated the argument that the ADMV would promulgate in coming years to justify Liszt as their spiritual leader:

[He] took Beethoven as his point of departure and so is German as to his origins.... The... artist would ever have become what he is today had he not from the first drawn nourishment from the

1870 bis 1918 (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1994) 158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁶ Wolfgang Mommsen, *Bürgerliche Kultur und politische Ordnung: Künstler, Schriftsteller und Intellektuelle in der deutschen Geschichte 1830–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000) 13.

⁷ About the ADMV, see Arthur Seidl: *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein, 1911); Irina Kaminiarz, *Richard Strauss: Briefe aus dem Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1995); James Deaville, “The organized muse? Organization theory and ‘mediated’ music”, *Canadian university music review* 18/11 (1997) 38–51; *idem*, “... nicht im Sinne von Franz Liszt ...”: Reger and the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein”, *Regel Studien. 6: Musikalische Moderne und Tradition: Internationaler Reger-Kongress Karlsruhe 1998*, ed. by Alexander Becker, Gabriele Gefäller, and Susanne Popp. Schriftenreihe des Max-Regel-Instituts Karlsruhe 13 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000) 121–43.

⁸ Seidl, *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins*, 9.

German spirit and grown strong with it. Therefore, too, Germany must of necessity be the true homeland of his works.⁹

Spurious as it may seem, this line of reasoning found resonance within the society that carried on Liszt's Weimar-era tradition of promoting German music and musicians, in the spirit of his 1849 proposal for the Weimar-based national foundation entitled the Goethe-Stiftung. In this regard, Detlef Altenburg has convincingly argued that Liszt consciously and quite identifiably positioned himself as standing in the lineage of possibly the greatest cultural legacy of the German past, that of Weimar classicism and Goethe.¹⁰

Upon this foundation, and as an organizational manifestation of what Brendel called the "New German School", itself the 19th-century revival and reframing of the "Old German School" of Bach and Händel, the ADMV was in a position to legitimate those German composers who claimed affiliation. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural production helps us to understand this dynamic. Through its historical justification, the ADMV could claim "symbolic capital", whereby it "[made] a name for [it], a capital of consecration, implying a power to consecrate objects (with a trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore to give value".¹¹ This power of consecration then enabled the ADMV to serve the national cause, by empowering them to promote the next generation of German composers.

A review of the programs from the 1860s [table 1] reveals how the organization accomplished this and how it attempted to establish itself in accordance with the mandate of advancing new music by German composers. As C.F. Weitzmann wrote to Brendel in 1865, in a letter still unpublished, "it seems necessary to me to have works by Liszt, Wagner, Raff, and other proven German masters on our programs, if they are to have any attraction".¹² But in order for the ADMV to exercise consecratory power over national musical creations, the society needed to demonstrate how it set its roots in the German musical heritage. Thus, at the third festival in Karlsruhe in 1864, the Gluck opera, like the large-scale canonic pieces by Bach and Beethoven featured at the 1859 and 1861 festivals (Mass in B minor and Missa Solemnis), had the power to legitimate the New German offerings through its consecratory authority as a "classic". The rest of the 1864 program involved living German composers, including the established core figures Liszt and Berlioz, whose German spirits justified their presence.¹³ As Weitzmann wrote to Brendel in early 1864, "we have to begin [the programming] with Liszt, ... the founder".¹⁴ The program also featured on the one hand moderately progressive

⁹ Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western world: A history in documents* (New York: Schirmer, 1984) 384.

¹⁰ Detlef Altenburg, "Vorwort", *Die Goethe-Stiftung*. Franz Liszt: Sämtliche Schriften 3 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997) vii–xii.

¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, "The production of belief: Contribution to an economy of symbolic goods", *The field of cultural production*, ed. by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) 75.

¹² "Ueberhaupt scheint es mir nothwendig, Werke von Liszt, Wagner, Raff u. anderen bewährten Meistern auf unserem Programm zu haben, wenn dasselbe Anziehungskraft zeigen soll." Unpublished letter from C.F. Weitzmann to Franz Brendel, Berlin, 25 January 1865; Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, 70/17.

¹³ Berlioz never was an official member of the ADMV, nor was Wagner. This led to the highly unusual circumstance that two of the three leading figures of the New German party were not directly involved in its own Musikverein. Given this situation, it is not surprising that Liszt should emerge as the primary coryphaeus of the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein.

¹⁴ "Nothwendig aber scheint es mir, vor Allem bei Liszt anzufangen, ... dem Stifter." Unpublished letter from C.F.

composers, loosely associated with the New-German School, like Volkmann and Kiel, on the other the more radical figures Berlioz, Draeseke, Bülow, and Cornelius. The presence of recent works by the leading New Germans—all but Berlioz’s Romance had been composed within the last ten years—marked the domain of the ADMV as “new music”, whereas the moderate names signalled inclusivity in carrying out the society mandate while helping establish a membership base large enough to ensure long-term survival. Wagner was not highly promoted in the early 1860s, in part because of his exile and the resulting distance from the organization and its sites of production, in part because the available works by him were the Romantic operas from the 1840s.¹⁵ A small number of Russian composers, including Milij Balakirev, Anton Rubińštejn and Jurij Arnol’d, were featured on the programs, in the case of Balakirev and Arnold because of their close ties to Liszt and the New Germans, in the case of Rubinstein because of his importance to the Central European musical scene. By and large missing, however, were staples of a traditional “institution of consecration” like the Leipzig Gewandhaus: Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Hiller, Reinecke, and even Robert Schumann.

What is not apparent in the program were the internal struggles within the newly founded organization over the all-important question of which composers should be given the opportunity for consecration through performance.¹⁶ The circulars to members make it clear that this was NOT an open competition—program selection was by informal agreement within a committee. Works by Wagner, Liszt, Berlioz, and Raff, called the “proven masters” by C.F. Weitzmann, were exempted from the review process—this “ability” of the consecrated composers to circumvent the normal adjudication process would become the site for internal organizational strife in later years. As disclosed in unpublished board minutes and correspondence and confirmed by our prior observations of program contents, decisions for inclusion or exclusion in 1864 were political, based on the needs: (1) to represent the ADMV’s leading figures (thus Bülow argued for Berlioz, “since this Master was either very unfavourably or not at all represented at the last two festivals”);¹⁷ (2) to build bridges with noted individuals like the sympathetic, yet nonmember associates Volkmann and Jensen; and (3) to demonstrate knowledge of leading nonaffiliated composers (thus for committee member Köhler, Brahms could not be passed over, whether or not he made a submission).¹⁸

Weitzmann to Franz Brendel, Berlin, 8 January 1864; Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, 70/22.

¹⁵ Furthermore, the ADMV did not provide the ideal conditions for the performance of his most recent works, which would soon find their fulfilment in the theater in Bayreuth. With his own Festspielhaus and structure of support, Wagner had little need for the ADMV, at least in the 1870s and 1880s.

¹⁶ This same struggle took place within the Leipzig performance organization Euterpe during the early 1860s. The Musikverein had been appropriated by Brendel and colleagues to establish a musical beachhead for the progressive party in the difficult market of Leipzig, yet internal divisions within the new German party itself caused the project to fail. See James Deaville, “The New-German School and the *Euterpe* concerts, 1860–1862: A Trojan horse in Leipzig”, *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Axel Beer, Kristina Pfarr, and Wolfgang Ruff. Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 37 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997) 253–70.

¹⁷ “Ich würde vor Allem für eine Berliozsche Composition sein, da dieser Meister auf d. ersten beiden Musikfesten sehr ungünstig oder gar nicht vertreten war.” Unpublished letter from Hans von Bülow to Franz Brendel, [summer 1864]; Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, 70/16.

¹⁸ “Lieber greifen Sie nach Nichtmitgliedermusik: Raff, Brahms dürfen nicht umgangen werden, gleichviel ob sie was einsenden oder nicht. Nur nicht exclusiv. Vorzügliches aufführen u. hätte es der Teufel selber componirt! Schwaches nicht, u. wäre es vom Herrngott... Die aufgeführten Sachen müssen immer den jungen Componisten als Muster gelten können.” Unpublished letter from Louis Köhler to Franz Brendel, Königsberg, 26 December 1864; Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, 70/16. Note the importance Köhler assigns to program selection as a matter of preparing the next generation of composers.

These policies were not limited to the Karlsruhe festival, but this essay does not permit a more thorough study of programs from the middle and late 1860s. Table 1 confirms the continuation of the programming principles observed in 1864, whereby the three leading figures of the New-German movement (Liszt, Berlioz, Wagner) and their adherents (Cornelius, Draeseke, Lassen, Bülow) were primarily featured, as legitimated by German composers of the past, above all Bach, Händel and Beethoven, but also Praetorius and Schütz. As well, sympathetic nonmembers like Volkmann, Jensen, Kiel and Goldmark continued to find places on the programs and even the important yet antagonistic Raff and Brahms were given a voice at ADMV festivals. The Liszt veneration carried on unabated, with his sacred choral music of the 1860s forming pendants to the large sacred works of Bach and Beethoven, thus further rooting the New Germans in their national musical heritage.

Besides the construction of the society's festival repertory, the choice of locations and the engagement of performing forces contributed not only to the national effort but also to the centrality of Liszt in German musical culture. The initial sites for festivals were all central German cities that had welcomed Liszt [table 2], within the "friendly" boundaries of Thuringia, western Saxony and southern Saxony-Anhalt, which—as Altenburg has argued—collectively comprised Germany's intellectual and cultural center since the early 19th century, at least from the perspective of popular reception.¹⁹ The 1864 meeting in Karlsruhe comprises an exception, yet the exception proves the rule: the Archduke of Baden had been a Liszt supporter since the early 1850s.²⁰

Still, without one fixed site for its festivals and other activities, the ADMV was able to take on a broader, national significance within Germany. As Bourdieu would put it, the ADMV did not regard any one city as the natural site for the field of production of its cultural goods.²¹ The annual festivals at alternating sites throughout German-speaking Europe meant that the society could develop a multi-level audience by drawing on local, regional and national talents at one and the same festival. And since the Society relied both on what Bourdieu called producers (i.e. fellow musicians) at the national level and on the general public at the local, it was able to create the broadest of support for its cultural product and nationalist ideology.

The same bi-level promotion of pride in national culture characterized the selection of performing forces. On the one hand, the festival conductor and larger ensembles came from the festival site, which enabled local participants and audiences to see themselves as contributing to the important national cultural work, while on the other hand, the soloists were talents of national reputation, which empowered the ADMV to celebrate its festivals as showcases of the best German culture had to offer, whatever the site. In turn, performers profitted (and thus not infrequently offered their services *gratis*) because the ADMV had the power to consecrate them, even though, unlike the situation for composers, the Society did not want to invest its "symbolic capital" in an unproven performer,²² whose presence on the program would not at least be of political advantage.

¹⁹ See his summarizing comments in the brochure for the conference "Mythen der Mitte: Zur Konstruktion nationaler Wertezentren im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" (24–26 October 2002, Goethe National-Museum, Weimar).

²⁰ The Archduke had mounted a music festival and *Volksfest* in Karlsruhe in the fall of 1853, with Liszt as artistic director for the music festival.

²¹ Bourdieu, "The production of belief", 95.

²² As Bourdieu puts it, "the cultural businessman ... [acts] as a 'symbolic banker' who offers as security all the symbolic

The ADMV regarded its mission as extending beyond its own individual activities, however. In an unpublished letter from board member Herrmann Zopff to Chair Franz Brendel, dated 1864, we obtain a clear sense of how leading members viewed the society's role within the cultural needs of the times: "I consider the union of the ADMV with all of the important societies in Germany as one of its most vital tasks for the near future."²³ That this idealistic goal of unity was not achieved should not be considered as a failure of the ADMV during the 1860s, but rather as a manifestation of the diversity that the *Kulturnation* movement needed in order to be regarded as embracing the totality of German musical interests, which included such conservative institutions as the Niederrheinische Musikfeste and the Gewandhaus. As a national organization devoted to new music, the ADMV filled an important niche within the *Kulturnation* by celebrating German creativity of the here and now, thereby ensuring the future of musical art in the emerging state.

TABLE 1
FULL PROGRAMS OF ADMV TONKÜNSTLERVERSAMMLUNGEN, 1859–71

Leipzig, 31 May–4 June 1859

31 May 1859: First performance — Stadttheater: Opera
Robert Schumann, *Genoveva*

1 June 1859: Second performance — Stadttheater: Orchestral music

1. Felix Mendelssohn, *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt*
2. Prolog, spoken by Franziska Ritter
3. Franz Schubert, Duo
4. Hector Berlioz, Aria from *Benvenuto Cellini*
5. Robert Schumann, *Manfred*, overture
6. Richard Wagner, "Instrumental-Einleitung" from *Tristan und Isolde*,
7. Robert Schumann, "Der Haideknabe"
8. Richard Wagner, Duet from *Der fliegende Holländer*
9. Frédéric Chopin, Klavierstück
10. Franz Liszt, Klavierstück
11. Robert Franz, Lieder
12. Franz Liszt, *Tasso*

2 June 1859: Third performance — Thomaskirche: Sacred music
Franz Liszt, *Graner Festmesse*

3 June 1859: Fourth performance — Thomaskirche: Sacred music
Johann Sebastian Bach, Mass in B minor

4 June 1859: Fifth performance — Gewandhaus: Chamber music

1. Carl Müller, String quartet
2. Eduard Lassen, Lieder
3. Johann Sebastian Bach, Italian Concerto
4. Ferdinand Hiller, Psalm
5. Giuseppe Tartini, Sonata for violin
6. Franz Liszt, "Lenore"
7. Franz Schubert, Piano trio

capital he has accumulated (which he is liable to forfeit if he backs a 'loser')". Ibid., 77.

²³ "Ich halte das Anknüpfen mit allen irgend namenswerthen Vereinen in Deutschland für die nächste Zeit eine der wesentlichsten Aufgaben des ADMV." Unpublished letter from Herrmann Zopff to Franz Brendel, [December 1864]; Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, 70/22.

5 June 1859: Sixth performance — Merseburg cathedral: Organ concert

Weimar, 5–7 August 1861

5 August 1861: First performance — Haupt- und Stadtkirche: Sacred music
Johann Sebastian Bach, Motet *Singet dem Herrn*

Second performance — Haupt- und Stadtkirche: Sacred music
Ludwig van Beethoven, *Missa Solemnis* in D, op. 123

6 August 1861: Third performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music
Franz Liszt, *Der entfesselte Prometheus*, overture and choruses (text by Pohl)
Franz Liszt, *Faust Symphony*

7 August 1861: Fourth performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music
Franz Dingelstedt, Festspruch

1. Felix Draeseke, *Germania cantata*, by Stachwitz
2. Otto Singer, Orchestral fantasy (composer conducting)
3. Wendelin Weissheimer, *Das Grab im Busento*, ballade for male chorus and orchestra (composer conducting)
4. Leopold Damrosch, Konzertstück for violin, serenade
5. Hans von Bülow and Eduard Lassen, Lieder with piano
6. Carl Strör, Overture pastorale
7. Peter Cornelius, Tercet from *Barbier von Bagdad*
8. Franz Liszt, Piano concerto in A major
9. Otto Bach, Scherzo for orchestra (composer conducting)
10. Max Seifriz, *Ariadne auf Naxos*, cantata (composer conducting)
11. Felix Draeseke, March for orchestra (composer conducting)

8 August 1861: Fifth performance — Erholungssaal: Chamber music

1. Carl Müller, Piano quartet in C minor
2. Felix Draeseke, 3 Lieder
3. Isidor Lotto, Concerto for violin
4. Niccolò Paganini, “I palpiti”, for violin solo
5. Carl Friedrich Weitzmann, 3 “Räthselkanons” for piano 4 hands

Karlsruhe, 22–25 August 1864

21 August 1864: First performance — Hoftheater: Opera
Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Armide*, members of the Grossherzog. Badische Hofbühne

23 August 1864: Second performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Eduard Lassen, Festmarsch
2. L. Eckardt, Prologue
3. H. Strauss Jr., *Tasso's Klage*, overture
4. Robert Volkmann, Concerto for violoncello
5. Johann Joseph Abert, *Columbus* symphony, third and fourth movements (composer conducting)
6. Jurij Arnold, *Boris Godunov*, overture
7. Joseph Joachim, Concerto for violin in D minor, op. 11
8. Hans von Bülow, “Des Sängers Fluch”, ballade for orchestra
9. Franz Liszt, Psalm 13 for solo tenor, chorus and orchestra

24 August 1864: Third performance — Foyer des Hoftheaters: Chamber music

1. Robert Volkmann, Piano trio in B-flat minor
2. Wilhelm Fritze, Lieder with piano
3. Franz Liszt, Piano sonata in B minor
4. Jurij Arnold, Russian ballade for voice and piano
5. Franz Brendel, Violin sonata
6. Franz Liszt, *Mephistowalzer*, for piano

25 August 1864: Fourth performance — Foyer des Hoftheaters: Chamber music

1. Friedrich Kiel, Sonata for violin
2. Franz Liszt, “Mignons Lied”

3. Julius Reubke, Piano sonata
4. Eduard Reményi, Violin duo
5. Ernst Naumann, Piano trio, op. 3
6. Franz Liszt, Lieder with piano
7. Eduard Reményi, Violin solo from the works of Chopin
8. Franz Liszt, Concerto in E minor for two pianos

26 August 1864: Fifth Performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Heinrich Gottwald, March from *Maria von Ungarn* (composer conducting)
2. Hector Berlioz, Romance for violin
3. Adolf Jensen, *Gesang der Nonnen*, for female choir and orchestra
4. Max Seifriz, Overture
5. Franz Liszt, *Mephistowalzer*, for orchestra
6. Franz Bendel, Konzertetüde
7. Franz Liszt, Hungarian rhapsody
8. Otto Bach, "Hochzeitsmusik" from Hebbel's *Nibelungen*
9. Adolf Jensen, "Brautlied" for soloists, mixed choir and orchestra
10. Franz Liszt, *Festklänge*

Dessau, 25–28 May 1865

25 May 1865: First performance — Schlosskirche: Sacred music

1. Johann Sebastian Bach, Toccata and fugue in D minor for organ
2. Johannes Eccard, "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen"
3. Giovanni Maria Clari, Soprano aria from the *Stabat mater*
4. Johannes Eccard, "Marienlied"
5. Michael Praetorius, "Weihnachtslied"
6. Heinrich Schütz, Final chorus from the *Markuspassion*
7. Johann Wolfgang Franck, "Die bittere Trauerzeit" for bass and organ
8. August Gottfried Ritter, Organ sonata, op. 19
9. Franz Liszt, "Pater noster", for 7-voiced choir and organ
10. Franz Liszt, *Der 137. Psalm*, for soprano, women's choir, obligato violin, harp and organ
11. Heinrich Schulz-Beuthen, Psalm 29 for 2 choirs and organ

26 May 1865: Second performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Johann Sebastian Bach, Toccata in F major for organ
2. Eduard Thiele, Psalm 130 for soloists, choir and orchestra
3. Carl Götze, *Eine Sommernacht*, symphonic poem (composer conducting)
4. Carl Stör, "Rondeau à l'espagnole" for violin
5. Hector Berlioz, Overture from *Benvenuto Cellini*
6. Milij Balakirev, Overture from *King Lear*
7. Franz Liszt, Piano concerto in E-flat major
8. Robert Volkmann, "An die Nacht" for alto solo and orchestra
9. Franz Liszt, *Hummenschlacht*

27 May 1865: Third performance — Hoftheater: Chamber music

1. Friedrich Wilhelm Langhans, string quartet
2. Robert Schumann, Fantasy for piano, op. 17
3. Felix Draeseke, Lieder with piano
4. Jurij van Arnold, Lieder with piano
5. Robert Volkmann, Variations for piano, op. 26
6. Gustav Adolf Thomas, *Fuga eroica* for 2 pianos
7. Alexander Winterberger, Lieder with piano
8. Adolf Jensen, Lieder with piano
9. Joachim Raff, Violin pieces
10. Ludwig Spohr, Violin pieces
11. Károly Thern, Hungarian fantasy for 2 pianos

28 May 1865: Fourth performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Adolf Fischer, Sanctus and Benedictus, for choir and orchestra (composer conducting)

2. Franz Liszt, *Orpheus*
3. Franz Liszt, "Loreley" with orchestra
4. Franz Schubert/Hector Berlioz, "Erlkönig" with orchestra
5. Robert Volkmann, Konzertstück for piano and orchestra, op. 42
6. Hans von Bülow, Overture from *Julius Caesar*
7. Franz Schubert, "Der Doppelgänger" and "Die junge Nonne" with orchestral accompaniment by Liszt
8. Eduard Stein, Konzertstück for contrabass
9. Hermann Zopff, "Brautlied" for solo tenor, chorus and orchestra
10. Carl Stör, Festpolonaise for orchestra
11. Hector Berlioz, Romance for tenor from *Benvenuto Cellini*
12. Richard Wagner, Prelude to *Die Meistersinger*

Meiningen, 22–26 August 1867

22 August 1867: First performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Emil Büchner, Overture from *Wallenstein*
2. O. Marlbach, Prologue
3. Hans von Bülow, *Nirvana*, symphonic "Stimmungsbild"
4. Robert Volkmann, *Sappho*, dramatic scene for solo soprano and orchestra, op. 49
5. Leopold Damrosch, Concerto for violin in F-sharp minor
6. Richard Hol, Symphony in C minor, second, third and fourth movements (composer conducting)
7. Johann Sebastian Bach, Suite for violoncello solo
8. Felix Draeseke, Scene for soprano and tenor from *König Sigurd*
9. Eduard Lassen, Symphony no. 1 (composer conducting)

23 August 1867: Second performance — Stadtkirche: Sacred music

1. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Kyrie
2. Ludwig von Beethoven, Adagio for violin
3. Fabio, "Sacrificium"
4. David Pérez, "Media nocte"
5. Johann Sebastian Bach, Solos for violin
6. Johann Sebastian Bach, "O Haupt", four-voiced chorale
7. Michael Praetorius, "Was ist es doch", four-voiced choir
8. Franz Liszt, Psalm 23, for solo soprano, organ and harp
9. Franz Liszt, *Die Seligkeiten*, for solo baritone and chorus

24 August 1867: Third performance — Hoftheater: Chamber music

1. Ferdinand Praeger, Piano trio
2. Felix Draeseke, "Helge's Treue", ballade for voice and piano
3. Johann Sebastian Bach, Sonata for viola da gamba
4. Robert Schumann, *Spanisches Liederspiel* for 4 solo voices and piano, op. 74
5. Anton Deprosse, Variations for 2 pianos, op. 22
6. Leopold Damrosch, 4 Lieder with piano
7. Jean Marie Leclair, Sonata for violin, "Le tombeau"
8. Peter Cornelius, 3 duets for soprano and baritone
9. Franz Liszt, 2 legends for piano
10. Eduard Lassen, 4 Lieder with piano

25 August 1867: Fourth performance — Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Edmund von Mihalovich, Overture from *Timon von Athen*
2. Friedrich Kiel, Piano concerto
3. Hector Berlioz, Duet for soprano and alto from *Beatrice und Benedict*
4. Ludwig von Beethoven, Triple concerto, op. 56
5. Victor Hugo, "Was man auf den Bergen hört", poem translated by O. Marlbach
6. Franz Liszt, *Bergsymphonie*
7. Franz Liszt, "Die drei Zigeuner"
8. Hector Berlioz, Love scene and "Banquet at the Capulets" *Romeo and Juliet*

Altenburg, 19–23 July 1868

19 July 1868: First performance — Brüderkirche: Sacred music

Johann Sebastian Bach, “Jesu meine Freude” for solo voices and chorus

Second performance — Brüderkirche: Sacred music

1. Hector Berlioz, Requiem for solo tenor, chorus and orchestra
2. Franz Liszt, Psalm 13, for solo tenor, chorus and orchestra

20 July 1868: Third performance — Concordiasaal: Chamber music

1. Wilhelm Speidel, Piano trio
2. Oskar Bolck, Lieder with piano
3. Franz Schubert, Lieder with piano
4. Károly Thern, Nocturne and scherzo for 2 pianos
5. Philipp Rüfer, Songs with piano
6. Carl Friedrich Zelter, Songs with piano
7. Joseph Huber, Works for violoncello
8. Johann Sebastian Bach, Works for violoncello
9. Robert Schumann, Symphonic etudes for piano, op. 13
10. Carl van Radecki, String quartet, second and third movements
11. Emmanuel Klitzsch, Lieder with piano
12. August Horn, Lieder with piano
13. Emil Büchner, Lieder with piano
14. Hermann Zopff, Double fugue for 2 pianos
15. Frederic Chopin, Etude, for 2 pianos
16. Franz Liszt, Songs with piano
17. Wilhelm Speidel, Songs with piano
18. Robert Schumann, “Belsazar” with piano

Fourth Performance — Schlosskirche: Sacred music

1. Johann Sebastian Bach, Toccata for organ in F major
2. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Kyrie and Gloria from *Missa Maria assumpta est*
3. Giovanni Maria Clari, Bass aria from the Stabat mater
4. Wilhelm Stade, “Zwei altdeutsche Gesänge”, for unaccompanied chorus
5. Johann Sebastian Bach, Chaconne for violin solo
6. Johann Sebastian Bach, Soprano aria with obbligato violoncello
7. Franz Liszt, “Fugue über den Namen B-A-C-H” for organ
8. Theodor Schneider, Kyrie, for chorus, op. 8
9. Gustav Rebling, Psalm 126, for chorus, op. 19
10. Wilhelm Stade, “Zwei religiöse Lieder” for solo tenor and organ
11. David Hermann Engel, “Motette auf das Reformationsfest”

21 July 1868: Fifth performance — Concordiasaal: Orchestral music

1. Georg Friedrich Händel, *Acus und Galathea*, pastorale for soloists, chorus and orchestra
2. Wilhelm Stade, Allegro for orchestra
3. Friedrich Grützmacher, Concerto for violoncello no. 3
4. Carl Götze, Baritone aria from *Der Held des Nordens* (composer conducting)
5. Hector Berlioz, *Symphonie fantastique*
6. Ferdinand Theriot, *Loch Lomond*, symphonic “Charakterbild” (composer conducting)
7. Philippe Rüfer, Lieder with piano
8. Adolf Jensen, Lieder with piano
9. Franz Liszt, Lieder with piano

22 July 1868: Sixth performance — Brüderkirche: Sacred music

1. Franz Liszt, *An die Künstler*, for soloists, male chorus and orchestra
2. Giovanni Battista Vitali, Chaconne for violin in G minor
3. Franz Schubert, Bass aria from *Lazarus*
4. G. Hubert, Andante for orchestra
5. Wilhelm Stade, Hymnus for male chorus and orchestra

6. Benedetto Marcello, Solo psalm for alto with obbligato violoncello
7. Richard Wagner, *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel*, for male chorus and orchestra

23 July 1868: Seventh performance — Concordiasaal: Chamber music

1. Gottfried Herrmann, Octet for strings, op. 3
2. Carl Goldmark, Suite for violin and piano, op. 11
3. Károly Thern, Works for 2 pianos

Leipzig, 10–13 July 1869

10 July 1869: First performance — Thomaskirche: Sacred music

1. Ernst Friedrich Richter, Psalm 85, for 8 voices
2. Robert Franz, Psalm 117, for 2 choruses

Second Performance — Thomaskirche: Sacred music

1. Girolamo Frescobaldi, Prelude for organ
2. Giovanni Gabrieli, Benedictus and Hosanna, for three choirs
3. Heinrich Schütz, "Also hat Gott", in 5 parts
4. Heinrich Schütz, Psalm 18, for solo alto and accompaniment
5. Ernst Friedrich Richter, Prelude for organ
6. Johannes Brahms, "Geistliches Lied", for 4 parts with organ
7. Franz Wüllner, Agnus Dei, in 4 parts
8. Gustav Rebling, Psalm 5, for solo tenor and organ
9. Franz Liszt, Kyrie in 4 parts
10. Johann Sebastian Bach, 3 pieces for solo violoncello
11. Robert Volkmann, "Altdeutsches Weihnachtslied", for mixed choir, op. 59

11 July 1869: Third performance — Grosser Gewandhausaal: Chamber music

1. Carl von Radecki, Sonata for piano 4 hands
2. Max Seifriz, "Geistliches Abendlied", for male chorus
3. Franz Liszt, "Gottes ist der Orient", for male chorus
4. Fumoulin, Lieder with piano
5. Carl Goldmark, Lieder with piano
6. Felix Draeseke, Ballade for violoncello and piano
7. Franz Liszt, Lieder with piano
8. Robert Franz, Lieder with piano
9. Adolf Blassmann, Piano quartet in G minor
10. Eduard Lassen, "Stille Nacht", for male chorus
11. Franz Liszt, "Wir sind nicht Mumien", for male chorus
12. Anton Rubínštejn, Duets for soprano and alto
13. Joseph Rheinberger, Duo for 2 pianos, op. 15

Fourth performance — Nicolaikirche: Organ concert

1. Johann Sebastian Bach, Prelude and fugue in E-flat major
2. Giovanni Maria Clari, Psalm 13, for soprano and alto
3. Robert Schumann, Fugue on B-A-C-H, no. 3
4. Julius Rietz, Adagio for violin with organ
5. Julius Reubke, Organ sonata on Psalm 94
6. Immanuel Faisst, Psalm 13, for solo alto and organ
7. Franz Liszt, "Fuge über den Namen B-A-C-H"
8. George Henschel, Baritone aria from *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt*
9. Carl Müller-Hartung, Organ sonata on "Ein' feste Burg"

Weimar, 26–29 May 1870

26 May 1870: First performance — Haupt- und Stadtkirche: Sacred music

- Ludwig van Beethoven, *Missa solemnis* in D major, op. 123

27 May 1870: Second performance — Erholungssaal: Chamber music

1. Joachim Raff, Piano quintet, op. 107
2. Anton Deprosse, Lieder with piano

3. Gustav Henschel, Lieder with piano
4. Carl Goldmark, String quartet in B-flat major, op. 5
5. Adolf Jensen, *Dolorosa*, song cycle for solo alto
6. Friedrich Kiel, Variations for piano, op. 17
7. Johann Svendsen, String octet, op. 3

Third performance — Grossherzogliches Hoftheater: Orchestral music

1. Gustav Weber, *Zur Iliade*, for orchestra
2. Felix Draeseke, "Lacrymosa", for chorus, solo quartet and orchestra
3. Robert Schumann, Concerto for violoncello
4. Heinrich Schulz-Beuthen, Psalm 42/43, for solo baritone, chorus and orchestra
5. Leopold Damrosch, Festouvertüre
6. Franz Liszt, Piano concerto in E-flat major
7. Pauline Viardot-García, 4 Lieder with piano
8. Camille Saint-Saëns, *Die Hochzeit des Prometheus*, cantata for soloists, chorus and orchestra

28 May 1870: Fourth performance — Haupt- und Stadtkirche: Sacred music

1. Johann Sebastian Bach, Organ fugue in D minor
2. Gustav Henschel, Geistliches lied for baritone
3. Luigi Boccherini, Largo and andante for solo violoncello
4. Georg Friedrich Händel, aria for soprano
5. Franz Liszt, *Consolations*, transcribed for violoncello by De Swert
6. Robert Schumann, Fugue on B-A-C-H, no. 6

Fifth performance — Grossherzogliches Hoftheater: Chamber music

1. Ludwig van Beethoven, String quartet, op. 135
2. Ludwig van Beethoven, *An die ferne Geliebte*
3. Ludwig van Beethoven, 32 variations for piano in C minor
4. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Neue Liebe*, Lieder for tenor and piano
5. Ludwig van Beethoven, String quartet, op. 131

29 May 1870: Sixth performance — Grossherzogliches Hoftheater: Dem Andenken Beethovens gewidmetes Concert

1. Eduard Lassen, *Beethoven-Ouvertüre*
2. Friedrich Bodenstedt, Beethoven prologue
3. Franz Liszt, *Beethoven-Cantate*, for soloists, chorus and orchestra
4. Ludwig van Beethoven, Piano concerto no. 5 in E-flat major
5. Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony no. 9 in D minor, op. 125

Magdeburg, 16–18 September 1871

16 September 1871: First performance — Johanneskirche: Sacred music

1. August Gottfried Ritter, Free fantasy for organ
2. Hermann Zopff, *Zwei religiöse Gesänge* for solo tenor, organ and obbligato string instruments
3. Gustav Rebling, Psalm 12, for 8-voiced unaccompanied choir
4. Hans von Bronsart, Phantasiestück for violin and organ
5. Peter Cornelius, "Von dem Dome", Trauerchor for male voices
6. Gustav Merkel, Adagio for violoncello and organ
7. Eduard Lassen, "Bethania" and "Joseph's Garten", for solo voices, organ, horn and harp
8. Friedrich Kiel, Fantasy for organ in B minor, op. 58
9. Franz Liszt, *Missa choralis*, for chorus, soloists and organ

Second performance — Chamber music

1. Woldemar Bargiel, Piano trio in B-flat major, op. 37
2. Peter Cornelius, *Weihnachtslieder*, for solo alto
3. Robert Volkmann, Piano pieces "Blumenstück", "Wahrsagerin", "Waffentanz"
4. Robert Franz, 3 Lieder for tenor: "Genesung", "Widmung", "Gewitternacht"
5. Ferdinand Thieriot, Adagio for violoncello
6. Oskar Eichberg, 2 Lieder for soprano: "Deine Liebe", "Der Asra"
7. Felix Draeseke, Piano sonata

8. Franz Liszt, 3 Gesänge: “Fischerknabe”, “Jugendglück”, “Du bist wie eine Blume”
9. Johannes Brahms, Piano quartet in A major, op. 26

Third performance — Chamber music

1. Otto Lessmann, Lieder with piano
2. Robert Volkmann, Romance for violoncello
3. Franz Schubert, Lieder for alto and tenor
4. Robert Schumann, Lieder for alto and tenor

Fourth performance — Chamber music

1. Carl Goldmark, Suite for violin and piano in E-flat major, op. 11
2. Eduard Lassen, Lieder for baritone
3. Joseph Rheinberger, Piano pieces: “Toccatina”, op. 5, “Etude”, op. 85, no. 5, “Walzer”, op. 18
4. Joachim Raff, Paraphrase on Schumann’s “Abendlied” and Valse-Caprice, for piano
5. Hans von Bülow, Lieder for tenor
6. Robert Franz, Lieder for tenor
7. Anton Rubinstein, Piano trio in B-flat major, op. 5

TABLE 2
FESTIVALS OF ALLGEMEINE DEUTSCHE MUSIKVEREIN

1859	Leipzig	1898	Mainz
1861	Weimar	1899	Dortmund
1864	Karlsruhe	1900	Bremen
1865	Dessau	1901	Heidelberg
1866	Coburg (cancelled)	1902	Krefeld
1867	Meiningen	1903	Basel
1868	Altenburg	1904	Frankfurt am Main
1869	Leipzig (Musikertag)	1905	Graz
1870	Weimar	1906	Essen
1871	Magdeburg (Musikertag)	1907	Dresden
1872	Kassel	1908	München
1873	Leipzig (Musikertag)	1909	Stuttgart
1874	Halle	1910	Zürich
1876	Altenburg	1911	Heidelberg
1877	Hannover	1912	Danzig
1878	Erfurt	1913	Jena
1879	Wiesbaden	1914	Essen
1880	Baden-Baden	1920	Weimar
1881	Magdeburg	1921	Nürnberg
1882	Zürich	1922	Düsseldorf
1883	Leipzig	1923	Kassel
1884	Weimar	1924	Frankfurt am Main
1885	Karlsruhe	1925	Kiel
1886	Sondershausen	1926	Chemnitz
1887	Köln	1927	Krefeld
1888	Dessau	1928	Schwerin
1889	Wiesbaden	1929	Duisburg
1890	Eisenach	1930	Königsberg
1891	Berlin	1931	Bremen
1892	Wien (cancelled)	1932	Zürich
1893	München	1933	Dortmund
1894	Weimar	1934	Wiesbaden
1895	Braunschweig	1935	Hamburg
1896	Leipzig	1936	Weimar, Jena, Eisenach
1897	Mannheim	1937	Darmstadt, Frankfurt am Main

THE RISE OF MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ITALY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY: BETWEEN POSITIVISM AND EVOLUTIONISM

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Little is known about music historiography in Italy in the second half of the 19th century.¹ Studies of musical culture from this period do not reveal a close relationship between musicology and the historical interpretations of music; that is, they exhibit little recognition of music historiography as a branch of musicology. A general survey of methods and topics in writing histories of music does not exist. Too little is known about the philological criteria followed, for example, by the editors of musical monuments. Even the contents of many 19th-century journals, which certainly broadened the discussion on the historical process in music, have not been examined from a historiographic viewpoint.²

In light of this, let us examine how Italian musicologists regarded their own work, aimed at collecting sources and documents of the past. Musicology, then a new branch of learning frequently called “music archaeology” in Italy, was influenced by the quantitative methods of natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaft*). This explains why Italian historians rejected the idea of reconstructing history using only masterpieces. Instead, they analysed both known and unknown sources in order to gain a deeper knowledge of music and to be able to establish the rules of composition and the concept of style as observed in distinct genres such as the frottola, madrigal, motet, secular monody, canzone, recercare, and sonata. Their aim was to get past history as biography, to refuse the Romantic aesthetic and its related critical judgments.³

I would like to thank my colleague Ignazio Mirto (Università di Palermo) for his help and advice.

¹ The latest edition of *The new Grove dictionary* discusses the important role of German and American historiography without any regard to the other countries of Western and Eastern Europe. See Glenn Stanley, “Historiography”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 11, 547–61.

² Regarding Italian musicology in the second half of the 19th century, see Giorgio Pestelli, “La generazione dell’Ottanta’ e la resistibile ascesa della musicologia italiana”, *Musica italiana del primo Novecento: La generazione dell’80. Atti del convegno*, ed. by Fiamma Nicolodi (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1981) 31–44.

³ I discuss 19th-century Italian musical culture in “Oscar Chilesotti a 150 anni dalla nascita”, *Oscar Chilesotti: La musica antica e la musicologia storica*, ed. by Ivano Cavallini (Venezia: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2000) 1–24.

Italy produced few handbooks on music in the 19th century, due to the crisis in general history at the time and, particularly, to the new methodologies established by the so-called “scuola degli studi storici” after Italian unification in 1861. Based on medieval literature studies, which were devoted to demonstrating the unity of the Italian language, historians took the first steps in researching 16th- and 17th-century Italian music (then considered to be the Renaissance era!), the period in which the Italian genius, as distinct from the Flemish school, emerged in European civilization. The pivotal genres were the frottola, madrigal, and opera, studied strictly in terms of their own forms and styles, without regard to the broader context of their time period. That is, these studies did not involve creative interpretations of the zeitgeist, avoiding the metaphysics of idealistic scholarship that was still bound to author biographies. Instead, they examined style and produced a “history without names”. In 1884, one of the most important positivists, Pasquale Villari, a professor at the Istituto di Studi Superiori in Florence (which later became a university), wrote the following: “In poetry and fine arts there is a factor that goes beyond the author and his work: It is the collective creation of the people.”⁴ The same concept of collective creation appears 65 years later in the opening address of the International Musicological Society meeting, given by Jacques Handschin (“l’action historique est l’expression d’une personnalité... collective aussi bien qu’individuelle”, or “intervention d’une personnalité transcendante”).⁵

In Italy as well as in Germany and France, the turning point in the history of ideas came with the development of the inductive method and its application to history. Against the teleological perspectives of Hegel’s idealism, historians, fascinated by the theories of Ranke, Michelet, Toqueville, and others, separated history from philosophy. Evidence of this epoch-making change can be found in a lecture by the philosopher Antonio Labriola, given in 1887 at the Università di Roma, in which he said, “the philosophy of history... must be... a simple research of the methods, principles, and modalities of historical knowledge.”⁶ The same thought can be observed in the first volume of the *Rivista musicale italiana* (1894), which opened a new path for musicology free from the subjective approach exemplified by Leopold Ranke’s motto “wie es eigentlich gewesen”. The unsigned foreword of this periodical supports a concept like the one exemplified in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (I, 1883), which, according to the editors

⁴ The article, written in honor of Francesco De Sanctis after his death, is in Pasquale Villari’s *De Sanctis e la critica in Italia* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1894) 206–07. Even today De Sanctis is remembered as the author of an outstanding handbook of Italian literature; Marziano Guglielminetti, “Storia delle storie letterarie”, *Fare storia della letteratura*, ed. by Ottavio Cecchi and Enrico Ghidetti (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1986) 21–25. Pasquale Villari (1826–1917) was the founder of positivistic scholarship in Italy; he addressed his studies to historical methods and gave his manifesto at the Studi Superiori in Florence, at the opening of the academic year of 1865, with a lecture entitled “La filosofia positiva e il metodo storico”. This lecture was published first in *Il Politecnico* (1866), and was later included in his book *Saggi di storia, di critica e di politica* (Firenze: Tipografia Cavour, 1868) 1–36. Villari supported history as science, rather than as a branch of philosophy, with the polemic motto “keine Metaphisik mehr” with which he criticised Hegelian philosophers in Italy. Benedetto Croce’s reaction to Villari at the beginning of the 20th century is given in his *Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo decimonono* (Bari: Laterza, 1921); see the chapter “Pasquale Villari: Psicologia e storia” in *Filosofia e psicologia nel positivismo italiano*, by Piero Di Giovanni (Bari: Laterza, 2004).

⁵ Jacques Handschin, “Musicologie et musique”, *International Musicological Society, Fourth Congress, Basel 1949* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951) 9–10.

⁶ Antonio Labriola (1843–1904) was the first intellectual who studied Marx’s philosophy in Italy; his inaugural lecture presents some analogies with Villari’s ideas: “lo studio specifico di alcuno degli ordini precisi di fatti omogenei e graduati ci ha dato ai nostri tempi i primi seri tentativi di scienza storica... E perciò appunto la filosofia della storia non può né deve essere una storia universale narrata filosoficamente, ma anzi una semplice ricerca sui metodi, sui principi e sul sistema delle conoscenze storiche”. See Antonio Labriola, “I problemi della filosofia della storia”, *Scritti filosofici e politici*, ed. by Francesco Sbarberi (Torino: Einaudi, 1973) 32.

Francesco Novati, Rodolfo Renier, and Arturo Graf, exhibited a new method of making the history of literature as a story of language, and not as a story of authors:⁷

Saranno studi di estetica della musica e di psicologia comparata delle arti; saggi di critica generale e speciale; questioni di tecnica musicale; lavori storici riguardanti ogni manifestazione e ogni forma dell'arte studiata in un periodo determinato di tempo o nel rispetto della creazione individuale dell'artista; indagini biografiche; ricerche delle scienze speciali in quanto considerino il fenomeno musicale nelle leggi che ne determinano il prodursi e gli effetti.

Non pure ogni genere di musica, ma tutte le forme di essa, fossero le più umili e le più semplici, saranno oggetto di accurata trattazione; lo studio della musica pura [i.e., instrumental music] s'alternerà con quello della melodrammatica; né disdegheremo di scendere dall'esame delle concezioni più ispirate e più dotte a ricercare i rudimenti della melodia e del ritmo nei canti primitivi, o a indagar l'attitudine musicale di una nazione nelle canzoni popolari o nell'arie di danza.

The *Rivista* included articles on music aesthetics, the psychology of music, music criticism, biographies, and acoustics. Additionally, the journal paid special attention to folk and popular music, in contrast to classical music, thus defining the parameters of the grammar of melody and rhythm. The earlier important periodical, the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, though signed by eminent musicologists, was nevertheless not an authoritative musicological journal. However, the publisher Ricordi printed a series of editions of early music called *Biblioteca di rarità musicali* and *L'arte musicale in Italia*, respectively edited by Oscar Chilesotti and Luigi Torchi; both authors included masterpieces and some works of anonymous composers in the same publications.⁸

Before World War I some Italian musicologists cultivated an ambitious project, with the help of paleography and philology, to restore early music and to play it in historical concerts.⁹ This project, which represents an intellectual revolution in music, sprang from the wide gap that existed between music historiography and music criticism. Representative essays of Italian scholars at that time were mostly devoted to establishing rules for classifying various genres. These essays, which were less comprehensive than those published in Germany, placed monuments and documents on the same level; the first were viewed as masterpieces, the second as current music. In its broadest sense, this historicist mainstream gave equal importance to the musical monument and to biographies and bibliographies. This attitude, or practice, as seen in the above-mentioned *Rivista musicale italiana*, gave rise to a paradox: Historical research was gradually transformed into an analytical approach with no aesthetic judgment.¹⁰ Thus

⁷ Regarding this relationship, see the monograph on Luigi Torchi by Caterina Criscione, *Luigi Torchi: Un musicologo italiano tra Otto e Novecento* (Imola: Mandragora, 1997).

⁸ From 1883 to 1915 Chilesotti edited eight volumes of *Biblioteca* and revised lute music for Breitkopf & Härtel. Torchi studied for seven years in Leipzig (1877–84) with Carl Reinecke and Salomon Jadassohn, and from 1897 to 1907 he edited seven volumes of the monumental anthology *L'arte musicale in Italia: Pubblicazione nazionale delle più importanti opere musicali italiane dal secolo XIV al XVIII, tratte da codici, antichi manoscritti ed edizioni primitive, scelte, trascritte in notazione moderna, messe in partitura, armonizzate ed annotate da L. Torchi* (Milano: G. Ricordi, 1897–1907).

⁹ With regard to historical concerts, programs, and performing practice, see Marco Di Pasquale, "Dei concerti storici in Italia e di Oscar Chilesotti", *Oscar Chilesotti: La musica antica e la musicologia storica*, ed. by Ivano Cavallini (Venezia: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2000) 25–114.

¹⁰ It was only after World War I that Italian musicology integrated critical judgment into musical research. This new approach is apparent in the periodical *La rassegna musicale*, whose authors debated aesthetic problems more than historical research. The extreme position of such eminent musicologists as Fausto Torrefranca, Guido Maria Gatti, and Luigi Ronga, all influenced by Croce's philosophy, degenerated into an absurd nationalistic conflict with the German

it is not surprising that only a very small number of handbooks, written by amateurs or musicians, were published.¹¹ Researchers were afraid of attempting to classify the enormous amount of early music, and—as demonstrated in the published histories of music—they were unable to identify correctly the succession of musical eras, the history of musical forms, the great personalities, the history of music theory, and the history of ideas. In 60 years the time periods that defined musical eras, such as the Renaissance, changed frequently. From the handbook of Abramo Basevi (1866) to the history of Alfredo Untersteiner (1893), terms like “sonata form” and “Baroque” are not included at all.¹² The classification of branches of music research devised by Guido Adler in the article *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft* (1885), which was never reviewed in Italian journals, was also *terra incognita*.

In considering Italy’s musical culture from 1860 to 1918, the following questions arise: What does the philosophy of positivism mean in relation to music historiography? Were these musical studies positivist, and if so, how?

The historical work of that time was marked by the philosophies of August Comte and John Stuart Mill. Both refused the metaphysical interpretation of facts; “keine Metaphysik mehr!” asserted Pasquale Villari in his short book *La filosofia positiva e il metodo storico* (1866).¹³ To clarify this problem, one must remember that Italian positivism was not always a philosophy *tout court*, but a method applied to different human sciences. Villari provides an explanation of the meaning of the ambiguous term positivism. He wrote that history is a science because it cannot answer the question *why*; but it does answer the question *how* to explain human phenomena.¹⁴ The interpretative key in scholarship was to investigate “the conditions in which art was born and developed”, and “the consequences on the spiritual values of society”. However, Villari rejected the idea that positivism had to be a philosophy. In a narrow sense, for him positivism was a method, a rational basis for studying history. In this case, it makes sense that the positivist Luigi Torchi (1858–1920) embraced Wagner’s aesthetics, and the positivist Oscar Chilesotti (1848–1916) opposed Wagner’s *Musikdrama*. Torchi wrote a biography of Wagner in the “life and works” style, in which he expressed appreciation for the symbolic meaning of *Leitmotiv*.¹⁵ In his pamphlet against Wagner, Chilesotti compared the leitmotiv technique to an incessant coming and going, in which the actor is condemned to come back on the stage and speak the same words several times.¹⁶ So both historians, Torchi and Chilesotti, were positivists only if one views “positivist” to mean a set of rules that form a method of historical research.

Musikwissenschaft, and had a negative impact on musical studies in Italy until the 1960s. See the foreword by Luigi Pestalozza in *La rassegna musicale: Antologia*, ed. by Luigi Pestalozza (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1966) ix–clxxxviii.

¹¹ Examples include the following: Giuseppe Trambusti, *Storia della musica e specialmente dell’italiana* (1857); Giovanni Pacini, *Cenni storici sulla storia della musica* (1864); Abramo Basevi, *Compendio di storia della musica* (1866); Alberto Mazzucato, *Atlante della musica antica* (1867); Giovanni Masutto, *La musica: Della sua origine e della sua storia* (1877); Amintore Galli, *Sunto di lezioni di storia della musica* (1892); Amintore Galli, *Appunti di storia musicale* (1893); Alfredo Untersteiner, *Storia della musica* (1893); Arnaldo Bonaventura, *Manuale di storia della musica* (1898); and Guido Gasperini, *Storia della musica* (1899).

¹² Abramo Basevi, *Compendio di storia della musica* (1866); Alfredo Untersteiner, *Storia della musica* (1893).

¹³ See note 4.

¹⁴ Giuseppe Cacciatore, “Il positivismo e la storia”, *I filosofi e la genesi della coscienza culturale della ‘nuova Italia’ (1799–1900): Stato delle ricerche e prospettive di interpretazione*, ed. by Luciano Malusa (Napoli: Istituto per gli Studi Filosofici, 1997) 278.

¹⁵ Luigi Torchi, *Riccardo Wagner: Studio critico* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1890).

¹⁶ Oscar Chilesotti, *L’evoluzione nella musica: Appunti sulla teoria di H. Spencer* (Torino: Bocca, 1911) 83.

Actually, Torchi and Chilesotti practised the positivistic method in association with the theory of evolution. While it seems that they spoke two different languages (in that their theories conflicted with each other), there was, in fact, no discrepancy between the method of research and the historical interpretation. In Torchi and Chilesotti's activities, cultural bilingualism is represented by the positivist experience and by the historiography based on Spencer and Darwin's philosophies.

Torchi was the first musicologist to translate Eduard Hanslick's *Vom musikalisch-Schönen* (1893) and to examine the Wagnerian drama vis-à-vis German culture. According to him the primary task of musicology was to focus on the links between the features of the musical drama and the genius of the nation, since the symbolic meaning of music does not allow an automatic transfer of feelings and emotions into sound effects.¹⁷

In his book on Wagner (1890), Torchi concentrates on establishing the "ancestors" of the Wagnerian reform. For him, the German operatic tradition is represented by Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, and Marschner. He accurately connects the work of Wagner to the political order of Bismarck's government and to Moltke's art of war, because the *Musikdrama* expressed the wish of the German people for national unity.¹⁸ In fact, Wagner's Romanticism is not intended as a subjective notion of opera, but as a new kind of national drama in which German history and myth coexist. That is why the monograph focuses on the history of the Germans, the characteristics of Romanticism, the formation of language, and the structure of theme in German lied.¹⁹ Just like Hyppolite Taine (the positivist author of *La philosophie de l'art*, 1865), Torchi provides comparative research on race, milieu, and moment (i.e., historical trends) to explicate the music of Wagner.²⁰ Music, fine arts, and literature are subject to the same laws of progress that preside over science, religion, and society. Inspired by Comte's philosophy, Torchi aimed to talk about music just like the botanist analysed the origin and growth of plants.²¹ He said that the history of music is a story of relationships among musical facts or events. Consequently, as a study of intellectual functions, modern musicology had to reveal the rules of music through the processes of similarity and sequence. It was Comte who inspired his application to music of the inductive method of natural sciences (in fact, he directly quoted Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* of 1842).²²

Unlike Torchi, Chilesotti, the famous scholar of lute and guitar tablatures, was totally against the Italian followers of Wagner.²³ From his point of view, the history of music demonstrates that opera by numbers, in Italy and abroad, prevailed for 300 years,

¹⁷ Torchi, *Riccardo Wagner*, 8, 11, 93.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 166, 170, 419. Wagner's *Musikdrama* is intimately connected to German nationalism; according to Torchi, "L'arte non doveva adattarsi all'individuo; essa si rivolgeva al sentimento della moltitudine ed era arte nazionale".

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18–21.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 101.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3: "Le opere d'arte sono come le piante per il botanico".

²² *Ibid.*, 57. As required by the inductive method of natural sciences, in quoting Comte, Torchi explains that musical works are "assujettis à des lois naturelles, il s'agit de fixer quels doivent être le sujet et le caractère de ses lois" (9). Aesthetics must trace the ties between musical work and the genius of the people: "Così l'estetica va stabilita sui fatti dati nella sua storia, nei rapporti costanti che si sono mostrati tra la natura dell'opera d'arte e la specie del pensiero dei popoli in mezzo ai quali essa nacque"; regarding similarity and sequence, see 11: "Io mi limito a cercare ... i rapporti fra un fatto qualunque dell'arte e altri fatti, in quanto si nota in essi la forma della somiglianza e della successione. Il genio, come l'intima natura che produce il fatto e la maniera onde questo avviene sono imperscrutabili, non così le relazioni accennate".

²³ Luca Zoppelli, "La tastiera tormentata, la frase ben tornita: L'attività saggistica e la militanza critica di Oscar Chilesotti", *Oscar Chilesotti: Diletto e scienza agli albori della musicologia italiana* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1987) 375–405; Paolo Pinamonti, "Note sul pensiero estetico di Oscar Chilesotti", *Oscar Chilesotti: Diletto e scienza*, 407–35.

whereas the *Musikdrama* was a unique example of an undefined structure in which opera regressed to the first stage of undeveloped musical language.²⁴ Both the brief article on Schopenhauer and the review of Nietzsche's *Der Fall Wagner* (reviewed for the first time in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, 1899) renewed Chilesotti's obsessive dislike for the German composer.²⁵ Chilesotti's criticism of Wagner was thought to have stemmed from a statement about opera, as subjected to the logic of evolution, that implies a progressive separation among the arts, in clear opposition to the *Wort–Ton–Drama*.

As a scholar and as a historian, Chilesotti was attracted by the *First principles* of Herbert Spencer (1862), translated into Italian in 1888.²⁶ The theory of the English philosopher was used by Chilesotti in several ways: to attempt the chronological arrangement of various types of music; to define the transition from modality to tonality; and to study the transformations of a tune into different styles through time.

In his article "L'evoluzione nella musica: Appunti sulla teoria di Herbert Spencer" (1898), later enlarged and published as a book (1911),²⁷ Chilesotti described the history of music in the 16th century as a series of genetic mutations, from simple to complex. In this case, popular songs played on the lute are first transposed into polyphony and then recreated as recitative in the operatic style at the beginning of the 17th century.²⁸ Chilesotti's theory of evolution maintained that some original elements are retained even in their later, advanced forms. This naïve evolutionism involves the philological experience of the Italian musicologist. For instance, Chilesotti reconstructed the long life of *Male per me tanta beltà mirai*, a 16th-century popular song that had appeared as a simple three-voice napolitana by Giovanni Zappasorgo, and then transformed into a five-voice canzone in contrapuntal style in which the original tune is found in the tenor part. Eventually it was changed into an "instrumental monody" in the lute collection *Thesaurus harmonicus* by Jean-Baptiste Besard: Like the earliest version, the tune is given in the high voice.²⁹ These formulations are consistent with the attempt to establish historical periods, in which, one after the other, frottola, madrigal, and monody are displayed without any consideration of chronological overlapping.

The other main topic in Chilesotti's articles was 16th-century popular music, which passed into the polyphony of the Flemish school and which first established Italian musical supremacy. The concept of the Renaissance is based on this reasoning, a thread found throughout several of his writings, and particularly in the essay *Sulla melodia popolare del Cinquecento* (1889).³⁰ Despite the above-mentioned ties between Italian

²⁴ See Chilesotti, *L'evoluzione nella musica*, 82–83: "Coll'amalgamare musica di quadratura indefinita, coll'abbandonare le forme, sia pure convenzionali, acquisite dal melodramma durante un'evoluzione tre volte secolare, il riformatore fece tornare l'arte ... al punto di partenza, all'omogeneità della materia da cui si svolsero indipendenti fra loro musica, danza e poesia". With regard to this problem, see Ivano Cavallini, "Lantiwagneriano perfetto: La musicologia di Oscar Chilesotti e l'idea di musica popolare", *Oscar Chilesotti: La musica antica e la musicologia storica*, 193–232.

²⁵ Oscar Chilesotti, "Schopenhauer contro Wagner", *Orfeo* 7/4 (1916) 1; idem, "Nietzsche e Wagner: Il caso Wagner", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 44 (1899) 343–46, 357–58, 367–68.

²⁶ Herbert Spencer, *I primi principi*, ed. by M. Sacchi and G. Cattaneo (Milano: Dumolard, 1888).

²⁷ Oscar Chilesotti, "L'evoluzione nella musica: Appunti sulla teoria di Herbert Spencer", *Rivista musicale italiana* 5 (1898) 559–73; idem, *L'evoluzione nella musica: Appunti sulla teoria di H. Spencer* (Torino: Bocca, 1911).

²⁸ In the monograph on Spencer, Chilesotti writes: "in quanto poi all'invenzione del recitativo conviene non dimenticare che i canti dei trovatori del medio-evo e dei cantori al liuto nel secolo XVI erano monodici, la invenzione del Peri (i.e., opera) ... non aveva dunque quell'impronta di assoluta novità che normalmente le si attribuisce" (35).

²⁹ Oscar Chilesotti, "Una canzone popolare del Cinquecento: *Male per me tanta beltà mirai*", *Rivista musicale italiana* 22 (1915) 113–21.

³⁰ Oscar Chilesotti, *Sulla melodia popolare del Cinquecento* (Milano: G. Ricordi, 1889) 5: "Sorta nella musica popolare, la melodia riesci poi ad infiltrarsi nelle composizioni sacre, perché la scuola fiamminga, incapace di produrla, la prese dai

and Flemish art, the meaning of the Italian *popolare* remains doubtful; it should be translated either as “national music inspired by folk music”, or as “national music based on *popular* music”.

It appears that Chilesotti was influenced by the political context of atheist liberalism. In addition, his primary task was to strengthen the leading tendency of contemporary philology and anthropology. Following his views on popular music, traced as an upward motion, one can say that folk music is somehow enclosed in popular music. The latter is also part of the learned *niveau*.³¹ Thus, it is not surprising that he never wrote about sacred music.

trivi e la portò ... in chiesa”.

³¹ For example, see the words on the contents of lute tablature edited by the musicologist in Leipzig under the title *Codice Lauten-Buch del Cinquecento* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890) 4: “Gli storici dell’arte dei suoni si fermarono con diligentissima cura, ma forse con metodo troppo esclusivo, sulla musica da chiesa ed in genere sulle composizioni di stile severo e scientifico, trascurando l’elemento popolare, che pure, a mio vedere, tanto giovò a sviluppare e ad elevare quest’arte all’altezza raggiunta così felicemente ai nostri giorni.... Ebbi la fortuna di acquistare un codice cartaceo in cui un liutista tedesco, probabilmente verso la fine del XVI secolo, raccolse le sonate allora più famose. Lettolo, vi scorsi canti di una squisita eleganza, che contrastano in modo curioso colle composizioni scolastiche dell’epoca”.

THE MUSIC OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE AS A NATIONAL MYTH

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CONSERVATORIO DI MUSICA DI VICENZA

In 19th-century Italy, the process of defining the Renaissance as a period of the past was conditioned by a concept of history that had not yet been clearly formulated, and by ideological attitudes connected to the turbulent situation of the country. At first, the word was used to mean the same as it did for the earliest humanists: It referred to the revival of classical aesthetic canons after a millennium marked by the barbarization of customs and the arts. This barbarization was attributed to the invasion of the Italian peninsula by northern tribes. Indeed, the term *rinascimento*, which was rarely used, and the widely preferred synonyms *restaurazione*, *rinascenza*, and *risorgimento* were generally used in combination with *delle arti*, *delle lettere*, or both.

It was not until the last decades of the 19th century and the absorption of important foreign contributions to the field of historical studies—mainly those by Simonde de Sismondi, Jules Michelet, and Jacob Burckhardt—that the Renaissance was conceived as a specific era of Western civilization. Nonetheless, its chronological boundaries remained rather uncertain, extending roughly from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 16th centuries, and different scholars had conflicting views of its profile.¹

The historiographical approaches prevailing in Italy in the first half of the 19th century favored the evaluation of previous epochs according to moral criteria, either as dictated by Roman Catholic doctrine or as prompted by the ideals of contemporary civil life in a land still dismembered into a multitude of petty states, many of them ruled by foreigners. During the *risorgimento*—the long and tortuous period that led to the political unification of Italy, achieved partially in 1860 and fully in 1870 with the incorporation of the Pontifical State—the Renaissance, and especially its 16th-century conclusion, was not considered to have been propitious to national history, for

¹ See Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in historical thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948) for a synoptic view of the shaping of the concept of the Renaissance from an international perspective. More about 19th-century Italian historiographical output can be found in the following sources: Benedetto Croce, *Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo decimonono* (Bari: Laterza, 1921); Michele Biscione, *Neo-umanesimo e rinascimento: L'immagine del rinascimento nella storia della cultura dell'Ottocento* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1962); Cesare Vasoli, *Umanesimo e rinascimento* (2nd ed.; Palermo: Palumbo, 1976); and Michele Ciliberto, ed., *Il rinascimento: Storia di un dibattito* (2nd ed., Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1988).

it reflected the present-day hapless fate of the country. Moreover, it seemed that during the 16th century no progress toward unification had occurred, precisely because of the hostile predominance of foreign potentates, and because of the unadventurous policies carried out by native governors and even the papacy.

The Renaissance was consequently considered to be the expression of an age of moral, religious, and civil corruption, even though it was brightened by the extraordinary blossoming of the arts and letters thanks to painters such as Giotto, Raphael, and Michelangelo as well as poets such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poliziano, and Ariosto. This is the vision arising from the so-called neo-Guelph school, which was associated with the strictest Roman Catholic observance.²

The nonconfessional historiographical literature proposed a less severe interpretation of the Renaissance: Even though it was accompanied by widespread ethical and political degeneration, it was seen as a necessary transition toward the laicization of culture. The Renaissance produced important intellectual advancements in Italy, especially in the philosophical and scientific domains. However, adverse circumstances prematurely interrupted its progress, with the result that these advancements transferred to other European countries (Germany, above all) where they subsequently achieved preeminent results (Hegelian idealism is an example).³

Regarding the treatment of Renaissance music, one should remember that 19th-century Italian music scholars—who were mostly interested in opera, a genre revered as a true national glory—were very late in developing any interest in preceding ages. After the mid-century, however, increasing attention was focused on the history of music, and the general historiographical inclinations outlined above also applied to the realm of music.⁴

The long process of recovering the music of the Renaissance had several stages and involved three interrelated activities: music performance, music publishing, and music historiography. Moreover, the Italian path toward the discovery of ancient music was linked to those of other European countries—namely Austria, Germany, and France—by the following general trends: (1) interest was initially directed toward late-16th-century sacred music; (2) belated attention was paid to earlier music and to secular production; and (3) there was an almost absolute lack of concern for purely instrumental literature.⁵

THE PERFORMANCE AND PUBLISHING OF RENAISSANCE MUSIC. In 1833, during his stay in Rome, Hector Berlioz claimed that in Italy the masterpieces of what he

² For an example of this way of thinking, see Cesare Balbo, *Della storia d'Italia dalle origini fino ai nostri tempi: Sommario* (Torino: Pomba, 1846), and Michele Ciliberto, "Interpretazioni del rinascimento: Balbo e Romagnosi", *Il rinascimento nell'Ottocento in Italia e in Germania/Die Renaissance im 19. Jahrhundert in Italien und Deutschland*, ed. by August Buck and Cesare Vasoli (Bologna: Il Mulino; Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1989) 65–91.

³ Hegelian philosophy—understood as the most far-reaching development of premises already established by 16th-century Italian thinkers—interested the intellectuals in the South particularly, such as Bertrando Spaventa, Angelo Camillo De Meis, and Francesco De Sanctis. See Alberto Asor Rosa, "La cultura", *Letteratura e sviluppo della nazione. Storia d'Italia 9* (Torino: Einaudi, 1975) 850–78, and Fulvio Tessitore, "L'idea di rinascimento nella cultura idealistica italiana tra '800 e '900", *Storiografia e storia della cultura* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990) 89–123.

⁴ For an introduction to this subject, see Ivano Cavallini, "Per uno studio della storiografia musicale in Italia nel XIX secolo", *Musica e storia* 13/2 (August 2005) 197–229.

⁵ The most important advocates and events in the recovery of ancient music are enumerated in Harry Haskell, *The early music revival: A history* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1996); for the period under consideration here, see chapter 1, "The musical Pompeii", 13–25. For ideological aspects, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (Köln: Arno Volk, 1977).

(and others) called the “ancient school”—i.e., the music of the 16th century—were not heard at all.⁶ No doubt he was exaggerating, but documentary evidence confirms that even the Cappella Sistina performed mainly 18th-century and contemporary music; its classical polyphonic repertoire was restricted to a few pieces by Palestrina, Morales, Victoria, Felice Anerio, Benevoli, and other minor composers. As for Palestrina, the choice included no more than the Improperia for Holy Week, a few motets, and some isolated movements from a limited number of his Masses; only his *Missa papae Marcelli* was sung complete on occasion.⁷

To remain in Rome, the Italian city apparently most involved in early music then, I can also mention some efforts to restore the music of the old Roman school by Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), the well-known biographer of Palestrina, and Fortunato Santini (1778–1861), the famous music collector. To this end, in 1821 they established a Società di Musica Sacra, and in the 1830s Santini promoted some “*esercizi settimanali*” (weekly exercises). The purpose behind these enterprises was to raise the money to print Palestrina’s works, but the project was unsuccessful, and in 1835 it was taken over by Breitkopf & Härtel of Leipzig.⁸ These attempts were short-lived and had very little influence, since they consisted of private concerts before a select audience.

Between 1838 and 1842 Pietro Alfieri (1801–63), himself a Roman priest, edited ten large anthologies of church music by Palestrina, Victoria, Anerio, and Nanino.⁹ He also tried to promote the liturgical use of these compositions, but he complained eventually that “they had been performed in many Catholic churches of England and in some French ones. In Italy, on the other hand, only few pieces by Palestrina had been performed somewhere.”¹⁰

Other publishing plans, proposed by members of Roman ecclesiastical and aristocratic societies, turned out to be fruitless.¹¹ However, at least in Rome, there were copyists who advertised accurate reproductions of 16th-century musical sources preserved in ecclesiastical archives and libraries that were generally inaccessible to musicians and scholars.¹² And a substantial quantity of manuscripts, prints, and later copies of Renaissance music was assembled in Santini’s library, which Felix Mendelssohn-

⁶ Hector Berlioz, *Voyage musical en Allemagne et en Italie* ... (Paris: Labitte, 1844) vol. 2, 5.

⁷ Angela Pachovsky, “Il repertorio”, Leopold M. Kantner and Angela Pachovsky, *La cappella musicale pontificia nell’Ottocento* (Roma: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina; Hortus Musicus, 1998) 79–115.

⁸ Bianca Maria Antolini and Annalisa Bini, “Musica antica e musica sacra”, *Editori e librai musicali a Roma nella prima metà dell’Ottocento* (Roma: Torre d’Orfeo, 1988) 112–14. It is perhaps symptomatic that in 1880 the journal *Musica sacra: Rivista liturgico-musicale per la restaurazione della musica sacra in Italia* 4/1 (January 1880) 8, lamented that Palestrina’s *Opera omnia*, published by Breitkopf & Härtel, found just four subscribers in Italy: the Conservatorio di Milano, the Liceo Musicale in Bologna, the Istituto Musicale in Florence, and the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome.

⁹ *Raccolta di musica sacra in cui contengono i capi lavori de’ più celebri compositori italiani, consistente in messe, sequenze, offertorij, mottetti, salmi, inni, responsorij* (Roma: Pietro Pittarelli [vols. 1–3], Filippo Martelli [vols. 4–7], 1838–46); *Excerpta ex celebrioribus de musica viris, Io. Petro Aloisio prænestino, Thoma Ludovico a Victoria abulensi, et Gregorio Allegro romano in usum cathedralium, et collegialium ecclesiarum concinenda in dominica palmorum, et majori hebdomada* (Roma: Pietro Pittarelli, 1840); *Raccolta di mottetti a quattro voci di Gio. Pier Luigi da Palestrina, di Ludovico da Vittoria d’Avila, e di Felice Anerio romano, compositori del secolo XVI* (Roma: Luigi Polisiero, 1841); *Felicitas Anerii, Io. Petri Aloisii prænestini, et Io. M. Nanini a Valerano fragmenta hymnorum in festo ss. mi nominis Iesu* (Roma: Pietro Pittarelli, 1842).

¹⁰ “Ho inteso con piacere essere state eseguite parecchie composizioni nelle chiese cattoliche d’Inghilterra ed in alcune di Francia. In Italia però appena in qualche luogo si è eseguita alcuna composizione del Palestrina”. Pietro Alfieri, *Ristabilimento del canto e della musica ecclesiastica: Considerazioni scritte in occasione de’ molteplici reclami contro gli abusi insorti in varie chiese d’Italia e di Francia, e che servono in risposta alla quistione sul canto detto dai francesi faux-bourdon, adoperato nell’eseguite di S.A.R. il duca d’Orleans in Parigi, ed ai dileggiamenti pubblicati dal signor Didron contro i riti di Roma* (Roma: Tipografia delle Belle Arti, 1843); also appearing in *Annali delle scienze religiose*, 16/46–48 (1843) 99.

¹¹ Antolini and Bini, *Editori e librai musicali a Roma*, 123–24.

¹² *Ibid.*, 112.

Bartholdy described as “one of the most complete libraries of Italian music”; anyone wishing to consult those materials was welcome.¹³

The aim that guided these accomplishments and failures was to demonstrate the superiority, with regard to religious rites, of the *a cappella* style over the theatrically oriented contemporary music that had invaded Italian churches and that assured good opportunities to composers who, for one reason or another, were excluded from operatic life. The vocal music of the so-called Palestrina school was indeed viewed as a classical—i.e., absolute and atemporal—paradigm. And since the judgmental criteria were of a moral and aesthetic nature, this music was not historically perceived or qualified.

That little attention was paid to early music until the middle of the 19th century was also testified to by Johannes Simon Mayr (1763–1845), a Bavarian composer who spent his whole professional life in Italy. He asserted that no public or private *accademie* featured polyphonic works and that the scores were not even available to music schools (the sole exception being the Liceo Musicale in Bologna).¹⁴ Furthermore, Mayr expounded critical arguments indicating that a historical perspective was not applied to this repertoire:

It is good to distinguish what is *antique* from what is *obsolete*. In any epoch all the compositions, even in the classical style, that here and there pay tribute to the fashion and taste of the time, become *obsolete*, but the classical works, conceived with a religious spirit, on the original impulse of imagination and artistic profundity—from which they receive inner value—these, in defiance of passing centuries, never become old, for in them one finds simplicity with true greatness, seriousness with youthful gaiety. The greater the genius that created them, the more original and distant from the taste of the fashion of their time they will be.¹⁵

In the second half of the century occasional excerpts from the Renaissance musical heritage were introduced little by little into academic concerts, intermingled with modern pieces in a potpourri fashion. A typical example is the concert given at the conservatory in Milan in 1851: The program included Clément Janequin’s *Bataille de Marignan* along with some operatic arias by Rossini and Donizetti and a couple of movements from Beethoven’s septet opus 20.¹⁶

More significant performances of Renaissance music occurred in the 1870s or shortly before, when the so-called historical concerts timidly began to appear.¹⁷ The

¹³ Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Eine Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz*, ed. by Peter Sutermeister (Tübingen: Heliopolis Verlag, 1979), letters of 2 and 8 November 1830. See also Wladimir Stassoff, *L'Abbé Santini et sa collection musicale à Rome* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1854).

¹⁴ [Johannes Simon Mayr], “Osservazioni di un vecchio suonatore di viola: In risposta a Fétis sulla situazione della musica liturgica in Italia”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 1/42 (16 October 1842) 182–84; 1/43–44 (30 October 1842) 186–88; 1/45 (6 November 1842) 193–94.

¹⁵ “Egli è bene a distinguersi l’antico dall’antiquato. Tutto ciò che ne’ tempi in cui furono scritte delle composizioni, anche classiche, ma qua e là tributarono qualche cosa alla moda, al gusto del tempo, tutto ciò diviene *antiquato*, ma le opere classiche, concepite con spirito religioso, con uno slancio originale di fantasia e profondità d’arte, da cui ricevono interno valore, queste ad onta de’ secoli non diventano giammai antiche, poiché in esse trovasi semplicità con vera grandezza, serietà con giovanile gajezza. Più grande che fu il genio, che le creò, più originali e lontane saranno dal gusto di moda del loro tempo.” Giovanni Simone Mayr, *Passi scelti dallo Zibaldone e altri scritti*, ed. by Arrigo Gazzaniga (Bergamo: Bolis, 1993) 81.

¹⁶ “Saggi e accademie pubbliche al Conservatorio”, *Il Conservatorio di musica per la cultura milanese dal 1808 al 1860: Nascita di una biblioteca musicale pubblica* (Milano: Biblioteca del Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi, 1980) n.p.

¹⁷ For a detailed account of the historical concerts in Italy, see Marco Di Pasquale, “Dei concerti storici in Italia e di Oscar Chilesotti”, *Oscar Chilesotti, la musica antica e la musicologia storica*, ed. by Ivano Cavallini (Venezia: Fondazione Levi, 2000) 25–113.

first events of this kind that I have been able to trace in Italy are a series of recitals given in 1869 in Turin, Bologna, and Venice by the French pianist Henry-Louis-Stanislas Mortier de Fontaine, who played some 20 pieces in chronological order ranging from William Byrd to Robert Schumann.¹⁸ In the following years a moderate number of similar concerts were given by Italians, but few of them went back to the 16th century. I shall mention here only the most representative cases.

In 1875 and 1876, in Genoa, Pier Costantino Remondini organized two lecture-concerts devoted to celebrating local music history but they were also intended to “present an idea for the development of the [musical] art from the Middle Ages until the time when the dominant seventh chord was introduced in composing”, i.e., the early 17th century.¹⁹ On those occasions one could hear compositions of musicians either born in Genoa or active there, together with pieces of the same period chosen “for comparison”. As regards the Renaissance era, the program comprised an anonymous *canto carnascialesco*, madrigals by Giovanni Battista Dalla Gostena, Simone Molinaro, and Vincenzo Ruffo, a couple of villanellas (one by Luca Marenzio), some lute tablatures by Francesco da Milano and Giacomo Gorzanis, an organ toccata by Gioseffo Guami, and an antiphon by Ruffo.²⁰

In 1881, in Turin, the Accademia di Canto Corale—conducted by Giulio Roberti (1829–91), who had previously been in contact with Carl Riedel, the founder of the Riedel’scher Verein in Leipzig—performed a “concerto sacro-istorico” illustrating the Roman, Venetian, Bolognese, and Neapolitan schools from the late Renaissance to the late Baroque. Rome was represented by Palestrina, Victoria, and Allegri; Venice by Giovanni Gabrieli, Lotti, and Benedetto Marcello; Bologna by Clari; Naples by Stradella, D’Astorga, Leo, Pergolesi, and Durante.²¹

In 1899 Oscar Chilesotti and Cesare Pollini entertained a Roman audience at two meetings at the Regia Accademia Filarmonica in the presence of the Queen of the Kingdom of Italy (who also lent an ancient archlute) and the nation’s intelligentsia. In the first *trattenimento*, held in the form of a lecture-concert,

it was attempted to explain the influence that folk melody exercised on the development of modern music, since until now that most important factor, the singing that had arisen from the folk, was perhaps not properly appreciated. In fact for a long time the historians directed their attention exclusively to sacred music, which at first was indeed the sole musical art in the strict sense of the word, and neglected the humble origins of that secular music which later contributed toward the erection of the majestic edifice of our art. Rhythmic melody—the soul of music—banished from sacred chant, had survived in dance and folk music, while the Christian spirit had created harmony from

¹⁸ Programs and newspaper accounts of these concerts are collected in Di Pasquale, “Dei concerti storici in Italia”, 45–48.

¹⁹ Cornelio Desimoni, [*Profilo biografico di Pier Costantino Remondini*], MS. [1893], Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana, Archivio Pier Costantino Remondini, quoted from Cornelio Desimoni, “Saggio storico sulla musica in Liguria” e “Sulla storia musicale genovese”: *Lecture fatte alla sezione di belle arti nella Società Ligure di Storia Patria (1865–1872)*, ed. by Maurizio Tarrini (Venezia: Fondazione Levi, 1987) 49.

²⁰ Maurizio Tarrini, “Pier Costantino Remondini e le ‘tornate musicali’ della sezione di archeologia della Società Ligure di Storia Patria (1875–76)”, *Musica a Genova tra medio evo e età moderna: Atti del convegno di studi, Genova, 8–9 aprile 1989*, ed. by Giampiero Buzelli (Genova: Associazione Ligure per la Ricerca della Fonti Musicali, 1992) 193–95.

²¹ *Concerto sacro-istorico che si darà nella sera del giovedì santo, 14 aprile 1881 alle 8 1/2 precise, Sala già Oratorio del Ginnasio Gioberti, via Principe Amedeo, 19* (Torino: Roux e Favale, 1881). See also Ennio Bassi, *Stefano Tempia e la sua Accademia di Canto Corale* (Torino: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1984) 72–80.

its chant. And it is precisely the fusion of these elements that initiates the period of modern music.²²

We do not know in detail which pieces were designed to demonstrate the proposal quoted here, for in the program book they are generically listed as “samples of lute music, compositions of the Flemish school played on violins, dances by Caroso for cello and lute, songs for solo voice with lute accompaniment”. However, in many of his writings (which I will introduce below), Chilesotti explicitly states that the earliest examples of tonal (i.e., modern) music were to be found in the frottoles and 16th-century dances, and that this new and proudly Italian artistic trend was destined to outclass the Flemish style. Once the genetic code of modern music and its land of origin had been identified in the course of the first concert, the second series of performances sketched the further advances of Italian secular (or chamber) music, both vocal and instrumental, consisting of frottoles, madrigals, cantatas, canzonas, and sonatas.

One must not think that enterprises of this sort made a very deep impact on public opinion. It is sufficient to remember that the Cappella Sistina emphatically revived its Renaissance repertoire only in the last decade of the century, and that in Milan, Palestrina’s *Missa papae Marcelli* had its first performance in modern times no earlier than 1890. That year followed the first modern performance in the same city of another Mass by Palestrina, the *Aeterna Christi munera*; about this performance the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* mentioned the small audience and regretted that the ancient polyphonic repertoire in Italy was being ignored.²³ Performances of secular music also witnessed a late revival, especially if we consider that Vecchi’s *Amfiparnaso* was heard no earlier than 1910, significantly, in Trieste, a city closely linked to the Austrian tradition of choral singing.²⁴

As for the publication of Renaissance music, it progressed in a similarly slow fashion. Let us take the case of the *Missa papae Marcelli*, one of the monuments most often named in the amateur and professional literature on music throughout the century: Its first edition, designed for popular diffusion, was finally printed by Ricordi in 1847.²⁵ One of the most ambitious series was the *Biblioteca di rarità musicali*, edited by Chilesotti and again printed by Ricordi between 1883 and 1915: It included pieces by Fabritio Caroso, Cesare Negri, Orazio Vecchi, and later Italian composers.²⁶ Luigi Torchi’s

²² “Si cercò di far comprendere quale influenza la melodia popolare abbia esercitato sullo sviluppo della musica moderna, fino ad ora non essendosi forse debitamente apprezzato quel fattore importantissimo dell’arte che fu il canto sorto dal popolo. Infatti per lungo tempo gli storici rivolsero esclusivamente la loro attenzione alla musica sacra, che invero fu da prima la sola *arte* musicale propriamente detta, e neglessero le umili origini di quella musica profana che doveva concorrere più tardi ad innalzare l’edificio maestoso dell’arte nostra. La melodia ritmica—anima della musica—bandita dal canto sacro, si era conservata nella danza e nella musica popolare, mentre lo spirito cristiano aveva creato dal canto suo l’armonia: è appunto la fusione di questi elementi che apre il periodo della musica moderna.” Cesare Pollini, “Illustrazione del secondo trattenimento di musica antica”, *Due trattenimenti di musica antica che daranno il D.r Oscar Chilesotti e il M.° Cesare Pollini...* (Roma: Tip. della Pace di F. Cuggiani, 1889) [1]; the booklet is reprinted in Di Pasquale, “Dei concerti storici in Italia”, 95–104.

²³ Michelangelo Gabbriellini, “La musica sacra”, *Milano musicale, 1861–1897*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999) 322–23.

²⁴ The programs realized by the Società Corale Teatrale of Trieste are reported in Margherita Canale Degrassi, *Le esecuzioni monteverdiane nell’attività delle prime società corali a Trieste* (Trieste: Comune and Cappella Civica, 1994) 31–65.

²⁵ See the review by Raimondo Boucheron in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 6/27 (7 July 1847) 209–11.

²⁶ Chilesotti’s editions are listed in Francesco Passadore, ed., “Bibliografia degli scritti di Oscar Chilesotti”, *Oscar Chilesotti, la musica antica e la musicologia storica*, 233–63.

widely circulated *L'arte musicale in Italia* started appearing only in 1898.²⁷ Finally, it is worth noting that, when it came to publishing his transcriptions of lute tablatures (apart from those appended to certain articles published in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* and the *Rivista musicale italiana*), Chilesotti generally turned to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.²⁸

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RENAISSANCE MUSIC. As we have seen, 19th-century historians concerned with civil life, letters, and the figurative arts—no matter what their nationality—described the Renaissance as an authentic Italian phenomenon that began in the early Trecento and lasted more than 200 years. But contemporary historians of music were unable, at first, to detect a parallel situation in their own field within those chronological limits, mainly because of the preference given to Flemish music and musicians in 15th- and 16th-century Italy. Even in light of the German idealistic conceptions of history, not to mention the typically Italian approaches dictated by patriotic feeling, this fact appeared to be irreconcilable with the assumption that the Renaissance was the distinctive expression of a well-defined national culture (even if, properly speaking, Italy was not yet a nation).

The difficulties encountered in solving this historiographical problem proved hard to resolve. They may be summarized as follows: (1) Flemish music was perceived as a medieval survivor: Its overwhelming contrapuntal devices and lack of *cantabile* melodic lines rendered it artificial and exceedingly intellectual; (2) nobody was well acquainted with any Italian compositions written before the 16th century—from the time of the *ars nova*, for example—until the late 19th century; (3) genres such as the frottola, villanella, lauda, and *canto carnascialesco* were studied very superficially and were not classed highly enough to oppose contemporary art (i.e., church) music, or, alternatively, they were considered to belong to the Flemish manner; (4) the 16th-century madrigal, or at least the madrigal of its earliest period, was also attributed to Flemish composers who lived in Italy.

All these opinions led music historians to view Palestrina's late output as a revolution in the course of music. The resulting situation was felt to be inherently incomparable with the late-medieval Flemish orientation. And the fact that Palestrina's works under consideration date from the last quarter of the 16th century did not prevent them from defining a *rinascimento* (new birth) or *risorgimento* (resurrection), even if it had little to do with the generally understood and (by then) already concluded Renaissance.

Those most convinced by that view were those most closely involved in the Roman Catholic faith, for many reasons. They were fascinated by the synchrony between the opening of a new epoch in the life of the Roman Church, the Counter-Reformation, and the turning point that Palestrina imposed on the development of music. On the other hand, they were not so fond of the Renaissance, for they believed it had encouraged unorthodox and pagan attitudes; hence, they preferred to attribute the advancements

²⁷ *L'arte musicale in Italia: Pubblicazione nazionale delle più importanti opere musicali italiane dal secolo XIV al XVIII, tratte da codici, antichi manoscritti ed edizioni primitive, scelte, trascritte in notazione moderna, messe in partitura, armonizzate ed annotate da L. Torchi* (Milano: Ricordi, 1898–1907) 7 vols.

²⁸ For a comparison with early music publishing abroad, see Leeman L. Perkins, "Published editions and anthologies of the 19th century: Music of the Renaissance or Renaissance music?", *La Renaissance et sa musique au XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Philippe Vendrix (Tours: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2004) 91–128. For more realistic information about the material available to 19th-century historians of music and musicians, however, one should also consider the compositions partially or completely included within monographic publications, journals, and bulletins.

achieved by humanity in the 16th century to other causes. Furthermore, the fact that progress in music had affected Italy before overflowing into any other country was excellent fodder for nourishing patriotic pride and strengthening the struggle for national independence.

Many of those themes surface in the writings of Gerolamo Alessandro Biaggi (1819–97), which were, for the most part, directed against “the manifest and universally recognized deterioration of religious music”.²⁹

The particular meaning that Biaggi assigned to *melodia* helps us to understand his view of the “resurrection of music”. The ideal source of the *melodia* is, indeed, the Christian chant of the Roman Church, elevated to the rank of a “natural and eternal principle” or primordial “instinct” of music, by definition endowed with a “perfection *sui generis*”.³⁰ The northern peoples, who oppressed Italy with the imposition of feudalism, infringed on that principle and turned to counterpoint, an artificial system which reached its ultimate, delirious heights with the Flemish. He thus explains as follows:

It [music] remained completely extraneous to the great and admirable intellectual movement that, initiated by Dante, arrived at Raphael, Michelangelo, Ariosto and Machiavelli (the *Risorgimento*, in a word).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, while poetry, sculpture and architecture triumphantly ran along avenues full of light and splendour, music vainly bustled about in the darkness, having completely lost the sentiment of *beauty*, adverse to any sound aesthetic intention and obstinately adverse to anything that could redeem it.³¹

In Biaggi’s opinion, Palestrina’s *Missa papae Marcelli* introduced the modern tonal system, which discarded medieval counterpoint and resurrected the *melodia*, stating it as a genuine national aesthetic principle: “The *Missa papae Marcelli* ... undisputedly is the cornerstone of the Italian art, of that art that later, and until our own day, was to be the art of the entire world”.³²

In conclusion, this musical *risorgimento* is more than a stylistic matter. It is the beginning of a long epoch in the history of music which, Biaggi contended, was still alive in his time and which was marked by the excellence of Italy above every other country. It is self-evident that, by means of music and with the aid of history, Biaggi was trying to confer a strong identity on his country and its culture.³³

Later in the century Oscar Chilesotti contributed new arguments to the definition of the musical Renaissance. Many of his studies are devoted to the so-called *melodia popolare*, which, in his view, was the spontaneous manifestation of the Italian folk. This kind of music—at the beginning timidly cultivated by improvising minstrels in the forms

²⁹ Gerolamo Alessandro Biaggi, *Della musica sacra e delle questioni inerenti* (Milano: F. Lucca, 1856) 5. Also relevant is his essay “La musica nel secolo XVI: Conferenza”, *La vita italiana nel Cinquecento. III: Arte* (Milano: Treves, 1894) 581–616, which substantially agrees with his earlier positions.

³⁰ Biaggi, *Della musica sacra*, 117–18.

³¹ “A quel grande e mirabile movimento intellettuale che iniziato da Dante giunse a Raffaello, al Buonarroti, all’Ariosto e al Machiavelli (al *Risorgimento*, in una parola), ella [la musica] rimase in tutto e per tutto estranea. Sul principio del secolo XVI mentre la poesia, la pittura, la scultura, l’architettura correvano trionfanti per le vie tutte luce e splendori, la musica anfanava nelle tenebre, smarrito affatto il sentimento del *bello*, avversa ad ogni sano intendimento estetico, avversa, e pertinacemente, a tutto ciò che poteva redimerla.” Biaggi, “La musica nel secolo XVI”, 591–92.

³² “La Messa di papa Marcello ... è, incontrastabilmente, la pietra angolare dell’arte italiana; di quell’arte italiana che fu poi, e sino a’ nostri giorni, l’arte di tutto il mondo.” *Ibid.*, 600.

³³ For a closer examination of Biaggi’s writings, see Marco Di Pasquale, “Immagini del rinascimento nella storiografia musicale italiana del secondo Ottocento: Due paradigmi”, *Musica e storia* 13/2 (August 2005) 279–322, particularly § 2 “Biaggi e l’immagine ‘confessionale’ del rinascimento”, 295–306.

of the ballata and canzone—grew stronger in the incipient Renaissance, supported by the fashion for solo singing with lute.³⁴

This *melodia popolare* was seen as a singing line that was determined by the laws of harmony, or, in other words, based on the harmonic scale instead of the melodic scale previously in use. On the other hand, lute accompaniment was an unobtrusive, quasi-tonal practice that allowed the melodic line to develop free from all contrapuntal constraint. The same was also true for the solo lute arrangements of those songs. Moreover, the *melodia popolare* was characterized by “its lively and marked rhythms, by diversified and regular forms, shaped, or rather, inspired by a new sentiment of beauty, in perfect accordance with the accents of folk poems.”³⁵

The *melodia popolare* enabled Chilesotti to view the start of the musical Renaissance to be the very beginning of the 16th century, or even earlier, and to describe it as an event pertaining to the secular realm of music. In the late 15th century the *melodia popolare* merged with the Flemish “scientific” compositional technique and originated the typical Italian genres of the frottola, villotta, and villanella, later developed in the madrigal and in opera. As Chilesotti put it,

The Italians soon rendered themselves the masters of the musical movement that until then had taken its impulse from the Flanders and, guided by a creative genius, established the original forms of the modern art. Only later, France and Germany entered the new way and founded schools in conformity with the national traditions and the special melodic and rhythmic tendencies of the tongue.³⁶

Chilesotti polemically emphasized that the *melodia popolare*, and not the Roman chant, was the true “eternal principle of the [musical] art”, and that the secular music that was composed in its wake also prepared the way for the change Palestrina was later to introduce into sacred music.³⁷

Chilesotti’s vision was indebted to both the evolutionary theory of Herbert Spencer, which he explicitly applied to music, and the ideas of the Italian liberal party, which was engaged in reinforcing the laicization of Italian state policy and was therefore ferociously anticlerical.³⁸

By the end of the century a more up-to-date image of the Renaissance was offered by Alfredo Untersteiner (1859–1917), a musician and musicologist who was fully aware of

³⁴ Oscar Chilesotti, *Sulla melodia popolare del Cinquecento: Saggio* (Milano: Ricordi, [1889]). On Chilesotti, see Giuseppe Vecchi, “La melodia popolare nel pensiero e nella ricerca filologica di Oscar Chilesotti”, *Chigiana: Rassegna annuale di studi musicologici* 23 (1966) 211–23; Giovanni Morelli, *Oscar Chilesotti: Diletto e scienza agli albori della musicologia italiana. Studi e ricerche*. Studi di musica veneto 12 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1987); and Ivano Cavallini, ed., *Oscar Chilesotti, la musica antica e la musicologia storica*.

³⁵ “Coi suoi ritmi vivaci, marcati, dalle forme varie e regolari, modellate, anzi ispirate, da un nuovo sentimento del bello, in accordo perfetto cogli accenti delle poesie popolari.” Chilesotti, *Sulla melodia popolare del Cinquecento*, 5.

³⁶ “Gl’italiani ben presto si resero padroni del movimento musicale che fino allora aveva avuto l’impulso dalle Fiandre e, guidati da un genio creatore, stabilirono le forme originarie dell’arte moderna. Solo più tardi la Francia e la Germania entrarono nella nuova via fondando scuole secondo le tradizioni nazionali e le speciali tendenze melodiche e ritmiche della lingua.” *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6. See also my “Dei concerti storici in Italia”, 73–76, for a deeper insight into his essay.

³⁸ The writings of Chilesotti that centered on the evolution of music are as follows: “Levoluzione della musica: Appunti sulla teoria di Herbert Spencer”, *Rivista musicale italiana* 5 (1898) 559–73, later expanded in a book bearing the same title (Milano: Ricordi, 1911), and “Levoluzione nella scrittura dei suoni musicali”, *Rivista musicale italiana* 8 (1901) 123–36. However, also referring to that theory are many of his articles on both the 16th-century lute repertoire and the comparative study of the scales in use in different musical cultures.

contemporary musicological literature, especially that in German.³⁹ From Untersteiner's point of view the history of Western art music began with Flemish composers, who should be classified into different schools and periods determined by the gradual release from medieval scholasticism and mysticism. However, shortly following this point (which for a while helped to check the fierce anti-Flemish attitude of Italian music historiography), he went on to say that Dufay was influenced by the Italian *ars nova* (at this date very recently rediscovered), as was Dunstaple, who "had perfected Italian technique and applied it to sacred music".⁴⁰ Untersteiner was then able to state that Flemish composers had been stimulated by Italian civilisation and that "[they] wrote their most celebrated works in Italy or after a stay there".⁴¹ In his final verdict, however, Flemish music was viewed as a phenomenon of only historical appeal for his own day, since it did not correspond to the modern sensibility, thanks to its modal style.

His Renaissance seems to find its start in the Florentine *ars nova* and folk music, so one suspects that he was attempting a chronological coincidence between the Renaissance in music and that of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Giotto. But in the end, as it turned out, the traditional interpretative attitude prevailed over that hypothesis, which, on the contrary, was accepted by Hugo Riemann in 1907, shortly after the appearance of important studies on Trecento music by Johannes Wolf and Friedrich Ludwig.⁴²

Ars nova and folk music were "modern", since they created free melodies that were tonally oriented and suggested a new manner to Flemish guests who—with Willaert—eventually gave up their native system of composition. Once he had demonstrated that the Italian musical stream had absorbed the creative activity of the Flemish, Untersteiner recognized the schools they had established in many Italian towns, such as Rome and Venice, in what to his eyes seemed to be authentically Renaissance (i.e., national) terms. So, for instance, Palestrina was trained at the school of Goudimel, and for that reason his output must be divided into two segments: the first belonged to the Flemish style; the second, which was new and truly Italian, was heralded by the *Missa papae Marcelli*. With Palestrina the Renaissance age reached its climax with regard to both classical perfection—thus permitting the comparison with Raphael—and its upper chronological limit.

Untersteiner was imbued with the principles of positivistic historiography (probably of German origin), but his judgment was in some measure determined by the then current Italian penchant for an idealistic, aesthetic criticism committed to the strenuous defense of Italian honor.⁴³

We have rapidly and—it must be confessed—superficially viewed various attitudes in dealing with the musical past. The conceptions of the Renaissance we have dealt

³⁹ Untersteiner published his *Storia della musica* (Milano: Hoepli) in 1893 and revised it through a fourth edition in 1916. He is also the author of *Storia del violino, dei violinisti e della musica per violino* (Milano: Hoepli, 1904; 2nd ed., 1906).

⁴⁰ Untersteiner, *Storia della musica* (1916) 68.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁴² See Friedrich Blume, "Renaissance", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) vol. 11, cols. 224–80.

⁴³ For more details, see Di Pasquale, "Immagini del rinascimento nella storiografia musicale italiana del secondo Ottocento", § 3 "Untersteiner e l'immagine 'scientifica' del rinascimento", 306–37.

with reliably witness successive degrees in the development of modern musicology and, what is most relevant, in its historical approach. Advancements surely took place as a consequence of a widening of the documentary foundations, but even more important, in my opinion, were factors such as the logical consecration of history that occurred in the second half of the 19th century and the new interest in real history, as opposed to spiritualistic speculation.

Quite obviously Italian images of the musical Renaissance share many patterns with contemporary historical visions developed in neighboring countries.⁴⁴ Of course many were charmed by Palestrina and Italy, but the reasons for this were quite different from those stated by the Italian historians. From different historical perspectives Biaggi, Chilesotti, and Untersteiner were not only trying to understand the past, but were also trying to answer the questions posed by the period in which they lived. As everyone knows, in the second half of the 19th century Italian music was losing the prestige it had enjoyed internationally in past centuries, and history seemed the only means available to counter that bitter decline.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Jessie Ann Owens, "Music historiography and the definition of 'Renaissance'", *Notes: Quarterly journal of the Music Library Association* 47/2 (December 1990) 305–30.

THE FOUNDERS OF CROATIAN MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: MUSIC, HISTORY, POLITICS, AND IDEOLOGY

Sanja Majer-Bobetko

ODSJEK ZA POVIJEST HRVATSKE GLAZBE

ZAVOD ZA POVIJEST HRVATSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI, KAZALIŠTA I GLAZBE

HRVATSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI

The scholarly project *Croatian music historiography up to 1945*, funded by the Croatian Ministry of Sciences and Technology, has been underway since 1996 with the participation of Sanja Majer-Bobetko, Zdravko Blažeković, and Gorana Doliner, and the first phase, which focused on the investigation of 19th-century Croatian music historiography, has been completed. The work included the compilation of a bibliography of over 400 published and manuscript sources, and a comparative analysis of historiographic writings examined in the context of contemporaneous research. The bibliography contains works by Croatian authors who worked in Croatia or abroad as well as works by authors from other countries who dealt with historical issues of Croatian music. The bibliography, planned to be available on the Internet, is organized in the following way:

1. published sources
 - a. monographs, lexicons, encyclopedias, dictionaries
 - b. articles published in music periodicals
 - c. articles published in daily newspapers, cultural journals, and collections
2. manuscripts
3. contemporaneous reprints and critical editions

Some research on topics relevant for Croatian music historiography had already been done before the beginning of this project, although scholars were doing it individually, sporadically, and were concentrating on particular issues. For example, Lovro Županović published Franjo Ksaver Kuhač's *Historijski uvod* (Historical introduction) to the monograph *Ilirski glazbenici* (The Illyrian musicians), originally written in the 1890s.¹

¹ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Ilirski glazbenici: Prilozi za povijest hrvatskoga preporoda* [The Illyrian musicians: Contributions for the history of Croatian revival], ed. by Lovro Županović (repr. of 1893 ed., Zagreb: Hrvatska Sveučilišna Naklada, 1994).

Dubravka Franković dealt with research on Croatian Baroque music in 19th-century Croatian historiography.² Josip Andreis worked on music-related entries in *Hrvatska enciklopedija* (Croatian encyclopedia), published in Osijek in 1887 and 1890,³ and Mirjana Škunca and Marija Janaček-Buljan wrote on Kuhač's historiographic work.⁴ The current project has revealed three important figures in 19th-century Croatian music historiography: Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911; born as Franz Xaver Koch), Vjenceslav Novak (1859–1905), and Vjekoslav Klaić (1849–1928).⁵

FRANJO KSAVER KUHAČ. Inspired by the ideas of the Croatian National Revival (1835–48), at the age of 37 (1871) Kuhač changed his German name Franz Xaver Koch to the Croatian Franjo Ksaver Kuhač. By awakening patriotic awareness the National Revival put into motion in Croatia a process of constituting the nation in the modern sense of the word; it also prepared Croats of northern Croatia and Slavonia to resist Hungarian domination. However, the movement meant not only a political but also a cultural revival among Croats, and it affected all areas of cultural life, including music. The two most important traits required of Croatian music at the time were, first, to have a connection with the life of the nation and, second, to have true artistic quality. But the 1848–49 revolution was followed by Habsburg absolutism in the 1850s, known as the period of Bach's absolutism, which terminated Croatian cultural efforts,⁶ and the ideology of the movement became subdued. However, with respect to music, the period was revived with Kuhač's articles from after the 1870s.

Born in Osijek, educated in Osijek, Buda, and Vienna—where he apparently attended Eduard Hanslick's lectures in music history and aesthetics at the University—Kuhač finally moved to Zagreb in 1871 and stayed there until his death. Together with Ivan Zajc (1832–1914), the most prominent composer of the time, he marked the whole period with his activities, what prompted the musicologist Lovro Županović to name this period in the history of Croatian music as the period of Ivan Zajc and Franjo Kuhač.⁷

² Dubravka Franković, "Hrvatska u devetnaestom stoljeću o glazbi svoje barokne epohe" [Music of the Croatian Baroque epoch in 19th-century Croatian writings], *Arti musices* 18/1–2 (1987) 55–78.

³ Josip Andreis, "Glazba u Hrvatskoj enciklopediji s kraja prošloga stoljeća" [Music in the Croatian encyclopedia at the end of the 19th century], *Arti musices* 13/1 (1982) 11–16. The encyclopedia, of which appeared two volumes with letters A to G, was the first attempt at a general encyclopedic guide in Croatia. Entries on topics concerning music show that the situation in Croatia was premature for producing an adequate reference work.

⁴ Mirjana Škunca, "Franjo Kuhač kao muzički historičar" [Franjo Kuhač as a music historian], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 351 (1969) 287–324; idem, "Kuhačevo proučavanje hrvatske glazbene prošlosti" [Kuhač's research of Croatian music history], *Franjo Š. Kuhač: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834–1911)*, ed. by Jerko Bezić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1984) 405–40; Marija Janaček-Buljan, *Iz neobjavljenih spisa Franje Kuhača: Prilozi za povijest hrvatske glazbe* [From unpublished writings of Franjo Kuhač: Contributions for the history of Croatian music] (M.A. thesis, Zagreb: Muzička Akademija, 1982); idem, "Kuhačev plan za stvaranje povijesti glazbe Južnih Slavena" [Kuhač's outline for creating a history of South Slav music], *Arti musices* 15/1 (1984) 21–36.

⁵ The philosopher and aesthetician Franjo Marković (1845–1914) should also be included in this group for reasons explained later in the text.

⁶ Alexander Bach (1813–93) was Minister of the Interior in the Austrian government between 1850 and 1860, and under his strong hand the Viennese imperial court introduced a rigid policy of centralized administration.

⁷ This period used to be named after Ivan Zajc till 1980, when Lovro Županović in his book *Stoljeća hrvatske glazbe* [Centuries of Croatian music] put forward an argument that Kuhač's work was equally important to stand along Zajc, and both music personalities should be considered as central for the advancement of music culture. See Lovro Županović, *Stoljeća hrvatske glazbe* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1980) 203; translated as *Centuries of Croatian music* (Zagreb: Muzički Informativni Centar Koncertne Direkcije Zagreb, 1989) vol. 2, 121.

Today Kuhač is considered primarily the founder of ethnomusicology (comparative musicology) in Croatia, but because of the extraordinarily wide scope of his activities, he can also be considered the founder of Croatian musicology, and in particular music historiography. His enormous energy enabled him to produce an outstanding opus in all the fields he dealt with.

Franjo Kuhač was highly prolific in collecting, transcribing, and arranging folksongs. In four volumes of his *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke* (South Slav folk songs), published between 1878 and 1881, he included 1600 songs. The fifth volume, containing 400 tunes, was prepared by Božidar Širola (1889–1956) and Vladoje Dukat (1861–1944) and published in 1941, and the sixth volume was prepared by Vinko Žganec (1890–1976) but was never published.⁸ More than half of the transcribed



Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (ca. 1905)

material originates in Croatia (mainly Slavonia), including 106 Croatian songs from Burgenland, five songs from the Pécs region, and four songs from Moravia. Other regions represented in the collection include Slovenia, Vojvodina (mainly Srem), Serbia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

Although Kuhač had predecessors in collecting, transcribing, and arranging folk tunes in Croatia,⁹ he was the first to do it systematically and to write scholarly studies on the subject. And, in my opinion, that makes him the founder of Croatian ethnomusicology. Besides occasional comments in *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*, he wrote numerous studies about the nature of Croatian folk music, and more importantly, he produced a detailed study about the methodology of folk-tune transcription.¹⁰ His interest in folk music led him down the path of both collecting and writing about musical instruments as well.¹¹ Among his ethnomusicological studies, *Osobine narodne glazbe, naročito hrvatske* (Characteristics of folk music, especially Croatian) was his most outstanding work; it reveals a stunning synthesis and “marks the crowning achievement of his many years of systematic study.”¹² While on the one hand he correctly recognized the necessity of scholarly research of musical folklore, on the other hand, he treated similarities of music and speech as equally important (and in this, he anticipated 20th-century musical semantics and semiotics!) and attempted to define music by creating laws and normative aesthetics. His belief that it is possible to create a “Croatian musical

⁸ Kuhač's four published volumes became a valuable source of folk tunes used by the whole generation of Croatian composers following the so-called (neo)national orientation, which dominated all other styles (late Romanticism, impressionism, neoclassicism, expressionism, contributions to socially engaged music) between the two world wars.

⁹ The first, quite modest efforts to transcribe folk music in Croatia were made in Dalmatia by Petar Hektorović (1487–1572) in 1556 and by Julije Bajamonti (1744–1800). At the time of the National movement Stanko Vraz (1810–51), Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–54), and Karlo Catinelli (Catinelli Obradić [Obradović] Bevilacqua, 1807–64) made efforts to transcribe folk music. The most important among them was Karlo Catinelli, who intended to publish the series *Južno-slavljsanske pučke pjesme* [South Slav folk songs], but he managed to publish in Vienna, probably in 1849, only the first volume of *Pjesme iz Slavonije* [Songs from Slavonia].

¹⁰ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Dvie rasprave: Zadaća melografa i Vrijednost pučkih popijevaka* [Two studies: The task of the folk music collector and The value of folk tunes] (Zagreb: Komisionalna naklada knjižare Dioničke Tiskare, 1892).

¹¹ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, “Prilog za poviest glasbe južnoslovenske: Kulturno-historijska studija” [A contribution to the history of South Slav music: Cultural-historical study], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije* 38 (1877) 2–78; 39 (1877) 65–114; 41 (1877) 1–48; 45 (1878) 1–49; 50 (1879) 44–95; 62 (1882) 134–86.

¹² Županović, *Centuries of Croatian music*, vol. 2, 191.

grammar” which Croatian composers should use in their compositions in order to produce Croatian music in every detail shows that Kuhač made no distinction between his national ideas about music and its aesthetic aspects.¹³

Being in the first place an ideologist with a national approach to music, in his writings Kuhač pleaded for the creation of an authentically national form of musical expression, one that would provide a recognizable identity for the nation. This was the reason, according to him, that art music should be based on folk music. In addition, the purpose of music should be to serve utilitarian aims of universal importance.

Kuhač’s efforts actually marked the beginning of systematic scholarly research in the history of music in Croatia, which resulted in many articles, essays, and studies, the first among them *Über die nationale Musik und ihre Bedeutung in der Weltmusik* (1869).¹⁴ Although the history of Croatian music was in the foreground of his research, he was interested also in general music history if it had some repercussion on Croatian music, and he produced studies of Haydn’s and Beethoven’s orchestral compositions, and the Austrian *Kaiserhymne* by Haydn (*Gott erhalte Franz der Kaiser*).¹⁵ His research on early Croatian Romanticism resulted in a series of musician portraits (*Ilirski glazbenici*) and in a monograph study of the life and works of Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–54), to name only the most prominent among them.¹⁶ His life’s work was to collect data on Croatian musicians and on all those who contributed to the musical life of Croatia in the past, because he planned to publish *Biografski i muzikografski slovník* (Biographical and musicographical dictionary). However, the idea was never realized and, together with his studies *Kajdopis u Slavena* (Music notation of the Slavs, 1890/1897) and *Die musikalische Orthographie* (1895), it remained unpublished. Kuhač was also the first in Croatia to use the term “musicology” (meaning ethnomusicology) in his published writings, as early as 1886.¹⁷

However, his conviction that music historiography, just like music itself, ought to endorse and promote national identity sometimes interfered with his scholarly objectivity in the interpretation of historical facts, and occasionally led him to arbitrary conclusions. Among them the best known examples include articles on the Croatian origins of Joseph Haydn, Franz Liszt, and Giuseppe Tartini.¹⁸ For the same reason his *Historijski uvod* (Historical introduction) to the monograph *Ilirski glazbenici* (The Illyrian musicians) was not accepted for publication when it was written in 1893, since the publisher of the volume, Matica Hrvatska, considered it too chauvinistic. Only

¹³ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Osobine narodne glazbe, naročito hrvatske* [Characteristics of folk music, especially Croatian] (Zagreb, 1909).

¹⁴ A Croatian translation of the study, “O narodnoj glasbi i njezinu značenju u svjetskoj muzici”, was published in *Narodne novine* 35/148, 149, 150 (1869).

¹⁵ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, “Josip Haydn i hrvatske narodne popievke” [Joseph Haydn and Croatian folk tunes], *Vienac* 12/13 (1880) 202–06; 12/14 (1880) 217–20; 12/15 (1880) 241–43; 12/16 (1880) 254–56; 12/17 (1880) 272–75; 12/19 (1880) 301–03; 12/20 (1880) 317–18; 12/22 (1880) 356–59; 12/24 (1880) 387–91; 12/25 (1880) 403–04; 12/26 (1880) 418–19; 12/27 (1880) 433–35; 12/28 (1880) 452–54; 12/29 (1880) 466–70; “Beethoven i hrvatske narodne popievke” (Beethoven and Croatian folk songs), *Prosvjeta* 2/17 (1894) 535–38; 2/18 (1894) 562–63; 2/19 (1894) 588–91.

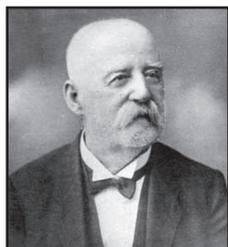
¹⁶ Kuhač, *Ilirski glazbenici* [The Illyrian musicians] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1893) and *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba* [Vatroslav Lisinski and his time] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1887; 2nd ed., Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1904).

¹⁷ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, “Muzikologija” [Musicology], *Vienac* 18/35 (28 August 1886) 555–56.

¹⁸ Kuhač’s assertion about Haydn’s Croatian ancestry attracted followers in England where it was accepted by William Henry Hadow, who published the study *A Croatian composer: Notes toward the study of Joseph Haydn* (London: Seeley & Co., 1897; repr. ed., Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972). Excerpts from the book are available at www.hr/darko/etf/hadow.html.

since the 1980s was its historical value reevaluated and recognized as the first history of Croatian music. It was finally published in 1994.

On the other hand, Kuhač won lasting merit in the history of music research in Croatia and in Croatian culture in general. His work enabled qualified writing and speaking about music, particular in music pedagogy, since his translation of J. Chr. Lobe's *Katechismus der Musik*¹⁹ was the first attempt to create a standard Croatian musical terminology, about 48% of which is still used in practice.²⁰



Vjekoslav Klaić

VJEKOSLAV KLAJĆ focused his interest in the field of music historiography mainly on the period of the Croatian National Movement.²¹ Some of his biographical studies are still relevant and respectable sources. First of all his studies on Georg Karl Wisner von Morgenstern and Vatroslav Lisinski should be mentioned.²² While Lisinski had already been recognized as the most significant Croatian composer of the National Revival in Kuhač's monograph and in other articles,²³ Klaić was the first to write about the significance of Wisner,²⁴ who had often

¹⁹ Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Katekizam glasbe* [Catechism of music] (Zagreb: Dragutin Albrecht, 1875; 2nd rev. ed., Lavoslav Hartman; Kugli i Deutsch, 1889).

²⁰ Branko Rakijaš, "Značenje Kuhačeva *Katekizma glasbe* u našoj muzičkoj teoriji i praksi" [The importance of Kuhač's *Katekizam glasbe* for Croatian music theory and practice], *Arti musices* 2 (1971) 150.

²¹ Vjekoslav Klaić studied history and geography in Vienna (1869–72). Between 1893 and 1922 (with a break in 1906–08) he was professor of general history at Zagreb University, and in 1902–03 he was its rector. His major work is *Povjest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća* [History of Croats from the earliest times till the end of the 19th century, 5 vols.]. Klaić edited literary journals *Hrvatska lipa* (1875) and *Vienac* (1882–89). While he was still a student of the Zagreb Seminary (1863–67) he became interested in music and founded an orchestra. Later Klaić became an outstanding organizer of musical life as a journalist, historiographer, conductor (he founded an amateur orchestra in the Zagreb Grammar School, 1878–83 and the Diletantski orkestar Hrvatskoga sokola, 1882–91) and composer (choral music and solo songs). He edited a collection of songs called *Hrvatska pjesmarica* [Croatian song book, 1893], and together with Vjenceslav Novak edited the music journal *Gusle: Časopis za svjetovnu i Crkvenu glazbu* (1892). His contributions to Croatian musical culture were his studies on music history as well as almost 40 years of voluntary service on the board of the Hrvatski Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod in Zagreb (and its vice-president from 1890 till his death).

²² Vjekoslav Klaić, "Juraj Wisner pl. Morgenstern", *Gusle: Časopis za svjetovnu i Crkvenu glazbu* 1/1 (1892) 3–4; 1/2 (1892) 11–12; 1/3 (1892) 19; *Vatroslav Lisinski i prve dvije hrvatske opere* [Vatroslav Lisinski and the first two Croatian operas] (Zagreb: St. Kugli, 1919).

²³ Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–54) changed his name from Ignac Fuchs. In Zagreb he studied philosophy (1837–40) and law (1840–42), and also took private music lessons (until 1837 with Juraj Sojka and until 1847 with Wisner von Morgenstern). Having been too old to enter the conservatory in Prague he studied music privately with Karl Franz Pitsch and Jan Bedřich Kittl (1847–50). In 1842–47 Lisinski was an unpaid clerk and in 1850–52 an unpaid organizer, conductor, and member of the committee charged with the drafting of the Zagreb Musikverein's new constitution. Having failed to make a living by giving piano lessons and on occasional donations he gave up composing and became a court clerk in 1852. In 1841–52 Lisinski composed 145 pieces, mostly in the manner of early Romanticism. In some pieces sounds of both Czech and Croatian folk music are evoked. He was the most talented and significant Croatian composer in the first half of the 19th century. Even as a very young composer Lisinski composed the first Croatian national opera *Ljubav i zloba* [Love and malice]. The first performance on 28 March 1846 in Zagreb by amateurs was immediately a huge success, which meant "a moment of victory for the Illyrian ideas and ideals" (Josip Andreis), though it is still composed predominantly in the manner of Italian opera. His second opera, *Porin* (completed in 1851) was more accomplished and closer to the notion of a national opera of the time, but was first performed only in 1897. Lisinski's masterpieces belong to the genres of lied (on Croatian, German, and Czech texts) and choral music. His orchestral music is best represented by the overture *Bellona* (1849) and by the idyll *Der Abend* (1850). Of minor importance are his piano pieces (dances and marches). Lisinski also wrote the text *Theorie der Tonsetzkunst nach den Vorträgen des Direktors K. Pič* which remained unpublished.

²⁴ Karl Georg Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855) was born in Arad (today Romania). He came to Croatia as secretary and chamber musician to Count Erdődy. When he settled in Zagreb in about 1819 he began to work as a cathedral singer, a violinist in the theater orchestra, teacher at both the music school and for private lessons, conductor, organizer, and composer. At present we know about 30 of his compositions preserved in collections in Croatia, Austria,

been marginalized previously. Klaić, who displayed a high degree of integrity and even courage at the time, correctly evaluated Wisner as the key person in Zagreb's musical life before Lisinski made his public appearance in the 1840s, and it seems that he was the most significant musician in Zagreb even during Lisinski's public activities.²⁵ However, because of his potential German extraction and privileged situation in obtaining the positions he held in Zagreb, Kuhač neglected him in his writings, in addition to the fact that Wisner did not follow the aesthetic ideas of national orientation in his compositions, which, for Kuhač, was the crucial element.

Almost 40 years of voluntary work as a board member of the Hrvatski Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod in Zagreb (which started as the Musikverein in 1827) enabled Klaić to write the first relevant articles about that institution,²⁶ and here again he took a stand against Kuhač's interpretations of both the beginnings of the Musikverein and the role of Lisinski and Wisner within the society. Kuhač claimed that the true founder of the Musikverein was the Croatian guitar virtuoso and composer Ivan Padovec (1800–73), while Wisner took that role away from him, resulting in Padovec's departure from Zagreb.²⁷ Klaić argued that Wisner's role in the founding of the Zagreb musical society had been critical and that he had had nothing to do with Padovec's decision to leave and pursue his career abroad.²⁸

The situation with Lisinski is more complex. Unlike Wisner, Lisinski was recognized early on by music historiographers as the most significant and talented Croatian composer of the first half of the 19th century, although he did not manage to make a significant professional success comparable to Wisner's and was not able to secure his material existence with his musical activities. Historiographers explain his misfortune in different ways. Kuhač was convinced that Lisinski did not get a paid appointment at the music school of the Musikverein because of the anti-Croatian attitude among the members of the society's board.²⁹ Klaić, however, pointed out that Lisinski did not have a formal music education (i.e., he did not graduate from conservatory) and therefore could not be hired for a paid position. As a historian Klaić should have taken into account some other circumstances, particularly the political context. The reason for not doing so might have been his loyalty to the Musikverein, where he was a member of the board. The neglected circumstances were pointed out some 80 years later by Lovro Županović (1925–2004), namely, Lisinski was the protégé of the Croatian *ban* (viceroy) Josip Jelačić (1801–59). According to Županović, "Jelačić, who at that time still enjoyed considerable authority in Zagreb and in Croatia, saw Lisinski as the most suitable figure to stimulate the development of Croatian musical culture. Besides, he generously supported all of the Musikverein's projects and was the society's supporting member."³⁰ Careful not to antagonize its benefactor, the management paid lip service to Lisinski, entrusting him

Slovakia, and Hungary.

²⁵ Nada Bezić, "Prilozi za biografiju Georga (Jurja) Karla Wisnera von Morgensterna, uoči 150. obljetnice smrti" [Contributions to the biography of Georg (Juraj) Karl Wisner von Morgenstern, on the coming 150th anniversary of his death], *Arti musices* 35/1 (2004) 47.

²⁶ Vjekoslav Klaić, "Osnutak glasbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu" [The founding of the music institute in Zagreb], *Izviješće narod. zem. glasn. zavoda u Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 1889–90) 3–7; "Die Gründung des Musik-Institutes in Agram", *Agramer Tagblatt* 5/172–173 (1890); "Vatroslav Lisinski, kao nadzornik Glazbene škole u Zagrebu (1851–1854)." [Vatroslav Lisinski as the supervisor of the Zagreb music school (1851–1854)], *Sveta Cecilija* 13/1 (1919) 2–7, 13/2 (1919) 37–40.

²⁷ Kuhač, *Ilirski glazbenici*, 98.

²⁸ Klaić, "Osnutak glasbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu", 3, 4.

²⁹ Kuhač, *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba* (1904) 110–11.

³⁰ Županović, *Centuries of Croatian music*, vol. 2, 76–77.

with important but unpaid responsibilities as a member of the society's board and the supervisor of its school. In the latter function he himself wrote the *Schulordnung* with the famous paragraph 18 which says that the job of school supervisor is unpaid. He was carrying out his duties, hoping to get some paid job what has never materialized. Trying to look for the truth behind the preserved documents Županović incorrectly concluded that Jelačić's loss of power influenced the Musikverein to change "its attitude to Lisinski appreciably, until eventually he was removed from the Society."³¹ Although Lisinski was not formally removed from the society, the situation with Jelačić must have been discouraging, causing, at least partly, Lisinski's loss of hope that he would secure a paid position for himself there. Such a situation led him to give up composing and in 1852 to become a court clerk. Županović simply believed that the Musikverein could and should have done more for Lisinski. But everything was done perfectly legally. Thus, taking into account all the facts in the case, both Kuhač and Klaić were right. Each one insisted only on that aspect of the problem that fit his own interpretation better, and probably neither was able to see the complete picture. From greater historical distance Županović tried to see some new pieces of the historical puzzle. His main opponent was Ladislav Šaban (1918–85) who followed Klaić's interpretation and wrote articles on the basis of preserved documents.³² The story about Lisinski is still of interest to Croatian historiographers. The most recent examination of the case was made by Nada Bezić who outlined the chronology of misunderstandings in the interpretation.³³

Klaić also came into conflict with Kuhač when he wrote an intriguing study about the rousing songs of the National Revival, and in particular about *Još Hrvatska ni propala* (Croatia hasn't fallen yet).³⁴ Questioning the authorship of Ferdo Wiesner Livadić (1799–1878), which was Kuhač's correct attribution, Klaić stirred controversy among intellectuals, which was reflected even in some later reminiscences on the topic.³⁵ A better outcome of his broad interest and general historical knowledge was his essay on Juraj Križanić (1617/18–83) and his treatise *Asserta musicalia*, which was the first significant essay about this music theorist.³⁶ Finally, both Kuhač and Klaić promoted the idea of introducing music theory and history into the curriculum of Zagreb University.³⁷

³¹ Ibid., 77.

³² Ladislav Šaban, "Sukob Vatroslava Lisinskog s nastavnicima" [Vatroslav Lisinski's conflict with teachers], *Zvuk: Jugoslaveriska muzičku revija* 96–97 (1969) 260–67; idem, "Suvišnost starih nesporazuma oko Vatroslava Lisinskog" [Superfluity of old misunderstandings about Vatroslav Lisinski], *Muzika* 14/3 (1969) 106–12.

³³ Nada Bezić, "Upornost starih nesporazuma oko Vatroslava Lisinskog" [Persistence of old misunderstandings about Vatroslav Lisinski], *Ladislav Šaban: Ostavština za budućnost. Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog susreta u povodu 20. obljetnice smrti akademika Ladislava Šabana održanog 26. rujna 2005. godine u Varaždinu*, ed. by Miroslav Šicel (Varaždin: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zavod za Znanstveni Rad; Varaždinske Barokne Večeri, 2006) 63–74.

³⁴ Vjekoslav Klaić, "Kako je postala pjesma *Još Hrvatska ni propala*" [How the song *Još Hrvatska ni propala* was created], *Vienac* 24/23 (1892) 363–66; "Crtrice o porijeklu nekih 'ilirskih' popievaka" [Notes about the origin of some "Illyrian" songs], *Gusle: Časopis za svjetovnu i Crkvenu glazbu* 1/6 (1892) 46–47; 1/7 (1892) 51–52; 1/8 (1892) 62–63; 1/9 (1892) 66–69.

³⁵ The most recent contribution to it has been written by Dubravka Franković, "Je li Ljudevit Gaj, u svibnju 1869. godine u Zagrebu, kazivao Franji Ks. Kuhaču o postanku davorije *Još Hrvatska ni propala*?" [Did Ljudevit Gaj recount the tale on the origins of the patriotic song *Još Hrvatska ni propala* to Franjo Ks. Kuhač in May 1869 in Zagreb?], *Iz starog i novog Zagreba* 7 (1996) 201–09.

³⁶ Vjekoslav Klaić, "Gjuro Križanić kao glasbenik" [Gjuro Križanić as a musician], *Gusle: Časopis za svjetovnu i Crkvenu glazbu* 1/4 (1892) 25–27.

³⁷ For details on Klaić's music-historiographical work see Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Prinosi Vjekoslava Klaića hrvatskoj glazbenoj historiografiji" [Vjekoslav Klaić's contributions to Croatian music historiography], *Vjekoslav Klaić: Život i djelo. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa o životu i djelu Vjekoslava Klaića u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja i 70. obljetnice smrti*



Vjenceslav Novak

VJENCESLAV NOVAK. The idea to teach the history of music at Zagreb University was not carried out at the time, but it was introduced into the curriculum of the music school of the Hrvatski Zemaljski Glasbeni Zavod in the last decade of the 19th century, and the first teacher was Vjenceslav Novak.³⁸ As he was primarily a pedagogue and not a researcher, his writings on music historiography were aimed at teaching and were mainly based on secondary sources. Among them the most important is his general survey of music history, written during the 1890s. Models and sources for Novak's history were August Wilhelm

Musiol, Emil Naumann, and especially Bernhard Kothe with his work *Abriss der allgemeinen Musikgeschichte für Lehrerseminare und Dilettanten* (Leipzig 1874). The influences of these works are reflected in Novak's division of music history into three great epochs: (1) The Music of Ancient Peoples; (2) Christian Music up to ca. 1600; and (3) The Age of the Flowering of Dramatic and Classical Music, and the Newest Endeavours from 1600. Novak was an evolutionist who believed in music's progress from simpler to more complicated, from lower to higher forms. Of particular value in Novak's general survey of music history is his attempt to include information about the histories of the South Slavic peoples, and especially Croats. In this effort he used mostly published works such as Kuhač's *Ilirski glazbenici*, but did not take advantage of Kuhač's manuscripts, especially his *Grada za biografsko-muzikografski slovník* (Material for a biographical and musicographical dictionary).

In any case, Novak's manuscript is the first general music history written in the Croatian language. Following the models represented in the books of recognized authorities and with interpolated chapters on South Slav histories of music, and in particular on Croatia, his *Povijest glazbe* (History of music) provided basic ideas about 19th-century music historiography and, in manuscript form, served music history teachers even during the period between the two world wars.³⁹ For us today it represents a historical testimony to the state of music historiography in Croatia at the end of the 19th century.

FRANJO MARKOVIĆ. Novak's manuscript was not published until 1994,⁴⁰ and thus the first periodization of music history appearing in print in Croatia was not his. Instead, it was presented within an aesthetic system in Franjo Marković's book *Razvoj i sustav obćenite estetike* (Development and system of general aesthetics), published in Zagreb in

1849.–1928.–1998./1999, ed. by Dragan Milanović (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu; Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski Institut za Povijest, Podružnica za Povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2000) 245–58.

³⁸ Primarily renowned as a representative of Realism in Croatian literature, Vjenceslav Novak was actively engaged in music, which, after all, was his real profession. He studied music at the Prague conservatory, where he graduated as organist (1886) and music teacher (1887). He wrote articles on history, pedagogy, theory, and aesthetics, as well as the first textbooks on harmony in the Croatian language: *Priprava k nauci o glazbenoj harmoniji* [Introduction to the study of music harmony, 1889] and *Nauk o glazbenoj harmoniji* [The study of music harmony, 1890].

³⁹ Dubravka Franković, "Još o povijesti 'povijesti glazbe' Vjenceslava Novaka" [More about the history of "music history" by Vjenceslav Novak], *Kolo: Časopis Matice hrvatske* 12/1 (2002) 19–34.

⁴⁰ A critical edition was prepared and an introductory study was written by Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Povijest glazbe Vjenceslava Novaka" [Povijest glazbe (History of music) by Vjenceslav Novak], *Croatica: Primosi proučavanju hrvatske književnosti* 25/40–41 (1994) 1–200.

1903.⁴¹ (The earliest attempt was Kuhač's proposal for the periodization of the music history of the South Slavs, which was based on completely different premises than Marković's and was much closer to modern anthropological concepts, though it was published in 1875.⁴² He made no attempt to present a general periodization of music history.) As a philosopher and aesthetician rather than music historian or musicologist, Marković presented his periodization of music history primarily based on aesthetic criteria. He considered instrumental music to speak most completely to the essence of the art of music; therefore, it became the basic criterion of his periodization, which he divided into five periods that parallel five forms of beauty:⁴³ the religious age, the classical instrumental music age, Romanticism (lyrical age and coloristic and declamatory age), and naturalism. Marković considered the entire history of music before Palestrina to be only a preparatory period, one which he named "preparatory prehistory of music" ("pripravno pradoba glasbe"). However, his periodization had no influence on Croatian music historiography.⁴⁴

The first general music history published in Croatian was *Kratka povjest glazbe* (Short history of music), by the canon, organist, music teacher, composer, and regens chori of the Sarajevo Cathedral Stjepan Hadrović (1863–1934). The book was published in Zagreb in 1911 and was modelled after Kothé's *Abriss der allgemeinen Musikgeschichte für Lehrerseminare und Dilettanten* and Kuhač's *Ilirski glazbenici*.⁴⁵ Like Novak, he added to his work a history of Croatian music based, as indicated in the subtitle, on Kuhač's writings. Unlike Novak, Hadrović managed to publish his study, and it remained the only printed general history of music by a Croatian author until 1942, when Josip Andreis (1909–82) and Hubert Pettan (1912–89) published their surveys.⁴⁶

Croatian music historiography of the second half of the 19th century, when it actually started to develop, has importance as a historical fact of its own. But recent historiographical analysis must, of course, include strict verification of the credibility of all music-historiographical texts of that time, because the information and interpretations are too frequently unreliable. On the other hand, all these texts retain the interest of today's researchers as testimonies to the achievement of writers on music and to the standard of music-historiographical publications in Croatia. And that standard—

⁴¹ Interest in music of the Croatian philosopher, aesthetician, literary critic, and writer Franjo Marković was unquestionable, and it was shown not only in his studies, reviews, and librettos, but also in his membership in the choral society.

⁴² *Vienac* 7/32 (1875) 521. This periodization was published by August Šenoa in his article "Dva hrvatska glazbenika: Zajc i Koch" [Two Croatian musicians: Zajc and Koch], *Vienac* 7/25 (1875) 406–09; 7/26 (1875) 423–24; 7/27 (1875) 436–38; 7/28 (1875) 451–52; 7/30 (1875) 487–88; 31 (1875), 503–04, 7/32 (1875) 520–21, and reprinted in the article by Zdravko Blažeković in this volume (p. 209).

⁴³ These are as follows: (1) strength, vitality, completeness (jačina, živost, potpunost); (2) harmony (and unity) [sklad (i jedinstvo)]; (3) particular characteristics or form of characteristic feature [osobinska obilježnost ili oblik obilježnoga priličja]; (4) harmonious reconciliation [skladni izmir]; (5) regularity [pravilnost]. The terminology of Franjo Marković were translated by Stanislav Tuksar.

⁴⁴ For details on Marković's periodization see Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Musico-historical themes in the aesthetical system of the Croatian philosopher Franjo Marković (1845–1914)", *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* 34/1 (2003) 33–44.

⁴⁵ For more details on Hadrović's *Kratka povjest glazbe* see Sanja Majer-Bobetko, "Glazbena historiografija s početka 20. stoljeća na primjeru *Kratke povjesti glazbe* Stjepana Hadrovića" [Music historiography at the beginning of the 20th century shown through the example of *Kratka povjest glazbe* by Stjepan Hadrović], *I. međunarodni simpozij "Muzika u društvu"*, Sarajevo 29–30. X 1998, ed. by Ivan Čavlović (Sarajevo: Muzikološko društvo FBiH, 1999) 95–106.

⁴⁶ Josip Andreis, *Povijest glazbe* [History of music] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1942); Hubert Pettan, *Pregled povijesti glazbe* [A survey of the history of music] (Zagreb, 1942), vol. 1. The first published history of Croatian music was by Božidar Širola, *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* [Historical survey of Croatian music] (Zagreb: Edition Ripop, 1922).

despite the fact that music historiography of the time was not immune to ideology and politics (one might ask if it has ever been)—was quite satisfactory. This is why the pioneers of Croatian music historiography and their works have such a respectable place in the corpus of works on Croatian music history and on Croatian culture in general.

HARMONIZING THE PAST

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In 1852 Napoleon III ordered the collection and preservation of French folk songs so he could “erect a grand monument to the anonymous poetic genius of the people”.¹ Such a directive was hardly surprising for the heavily nationalistic Third Republic. His concern was likely borne from a desire to compete with similar movements in other countries, as well as from the fear that these songs might disappear forever without the intervention of scholars. His demand inspired the beginning of a folklore movement in France and involved many composers, critics, and scholars in the enterprise of folk song gathering and publishing. Decades later, at the end of the 19th century, the project became even more charged, as the presence of foreign entities on French soil and contact with exotic cultures increased, leading to heightened anxiety about the preservation of a pure and authentic French identity and spirit. This anxiety was manifest through a growing interest in French popular traditions. As an extension of nationalist sentiment, many composers, critics-cum-scholars, and folklorists began collecting folk songs from every province of France. Because folk songs were seen as examples of a culture uncorrupted by foreign influences,² they were a perfect vehicle for the agenda of nationalism. When this venture was taken over by French musicians just before the dawn of the 20th century, its objective was recast as twofold: The first was to collect and preserve French folk songs before they disappeared, fulfilling Napoleon’s edict. The second was to encourage their diffusion through publication and practice, which gave rise to subsequent presentations and manipulations of the songs as musical objects and nationalistic and imperial agents. It is the remnants of these actions that make the French case different from many of its contemporary counterparts.

Folk songs were treated as products of the past and as representative of a less sophisticated time. Furthermore, as aids in constructing a history for French music, folk songs became part of a larger project of imperial assertion. This newly created history

¹ “Napoléon III avait ordonné en 1852 la collecte de tous les chants populaires de France pour ‘élever un grand monument au génie anonyme et poétique du peuple.’” “Collecteurs de chants populaires français”, www.musicus.com/page5.htm.

² Arthur de Gobineau’s *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines* (Paris: P. Belfond, 1967; originally published 1853–55) also echoes this point; since he believes that it is the mixing of cultures that will bring the downfall of civilization, the search for a pure French expression is particularly necessary and attractive.

set French music apart from various exotic and primitive musics which were thought to lack a history and to be stylistically static, and therefore inferior. The collection of folk songs thus served to enact nationalism in two ways: to celebrate the complexity of French folk music over exotic musics, and to celebrate the progress of contemporary French music over its less evolved “past”.

In this paper, I consider a particular product of the folk song enterprise: harmonized folk songs marketed to the general population. Though I believe the scholarly aspects of folklore studies and the subsequent use of folk songs in art music (as quotation or instances of irony) to be eventually fruitful areas of inquiry also, I believe the harmonized folk song, intended for a popular audience, offers the most insight into the construction of a French music history, the building of a musical image, and the way the French consciously manipulated how they wanted to be heard and understood.

During the last decade of the 19th and first decade of the 20th centuries, the study of folk song in France blossomed, and the published results took two main forms. The first was scholarly in nature; the most notable (and arguably most influential) was the collection of folk songs issued as the journal *Les chansons de France*, published by the society of the same name three times a year from 1907 to 1913.³ The journal was founded and run by Charles Bordes—a familiar name because of his involvement with the Schola Cantorum—and it was dedicated to the diffusion and performance of folk song. The songs in the journal were presented as single melodic lines and were often accompanied by commentary, usually on themes in the poetry. Also included were notes about the provenance of each song, specifically the region of France from which it hailed, and, when appropriate, translations of the text.

These scholarly efforts aimed at fulfilling Napoleon’s order—to find and preserve French folk songs before they disappeared or became too corrupt to recognize—also added another element to the larger folk song venture: As *Les chansons de France* states in its mission, the task of bringing these songs to the public consciousness was also crucial to the aim of preservation and to the inspiration of national pride. Some of the people involved with the scholarly aspect of the project, such as Vincent d’Indy and Maurice Duhamel, also engaged in disseminating the songs to the public through the production of popular editions, which I will spend the rest of this paper discussing.

Popular editions of folk songs often shed the austerity displayed in publications like *Les chansons de France*. They ranged in appearance from the quotidian to the extravagant. Some, like Julien Tiersot’s *Chansons du vieux temps* (1904), appeared almost as deluxe editions, the equivalent perhaps of today’s coffee-table books.⁴ This edition, as well as others that are similarly illustrated and ornate, were more likely meant for display than for actual use in performance, even at home: The pages are overwhelmed by illustrations, and the music itself is quite small. The size of the notation would preclude nearly anyone from actually being able to read it easily while seated at a keyboard. Others, however, could have been used in performance, despite being illustrated in similar fashion. Take Yvette Guilbert and Maurice Duhamel’s *Chansons de la vieille France* (1906), which could serve as a functional musical score; the illustrations did not take away from their ability to be read and performed.⁵ Still others, like d’Indy’s collection of songs from

³ The full run of the journal was later reissued in book format. Charles Bordes et al., *Les chansons de France* (repr. ed., Genève: Editions Slatine, 1980) unnumbered.

⁴ Julien Tiersot, *Chansons du vieux temps* (Paris: Hachette, 1904).

⁵ Yvette Guilbert and Maurice Duhamel, *Chansons de la vieille France* (Paris: F. Juven, 1906).

the Vivarais, or Bourgault-Ducoudray's songs from Bretagne, resemble the presentation seen in *Les chansons de France*: austere (that is, having no illustrations at all) and, in fact, sometimes including a general introduction, though no commentary on individual songs is given.⁶ Thus various publications supported different activities and aimed to involve as much of the general public as possible in the folk song movement.

What all of these popular editions have in common is the addition of harmony to the folk songs' original melodies. As we saw in *Les chansons de France*, the songs were collected and preserved monophonically. In fact, much was made of the fact that these songs, in their original form, existed as melody only. According to Tiersot,

In their original form, these songs, we cannot forget, were sung by their natural performers without any sort of accompaniment. The peasant with his simple and primitive spirit, has not the feeling nor the need for harmony, and one can assume that the origin of his art is much older than the relatively modern usage of the combination of simultaneous sounds.⁷

In the few places where popular volumes are granted an introduction, justification is often provided by the harmonizer for the presence of harmony.⁸ Most often, it is cast as a concession to the modern ear and its habits. As Tiersot tells us, this was a necessary step in the diffusion of this music to a contemporary mass audience:

The modern reader has other habits and more needs: that is why we have added to these folk melodies, accompaniments; in so doing, we have had no other goal but to provide a backdrop for these melodies, elucidate the rhythms, and clarify the tonalities.⁹

D'Indy makes a similar claim:

Folk song does not possess accompaniment, being, essentially monodic and of free rhythm; nevertheless, given modern habits, I felt I had no choice but to add to each of these pieces harmonic support which I forced myself to render as simply as possible in order that I did not change the character of the melodies.¹⁰

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to treat the particular ways in which these songs are harmonized in detail, I will say briefly that the harmonizations often present surprising and unconventional musical behavior. D'Indy's harmonizations are especially

⁶ Vincent d'Indy, *Chansons populaires du Vivarais*, op. 52 (Paris: A. Durand & Fils, 1900); Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Cie., 1885).

⁷ "Dans leur forme originale, ces chansons, on ne l'ignore pas, sont chantées par leurs interprètes naturels sans aucun accompagnement. Le paysan, esprit simple et primitif, n'a pas le sentiment ni le besoin de l'harmonie, et l'on peut assurer que l'origine de son art est antérieure, et de beaucoup, à l'usage, relativement moderne, de la combinaison des sons simultanés." Julien Tiersot, *Sixty folksongs of France* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1915) xii. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

⁸ I use the word harmonizer here rather than "composer", since the person in question has only elaborated on an already extant creation, even if an anonymous one. However, it is not clear that those involved in this project felt the same way: D'Indy puts an opus number (op. 52) on his collection of songs from the Vivarais, thereby staking his claim to full authorship of the work.

⁹ "Mais le lecteur moderne a d'autres habitudes, et plus d'exigences: c'est pourquoi nous avons ajouté aux mélodies populaires des accompagnements dans la position desquelles nous n'avons pas eu d'autre but que de mettre en valeur le relief des mélodies, en accuser les rythmes, en préciser les tonalités." Tiersot, *Sixty folksongs of France*, xii.

¹⁰ "Le chant populaire ne réclame d'accompagnement, étant d'ordre essentiellement monodique et de rythme libre, néanmoins, vu les habitudes modernes, il ne m'a point semblé nuisible d'adjoindre à chacune des pièces un soutien harmonique que je me suis efforcé de rendre le plus simple possible afin de ne pas altérer le caractère des mélodies." D'Indy, *Chansons populaires du Vivarais*, iii.

modally inflected; he was perhaps particularly sensitive to modal tendencies due to his own musical preoccupations. While Tiersot and Bourgault-Ducoudray attempt simple and straightforward harmonizations, they involve uncomfortable voice leading, and obscure the modality of a piece by using modal mixture or leaving out the leading tones or third degree all together. I mention this only to show that this underexplored area of French music history can reveal a great deal about how the French were very self-consciously creating an image of themselves and what elaborate, if subtle, steps they took to achieve it. Still, before we can consider all of that, I believe we need to examine the very presence of the harmonizations, regardless of their particular character. What is at issue here is their role in achieving successful distribution to a popular audience and the further consequences of this action.

I posit that adding harmonies to these folk melodies did much more than simply make them more accessible to modern ears. Beyond the stated—and perhaps successfully achieved—objectives of preserving the songs before they disappeared and disseminating them to the public, there were other consequences that are directly tied to the agenda of nationalism. Though most, if not all, the melodies represented in popular and scholarly editions alike were collected from living traditions, they become products of the past through emphasis on their ancient origins, their simplicity and primitive qualities, and their unchanging nature. The musicians responsible for their distribution succeeded in cementing these songs—indeed, this entire tradition—in a less sophisticated past than their civilized present. The composers and critics involved in their collection created a musical history that incorporated popular traditions and established a clear progression from provincial to refined, from rural to urban, from primitive to civilized.¹¹

Though various commentaries cast harmony as a concession to modern musical tastes, its addition to these folk melodies is perceived as a necessarily civilizing force, one that adds sophistication to an otherwise banal artistic creation. As Tiersot tells us, he sees the melodies not as complete on their own, but actually as vehicles for a yet-unwritten harmony: “Folk melodies always provide rich material for harmonization.”¹² Patrice Coirault, perhaps one of the most famous folklore scholars of the 20th century, echoes this sentiment of simplicity: “Oral transmission [of folk songs] changes the complex into the simple.”¹³

It is based on this perception of simplicity that Tiersot and others act to “complicate” (as Coirault might say) the songs through the addition of harmony. Their act is meant to make the primitivism of folk melodies more palatable to modern ears, ostensibly more refined. By implying that the lack of harmony in these songs correlates with a lack of sophistication—that the original voices of folk songs were incapable of harmony—the original collective creators are robbed of their agency. Tiersot, d’Indy, and all involved in collecting and distributing folk songs succeeded in communicating a progression—from unrefined to accomplished—that identified the origins of their musical tradition in the past and further placed their contemporary musical output at the pinnacle of civilization.

¹¹ See Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité*, for further arguments about the lack of sophistication of peasants and their inability to understand what constitutes civilization; they are only able to follow the lead of the civilized.

¹² “La mélodie populaire fut toujours une féconde matière d’harmonisation.” Julien Tiersot, *Noëls français* (Paris: Heugel & Cie., 1901) ii.

¹³ “Elle (la transmission orale) change le complexe en simple.” Patrice Coirault, *Notre chanson folklorique* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1941) 18.

In addition to their simplicity, folk melodies are charged with having no history. Tiersot, again: “By their very nature, popular songs do not have a history. It was, until now, impossible to determine the origins, age, provenance, the authors.”¹⁴ But because the songs were so consciously rooted in the past, scholars such as d’Indy and Charles Mélanct were able to use them as a starting point from which to build a history—a history that would lend their music complexity and refinement. That is, the folk songs may not have their own history, but they could *become* one for the subsequent products of French musical genius.

The collective and anonymous creators of French folk songs are further degraded with the implication that they corrupted their own tradition. Several composers include accounts of having had to track down the “correct” version of a given folk song because the villagers they interviewed were not able to “perform” it to their satisfaction. And nearly every author on the subject discusses the unfaithful nature of the oral tradition. Through their commentaries and actions, these “budding ethnomusicologists” seem to be saying that the peasants do not know how to care for their own culture—or, as Gobineau might say, they do not even recognize the elements that make up civilized culture. Somehow, these civilized people must save folk songs from the peasant.

All of these efforts to cast the songs as primitive and the subsequent processes of civilizing them helped to create a history—a history which only served to emphasize the progress and civilization represented by contemporary French music. In the end, the entire enterprise of collecting and publishing folk songs serves as a profound expression of nationalism: French music of the present day stands as the proud accomplishment of a greatly civilized culture, one that can show its roots in history and has proven itself capable of progress.

Another consequence to harmonizing folk songs actually promotes a more aggressively nationalist program. We arrive at the nationalist endpoint not through a path of French history or its construction, but via the treatment of exotic musics by French scholars at this time. In particular, I refer to a number of foreign or exotic folk songs in harmonized form, also collected in and around the first decade of the 20th century. Here, the harmonization acts as a normalizing force, making melodies that contain unconventional lines conform to an acceptable Western harmonic progression—a way of making the strange familiar. But beyond harmonized folk songs, we can find striking parallels between the general discussion of exotic music and French folk traditions. Most often, work on exotic musics—whether in the form of articles in a journal or book-length studies—tended to identify musical aspects remarkably similar to those labeled as *inferior* in discussions of French folk traditions. For example, accounts of exotic musics by French scholars and critics, particularly on French soil, tended to treat them as static entities, undermining the possibility of their history or progress, going so far as to label them as incapable of changing. The very things they combated in their own history—by making sure that we know they are *history* and not the present day—the very things that were coded as negative and inferior are the same ideas they emphasized in their discussions of exotic musics. French folk song was monophonic—so was most exotic music, at least in French understanding and depiction. French folk song was created collectively and anonymously, absent an individual author—and so was exotic

¹⁴ “De par leur nature même, les chansons populaires n’ont pas d’histoire. Il a été jusqu’ici impossible d’en déterminer les origines, l’ancienneté, la provenance, les auteurs.” Tiersot, *Sixty folksongs of France*, xiv.

music. French folk song had no history—neither did exotic music. French folk song required the aid of contemporary musicians in order to make it civilized enough for modern ears—so did exotic music.

Folk songs also share with exotic musics a sense of novelty; they seem to represent a simpler faraway time, one that is not entirely real to the contemporary audience. But French folk traditions could not become synonymous with what was deemed to be “primitive” music, lacking the benefits of civilization. This would work against the nationalist goals of the whole enterprise. While their folk traditions may have been too simple for any claim of contemporary artistic genius, they were, after all, still French, and as such, key to their pursuit of pure and authentic identity. In order to differentiate themselves from exotic musics, they had to show that their music was worthy of commentary on some higher level than exotic musics.

The key way in which this was achieved was through the identification of unique characteristics corresponding to geography within the realm of French popular song. Regional identity within France became important to the study of musical folk traditions in a way that never occurred for exotic musics. As far as those musics were concerned, once it had been specified that they were not French (or simply not Western), further distinctions were less important. Areas within continents were not differentiated, and several cultures were often conflated. While the scholar’s casual knowledge of France was much greater than their understanding of other countries, their faith in the *real* differences between the north, south, east, and west of France—versus their nonchalance regarding the specific provenance of exotic musics—is striking. D’Indy discusses “patois”, Tiersot the particular merits of the Vendée, Bourgault-Ducoudray of Bretagne. In the end, however, all of them are able to use these divisions again to their advantage: They bring up these differences only to say that, despite it all, they are first and foremost French.

This is all made more poignant when one considers the scholarly work and commentary occurring alongside these folk songs. Bourgault-Ducoudray claims, in the preface to his collection of songs from the Basse-Bretagne, that his interest in French folk songs came not from Napoleon’s orders or from his colleagues and peers conducting similar research, but from his own experience in Greece. He claims that the motivation behind this volume was his voyage to Greece and his work on traditional Greek music; teaching his students about the popular traditions of Greece and the Orient made him realize how valuable a similar study about French folk traditions could be to them.¹⁵ In a sense, Bourgault-Ducoudray seems to be engaged in the beginnings of comparative musicology. There seems to be an intention to compare popular or *folk* traditions—popular Greek melodies with French folk songs, not with French art music. Nearly all the music from other places studied by French scholars is considered by them to be part of a popular tradition. There are hardly any studies of “art” exotic music, or even a recognition that such a thing could exist, regardless of how pieces were perceived by those who created them.

Thus the various aspects of folk song collection and publication served purposes beyond those offered as the explicit reasons. Gathering the songs allowed the French to remain competitive with other countries who had already executed similar undertakings.

¹⁵ Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Trente mélodies populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Cie., 1885) 5–6.

The dissemination of French folk songs also aided in asserting national pride as seen through the superiority of French traditions over exotic and primitive musics. The scholars and critics engaged in this project further managed to carefully balance the showcasing of their popular traditions with the recognition of—and even an emphasis on—their simplicity. By couching folk melodies in the language of the past, they stressed their distance from the present. When looking further at the actual harmonies used, their place in history becomes even more clear—modally-inflected accompaniments, ambiguous tonalities, and unconventional voice leading. In doing all of this, French scholars and critics set up a clear progression from provincial folk melodies to the sophisticated musical language of the fin de siècle.

I believe the study of not only French folk songs, but, perhaps more importantly, their presentation and distribution, will continue to provide insights into the French self-image. Taken in concert with representations of the exotic in much contemporary French art music, we can begin to see not only how the French heard themselves, but how they *wanted* to be heard.

LES TRADUCTIONS D'OPÉRAS AU TRAVERS DE L'ENREGISTREMENT SONORE : QUATRE ENREGISTREMENTS DE LA SÉRÉNADE DE DON JUAN DANS QUATRE TRADUCTIONS FRANÇAISES DIFFÉRENTES

Frédéric Lemmers

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En règle générale, l'étude des traductions d'opéras est abordée par les chercheurs, qu'ils soient linguistes, spécialistes de la littérature, du théâtre ou bien musicologues, au départ de sources écrites (livrets, partitions), dans une approche plus littéraire que musicale. Or, beaucoup de versions françaises d'opéras étrangers dépassent le cadre de la traduction littéraire, et constituent de véritables adaptations musicales. Dans cette perspective, l'étude de la traduction des livrets ne peut être abordée du seul point de vue du livret et doit nécessairement faire l'objet d'une approche comparatiste du livret et de la partition. L'étude de la partition doit en effet permettre de comprendre certains choix opérés par le librettiste-traducteur, dont la tâche redoutable est de concilier les possibilités vocales et ses limites, la cohérence dramatique et la fidélité de la traduction, à la fois au texte original et à l'esprit général de l'œuvre.¹

Les études existantes ignorent donc habituellement les sources non écrites, tel que l'enregistrement sonore. Or, cette source est exceptionnelle, par le fait qu'elle véhicule d'innombrables témoignages musicaux sur une époque donnée, et par l'importance du corpus qu'elle constitue, qui couvre plus de cent années de vie musicale.

Il nous apparaît donc opportun d'exploiter l'enregistrement sonore pour l'étude des traductions d'opéras, et de tenter d'en dégager la valeur ajoutée par rapport aux sources écrites, celle-ci s'annonçant plus complémentaire que concurrentielle.

Pour l'étude des traductions d'opéras, nous disposons d'un demi-siècle de production discographique (ca. 1900–ca. 1950), sur cylindres ou disques 78tpm. Cette discographie

¹ Voir à ce sujet *La traduction des livrets : Aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques. Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne les 30 novembre, 1er et 2 décembre 2000*, éd. par Gottfried R. Marschall (Paris : Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004).

est actuellement rééditée sur disques compacts ou en voie de l'être. Ces rééditions en facilitent aisément l'accès.

Nous limitons notre corpus sonore aux années 1900 et 1950, parce que les témoignages antérieurs à 1900 sont qualitativement insuffisants sur le plan sonore pour pouvoir constituer une source scientifiquement exploitable, et que la discographie postérieure à 1950 ne nous intéresse pas dans le cas présent, la pratique des traductions d'opéras ayant progressivement disparu après cette date.

Notre corpus sonore de référence porte sur deux périodes de l'histoire de l'enregistrement, l'ère acoustique (ca. 1900–ca. 1925) et l'ère électrique (ca. 1925–ca. 1947). Ces deux types d'enregistrement se distinguent à maints égards. Généralement, les enregistrements acoustiques se caractérisent par un son doté d'une forte pression acoustique liée au mode de prise de son entièrement mécanique, et par une mauvaise qualité sonore de l'accompagnement instrumental. Face au pavillon acoustique, les voix sont inégales, certaines étant plus phonogéniques que d'autres. Les enregistrements électriques présentent un meilleur équilibre entre voix et accompagnement. L'apparition du microphone établit plus d'équité entre les différents timbres et registres vocaux, et l'amplification électrique du signal sonore permet de retravailler le son. Ces deux périodes discographiques ont par ailleurs en commun un même support de stockage de l'information, le disque 78tpm, dont la durée maximale d'enregistrement ne permet pas de graver plus d'un air d'opéra par face de disque.

Il est par conséquent fort difficile d'aborder l'intégralité d'une traduction d'opéra au départ de la discographie dite « historique », car les techniques d'enregistrement à l'époque du disque 78tpm rendaient fort difficile l'enregistrement de l'intégralité d'œuvres musicales de longue durée. C'est pourquoi l'enregistrement d'œuvres en intégralité ne se généralisa qu'avec le disque microsillon,² à une époque où les traductions d'opéras étaient en déclin au profit de l'interprétation des œuvres en langue originale. Ces dernières ont alors bénéficié de l'enregistrement massif d'intégrales. Il existe cependant quelques rares intégrales d'œuvres en traduction réalisées à l'ère du disque 78tpm.³

Le disque ne nous permettant pas l'étude des traductions d'opéras au départ d'œuvres enregistrées en intégralité, nous sommes contraints d'opérer un choix de fragments, constitutifs d'un échantillonnage discographique au départ duquel nous pourrions étudier les traductions.

Pour la présente étude, qui n'a pas d'autre ambition que celle de suggérer une voie nouvelle dans l'étude des traductions d'opéras, nous avons décidé de manière arbitraire de ne prendre qu'un seul fragment, extrait d'une seule œuvre, et d'en comparer différents enregistrements, lesquels proposent différentes traductions, interprétées par différents interprètes. Notre échantillonnage réunit l'ensemble des textes français recensés pour ledit fragment et couvre les deux périodes discographiques susmentionnées.

Le fragment en question est la sérénade de Don Juan (W.A. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, acte II). Don Juan est seul sur scène, et s'apprête à séduire une fois de plus. Pour y parvenir, il chante une sérénade, accompagné de la seule mandoline.

² Le disque microsillon est apparu en 1947 et domine le marché discographique jusque dans les années 1980. Ce nouveau support permet d'enregistrer plus d'une heure de musique sur un seul disque. Grâce à lui et à l'amélioration de la captation du son de l'orchestre, les enregistrements d'œuvres en intégralité se sont généralisés, et l'enregistrement de musique symphonique a véritablement pris son envol.

³ Par exemple : Mozart, *Bastien et Bastienne* (ca. 1925), Leoncavallo, *Paillasse* (1907) et Bizet, *Carmen* (ca. 1924).

La discographie française compte sept enregistrements du célèbre fragment,⁴ interprété dans quatre traductions françaises différentes. Faute de pouvoir rassembler tous ces documents, nous en avons réuni quatre, deux acoustiques et deux électriques, gravés par quatre interprètes différents (Roger Bourdin, André Pernet, Jean Noté et Maurice Renaud).

Au départ de ces quatre enregistrements, nous montrerons les interactions existant entre interprète et traduction, examinerons l'impact que peut avoir une traduction sur un interprète, et inversement, l'influence que celui-ci peut avoir sur le rendu d'une traduction. Nous montrerons aussi les différentes conceptions que les traducteurs de livrets ont eues de cette sérénade. Le fait que les artistes aient parfois enregistré le texte de traductions qui ne leur étaient pas contemporaines nous permet d'aborder des traductions antérieures à l'ère du disque, mais véhiculées par lui. La confrontation de ces différentes traductions permet de déterminer le rayonnement géographique et temporel d'une traduction.

Nous verrons au passage que le disque réserve parfois des surprises par rapport aux sources écrites, car certaines interprétations qu'il conserve s'en écartent textuellement, voire même musicalement. Ces variantes constituent autant de témoignages de pratiques esthétiques, dont il n'existe pas de source écrite, et livrent un éclairage complémentaire à celui pouvant être dégagé des sources écrites.

L'étude discographique des traductions d'opéras privilégie l'approche esthétique et musicale à l'approche textuelle et littéraire, car l'examen d'une prestation enregistrée permet surtout d'apprécier le résultat de la superposition du texte en traduction à la musique d'origine. Dans le cas spécifique d'une traduction, où contrairement à la plupart des livrets originaux, le texte est une conséquence de la musique et non son substrat, puisqu'il est écrit postérieurement à celle-ci, il n'est pas vain de pouvoir confronter le choix des mots et le rythme de la versification avec la musique dont la traduction est inspirée, et ceci, d'une manière empirique, pour vérifier que le résultat « fonctionne » bien.

L'enregistrement offre la possibilité au chercheur d'apprécier cette adéquation, de manière auditive et non plus uniquement visuelle, car il lui livre un témoignage musical sous une forme fixe et définitive, constituant une sorte de photographie d'une exécution musicale donnée, à un moment donné, dans un lieu donné, par un interprète donné. Ce contact direct avec l'exécution musicale permet d'apprécier la mise en situation d'une traduction, et de vérifier empiriquement le bon fonctionnement d'une hypothèse théorique. En effet, s'il est possible de se faire une idée de la couleur sonore qu'une voyelle donnée produira sur une hauteur de note donnée dans une phrase musicale au débit particulier, il devient aisé d'en percevoir auditivement le résultat concret, et donc, de manière plus large, de mesurer la dynamique d'une traduction, lorsqu'elle est soumise à l'action de chanter, c'est-à-dire à interprétation.

L'interprète constitue une variable fondamentale, qui n'entre pas en ligne de compte dans les études de traductions exclusivement basées sur les sources écrites, mais dont l'influence est considérable en discographie. En effet, la personnalité de l'interprète influence considérablement le rendu de l'œuvre enregistrée en vertu de son « habitus musical ».⁵ Dans son analyse, le chercheur doit donc garder à l'esprit les trois variables

⁴ La sérénade a été enregistrée en français par Jean Noté (Zonophone X-82468), Maurice Renaud (Gramophone 032097), André Baugé (Pat. PA 973), Jean Vieuille (P. 29540), Vanni-Marcoux (Gramophone DA 937), Roger Bourdin (Odéon 188663) et André Pernet (Gramophone DA 4850).

⁵ Nous regroupons sous la notion d'« habitus musical », d'inspiration sociologique, l'ensemble des éléments

mentionnées *supra*, le lieu pouvant influencer l'acoustique de l'enregistrement (live ou studio), le moment pouvant influencer l'état d'esprit de l'interprète, et l'interprète influençant l'œuvre musicale par le simple fait de la faire renaître en son sein pour ensuite l'extérioriser.

L'étude des traductions d'opéras pose inévitablement la question de la légitimité d'une traduction par rapport à l'original dont elle est issue. Les critères utilisés pour légitimer une traduction par rapport à l'œuvre originale ont évolué au cours du temps. Au XIX^e siècle, nombre de traductions étaient en réalité de véritables adaptations fort éloignées de l'œuvre originale, y compris dans la musique, mais réalisées dans le but de rencontrer le goût du public auquel elles étaient destinées. Le critère de légitimité était alors l'adéquation à l'esthétique dominante ou à celle autorisée sur la scène d'un théâtre donné. Au XX^e siècle, un mouvement de recherche de conformité à l'original est apparu et s'est progressivement imposé, pour aboutir semble-t-il, à la disparition des représentations d'œuvres jouées en traduction sur la scène des principaux théâtres lyriques.

Lors de l'examen des quatre extraits de *Don Juan*, nous ne développerons pas ces aspects de conformité ou de légitimité du texte par rapport à l'original, car nous pensons que l'enregistrement ne peut pas apporter un regard neuf ou complémentaire à cette question, notamment à cause du fait qu'il n'offre pas une vision globale de l'œuvre étudiée et donc ne permet pas une étude générale de la conformité d'une traduction à l'original. Tout au plus, l'enregistrement pourrait-il donner un éclairage ponctuel sur le lien entretenu par chaque extrait étudié avec le texte d'origine, en proposant éventuellement, pour un air donné, une sorte de classement dans la fidélité textuelle, sémantique ou musicale, entre les différents extraits et le texte d'origine. Chacun des extraits repris *infra* dévoile une traduction différente de la sérénade de *Don Juan*. Cette coexistence de traductions suggère la question du choix de la traduction dans le chef de l'interprète.

Entre sa création en 1787 et l'ère post-traductions (après 1950), *Don Giovanni* a fait l'objet de cinq traductions françaises,⁶ qui toutes, ont correspondu à une reprise de l'œuvre sur une scène française. Ces traductions ont été publiées sous la forme de petits livrets ou de partitions en réduction pour chant et piano. Ces textes ont donc été diffusés et maintenus en vie au-delà de leur existence à la scène. L'existence d'un panel théorique de traductions permet de supposer l'existence d'un choix esthétique dans le chef de l'interprète, qui en pratique, se serait limité au fait de privilégier la traduction la plus connue au moment de l'enregistrement. La notoriété d'une traduction pouvait être due soit à sa programmation sur la scène au moment de l'enregistrement, soit au fait qu'il s'agisse de la dernière traduction connue de l'œuvre, celle-ci étant absente de la scène au moment de l'enregistrement. Le choix d'une traduction pouvait être consécutif au lien entretenu par un artiste avec une troupe d'opéra, dont la traduction officielle lui venait spontanément à l'esprit. Ces différentes traductions reprises au disque présentent de nombreuses différences, dans le choix des mots, mais aussi dans la structure générale de la dramaturgie. En 1834, Henri Blaze, son fils, et Émile Deschamps, adaptent le livret

constitutifs de l'identité artistique d'un interprète, hérités de son éducation, de sa formation musicale, de ses goûts, de son milieu social d'origine, etc.

⁶ Danièle Pistone, « La traduction des livrets d'opéra en France : Les leçons du passé », *La traduction des livrets : Aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques*, éd. par Gottfried R. Marschall (Paris : Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004) 133-42

en deux actes de Da Ponte en une pièce en cinq actes, tandis que cent ans plus tard, Adolphe Boschot reste fidèle aux deux actes originaux.

Outre les modifications du nombre d'actes et de scènes, les traductions de *Don Juan* ont été l'occasion de redistributions des registres vocaux. Par exemple, au XIX^e siècle, le rôle-titre a été interprété par le ténor Manuel Garcia, alors qu'il avait été attribué par Mozart à un baryton ou à un baryton-basse. Les enregistrements français du rôle-titre de *Don Juan* ne permettent pas d'étudier auditivement ces changements d'emplois vocaux car ces fragments n'ont été enregistrés que par des barytons ou des barytons-basses.

La confrontation des quatre exemples discographiques montre des différences importantes entre les différentes traductions, dans le choix des mots, des couleurs et des accents toniques. Vu l'appartenance des interprètes de ces enregistrements, aux troupes de l'Opéra ou de l'Opéra-Comique, voire aux deux troupes, les différences relevées dans ces enregistrements pourraient constituer autant de témoignages d'usages ou de coutumes interprétatives spécifiques à chacune de ces maisons d'opéra. Pour *Don Juan*, l'Opéra et l'Opéra-Comique disposaient chacun de leur traduction propre, conçue pour correspondre à leur identité artistique. Ainsi, à l'Opéra-Comique, *Don Juan* était plutôt présenté sous l'aspect d'un *opera buffa* alors qu'à l'Opéra il devenait une œuvre plus dramatique.

Notre premier exemple a été enregistré en 1933 par le baryton Roger Bourdin (1900–73).⁷ Il nous livre le texte français suivant :

Ô <u>Viens</u> à ta fenêtre, <u>enfant</u> si chère,	Deh vieni alla finestra, o mio <u>tesoro</u> ,
Oui, <u>viens</u> calmer le <u>mal</u> qui fait languir mon cœur !	Deh vieni a consolar il pianto <u>mio</u> :
Si tu ne <u>veux</u> céder à ma prière,	Se neghi a me di dar qualche <u>ristoro</u> ,
Je vais, sous <u>tes</u> regards, mourir de <u>douleur</u> !	Davanti agli occhi tuoi morir <u>voglio</u> .
Viens, <u>c'est</u> la nuit, c'est l'heure où <u>tout</u> repose !	Tu ch'hai la bocca dolce più del <u>miele</u> ,
Hors ma voix qui soupire et qui t'appelle !	Tu che il zucchero porti in mezzo al <u>core</u> ,
Plus fraîche <u>que</u> la fleur à peine <u>éclo</u> se,	Non esser, gioia mia, con me <u>crudel</u> :
Peux-tu donc à l'amour rester <u>rebelle</u> ?	Lasciati almen veder, mio bell' <u>amore</u> .

Roger Bourdin chante un texte écrit par Paul Ferrier,⁸ dans une traduction complète de *Don Juan* réalisée pour la reprise de l'œuvre à l'Opéra-Comique en 1912, sous la direction de Reynaldo Hahn. Bourdin a donc choisi une version française contemporaine, qui, vu son appartenance à la troupe de l'Opéra-Comique, constituait peut-être sa version de référence de *Don Juan*. Il en respecte scrupuleusement le texte, à l'exception d'un mot. En effet, au premier vers, il remplace l'exclamation « Ah » par un « Ô ».

Dans le texte ci-dessus, nous avons souligné les mots ou syllabes, chantés sur deux notes par Bourdin. Dans la partition reprenant le texte de Ferrier, ces notes sont reliées par un signe de liaison. Ces brefs passages non syllabiques se retrouvent à toutes les phrases de la traduction, mais pas systématiquement aux mêmes endroits. Dans le texte

⁷ Roger Bourdin entre à l'Opéra-Comique en 1922, puis à l'Opéra en 1942, et restera membre de ces deux troupes jusqu'en 1959. Son répertoire était composé de près de 100 rôles. Voir H. Rosenthal et J. Warrack, *Guide de l'Opéra*, trad. Roland Mancini et Jean-Jacques Rouveroux (Paris : Fayard, 1995) 103.

⁸ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Juan*. Paroles françaises de Paul Ferrier (Paris : Choudens, 1912) 258–64.

original, les phrases sont toutes syllabiques jusqu'à la fin du vers, dont le dernier mot fait l'objet d'un petit motif ornemental, sur l'avant-dernière syllabe.

En français, la nasalité domine les sonorités (ex. [ain], [iens], [en] et [i]). Les rimes françaises alternées (ère-eur-ère-eur et ose-elle-ose-elle) conservent l'alternance de la versification italienne (oro-io-oro-io et ele-ore-ele-ore).

Ferrier fait usage d'autres métaphores que celles de Da Ponte. Là où ce dernier évoquait le goût au travers du miel et du sucre, Ferrier choisit l'odorat au travers du parfum de la rose. L'interprétation de Bourdin est vocalement libre et souple. Il marque les temps forts en accentuant le texte sur ceux-ci. Le résultat épouse adéquatement la ligne mélodique et accentue le caractère dansant de la pièce. En raison de la médiocre qualité sonore de notre extrait, nous avons d'abord eu l'impression d'une interprétation froide et un peu pointue, mais en réalité, après de multiples écoutes, celle-ci fut démentie par la perception d'une expression vocale chaleureuse et ronde et d'une diction précise et accentuée. Bourdin met en évidence les mots les plus importants et souligne les élans musicaux en accentuant l'appui vocal. Sans vouloir poser un jugement de qualité sur la traduction, cet enregistrement suggère une adéquation entre texte et musique, que ce soit du point de vue de la similitude des textes français et italien que dans l'atmosphère dégagée par les couleurs des mots et du rythme de la versification. La dimension charnelle et empressée du dessein de *Don Juan* telle que présentée par Da Ponte, n'apparaît cependant pas, ni dans ce texte, ni dans l'interprétation de Bourdin. Son interprétation du texte est certes suave, et son Don Juan apparaît, dans son entreprise de séduction, plus doux et charmeur que conquérant pressé d'assouvir ses pulsions.

Notre second exemple a été gravé en 1934 par la basse André Pernet (1894–1966),⁹ qui, un an après Bourdin, nous livre une autre traduction française de la sérénade :

Parais à ta fenêtre, ma <u>voix</u> t'implore,	Deh vieni alla finestra, o mio tesoro,
Pour apaiser mon <u>cœur</u> , <u>réponds à</u> ma voix.	Deh vieni a consolar il pianto mio :
Si tu ne <u>parais</u> pas, et ne <u>réponds</u> encore,	Se neghi a me di dar qualche ristoro,
Devant ta porte, je vais mourir, mourir pour toi.	Davanti agli occhi tuoi, morir voglio.

La <u>fleur</u> de ton <u>visage</u> , c'est ton <u>sourire</u> !	Tu ch'hai la bocca dolce più del miele,
On croit voir une rose qui s'ouvre au <u>baiser</u> du jour !	Tu che il zucchero porti in mezzo al core,
Reçois un <u>corps</u> qui t'aime et <u>laisse-toi</u> fléchir,	Non esser, gioia mia, con me crudele :
Viens jusqu'à <u>moi</u> , parais, mon <u>âme</u> et mon amour.	Lasciati almen veder, mio bell'amore.

Cet enregistrement est exactement contemporain de la reprise de *Don Juan* à l'Opéra de Paris en 1934, et en constitue une vitrine, car Pernet tenait le rôle-titre à l'Opéra. Pour cette occasion, le directeur de l'Opéra, Jacques Rouché, avait commandé à Adolphe Boschot¹⁰ une nouvelle traduction française de *Don Juan*, rompant avec l'esthétique des

⁹ André Pernet fit ses débuts à l'Opéra en 1928 dans Méphisto (*Faust*) et à l'Opéra-Comique en 1931 dans *Don Quichotte*, et resta sur ces deux scènes jusqu'à sa paralysie en 1948. Il succéda à Marcel Journet comme première basse de l'Opéra et à ce titre, participa à de nombreuses créations. Harold D. Rosenthal et John Hamilton Warrack, *Guide de l'opéra*. Les indispensables de la musique (Paris : Fayard, 1986) 639–40.

¹⁰ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Juan*, traduction conforme au manuscrit de Mozart par Adolphe Boschot (Paris : Durand et Cie, 1933).

anciennes adaptations françaises de l'œuvre. Cette traduction se voulait donc « novatrice » ou « moderne » en se revendiquant « conforme au manuscrit original de Mozart ».

Encore faut-il s'entendre sur ce que l'on entend par « conformité au manuscrit original ». S'agit-il des mots envisagés un par un, de la dramaturgie prise dans son ensemble ou du respect de la musique ? Suivant que l'on opte pour l'une de ces différentes options, la traduction « conforme à l'original » devrait soit transposer en français le sens littéral de chaque mot écrit par Da Ponte, soit adopter une approche littéraire basée sur une approche globale de l'œuvre, soit épouser parfaitement la ligne du chant. L'enregistrement d'un seul fragment de l'œuvre ne permet pas de trancher cette question.

Comme Ferrier, Boschot reprend les rimes alternées que Da Ponte avait adoptées, mais en change la sonorité. Les rimes (oir-oi-oir-oi et ire-ou-ire-ou) sonnent différemment des rimes italiennes (oro-io-oro-io et ele-ore-ore). Boschot incorpore des répétitions textuelles. Au quatrième vers, le mot « mourir » est répété, alors que le texte italien est dépourvu de toute répétition. Boschot n'a pas traduit ce fragment de l'œuvre de manière littérale. Ni les mots ni les métaphores du texte de Da Ponte ne sont repris avec exactitude par Boschot, mais l'esprit général de la sérénade est manifestement transposé d'une culture à l'autre. Les accents toniques tombent sur les temps forts de la partition, et ne créent pas de déséquilibre particulier entre texte et musique.

Le texte de Boschot est sans doute plus proche de celui de Da Ponte que celui de Ferrier en ce qui concerne le caractère de Don Juan. En effet, aux deux derniers vers, le texte de Boschot est plus charnel que celui de Ferrier. Là où Ferrier reste au stade de l'émerveillement, Boschot évoque l'appétit physique de Don Juan (« Reçois un corps qui t'aime et laisse-toi fléchir »). La présence du mot « corps » associé aux verbes « recevoir » et « fléchir » renforce encore le réalisme du dessein de Don Juan, et l'abandon final de la femme séduite. Boschot reprend l'usage de l'impératif déjà présent chez Da Ponte (« Non esser ... – Ne sois- pas ... »).

Du point de vue vocal et stylistique, l'interprétation de Pernet se montre moins enveloppante que celle de Bourdin. Dans un chant souple et lié, d'une voix douce et claire, Pernet livre un texte au contenu éloquent, qui ne nécessite sans doute aucune emphase vocale particulière. Le texte semble se suffire à lui-même. Son interprétation se caractérise par une continuité d'atmosphère d'une strophe à l'autre, y compris dans les deux derniers vers. Le rythme est constant, de même que l'appui du chant et l'intensité vocale. L'interprétation de Pernet est dominée par la sobriété. Pernet limite son rôle au fait de servir un texte éloquent dont il souligne les inflexions, mais sans aucun ajout. Les attentes incandescentes de Don Juan sont clairement établies par le texte.

Notre troisième exemple est un enregistrement acoustique, gravé en 1905 par le baryton Jean Noté (1858–1922)¹¹, dont voici le texte :

¹¹ Jean Noté entre à l'Opéra de Paris en 1893 après dix ans de carrière et y resta pendant trente ans. Il y tint tous les grands rôles de baryton. Sa notoriété est due à son organe vocal exceptionnellement puissant et résistant au temps et par une production discographique particulièrement volumineuse. Jules Salès, *Théâtre royal de la Monnaie (1856–1970) : Précédé d'un résumé historique de 1700–1855* (Nivelles : Havaux, 1971) 190 ; Walter Ravez, *Jean Noté : La vie d'un artiste et d'un philanthrope* (Tournai : J. Lucq & Delcourt-Vasseur, 1923) ; Richard T. Soper, *Belgian opera houses and singers* (Spartanburg : Reprint Co., 1999) 369–71.

Je suis sous ta fenêtre,
Ah ! Daigne enfant paraître,
Beauté qui m'a séduit,
Beauté qui m'a séduit.
Tes yeux sont deux étoiles,
Dont l'éclat m'a conduit ;
Soulève enfin tes voiles,
Ou je meurs dans la nuit.

Deh, vieni alla finestra, Ô mio tesoro,
Deh, vieni a consolar il pianto mio.

Se neghi a me di dar qualche ristoro,
Davanti agli occhi tuoi, morir voglio.

Bannis, bannis la crainte ;
J'ai su par une feinte,
Eloigner les jaloux,
Eloigner les jaloux.
Descends l'amour t'appelle,
Le Dieu veille sur nous !
Peut-on être cruelle,
Avec des yeux si doux !

Tu ch'hai la bocca dolce più del miele,
Tu che il zucchero porti in mezzo al core,

Non esser, gioia mia, con me crudel :

Lasciati almen veder, mio bell'amore.

À quelques mots près, repris ci-dessus en caractères gras, ce texte est extrait de la traduction de Blaze (père et fils) et Émile Deschamps, réalisée en 1834 pour la reprise de *Don Juan* à l'Opéra.¹² Cette version de *Don Juan* était sans doute la plus connue à l'époque de l'enregistrement, voire celle encore en vigueur à l'Opéra lorsque l'on y montait *Don Juan*.¹³ Jean Noté prend quelques libertés par rapport au texte de Blaze et Deschamps. Ainsi, il chante « Descends l'amour t'appelle » et « le dieu » là où ils ont écrit « Et quand l'amour t'appelle » et « ce dieu ». Ces quelques changements n'ont sans doute pas grande importance, si ce n'est qu'ils permettent d'élaborer deux hypothèses concernant les habitudes interprétatives de Noté. Soit, il a enregistré le texte tel qu'on le chantait à l'Opéra au début du XX^e siècle, soit, lors de l'enregistrement, il s'est laissé guider par l'inspiration du moment. L'accompagnement n'est pas assuré par une mandoline, mais par un piano. À la fin de la sérénade, le pianiste exécute une cadence de son cru en répétant deux fois l'accord final.

La traduction de Blaze et Deschamps ne présente pas la même alternance des rimes que celles du texte italien,¹⁴ que Ferrier et Boschot avaient reprise dans leurs traductions. Ici, nous découvrons à chaque strophe une répétition de rimes suivie d'une alternance des rimes (être-être-ui-ui-oile-ui-oile-ui et ainte-ainte-ou-ou-elle-ou-elle-ou).

Le vocabulaire du texte de Blaze et Deschamps est fort différent de celui des traductions de Ferrier et de Boschot, dont il faut souligner la différence d'époque. En effet, cent ans séparent le texte de Blaze et Deschamps de celui de Boschot, et nous n'y retrouvons pas les mêmes métaphores. Le texte de 1834 interprété par Noté ne se réfère pas à l'odorat ni au goût, mais à la vision, en liant les mots « yeux » et « étoiles ». De manière générale, le texte décrit plus un contexte de séduction (« Je suis sous ta fenêtre », « J'ai su par une feinte éloigner les jaloux », « Descends l'amour t'appelle »,

¹² Cette traduction est en réalité une nouvelle version de celle réalisée par Henri Blaze pour la reprise de *Don Juan* au Théâtre de l'Odéon en 1827.

¹³ L'œuvre fut jouée à Paris en 1904, à l'Opéra comme à l'Opéra-Comique, mais les sources à notre disposition ne précisent pas dans quelles traductions elle fut donnée.

¹⁴ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Juan*, adaptation française en cinq actes et neuf tableaux par Henri Blaze et fils et Emile Deschamps [livret] (Paris : Adolphe Guyot, 1834).

etc.) que l'expression des sentiments de Don Juan ou la description métaphorique de la destinataire du chant, qui étaient au centre des deux premières traductions.

Le texte français de Blaze et Deschamps comprend quelques répétitions (« Beauté qui m'a séduit » et « Éloigner les jaloux »), qui ne se retrouvent pas dans l'original italien. Outre le texte, Noté prend quelques libertés rythmiques. La sérénade prend par moment un aspect d'aria déclamatoire. La suppression des liaisons change radicalement son atmosphère. Une modification de certains accents toniques est perceptible.

Sur le plan vocal, Noté fait preuve de beaucoup de nuances et de parcimonie dans les moyens vocaux déployés. Son interprétation est calme et homogène, jusqu'aux quatre derniers vers (« Descends l'amour t'appelle... » et suivants) où il accélère subitement et ancre davantage son chant dans le corps, pour en accentuer l'expression charnelle. Il accentue également le rythme pointé, jusqu'à la limite du retard, pour suggérer, nous semble-t-il, l'expression d'une pulsion intérieure presque incontrôlable. Son personnage est sur le point de s'enflammer mais sa voix, qui ne demande qu'à tonitruer depuis le début de la sérénade, reste confinée dans une certaine réserve jusqu'à la fin de la sérénade. Toute l'interprétation réside donc dans l'expression vocale de cette passion qui dévore *Don Juan* de l'intérieur mais qui ne s'exprime qu'à demi-mots, pour ne pas effrayer la destinataire par un si grand appétit.

Notre dernier exemple date de 1908. Il s'agit d'un enregistrement du baryton Maurice Renaud (1861–1933),¹⁵ nous livrant le texte suivant :

Parais à ta fenêtre, ô toi que j'aime !	Deh, vieni alla finestra, Ô mio tesoro,
De grâce viens calmer ma peine [et t'aime],	Deh, vieni a consolar il pianto mio.
D'un seul de tes regards, la flamme ardente,	Se neghi a me di dar qualche ristoro,
Eclaire enfin mon cœur, qui se lamente.	Davanti agli occhi tuoi, morir voglio.
[Ta peau et douce lèvre de teinte rose],	Tu ch'hai la bocca dolce più del miele,
Au parfum de ton cœur s'est donc éclose,	Tu che il zucchero porti in mezzo al core,
Peux-tu rester rebelle à tant de flamme ?	Non esser, gioia mia, con me crudele :
Ah, laisse-moi te voir, par mon âme.	Ah ! Lascia almen veder, Ô bell'amore.

La médiocre qualité sonore de cet enregistrement compromet la compréhension immédiate des paroles et ne restitue pas bien les harmoniques graves de la voix de Renaud. Certains mots sont donc difficilement intelligibles. Or, nous n'avons pas pu identifier l'auteur de cette traduction et n'avons donc pas pu comparer cette interprétation avec le texte officiel de l'édition du livret ou de la partition dont elle est inspirée.

Nous ne sommes pas certains de l'exactitude des mots repris ci-dessus entre crochets. D'emblée, un élément surprend : l'interprétation comprend trois strophes. Renaud reprend la seconde strophe en italien et transforme par-là la structure binaire de la sérénade en une structure ternaire. La sérénade devient une sorte de *lied* strophique.

Le texte italien est enrichi par endroits, car Renaud introduit au dernier vers des exclamations (« Ah ! » et « Ô »). Il relie la fin de l'avant-dernier vers à la première syllabe du dernier, dans un élan vocal de grande expressivité. Du point de vue des rimes, la traduction française n'est pas construite comme le texte italien. Les rimes italiennes sont alternées (oro–io–oro–io et ele–ore–ele–ore), tandis que les rimes françaises sont

¹⁵ Maurice Renaud fut d'abord attaché à la Monnaie de Bruxelles de 1884 à 1890, puis rejoignit la troupe de l'Opéra-Comique. « Héritier de l'école belcantiste, il brillait plus par la qualité et la musicalité de sa voix que par sa puissance. Il peut être tenu pour l'équivalent français d'un Battistini. » Rosenthal et Warrack, *Guide de l'Opéra*, 691.

répétées (aime-aime-ente-ente et ose-ose-ame-ame). Il y a donc une grande différence de versification entre les deux premières strophes et la troisième, chantée en italien. Les métaphores utilisées dans le texte français portent sur l'odorat alors que le texte italien porte sur le goût.

L'interprétation vocale et stylistique de Renaud dévoile des changements de couleur sur une même syllabe (ex. le [a] de [âme] est abordé [a] et se fond en [ô] à la fin du temps). Est-ce une volonté d'italianisation, qui passerait par l'exagération de la rondeur ou par l'aspect mielleux de la voix ? La volonté de compenser une certaine froideur du français par cette déformation des voyelles et par la reprise en italien paraît séduisante. Il est manifeste que le texte original est en lui-même plus suave, plus chaud et plus sensuel, jusque dans l'utilisation des images évocatrices du désir. L'évocation italienne du goût, au travers d'une « bouche plus douce que du miel », est évidemment plus sensuelle que le vers français « ta peau et douce lèvre de teinte rose », dans lequel les aspects visuel et tactile semblent dominer.

L'avant-dernier vers français montre plus de réserve dans le chef de Don Juan (« Peux-tu rester rebelle à tant de flamme ») que celui de la version italienne, qui dévoile l'empressement de Don Juan à posséder la récompense de son entreprise de séduction. L'interprétation de Renaud renforce l'impression de chantage affectif présente dans le texte italien, car Renaud accentue fortement le crescendo placé sur le mot « cruel ».

Cet enregistrement est unique car il met en présence un texte original et sa traduction, tous deux interprétés par un même artiste, au même moment. Cette juxtaposition de langues différentes montre une évolution du climat dramatique entre la deuxième strophe et la troisième, et une approche légèrement différente dans le chef de l'interprète en fonction de la langue dans laquelle il chante.

Sur le plan vocal, Renaud interprète cette sérénade avec emphase et voix, et produit un chant particulièrement couvert et rond, ce qui le rend intime par moments. Il recherche la douceur, mais dans les derniers vers, laisse présager du monstre en puissance qui dort en son sein. Sur ce point, son interprétation se rapproche de celle de Noté.

L'analyse de notre échantillon discographique est dominée par les aspects descriptifs de chaque traduction. Elle met en évidence les caractéristiques principales de chaque interprétation, ses originalités et ses points communs avec les trois autres. Ces enregistrements révèlent certaines constantes dans les différentes interprétations. Ainsi, chaque interprète a choisi la traduction française la plus connue à l'époque de sa prestation.¹⁶ Les textes français se réfèrent presque tous à l'odorat, là où le texte italien évoque le goût. Des constantes sont également relevées dans le mode d'accompagnement. En effet, à l'exception de Jean Noté, qui est accompagné d'un piano, les autres interprètes sont accompagnés par une mandoline.

Sur le plan des rimes par contre, les deux textes français les plus récents reprennent l'alternance des rimes du texte italien, tandis que les enregistrements de 1905 et 1908 présentent des textes aux rimes répétées, qui s'écartent donc du modèle original.

Sur le plan de l'interprétation et de son influence sur le rendu des traductions, les quatre enregistrements ont montré un lien évident entre le degré d'intensité du texte en traduction et le niveau d'investissement vocal dans le chant. Ainsi, lorsque le texte emploie un vocabulaire neutre, l'interprète a tendance à amplifier par une implication vocale qui dépasse la simple illustration sonore du poids des mots. Lorsque le sens du

¹⁶ Nous ne pouvons pas nous prononcer sur le cas de Maurice Renaud, puisque nous n'avons pas pu identifier l'auteur du texte français qu'il interprète. Dès lors, nous ne savons pas si ce texte lui était contemporain ou non.

texte est suffisamment fort par lui-même, l'interprète a tendance à ne pas augmenter davantage encore le poids des mots. Cette perception est quelque peu biaisée par le fait que les quatre traductions en présence sont interprétées par quatre interprètes différents, ce qui empêche de maîtriser la variable « interprète ». Il est par conséquent difficile de tirer des conclusions sur le rôle exact de l'interprète dans le rendu d'une traduction. Pour y parvenir, il conviendrait de disposer de plusieurs traductions enregistrées par un même interprète. Dans ce cas seulement, la variable « interprète » serait susceptible d'être maîtrisée.

Par ailleurs, nos résultats posent la question de savoir si l'étude des traductions d'opéras au travers de l'enregistrement peut dépasser l'approche descriptive des témoignages sonores. Il apparaît qu'un échantillon sonore de quatre enregistrements ne suffit pas pour légitimer une synthèse générale, et ce, pour l'ensemble des différentes questions soulevées dans notre introduction. Il faut pour cela disposer d'un échantillon discographique plus large, qui permettrait de dégager des constantes interprétatives récurrentes, pour un même interprète mais aussi entre interprètes servant une même traduction, et qui permettrait également d'identifier plus facilement les cas d'exception. Les synthèses qui en découleraient auraient alors une réelle représentativité, et pourraient dès lors prétendre à une plus grande légitimité scientifique.

Nous constatons que l'enregistrement permet de dégager des faits d'interprétation, susceptibles de venir confirmer ou infirmer des hypothèses esthétiques. Mais nous constatons aussi qu'il convient de les confronter aux partitions ou aux livrets imprimés. En effet, la plupart des paramètres étudiés au travers de notre échantillonnage sonore ne sont guère différents de ceux analysés au départ de sources écrites, à l'exception de l'apport de l'interprète, spécifique à la source discographique.

Notre échantillon a également permis d'évaluer la réception dans le temps des sources écrites en relation avec la sérénade de *Don Juan*. Nous avons pu constater qu'une traduction de 1834 était encore interprétée en 1905, mais qu'après l'arrivée d'une nouvelle génération de traductions en 1912 et 1933, l'ancienne traduction de 1834 n'apparaît plus. Nous avons par ailleurs pu constater l'autorité relative de ces sources écrites, desquelles l'interprète s'écarte parfois ponctuellement, en introduisant une exclamation différente ou en chantant un mot pour un autre, sans grande incidence sur le sens de la scène.

La personnalité de l'interprète influence donc la nature d'une traduction dans le rendu qu'elle en fait. Nous avons pu voir au travers des enregistrements de la sérénade de *Don Juan*, combien un interprète peut être tenté de compenser le peu d'éloquence d'un texte, certaines faiblesses de celui-ci, l'inadéquation de celui-ci avec la musique, en modulant les aspects vocaux de sa prestation, en adaptant ponctuellement le rythme pour mieux accentuer l'un ou l'autre passage essentiel, ou en modifiant certaines notes de la partition. Dans ces cas, l'enregistrement donne accès à un résultat esthétique bien différent de celui qui peut être déduit de l'étude du livret seul ou de la partition. Les interprétations de Noté et de Renaud semblent s'inscrire dans cette perspective. Inversement, nous avons constaté que l'éloquence intrinsèque à un texte et l'adéquation de celui-ci au rythme de la musique et à la ligne mélodique, sont des raisons suffisantes pour un interprète pour ne pas dépasser le rôle de serviteur du texte. C'est semble-t-il le cas pour Pernet qui, dans son enregistrement de la sérénade, se montre assez neutre et fort respectueux du texte qu'il interprète.

En matière d'étude des traductions d'opéras, nous pensons que l'enregistrement sonore ne peut pas être considéré comme source principale ou unique, notamment

parce qu'il ne permet pas d'aborder la traduction d'une œuvre dans son ensemble. Nous pensons que l'enregistrement constitue par contre une source accessoire indispensable à l'étude des traductions d'opéras, parce qu'elle est la seule source capable de livrer autant d'informations sur l'histoire de l'interprétation et sur l'esthétique du résultat des exécutions musicales d'une œuvre en traduction.

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A MATTER OF FAITH: INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE, AND MUSICIANS' EDUCATION IN THE EARLY–20TH-CENTURY USA

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That teaching has played an important part in circumscribing and maintaining the Western art tradition is probably self-evident to anyone who has taught “classical music”. In researching musicians’ education, I have been fascinated to uncover beliefs about the Western canon expressed in early–20th-century music schools with a clarity that today would make us squirm. I appreciate the honesty of our educational predecessors, for they offer us perspective on the ideological underpinnings supporting a pedagogical tradition still widely seen as written in stone. In so doing, they show us how curriculum, course content, governance, and policies can create a politics and an aesthetics that are both difficult and seen as disloyal to contradict.

A prominent example is New York’s Institute of Musical Art, today’s Juilliard School, which began its life in 1905 training musically competent amateurs and public school teachers who could bring music (as the institute defined it) to every city, town, and village across America.¹ Thus at a time of growth in independent and recognizably American music—including ragtime, blues, jazz, marches, Tin Pan Alley songs, musical theater, and many other genres and styles—its idea was not to create American music, but to create a musical America. Founded by Breslau-born Frank Damrosch (1859–1937) of the well-known German-American musical family, the institute linked curriculum, organizational framework, and aesthetic biases drawn from 19th-century Germany with beliefs about American social, educational, and even political goals.² Steeping his school in musical idealism, Damrosch set up courses of study we would recognize today along with governance and teaching practices that handed faculty and students a musical

I thank Jane Gottlieb, Vice President for Library and Information Resources, and Jeni Dahmus, Archivist, both at The Juilliard School, for help in identifying and procuring sources for this study.

¹ The Juilliard School of Music, which absorbed the Institute of Musical Art, was chartered in 1926. The words “of music” were dropped in 1969. See Andrea Olmstead, *Juilliard: A history* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999) 88 and 317, n. 20.

² On the Damrosches, see Frank Martin, *The Damrosch Dynasty: America’s first family of music* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983).

identity dependent on a closed circle of musical legitimacy presented explicitly as fact and defended as fundamental law.

Damrosch stated the school's purpose in its prospectus of 1904: "To advance the art of music by providing for students the highest class of musical instruction; ... to encourage endeavor, reward excellence, and generally to promote knowledge and appreciation of the art in the community."³ With this vision came the will to educate musicians broadly rather than focus narrowly on the potential virtuoso or star, and (thanks to Damrosch's persuasive abilities with backers) considerable administrative power. The institute's bylaws gave the director authority over all policies, including hiring and assignments of faculty and staff, organization, admission of students, and financial outlays.⁴ Damrosch considered this top-down structure essential to fulfilling his (now the institute's) goal of educating the whole musician, by force if necessary.⁵ Speaking retrospectively, he asserted that private teachers were rarely willing to extend their teaching beyond performance.⁶ Thus most students "have had music lessons but not a musical education."⁷

To that end, the institute offered (nervously, according to Damrosch) a "plan of compulsory prescribed courses of study."⁸ Damrosch chose each student's teacher and evaluated new students for deficiencies and exemptions. Class attendance was closely monitored, and students who failed to "maintain the requirements of the Institute, as to achievement, effort and earnestness of purpose" were subject to dismissal.⁹ Unlike the private teacher, Damrosch argued, who depends on the student's satisfaction for income, the institute would "be in a position to say, 'Thou shalt learn these things'."¹⁰

While a comprehensive examination of "these things" is beyond the scope of this essay, one may note two main links between the institute's educational content and Damrosch's mission: the ways in which course materials identified a repertoire worthy of study, and the clear beliefs expressed in them about how musical judgments had been and should be made. Circumscribing a canon was a central project in the institute's music history courses. In 1914 two faculty members, Thomas Tapper (1864–1958) and Percy Goetschius (1853–1943), published its comprehensive and detailed textbook, *Essentials in music history*.¹¹ Beginning with ancient and non-Western styles, the book charted chronological and geographical progress toward "true music", defined by its adherence to Western contrapuntal and (especially) harmonic practice seen as "natural growth" (vii) toward "nature's law" (255). Readily admitting that "of [ancient] music not the faintest echo can reach us", the authors nevertheless asserted that it was "differentiated but little, if at all, from the tones of birds and animals" (2). One wonders what a perceptive student might have made of the authors' explicit condemnation of music they had never heard.

³ *Prospectus of the Institute of Musical Art of the City of New York* (New York: s.n., [1904]) 5.

⁴ *By-laws of the Institute of Musical Art of the City of New York*, adopted 22 March 1905, article 7, given in full in Frank Damrosch, *Institute of Musical Art, 1905–1926* ([New York]: Juilliard School of Music, 1936) 20.

⁵ *Institute of Musical Art* [catalogue] 1906–07, 4.

⁶ Damrosch, *Institute of Musical Art*, 32.

⁷ Damrosch, address to the graduates, 3 June 1915, in "Institute of Musical Art: Lectures, recitals, and general occasions, October 12, 1914–June 4, 1915" (typescript, Juilliard School Archives) 90.

⁸ Damrosch, *Institute of Musical Art*, 48.

⁹ *Institute of Musical Art* [catalogue] 1906–07, 4–5.

¹⁰ Damrosch, opening address, 31 October 1905, given in Damrosch, *Institute of Musical Art*, 53.

¹¹ Thomas Tapper and Percy Goetschius, *Essentials in music history* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1914). Both authors were American-born. On Tapper, see obituary, *The New York times* (25 February 1958) 27. On Goetschius, see Arthur Shepherd, "Papa' Goetschius in Retrospect", *The musical quarterly* 30/3 (July 1944) 307–18.

This underlying narrative of progress led to a style Tapper and Goetschius exemplified with the three Bs, Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms (301), a linkage designed to raise Brahms's standing in the pantheon. The authors praised "the singular loftiness of his conception (in an age of romantic freedom and uncertain quest after novel effects)" (300), an only slightly veiled reference to stylistic excesses attributed to Wagner and Richard Strauss. The musical achievements of earlier eras, on the other hand, were regularly presented as lacking. Fifteenth-century counterpoint, for example, lacked "true musical expression," unable to serve music's "ultimate purpose and to become a pliant means to a great and noble end" (101). The more successful Haydn, on the other hand, created instrumental music that "flows ... in the cheerful glow of his childlike disposition" (244), thus opening the way for the titan Beethoven—obedient to tonal laws, pure in his artistic impulses, and emotionally sublime (255, 257). While such comparative assessments rendered the textbook's historical and aesthetic high point unmistakable, again, one wonders what students would think about a course that focused on such musical standards and yet devoted so much time to music that failed to meet them.

The same aesthetic thinking dominated the institute's theory and composition instruction, which Goetschius headed until 1925. Here, however, rather than offering a range of compositional styles for study, those judged inadequate were simply ignored. A prolific author of pedagogical materials in tonal theory that went into dozens of editions, Goetschius had studied at Leipzig, then studied and taught at Stuttgart. One of his most widely read works was *The material used in musical composition: A system of harmony*, first published for English-speaking students in Stuttgart in 1882.¹² Much of the book's content would be familiar to anyone who has studied tonal harmony. Of greater interest, however, is the underlying purpose given in the title: the book delimits "the material" appropriate to adequately composed music. This judgment appears at the local level in the form of rules for permissible voice-leading, modulations, dissonance resolutions, and melodic shapes (the last Goetschius claimed to have codified himself [iv]). The rules allowed the student to complete exercises on the models given. More important, they presented the student with a closed structure of musical laws, to whose adherence musical legitimacy and, by extension, a work or style's historical and aesthetic ranking, were to be judged. In an example from the history text, Schubert was said to have "rested his whole musical faith upon the basic law of 'tonic dominant'" (260). Thus neither he, nor Beethoven, nor Brahms was "revolutionary" (255, 301), a term of opprobrium in Tapper and Goetschius's judgment.

Despite his focus on harmony, however, Goetschius presented melody as music's most important element. "It may be said," he wrote, "that the lines (that is, the melodies) are the music.... It is this fact of musical formulation that gives to melody its supreme importance, and makes rhythm and harmony subservient" (3, emphasis original). This assertion allows the soprano voice-leading rules in the exercises to be equated with melody writing, and the book's composition instruction emphasizes harmonization in melody and accompaniment texture in small forms (246–58).¹³ One can perhaps see the effect of Goetschius's pedagogy in general, and his melodic instruction in particular, in

¹² Percy Goetschius, *The material used in musical composition: A system of harmony designed and adopted for use in English harmony classes of the conservatory of music, at Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: G.A. Zumsteeg; New York: G. Schirmer, 1882). The volume remained in print with G. Schirmer until 1941.

¹³ One must note, however, that this book was designed for intermediate music students, and that Goetschius's books on form and counterpoint were directed to more advanced composition students.

the work of one of his most gifted, enthusiastic, and successful students, musical theater composer Richard Rodgers.¹⁴

Goetschius repeatedly called Western harmonic practice “natural”. He called “true natural instinct” that of the “classic writers” (22). He called the major scale “natural” because of its origin in a *natural* arrangement of tones of the key (5, emphasis original). The minor, on the other hand, “is not a natural, but an artificial scale” (33), and only a small percentage of the book’s content deals with music in minor. In fact, except for a few examples of modulation, all of Goetschius’s own harmonic examples are in C major.

These assertions affected the author’s choice and treatment of the book’s musical examples. The composers most frequently cited are Beethoven (48 examples), Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (45), Chopin (26), Schubert (20), and Schumann (18). Wagner appears 11 times, Brahms eight, French composers nine (by 1913 including three examples by Debussy), and Italian composers three. The composers of the late 18th century are seldom seen: Mozart has nine excerpts, Haydn two, and Clementi one. Recent and living composers’ music is found near the end. By the time of the 1913 edition, Goetschius could acknowledge the need to consider “novel experiments and achievements of modern harmonic thought” (iii). For example, he acknowledged the practice of Richard Strauss in a set of five examples, most with roman numeral analysis (238). Asserting that one of the cited progressions “baffles exact chord-analysis”, he nevertheless called it “smooth and wholly plausible.... But the student is earnestly reminded”, he concluded, “that such combinations contribute to the interest only—not to the durability—of a composition” (239, emphasis original).

Finally, Goetschius presented his knowledge as a system, a characteristic he deemed pedagogically essential. Granting that most students of tonal practice would never become composers, he nevertheless argued that his study represented the science of music and as such, a necessary part of their training (iii). His teacher, Immanuel Faißt (1823–94), seconded these claims in a foreword linking Goetschius’s work to his own method of 1847 (v).¹⁵ Thus his textbook helped 20th-century students acquire and internalize a tradition of knowledge that had been presented as standard for over half a century.¹⁶ And indeed, one can observe commonalities in melodic shape, harmonic support, and emotional temperament between Rodgers in the 20th century and his teacher’s Leipzig forebear Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.

With this aesthetic as the basis for musical validity, what could be said of so-called modern music? In fact, Tapper and Goetschius faulted modernism for its failure of “natural” musical expression, its lack of cultural embeddedness, and its apparent critique of the standing tradition. In the history textbook, the authors cited harmonies in which “chords are placed abruptly side by side between which no relation whatever can be traced”. Thus, they asserted, “not only the classic standard but all standards seem swept aside, and on some modern pages it is difficult to discriminate between misjudgments and misprints” (316).¹⁷ The institute’s anemic composition program was consistent with this

¹⁴ According to Rodgers, Goetschius “was to harmony what Gray was to anatomy”. Richard Rodgers, *Musical stages: An autobiography* (1975), quoted in Olmstead, *Juilliard*, 55.

¹⁵ Immanuel Faißt, *Entwurf zu einem leichtfaßlichen Unterricht in der Harmonielehre*, published in 1847.

¹⁶ Faißt in fact noted places where Goetschius’ thinking departed from his own and listed specific theoretical points “I believe I have originated” (v).

¹⁷ In 1943, Goetschius (by then retired) called perception of the “decrees of nature” “sane and normal”. See Goetschius, *The structure of music* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1934; reprint Westport: Greenwood, 1970) 68.

attitude. Beginning in 1910, students could earn certificates in “practical theory” (later called “practical composition” or “theory and composition”). John Erskine (1879–1951), a later administrator who held a doctorate in literature, assessed the program this way, “Musical composition . . . was taught by the repetition of set exercises rather than by the composition of anything that by the pupils or their teachers could be considered musical creation.”¹⁸ Erskine’s criticism was borne out in the catalogue: the theory-composition courses listed the standard classic-romantic forms for students to master and required a symphonic overture as the capstone project.¹⁹

And of course, modernist compositional critiques of musical tradition were implicitly irrelevant to Damrosch’s program of putting down American musical roots, which put a premium on training teachers. With state teacher certification becoming more often required for employment, by 1924 institute students could earn New York certificates by completing a three-year institute curriculum and two courses at Teachers College, Columbia University.²⁰ They could also earn B.S. degrees with two years at the institute and two more at Teachers College. Thus the first students to earn degrees, rather than diplomas or certificates, through Juilliard were music educators.²¹

Given the institute’s focus on teaching, the choice of its own instructors was of paramount concern. Damrosch sought, mostly in Europe or among immigrant musicians, superior studio faculty members who believed in the principles he had set out. By his own account he found them, and he described his relationship with the faculty as harmonious and familial.²² Damrosch expected teachers to work for submarket salaries and claimed later that they gladly did so: “There was very little talk of salaries in those days. Everybody was glad to take part in this movement and was willing to accept what I was able to offer.”²³ Despite the institute’s relative poverty, he also used scholarships to encourage dedication to his program. Scholarship students were put on probation, required to “constantly prove their right to these privileges in order to continue to hold them.”²⁴ Freed of the need to cater to student income, Damrosch could use a core of dedicated students to set a high tone, a group of young people willing—eager, as he saw it—to accept the institute’s admonition: “You are absolutely in our hands and you must come here with confidence that we will seek to do whatever is best for you.”²⁵

Damrosch’s idealist vision never wavered from its first articulation to his death. Writing repeatedly for the school newspaper, he expounded at length on music as a calling to artistic betterment and service to humanity. “As [the artist] observes those who come under his influence respond to the beauty and nobility of his work,” he wrote, “he feels that his life is not in vain and that his work is lifting human souls to a higher plane.”²⁶ While this attitude was his expectation for the student, Damrosch also saw it as essential for American society: With the “spirit of the missionary” (as he put it),²⁷ the

¹⁸ Quoted without date in Olmstead, *Juilliard*, 111–12.

¹⁹ *Institute of Musical Art* [catalogue] (1910–11) 18–19, 25; *ibid.*, (1924–25) 23–25.

²⁰ *Department of Instruction in Public School Music* [catalogue] (1924–25) [9].

²¹ *Ibid.*, [4–5]. On certification, see “Report of the National Research Council of Music Education,” *Journal of proceedings of the music supervisors national conference* (1929) 18–30; reprinted as *Research council bulletin*, 11.

²² Damrosch, *Institute of Musical Art*, 56.

²³ *Ibid.*, 33. Damrosch argued that he needed to charge a tuition lower than the cost of private lessons to lure students into his more comprehensive educational program (*ibid.*, 4).

²⁴ *Institute of Musical Art* [catalogue] (1906–07) 8.

²⁵ Damrosch, opening address, 31 October 1905, given in Damrosch, *Institute of Musical Art*, 55.

²⁶ Damrosch, “The Vocation of Music. I,” *The baton* 2/4 (1923) 11.

²⁷ Damrosch, “The Vocation of Music. II,” *The baton* 2/5 (1923) 7.

musician was to create an American citizenry dedicated to self-improvement and the most “noble” planes of art.²⁸ Thus music could exemplify the American goal of equality, transcending racial and social class distinctions created by wealth or ancestry. Rather than making music American, he would make America “musical in the truest sense”: “assuring ‘justice to all and malice toward none,’ we will find the poet and the musician who will find the right words and the right time to voice the feelings of a united and homogeneous, truly American citizenship.”²⁹ By institutionalizing worthy music, Damrosch believed he could replicate culture as he understood it from Germany deep in American soil.

Idealizing Western art music at the Institute of Musical Art meant internalizing the terms on which it was organized, promulgated, and taught. Setting out as fact a canon of value judgment, the institute encouraged self-policing and a focus on the musical world inside the box. Even today, when Damrosch’s sermonizing would be far less likely to be accepted, following the path he laid out can offer a young musician a ticket to emotional and intellectual fulfillment and, through guild membership and loyalty, sometimes a decent living. It is possible to find remnants of this dynamic at work. At a recent conference, musicologist Portia Maultsby recounted how Detroit Symphony string players, given parts for Motown recordings, told producer Berry Gordy that the parts were “not allowed” because they “broke the rules.”³⁰ That “the rules” were sacrosanct at the institute was to be taken on faith. And of course, popular musics did not belong in Damrosch’s vision of American musical homogeneity. In an endeavor that owes its life to the imagination, however, one marvels at the degree to which the acknowledgment of alternative musical possibilities can still be so willingly suppressed.

²⁸ “Noble” was Damrosch’s favorite adjective in *The baton* articles. At the time he wrote them, he would not have known of a future adversary, The Juilliard Musical Foundation executive secretary, Eugene Noble. On Damrosch and Noble, see Olmstead, *Juilliard*, 75 and 94.

²⁹ Damrosch, “The development of musical culture in the United States. II,” *The baton* 3/3 (1923) 13.

³⁰ Portia K. Maultsby, “The Motown sound: Strategizing cultural production,” paper given at the 31st annual conference of the Society for American Music, Eugene 2005.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCES AND THE ADVENT OF MODERN INDIAN MUSICOLOGY

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During the decade of 1916–1925, five All-India Music Conferences were organized by the Indian musicologist Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1860–1936) in an attempt to create a nationwide dialogue about music and to bring together musicians from the major *gharānās* to learn, consult, interact, and perform with one another. These meetings were held in the North Indian cities of Baroda (1916), Delhi (1918), Benares (1919), and Lucknow (1924 and 1925). A further All-India conference was held in South India in the city of Madras (1927).¹ Enjoying royal sponsorship and broad participation by scholars and performers from both North and South India, these conferences combined the format of the Indian music festival (the meeting of musicians at a court or temple, where dialogue about the music performed was as important as the performances themselves) and the formal academic conclave (with scholarly papers and lecture-demonstrations) learned through Indian exposure to British academic practices.

Activities at these conferences reflected the dynamic interaction and tension between Indian scholarship and the activities of Western researchers. Western investigation of Indian music, despite research activity dating back to the 18th century, was still a young science, and priorities still lay in quantifying, analyzing, and interpreting this data through Western lenses. Indian scholars remained very much rooted in musical performance, in reviving or maintaining standards of performance, and in connecting contemporary practice to the writings of ancient theorists. Western influence can be seen, however, in the new attention paid to tuning/intonation, development of notation, music education, and the systematic organization of the Indian musical concepts of *rāga/tāla*. Even more fundamental, these conferences confronted the internal tensions

¹ Each conference was documented by a summary report of the proceedings, published shortly after the event: *Report of the First All-India Music Conference* (Baroda, 1916); *Report of the Second All-India Music Conference* (New Delhi, 1919); *Report of the Third All-India Music Conference* (Benares, 1920); *Report of the Fourth and Fifth All-India Music Conferences* (Lucknow, 1925), and *The report of the All-India music conference* (Madras, 1928). The author's observations in this paper are drawn from rare copies of these reports in the library of the Music Academy, Madras. Photocopies have been deposited under the author's name in the Archives of DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana. Since the presentation of this paper, the All-India Music Conferences have been considered in further detail by Janaki Bakhle, *Two men and music: Nationalism in the making of an Indian classical tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 184–205.

within the then fragmented and secretive world of Indian classical music, as century-old traditions of private court performance were coaxed out into full public view.

BACKGROUND. Since the 16th century, celebrated musicians in India were employed by private courts. This cultivated music was intended for the entertainment of the ruler, and ordinary people, unless they had special access to the court, had little occasion to experience it. Even the musicians, confined to different courts, lacked significant opportunities to travel and experience other performers and exchange ideas with them. This situation led to the growth of the *gharānā* system, a disjointed network of musically segregated and often secretive guilds centered around the teaching lineage of a master musician, which preserved the unique stylistic traits of localized performance traditions but which suffered all too easily from isolation, narrowness, and egoism. As the royal courts became more and more marginalized from society, under British rule, so too did music, as the musical traditions withdrew behind the protective walls of the *gharānās*.

As the cultivation of classical music became more and more parochial, it was attracting more and more attention from Western observers with an “orientalist” perspective. Colonial officials, educationalists, and intellectuals showed exhaustive interest in the world they ruled, and their “scientific” enquiries extended not only to the flora and fauna of the subcontinent, or to the social and religious customs of the people, but also to the fine arts of the royal courts. British efforts toward a systematic examination of Indian music date back to Sir William Jones’s 1784 writing, “On the musical modes of the Hindoos”,² continue throughout the 19th century, and climax around the time of the All-India Conferences with A.H. Fox Strangeways’s *The music of Hindostan* (1914)³ and H.A. Popley’s *The music of India* (1921).⁴ These contributions confine themselves to issues of history and theory—not performance—and lean heavily toward classification and codification, particularly the issue of *rāga* characteristics and pitch definition. Pitch (*śruti*) became a central point of discussion, because of the difficulties of (1) capturing the controversial intricacies of Indian “microtones” in Western musical notation or (2) performance on Western instruments.

This dialogue would be enriched and further complicated by the involvement of Indian intellectuals—individuals such as Krishna Dhan Banerjee, Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande, Krishanji Balala Deval, Abraham Pandither, Bhavanrao Pingle, and Sourindro Mohun Tagore—who were well-versed in both Indian and Western music and who were comfortable in collaborating with Western scholars. Moreover, musicological investigation would take on political undertones for the growing nationalist movement, as ancient Hindu musical traditions became imbued with exaggerated cultural implications; music became fuel for the struggle to demonstrate India’s potential for self-rule!

Although not as ardent a nationalist as many others, Bhatkhande’s brainstorm to call an “All-India Music Conference” was firmly rooted in the principal of Indian musicians taking charge of their nation’s musical destiny. He recognized that Indian music, like other aspects of native culture, had declined and stagnated under colonialism and he devoted much of his life to its revival. Bhatkhande was strongly influenced by

² *Asiatick researches, or, Transactions of the society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia* 3 (1789), repr. in *Hindu music from various authors*, ed. by Sourindro Mohun Tagore (Calcutta, 1882) 125–160.

³ Arthur Henry Fox Strangeways, *The music of Hindostan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914).

⁴ Herbert Arthur Popley, *The music of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921).

the writings of foreign authors on Western music. Charles Burney's *A general history of music* (1776–1789), for one, provided a model, if dated, of navigating the distance between contemporary musical practice and ancient theoretical traditions.⁵ Bhatkhande was inspired by the application of analytical methods to music, the use of collected evidence as basis for rational argument, and the importance of musical theory as a foundation for applied practice. Living in Bombay, Bhatkhande had considerable research resources available to him, but eventually he would tour the country in search of first-hand evidence. His three study tours ending in 1909, brought him into contact with the major thinkers and practitioners of music throughout the land, and herewith was born the idea of a national music conference to bring together these human resources in one place to discuss the future direction of music in India.

THE ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCES. The First All-India Music Conference took place in Baroda, 20–25 March 1916, after extensive organization and fund-raising by Bhatkhande. The location was an obvious one, for the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who sponsored the conference, was probably the most musically enlightened ruler in the country; he had already established, for example, a system of music schools within his realm and was sending young men regularly to Bombay to be trained by Bhatkhande as music teachers.

The concept of a conference, in itself, was a progressive one. In seconding the nomination of Thakur M. Nawab Ali (Akbarpur) to be presiding chair of the conference, Baroda's Minister of Education, A.M. Masani said,

It is the trend of modern civilization to make a united effort to bring about the solution of difficult and debatable subjects by organizing Conferences and Congresses, where all shades of opinion are fully represented. These assemblies deliberate jointly, and are in a position to pronounce an authoritative opinion on subjects brought within their purview, be they of educational, social, political, religious or of communal interest. A scheme providing for the aesthetic culture of the Baroda public—the creation of a Picture Gallery—is nearing fruition; and it is but a natural step that this day sees the inauguration of an All-India Conference of Indian Music, when we hope to launch on a new era in its history.⁶

More so than later All-India conferences, the first demonstrated the dynamic interaction of Western and Indian musical and scholarly thought. For example, the topic of notation, one of the clearest differences between the two systems, because Western music is notated and Indian music not, was put immediately on the table for discussion in the opening address by the Dewan (Manubhai Mehta) and President of the Committee:

The idea of systematizing Indian Music and placing it on a scientific basis with a view to improving it and making it a better expression of the emotions, has been uppermost in Your Highness's mind for many years. Baroda has had the distinction of having patronized the famous musician Maula Baksh who, if I am not mistaken was among the first in attempting to reduce Indian Music to notation. Latterly, the necessity of notation has been pressed on Your Highness's attention by music being made one of the subjects of study in the schools of the State and since the introduction for mass

⁵ Sobhana Nayar, *Bhatkhande's contribution to music* (London: Sangam Books, 1989) 65.

⁶ *Report of the First All-India Music Conference* (Baroda, 1916) 7–8.

education in regard to which Baroda has the distinction of taking the lead, a further emphasis has been laid on this need for notation.⁷

On the third day of the conference, after the topic of notation had been broached in at least two papers during the previous days, the entire evening session was devoted to the topic. The question seemed not to be whether Indian music should be notated or not, but what system to use, as each speaker advocated his or her own notational method. These systems varied widely from each other, some providing more interpretative information than others, some based on note syllables, others based on the staff notation of the West. After hearing four conflicting perspectives on notation, the assemblage voted to appoint a task force, the Select Notation Committee, to pursue the issue further. The evening ended with a final provocative paper, “The gamut system of East and West” by T.K. Ramakrishna Aiyar, Palghat, which attempted to demonstrate that the Indian musical scale preserved the natural structure of the ancient Greek scale which later Western developments had “mutilated, clipped, and shorn” of its natural purity. Indeed, the topic of notation would remain a Pandora’s box of controversy in the coming decade.

Among the many other papers offered at this first conference, two other major topics dominated attention. First, the issue of rāga. Indian rāgas, which number in the thousands, provide a melodic structure of pitches and musical gestures out of which compositions and improvisations are created. At the time, the characteristics of individual rāgas varied with the school of thought, because Indian music had developed in such localized isolation for so many centuries. With interest in building a unified national musical culture and opening classical music to the public, the issue of rāga was a crucial matter of discussion. Names and musical characteristics of rāgas needed to be standardized and systematized, if for no other reason than to make them more easily taught, learned, and appreciated by wider audiences. For this purpose, the structure of the conference was ideal, because both performers and theorists were brought into discussion with one another to begin sorting through the myriad of rāga-related materials. Indeed, even today, rāga characteristics are common topics of dialogue in Indian music conferences.

The other dominant issue at the First All-India Music Conference was the topic of *śruti* or pitch. Speakers, such as K.B. Deval and the Englishman, Ernst Clements, describing pitch from the perspective of fixed mathematical ratios in the manner of Pythagoras, clashed with the eminent artist/performers at the conference whose practical demonstration of *śruti* did not correlate with these theories. The question was also raised whether or not, for teaching purposes, aligning the Indian system of 22 or more pitches to the standard twelve-pitch system of the West would be preferable. Like the topic of rāga, *śruti* continues to occupy scholars and performers still today, and the two often seem no closer to reconciliation than a century ago.⁸

Two and a half years later, building on the momentum of the first conference, the second All-India Music Conference convened in Delhi, 14–16 December 1918. In particular, scholars and performers were intensively engaged in dialogue about rāga theory during this conference. Indeed, many of the decisions reached would be later published by Bhatkhande in the fourth part of his *Hindustānī sangīt paddhati*, a significant

⁷ Monday, 20 March 1916. *Ibid.*, 4–5.

⁸ Some closure on the *śruti* controversy has been recently provided in K. Madhu Mohan, *Pitch analysis in Karnataka music: An examination of intonation and modern theories of 23 śruti-s* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Madras, 2005)

step toward resolving the confusing discrepancies among different *gharānā* approaches to many controversial rāgas. The other dominant concern at this conference was the idea of founding a centralized music academy for the country. Behind the scenes, discussions had already been going on that this institution would be established in Delhi, and some funding, though inadequate in the end, had already been secured. In his resolution to this end, Bhatkhande said,

The best way to begin the work of regeneration is to recognize the present Hindustani practice of music, and to establish the same on a scientific and sound basis, that is to support it by a good, well-reasoned and easily intelligible theory. Theory is rightly described as the back-bone of practice, and when that perishes, the practice gradually begins to degenerate. This means that the time has now arrived when the educated classes should take up the subject in hand earnestly and proceed to give it its due position and importance. They can do this by supplying the following essentials

1. A good workable rāga system embodying all the rāgas now sung in Northern India
2. A plentiful supply of valuable up-to-date literature on music.
3. A fair supply of well-equipped professors.
4. A faithful record of all the available master-pieces of our old composers in the possession of our first class experts for future guidance. [Here he is talking both about notation and recording.]
5. And a public institution where music could be taught on the most scientific and up-to-date lines.⁹

Three further conferences would be held during Bhatkhande's lifetime and under his significant leadership: the third conference, in Banares in 1919, and the fourth and fifth, both in Lucknow in 1924 and 1925 respectively. The third would continue and further discussion of a standardized notational system and significant exploration of the topic of rāga, eventually published by Bhatkhande in his series *Kramik pustak mālīkā* (Marathi, 1919–1937) and *Hindustānī sangīt paddhati* (Marathi, 1910–1932). The fourth conference attracted greater public participation than ever before, but there were some disappointments: the traditional discussion of rāga characteristics was obstructed by some individuals—demonstrating the entrenched insecurities and caution among traditional musicians for revealing their art in public. Plans were also presented toward the foundation of a music academy in Lucknow, along the lines proposed at the Delhi conference, but again, funding was not forthcoming. Finally, at the fifth conference, which is reported to have attracted 5000 listeners, a resolution to found an institute of musical training in Lucknow was approved and funding was secured. Music classes, incorporating Bhatkhande's graded method of teaching music, started in July 1926 at Topwali Kothi, Neel Road, near Kaiser Bagh where the fourth and fifth conferences had been held. This was the beginning of Marris College of Music which later developed into the Bhatkhande University.¹⁰

All in all, these conferences held revolutionary importance for the future of Hindustani classical music as it is known today, especially in establishing which musical elements needed precise definition for research and teaching purposes, and which elements should remain the purview of practical performance. (Such a compromise

⁹ Report of the Second All-India Music Conference (New Delhi, 1919) 10.

¹⁰ Sir William Sinclair Marris (1873–1945) was the governor of the United Provinces, 1922–1926 and 1926–1927.

can be seen in the subsequent development of Indian *sargam* notation, which captures the essential core of the music but leaves far more up to interpretation than Western notation.) Attempts to push Indian music in a rigid, positivist, scientific direction were endorsed to an extent, but always in dynamic tension with tradition, religion, and performance practice.

These conclaves coaxed classical music out of its isolation and presented it to public rather than private audiences. Musicians of many different traditional perspectives were brought together to discuss and perform on the same platform, airing their differences and searching for agreement; this began a process, ongoing today, of defining and standardizing musical characteristics through a consensus of theorists and practitioners. In the Western musical community, such intentional interaction between the once disparate worlds of performance and scholarship is a comparatively recent phenomenon—only a few decades old; in that respect, we can look back to the All-India Music Conferences as models for our own instruction.

HOW 19TH-CENTURY MUSICAL FOLKLORE CREATED POLAND'S GÓRALE DIASPORA IN 20TH-CENTURY CHICAGO

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After nearly half a century of economic migration from Poland's Tatra Mountain region to the urban prairie of Chicago, Górale (Polish highlander) immigrants organized as a distinct ethnic group in the 1920s. The move was at once regional, national, and global as the diaspora community coalesced around music performances integral to producing and maintaining a sense of group identity that had only recently been codified in the motherland. The codification of this identity paralleled the canonization of musical practices associated with Górale, a process that resulted at least in part from musicological interest in music of the Tatras. In this paper I propose that a diaspora is an awareness or consciousness that requires a level of collective imagination, and I show how music scholarship in Poland made the imagination of a Górale diaspora in America possible.

1. SOMETHING HAPPENED: TWO HISTORICAL EVENTS. EVENT 1: On an overcast Sunday afternoon, 28 September 1997, in Montclair, New Jersey, I had the pleasure of watching Polish composer Henryk Mikołaj Górecki take a violin to shoulder and play music from the Polish Tatra Mountains in an ensemble of three violins and a *basy* (a three-stringed cello-sized bowed lute common in Central Europe). The occasion was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the *Tatrzański orzeł/The Tatra eagle*, a newsletter serving the Górale diaspora in North America. Górale, from the root word *góra* or mountain and meaning "mountaineers", is the name of what some consider to be an ethnic group from the southern mountainous border of Poland. The region is known for its beautiful alpine mountain scenery and colorful local cultural practices, including a strong dialect and quite distinctive music and dance traditions.

It was exactly this music that Górecki was playing, and though I enjoyed watching the composer—who at the time was still basking in the surprise cross-over success of the Dawn Upshaw recording of his *Symfonia pieśni żałobnych*—what struck me most about his fiddling performance was that he was reading from a score. What is so striking about this?, you may be wondering. Two things: first, I have never before or since seen

Górale perform from a score, and second, the score this ensemble was using was an original edition of Stanisław Mierczyński's 1930 book, *Muzyka Podhala*.¹

Górecki is not Górale himself, but follows a long line of Polish composers who have been fascinated by the music of the Tatras, or “muzyka Podhale” to borrow the term Mierczyński used in the title of his collection of 101 tunes. (Podhale means piedmont and in this case refers specifically to the Tatra region of Poland.) Górecki was preceded by Padarewski, Szymanowski, Kilar, and other composers. Mierczyński was also a composer, and a colleague of Karol Szymanowski, who wrote the preface to his collection. In a tangible way, then, that 1997 celebration of diasporic Górale identity in New Jersey was connected to a tradition of outside, non-Górale fascination with Górale music-culture that extends back in time into the 19th century.

EVENT 2: This second event also involves a non-Górale (or lowlander) visitor from Poland performing Górale music with Górale musicians in North America. The date was 1927 and the place was Chicago. The Great War was over, and Poland had reemerged as a political entity after over a century of partition and was struggling to rebuild its society in every way. The 1927 visitor was Stefan Jarosz, a Warsaw actor hired by the Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie, a tourist and development promotion organization founded in 1873 by elite influential Poles interested in the Tatra region. Jarosz also had the support of the Związek Podhalański, a fraternal organization for Górale. Between 1927 and 1929 Jarosz toured cities in the United States and Canada that had significant populations of immigrants from the Tatras.² The largest population then as now was in Chicago, and Jarosz did some extraordinary things there, judging not only by what he accomplished, but also by how he went about it.

Jarosz attracted Górale to his presentations by putting on a show that included photographic slides of the Tatra Mountains and a performance by a band of Górale musicians who were hired locally. The band would accompany Jarosz himself, who donned regional clothing, sang songs, and danced a few steps from the Tatras. The musicians he hired in Chicago were led by Karol Stoch, a violinist from the Tatra village of Ząb, a small village on a mountain ridge (where Górecki happened to build a home in the 1990s). Stoch came to America only in 1926 and was rumored to be a fine fiddler. This turns out to have been true, but I wonder if this was immediately apparent to Jarosz's audience. Jarosz's singing style lacks the energetic vitality favored by Górale. Even so, one of the extraordinary outcomes of Jarosz's visit is that he produced the very first commercial recordings of Górale music, even before such recordings were made in Poland. They were reasonably successful in the “race” catalog of Columbia records, successful enough that Stoch went on to make numerous 78s for Columbia, Victor, and Brunswick-Vocalion.³ Stoch's recordings with Górale singers instead of Jarosz are still prized representations of Górale style.⁴

The second extraordinary outcome of Jarosz's visit is that Górale in North America seemed to recognize themselves as a sizeable population only in response to his

¹ Stanisław Mierczyński, ed., *Muzyka Podhala/La musique du Podhale* (L'viv; Warszawa: Książnica-Atlas, 1930).

² Włodzimierz Wnuk and Andrzej Kudasik, *Podhalański ruch regionalny* (Kraków: Oficyna Podhalańska, 1993) 37; Joseph A. Wytrwal, *Behold: The Polish-Americans* (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1977) 316–17.

³ Richard K. Spottswood, “Karol Stoch and recorded Polish music from the Podhale region,” *JEMF quarterly* 13/48 (winter 1977) 196–204

⁴ See Timothy J. Cooley and Dick Spottswood, *The Karol Stoch Band: Classic recordings from 1928–29. Fire in the Mountains: Polish mountain fiddle music 1* (CD recording with notes; Newton, N.J.: Yazoo, a division of Shanachie Entertainment Corp., 1997).

presentations. The galvanizing effect on the Górale diaspora that Jarosz seems to have had is reflected in the formation of several branches of organizations focused on the Polish Tatras: for example, in February 1928, two circles of the *Związek Podhalański* were formed in Chicago, and a branch of the *Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie* formed that May. These are the very organizations that then sponsored Jarosz's tour of North America. The *Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie* is a general support organization promoting tourism and development. The *Związek Podhalański* is a fraternal organization specifically for ethnic Górale. Jarosz believed that the ethnic Górale *Związek Podhalański* would not generate enough consistent support to succeed in America, and for this reason he encouraged the formation of the Polish-American branches of the *Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie*. However, the increasingly unified Górale diaspora was more interested in addressing the concerns of their community in America than in promoting tourism to Podhale, which is what some believed to be the main objective of the Polish-American *Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie*.⁵ In 1929 the Chicago based organizations merged under the more ethnically specific *Związek Podhalański*, a multiple-branch organization that is still very active today.

2. WHAT HAPPENED? INTERPRETING THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF HISTORICAL EVENTS. These two historic events—the performance of Górecki in 1997 in Montclair, New Jersey, and the performance of Jarosz in Chicago in 1927—involve Polish lowlanders traveling to North America and playing music with Polish Highlanders. That is interesting in and of itself, but not particularly monumental. More significant for our purposes are the ways in which both visiting performers referenced past music scholarship in direct and indirect ways, and how they both mark the very creation and maintenance of a Górale diaspora.

This requires a definition of how I am using the concept of *diaspora*, a word that is used in a variety of ways both descriptive and discursive. A growing literature on diaspora links that concept with theories about nationalism.⁶ They suggest that diasporas are products of imagination and cognitive invention as much as they are about place, the former driving motivation behind theories of diaspora.⁷

My point here is that diasporas are created not by people immigrating freely or under duress from one place to another, but by the conscious decision to organize as a group once they find themselves in some state of remove. In other words, Górale did not immigrate to North America in the hopes of forming a diaspora. “Jasiek, let’s go to Chicago. I hear there is a great diaspora there!” Instead, Górale’s move to America was a widening of the circle of the migration of necessity that defined existence in and in relation to the Tatras for decades, if not centuries. In the late 1800s, significant numbers of individuals boarded boats bound for America, and by the 1920s, some 40 or 50 years of accumulated population resided in North America, most notably in Chicago. But there was no diaspora in the sense that I am using the term.

⁵ Thaddeus V. Gromada, “Góral’ regionalism and Polish immigration to America,” *Pastor of the Poles: Polish American essays presented to Right Reverend Monsignor John P. Wodarski in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination*, ed. by Stanislaus A. Blejwas and Mieczysław B. Biskupski. Polish Studies Program monographs (New Britain, Conn.: Central Connecticut State College, 1982) 112–13.

⁶ Brian Keith Axel, “The diasporic imaginary,” *Public culture* 14/2 (2002) 411–28; Diana Lantz, “The role of Persian language radio stations in the formation and recreation of Iranian identity in the diaspora” (Masters Thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005).

⁷ Axel, “The diasporic imaginary,” 411.

Just as a nation requires a collective imagination,⁸ a diaspora requires some level of collective consciousness. This is where Stefan Jarosz, the singing and dancing Warsaw actor, comes in. By all accounts, Jarosz's lectures, slide shows, and musical performances had a dramatic galvanizing effect on Górale residing in North America, an influence well beyond his stated goal of promoting tourism. Most significantly, his initiatives resulted in the creation of a Górale village in Chicago (as well as in other cities in North America, such as Passaic, New Jersey). Never before had there been a sense of the critical mass of Górale residing in Chicago. Never before had there been a collective consciousness of a Górale diaspora, at least there is no surviving production of such a consciousness that I am aware of—admitting that it is rather difficult to know anything about consciousness, much less collective consciousness, and much, much less, historical collective consciousness. Acknowledging this fundamental problem, we can positively link Jarosz to the establishment of the two organizations mentioned above, first and foremost the Związek Podhalań, the Górale fraternal organization which later supported the second organization, *Tatrzański orzeł*, the chronicle of Góraliness in America celebrated by Górecki in 1997.

Returning to the question of how I am using the term *diaspora*, I will summarize by proposing that a diaspora is an awareness or consciousness, not a demographic. The Górale diaspora created in the 1920s was at once a regional, national, and global consciousness that was musically signified.

The Górale diaspora is regional in the specificity of its reference: Górale of Podhale, in the shadows of the Tatras. Jarosz took deliberate steps to symbolically index Górale of Podhale when he staged shows in North America. He wore a costume specific to the region, he sang music associated with the Polish Tatras, and he projected photographic images of the mountains and villages. We have no record of Jarosz dancing a mazurka, showing slides of beautiful Cracow, or wearing a cap with a peacock feather—all references to a larger sense of Polish nationalism.

Yet the formation of the Górale diaspora was national as well. Jarosz's primary sponsor, the Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie, was a national organization, though one that was focused on the Tatras. At the time the Tatra Mountains and Górale cultural practices were being held up as national symbols while Poland reemerged as a nation-state after World War I. Szymanowski's *Harnasie*, using some of the very tunes that Jarosz sang in Chicago, is an example of this regional-to-national mapping of Górale cultural practices. Part of the reconstruction of Poland required expatriates—the diaspora—with their U.S. dollars, Austrian schilling, and British pounds, to return to Poland as tourists or even to resettle. Encouraging tourism was exactly what Jarosz was hired to do, and something he did with some success. For example, Karol Stoch, the violinist he hired for his Chicago shows, returned to Poland as a tourist several times after Jarosz visited. And Górale in Chicago claim to be "Polish Górale", not just Górale, or Tatra Górale, which would include Slovak mountaineers, for example. In the 1990s when Górecki traveled to New Jersey to help celebrate 50 years of the *Tatrzański orzeł*, he came as a national hero, as well as a global pop star of sorts, which leads to the next level: global.

Not all diasporas are global, but they are a primary engine behind globalization and globalism. Just as diasporas should not be limited to a discussion of place, globalism

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (rev. ed.; London: Verso, 1991).

does not require physical movement (globalization does, however). Globalism requires a global consciousness, an awareness of place and beyond, a conceptual link to a place from any place or no place. Globalism is not emigrating from Poland to Chicago to work in a packing plant (that is part of the mechanism of globalization); globalism is realizing your ongoing links to Poland, Podhale, and a community of individuals in Chicago, Passiac, Toronto, London, and so forth.

Diasporas as local, national, and global, require a complex negotiation of separateness and connection across and within numerous social, political, and ideological fronts. Diana Lantz, studying Persian-language radio stations in America, notes that diasporas require separation from something considered essential for individual and group identity (usually place), but they also require connection ideologically. It is exactly this ideological connection to Podhale that allows individuals to remain “Górale” or mountaineers in the urban plains of Illinois, for example. To understand something of the grounding of this ideology, I return to music and music scholarship for the third section of this paper.

3. HISTORY OF MUSIC SCHOLARSHIP: FOUNDERS, FOLLOWERS, & FADS THAT SUPPORTED THESE EVENTS, CAUSES, AND EFFECTS. An ethnomusicological tenet is that music is a primary means by which people create and maintain self and group identities. We have done less work tracing the role our own scholarship has on the music practices that we study, the people that we study, and their subsequent use of this music for their various identity projects. The two historical events with which I started this paper point to some of the historical and intellectual structures in the form of music scholarship that facilitated the formation of a diasporic social identity in a nation-state of immigrants. They also go a long way in telling us why a group of men and women from Poland living in Chicago would choose to recognize themselves as a village group rather than align themselves with the larger Polish community in that city. Part of the answer is the intellectual infrastructure provided by musical folklore scholarship in Poland from the last half of the 19th century up through the 1920s. I will show how this music scholarship helped create a musically articulated identity that was integral in creating the ethnicity “Górale” in the first place.

Let’s return briefly to the two historical events. The striking feature of the 1997 vignette was not actually the fact that an internationally known composer was playing with a Górale-style ensemble, but rather that they were reading from a score. As I explained, this was unusual in the context of Górale musical practices. My interest in the scene was also piqued by the book that they were using as a score. Mierczyński’s *Muzyka Podhala* was published in 1930 and represents the culmination of a 50-year process of canonizing Górale repertoire. We find instances of music scholarship having a canonizing effect all across the world, certainly in Europe. The striking thing about the canonization process in Podhale is that the creation of the canon can be traced quite closely and can be linked to the very formation of a sense of Górale ethnicity.⁹ Mierczyński’s music scholarship not only provided the score for a musical moment in New Jersey among a gathering of the reified Górale diaspora, but it also stands as a defining moment for Górale cultural awareness in interwar Poland. Referencing the title

⁹ Timothy J. Coolley, *Making music in the Polish Tatras: Tourists, ethnographers, and mountain musicians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005) 83–122.

of this conference, if Górale music and Górale ethnicity are the fads, then Mierczyński is one of the founders, and Górecki and I are two of the many followers.

Mierczyński's work also bridges the temporal distance between the modern, globalized Górale to the Górale of the 19th century. He was part of a trend, I suggest, that made Jarosz's late 1920s visit to Chicago both possible and effective in generating the imaginative awareness of a Górale diaspora. The preface to Mierczyński's book, confirmed by oral histories I collected in Podhale, states that he learned many of the tunes in his collection from the legendary Górale violinist Bartusz Obrochta (1850–1926). Obrochta inherited the mantel of the quintessential Górale from Jan Sabała (1810–94), who is associated in regional history and iconography with a Warsaw physician-cum-Górale culture broker, Dr. Titus Chałubiński. Chałubiński is emblematic of the Young Poland movement of Slavic romantic nationalists, and his activities in Podhale promoted the idealization of “folk practices”, and they leave their mark on life in Podhale to this day. Many influential studies of music bear the mark of Chałubiński who brokered access to Górale and their music, not in any sort of controlling way, but by his primacy of position. In a real sense he initiated and facilitated the canonization process culminated by Mierczyński. I will not go through the analysis that led me to this conclusion, but suffice it to say that before the 1880s, music associated with the Tatras was considerably more diverse than afterwards, when particular and peculiar musical forms were identified as Górale. This narrower conception of Górale music holds sway still today, though Górale musicians are bucking this tradition in interesting ways.¹⁰

I conclude with one additional comment about Chałubiński's influence on the musical culture of Górale. He was one of the founders of the Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie in 1873, the very organization that 55 years later sent Stefan Jarosz to North America to drum up tourism. In the late 19th century this organization was part of a continuing trend that elsewhere I have labeled “the new migration”—a migration not out of Podhale, but to Podhale by tourists—a trend that established a politics of difference and separateness between the less mobile, less privileged indigenous inhabitants of the Tatras, and the late-19th- and early-20th-century tourists to the Tatras who tended to be the political and artistic elite.¹¹ This politics of difference and separateness created the conditions for imagining a Górale ethnicity in Podhale, and eventually imagining a Górale diaspora in North America. Part and parcel with the making of an ethnicity is the making of the cultural practices by which that ethnicity is maintained. This includes *Muzyka Podhala* in the case of the ethnicity Górale, and though Górale musicians are the true owners and progenitors of this beautiful music, the genre has been shaped to a significant extent by music scholarship. In this way music scholarship has had a hand in creating a Górale diapora in America.

¹⁰ Ibid., 151–202.

¹¹ Ibid., 72–73

IDEAS ABOUT “HUNGARIAN MUSIC” IN EARLY HUNGARIAN MUSICOLOGY

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In recent years scholars Jonathan Bellman and Csilla Pethő have offered specific definitions of various characteristics of the “Hungarian style” that spread across Europe from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries.¹ These works are far from the first effort to sum up the Hungarian style, however. In the late 19th century, when Hungarian musicians and critics were establishing major musical institutions and when Hungarian musicology began, one of the main issues critics addressed was a definition of Hungarian music.

In framing that definition many Hungarian music critics strove to position Hungarian music “between German and Gypsy”. By the mid-19th century Austrian and German musicians and musical institutions had long since established themselves as the leaders in Central European musical thought and had begun asserting their role as the arbiters of “universal” musical quality.² Hungarian music—specifically what was known as the “Hungarian-Gypsy style” had taken the world by storm in the 19th century, spreading across Europe both in informal settings like cafés and restaurants and in the concert hall; though the musical substance of this style was Hungarian in origin, Gypsy musicians were its primary performers. The potent image of the “Oriental” Gypsy—passionate, virtuosic, earthy, and definitely not serious—contrasted starkly with the more elevated and modern German.

For Hungarian musicians this situation posed a dilemma. By the middle of the 19th century pioneering Hungarian musicologist Gábor Mátray warned of the possible

Research for this paper has been supported by a Fulbright Fellowship, the University of Chicago Division of Humanities and Department of Music, and a Faculty Travel Grant from the Global Partners Center in Central Europe and Russia. Earlier versions in whole or in part were read by Philip Bohlman, Celia Cain, Richard Cohn, Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Judit Frigyesi, Berthold Hoeckner, Anna-Lise Santella, David Schneider, Michael Siciliano, and Richard Taruskin, and their critiques have substantially aided its development. Remaining errors are of course my own.

¹ Jonathan Bellman’s 1993 book *The style hongrois in the music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993) provides the first attempt at a comprehensive lexicon of the style in English; Csilla Pethő’s article “Style hongrois: Hungarian elements in the works of Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Schubert,” *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41/1–3 (2000) 199–284, refined this lexicon based on its Hungarian sources.

² See, for example, Celia Applegate, “How German is it?” *19th-century music* 21/3 (1998) 274–96; and chapters of *Music and German national identity*, ed. by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

misunderstanding that could ensue from “trusting the preservation and spreading” of the national music

only to Gypsies; on account of which it must not be a matter of surprise if foreign musicians begin to doubt the true Hungarian character of the national music customarily performed by our Gypsies, and if they regard this as being Indian Gypsy music rather than Hungarian music.³

Mátray’s remarks proved prophetic: Just five years later, in 1859, Franz Liszt—Hungarian-born but residing in Weimar and writing in French—set off a firestorm in his homeland by stating in his book *Des bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* that the Gypsies, not the Hungarians, were the primary creative force behind the Hungarian style.

The controversy that resulted from this book launched dozens of publications and made the “problem of Hungarian music” one of the central issues in the developing field of Hungarian musicology. In this essay, I survey writings on this “problem” from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, beginning with the Liszt controversy. I then trace some more indirect responses to Liszt: a handful of writers who strove to develop analytical definitions, particularly rhythmic definitions, of Hungarian national or “racial” music.⁴ Finally, I bring into the discussion an author who sought to reframe the methodology for drawing such a definition: Béla Bartók. As they attempt to answer the question of what Hungarian music is, all these authors find themselves embroiled in many other questions: Is Hungary an Eastern (that is, Asian) country or a Western (European) one? What does that allegiance mean for its music? In this multi-ethnic country, how can we determine whether music retains its true, authentic national character in the face of potential pollution from within the country or from without? Who is qualified to answer such questions about the future of the culture?

Issues of contested identity were at the core of the “problem of Hungarian music” from its beginnings in the Liszt controversy, when the impact of Liszt’s writings in Hungary was complicated by his own mixed identity. On the one hand, he was born in Hungary and proudly championed Hungarian causes, from playing benefit concerts for victims of the 1838 flood of Pest to acting as the founding president of Hungary’s Országos Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia in 1875. As one of the most prominent musicians in 19th-century Europe, Liszt fulfilled the longings of “peripheral” Hungary for international prestige.

On the other hand, despite his Hungarian family name, Liszt never spoke Hungarian well. He grew up speaking German,⁵ and after leaving his home in western Hungary

³ Gábor Mátray, “A magyar zene és a magyar cigányok zenéje” [Hungarian music and the music of Hungarian Gypsies], *Magyar- és Erdélyország Képekben* 4, ed. by Ferenc Kubinyi and Imre Vahot (Pest, 1854) 120; cited by Balint Sárosi in *Gypsy music* (Budapest: Corvina, 1978) 144.

⁴ Kornél Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai* [The characteristics of Hungarian song and music] (Budapest: A Magyar Királyi Egyetemi Nyomda Tulajdona, 1877); Géza Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete* [The analysis of Hungarian music] (Budapest: Részvény Társaság, 1904); Otmár Ságody, “A magyar zene metrikai sajátosságáról” [The metric characteristics of Hungarian music], *Zenevilág* 6/6 (1905) 369–70; and Antal Molnár, “Variáció a nemzeti zenében” [Variation in national music], *A zene* 5/1 (1913) 2–4.

⁵ In Hungarian “Liszt” means “flour”. The family was apparently of German extraction, though, only acquiring the “z” that marks the name as Hungarian in the late 18th century. See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The virtuoso years, 1811–1847* (rev. ed., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987) xviii–xxi. Walker rightfully points out that many patriotic Hungarians of Liszt’s time, including Count István Széchenyi and the Eszterházy princes, were not native speakers of Hungarian. *Ibid.*, 48–49.

at age 11 to study with Czerny and Salieri in Vienna, he did not return to Hungary for 17 years. It was only much later in his career that he became an ongoing player in Hungarian musical life. Liszt had been in Hungary only briefly when he published *Des bohémiens* in 1859.⁶

Both the book and the Hungarian rhapsodies that it accompanied drew on largely stereotyped associations of the “Bohemian” or “Gypsy”—associations of music and image. The “mystery” so often attributed to this Oriental Other prompted Liszt to praise the Gypsies’ fiery virtuosity, with which he identified so personally, in prose rhapsodies to match his pianistic ones.

The Gypsies are the kind of artists who with talent can create such decorations and provide all those beauties to the ear that Moorish art maintains for the eye; ornamenting every note of their tune-edifice with garlands of flowers, as the architects of the Alhambra painted a dainty little poem *en miniature* onto every stone. Here as there, quite a small space is enough for the whole variety of bowings, which cut across each other, tear each other apart, embrace each other, shove, seduce each other, seek out, collide, bite at each other, pursue, push, touch, and answer each other: bowings, sometimes joining and feverishly intensifying, sometimes shaded with foreign and hostile colors, but always depicting a glittering whole, which makes us dream of the kind of hours that we want to dream in our lives. This ornamental custom ties together this art with an obviously eastern derivation.⁷

For Hungarian musicians suggestions of the Eastern origin (that is, Gypsy origin) of the “Hungarian-style” in music then popular all over Europe—and the implied dismissal of all the efforts of Hungarian composers and musicians up until that time—were the most significant, and the most offensive, aspect of this book. In Liszt’s estimation musical art had not yet “rooted itself in the Hungarian blood.”⁸ Liszt granted that the patronage of Hungarian masters had promoted the growth of Gypsy musicians’ skills, but in such a way that supported his suggestion, albeit tentative, that the music played by the Gypsies was in fact composed by them.

Indeed the Gypsies—if it was really they who were the first composers of these songs, these rhythms, the first to introduce this style and these ornaments, and the first owners

⁶ Franz Liszt’s *Des bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1859) was published two years later in József Székely’s Hungarian translation, *A cigányokról és a cigány zenéről Magyarországon* (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1861). Since Székely’s Hungarian translation was what most Hungarian critics were responding to, quotations used here, unless otherwise noted, are my translation from that source, which has been reissued in facsimile as the second volume of the *Magyar Roma Történeti Könyvtár* [Hungarian Roma historical library] (Budapest: Magyar Mercurius Kiadó, 2004). See also the discussion of Liszt’s book by Jonathan Bellman in *The style hongrois in the music of Western Europe*, 94–127 and 175–96.

⁷ “A cigányok oly művészek, kik tehetséggel bírnak ily diszitményeket szerezni s megadni a fülnek mindazon gyönyöröket, miket a mór művészet a szemnek tartott fön, dallam-épitményének minden hangjegyét virágzifrákkal ékitvén föl, mint az Alhámra építészei mindegyik köre en miniature egy kis kecses költeményt festettek. Itt úgy mint amott, elég egy igen kis tér a vonások egész sokaságára, melyek egymást keresztülvágják, szétszakítják, átkarolják, taszítják, egymást megrontják, fölkeresik, összeütődnek, egymást harapják, üldözik, tolják, érintik s egymásnak felelnek: vonások, néha párosodó s lágyan fokozódó, néha idegen és ellenséges színekbe árnyalva, de mindig egy ragyogó egészet képezve, mely oly órákat álmodtat, a milyeket csak éltünkben álmodni akarunk. Ezen cifrázási szokás e művészetet igen világosan keleti eredettel köti össze...” Liszt, *A cigányokról*, 222–23.

⁸ See Liszt, *A cigányokról*, 262. Sárosi quotes this passage from Liszt in *Gypsy music*, 142: “Music making was a thing alien to the Hungarian character. There would long ago have been born famous Hungarian composers or virtuosos if this art had taken root in the Hungarian blood.”

of these intervals which make their music distinct—would never have developed this to such an extent if their masters had not given them an opportunity to do so.⁹

He then backed away from that suggestion, asserting that anyone should agree that the source material was not nearly as important as the performance in any event:

even those who ... remain in favour of the view that it was the Hungarians who taught their own songs and dance songs to the Gypsies cannot deny that it is only thanks to the Gypsies alone that these songs were saved ... from the impoverished fragmentary condition in which the majority of the national music traditions remained in other countries.¹⁰

In the common conflation of Hungarian and Gypsy music, Liszt thus shifted the accent away from (what he considered to be) the poor Hungarian musical material and toward the Gypsy performance. Hungarian commentators, by contrast, generally *did* deny Gypsy musicians much credit for saving Hungarian music. One writer wrote in response to Liszt, “We continue to think that the music is Hungarian whereas its principal guardian is the gypsy”; but he immediately added that “(... this is not always to its advantage).¹¹ At least one of Liszt’s more important critics, Sámuel Brassai, also noted the distinction between material and performance, but whereas Liszt wrote rapturously of Gypsy ornamentation and associated it with Oriental mystery, Brassai dismissed Gypsy ornamentation as merely following a parallel with European virtuosos’ own exaggerated ornamentation.¹² Moreover, the Gypsy musicians did not even do this properly:

the irregularity so much extolled by [Liszt] originates not in the independence of the idealized gypsy character but from the imperfections of amateurish study, and which is to be experienced in every so-called “natural” whether he is Gypsy or not.¹³

While Liszt celebrated the “exotic” and “natural” elements of Gypsy performance from his base in Paris, Brassai wrote in part to enforce the proper social order in Hungary. Race clearly played a role in this order, but it was not only racial principles that placed the Gypsies at the bottom, but lack of formal musical training; in a country still building its musical institutions, arguing for the importance of formal training was critical.

The firestorm of indignant replies to Liszt’s book took some time to die down. Later in his career, as he spent more time in Budapest and became an ever-more essential part

⁹ “Valóban a cigányok, hahogy csakugyan ők voltak első szerzői ezen dallamoknak, ezen rythmusoknak, első bevezetői ezen stýlnak s e czifrázatoknak, első tulajdonosai ezen hangközöknek, mely zenéjüket megkülönbözteti, sohasem mivelték volna ki azt oly mértékben, ha az ő nemes gazdáik nem adandottak nekik arra alkalmat.” Liszt, *A cigányokról*, 269.

¹⁰ “Még azok is, kik ezentúl is megmaradnak a mellett, hogy a magyarok voltak, kik saját énekeiket s táncz-nótáikat a cigányoknak betanították, nem tagadhatják, hogy csupán s egyedül a cigányoknak köszönik azt, miszerint azokat azon darabos és szegényes töredék-állapotból, melyben a nemzeti zene legtöbb hagyománya más országokban maradt, a cigányok által mentették meg.” Liszt, *A cigányokról*, 269. English translation taken from Sárosi, *Gypsy music*, 142.

¹¹ Anonymous writer in the 16 August 1859 edition of a Temesvár periodical, *Delejtű*, cited by Sárosi, *Gypsy music*, 143.

¹² “A cigány bandák egész instrumentális zenéje párhuzamban haladt az európai virtuozok (hangszerekek és énekesek) hová tovább erősebben tulzott fiorituáival.” Samuel Brassai, *Magyar- vagy cigány-zene? Elmefuttatás Liszt Ferencz “Cigányokról” írt könyve felett* (Kolozsvár: Az Ev. Reform. Főtanoda Könyvnyomdája, 1860) 48.

¹³ “Az az egész “fioritura” nem volna egyéb ... mint az európai modern virtuositas felszedett morzsaléka, melynek öntől [Lisztől] anynyira [sic] dicsőített szabálytalansága nem az eszményi cigány jellem függetlenségéből, hanem a kontár eltanulás tökélytelenségéből származik s a melyet minden úgy nevezett “naturalista”-nál tapasztalunk adár cigány akár nem cigány legyen.” Brassai, *Magyar- vagy Czigány-zene?* 52. English translation adapted from that found in Sárosi, 146–47.

of Hungarian musical life, most Hungarians forgave all past transgressions and accepted him back into the fold with open arms. As critic Bertalan Fabó succinctly put it in 1911, the mistakes of *Des bohémiens* were “a sin, but he expiated it... with his works, with his activities, and by establishing the Zeneakadémia and standing at its head.”¹⁴ Still the mid-19th-century controversy over the relationship between Hungarian music and Gypsy musicians echoed in Hungarian discourse on music for decades: As late as 1902 a pseudonymous author calling himself Magyar Muzsikus (Hungarian Musician) still felt it necessary to attack the idea that Gypsy musicians had added or could add anything original or intelligent to Hungarian music, and he titled his diatribe with a direct reference to Liszt’s blasphemy: “There is no Hungarian music other than Gypsy music.”¹⁵

The ramifications of Liszt’s book went beyond the Gypsy question, though. This insult provided an impetus to Hungarian music scholars and critics to produce their own analyses, to figure out just what made Hungarian music Hungarian. There was little agreement on what was important in this effort. There were only two points of consensus: that almost all music performed in Hungary, both in popular and art music genres, *should* present itself as Hungarian; and that Hungarian music meant Hungarian-Gypsy style, however many problems it might raise.

Of the stylistic markers of that style—generous use of rubato, the “Gypsy scale” with its tell-tale augmented second, copious use of ornamentation, and “Magyar rhythms”—the one to which writers devoted the most attention was rhythm. Some of the most frequently indicated Hungarian features were the dotted choriambus (long–short–short–long) and iamb (short–long) rhythms. Some of the best-known occurrences of these rhythms can be found in the recurring motto of Liszt’s Hungarian rhapsody no. 14 [ex. 1-2].

a. Hungarian iamb/“Magyar motívum-íz” [Hungarian motive-fragment]



b. Choriambus



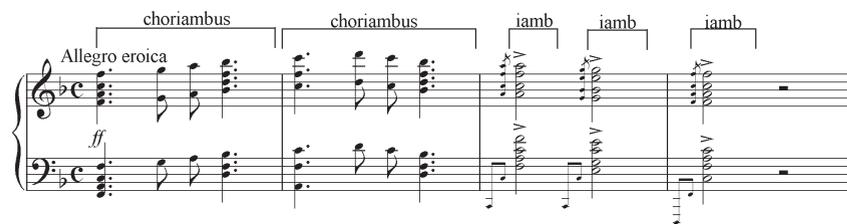
c. Antispastus



Ex. 1. “Typically Hungarian rhythms.”

¹⁴ “Bűn, de expiálta. Expiálta a műveivel, működésével és azzal, hogy... felállította a Zeneakadémiát és élére állott.” Bertalan Fabó, “Liszt Ferenc visszamagyarosodása és magyar működése” [Franz Liszt’s re-Hungarianization and Hungarian activities], *Népművelés* 6/17–18 (1911) 303.

¹⁵ Magyar Muzsikus, “Nincs más magyar muzsika, mint a cigánymuzsika,” *Zenevilág* 2/42 (10 June 1902) 450–51. Magyar Muzsikus states that his article is an immediate response to Béla Tóth’s series published in *Pesti Hírlap* 23 and 25 (May 1902), which purportedly gave “great glee” to the Gypsies by unjustly crediting them with too much of a contribution. The justifications for Magyar Muzsikus’s main argument are based primarily on stereotypes: Gypsy musicians cannot be considered creative because they do not use large ensembles or write their scores down; their musical illiteracy is due to laziness. I have not been able to locate Tóth’s series, but whatever the immediate provocation, Magyar Muzsikus’s title still demonstrates a perceived continuity between this spat and the debate around Liszt’s book decades earlier.



Ex. 2. “Typically Hungarian rhythms” as heard in Liszt’s Hungarian rhapsody no. 14, mm. 25–28.

Although Hungarian music from this period, both popular music and art music, simply teems with these rhythms, commentators were unsure whether to ascribe the label of Hungarian to something as atomistic as a rhythmic pattern, nor whether to endorse the use of popular style markers in elevated concert repertoire. In his 1904 article “Are Hungarian motives appropriate for use in art music?” Otmár Ságody (1881–1945) answered his title question in the negative, because as he saw it, the choriambus—the only Hungarian motive he discussed at length—was defined largely by a freedom of tempo and rhythm. Ságody went on to argue that such rhythmic freedom made it impossible for Hungarian motives to retain their meaning in an orchestral setting. Hungarian music could only “take its rightful place in general music” by giving up the “independence and love of freedom” that was “one of the main features of the character of the national soul.”¹⁶ Simply using the principal Hungarian motive (the choriambus) over and over again in a strict tempo would be absurd.

In a response to Ságody published a few weeks later, Sándor Kárpáti (1872–1939) rejected both Ságody’s assumption that the choriambus was the principal Hungarian motive and his conclusion that Hungarian motives could not be used in art music. Kárpáti argued that Hungarian motives should be understood as extending far beyond the choriambus:

Above all, again, I emphasize: *the choriambus* (– ∪ ∪ –) is **not our only Hungarian motive**; the convulsive attachment to this is the most unfortunate idea of the reform, because with monotonous, uniform rhythm it makes art music really lamentable, indeed it makes our *ambitions* for art music expressly simple-minded.¹⁷

¹⁶ “Szerintem a magyar dal (zene) függetlensége a szigorú metrikától a nemzeti lélek karakterének egyik fővonásából ered. Abból a hatalmas függetlenség és szabadságszeretetből, ami talán egy népben sem oly erős, mint a magyarban. Ezért mondunk le erről nehezen, ezért nem sikerült a magyar zenének az őt megillető helyet az általános zenében elfoglalni.” Otmár Ságody, “Alkalmasak-e a magyar motívumok műzenében való felhasználásra?” *Zenevilág* 5/46–47 (20 December 1904) 333. Complete English translation of passage: “In my opinion, the independence of Hungarian song (or music) from strict meter rises from one of the main features of the national character—out of that powerful independence and love for freedom, which is perhaps not so strong in any other folk as in the Hungarian folk. For this reason we give it up only with difficulty, and for this reason Hungarian music has not succeeded in taking its rightful place in international music.”

Ságody attempted to portray that typically Hungarian metric freedom with something much more rigid: arithmetical ratios. To paraphrase his description: the choriambus is notated strictly as $\frac{3}{8} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{3}{8}$ [∪ ∪ ∪ ∪] but in performance, it could end up more like $\frac{3}{8} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{10} + \frac{4}{10}$. I should clarify that Ságody acknowledges that the arithmetical descriptions he offers for rubato-filled phrases cannot hope to capture the effect; the fact that he tries, however, even in order to prove this negative, is in keeping with the scientific theoretical methods of some of his contemporaries.

¹⁷ “Mindenekelőtt újra és ismételten hangsúlyozom: a *choriambus* (– ∪ ∪ –) **nem egyetlen magyar motívumunk**; az ehhez való görcsös ragaszkodás a legszerencsétlenebb reformálási idea, mert monoton, egyforma ritmikájával tényleg siralmassá teszi a műzenét, sőt egyenesen együgyűvé a műzenét célzó törekvésünket is...” Sándor Kárpáti, “Stilizált magyar motívum” [Stylized Hungarian motive], *Zenevilág* 6/1–2 (8 January 1905) 1.

Kárpáti then derived more than a dozen Hungarian rhythms—none of them choriambus—from the rhythms of folksong and popular song melodies. Rather than restrict Hungarian character to just one or two patterns, he argued that anything that fit any of these tunes was Hungarian, essentially because their texts were Hungarian. This more flexible derivation of Hungarian rhythms could be one precursor to the way Bartók and Kodály located Hungarian rhythm in folksong and the rhythms of the Hungarian language. Even if Bartók and Kodály never came across Kárpáti's article, we know from this article that the text-accentuation hypothesis for Hungarian rhythm rose up against the restrictions of the motivic-taxonomy approach well before Bartók and Kodály commented on this issue in print.

We can read in Kárpáti's other criticism of Ságody yet another confrontation over the orientation—or occidentation—of Hungarian music and over its proper place in the hierarchy from high to low art. Ságody had called metric freedom a basic part of Hungarian performance, an essential part of its Eastern character, with connotations of license and sensuality that cannot be confined by a strict tempo. By contrast Kárpáti argued that the extreme rubato of popular Hungarian performance was only the sloppiness that came from the backwardness of popular and folk performers, contrasted with those who are trained according to proper Western standards.

Ságody yielded somewhat under Kárpáti's criticism, but was unwilling to completely relinquish the identifying Eastern-ness of rubato. Whereas in his first article he seemed to say that Hungarians had to shed the metric freedom characteristic of the East to fit into the bounds of international concert music (the West), in a second article a few months later he tried to mark a fine line between these two poles.

We can differentiate between two kinds of rhythmically irregular variations which dominate in Hungarian music: One is when the tempo variation, happening in the bounds of one or at most two beats (happening once or recurrent), is such that their sum total did not change the value, the time, of the entire beat or two. In the other on the contrary, the tempo variations happening within the bounds of the beat are such that their total does change the value of the entire beat. In my persuasion this latter is attributable principally to the Gypsy influence.¹⁸

In distinguishing between the modest tempo variation of Hungarians and the extremes he attributed to Gypsy performance practice, Ságody positions the Hungarians between the German and the Gypsy: Hungarians are a bit free, a bit exotic, but not uncontrollably so as the Gypsies are. Whereas the limited irregularity of Hungarians can be used in art music, Gypsy practice is too loose to fit into an art music setting. As Ságody points out, it is not only the "Bohemian temperament" (bohém temperamentum) that disqualifies Gypsy music from the concert hall but the freedom of a small popular ensemble as opposed to an orchestra: "Most Gypsy bands actually are nothing but a violin soloist with string accompaniment, where the accompaniment in every view is completely under the direction of the soloist, the 'primás.'"¹⁹

¹⁸ "A ritmikái szabálytalan változásoknál, melyek a magyar zenében dominálnak, kétféle lehet megkülönböztetni: Az egyik az, amikor az egy, vagy legfeljebb két taktus határábelül történő (egyszeri vagy többszöri) változtatja meg az egész taktus—illetve két taktus—értékét, időtartamát. A másiknál ellenben a tempóváltozások, amelyek a taktus határábelül történnek, olyanok, hogy összességük megváltoztatja az egész taktusnak értékét. Meggyőződésem szerint ez az utóbbi az, ami a cigánybefolyásnak tulajdonítható főképen." Otmár Ságody, "A cigányos magyar zenéről" [About Gypsy-style Hungarian music], *Zenevilág* 6/9 (25 February 1905) 77.

¹⁹ "Mert a cigányzenésznek a bohém temperamentumán kívül még egy másik oka is van az ily tempóváltozásokat

Ságody and Kárpáti's exchange sharpens the focus of this discourse on some important questions: What then could be translated from the popular Hungarian-Gypsy style into art music, and what elements of that style were too low, or too Oriental, to be translated into an orchestral piece? Should certain motives—such as the choriambus—be understood to be independently Hungarian, or should we consider motives to be Hungarian if they come out of Hungarian song melodies? Was the focus on a few rhythmic cells too limiting? What tools would demonstrate music's Hungarian character recognizably and yet still allow composers freedom—one aspect of that intangible, vaguely Eastern quality of “Hungarian feeling”?²⁰

It was in fact in the instruction of composers that the analysis of Hungarian music, particularly its rhythm, was extended to its greatest lengths. Two authors wrote textbooks of Hungarian music for their students at the Zeneakadémia: Kornél Ábrányi, the first instructor of Hungarian music history at the Zeneakadémia, published *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai* (The characteristics of Hungarian song and music) in 1877, only a few years after the Zeneakadémia opened; Leipzig-trained Géza Molnár, first member of the Zeneakadémia faculty whose job was exclusively concerned with teaching music history, published *A magyar zene elmélete* (The analysis of Hungarian music) in 1904, around the time when the Zeneakadémia was producing its first generation of internationally known graduates—Bartók, Kodály, Leó Weiner, and Imre Kálmán among them.²¹ Both Ábrányi's and Molnár's books begin with topics that set Hungary apart from the European mainstream: Ábrányi's first two chapters are on “Nationality in music” and “Eastern music”; Molnár's introduction addresses “The racial element in art.” Both locate national or racial qualities in music at least partly in language, and develop the relationship between text and rhythm at length. Both make liberal use of Greek terminology for poetic feet in their rhythmic analyses. The “chief [metric] feet in Hungarian poetry and music”, Ábrányi declares, are as follows:

kultiválni. A legtöbb cigánybanda tulajdonképen semmi egyéb, mint egy hegedű-szólista vonós kísérettel, ahol a kíséret minden tekintetben teljesen a szólistának—a primásnak van alárendelve.” Ságody, “A cigányos magyar zenéről”, 77.

²⁰ As Ságody wrote in “A magyar zene metrikai sajátosságáról”, 369–70: “Az a zeneszerző, aki megismeri ugyan (értelmileg) a magyar zene jellemző sajátosságait, de nincs benne magyar érzés, az sohasem fog magyar műzenét alkotni; ellenben az a zeneszerző, aki ugyan talán nem ismerkedik meg elméletileg a magyar zenének általam kifejtett jellemző sajátosságaival, de van benne igazi magyar érzés és mindamellert tudja magát a magyar dalmotívumok szolgál felhasználásától emancipálni, az adaratlanul is magyar műzenét fog alkotni.” [The composer who recognizes intellectually the identifying characteristics of Hungarian music, but has no Hungarian feeling in him, will never create Hungarian art music; conversely, that composer who perhaps is not intellectually acquainted with [its] identifying characteristics, but has in him genuine Hungarian feeling and nevertheless can emancipate himself from the slavish use of Hungarian motives will involuntarily produce Hungarian art music.]

²¹ Ábrányi (1822–1903) was one of the founders of the first Hungarian music periodical, *Zenészeti lapok*, and played an important part in the founding of Hungary's Zeneakadémia; he taught music aesthetics, harmony, music analysis, and general and Hungarian music history there from the Zeneakadémia's 1875 opening until his retirement in 1888. (See Melinda Berlás's essay “Zenetörténet tanítás a Zeneművészeti Főiskolán (1875–1945)” [Music history teaching at the Zeneművészeti Főiskolán (1875–1945)], *A Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola 100 éve*, ed. by József Ujfalussy [Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1977] 256.) Molnár (1870–1933) taught at the Zeneakadémia from 1900 until 1933, the year of his death, with the exception of 1919–25, when he was removed from the faculty for political reasons after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic; similar problems affected many other musicians and academics, including Kodály, Bartók, and Dohnányi, to varying degrees. According to Berlás's essay Molnár first taught only Hungarian music history, then in 1906 began teaching general music history and aesthetics as well. Berlás states (p. 259) that despite the controversy over Molnár's approach, “it should be noted that Géza Molnár was the first professor at the Zeneakadémia who was occupied almost exclusively with the teaching of music-historical matters.” [Mindenesetre megjegyzendő, hogy Molnár Géza volt az első tanár a főiskolán, aki csaknem kizárólagosan zenetörténeti tárgyak oktatásával foglalkozott.]

the "swaying" (choriambus) pattern, that is: | – ∪ ∪ – | and the "recruiting" (antispastus) pattern, that is: | ∪ – – ∪ |... Out of the compounding and mixture of these feet then numerous different kinds of accentuation patterns can result.²²

Molnár stresses another figure, the "iamb" or "Hungarian motive-flavor" as the "smallest form in which the national element is present."²³

These three rhythmic figures [ex. 1a–c], particularly the first two, do fill the Hungarian music of the era; one of the best-known instances is shown in ex. 2. But Molnár's book saw the potential limits in the emphasis on these basic elements and sought to enrich Hungarian rhythm by expanding them in new ways:

Those theorists were wrong who were filled with infinite love toward our racial music, but who placed boundaries around the development of Hungarian music—the kind of boundaries that have no roots at all in the spirit of past ages. In this way they limited the national music to return forever to a few formulas instead of showing a way that racial music can develop, absorbing *new rhythmic, dynamic, and accentual elements that are compatible with nature.*²⁴

Despite Molnár's invocation of the authority of nature, the methods he used seem far from natural or even clear. He derived longer patterns out of the "typically Hungarian" rhythmic cells shown in ex. 1; then,

when we were drawing together [short] duple meter patterns into passages of longer duration, as when we were breaking [them] into smaller durations according to whether they are more or less Hungarian, a more or less racial character was crammed into the original pattern, which we drew together, or that we broke apart, in this way.... When I say that certain patterns are good and others are bad, *it is not of the rhythm, but rather of the pattern of accents and stresses that I am thinking.*²⁵

Some of the expansion and recombining of patterns of which Molnár approves is easily understandable: the dotted and syncopated (pontozott és szinkopált) rhythms seen in ex. 3a derive simply from the Hungarian iamb and antispastus. His next table, shown here as ex. 3b, takes those principles shown in ex. 3a and makes them more complex, yielding a variety of "usable" rhythms filled with at least some Hungarian character. The arguments motivating the classification of other examples, however, are more murky. Molnár labels the rhythms in ex. 3c/i as "not racially flavored" because

²² "A lengedező (choriambus) képlete ez: | – ∪ ∪ – | és a toborzéki (antispastus), képlete ez: | ∪ – – ∪ |... E lábak összetétele és vegyítéséből aztán számtalan s különféle zöngidomu képleteket lehet eredményezni..." Ábrányi, *A magyar dal és zene sajátosságai*, 24.

²³ Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, 1; Molnár's definition of the "Hungarian motive-fragment" [magyaros motívum-íz] appears first on 14–15.

²⁴ "Ebben hibásak azok a theoretikusok, a kik a faji zenénk iránt végtelen szeretettel voltak ugyan eltelve, de a magyar zene fejlődésének korlátokat szabtak, olyanokat, a melyek a multak szellemében egyáltalán nem gyökereznek. Ilyen módon a nemzeti zenét egy pár örökösen visszatérő képletre szorították, a helyett, hogy utat mutattak volna, melyen a faji zene kibontakozhatik, fölszíván a természetével megférő új ritmikai, dinamikai és hangsúlybeli elemeket." Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, 12.

²⁵ "A páros ütemű képleteknek úgy nagyobb hangjegy-értékekkel való összevonása, mint kisebb időértékekre való felbontása magyarabb vagy kevésbé magyar a szerint, hogy az eredeti képletbe, amelyet ilyen módon összevontunk, illetőleg felbontottunk, több vagy kevesebb faji jelleg szorult.... Mikor azt mondom, hogy bizonyos képletek jók, mások meg rosszak, ezuttal *nem a ritmusra, hanem a súlybeli és erősségi mintázásra gondolok.*" Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, 80–81.

Samples from Géza Molnár's tables of Hungarian (or racial) vs. non-Hungarian rhythms.
 From *A magyar zene elmélete* (Budapest: Pest Könyvnyomda-Részvény-Társaság, 1904).

The image displays seven rows of rhythmic notation. Each row consists of a sequence of notes (quarter, eighth, and dotted notes) followed by an equals sign and a corresponding pattern of beams and slurs. To the right of these patterns are labels: [iamb], [antispastus], and [iamb]. Vertical arrows indicate a downward flow from the first [iamb] label to the [antispastus] label, and from the [antispastus] label to the second [iamb] label.

Ex. 3a. "We perceive dotted and syncopated rhythms ... as an amalgamation. Here opens a wide opportunity for us to attain *Hungarian* effects:" [A pontozott és szinkopált ritmust ... összevonás útján kapjuk. Itt bő alkalmunk nyílik *magyaros* hatások elérésére:] (pp. 88–89).

The image shows two columns of musical notation. Each column contains five rows of rhythmic patterns. The patterns consist of eighth and quarter notes with various beams and slurs. The right column includes dynamic markings: a hairpin (<) above the first three rows, and a hairpin (<) with 'sf' above the fourth row.

Ex. 3b. "Syncopation enriches several patterns that prove to be less Hungarian, either dynamically or in terms of their accentuation. Hence they *can be used*: [A szinkopálás néhány – dinamikailag vagy súlybelileg kevésbé magyarosnak bizonyult – képletet megjavít. Ennélfogva *használhatók*:] (p. 89).



Ex. 3c/i. "Non racially flavored" [Nem fazi ízűek] (p. 84):



Ex. 3c/ii. "As opposed to these Hungarian-style motives" [Szemben ezekkel a magyaros motívumokkal] (p. 84):

of his claim that "the crescendo pattern is racially more useful than the diminuendo motive".²⁶ However, he also states the following:

there is an exception: when at the same time the racial rhythm emphasizes the un-Hungarian quality of the diminishing dynamic. For example, this decrescendo-pattern:  has a Hungarian effect, because this racial pattern: , that is a stressed short note followed by a long note with less of an accent, originated from putting together the second and third notes. Here therefore the Hungarian rhythm counteracts the un-Hungarian diminuendo. Thus the irregular accent or length that falls on the unstressed beat of the measure, that is *syncopation* or a *syncopation-like phenomenon*, facilitates racial expression.²⁷

In a sense, Molnár carried out what Ábrányi suggested a generation before: He displayed hundreds of the "numerous different kinds of accentuation patterns" which, as Ábrányi stated, "can result from the compounding and mixture of these metric feet". Selecting from the patterns he recommended, Molnár claimed, composers could re-establish the richness of Hungarian rhythm.

Although Molnár used the language of scientific objectivity, the positivist statements he made about his tables of rhythmic formulas were difficult to follow and frequently contradictory, and his strict categorization of rhythms into "racial, race-destroying, and neutral"²⁸ categories was highly problematic, to say the least. By largely limiting his field of study to the investigation of rhythmic motives, Molnár hoped to settle the ongoing debate on Hungarian rhythm, and in a negative sense, that is what he did: by attempting to classify rhythmic patterns exhaustively, but with too many options for any but the most determined to follow; by asserting basic principles so broad and arbitrary—such as the "un-racial flavor" of the diminuendo—as to be almost laughable, Molnár made the "Hungarian rhythm" Hungarian musicians had been talking about for years seem more of an artificial construct than ever. Though reviewers were initially

²⁶ "A crescendozó képlet fájlag használatosabb a diminuendo-motívumnál." Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, 81.

²⁷ "Van kivétel: amikor ugyanis a csökkenő hangerősség magyartalan jellegét ellensúlyozza a faji ritmus. Pl. Ez a decrescendo-képlet:  magyarosan hat, mert a második és harmadik negyed összevonásából ez a faji minta:  származott, vagyis a súlyos rövid és a kisebb súlyú hosszúság. / Itt tehát a magyaros ritmus ellensúlyozza a magyartalan diminuendot. / A súlytalan ütemtagra eső rendhagyó súly vagy hosszúság, tehát a *szinkopa* vagy a *szinkopaszerű jelenség* előmozdítja a faji kifejezést." Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, 82.

²⁸ "Faji, fajrontó, és közömbös." Molnár, *A magyar zene elmélete*, xvii.

impressed both by the scope of the book and its “rigorous scientific methods,”²⁹ its monumental size also made it an easy target. In his review of the book, musicologist János Seprődi in fact zeroed in on Molnár’s extensive use of science as a cover: “Right away in the introduction ... he creates darkness around himself like the inkfish, but no one pursues him.”³⁰

The failure of rhythmic and metric analysis to explain Hungarian music in a satisfactory scientific way, or to impart that essential, mystical quality of Hungarian feeling, offered an opening for an alternative to the choriambus, a new icon of Hungarian music: the folksong. Folk music seemed both to allow rigorous study and to evoke the distant primitive past, and it offered a data set for the investigation of Hungarian melody and rhythm that could be more or less independent from composition. As Sándor Kárpáti had suggested in 1905, such analysis could lead to a more flexible understanding of Hungarian rhythm, in place of the endless stream of choriambus which some served up as Hungarian music. By all accounts, it was this kind of search for greater variety that initially motivated Bartók’s own folk music collecting.

On the other hand, knowing this background offers a useful perspective on the writings of Bartók and his allies.³¹ Before they began promoting the folk music of the isolated rural peasantry as an alternative source for Hungarian composition, the popular Hungarian-Gypsy style was all the Hungarian public knew as Hungarian music; the resistance Bartók’s circle encountered as they argued for the alternative they offered is well documented. Knowing the work of Géza Molnár gives far more resonance to Bartók’s comments about “our so-called ‘musicologists’” in his 1911 essay “A magyar zenéről” (On Hungarian music):

They attempt to prove in bulky volumes, sometimes with comical zeal, how characteristically Hungarian is some melody actually of foreign origin.... They believe something else, too: that it is possible to produce a new type of original Hungarian music by making use of artificial rhythmic formulas derived from certain predetermined rules. How comical it is to read the recommendations of such musical scientists—who have never composed a single note—that “characteristically Hungarian” rhythm formulas compiled by them, in accordance with their theories, are fitting examples for Hungarian composers to follow.³²

²⁹ In his review “A magyar zene elméletéről” [About *The analysis of Hungarian music*], János Seprődi wrote that in Hungary, “Most, hogy legújabb műve megjelent, szaklapok és napilapok uni sono zengik a dicséretét... Egyhangúlag kiemelték az eddigi bírálók, hogy ez a könyv a szigorú tudományosság módszerével készült.” [Specialist journals and daily papers alike, *uni sono*, sing its praises... With one voice the reviewers so far have stressed that this book was prepared with rigorous scientific methods] [A magyar zene elméletéről], *Budapesti szemle* 118/328–30 (spring 1904) 119.

³⁰ “Mindjárt bevezetésül az Ohm törvényénél sötétséget csinál maga körül, mint a tintahal, pedig senki nem üldözi.” Seprődi, “About *The analysis of Hungarian music*”, 126.

³¹ Particularly Antal Molnár, who cites Ábrányi, Géza Molnár, and a handful of others in his article “Nemzeti zene” [National music], *Zeneközlöny* 12/19 (15 May 1914) 499–502; 12/20 (15 June 1914) 539–41; 12/21 (15 July 1914) 575–78; 13/1 (15 March 1915) 10–12; 13/2 (15 April 1915) 19–21.

³² “Zenetudósaink’ vaskos kötetekben néha mulatságos buzgalommal bizonyítgatják, mennyire magyaros egy-egy sültidegen dallam.... Sőt egyebet is hisznek. Azt, hogy mesterségesen, bizonyos előre fölállított szabályok szerint kiesztelt ritmusképletek alkalmas fölhasználásával újszerű és eredeti magyar zenét lehet produkálni. Mennyei derűtséggel olvassuk, mikor egy ilyen zenetudós—aki soha egy hang zenét nem írt—általa összeállított s előzetes teóriájának megfelelő “magyaros” ritmusképleteket ajánl követendő például a magyar szerzőknek!” Béla Bartók, “A magyar zenéről” [On Hungarian music] originally appeared in *Aurora* 1/3 (March 1911) 127. Quotation taken from English translation in *Béla Bartók essays*, ed. by Benjamin Suchoff (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1976) 302, and altered based on the Hungarian original published in *Béla Bartók írásai* 1, ed. by Tibor Tallián (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1989) 99–100.

Bartók referred here to "our so-called 'musicologists'" in general; marginal notes in his copy of Molnár's book were much more specific. Next to an example taken from Erkel's *Hunyady László*, Bartók sarcastically wrote "¡ This is good Hungarian declamation" and then added "We can't prove anything with examples taken from art music!" Later, next to Molnár's comment about the "Hungarian-like effect" of a "more sophisticated resource", Bartók noted that "We will *not* discover Hungarian effects first in *analysis!*"³³

While Bartók's dislike of Molnár's methodology is clear, and while there certainly is an element of "comical zeal" to Géza Molnár's voluminous tables of Hungarian and non-Hungarian (or racial and nonracial) rhythms, these principles may be more applicable to Bartók's work than the composer would care to admit. We must be careful not to take at face value Bartók's claims about his reliance on "pure sources" to the exclusion of the artificial Hungarian style that filled his environment. Rather than completely discarding this style, Bartók reinterpreted it from a diametrically opposed point of view. In his 1933 essay "Hungarian Peasant Music" he singled out the very same rhythmic patterns Géza Molnár had as typical of Hungarian music:

The combinations occurring most frequently are 4/4 , , and . These rhythms have been imitated by our composers of folksong-like art songs, and in this manner they have come to the notice of foreign musicians (for example, in the first theme of Liszt's fourteenth rhapsody).³⁴

Whereas Géza Molnár was of the opinion that educated Hungarians took over something formed in the learned centers of European culture and it eventually filtered down to the rude Gypsies and peasants, Bartók argued that it was the foreigners—notably including Liszt—who took up a folk music that had seeped up from below, its true strength diluted at every step along the way. The truth was almost certainly somewhere in between: There was much interchange between "folksong-like art songs" (*nóta*) and what Bartók and Kodály called the new-style folksong. But why does Bartók single out these particular rhythms? The first and second (in Molnár's terms, choriambus and iamb) are common enough, but the last one, the antispastus, does not often appear on its own, and in fact it is completely absent from the examples Bartók includes in his 1933 essay. We might tentatively ascribe Bartók's inclusion of the antispastus motive at least partly to his days in Molnár's class decades earlier, but viewed through the lens of his years arguing for the Hungarian peasant as the true source of the power of Hungarian and Hungarian-style art music.

Bartók also redeployed these Hungarian rhythms in provocative new ways. For instance, in the middle section of the eleventh of the *14 zongoradarab* (Fourteen bagatelles), op. 6 (1908) [ex. 4], we find the same "essentially Hungarian" rhythmic cells that occurred in the opening of Liszt's rhapsody [ex. 2], even though the context differs greatly in tonality, texture, and mood. Framed by the merrily drunken wandering of the

³³ These comments can be found on pages 39 and 68, respectively, in Bartók's copy of Molnár's *A magyar zene elmélete* (Budapest Bartók Archivum cat. 421) which was dedicated to Bartók by the author. Original Hungarian text of comments: on p. 39, "¡ Ez jó magyar deklamác[i]ó" and "Műzenéből vett példákkal mitsem bizonyíthatunk!"; on p. 68, "Magyaros hatásokat *nem* fogunk először *elméletben* kitalálni!" Tibor Tallián quotes the comment from p. 68 in the notes to his edition of "A magyar zenéről", in *Béla Bartók írásai* 1, 101. Many thanks to Tibor Tallián for pointing me to this source.

³⁴ *The musical quarterly* 19/3 (July 1933) 276. The essay is reprinted in *Béla Bartók Essays*, 80–102. Though some of the ideas in this essay appear earlier, in Bartók's 1924 book *A magyar népdal* [The Hungarian folksong], this text appeared first in English. See *Bartók Béla írásai* 3, ed. by Vera Lampert (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1999) 165.

outer sections of this bagatelle, the march-like “Hungarian” rhythms of these 20 measures call to mind a mock-serious mini-*verbunkos*,³⁵ a warped send-up of Lisztean solemnity. Even the fact that this passage is tucked in the middle of something as insignificant as a bagatelle comments ironically on the persistence of the Hungarian style.

Ex. 4. “Typically Hungarian rhythms” in Bartók’s *14 bagatell zongorára*, op. 6, no. 11 (1908), m. 34–60. Revised edition by Péter Bartók (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1998)

Elsewhere Bartók’s take on this style is more developed. In her analysis of *A Kékszakállú herceg vára* [Duke Bluebeard’s castle], Judit Frigyesi describes how Bartók created a rich variety of ornamental figures out of one *verbunkos*-derived rhythm:

In the ornamental style of *verbunkos* Bartók found the inspiration to make a system of rhythmic thematic transformations that refer back to the most elementary fragment of music.... The connections between themes form a chain of rhythmic variations that move in a circle, taking a main melodic note as the point of departure, turning it into new motives by way of ornamentation, and then transforming these motives back into a single note.³⁶

Frigyesi then illustrates the principle of a “chain of rhythmic variations” [ex. 5]. After the single note, the first link in this chain is what Géza Molnár would call an antispastus. In fact, to the reader who has suffered through Molnár’s turgid work, this figure appears to do with the antispastus what Molnár does with the iamb in ex. 3b, and the elaboration

³⁵ One of the genres found in the Hungarian-Gypsy style initially associated with military recruitings; marked by characteristic ornamental, melodic, and rhythmic figures, including but not limited to, those discussed here. For further discussion see Bellman (op. cit.), Pethő (op. cit.), and David E. Schneider, *Bartók, Hungary, and the renewal of tradition: Case studies in the intersection of modernity and nationality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) 17–24.

³⁶ Judit Frigyesi, *Béla Bartók and turn-of-the-century Budapest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 251.

principle that Frigyesi describes in Bartók's work reads as a brief, elegant, and much more flexible version of Molnár's lessons on how to derive a variety of rhythms from one simple (and, in both cases, "Hungarian") cell:

Any main note of a melodic progression [ex. 5a] can develop into several rhythmic patterns: various dotted-rhythm note pairs (b), dotted rhythm dissolved in ornamentation (c), unaccented preceding or following grace note (d), or unaccented ornaments (e)—all heard as variants of the given note. With metric displacement, the patterns based on dotted rhythm and on ornaments can turn into each other—(b) turning into (d) and (c) into (e). These dotted-rhythm and ornamental figures can be combined into various complex ornamental motives (f).³⁷

The diagram illustrates the rhythmic development of a single note (a). It shows eight variations (a-h) of a single note:

- a. A single quarter note.
- b. Two eighth notes with a dotted rhythm (dotted quarter, eighth).
- c. Two groups of eighth notes with a dotted rhythm, each group containing a dotted quarter and an eighth note.
- d. A quarter note with a grace note (eighth note) preceding or following it.
- e. A quarter note with a grace note (eighth note) preceding or following it, with a dotted rhythm.
- f. A complex ornamental motive consisting of a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, and a quarter note, with a grace note (eighth note) preceding or following it.
- g. A complex ornamental motive consisting of a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, and a quarter note, with a grace note (eighth note) preceding or following it, and a dotted rhythm.
- h. A sequence of eighth notes with a dotted rhythm (dotted quarter, eighth).

Ex. 5. "The chain of *verbunkos*-derived rhythmic variation."

From Judit Frigyesi's *Béla Bartók and turn-of-the-century Budapest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 252. Used by permission.

It would be absurd to assert that Bartók consciously modeled his compositions on the theories of Molnár, Ábrányi, or any of the "scientific gentlemen" he had ridiculed in print, but still, it is suggestive that a late 20th-century analyst finds traits in Bartók's music that resemble their instructions. Of course Frigyesi's goal in this analysis was much more narrowly focused than Molnár's: Where he wished to develop a unified theory for writing "racial music", she wanted to show how Bartók developed an orchestral style that

³⁷ Ibid., 251–53.

could be capable of contrast, highly expressive, and Hungarian, in a sense that recalled the *verbunkos* but went well beyond it. Also Frigyesi was not burdened with Molnár's concern for a "unified racial style" of composition—a theoretical construct which has not aged well.

Rather than try to find the proper place for Hungarian music in the narrow place between German and Gypsy, Bartók attributed the roots of Hungarian music to a source that his forbears never considered, "authentic peasant music". Yet as a Hungarian composer striving to write Hungarian music, Bartók also faced one of the same problems they did: how to develop brief ideas—whether fragmentary rhythmic patterns or short folksongs—into longer compositions that would still carry within them some kernel of authentic Hungarian character. As he strove to invent a new stylistic palette for Hungarian composition, Bartók still found use for elements of the stereotyped Hungarian style that his predecessors had developed.

Knowing the debates about how the Hungarian style should be defined not only opens a new window into the early history of Hungarian music scholars and institutions; it also reveals another side of the explosive cultural and political conflicts of late 19th- and early 20th-century Hungary. Bartók himself emphasized the revolutionary break he made with Hungarian composers before him, and scholars have often followed him. This essay instead emphasizes the connections between Bartók and his Hungarian musical predecessors, teachers, and older colleagues. In the context of those predecessors, we can better understand what Bartók may have drawn from the past, as well as what elements of that past he was revolting against.

NETTIE QUINN'S GUIDE TO NATIONALISM IN MUSIC

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Nettie Quinn's Puppets & Marionettes is another name for item #58344 from the Dickens Village series. The collection also includes miniature buildings such as the Aldeburgh Music Box Shop, the Dickens Village Mill, and the Scrooge and Marley Counting House, as well as figurines of real and imaginary personalities such as Dickens and his wife, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, and generic seasonal revelers. One of several holiday villages, it is sold in various kinds of knick-knack and collectibles stores, particularly around Christmas-time. Of course it is available all year long on the Internet.¹

Nettie Quinn's shop is a toy for adults—not for small children. With its partially melted snow, Noel decorations, tiny marionette theater, and ornamental miniature details, it is meant to be a landscape of delight, one that turns its back completely on the complexities of existence in favor of an idealized image. The owner of this object can even create a semblance of day and night, of passing time, by switching on and off a light,



¹ The comment was presented as a response to the session “The other Central Europe: Musicologies of Hungary and Poland”, which included the following papers: Timothy J. Cooley, “How 19th-century musical folklore created Poland’s Górale diaspora in 20th-century Chicago” and Lynn Hooker, “Discourses of ‘Hungarian music’ in early Hungarian musicology.”

as if there was human life inside. In this tiny theater within a theater we control the landscape as giants and gods.

Some may find the object charming, others will consider it ridiculous, while still others may find it both charming and ridiculous. Yet however banal it may be, a landscape lacking complexity may also be a landscape free from anxiety. Any attempt to apprehend reality in all its details would probably kill us, so it is no wonder that our mental life allows for pared-down visions. In fact, it may well turn out that the ability to naturally reduce experience to something like a sound bite is an evolutionary advantage, a way of saving energy and relieving fear of the unknown. The point is, of course, that most models of an ideal, thinking human being assume that, in theory, the moisture of reality is restored when one of these “freeze-dried” images is thawed. But alas, once the world is stripped of nuance, our programs for adding the thickness of experience back into the mix are faulty at best.

Nettie Quinn’s Shop is a kind of concretization (or porcelainization) of certain approaches in the historiography of national music, particularly in the Region Formerly Known As Eastern Europe. There is no better illustration of this relentlessly idealizing tendency than, for example, the attempt to concentrate Hungarianness in a single rhythmic gesture. Such a theoretical approach is audacious, simultaneously knuckleheaded and admirable. To reduce to a dotted figure centuries of complex history, radically different personality types, and enough border seepage, hybridity, and interbreeding to make even a careless philosopher reluctant to essentialize, is frankly beyond anything in the Dickens Village.

And Lynn Hooker shows us that when this construct is challenged, it is replaced by another idea which we might consider simply a more metaphysical version of Nettie’s shop: The Hungarian Folksong. Once again, all the nuance of reality is sucked out, all the anxieties quieted; and songs from tens of thousands of square miles, reflecting enormous variety of type and execution (some of them claimed as “Czech” or “Romanian” or “Transylvanian” by others) are reduced to a single mental construct, thought to have irreducible unity.

Considering that most of the people who write about national music show an ability to be critical in other areas of their output, one might regard much nationalist historiography as nothing more or less than manuals for a kind of cult. And while some of these cultists are indeed aware that they are members, others have simply had their rational apparatus short-circuited by the lobotomizing seduction of purity.

In the end, though, who am I to tell the grandma (look at me stereotyping) who loves and treasures Nettie Quinn’s that her engagement with it involves manipulation of the “idyllic centers” of her brain? She is being quintessentially human in her desire to banish complexity and replace it with the halo of an idealized image, very much like the reader of nationalist historiography. But there is an important difference: Both the little house and the writings about national music may also be considered commercial products that exploit a yearning for pure images as a way to capture a market. Once the market is captured, the Dickens Village, though cloying and somewhat sterile, seems relatively harmless. When the marionette shop becomes a nation, though, all darker impulses escape their miniaturized worlds and begin twisting wildly in various directions, with consequences that are as drastic as they are unpredictable.

MUSICOLOGY AND THE FORCE OF POLITICAL FICTION: THE DEBATE ON POLITICALLY ENGAGED MUSIC AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1970S

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1. THE DEBATE ON THE IDEA OF POLITICAL MUSIC AROUND 1970. At the end of the 1960s, within the course of the general politicization of events around 1968, new leftist avant-garde composers felt driven to contribute to the political upheaval by means of their music. This attitude of clearly articulating one's own political ideas, ideologies, and biases was in utter contrast to the avant-garde climate of the 1950s, when European composers had avoided any nonmusical, especially political, association with music by availing themselves of serial techniques such as parametric predetermination, numerical codification, and permutation. In contrast, new-leftist intellectuals and artists at the end of the 1960s considered an apolitical attitude to be irresponsible in light of the societal reconfiguration thought to be underway. In the opinion of the new-leftist musicians, composers, and music writers, everybody was supposed to contribute to the desired sociopolitical change. The best-known case of political engagement among avant-garde composers is certainly Hans Werner Henze and his political about-face in the mid-1960s: Having consolidated his status in the so-called bourgeois concert hall in the 1950s, he now wrote decisively politically engaged music such as *Das Floß der Medusa* (1968), *Der lange Weg in die Wohnung der Natascha Ungeheuer* (1970–71), and *We come to the river* (1974–76). Moreover, he actively participated in the student movement by supporting demonstrations and hosting the wounded revolutionary activist Rudi Dutschke in his villa in Marino, Italy, after Dutschke was shot by a young fanatically anti-communist worker.

In keeping with this politicized climate that was shaping the contemporary music scene, German musicology was stirred by a debate about political—politically engaged or politically effective—music. Leading musicologists such as Carl Dahlhaus, Reinhold Brinkmann, and Vladimir Karbusicky as well as composers such as György Ligeti and Helmut Lachenmann explored the inner logic of the idea of political music. They focused on contemporary—mostly radical modern, avant-garde—music, in which the new-leftist political climate manifested itself particularly clearly. At conferences such as Über

Musik und Politik in Darmstadt in 1969,¹ Musik zwischen Engagement und Kunst in Graz in 1971,² and in the same year, Erster Internationaler Kongreß für Musiktheorie in Stuttgart,³ and in a collection of interviews edited by the music writer Hansjörg Pauli,⁴ musicologists and composers investigated questions such as the following: How does political music work? What kinds of effects does it produce? To what degree does music serve political purposes and change? What are the characteristic features of music that can be categorized as political?

However, even though the debate was undoubtedly carried out with intense engagement, it did not really proceed forward. To say it more bluntly: It did not succeed in clarifying the phenomenon. Reinhold Brinkmann, for instance, delivering a paper at the aforementioned conference Musik und Politik in spring 1969, began by announcing that he would examine the practice and theory of Hanns Eisler. He emphasized the importance of this investigation by claiming that Eisler represented the only serious, relevant approach to political contemporary music:

In the second part (B) the problem of the popularization of esthetic creations that is central for the political effect of music, will be taken up again. This problem manifests itself in the practice and theory of Eisler as *the only relevant approach* appropriate to uniting avant-garde music and folklorism on the basis of decisive political maxims. [my italics]⁵

Despite this program outlined at the beginning of his paper, within the course of his talk Brinkmann proceeded to demonstrate that Eisler's practice as well as his theory had failed: "Hanns Eisler's attempt, based on political-social maxims, to realize a folklorist music that, at the same time, should correspond to contemporary developments [auf der Höhe der Zeit], failed—in compositional-practical as theoretical terms."⁶ However, if the only serious and relevant approach to political contemporary music, that of Eisler, proved to be ineffective, then it had to be concluded that there was *no* workable theory and practice of modern music and politics at all.

During the same lecture series, Tibor Kneif sought to specify the political-ideological character of music. As a first step towards achieving this, Kneif rejected the well-known thesis that music mirrors social and political constellations:

Music is no imperative correlative of a social and political constellation.⁷ ...The idea that music is based on an image of reality is a sociological thesis. However, in order

¹ Rudolf Stephan, ed. *Über Musik und Politik* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1971).

² Otto Kolleritsch, ed. *Musik zwischen Engagement und Kunst* (Graz: Universal Edition, 1972).

³ Peter Rummenheller, Friedrich Christoph Reininghaus, and Jürgen Habakuk Traber, eds. *Bericht über den 1. Internationalen Kongress für Musiktheorie 1971* (Stuttgart: Ichthys-Verlag, 1972).

⁴ Hansjörg Pauli, *Für wen komponieren Sie eigentlich?* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1971).

⁵ The quote is grammatically incorrect and insofar not directly translatable: "In einem zweiten Abschnitt (B) wird das für die politische Wirkung von Musik zentrale Problem der Popularisierung ästhetischer Gebilde noch einmal aufgegriffen[: die] Praxis und Theorie Eislers als der einzige relevante Ansatz in der Geschichte der neuen Musik, Avantgarde und Volkstümlichkeit aufgrund dezidiert politischer Maximen zu vereinen". Reinhold Brinkmann, "Ästhetische und politische Kriterien der Kompositionskritik – Korreferat", *Ferienkurse '72*, ed. by Ernst Thomas. Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1973) 28–41, here 28. Brinkmann uses the terms "avant-garde music" and "new music" synonymously for modern music.

⁶ "Hanns Eislers auf politisch-sozialen Maximen basierender Versuch, eine volkstümliche Musik zu verwirklichen, die zugleich kompositorisch 'auf der Höhe der Zeit' sein sollte, ist gescheitert, – kompositorisch-praktisch wie theoretisch." *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷ "Musik [gibt] kein zwingendes Korrelat einer gesellschaftlichen und politischen Konstellation ab." Tibor Kneif, "Ästhetischer Anspruch und Ideologiegehalt im Musikalischen Kunstwerk", *Ferienkurse '72*, ed. by Ernst Thomas.

to make the ideological character of music evident, this thesis requires proofs, far too complicated, and speculative.⁸

These assertions did not categorically deny that an isomorphic relationship between music on the one hand and social and/or political constellations on the other existed. Yet the musicologist made clear that whether or not this kind of mimetic relationship existed, it could not be proven. On the contrary, it amounted to pure speculation. Kneif strengthened his thesis by investigating the practice of musical censorship in nondemocratic societies. The censor who decides whether a piece of music has to be forbidden or not does not know “from the beginning, what kind of political interpretation the listener will assign to the music”.⁹ Apparently, the same musical piece could in principle be attributed to either a leftist or a rightist orientation or to both; thus the ideological interpretations of music were fully undetermined. Building on this observation by Kneif, one reaches the following inescapable conclusion: Music is obviously no more or less politically dangerous than any other *non*-political medium. It can be the object of projection and attribution, the content of which however does not depend on the object itself but on the mere arbitrary act of the attributor. Despite this conclusion, Kneif still insisted that music is in fact not politically harmless:¹⁰

Because music appears to be apolitical, it could be misused and manipulated for political purposes.... Music’s message which needs to be interpreted, stimulates interpretation that can include political ideologies.¹¹

Even Carl Dahlhaus, who can be considered as the epitome of a clear thinker, got into logical trouble: In his paper titled “Thesen über engagierte Musik”, delivered at the conference *Musik zwischen Engagement und Kunst* in October 1971, he began by defining the different meanings of the term *engagierte Musik* (engaged music). To clarify his extended definition of the term, Dahlhaus constructed two pairs of opposites. The first of these contrasted “music that dedicates itself to the means of a political, social or moral purpose”,¹² i.e., music that has a specific political *purpose*, with a “*subjective moment* of the political or social engagement to the expression of which a composer felt driven”.¹³ The second contrasted music that possesses a specific, politically related *quality*: with, again, music that has a specific political *purpose*.¹⁴ “The engagement of the musical work can be deciphered by means of signs and traces, i.e., the engagement is inscribed, incorporated into the musical work and thus is a kind of quality of the work”.¹⁵ In this light, the two

Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1973) 67–85, here 89.

⁸ “Dass ihr... ein Wirklichkeitsbild zugrunde liegt, ist eine soziologische These, welche dazu, um die Ideologiefähigkeit der Musik evident zu machen, allzu komplizierter Beweise und noch mehr Mutmaßungen bedarf.” Ibid., 88.

⁹ “Von vorneherein..., welche politische Deutung der Hörer der Musik unterlegt.” Ibid., 94.

¹⁰ Music is “nicht politisch so harmlos, wie sie nach alldem den Anschein erweckt”. Ibid., 89.

¹¹ “Gerade deshalb, weil sie sich ideologisch unverfänglich gibt, zeigt sich die Musik für Manipulation und Missbrauch besonders anfällig.... Ihre gleichsam interpretationsbedürftige Mitteilung [fordert] Deutungen heraus..., die ihrerseits politische Ideologie enthalten können.” Ibid., 89.

¹² “Musik, die sich zum Mittel eines politischen, sozialen oder moralischen Zwecks macht”, Carl Dahlhaus, “Thesen über engagierte Musik”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 133/1 (January 1972) 3–8, here 3.

¹³ “Subjektives Moment des politischen oder sozialen Engagements, zu dessen musikalischem Ausdruck sich ein Komponist gedrungen fühlt.” Ibid., 3.

¹⁴ “Das Engagement [besteht darin], dass sich ein Stück Musik einem Zweck unterwirft” [“the engagement manifests itself in the musical work’s submission to a specific purpose”]. Ibid., 3.

¹⁵ “Zeichen eichen und Spuren eines bestimmten Engagements [, die vom musikalischen Werk] ablesbar [sind].” Ibid., 3.

oppositions reveal themselves as a triad, constructed from (a) the composer's intention to write engaged music, (b) the music's engaged function, and (c) the music's engaged quality as possible extended meanings of the term "engaged music".

Pair 1

b: the music's function

"music that has a political purpose"

a: the composer's intention

a "subjective moment" of political engagement to which a composer feels driven"

Pair 2

c: the music's quality

"music that possesses a specific, politically related quality"

b: the music's function

"music that has a specific political purpose"

In the next paragraph Dahlhaus implicitly corrected himself, by talking about these *three* different criteria: "The intention a composer seeks to achieve, the aesthetic character that adheres to the musical shape, and the social function it fulfills ... must be distinguished from each other."¹⁶ However, the initial confusion was by no means reduced. The renowned musicologist went on to investigate the three criteria of "engaged music" without making explicit which criterion he was talking about at any given moment.

He further obscured the goal of his arguments by introducing additional dimensions of music that might harbor an engaged quality, e.g., "the sense of the compositional artwork". This criterion can be read as synonymous with the music's function (b) or the music's quality (c); and Dahlhaus indeed related it to all three criteria at the same time—the intention, the character (equivalent to the quality), and the function (equivalent to the purpose):

The discovery that, first, the political or apolitical effect of a work contradicts the intention of the composer and that, second, it is possible to enforce any social function upon a piece of music which contradicts its aesthetical character, should not lead to the exaggeration that intention, character and function are independent of each other. The sense of music is variable, but not voluntarily distortable.¹⁷

With all the ambiguities and contradictions of the debate on "politically engaged music", it was Dahlhaus who, in a lecture series of the Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt of 1972, advanced an argument that in my opinion was suitable for closing the whole fruitless discussion. In his paper "Politische und ästhetische Kriterien der Kompositionskritik",¹⁸ delivered before radically modern and for the most part highly politicized composers, Dahlhaus argued:

¹⁶ "Die Intention, die ein Komponist zu verwirklichen sucht [a]), der ästhetische Charakter der dem musikalischen Gebilde anhaftet, [c]) und die soziale Funktion, die es erfüllt, [b]) müssen... voneinander geschieden werden", Ibid., 3.

¹⁷ "Die Entdeckung, dass... die politische oder unpolitische Wirkung eines Werkes der Absicht des Komponisten zuwiderläuft oder dass einem Stück Musik eine soziale Funktion entgegen seinem ästhetischen Charakter aufgezwungen werden kann..., sollte nicht zu der Übertreibung verleiten, Intention, Charakter und Funktion seien unabhängig voneinander. Der Sinn von Musik ist zwar variabel, aber nicht willkürlich verzerrbar." Ibid., 3.

¹⁸ Carl Dahlhaus, "Politische und ästhetische Kriterien der Kompositionskritik", *Ferienkurse '72: 26. internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik* ed. by Ernst Thomas. Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik 13 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1973) 14–27.

Politicians who avail themselves of music—as the New Left proclaims—have to be reproached in that they alienate music from its individual aesthetical, supernal nature. They are also suspect of trying to conduct politics, actually a serious business, in a dubious way in the medium of art instead of in everyday reality.¹⁹

To summarize this passage in my own words: Politics is a serious business and music is the wrong place for it.

Interestingly, in order to voice this argument, Dahlhaus claimed to present not his *own* opinion but rather to outline the *bourgeois* attitude toward political music. By choosing the term *bourgeois*, Dahlhaus strove to signal his own distance from that attitude, a signal especially necessary in the strongly leftist-intellectual climate of 1972 that also held sway in Darmstadt. Despite this distancing, however, Dahlhaus proceeded to align himself with the so-called bourgeois opinion:

The distinction by means of which music and politics are intended to be kept apart from each other is undoubtedly too severe. However the suspicion of politicians that avail themselves of music in order to cover their weaknesses, is by all means reasonable.²⁰

According to Dahlhaus, the bourgeois demand to separate music and politics clearly was reasonable not only for political but also for musical reasons: Music that wanted to be politically effective had to address the masses, meaning it needed to be stylistically popular and—because of its irrational, i.e., emotionalizing quality—operate demagogically. The idea of a critical music, Dahlhaus continued,

is powerless in face of the fact that, under the present conditions, music which tries to make politics with popular means—and with unpopular means it is not able to achieve this—has not a consciousness-raising, but a thoroughly irrational effect.²¹

Consequently, politically engaged, avant-garde composers such as those Dahlhaus was addressing at Darmstadt were really aiming to square the circle. For they were using avant-garde compositional techniques that are defined as being in opposition to popular taste for the purpose of writing political music that of necessity had to be popular. In Dahlhaus's words:

Political music which does not want to yield to the seduction of musical demagogy, speculation, and irrationality [that is caused by the emotive dimensions of music], is faced with the dilemma, that it is meant as art for the masses, but remains esoteric [that is, incomprehensible, unpopular, just avant-garde] music. It leads a paradoxical or pseudo-existence as folk music for those initiated.²²

¹⁹ “Der Griff der Politik zur Musik, wie ihn die Neue Linke proklamiert, setzt sich... nicht nur dem Vorwurf aus, dass er die Musik ihrem ästhetischen, jenseitigen Wesen entfremde, sondern auch dem Argwohn, dass die Politik, die ein ernstes Geschäft sei, unsolid in der Kunst statt solide in der Alltagsrealität betrieben werde.” Ibid., 15.

²⁰ “So borniert die starre Grenzziehung sein mag, durch die [von seiten der Bourgeoisie] von der Musik die Politik und umgekehrt von der Politik die Musik ferngehalten werden soll: das Misstrauen gegen eine Politik, die der Musik bedarf, um ihre Blößen zu bedecken, ist durchaus begründet.” Ibid., 15.

²¹ “Ohnmächtig gegenüber der Tatsache, dass unter den gegenwärtigen Bedingungen von einer Musik, die mit populären Mitteln Politik zu machen versucht – und mit unpopulären kann sie es nicht –, nicht ein bewusstseinshellender, sondern ein durch und durch irrationaler Effekt ausgeht.” Ibid., 15.

²² “Politische Musik, die es verschmäht, der Versuchung zu musikalischer Demagogie, zur Spekulation mit dem Irrationalen nachzugeben, gerät also in den Zwiespalt, dass sie als Massenkunst gemeint ist, aber in Esoterik eingesperrt bleibt. Sie führt die paradoxe Existenz oder Pseudo-Existenz einer Volkskunst für Eingeweihte.” Ibid., 20.

The arguments that Dahlhaus voiced in 1972 are certainly less than electrifying. They are actually fairly obvious. In light of this evidence of the impossibility of political music in a narrow sense, especially of political avant-garde music, this question arises: What are the reasons for the persistence of the idea of political music? Or more to the point: What is the fascination of the idea of political music for composers of modern and especially of avant-garde music?

To answer this question, I will draw on a theory by Pierre Bourdieu. In his book *Ce que parler veut dire*, published in 1982, Bourdieu analyzed the functioning of discourses. Among other criteria, Bourdieu pointed to two. First, that of mythical coherence: Mythical coherence results—unlike logical coherence—from mythical and thus law-like figures of thought that lend a discourse plausibility.²³ Mythical coherence is based on “the network of oppositions and mythical equivalences, a truly fantasmatic structure as the fundament of the whole ‘theory’.”²⁴ A paradigm for mythical coherence is the biblical Genesis for instance, which possesses a powerful authority because of its religious origin and its sublime age.

The second criterion advanced by Bourdieu involves permission to participate in the discourse in question, meaning that discourse formation is influenced not only by the individual participants who each contribute his or her ideas and “Denkfiguren” to the discourse. It is also—even more importantly—governed by the socially based power relationship that determines who is *allowed* to participate in a specific discourse community in the first place:

This censorship operates by means of sanctions of the field, functioning like a market on which the prices of the different modes of expression configure themselves; it imposes itself on all the producers of symbolic goods without making an exception to the authority whose authorized speech *has to be submitted to the norms of the official manners more than those of the other participants of the discourse...* In order to understand what can and what cannot be said in a group, it is necessary to consider not only the symbolic power that governs the group and which hinders singular individuals from speaking at all (for example, women) or fosters them to fight for the right to speak, *but also the laws themselves of the formation of the group* (the logic of conscious or unconscious exclusion, for instance) that operate as preceding censorship. [my italics]²⁵

Both criteria constitute a kind of “social magic”, as Bourdieu dubbed it elsewhere.²⁶

²³ “La théorie des climats est en effet un remarquable paradigme de la mythologie ‘scientifique’, discours fondé dans la croyance (ou le préjugé) qui louche vers la science et qui se caractérise donc par la coexistence de deux principes entremêlés de cohérence: un cohérence proclamée, d’allure scientifique, qui s’affirme par la multiplication des signes extérieurs de la scientificité, et une cohérence cachée, mythique dans son principe.” Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire* (Paris: Fayard, 1982) 228.

²⁴ Mythical coherence is based on “le réseau d’oppositions et d’équivalences mythiques, véritable structure fantasmatique qui soutient toute la théorie.” *Ibid.*, 231.

²⁵ “Cette censure... s’exerce par l’intermédiaire des sanctions du champ fonctionnant comme un marché où se forment les prix de différentes sortes d’expression; elle s’impose à tout producteur de biens symboliques, sans excepter le porteparole autorisé dont la parole d’autorité est plus que toute autre soumise aux normes de la bienséance officielle... Pour rendre raison de ce qui peut et ne peut pas se dire dans un groupe, il faut prendre en compte non seulement les rapports de force symboliques qui s’y établissent et qui mettent certains individus hors d’état de parler (par exemple les femmes) ou les obligent à conquérir de vive force leur droit à la parole, *mais aussi les lois mêmes de formation du groupe* (par exemple la logique de l’exclusion consciente ou inconsciente) qui fonctionnent comme une censure préalable.” *Ibid.*, 168–69.

²⁶ Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991) 111.

These same two criteria also influenced the course of the debate on politically engaged music around 1970. This I will demonstrate by reconstructing the origin of the mythical coherence of the idea of political avant-garde music.

2. THE HISTORY OF THE IDEA OF POLITICAL MUSIC. The idea of music's potential sociopolitical effect is a music-theory episteme that can be identified already in Plato's *Laws*. Here Plato defines specific types of music—sober and ordered versus vulgar and cloying—that influence the ethos of man positively or negatively and thus support or threaten the stability of the state. This music-theory episteme would manifest itself with unusual strength in connection with avant-garde music and thus, within the context of “1968”, lay the foundations for its—almost obsessive—zeal in the service of political change.

Immediately after the emergence of avant-garde music in 1908, a discourse developed that continually sought to link the typical characteristics of avant-garde music—atonality, disharmonious sound and instrumentation, fragmentary, dissociated style—with a specific, potentially destructive political impact.

Eckhard John and others have recently shown in detail that as early as 1918, only ten years after the birth of free-atonal music, right-wing music critics and musicologists had already attributed political—or more precisely, leftist—connotations to atonal modern music. They related it to the term “bolshevism” as a pejorative synonym for all sorts of communism. Accordingly, Adolf Diesterweg, who referred to avant-garde music in general as “the futurist tendency”, emphasized that he favored the term “musikalischer Bolschewismus”:

that I call the futurist direction [i.e., avant-garde music] musical Bolshevism! I feel that the spirit of decay, as it is created by the futurists, is alien to our innermost nature. I call this spirit Bolshevik because the foreign heresy of Bolshevism threatens to indulge an orgy of cultural destruction in Germany.²⁷

Besides Diesterweg various other writers on music including Walther Krug, Adolf Weißmann, Ludwig Riemann, Max Chop, and Willibald Nagel propelled a discourse forward which described atonal music as a radical and negative art form rejecting valid orders and laws. In their opinion, it was not only left-oriented, but also revolutionary, threatening the stability of the state; it implied socialism, chaos, and anarchism.²⁸ Thus Walter Niemann, music writer, pianist, and composer, described expressionist music as “Extremely *radical* expressionism of the Schoenberg circle of the *leftists*”. [my italics]²⁹

By contrast, the composers of modern music themselves, first and foremost Arnold Schoenberg, declared that music, all music, is in principle *apolitical*. This earlier passive defense—the composers' insistence on music's apolitical nature—was followed by an active strategy when certain composers, instead of rejecting modern music's political connotations, availed themselves of the conservatives' critique and transformed it into

²⁷ Diesterweg emphasized “Ich empfinde es nun einmal so, dass der Geist der Zersetzung, wie ihn die Futuristen predigen, unserem innersten Wesen fremd ist. Ich nenne diesen Geist bolschewistisch, weil die fremdländische Irrlehre des Bolschewismus auch in deutschen Landen eine Orgie der Kulturzerstörung zu feiern droht.” Adolf Diesterweg, “Aufbau oder Zerstörung”, *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 17/16 (April 1920) 235–36, here 236.

²⁸ Cf. Eckhard John, *Musikbolschewismus* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994) 47, 51, 60ff and more.

²⁹ “Extrem-radikalen Expressionismus des Schönberg-Kreises der Linken”. Walter Niemann, “Vom wahren und vom falschen Fortschritt”, *Zeitschrift für Musik* 88/7 (April 1921) 181–82, here 182.

a positive quality. In the second half of the 1920s, Kurt Weill and Hanns Eisler, among others, proclaimed that they were indeed writing “political music”. They defined their political music as a sociocritical, politically revolutionary music that actively fought for the workers and for the socialist-communist movement.³⁰

Not surprisingly, National Socialist policies after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 drew on the conservatives’ arguments. They—repeatedly if not continuously—aped the conservatives’ idea of modern music’s destructiveness and its (National Socialist) state-threatening character in order to justify its persecution and elimination. Thus Hans Severus Ziegler, organizer of the exhibition *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music), explained:

The exhibition presents a picture of a veritable witches’ Sabbath portraying the most frivolous intellectual-artistic Cultural Bolshevism, and the triumph of subhumanity, arrogant Jewish impudence, and complete mental gagaism.³¹

As I have demonstrated elsewhere,³² the political connotations that had been introduced and established before 1933 lasted even after the capitulation in 1945. The Allies, especially the Western Allies, assigned modern music (and avant-garde culture in general) an important role within the postwar reeducation program, drawing on the image of modern music as it had been constituted during the previous 25 years. The persecution and suppression of modern music by the National Socialists indicated that these fascist rulers must have recognized modern music’s inherent potential for political education as a threat to their power. And if modern music possessed this antifascist potential for political enlightenment—so the reeducational logic went—it could also serve as a perfect tool for a reeducation that aimed not at communism and revolution, as the conservatives and National Socialists of the 1920s and 30s had argued, but at tolerance and democracy.

How was this discourse on the political impact of modern music relevant to the idea of political music around 1970 in German musicology? The answer is fairly simple: The same impetus for political change and democratic improvement, inhering in the idea of radical modern music ever since its naissance in 1908, was also operative in the 1960s and thus was easily revived within the context of the post-1968 politicized leftist climate.

3. MYTHICAL COHERENCE AND DISCOURSE PARTICIPATION AS DETERMINING FACTORS OF THE 1970 DEBATE ON POLITICAL MUSIC. This rough history of modern music’s political image that I have drafted on the basis of writings by Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth (1988), Michael Meyer (1991), Eckhard John (1994), Erik Levi

³⁰ John, *Musikbolschewismus*, 318 and 319.

³¹ “Was in der Ausstellung ‘Entartete Musik’ zusammengetragen ist, stellt das Abbild eines wahren Hexensabbath und des frivolsten, geistig-künstlerischen Kulturbolschewismus dar und ein Abbild des Triumphes vom Untermenschentum, arroganter jüdischer Frechheit und vollständiger geistiger Vertrottelung.” Quoted in Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth, eds. *Entartete Musik: Dokumentation und Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: der kleine verlag, 1988) 135.

³² Beate Kutschke, “Die Huber-Gottwald-Kontroverse: Die Inszenierung der Neuen Musik als politische Manifestation,” *Die Macht der Töne: Musik als Mittel politischer Identitätsstiftung im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Tillmann Bendikowski, Sabine Gillmann, Christian Jansen, Markus Leniger, and Dirk Pöppmann (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2003) 147–69.

(1994), and Friedrich Geiger (2004)³³ as well as my own findings³⁴ has shown that the continual attribution of a political, and first and foremost a revolutionary, leftist and/or world-improving character to radical modern music has made this political quality an integral component of the identity of avant-garde music. In this light, the impassioned debate around 1970 reveals itself as anchored—or better, bound up—in a long-stable *Denkfigur*. In consequence, the alternative, undoubtedly plausible concept—that radical modern music is per se apolitical—had become unthinkable.

Let us return to Bourdieu and his two criteria for the functioning of discourses: mythical coherence and permission for discourse participation. These criteria explain the contradictory and confusing debate on politically engaged music in the early 1970s: When Dahlhaus and his colleagues performed their tightrope-walk between exploring without bias the prospects of politically engaged music on the one hand and critically exposing the immanent weaknesses of this concept on the other, they were submitting to “social magic”, to the magical social power that also operates in the musical and musicological field.

The mythical coherence that imparted such unbelievable force to the debate on politically engaged music was based on the myth of modern music’s political impetus, a myth which, rooted in Plato’s theory, had developed since 1908. This myth is indeed based on magical modes of cognition, namely, on analogical thinking that, in aesthetics, survived under the label of *mimesis*: It is analogical thinking to suggest that modern music threatened the harmony and stability of the modern state just because it was formally and harmonically disharmonious, fragmentary, unstable, and dissociated. Such isomorphic figures of thought are far too familiar to be discussed in detail here. It is important, however, to be aware that the power of mythical coherence obviously paralyzed the majority of the musicological analysts and caused them to be caught up in contradictions.

Bourdieu’s second criterion—permission to participate in discourse—explains why established musicologists like Dahlhaus and Brinkmann had, officially at least, to defend the concept of politically engaged music even though they were not fully convinced of its plausibility. The powerful mythical coherence possessed by the idea of political music was obviously so strong that it drove even the authorities, the coryphées, to commit themselves to this discourse and its fictions—so as not to risk being punished with exclusion from the discourse community, according to the laws of discourse participation as Bourdieu outlines them in *Ce que parler veut dire*. Consequently, modern music’s political image could not be simply ignored, or rejected by better, more rational arguments. If Dahlhaus had directly questioned the idea of politically engaged avant-garde music without paying tribute to the mythical power of this idea and its advocates, he would have been behaving like Copernicus and Galileo who, in claiming that the earth revolves around the sun, hoped to convince the Church of their scientific insight with purely rational evidence—and who were punished finally with a ban. To avoid a similarly fruitless enterprise, Dahlhaus aligned himself with the discourse on political music. But he did so in order to change it. He argued carefully: He even accepted illogical arguments, pretending to commit himself to the myth of a political

³³ Dümmling and Girth, eds. *Entartete Musik*; Michael Meyer, *The politics of music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991); John, *Musikbolschewismus*; Friedrich Geiger, *Musik in zwei Diktaturen: Verfolgung von Komponisten unter Hitler und Stalin* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004); Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstone: Macmillan, 2004).

³⁴ Kutschke, “Die Huber-Gottwald-Kontroverse”.

music, in order to present real and logical arguments that revealed the impossibility of the idea of a political music. This is the reason for the unusually contradictory and diffuse rhetoric in “Politische und ästhetische Kriterien der Kompositionskritik,” still found in the following quote:

The idea of a “critical” or even “emancipatory” music is a daydream, realized in scattered attempts, but which almost never exceeds the esoteric circle. However, it is powerless in light of the fact that under current conditions music that tries to make politics by popular means—and with unpopular means this is impossible—produces not a clarifying but an irrational effect.³⁵

³⁵ “Die Idee einer ‘kritischen’ oder gar einer ‘emanzipatorischen’ Musik ist ein Wachtraum: realisiert in verstreuten Ansätzen, aber über esoterische Zirkel kaum hinausgedrungen. Jedenfalls ist sie ohnmächtig gegenüber der Tatsache, dass unter den gegenwärtigen Bedingungen von einer Musik, die mit populären Mitteln Politik zu machen versucht – und mit unpopulären kann sie es nicht –, nicht ein bewußtseinserhellender, sondern ein durch und durch irrationaler Effekt ausgeht.” Dahlhaus, “Politische und ästhetische Kriterien”, 15.

COMMUNIST ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND THE FORMATION AND GROWTH OF NATIONALIST ETHNOCENTRISM

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Throughout the 20th century it was typical for Romanian folklorists of rural origin to praise the village and the peasant, and to disdain the urban lifestyle in its entirety. And often it was also typical for them to praise the values of rural spirituality, music included, as if they were unique, the richest, and superior to any other cultural values or products belonging to other ethnicities or nations. Excessive sentimentality and patriotism, together with ignorance, easily led to extreme nationalism. Among the consequences, domestic aliens were prejudiced, and comparisons with cohabiting or neighboring peoples, if ever made, were discriminatory and derogatory.

On the other hand, nationalism also paid off. The interwar, profascist period, as well as the communism of the 1970s and 1980s, favored, stimulated, and rewarded nationalism. In 1950, after the director of the Institutul de Folclor in Bucharest—the Jewish scholar Harry Brauner (1908–89)—was sent to a 14-year incarceration, the nationalist Sabin V. Drăgoi (1894–1968) was appointed to the helm of the institution. And after 1960 all the work projects of this institution focused on studying Romanian folklore without regard to any influence, commonality, or exchanges with the folklore to be found among the ethnic minorities in Romania. It is also true that folkloristic nationalism in Hungary and among Hungarians in Romania was a factor that stimulated Romanian nationalism within the academic community. Instead of entering a multicultural dialogue or debate, Romanian scholars preferred isolation and a unilateral plea for the uniqueness, ancestry, excellence, richness, and superiority of Romanian folklore.

Nationalism forced Romanian ethnomusicological scholarship to love and form personal attachment to the object of study, and to demonstrate it indirectly through the alleged seriousness involved in collecting, transcribing, analyzing, and classifying musical folklore. This climate also favored the growth of nationalistic amateurism and its entrance into the ethnomusicological community. To give a recent example, I will refer to the case of the famous pan flute player Gheorghe Zamfir, who, after a glorious career as a representative of Romania's nobleness through folk music, became embalmed

with self-centered and messianic convictions. Irrationally enamored with his music, he expressed disdain toward all forms of international pop musics. A sort of personal megalomania pushed him toward religiosity and politics, and his post-1990 association with the Partidul România Mare (The Great Romania Party) was not an accident. Only in this party, as in interwar fascism (*legionarism*) and contemporary neofascism, can one plead so forcefully for the superiority and supremacy of folklore traditions and thinking (and for the “inferiority” of foreign, global, and commercial musics). Grigore Leșe is heading down a similar route. He is the great rhapsode of *horea cu noduri* (knotted song) and a star of the old peasant singing style who obtained his doctoral degree with a thesis full of ideological sophisms and cheap patriotic/nationalistic arguments.¹ This is a typical and highly telling example of love for the folk song, narrow-minded patriotism, and romantic amateurism, in addition to antimodernist, chauvinistic, and irresponsible political associations that invade scholarship and give ethnomusicological study a bad tone.

When collecting took place within rural environments, collectors collaborated with any folk music performers in selective ways. Out of political and racial sentiments and idiosyncrasies, Béla Bartók excluded Roma people from the list of musicians acceptable for research. Pleading for the recording of all musical pieces that existed and functioned within the musical life of any locality, Constantin Brăiloiu (1893–1958) launched a selection of music by performers based mostly on aesthetic and less on sociological criteria. Yet after him, the *typical informant* was a concept that was extended also to social and anthropological fields. However, collections of field recordings and later published anthologies in Romania most frequently followed the idea of recording whatever was available within a region or village, often from the few available consultants. Archives were, nevertheless, richly constituted. But then, operations of an advanced degree of theoretical technicality made drastic selections, both on aesthetic and technical criteria. Exhaustiveness was a fieldwork (i.e., a recording) principle, whereas when it came to systematizing and publishing, the exclusion axe fell based not only on aesthetics and technical requirements, but also on political incentives. In the 1980s an important condition for ethnomusicological work was that the material taken into account and accepted within any research project should obey the aesthetic models that were favorable to the nationalist ideology of Romanian communism. Intensive or exhaustive research meant only local/localist, ancient, traditional, rural, and ethnocentric research.

Centralized scholarship aimed at an all-inclusive geocultural representation and illustration of folk culture. Yet it also perfectly covered the need for politics to control scholarship through integral mapping. In between the massive campaigns by scholars appointed by governmental institutions for investigating and recording in the countryside, university professors and their students systematically tried to fill in possible blank spots through the technological and intellectual filter represented by ethnological disciplines. Almost everything was recorded, provided it was not strikingly in conflict with the official narratives of communist ideologies. But then what would

¹ Fragments of the thesis are published on the Internet site *Spirit românesc* [Romanian spirit], www.spiritromanesc.go.ro, a website in which contemporary folkloristics stretches its academic hand to neofascism (overt *legionarism*) in the most decisive way. Articles in this antimodern, chauvinistic, and xenophobic online publication are signed by the opinion leaders in the field of folkloristics, supervisors of doctoral theses, and directors of institutions specializing in studies of folk culture.

reach the printing house passed through selective censorial grids, applied within the laboratory work of analysis and systematizing.

However, a supreme form of the incorporation of monographic obsession, and also a subtle synthesis and perpetuation of this obsession for monographism or exhaustiveness, was represented by what was called *typology*. Allegedly the *suma summarum* of ethnomusicological, positivist work, the analytic and maximally selective job of the typologies that will form the “National Collection of Folklore” was performed upon (and was extracted from) an immense volume of musical pieces and their variants. This effort started by centralizing all possible collections (transcriptions), and thus composed in the first place an anthology (focusing on melopoetical genres or species) attempting the ideal of exhaustiveness, also becoming a monograph, be it of a “laboratory” nature, on a national scale. However, among other things, this huge project was also ethnocentric, because none of the works constituting the “National Collection of Folklore” has ever comprised the musical folklore of other ethnicities living among Romanians.

The propaganda of nationalist Romanianness, typical of the interwar period, was already strangled by 1945, and in the 1950s a little bit of cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and polyethnicity was celebrated within Romanian ethnomusicology. In this decade several volumes containing Hungarian folk music and one volume of Jewish musical folklore were published.² From the 1960s on, the exegetical generosity granted to minor ethnicities ceased. Only communism of a nationalist nature remained the first, leading element of political and ideological propaganda. In a direct, narrative way, this is obvious only within some phrases found in the introductions to musical folklore collections and anthologies. But the same self-centered, restrictive ideology is also indirectly reflected and implied. Positivist analysis and nonreferential technicality, which came to define Romanian ethnomusicology up today, were, in fact, hidden political forms. All discussions about structure, syntax, and morphology constituted illusionary forms of ideological liberty, or rather forms for escaping ideology, forms of illusionary apoliticism. By limiting ethnomusicology to such aspects, all the rest—social/sociological and anthropological aspects—were cut off, ignored, and dismissed. Communism was very content to view music as merely notes on staves, ancient scales and intervals, which scholars had to define, as well as to host some making of historiography (music history demonstrating the fatherland’s ancestry and nationalist richness). Yet reducing music to its acoustic content, and musicology to analysis and historiography, keeps musicology and ethnomusicology on a track that remained parallel and strange to many other modernist stances developed in the West. The communist approach and outlook made and maintained in Romania specific and now incompatible musicologies.

It was, however, nationalism under Ceaușescu that marginalized the element and contribution of minorities within the traditional musics on Romanian lands. Collections claiming exhaustiveness gathered everything that was allegedly found and recorded in a region, yet ignored its multiculturalism and covered the fact that it was inhabited by several ethnic groups.³ On many occasions the ethnomusicological purism of an analytic nature is forwarded as an excuse.

² Emil Săculeț, *Cințec populare evreiești* [Jewish folk songs] (București: Editura Muzicală, 1959).

³ See, for example, Eugenia Cernea, *Melodii de joc din Dobrogea* [Dance tunes in Dobroudja] (București: Editura Muzicală, 1977).

An isolated exception was given to the presence and repertoires of Aromanians (most of them long ago immigrants to Romania from areas south of the Danube). These various ethnic groups were also interesting for the politics of the communist state, especially since they could demonstrate historical and nationalist mythologies—such as those claiming the older status of the Latin and Romanian factors in the Balkan zone, as well as the inferiority and illegitimacy of nationalist policies of neighboring states. Without such a political and ideological climate it is hard to believe that George Marcu's volume *Folclor muzical Aromân* (1977) would have been published.

As professed in Romania in the field of folk music studies, academic nationalism, which includes ethnocentrism, was stimulated, on the one hand, by the isolationism that characterized the entire culture, scholarship, and society during communism. And, on the other hand, it was stimulated by the “need” to respond to Hungarian nationalism (which made heavy use of folk music and ethnomusicology in order to demonstrate the Hungarianness of Transylvania). Thus we can argue that Romanian ethnomusicology was characterized by ethnic selectivity and self-censorship. While Hungarian nationalist ethnomusicology worked through inclusion, and the demonstration of Hungarian preeminence and superiority, Romanian nationalistic ethnomusicology worked through exclusion, favoring the belittling of the presence of Hungarian folk music in Transylvania.⁴ Discreet as they were, Romanians' methods went from ignoring this folk music to overlooking any Hungarian naming. Romanian scholars never professed the type of comparativism Bartók and Kodály recommended—in fact, if they had, they might have arrived at very similar conclusions, only in the opposite sense: as Bartók and Kodály saw Hungarian influences and dominance over Romanian repertoires and styles, Romanian researchers would have surely seen Romanian influence and features everywhere in the Hungarian folklore from Transylvania. Yet Romanians never studied Hungarian folklore, and always left this to Hungarian ethnomusicologists active in Transylvania.

In one of the largest ethnomusicological monographs, Traian Mîrza from Cluj-Napoca used apparently innocent scholarly arguments in order to hide and excuse his decision to ignore Hungarian folklore.⁵ Later on, even when many Hungarian pieces were reproduced in the volume, there was an obvious imbalance (disproportionate treatment), disfavoring the Hungarian dimension.⁶ Much more attention and typographical space was offered to Romanian folk music, and this detail was not missed by critics.⁷ Another collection with cartographic and monographic ambitions—although it mentions the presence of Hungarian toponyms, the number of people in Hungarian communities, and several dozen Gypsies—did not transcribe or reproduce any Hungarian songs, but only

⁴ See Marin Marian-Bălașa, “Musics and musicologies of the ‘Hungarian-Romanian conflict’”, *European meetings in ethnomusicology* 9 (2002) 4–43, and a *post scriptum* on pp. 162–65; idem, *Studii și materiale de antropologie muzicală* [Academic essays and research material pertaining to musical anthropology] (București: Editura Muzicală, 2003) 203–20; idem, “Music, musicology, and Hungarian and Romanian nationalisms”, *The new Central and East European culture*, ed. by Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, Carmen Andras, and Magdalena Marsovszky (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2006) 257–67.

⁵ Traian Mîrza, *Folclor muzical din Bihor: Schiță monografică* [Musical folklore from Bihor County: Monographic draft] (București: Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor, 1974). This was also his doctoral thesis.

⁶ Traian Mîrza (coordinator), Ilona Szenik, Gheorghe Petrescu, Zamfir Dejeu, and Mîrcea Bejinariu, *Folclor muzical din zona Huedin/Huedin környéki népzene* [Musical folklore from the Huedin area] (Cluj-Napoca: Festivalul Național “Cîntarea României”; Comitetul de Cultură și Educație Socialistă al Județului Cluj; Conservatorul de muzică “Gh. Dima”, 1978).

⁷ László Kürti, “Ethnomusicology, folk tradition and responsibility: Romanian-Hungarian intellectual perspectives”, *European meetings in ethnomusicology* 9 (2002) 77–97, 92–93.

Romanian ones.⁸ Several elements indicate that the author deliberately marginalized and ignored the Hungarian contribution. Later on, in another volume, the same author subtly performed a political defense or response, publishing only music of Romanian dances from a village strongly exploited and promoted by Hungarian musicians and musicologists as an example of Hungarian musical creativity.⁹

Constantin Brăiloiu did not adhere to Bartók's ethics and epistemology in regard to the "racial purity" of music. As is well known, it was Bartók who launched the idea that when recording folk music one should avoid gathering what Gypsies and professional musicians perform, and that it is only the music of peasants, of the ethnic majority, that is worthy. Brăiloiu thought that musical folklore should be collected from professional fiddlers, too, regardless of their ethnic origin, perhaps from Gypsies when one studies repertoires of professional musicianship, and from "peasants" when one studies the nonprofessional repertoires.¹⁰

Initially Gheorghe Ciobanu set the equal sign between "fiddler" and "Gypsy", arguing that fiddling was a major and typical profession among Roma/Gypsies.¹¹ Yet, even Ciobanu tried to compromise the Romanian ethnocentric ideology by taking and supporting the old prejudice that negated any Roma/Gypsy originality and identity within musical folklore (belonging to fiddlers). He also considered and tried to demonstrate that Gypsy fiddlers were only mimetic performers, music-providing actors, who deliver the services that correspond to the dominant nation only. He further reduced "musical Gypsiness" to the affectation and virtuosity that were specific to professionalization, and did not consider stylistic, structural, and ornamental elements to be Gypsy, but Oriental (Persian, Turkish, or Greek) borrowings.¹² After the publication of his volume in 1969, Romanian musical folkloristics banned the mentioning of the name "țigan" (Rom/Gypsy) in all its research and interpretations. Musicians were just fiddlers, representing Romanians' tastes and nation.

This programmed minimization and overlooking did not completely end with 1989. For instance, Dumitru D. Stancu, a long standing official folklorist, does not say one single word about the ethnic identity or difference of the fiddlers he studies.¹³ Moreover, he stresses the equal social roles of fiddlers and the rest of the *peasants* (read *Romanian*), and makes numerous notes referring to the "peasant" authenticity of the repertory.¹⁴ There are many clues indicating that the musicians' family that was studied

⁸ Zamfir Dejeu, *Folclor din zona Hășdate-Turda* [Folklore from Hășdate-Turda region] (Cluj-Napoca: Comitetul de Cultură și Educație Socialistă al Județului Cluj, Centrul de Îndrumare a Creației Populare și a Mișcării Artistice de Masă, 1983) 10–11.

⁹ Zamfir Dejeu, *Muzicanții din Soporul de Câmpie* [The musicians from Soporul de Câmpie] (Cluj-Napoca: Clusium, 2001).

¹⁰ Constantin Brăiloiu, *Despre folclorul muzical în cercetarea monografică* [On musical folklore in monographic research], C. Brăiloiu, *Opere IV*, ed. by E. Comișel (București: Editura Muzicală, 1979) 69–92, 75 (originally published in 1929).

¹¹ Anton Pann, *Cinzece de lume* (1850) (transcribed din psaltică în notația modernă, cu un studiu introductiv de Gh. Ciobanu) [Worldly songs, transcribed from psaltic to modern notation, with an introductory study by Gheorghe Ciobanu] (București: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1955) 33–34.

¹² Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Lăutarii din Clejani: Repertoriu și stil de interpretare* [Fiddlers from Clejan: Repertoire and performing style] (București: Editura Muzicală, 1969).

¹³ Dumitru D. Stancu, *Lăutarii din Mavrodin, Teleorman: Schiță monografică* [Fiddlers from Mavrodin, Teleorman: Monographic draft] (București: Editura Olimp, 1999) 70–98.

¹⁴ "Lăutarii din Mavrodin au știut să păstreze autenticitatea folclorului românesc, ferindu-i de vulgarități, atât în ceea ce privește textele literare, cât și melodiile. Intonațiile 'de mahală' au fost și au rămas străine total lăutarilor mavrodinieni, ei păstrându-se pe linia unei tradiții creată de primii componenți ai tarafului." [Fiddlers in Mavrodin knew to keep the authenticity of Romanian folklore, guarding it against vulgarities, both in regard to literary text and to tune. 'Mahală'

by Stancu was Roma. Those Roma had certainly played the assimilation game well, more exactly the game of adjusting themselves in accordance with Romanians' norms and expectations of the official folklore researchers. Yet, their ethnicity is never mentioned, whereas Stancu does list the opinions of some teachers that are full of the enthusiasm of a purist and chauvinistic folkloristic activism, which can only be critical in regard to the diversity and cultural variations that are represented mainly by Gypsies.¹⁵

After 1990 Gypsy musicians in Romania have exploded on the musical market with a genre called *manea*. The entire Romanian intelligentsia, mass-media, and cultural institutions have embarked on a war against it. With a few exceptions, professional ethnomusicology was unprepared to approach it, and consequently, it preferred for the most part to ignore it.

Instead of a conclusion, I would rather resume: Romantic sentimentality, patriotic or nationalist enthusiasm are responsible for both amateur expertise and outdated political activism. Folklorists who experienced folk life as their own, during childhood in the countryside, as well as folk musicians, irrespective of origin, who know that music well and love it for professional reasons, are human categories vulnerable to subjective, non-referential, passionate involvement in folk music studies. As is clear in the ethnomusicological work of times favorable to nationalism, ethnocentrism amputates objective knowledge from acknowledging the multiculturalism and the very richness of traditional, folk, and popular musical cultures. As reflected in ethnomusicological work, narrow nationalism, taking sides, and romantic effusions contribute to society's restless fight for imposing some cultural patterns or identities at the expense of others, and contribute to the maintenance of illiberal, intolerant, and undemocratic tendencies.

tones were and still are alien to Mavrodinian fiddlers; they keep themselves on the tracks of a tradition that was created by the first component members of the band.] Stancu, *Lăutarii din Mavrodin*, 51, who also said something very similar on p. 57. On p. 61, however, he mentions the following: "Sunt excluse tendințele de vulgarizare manifestate în ultima vreme, în special, în melodiile de petrecere! Se simte că Niculaie Ioniță a crescut într-o mentalitate profesională bazată pe principiile morale ale spiritualității artistic-culturale cu care poporul nostru și-a împodobit existența pe parcursul timpului." [Tendencies toward vulgarity, manifested lately especially in the case of party songs, are excluded. One feels that Niculaie Ioniță grew up in a professional mentality that was based on the moral principles of the artistic-cultural spirituality that ornamented the existence of our people over time.]

¹⁵ Stancu, *Lăutarii din Mavrodin*.

CONSTRUCTING POLICIES OF IMAGE AND IDENTITY: THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL IN ROMANIAN MUSICOLOGY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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The failure of communism and the opening toward the West have determined a strong need for identification in contemporary Romanian musicology. The deconstruction of the false image imposed by the constraints of the totalitarian regime and the reconstruction of an identity have generated tendencies to assimilate other values, former nostalgias and strategies of resistance, and the search for “origin” sources. At the same time, in the West, the image of “Romanian music” and its composers and musicologists has been modified according to the sources available to music research as well as—perhaps in greater measure—the country’s social and political situation. Whilst in Romania the image of musicological research is rigorously constructed, in Western Europe that image has lost its consistency, acquiring the features of a “marginal,” “minor” culture, and in North America it appears as something “exotic,” “interesting” but ambiguous.

“Romanian music” may be considered a very generous label that does not have an exclusive, unique, stable definition, but rather a complex of definitions, since a big group of Romanian and foreign scholars tried, over time, to define it, approaching it through mythologies, traditions, or Romanian culture. Besides, since a certain time, scholars of culture are no longer in agreement with the idea of applying generalized labels to the artistic currents, social and cultural movements, or historical eras. For instance, Ernst Gombrich insisted on the erroneous method of substituting individuals with abstract entities, granting properties of the latter to the human beings.¹ It was a tradition that stated that “all the demonstrations of an era, philosophy, art, social structures, etc., must be considered as the expression of an essence or an identical spirit. Consequently, this era is considered as an entity in which all holds itself.”² Max Weber warned against

¹ Ernst Hans Gombrich, “A la recherche d’une histoire de la culture”, *Gombrich: L’essentiel*, ed. by Richard Woodfield (Paris: Phaidon, 2003) 381–99.

² Ernst Hans Gombrich and Didier Eribon, *Ce que l’image dit* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1991) 132.

these exercises based on collective concepts while proposing a paradigm based on “methodological individualism”.

Not falling into this generalization trap and—according to Alain Laurent’s *L’individualisme méthodologique*—understanding that well-defined collective entities do not exist, realizing instead that only the mixture of people’s actions makes history, I tried to demonstrate that some recurrences exist between the diverse opinions of various scholars on what is or could be “Romanian music.”³

But what are the general images of “Romanian music”? Is it a music influenced by folklore or a “communist” music? Is it a “modern” music or a “sacred,” “special,” “unlike,” “exotic” music?

First, let’s consider what makes an image of a musical phenomenon (in our case, Romanian music). It is a complex representation, both inside and outside of the phenomenon. On one side, the internal, domestic image is what Romanian musicians and musicologists claim as its own “identity” and, in parallel, what they (or the politicians) want to show to the outside world (in, for example, international dictionaries, where, in most cases, there are Romanian authors).

On the other side, the external image is the way “others” (foreign musicians and musicologists) perceive this phenomenon. Their image will be a construction, an outside representation, stricken by the political and social situation of the country, prestige, and exterior interests regarding that country. Some Romanian composers and musicologists living in the West helped create a positive image of their native country (especially of the musical trends in which they were directly implicated), and with the integration of the tendencies of those countries using Romanian elements as an “exotic” argument. Of course, it is not essential for these images to coincide.

Regarding the construction and deconstruction of discourse about Romanian music after the Second World War, I considered some specific aspects (the influence or rejection of folklore, the influence of political speech on musical thinking, and the meanings of modernism) and the changes of meanings through time, in musicological writings, depending on the cultural, political, and social situation.

In order to understand these changes and continuous rewritings, it would be necessary to place the thinkers in the cultural framework of the Romania of these times, because it is necessary to write history in its own temporal context, to try to place ourselves in the position where the actors were located, where they lived, wrote, and re-wrote their history.

The first important philosophical and musicological search for Romanian identity began even before World War II, partly determined by the union of the three provinces in 1918 (Moldavia, Valahia, and Transylvania). We imagine ourselves placed in the amazing atmosphere of the Bucharest of these times, in this place where the future thinkers of Romanianness maintained “direct links of collaboration, of companionship or of rivalry” with their peers.⁴ Georges Oudard, the author of *Portrait de la Roumanie*, described with a lot of enthusiasm the Romanian capital, comparing it to other capitals

³ Alain Laurent, *L’individualisme méthodologique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994).

⁴ Jacques Thuillier, *Théorie générale de l’histoire de l’art* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2003) 163–65.

of Eastern Europe: “Bucharest is the most brilliant, alive and elegant one; it is also the most occidental one, though being the most eastern among the Balkans’ capitals.”⁵

The need for identification among Romanian musicologists is very clear from debates in a great inquiry in the *Muzica* magazine, issued in Bucharest in 1920, which had as a goal the consolidation of the idea of a “national school.”⁶ In the same period, we can notice a strong preoccupation with defining Romanianness, an aspiration particularly of the philosophers of the Romanian “generation of the 1930s.” The protagonists of this “Young Generation”—among which were intellectuals like Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Eugène Ionesco, to which it is necessary to add the names of the “philosophers of the national being,”⁷ including Constantin Noica and Mircea Vulcănescu—“printed an unknown rhythm to the Romanian culture..., succeeding even to surprise all the continent and the entire world by their writings, both unusual and perfectly structured, by rebuilding old mental habits and cultural reflexes.”⁸ At the same time, a great deployment of the avant-garde—exemplified by the sculptor Constantin Brâncuși, the painter Victor Brauner, and the poet Tristan Tzara—determined “the struggle between protochronism and its opposition or between indigenists and Westernizers.”⁹

In the writings of the musicians of that period we can notice permanent obsessions and fears: to be or not to be Romanian; to abandon themselves to foreign influence or to try to find a specific way of being Romanian. So, in 1931, George Enescu encouraged young Romanian composers to know and to be inspired by Romanian folklore: “The originality of our music should only be looked for in our folklore music.”¹⁰ But the composer, at the same time, was cautious about the danger of the wrong use of folklore, knowing that the structure of Western music did not match the structure of Romanian music. Thus, he pleads for an “invention in popular character”: “For Romanian music to reach the perfection that it deserves, it must go only on this road of creation in the Romanian atmosphere.”¹¹

This research into Romanianness was strongly encouraged by the fascist government between the wars, as well as by the communist government after World War II. Nevertheless, during communism, the Romanianness debate was based on Marxism. In communist times, the situation of scholars changed: the “right” scholars were accused of cosmopolitanism—while, before 1940, the “left” ones faded under the blow of the same accusation—and the scholars “of the power” system had to be “national” and “patriots.”¹² We can notice that the two opposing political doctrines both wanted to have nationalist theories. Despite their different ideological orientation, they finally placed themselves in common territory: the nation, its “clean values”, and its “specificities”.

⁵ Georges Oudard, *Portrait de la Roumanie* (Paris: Plon, 1935) 3.

⁶ We will encounter the same type of inquiries later on, in a period of “openings” toward the West (1965, 1968), after the fall of the totalitarian regime (1990), and at the beginning of the 21st century (2001–02).

⁷ Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine, *Cioran, Eliade, Ionesco: Loubli du fascisme* (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 2002) 33.

⁸ Mihai Sora, “L'autre Cioran”, *Lectures de Cioran*, ed. by Norbert Dodille and Gabriel Liiceanu (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997) 69.

⁹ Katherine Verdery, *National ideology under socialism: Identity and cultural politics in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991) 257.

¹⁰ George Enescu, *Interviuri* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicala, 1988) 214.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹² Eugène Ionesco, *Littérature roumaine* (Paris: Fata Morgana, 1998) 55–56.

From 1944 to 1989 Romania was a part of the Marxist socialist corporation which supported philosophy based on the “construction” of a “liberated” society that wanted the “material and spiritual prosperity” of all people. Despite this so-called liberty, censorship was strongly present everywhere in the artistic domain. Marin Marian-Bălașa explained that, during Romanian communism, all scholars

had first to submit their texts to a frightening place called *The Press Direction*. That was the headquarters of political censure, which would carefully read all texts and then would issue a paper granting to each individual author the right to read and publish his/her contributions abroad. That official agreement was even meant to be presented at customs, in order to allow authors to leave the country and make their articles public. Colleagues in those years knew very well the requirements of censure; therefore in order to avoid hassles or interdiction they were self-censuring themselves most efficiently. Sometimes even more than enough.”¹³

With the Ždanov Report of 1948, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR condemned all modern art tendencies, deciding that music had to be understood immediately by everyone. That decision determined a break in certain composers’ careers; some musical personalities were considered to be traitors. These “traitors” became known as “modernists” and included George Enescu, Constantin Brăiloiu, Ionel Perlea, Stan Golestan, Marcel Mihalovici, Dinu Lipatti, Mihail Jora, Tiberiu Brediceanu, and Dimitrie Cuclin (who was soon imprisoned). This label of “traitor” and “modernist” was a step back that provoked uncontrolled reactions and much aesthetic confusion.¹⁴ Despite this, the effort of the modernists continued for years.

Communism supported strongly (sometimes exaggeratedly) the traditional orientation of Romanian music. Artists had the “duty” to compose music dedicated to socialism because obtaining a job, going to festivals and concerts in foreign countries, and acquiring a passport were conditioned upon good political behavior. So the image of Romanian musicology that arose from international dictionaries was a folkloric one. In the *Encyclopédie de la musique* (1961), George Breazul observed that the educational system was headed in the direction of studying folklore: “The artistic educational system converted radically... The folklore was inserted in the analytical syllabus (of the universities), this subject matter being necessary for forming the next composers and musicologists. Also, there was made a special syllabus on the history of Romanian music.”¹⁵ In 1963 the external image of Romanian music that emerged from Alexis Roland-Manuel was also one of a music inspired by folklore. Marcel Frémot—the author of the article about Romania in Roland-Manuel’s history—asserts the following: “All the Romanian composers are drawing upon folklore, no matter their personality or peculiarity of their language, because of a wish to accomplish an expression of specific nationality.”¹⁶

In this way musicological discourse, sometimes bombastic, illustrated “the wooden tongue” of political speech. We can observe this in Breazul’s article, in which he

¹³ Marin Marian-Bălașa, “Romanian ethnomusicologies: A briefly commented bibliography of academic literature published in international languages”, *The world of music* 43/2–3 (2001) 259–60.

¹⁴ Michel Philippot, *Cours d’histoire de la musique*, ed. by Jacques Chailley (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1990) vol. 4, 156.

¹⁵ George Breazul, “Roumanie”, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, ed. by François Michel (Paris: Fasquelle, 1961) vol. 3, 979.

¹⁶ Marcel Frémot, “Roumanie”, *Histoire de la musique*, ed. by Alexis Roland-Manuel (Paris: Gallimard, 1963) vol. 2, 1334.

presented the achievements of the “cultural revolution”. As a national consequence of the enthusiasm concerning the construction of socialism, the “cultural revolution” is born and improving, creating state support for this “new music”: “The nation, the life breath once ignored, now is considered a source for intangible assets and morality values”.¹⁷

In a national Romanian inquiry of 1965, Grigore Constantinescu asserted the same ideological discourse: “In this present phase, the artists, and all the intellectuals of the country, have a duty to fight for the crystallization of a new socialist culture, by composing music of the highest artistic and ideological level.”¹⁸ In the musicological discourse of 1968 we also meet traditionalist ideas, even with exaggerated accents. For instance, Sabin Drăgoi said, “Without the folkloric creation, it never was and it will never be Romanian music.”¹⁹

The communist ideology led to ethnocentric ideas and to the over-evaluation of Romanian music. Sabin Drăgoi also asserted the following: “We, the Romanians, can be proud of having a strong base, with deep traditional roots.... After long researches, I finally became conscious of the Romanian music unicity.”²⁰ In this statement, everyone can easily observe the substitution of the first person of the author with *we* that led to this strong ethnocentric generalization. Unfortunately, this specific vision of musical unicity has been perpetuated in Romanian musicological discourse until the current time.

Despite the insistence on the priority of “traditional” musical influences, in the 1960s a certain opening towards the West allowed the “young modernist generation” (Anatol Vieru, Aurel Stroe, Stefan Niculescu, Tiberiu Olah) to participate in the Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt and to attend international festivals of contemporary music. Thus there appeared what would later be called the Young Romanian School, considered by Romanians to be the first manifestation of artistic synchronization with Western music. So, in 1968, Costin Mioreanu stated, “The Young Romanian School has all the qualities of the European avant-garde but not its frailties, all because of its originality.”²¹ However, as we can easily notice, in his support of modernist discourse, we can find the same ethnocentric vision as in other folkloric discourse of these times. Even if avant-garde music was tolerated—and encouraged—by the political ideology, in order to create an image of a domestic “liberty of thinking” in Romania, at the same time it was strongly criticized in musicological texts. So an ideological musicologist like Harry Brauner asserted, “The avant-garde is too complicated, it’s establishing the dehumanization of the art.”²²

In the West this modernist direction was much appreciated. The composers of the East-European space who were participating in international festivals (or the Romanians in the European diaspora) benefited from the admiration of foreign musicians. For instance, the Salabert publishing house in Paris printed many avant-garde Romanian scores.

After this very short period of openness toward the West, a new closing era began in 1971 with the arrival of the “cultural revolution”. Economic, social, political, and spiritual

¹⁷ Breazul, “Roumanie”, 979.

¹⁸ Grigore Constantinescu, “Muzica romaneasca si tendintele artei contemporane”, *Muzica* 11 (1965) 4.

¹⁹ Iosif Sava, “Valori si tendinte in muzica romaneasca”, *Muzica* 12 (1968) 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Iosif Sava, “Valori si tendinte in muzica romaneasca”, *Muzica* 6 (1968) 11.

²² Iosif Sava, “Valori si tendinte in muzica romaneasca”, *Muzica* 10 (1968) 11.

life became more and more involuted. Totalitarianism and arbitrary bureaucracy, under the label of “democratic centralism”, canceled all individual initiatives and transformed the entire corporation into a “military unity” where political “suggestions”—even illogical or inhuman—were executed without discussion. This position induced the ruin of the economy, transformed social and political life into routine formalism, and malformed the culture into an instrument of glorification of the “sumptuous” realizations of communism. Under these conditions, the idealistic musical image, articulated by the authorities of the time, was entirely one of a folkloric music. Romanian musicologists had to transmit that special ideological vision of music to external dictionaries. So Miron Grindea, in *The new Oxford companion to music* of 1983—translated in 1988 into French—pleaded for music influenced by the traditional: “The young generation of composers stays attached to the elements of folkloric music.”²³ This sentence will disappear from the analogous article “Romania”, in the 2002 edition of *The Oxford companion to music*, even if the rest of the text is copied completely from the initial version of 1983.²⁴

Alas, the image of oneness and ethnocentrism that was created in those 45 years is hard to get over. Ten years after the 1989 revolution, in *The Garland encyclopedia of world music* from 2000, Valeriu Apan explains the over-evaluation and ethnocentrism of musical thinking in the communist age with the political wish of “constructing an idealized image of village life”: “During the communist period, the government highly valued folk music and folk arts as a symbol of national identity, partly because of Romania’s economy and the ideological definition of folk music as belonging to the masses.”²⁵

Romanians regret that the thinking remained the same and, because of that, the image of Romanian music outside Romania had to suffer. In an interview dating from 2001, the Romanian composer and philosopher Costin Cazaban, living in Paris, stated, “In foreign countries, the postcommunist society of Romania is seen as a sequel to communism. Unfortunately, Romania seems not to be putting between the brackets the dark years of communism.”²⁶ Similarly, in 2002, Corneliu Dan Georgescu, a composer living in Germany, expressed regret about the lack of connection between Romania’s musical language and that of the Western school: “The Romanian compositions are most of the time so unconventional, that the only manner of being received in the Occident is as strange ones ... and after that, mistaken for some already existing in the West or, chiefly, ignored, as something outside the current standards.”²⁷ In his opinion, the image of Romania’s music suffered greatly after the revolution of 1989, when Romania’s prestige declined. The lack of interest and the holding back of Romania has strong political reasons, and it seems that “the success of Romanian music depends on its economical and political [success].”²⁸

²³ Miron Grindea, “Roumanie”, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la musique*, ed. by Denis Arnold (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1988) vol. 2, 602.

²⁴ Miron Grindea and Jim Samson, “Romania”, *The Oxford companion to music*, ed. by Alison Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 1071.

²⁵ Valeriu Apan, “Romania”, *The Garland encyclopedia of world music. VIII: Europe*, ed. by Timothy Rice, James Porter, and Chris Goertzen (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 2000) 885.

²⁶ Luana Stan, “Costin Cazaban: Fiecare compozitor este ... credincios sie insusi”, *Muzica* 4 (2001) 6.

²⁷ Corneliu Dan Georgescu, “Succesul muzicii romanesti depinde de succesul Romaniei pe plan politic sau economic”, *Muzica* 2 (2002) 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

Summarizing, we can notice that Romania's folkloric tradition is theorized in great detail, broadcast in foreign countries, and perceived by the West as the specific nature of Romania's musical identity. We can see thus, in certain dictionaries, a special image of Romanian music (folkloric) lingers over 20 years, even though the cultural and political situation of Romania has changed radically and, implicitly, the interpretations are different.

Communism gravely affected the manifestation of Romanian music, prompting musicological texts in a "wooden tongue" with ethnocentric ideas, and this is a burden for the international broadcasting of musical ideas.

The avant-garde was perceived to be a real "school" in Romania, being both appreciated and criticized in musicological discourse. Once postmodernism appeared, an effort was made in musicological discourse (concerning both the "domestic" and the "external" points of view) to eliminate the supremacy of ethnocentrism and the cultural hierarchism, preferring a globally homogenized vision of musical phenomena.

MACUNAÍMA OUT OF THE WOODS: THE INTERSECTION OF MUSICOLOGY AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY IN BRAZIL

James Melo

RÉPERTOIRE INTERNATIONAL DE LITTÉRATURE MUSICALE

I would like to propose an interpretation of the development of Brazilian musicology and ethnomusicology in the 20th century by using a metaphor derived from one of the seminal works in the Brazilian literary tradition: *Macunaíma, o herói sem nenhum caráter* (Macunaíma, the hero without character), a fantastic mixture of novel and mythology written by Mário de Andrade (1893–1945), who was at once a musicologist, ethnomusicologist, poet, and cultural instigator.¹ The figure of Mário de Andrade is indispensable for understanding how Brazilian musicology and ethnomusicology (and, by extension, Brazilian culture in general) developed during the 20th century. This is particularly true because Andrade embraced wholeheartedly the cultural and intellectual syncretism that has characterized Brazilian culture throughout history, and endeavored to impress his views on music, nationalism, and cultural identity on Brazilian composers of the first half of the 20th century. I thought it appropriate, then, to use one of Andrade's most influential works as a metaphor for the parallel developments of Brazilian musicology and ethnomusicology, and for understanding the mutual influences between these two disciplines as they evolved within the context of Brazilian culture.

Macunaíma was published six years after the Semana de Arte Moderna in São Paulo (1922), which was the crucial event for launching Brazil into the modernist scene. Mário de Andrade himself was one of the main organizers and participants in the Semana de Arte Moderna, during which the works of Villa-Lobos were for the first time presented to a wider audience in Brazil. As the preeminent Brazilian composer, Villa-Lobos was becoming, by then, extremely influential as a musical and cultural ambassador of Brazil. He had just returned from a sojourn in Paris, and upon arriving back in Brazil he became involved in promoting and disseminating modernism in Brazil. By that time, Mário de Andrade had already achieved prominence as one of the most

¹ Written in 1927, in a creative frenzy that lasted six days, *Macunaíma, o herói sem nenhum caráter* was initially published in 1928 by the Oficinas Gráficas de E. Cupolo in São Paulo. Only 800 copies were printed.

important cultural figures in Brazil, a role that is succinctly outlined in a recent article on his influence on Brazilian music:

As the undisputed leader of cultural modernism in Brazil, Mário de Andrade labored to define a vision to which artists could adhere, through generations and ensuing trends, and claimed that actualizing postwar European models of constructive modernist tendencies could make possible a similar renovation of Brazilian culture. When investigating the cultural production he influenced, it is difficult to isolate any particular dimension of Andrade's diversified perspective, but his vision narrowed gradually to two distinct and necessary emphases: 1) an ideological focus on Brazil's current social reality; and 2) the use of pure and essential native resources to achieve a unique nationalist aesthetic. The two platforms combined to form a new expressive stimulus, and a representational *brasilidade* (Brazilianism) became, for the musical modernist, the only legitimate inspiration for creative expression.²

The story of Macunaíma, this “hero without character”, dramatizes important issues in the process of formation of Brazilian cultural identity. Macunaíma was born deep in the Amazon jungle, during a silence so profound and so frightful, that it caused him to be born a very ugly child, as his mother was terrified by that silence. Very soon, Macunaíma began to display some interesting traits of character. He was a lively child, often mischievous and suspicious, and began to explore his world in rather unorthodox ways. At some point, one of the older Indians in his tribe gave him a stone, called *muiraquitã*, which was supposed to embody all the history and traditions of the culture in which he lived. That stone was later stolen by a mercenary and brought to São Paulo, the city in Brazil that most clearly symbolizes the cosmopolitan, hence civilized, environment. Macunaíma then decided to go to São Paulo in order to recover the *muiraquitã* and bring it back to its original context, thus reversing the colonization process, in which people usually go from the city to the jungle; in his quest, Macunaíma made a journey from the jungle to the city. On his way to the city, Macunaíma decided to leave his consciousness behind, because he imagined that he would not need it there. When he finally reached the city and recovered the *muiraquitã*, he underwent a series of remarkable transformations. In one of these fantastic metamorphoses, he became blue-eyed and blond after bathing in a lake. Then, his fellow tribesmen, seeing that astonishing transformation, decided to bathe themselves in the same lake in which Macunaíma had bathed, hoping to achieve the same results. But by then, the water was already tainted by Macunaíma's own color, and all they could achieve was a nondescript dirty blondness. After recovering the *muiraquitã*, Macunaíma returned to the jungle, only to realize that he was completely changed. He no longer understood his culture in the same way that he did before. He felt mutilated (and, in fact, he was mutilated by some fish who ate parts of his body), but a very old Indian woman eventually repaired his mutilated body and restored it to its former integrity as best as she could. However, Macunaíma was no longer satisfied with his sense of self, or no longer recognized him completely as himself. As compensation for his troubles and his mutilated self, he was then transformed into a constellation and, before he set out to occupy his permanent place in the firmament, he made a cryptic remark: he had not been brought into the world to be a stone.

² Sarah Hamilton-Tyrell, “Mário de Andrade, mentor: Modernism and musical aesthetics in Brazil, 1920–1945”, *The musical quarterly* 88/1 (2005) 8.

The predicament of Macunaíma, a hero without character who did not come into the world to be a stone, offers several interesting images and symbols through which one can approach the development of Brazilian musicology and ethnomusicology. In many ways, Brazilian musicology is still reenacting Macunaíma's journey, the process of coming out of the jungle and going to the city. Musicology, as a systematic discipline, is relatively recent in Brazil. Currently, there are only roughly a dozen graduate programs in Brazilian institutions devoted exclusively to musicology. This is a very odd situation, given the strong musical traditions of the country, both in the fields of art music and popular music, and most especially, the rich heritage of Brazil's traditional music. Mário de Andrade was the first to recognize that this very rich stratum of traditional music in Brazil should be tapped by art music composers, and his lifelong advocacy of nationalism as the defining compositional trend in Brazilian art music was a direct result of his beliefs. In part inspired by Andrade's views, some academic institutions began collecting, cataloguing, and preserving the traditional music of Brazil through several projects implemented during the first half of the 20th century. The most important of these projects was the *Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas* (Committee on Folk Research), which was organized by Mário de Andrade in São Paulo in 1938. As part of the *Missão*, several musicologists, writers, technicians, cultural historians, and other scholars traveled through the north and northeast of the country, two regions that were considered to be the most important reservoirs of Brazil's traditional music, and which at the time retained a faintly exotic appeal. During their travels, the researchers collected and transcribed approximately 1500 traditional melodies, and documented traditional music practices in more than 600 photographs and several films.³ Before the *Missão* was created, Andrade himself had gone twice to the north and northeast of Brazil to collect and record traditional music, and some of this material was incorporated into his books and articles on the development of Brazilian music.⁴ His example encouraged composers to focus on similar research as a means of creating new cultural parameters within which to compose. Several composers took this lead in varying degrees, and sporadic research continued on several fronts, merging with important precedents, such as Villa-Lobos's trips to the north and northeast in the first decade of the 20th century, and Camargo Guarnieri's trip to Salvador, Bahia, in 1936, to observe the local culture.

In bringing these three names together—Mário de Andrade, Villa-Lobos, and Camargo Guarnieri—I want to establish a framework for reflecting on the intersection of composition, musicology, and ethnomusicology in Brazil. These three disciplines have developed in tandem throughout much of the history of Brazilian music in the 20th century, and they remain strongly related to this day. The development of Brazilian musicology was the result of increasing consciousness about the validity of the country's folk traditions. Furthermore, the inevitable merging of art music and traditional music in the works of so many Brazilian composers once again points to this ongoing interdependence among these three disciplines.

³ Some of this material was copied by the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., in 1940 and is now part of its archives as well.

⁴ Andrade's extensive travels were chronicled through his column "O Turista Aprendiz" (The apprentice tourist), published in the *Diário nacional* in São Paulo. The column served to introduce the urban population of Brazil to the lifestyle of the several indigenous populations that Andrade encountered in his travels. One of the direct products of his explorations was the groundbreaking study *Ensaio sobre a música Brasileira* (São Paulo: I. Chiarato, 1928).

In 1937, a little before the inception of the Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas, the German émigré Hans-Joachim Koellreutter (1915–2005) arrived in Brazil and began to establish a school of composition based on the latest European trends, particularly serialism. Koellreutter soon attracted the attention of several young Brazilian composers, and a conflict emerged between those composers who embraced a more traditional, nationalist school of composition, and the younger generation who favored a more cosmopolitan and avant-garde style. That conflict came to a high pitch in 1950, when Camargo Guarnieri published his famous *Carta aberta aos músicos e críticos do Brasil*, in the influential periodical *O Estado de São Paulo*. The main argument of the letter is summarized in this excerpt:

In this document, I want to alert you of the great threats to the musical culture of Brazil, due to our young composers' infatuation with progressive theories of music that are inimical to the true interests of Brazilian music.... These composers preferred to ignore the rich musical traditions of Brazil and produce music according to false and sterile aesthetic principles ... that favor improvisation and charlatanism, pseudo-science instead of original research, and scorn talent, culture, and the exploration of the rich experiences of the past, which are the bases of the true work of art.⁵

Throughout the letter, Guarnieri wrote very forcefully and critically about what he perceived to be a mistake on the part of the younger generation who embraced a school of composition which he saw as ideologically empty. He specifically stated that serialism and dodecaphonism represented the last resort of composers whose cultures had been impoverished by a continuous neglect of their folk traditions. Since their local traditions had become inert, reasoned Guarnieri, those composers inevitably embraced serialism as an acceptable alternative. Later, Guarnieri regretted the militant tone of the letter and would have undoubtedly toned it down after a less impassioned consideration of the matter, but the document's almost belligerent tone arose a great deal of controversy and continued to reverberate for many years afterwards. Ironically, after the initial passions had calmed down, Guarnieri himself adopted serial procedures in some of his works from the 1960s and 1970s, mingling those techniques with a musical vocabulary that was distinctly Brazilian.

Mário de Andrade was one of the main forces behind Guarnieri's wholesale embrace of nationalism as a compositional aesthetic. This interplay between composition and musicology is important. If one conceives of musicology as an analytical discipline, one that provides rational explanations about how musical works are constructed, it seems inevitable that the nature of the musicological discourse will be conditioned to some extent by the nature of the material it addresses, in a process more or less explicit depending on matters of methodology, ideological premises, or scholarly parameters. This multilayered approach can be discerned in the nature and scope of musicological publications in Brazil, a large percentage of which is concerned with the proper

⁵ "Através deste documento, quero alertá-los sobre os enormes perigos que, neste momento, ameaçam profundamente toda a cultura musical brasileira, devido ao fato de muitos dos nossos jovens compositores estarem se deixando seduzir por falsas teorias progressistas da música que são contrárias aos verdadeiros interesses da música brasileira.... Estes compositores preferem ignorar as ricas tradições musicais do Brasil, seguindo falsos princípios estéticos ... e instituindo a improvisação, o charlatanismo, a meia-ciência como substitutos da pesquisa, do talento, da cultura, do aproveitamento racional das experiências do passado, que são as bases para a realização da arte verdadeira." Originally published in *O Estado de São Paulo*, 7 November 1950; reprinted in Flávio Silva, ed., *Camargo Guarnieri: O tempo e a música* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Oficial/FUNARTE, 2001) 143–45.

analytical tools that can do justice to the specific language of Brazilian composers. This nationalist bent of musicology, to borrow a concept from compositional practice, can also be detected in the scholarly production of many other countries in which art music evolved in close connection with the preservation of traditional practices.

In the case of Brazil, the rhapsodic nature of the narrative of Macunaíma's life, with all the fantastic transformations and the constant shifts between the context of the jungle and the context of the city—that is to say, between the “unrefined” and the “civilized”—is similar to the paths followed by musicology and ethnomusicology in Brazil. In the same manner that a composer like Villa-Lobos, for example, felt compelled to merge Western art music with the specific elements of Brazilian folk traditions, Brazilian musicology today endeavors to adapt methodological premises derived from European conceptions of the discipline to the specific nature of Brazilian music. This approach informs most of the analytical studies about Brazilian composers and their music, and has been favored for much of the history of Brazilian musicology. Although it inevitably requires some methodological and analytical compromises, it derives its efficacy from the fact that, no matter how nationalistically inclined a composer may be, no one creates in a vacuum. Conceptions of musical form based on European compositional practices are widely emulated in Brazilian works, but judgments of excellence and accomplishment related to these practices must be qualified in light of the distinct musical language to which they are applied. The other alternative in Brazilian musicology is to develop a methodology based directly on the vocabulary and techniques of Brazilian music. One example of such approach can be found in the guidelines for the musicology program at the Conservatório Brasileiro de Música in Rio de Janeiro, which clearly states that the main purpose of the program is to develop specific methods and parameters for the study of Brazilian music. It is not its sole purpose, but unquestionably the main goal. The guidelines go on to state that the program also focuses on developing performance practices that would be appropriate to the interpretation of Brazilian music. This seems to reinforce the notion that the nature of the musical material calls for specific musicological parameters and methodologies, both theoretical and practical. If this methodological framework is applied to Brazilian music, it will inevitably create a situation in which musicology cannot be wholly separated from ethnomusicology, since a substantial part of Brazilian art music is deeply indebted to the folk traditions of the country. Specific folk materials are often fully embedded in the musical work, and therefore must be taken into consideration whenever that work is analyzed or interpreted.

Brazilian art music itself has been perceived, for many years, as somewhat exotic, representing a musical heritage that has evolved in the periphery of European music history. This repertoire is too easily heard as being informed by strange rhythms and melodies, difficult to account for or explain in light of standard parameters. This penchant for labeling Brazilian art music as “exotic” (which I call the “Carmen Miranda syndrome”) has been a very contentious issue for Brazilian composers. It represents a superficial kind of folklorization and exoticism, from which Brazilian composers, musicologists, and ethnomusicologists have tried to disengage themselves. There is no justification for labeling the use of Brazilian traditional music by Villa-Lobos as “exotic”, while the use of Russian folk melodies by Stravinsky is not labeled as such. There may have been a time when the novelty of such borrowings—both by Villa-Lobos or Stravinsky—could have been perceived as exotic, but now they are simply understood as part of the creative process of these composers. It remains true, however, that the ostentatiously exuberant

and overtly rhapsodic style of some of Villa-Lobos's greatest works, for example, cannot be adequately explained by applying traditional musicological and analytical methods. Strict adherence to such principles would inevitably lead to the conclusion that his works are less than accomplished, a judgment that would be patently absurd. Perhaps one should take a lead from Villa-Lobos himself when discussing his music. In 1970, the scholar Adhemar Nóbrega, who was a close friend of Villa-Lobos, presented a lecture entitled "The transfiguration of popular expression in the production of Villa-Lobos", in which he revealed a classification system devised by Villa-Lobos himself, who imparted it to Nóbrega in 1947. In this system, the composer divided his works into five groups, based on the relative importance of elements derived from or influenced by folk music: (1) works with indirect folk influence; (2) works with some direct folk influence; (3) works with transfigured folk material; (4) works with transfigured folk material but permeated by the influence of Bach; and (5) works written in a universal language devoid of folk material. One interesting feature of this classification is that it transcends chronological boundaries, as works from each group can be found throughout Villa-Lobos's career. This division is also significant in light of the fundamental dialectic between nationalism and universalism in Villa-Lobos's works, and which can be extended to any Brazilian composer who has embraced a nationalist aesthetic.

The perception of Brazilian art music as being exotic and fundamentally distinct from European musical cultures was sometimes fostered by Brazilian composers themselves. Among these was Villa-Lobos, who often talked about his music as a reflection of the tropical exuberance of Brazil. When he traveled abroad, he was fond of recounting his particular relationship to the Brazilian folklore, in a rhapsodic manner that recalls Macunaíma's narrative style. Often, when asked about the influence of Brazilian folklore on his music he would reply: "I am the Brazilian folklore". Such statements inevitably influenced the analysis of his music, as analysts focused on elucidating the traces of the Brazilian folklore embodied in Villa-Lobos's music, to the detriment of more cosmopolitan aspects that were equally important in shaping his style. On other occasions, in interviews preserved for posterity, he would state that, during his research trips in the Amazon he was captured and almost eaten by the local Indians, although these stories were never proved true in any way.

This same rhapsodic penchant can be found in some of the musicological and ethnomusicological discourse in Brazil. In recent conferences and symposia on musicology and ethnomusicology in Brazil, it is still common to stress the need to arrive at a scholarly methodology for both disciplines within the context of Brazilian academia. Coming at this late stage in the development of these disciplines elsewhere, such injunctions suggest that there is a need for countering a tendency towards rhapsodic discourse, the Macunaíma style of verbal narrative.

Macunaíma's symbolic journey from the jungle to the city is similar to the dual journey of Brazilian musicology and ethnomusicology, because Brazilian scholars are still responding to the need to balance universal parameters and methodologies with the individual flavor of Brazilian music. Ideally, it should be possible to recognize the validity of a highly distinctive musical tradition, one that does not necessarily have to be bathed in a magical lake (to borrow the metaphor of Macunaíma's transformation) and metamorphose itself into a blond, blue-eyed creature that is essentially foreign and whose identity is incomprehensible to its compatriots.

The development of Brazilian musicology and ethnomusicology, therefore, has been characterized by the inextricable mutual influences between these two disciplines. The status of Brazilian music as an independent and autonomous repertoire, worthy of study because of its very specificity, has increased and the label of exoticism has long been discredited in the scholarly literature. One sign that perceptions have changed is the evaluation of the work of major Brazilian composers by the international community. Today, no one would apply to Villa-Lobos's or Camargo Guarnieri's output, for example, the kind of ideologically tainted analyses that were still common in the first half of the 20th century. An important event in this changing of perception was Aaron Copland's tour of Brazil in the mid 1940s. He went to Bahia and, from there, traveled south through several states. He became acquainted with the music of Camargo Guarnieri, and wrote in surprise about the existence of such a thriving art music tradition in the country. He obviously did not expect that Brazil had anything of consequence to offer in the field of art music. Upon his return to the United States, he wrote in *The New York times* about the musical contacts he had in Brazil and praised the vitality of the country's musical scene.⁶

Returning to the subtitle of Andrade's book—"The hero without character"—and to the fact that Macunaíma did not come into the world to be a stone, it should be pointed out that Andrade was very specific about the subtitle of his book. He made it clear that the subtitle did not carry any judgmental or moral connotation, but was rather intended in the sense of something still undefined, unformed, and that did not color yet one's entire being. He compared it to a young person whose personality traits may all be there but cannot be clearly pinpointed or identified. The person needs to mature in order for these characteristics to emerge as defining features of one's personality. On the other hand, Macunaíma did not come into the world to be a stone, with all the implications of rigidity, contour, and well-defined boundaries. This seems to point to an ingrained characteristic of Brazilian culture, the relish of improvisation and exploration, of fluid boundaries that can be perpetually transformed through spontaneous growth and sheer exuberance.

It seems to me, then, that all the analytical, methodological, and academic parameters of musicology and ethnomusicology in Brazil are still in transformation, and if Macunaíma is definitely out of the woods, he may not have arrived fully in the city. And in the course of his journey, he has consciously ignored some events or dismissed some problems that have already been addressed and resolved for him. There are things that Brazilian musicologists and ethnomusicologists will not do, because these things have already been done for them. In the future, it will be interesting to see how and when Macunaíma fully conquers the city, the urban jungle that harbors as many problems as the jungle from which he came, but problems of a different kind, requiring different solutions.

⁶ Aaron Copland, "Composer's report on music in South America," *The New York times* (21 December 1947).

DEN EUROPÆISKE MUSIKKULTURS HISTORIE (1982–84) AND ITS IDEOLOGICAL AND ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

Niels Krabbe

DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK, COPENHAGEN

Let me begin with two quotations that almost formulaically shed light on the main issue dealt with in the following paper. The first one comes from the internationally esteemed Danish musical scholar Knud Jeppesen, one of the founders of Danish musicology. He begins his famous dissertation from 1929 on the treatment of dissonance in Palestrina with these words:

Music is in its own way a language. The task of the music historian is consequently: the history of this language.¹

The second quotation is likewise from an introduction to a Danish dissertation, left incomplete and published as a torso in 1978 after the death of its author, Poul Nielsen, with the title *Musik og materialisme* (Music and materialism). The author begins his dissertation as follows:

Music is like language. Expressions like musical idiom, musical tone are not metaphors. But music is not language. Anyone who literally views music as a language is on the wrong track.²

Both quotations are about the language-like character of music and about the project of the musicologist in the face of this character. But oceans separate the consequences that the two authors infer from their assertions about the relationship between music and language. They mark the two fundamental positions that confronted each other in the 1970s and 1980s in Danish university circles and which formed the framework for the publication of the book I will be talking about here. Very briefly, the polarity can be expressed as a positivism-based, sophisticated history-of-styles paradigm versus a

¹ "Musiken er paa sin Vis et sprog. Musikhistorikerens Opgave følgerig: dette Sprogs Historie." Knud Jeppesen, *Palestrinastil med særlig henblik paa dissonans-behandlingen* (København: Levin & Munksgaards, 1923); Engl. edition *The style of Palestrine and the dissonance* (London: H. Milford; Oxford University Press, 1927) 3.

² "Musik ligner sprog. Udtryk som musikalsk idiom, musikalsk tonefald er ikke metaforer. Men musik er ikke sprog. [...] Den der bogstaveligt opfatter musik som et sprog er på vildspor." Poul Nielsen, *Musik og materialisme: Tre aspekter af Theodor W. Adornos musikfilosofi* (København: Borgen, 1978) 13.

sociologically and sociohistorically based materialist paradigm. At that time the latter paradigm as yet had no name.

This paper on aspects of music historiography in Denmark in the 1980s is an attempt to explain and understand how the shifting of the familiar boundary between Renaissance and Baroque from the year 1600 to the year 1500, by four then middle-aged musicologists from the University of Copenhagen introduced in a new *Den europæiske musikkulturs historie* (History of European music culture)—along with their questioning of period designations in music history such as “Classicism” and “Romanticism” and their reinterpretation of a body of handed-down, empirically based music-historical data—could be interpreted as a political action, and viewed in some circles as almost socially subversive.³

Since the undersigned was one of the four authors, it might be feared that my paper will be a defense of our book. That is not my intention. The book has played out its role and is no longer likely to generate any strong engagement on the part the reader, either positive or negative, although it did help—to put the matter a little immodestly—to question the assertion of value-free judgment by the authors of any presentation of musical history. My aim is solely to give an account of the background and perspectives associated with the work, and to place it in its Danish context. Another factor in the intellectual history of Danish musicology has also cried out for an explanation from me. When I was a student at the University of Copenhagen in the 1960s, Donald J. Grout’s *A history of Western music* was the required textbook; it was then brand new. Then came the discussion of the music-history paradigm in the eighties, and today (2005) Grout (in Palisca’s light-handed revision) is once again the set book. One can certainly call that a *swing of the pendulum*.⁴

Of course, many aspects of this “case-study” are colored by local conditions and personalities in Danish music scholarship: I will attempt to ensure that such local issues do not influence this paper unduly. On the other hand, it is necessary, if one is to understand the “case”, to remember that the Danish musicological milieu is very small when compared with the German, English, or American situation. There are probably fewer than twenty professional musicologists in Denmark, and only three universities have musicology in their curriculum. In such an environment, the publication of a broad presentation of music history inevitably evoked a far stronger response than elsewhere, perhaps far more than it could bear. Then again, the smallness of this academic milieu and its scarcity of professional practitioners of musicology may give the case a clearer outline and a certain representative weight.

My paper falls into three main sections: first an account of the thinking behind our book and a brief presentation of its content and structure; then a presentation of its reception in Denmark in the mid-eighties and afterwards; and finally, a few perspectivizing and historical remarks.

GYLDENDALS MUSIK HISTORIE: DEN EUROPÆISKE MUSIKKULTURS HISTORIE. At the end of the 1970s, when we were asked by Denmark’s absolutely largest and most respected publishing house, Gyldendal, to write a general history of music, it was quite

³ Jens Brincker, Finn Gravesen, Carsten E. Hatting, and Niels Krabbe, *Den europæiske musikkulturs historie*, ed. by Knud Ketting. Gyldendals musikhistorie (København: Gyldendal, 1982–84) 4 vols.; here abbreviated “GMH”.

⁴ Donald J. Grout, *A history of Western music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Comp., 1960; 4th ed. with Claude V. Palisca, 1988).

without preconditions from the publishers. With their assured mainstream position in the Nordic countries, they hardly imagined that the result would be considered as “alternative” as it was. Despite the unusual situation of a publisher approaching researchers and offering to defray all production costs, we as authors had a completely free hand with respect to the content of the book. To put it rather bluntly, it was hardly conceivable at that time that a music history could become part of a general, highly polarized debate on (university) politics, even on politics in general.

GMH falls into four volumes. The first three comprise the actual historical account, while volume four is an alphabetically ordered dictionary of individual composers. Already here we have both one of the strengths and one of the weaknesses of the work: By relegating the actual biographical treatment of the composers to a final volume, we were able to avoid the obligation to integrate biographies and work overviews in the main historical account and instead use the space for linkages, interpretations, and “explanations”. At the same time—and perhaps more importantly—we were not obliged to let the birth-years of the composers dictate the chronological disposition, and could let other—and in the final analysis more significant—factors determine the chronology. Of course, this organization makes demands on the reader; but that is hardly the worst thing one can say about an academic history. Finally, the omission of the biographical material from the main body of the work meant that we could completely avoid dealing with one of the “hot potatoes” of music history at the time—the relationship between a composer’s life and work, which had become an issue in Solomon’s work on Beethoven,⁵ and in Hildesheimer’s (and Miloš Forman’s) on Mozart,⁶ to mention just two salient examples.

From the outset we chose a division of the whole history of Western musical culture into four main epochs, and already in this we made a radical departure from the well-known periodization of the history of styles based first and foremost on Guido Adler’s three quite fundamental works on style, method, and music history—works which had influenced and still to this day influence any textbook’s review of the history of style, at least in our part of the world.⁷ Our four main sections were:

- Vol. 1: I: Europæisk musikkultur til ca. 1500 [European music culture until about 1500]
- II: På vej mod en borgerlig musikkultur [Towards a bourgeois music culture] (ca. 1500–1740)
- Vol. 2: III: Den borgerlige musikkultur [Bourgeois music culture] (ca. 1740–1914)
- Vol. 3: IV: Vor tids musikkulturer [The music cultures of our own time] (ca. 1914–1980)

To provide a slightly clearer impression of the overall approach, I cite as an example an extract from the disposition for part III:

⁵ Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (London: Cassell & Co., 1978).

⁶ Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977).

⁷ Guido Adler, *Methode der Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919); idem, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1924); idem, *Der Stil in der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1929).

Borgerlig musikkultur [Bourgeois musical culture] (ca. 1740–1914)
 Offentlighed [The public domain]
 Æstetik og form [Aesthetics and form]
 Publikum [The public]
 Forlag og musiktidsskrifter [Publishers and music periodicals]
 Komponisten [Composers]
 Beethoven-myten [The Beethoven myth]

1740–1770

1770–1848

1848–1871

 Traditioner og fremskridt [Traditions and progress]
 Opera, drama og operette [Opera, drama, and operetta]
 Nationalt og nationalistisk [National and nationalist]
 Den mekaniserede periodestil [The mechanized period style]
 Arbejdersang [Workers' song]

1871–1914

To be sure, these four main epochs themselves prompt both discussion and contradiction, and—like any kind of historical periodization—serve as a kind of manifesto and thus guide the choice of focuses in the account. Today one would probably consider it rather brash to claim that the *road* to what we call “bourgeois musical culture” can be traced more than 200 years back to the year 1500. Undeniably a long road!

The dividing line at 1500—in place of the familiar one at 1600—also provoked opposition. The ushering-in of a new period in music history around 1600 (the “Baroque” of style history) is probably one of the most firmly established cut-off points in music historiography, and hence the showdown with this point required arguments all the stronger. Yet this is not the place to go into those arguments in detail. However, to give some hint of the reasoning employed I will cite some key concepts: secularization, the advent of printing text and music, the Reformation, the emancipation of instrumental music, the emergence of a concept of the musical work (or *opus music*, as Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht calls it).⁸ Other more general historical/sociological concepts were invoked: the nature of the public sphere, tendencies towards rationalization, Althusser’s concept of *ideological state apparatuses*, and so on.⁹ It was an important point for us that the first three epochs in *GMH* used the concept of “music culture” in the singular, while the concluding epoch used “music cultures”—that is, the plural; the intention was of course to postulate that in musical life after 1914 there was a transition from a unified culture to a multiplicity of simultaneous cultures; or more accurately, from a clear hierarchical ordering of musical cultures to a range of cultures of equal value. It should however

⁸ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Musikalisches Denken: Aufsätze zur Theorie und Ästhetik der Musik*. Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft 46 (Wilhelmshafen: Heinrichshofen, 1977).

⁹ Louis Althusser, *Ideologi og ideologiske statsapparater*. Translated to Danish from *Ideologie und ideologische Staatsapparate* by Finn Frandsen, Jørgen Jørgensen, and Kasper Olsen (Aalborg: Grus, 1983).

be added that this claim was made much more clearly and pointedly in the four main headings than in the texts themselves; precisely the interplay of various cultural strata is an important part of the history of our society's cultural development.

All that has been said above is of course predicated on a very general approach to history, using truly broad brushstrokes. Such a bird's-eye view had to be constantly qualified and sometimes questioned on the basis of empirical details; precisely the interplay between the "ideal-typical" (*idealtypische*) overall categories and structures and the specific *cases* used to illuminate corners of reality became a cardinal point of the whole project. On the whole, it was historical periodization that concerned us. Both metaphysically grounded period divisions at fixed intervals of 150 or 300 years as well as stylistically based period designations like Baroque, Classical, and Romantic had to be rejected—the latter so as to get beyond the often-mentioned but absurd pseudo-problem according to which periodization in music history "lags behind" general historical periodization. The shortcomings of pure style-history as an explanatory model could hardly be expressed more clearly. Instead, an attempt was made to legitimize alternative period divisions with a number of broader, general historical and sociohistorical "events" which, so to speak, "included" the specific music-historical process.

It goes without saying that one of the fundamental conceptual oppositions in a project like *GMH* would arise between music on the one hand and society on the other. In fact it was not epoch-makingly new at that time to note that music exists and has always existed in a social context. In Danish musicology, too, there had been a long-standing tradition of asserting the sociohistorical determinacy of music. Political dynamite only entered the picture when one was no longer content merely to *describe* the social impact on musical history—in purely statistical terms for example—but also sought, more ambitiously, drawing on a theoretical basis, to discuss the *nature* of this relationship between music and society; such a "problematization" of the relationship—today a part of ordinary undergraduate wisdom—was at that time regarded as a challenge to the existing order both within and outside the domain of music history.

The theoretical/methodological point of departure for the book—besides our ongoing discussions with one another and with others, growing out of our university teaching over the preceding ten years or so—was first and foremost the inspiration that came from our colleague Poul Nielsen's never completed Adorno dissertation.¹⁰ Against the background of Nielsen's critical reading of Adorno and the rudiments he had provided for a completely new periodization and understanding of the development of musical history, we tried to combine a number of the ideas that he and we had found in Max Weber, Adorno, Habermas, and others, and to "inscribe" these ideas in a musical history aimed at "students and knowledgeable laymen" who were presumed already to have detailed knowledge of musical works and composers, but who might lack what we believed to be the "proper" understanding of contexts. Our object was thus to "explain" rather than "describe". In particular, Max Weber's almost clinical attempt to explain Western musical culture in terms of his concept of "purposive rationality" (*zweckrationale Handlung*) played a crucial role; I need only cite Weber's discussion of the development of our musical instruments and of the tempered scale as a precondition of the supremacy of major-minor tonality in Western composition, to give some impression of his all-

¹⁰ See note 2 above.

encompassing project.¹¹ In addition there was Weber's concept of the "ideal-typical", which became a useful tool for us. It must be mentioned that in the late 1970s Weber's sociology of music was well-nigh unknown in Denmark and in any case had never been used as a theoretical foundation for a general music history. Works that were then *new*, such as Georg Knepler's *Geschichte als Weg zum Musikverständnis* and Carl Dahlhaus's *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte*, played a crucial role, too: the former with its strong attack on musical history's focus on the rise of the opera around 1600, and the latter with its *non-Marxist* use of the causality concept, which could be used in particular to understand the concepts and "structures" (as Dahlhaus put it) of bourgeois musical culture.¹²

In the reception of *GMH*, much attention was given to its "materialism" and whether that meant it was a Marxist musical history. We did not regard ourselves as declared Marxists and were certainly not schooled in the dialectical method. Perhaps this combination of impulses from both Marxist and non-Marxist ideology was an example of the Nordic countries' special Social-Democratic model in the seventies and eighties—a kind of neutral zone between the poles of East and West where as a researcher and communicator one could exploit the best of both camps.

The pedagogical challenge lay in integrating these different theoretical positions and forging them into a reliable music-historical account aimed, as mentioned above—perhaps a little too ambitiously—at those who already *knew* their musical history.

When it came to the written exposition, too, *GMH* represented a break with tradition. From the outset we quite consistently produced an entirely collective account, which meant that the text did not have the appearance of a patchwork of individual contributions from the four authors but rather of one unified text, without specific author attributions. The advantage of this way of working was that the expertise of the four writers in their own areas could benefit the *whole* text, and that the work as a whole would be an integral text without discontinuities at the points where a new writer took over; the disadvantage was that the personal narrative style and the pleasures of storytelling necessarily had to be forfeited, because the text had to be, so to speak, "leveled" so that all four authors could answer for it.

As the last point in this presentation of the work I will briefly discuss the basic axioms that lay behind the whole effort—axioms not necessarily formulated explicitly anywhere in the book, but present as overall guidelines for both content and objectives. These can be formulated as follows in rather slogan-like form:

Music history is about people and their relations with music.

Music is in its own way a language (i.e. *both* as regards the syntax of "language" and the *way* in which and the conditions under which "language" communicates).

The world changes and can be changed.

These axioms involved a distrust of the notion of absolutely autonomous music and of the organic concept of the history of style—given its most striking form in Guido

¹¹ Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920).

¹² Georg Knepler, *Geschichte als Weg zum Musikverständnis: Zur Theorie, Methode und Geschichte der Musikgeschichtsschreibung* (Leipzig: R. Reclam, 1977); Carl Dahlhaus, *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (Köln: Hans Gerig, 1977).

Adler's famous metaphor about the music-historical epoch, which, he claimed, develops like a plant: it germinates, it flourishes, it withers and it dies, a notion that—although it is almost a century old—still forms part of the style-historical paradigm. As mentioned in the introduction, the second axiom is a direct quotation from Jeppesen's Palestrina dissertation, the point being of course that Jeppesen's and our own understanding of the expression "in its own way" are diametrically opposite. Implicit in the third axiom—trivial enough in itself—is the idea that music-historical activity as such helps to change the world, at least a little. Awareness that this is the case makes the musicological metier a political act. This is presumably true no matter what point of departure the music historian takes. But if in our context the idea seemed provocative, that was because we acknowledged it and stated it openly.

RECEPTION. The reception of *GMH* in Denmark—and to a certain extent in Sweden—was overwhelming, and this, too, is explained not only by the narrow musicological milieu in Scandinavia, but also by the ideological background of the book. Each of the four volumes was reviewed on its appearance in all the national newspapers; they were moreover mentioned on national TV and on Danish radio. Finally, the book was the subject of detailed discussion at a two-day seminar for Nordic musicologists held in Hans Christian Andersen's birthplace of Odense.

The reception varied from complete rejection to the highest praise. The range of views expressed will be illustrated here by extracts from two newspaper reviews following the appearance of all four volumes:

And now, afterwards, it is like having danced for four hours—no, four marathon days—with a partner who was fat, heavy and sweaty, who constantly missed the beat and stepped on your toes while he/she breathed hectic, value-laden opinions right in your face.¹³

It's a feat. Written with excitement and commitment. Provocative and unignorable.... You rejoice again and again in having your knowledge put into a new perspective.... This is quite clearly a pioneering work that has required dauntlessness from the authors. Some will even say rashness.¹⁴

The bad reviews became more and more numerous and more and more shrill after vol. 1. It is clear that the closer our history came to the canonized concert-hall music of the mid-18th century or the diverse music cultures in the 20th century, the stronger it was felt that the methodological approach was a threat to personal political and moral values and norms. It was no longer simply an interesting "materialist" treatment of early, that is to say irrelevant music, but a kind of unmasking of bourgeois music as an innocuous diversion. Characteristically, the resistance came from two fronts—from the newspapers' cultural journalists and from colleagues within the musicological

¹³ "Nu bagefter er det som at have danset fire timer, nej fire marathondøgn, med en partner, tyk, tung og svedig, der uafsladelig kiksede rytmen og jokkede én over tærne, alt imens han/hun åndede én lige ind i ansigtet med hektisk værdiladede meninger." Review by Keith Keller, *BT* (29 March 1984).

¹⁴ "Det er en præstation. Spændende og engageret skrevet. Provokerende og ikke til at komme uden om.... Man frydes gang på gang over at få sat sin viden ind i et nyt perspektiv.... Der er helt klart tale om et pionerarbejde, som har krævet uforfærdethed af forfatterne. Nogle vil endda sige dumdristighed." Review by Tage Nielsen, *Weekendavisen* (6–12 January 1984).

establishment. In the latter case, to our great surprise and disappointment, it took the form of an almost unanimous silence.

On the other hand, the book was received by music students and not least by the professional general historians and philosophers as an inspiring and relevant contribution which, while requiring rebuttals of specific points, set a new agenda for the way music could be viewed in a broader interdisciplinary context. In particular, it was seen as daring enough to propose connections and interpretations even within fields with which the authors would have been the first to admit they had less than full “empirical intimacy”. Many people expressed this by saying that one only got the full benefit of *GMH* if one already “knew” one’s music history: In it, time-honored knowledge was, so to say, broken down only to be built up anew—not through any rejection of the known but through an expansion, a problematization and a perspectivization.

As a curiosity I will mention that six years after the appearance of the book, another large Danish commercial publisher actually published a musical “counterhistory” to *GMH*, written by a group of music scholars from Aarhus University, home to the second of the country’s two large musicological departments.¹⁵ With an ill-concealed dig at *GMH* and a certain amount of polemic, the preface of this new music history textbook referred to itself as the first in Danish since 1936, thus hinting that it did not consider *GMH* to be a serious account of musical history. And so it is that since the end of the eighties we have had two comprehensive accounts in Danish of the history of Western music. Although this may seem a little comical in light of how limited the domain of Danish musicology and musicological training is, the situation has provided the best imaginable starting-point for extremely fruitful methodological discussions—not least in the university setting. Such discussions were further nourished with the appearance of an equivalent work in Sweden, *Europas musikhistoria—1730* (The musical history of Europe to 1730) by the very prominent musicologist Jan Ling, whose methodological starting-point was much influenced by his background as an ethnomusicologist.¹⁶

To shed some light on the background of the debate that *GMH* aroused, and on why the establishment saw the book as an attack on itself, a brief presentation of the tradition of musicological scholarship in Denmark in the period from ca. 1930 to 1970 will be necessary.

The generation of musicologists and university teachers to which the four authors of *GMH* belonged was trained at the universities of Copenhagen and Aarhus. Musicology at both these music departments bore the stamp of two internationally known and still quite properly highly esteemed musicologists, Knud Jeppesen (1892–1974) and Jens Peter Larsen (1902–88), the former associated with Aarhus University, the latter with the University of Copenhagen. As was probably the case everywhere else, so in Denmark too a professor was the sole arbiter of curricula and research themes and thus set the agenda for the whole musicological discourse. And these were not only two professors at two Danish universities, but two musical scholars who enjoyed a prominent international position in their respective areas. Jeppesen was—and remains—well known for his subtle stylistic studies of Palestrina and for the fruits of these stylistic studies, a stylistic model for contrapuntal exercises in the rigorous, so-called Palestrina

¹⁵ Finn Egeland Hansen et al., *Gads musikhistorie*, ed. by Søren Sørensen and Bo Marschner (København: G.E.C. Gad, 1990).

¹⁶ Jan Ling, *Europas musikhistoria –1730* (Uppsala: Esselte Studium, 1983).

style. He was also the founder and for several years the editor of *Acta musicologica*. As a very young man Jens Peter Larsen made an impact with his studies of authenticity and chronology in Haydn—a field where, as a recent graduate, he boldly challenged the then leading Haydn scholar, Adolf Sandberger—and thus created the foundation for aspects of Haydn scholarship of the next fifty years.¹⁷ Furthermore, in the forties and fifties he took on Händelian tradition and performance practice in connection with that composer's oratorios, and in this field, too, made his name as an international heavyweight.

The canonized subject areas and the guiding beliefs at the two musicological departments in Denmark could thus be summed up as follows: sophisticated analysis of the history of style, source studies, a positivist belief in value-free research, a belief in the autonomy of music.

In interrogating the validity of these very fields and beliefs, *GMH* represented a showdown between the authors and their own educational background, a kind of “revolt against the father”. It was also—not to mince words—a confrontation with the fundamental requirement that a scholarly account was only to deal with topics of which the scholar has a first-hand knowledge! For it was a precondition for realization of the *GMH* project that we would sometimes have to engage with subjects in which we were *not* specialists, and in which we would have to rely on people who had the necessary insight. The accusation of dilettantism had always seemed a real risk, and that accusation was certainly made. To which one can only reply that if one wants to engage in interdisciplinary work, it is a fact of life that one must exploit others' expertise in their areas of specialization in order to illuminate and contextualize one's own specialist knowledge.

GMH AND THE NEW MUSICOLOGY. A key concept in musicological discourse throughout the nineties was, as we know, the very broad concept of New Musicology—a kind of catch-all phrase for tendencies and preferences in musicological work, especially in the Anglo-American world. The discussion has been conducted in recent decades in periodicals and at conferences as a “mainstream” issue—an issue that may well have provoked differences of opinion, but which everyone has considered both important and “respectable”. I do not suggest in any way that *GMH* adheres to the positions created by New Musicology, or that it could live up to the demands of the concept; I only point out that the attempts at innovative thinking and the softening-up of time-honored positions, the interdisciplinary aspect, the active involvement of the personality of the researcher in research—or however one wants to characterize the several aspects of the New Musicology concept—were also attempted in *GMH*. However, as a result of the research-history background as described above, and of the political situation at universities at the time (after the student revolt of 1968), our attempts were politicized by the surrounding world (rather than by ourselves) to such an extent that the polarization in the reception of *GMH* that I have tried to describe was inevitable. Without insisting on the comparison in other respects, one may recall the well-known concept from music history known as National Romanticism (*Nationalromantik*)—a concept that was perhaps determined more by reception than by actual musical substance. And so it was,

¹⁷ Jens Peter Larsen, “Haydn und das ‘kleine Quartet’”, *Acta musicologica* 7/3 (1935) 111–23; 8/1–2 (1936) 18–29; 8/3–4 (1936) 149–54.

too, with the reception of *GMH*: People forgot to “listen for” the content of the book and related solely to who was behind it and who agreed with it. If *GMH* had appeared in the years immediately *after*, and not immediately *before* the great paradigm shift in American musicology heralded in a work such as Joseph Kerman’s *Contemplating music*, it would not have aroused so much attention.¹⁸

Let me conclude—as I began—with a couple of quotations. First this one from the authors’ explanation of their purpose in the preface to *GMH*:

The history of European music is not only the history of how it once was. It is also the history of how it is, for both the music and the authors of this book are part of the present. The interaction between past and present is perhaps the most significant of the factors that determine the content of this book.¹⁹

To put it somewhat differently, *GMH* was *our* generation’s crack at an account of the history of Western musical culture in Danish. It was not *objective*, it was not *value-free*, and it was not *definitive*—may we be delivered from musical histories of which one can use these three predicates!

In retrospect, one can say that *GMH* was written from a declared standpoint and with a declared aim. The aim was to use the critical potential of musicology to question canonized discourse by raising awareness of the contexts which have made—or up to then had made—the concert-hall culture, its repertoire, and its great old masters the implicit point of departure for research positions. Perhaps it seems a little old-fashioned—and for some people even superfluous—to emphasize these factors today at an international conference. Perhaps I am tilting at windmills. And yet it seems to me to be necessary to maintain such critical positions, at least in the local musicological context that is mine.

In that context, too, it makes sense to conclude by quoting from a book published in the late 1980s. Its editors, Richard Leppert and Susan McClary, ended their preface with the following remarks:

To begin to acknowledge the ideologies behind the claim to autonomy, the positivism and formalism of the academic disciplines of music ... is to be forced to abandon the traditional uses of Western classical music. But at the same time, it is to grasp how very central music is to our understanding of ourselves. Music paces from the separate sphere of the marginal-if-beautiful into the realities of the social world. If music thereby loses its aura, it is granted both the powers and responsibilities of a genuinely political medium.²⁰

¹⁸ Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating music: Challenges to musicology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985).

¹⁹ “Den europæiske musiks historie er ikke kun historien om hvordan det engang var. Den er også historien om hvordan det er, for både musikken og forfatterne til denne bog er dele af nutiden. Vekselvirkningen mellem før og nu er måske den mest betydningsfulde af de faktorer, som bestemmer denne bogs indhold.” *Gyldendals Musikhistorie*, vol. 1, 7–9.

²⁰ Richard Leppert and Susan McClary, eds. *Music and society: The politics of composition, performance, and reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) xviii–xix.

MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY IN NEW ZEALAND

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Music historiography in New Zealand faces a number of special challenges, and the paucity of comprehensive music history writing in the country prompts investigation. Significant contributing factors to the current situation turn out to lie in the unique social, political and cultural history of the nation, and certain limitations of narrative music history writing techniques in the Western tradition also play a role.

According to the current consensus of scholarly opinion, New Zealand was the last significant land mass on the planet to be settled by humans.¹ The country consists mainly of two large islands, which have a combined land area approximately the same as that of the United Kingdom or Japan. The first settlers on the islands today known as New Zealand arrived from Polynesia, probably in the 13th century C.E.² For the following four hundred years they appear to have lived in isolation, gradually evolving the culture today known as *Maori*. The word “maori” in fact means “ordinary” or “plain,”³ and it was adopted by the Polynesian settlers to distinguish themselves from the new and different people who began to arrive in large numbers in the mid-19th century.⁴ These were Europeans, whom the natives called *Pakeha*, a word of uncertain origin.⁵ Certainly the Maori first speculated that the white beings who appeared in tall sailing ships with billowing sails and cannons were completely out of the ordinary, definitely not “maori”. In some quarters they initially were considered to be supernatural.⁶

For a musician, an enduringly fascinating thing about the relationship between Maori and European is the fact that the very first meeting and interchange between the two peoples was a musical one. A detailed record of this encounter was entered in the journal written by explorer Abel Tasman, captain of the Dutch ship *Heemskerck*

Grateful thanks to Mathew Dart (London Metropolitan University, UK), Richard Nunns (Nelson, NZ), Gail Pittaway (Waikato Institute of Technology, Hamilton, NZ) and Peter Shaw (Auckland, NZ) for their assistance when I was preparing this paper. Thanks for their professional support to my colleagues at the University of Waikato.

¹ Michel King, *The Penguin history of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003) 23.

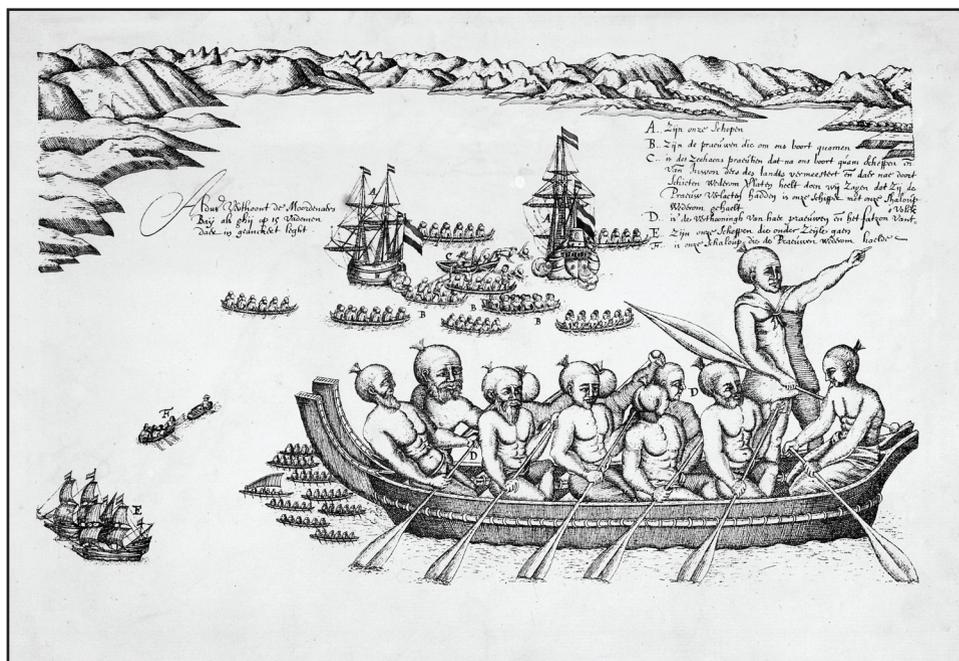
² *Ibid.*, 50.

³ See for example, P.M. Ryan, *Dictionary of modern Maori* (4th ed, Auckland: Heinemann, 1994) 37.

⁴ King, *The Penguin history*, 169.

⁵ Anne Salmond, *Between worlds: Early exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773–1815* (Auckland: Viking, 1997) 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.



Isaac Gilsemans (fl. 1637–1645), *A view of the Murderer's Bay, as you are at anchor here in 15 fathom* (1642).

Photolithograph, 290 × 435 mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PUBL-0086-021.

which sailed the South Pacific with its companion ship the *Zeehaen* in the 1640s. On 13 December 1642, Tasman first spotted the coasts of New Zealand and in succeeding days drew closer, seeking a safe anchorage. On 16 December contact was made with the inhabitants of the new land. Tasman reports:

We saw a number of lights on shore, and four boats close inshore, two of which came towards us... the men in the two prows [of the canoes] began to call out to us in a rough hollow voice, but we could not understand a word of what they said. We, however, called out to them in answer, upon which they repeated their cries... they also blew several times on an instrument of which the sound was like that of a Moorish trumpet; we then ordered one of our sailors (who had some knowledge of trumpet-blowing) to play them some tunes in answer. Those on board the “*Zeehaen*” ordered their second mate... to do the same; after this had been repeated several times on both sides, and, as it was getting more and more dark, those in the Native prows at last ceased, and paddled off.⁷

So the first interchange between men from these two cultures, previously completely unknown to each other, was a sustained exchange of music, which continued until it grew too dark. This surely remains one of history’s most extraordinary musical encounters, and it was depicted by Isaac Gilsemans, a navigator and map-maker travelling with Tasman’s expedition.

⁷ Robert McNab, *Historical records of New Zealand* (Wellington: John MacKay Government Printer, 1914) vol. 2, 21. McNab states he has reproduced “the official translation... published in Amsterdam in 1898”, although the translator is not named.

However, this amazing, improvised concert was soon to provide bloody evidence that music is not a universal language. On 19 December the Dutch launched a small rowing boat with seven unarmed sailors in it. Immediately the Maori sent two canoes towards it. The Maori attacked the Europeans and four sailors were killed; the other three were able to swim to the mother ship and safety. The Dutch then fired their guns at the Maori and drove them off, apparently without causing much damage.⁸ The genesis of this violent end to the first encounter between Maori and European lies in a musical misunderstanding. The perceived “rough voices” of the Maori probably were performing a *haka*, a ritualized chant of challenge. When the Maori sounded their “Moorish trumpet”, what Tasman heard was almost certainly a putatara,⁹ a musical and signalling instrument made by fixing a wooden mouthpiece to a large spiral sea shell. One of the putatara’s uses was to challenge strangers. The Maori trumpeting in this case was the music of war, an invitation to fight. On the other hand the Dutch trumpets played a variety of tunes intended to be welcoming. Neither side comprehended the meaning of the other’s music, a fatal misunderstanding.

A hundred and thirty years would pass before the next encounter between Maori and Europeans, when James Cook arrived, leading his remarkable series of scientific voyages in the Pacific. His 1773 expedition included the highly knowledgeable English musician James Burney (1726–1814), son of the famed music historian Dr. Charles Burney. James Burney recorded numerous details of Maori music in his journal and collected musical instruments.¹⁰ From this point in the late 18th century on there exists a more or less continuous documentary record of musical matters in New Zealand, although the sources are not uniformly easy to locate or access.

Why then, over the three hundred and sixty years since Tasman first put pen to paper, has so little been written about the history of New Zealand music? Even today, apart from the country entry in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, there is only one general history: John Mansfield Thomson’s pioneering single volume *Oxford history of New Zealand music* published in Auckland as recently as 1991. Beyond that landmark effort, there are a handful of more specialized music books, virtually all published within the last thirty years. Some of these are on Maori music,¹¹ a few on famous performers such as the opera stars Donald MacIntyre and Kiri te Kanawa, plus a small number on popular music topics.

Why has there been so little historical writing? In the first instance, it would be reasonable to wonder if there is anything worth writing about. The outstanding music historian John Mansfield Thomson sifted painstakingly through the evidence and had no doubts. The result of his research was the *Oxford history*, supplemented by its companion volume, Thomson’s *Biographical dictionary of New Zealand composers*.¹² Yet, despite Thomson’s groundbreaking work and vindication of the subject matter, subsequent writing and publishing on New Zealand music history have been minimal. The question remains: why?

⁸ King, *The Penguin history*, 97.

⁹ Anne Salmond, *Two worlds: First meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642–1772* (London: Penguin, 1993) 78.

¹⁰ John Mansfield Thomson, *The Oxford history of New Zealand music* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991) 10.

¹¹ Notably Mervyn McLean, *Maori music* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹² John Mansfield Thomson, *Biographical dictionary of New Zealand composers* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990).

Although New Zealand born and educated, John Mansfield Thomson (1926–99) spent most of his working life as a musicologist, editor, and music commentator in London, where he accumulated a deep reservoir of experience, not least from founding and editing the journal *Early music* for the Oxford University Press, and editing a number of influential books, including Charles Rosen's *The classical style*. In his 1994 article "Reflections on writing music history" Thomson identified some of the yawning gaps in existing historical research and writing on New Zealand music history, which he encountered when he was preparing his *Oxford history*. Apart from a few immediately obvious historical features of the preceding musical three and a half centuries of music, Thomson perceptively discerned:

There were other, then scarcely visible, but nevertheless important themes, of an anthropological nature. How had an English (and European) early-19th-century musical culture adapted itself to an entirely different environment? How had it related to an ancient Maori musical tradition, whose closest affinities lay with the Polynesian islands of the eastern Pacific? The Maori had imbued the land with a mythology intricately bound up with music but not immediately accessible.¹³

Here are two key issues which can help explain why potential music historians may have found it so hard to deal with the subject matter. Firstly, the transmogrification of 19th-century Western musical culture in a New Zealand environment is alone a challenging musicological topic to work on: an ongoing "indigenising" process has been complicated by the increasing globalisation of culture, a trend which has rocketed in pace since the advent of fast communications and the electronic mass media in the second half of the 20th century. The issue of decolonisation and indigenising is, of course, inextricably bound up with the old chestnut of cultural identity.¹⁴ In the case of New Zealand, that in turn is far from simple, because the nation has not had a monocultural identity for over 200 years now.

Furthermore, over the last 20 years popular culture studies—including in music—have flourished in universities and have been accompanied by a tranche of postmodern theory. This has exposed further complexities in any consideration of musical historiography.

As Thomson also notes, the place, the status and the accessibility of Maori music in New Zealand's evolution as a nation has been a complex matter—and this has always been recognised by commentators. Symptomatically, there is not even a word in the Maori language which translates precisely into the English word "music", so different is the view of music and its function in traditional Maori society. There is also a history of suppression of certain aspects of traditional Maori music, particularly by early Christian missionaries, because of the music's very close ties with spiritual values on the one hand and sexuality on the other.¹⁵

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht has observed that

both the concept and the substance of historiography as an autonomous science, with its critical use of sources, its study of method, and its fusion of historical research and

¹³ John Mansfield Thomson, "Reflections on writing musical history", *Canzona* 16/37 (1994) 3.

¹⁴ A general discussion of this issue may be found in David Novitz and Bill Willmott, eds., *Culture and identity in New Zealand* (Wellington: GP Books, 1989).

¹⁵ Brian Flintoff, *Tāonga puoro: Singing treasures* (Nelson: Craig Potton, 2004) 17.

historical theory, are of European origin and correspond to a European concept of music: a concept both verging on and implicated with the scientific. Even the concept of a universal history of music is essentially a Western one.¹⁶

Eggebrecht's observation is highly germane to the situation in New Zealand. It is undeniable that music in the West is indeed scientific in many regards. On the other hand, Maori music is not. It is posited on an entirely different paradigm, and is culturally explicable only in terms of the Polynesian cosmology. Brian Flintoff, a leading maker of traditional Maori instruments, puts it thus:

All the different types of Maori song stem from the emotions displayed by the [Maori] gods during the creation aeons. There are songs of sorrow, anger and lament; of loneliness, desire and joy; of peace and love. The voices of the [Maori musical] instruments and the movements of the dance support and embellish the songs.¹⁷

How is a musicologist to reconcile these two radically different musical paradigms in a historical viewpoint which is truthful to the roots of each musical culture, when the very idea of such a history is confined to just one them, namely the Western one? Unlike in the Western tradition, Maori music never became separated from direct interaction with the world of nature. It was never a stand-alone discipline. This was hard for early Europeans to understand, and by and large still is. As part of his influential studies in Maori culture published in the 1920s, the ethnographer Elsdon Best seems to have been aware of the problem but still did not know where to categorize music, and ended up including most of his writings on it—quite inappropriately—in a volume called *Games and pastimes of the Maori*!¹⁸ On the current political level, there is the added complication that the idea of writing history, being a European concept as Eggebrecht notes, is unavoidably connected with the process of colonization by the dominant culture. Why would the colonised culture want to participate in such a process, which could be seen as further extending European intellectual hegemony? The question of the autonomy of music and musical works is not new to historiography, and the relationship between historical objects and the scholar is neither static nor simple, as Leo Treitler reiterated,¹⁹ but in New Zealand it has a particularly sharp, public and politicised edge.

Probably the single most important factor in explaining the dearth of historical writings about New Zealand music at any kind of comprehensive level has been the absence of a broadly convincing historiographical method which is both aesthetically relevant to the New Zealand situation and politically acceptable. History writing of any kind in New Zealand continues to be a highly charged and politically loaded subject. An indication of this is the fact that the biggest selling, and most discussed, book published in New Zealand in 2004 was Michael King's *Penguin history of New Zealand*. This book was remarkable not so much for its subject matter, as for its approach, which is even-handed, tolerant and free of overt political bias. The urgency and topicality of history

¹⁶ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Historiography", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) vol. 8, 593.

¹⁷ Flintoff, *Taonga puoro*, 12

¹⁸ Elsdon Best, *Games and pastimes of the Maori: An account of the various exercises, games and pastimes of the natives of New Zealand, as practised in former times, including some information concerning their vocal and instrumental music* (Wellington: Board of Maori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum, 1925).

¹⁹ Leo Treitler, "The historiography of music: Issues of past and present", *Rethinking music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 357.

writing had been noted nearly thirty years earlier, when Ian Wards wrote in 1978: “History [in New Zealand] is becoming a sort of contemporary reporting.”²⁰ In music, the lack of an acceptable historiographic method for music has meant that there is no grand narrative or meta-narrative of the art form in New Zealand.

Some other factors which may have contributed to the conspicuous shortage of historical writings on New Zealand music history include the late development of a strong sense of nationhood; a long-standing attitude of anti-intellectualism in the country’s cultural make-up; the hugely dominating status of a single figure in art music composition; and the ephemeral nature of performed music and longstanding unavailability of source materials.

Before the coming of Europeans, Maori had no word for the country as a whole, their perspective was regional and tribal. The popular Maori name for New Zealand, *Aotearoa*, only became common in the early 20th century. Interestingly, 19th century British colonial settlements tended to continue the Maori pattern of regionalism, with even the famous politician Julius Vogel recommending in the 1860s in parliament that the two main islands become separate states.²¹ With such a late-developing political identity of nationhood, it is not surprising that a clear collective cultural identity has been slow to become distinctive.

A number of cultural commentators, such as the noted author on architecture and design Peter Shaw,²² have noted a persistent strand of anti-intellectualism in the New Zealand national character. Further, it can be argued that a continuing aversion to identifying patterns in artistic history betrays both an underlying insecurity and unexamined cult of originality.

Such attitudes certainly have been present regarding New Zealand music in the past. An originality fetish holds powerful sway in many quarters, although “originality” is never defined. Even official arts council documentation includes written approval and encouragement of “innovation”, that is, originality, whatever that may be. The rising confidence of New Zealand music during the course of the 20th century happened to coincide with the rise of global modernism, which, especially after World War II, created a totemic fetish of innovation and originality—at least in name. This seems to have found a fertile host soil in a certain strand of New Zealand artistic individualism and confused isolationism.

Attempting to address this issue in light of his experience in writing the *Oxford history of New Zealand music*, John Thomson wrote of the fight by New Zealand composers in the mid 20th century to “dismantle the sterile apparatus of university music departments whose teaching was based on the tedious intricacy and current prohibitions of English theoreticians such as Ebenezer Prout”. Thomson went on to note that “One probable consequence of these struggles is that some of those who fought such battles remained suspicious of all overseas influences and erected in turn a defensive barrier against the outside world which became a sort of New Zealand provincial protectionism.”²³ That attitude of defensive inwardness allowed some artists to maintain an anti-intellectual creative fiction of originality. In the case of music, post-

²⁰ Ian Wards, ed., *Thirteen facets* (Wellington: E.C.Keating Government Printer, 1978) xix.

²¹ King, *The Penguin history*, 228.

²² Peter Shaw, Private communication with the author in February 2005.

²³ Thomson, “Reflections on writing musical history”, 4.

World War II European modernist radicalism concerning the past could, in some cases, further mandate such a posture.

For the potential music historian, creating an all-embracing historical account which is interpretative and narrative, yet which includes such attitudes, becomes extremely delicate, to say the least. The actual result has been that, other than Thomson, no-one has been courageous enough to attempt it so far.

But even if a Lyotardian “grand narrative” is impossible, one might expect it to be feasible at least to create histories of particular genres of New Zealand music, especially within the familiar Western art music strands of song, symphony, concerto, string quartet, opera, and so on. A difficulty in doing even that has been the extraordinary and towering dominance of just one composer, namely Douglas Lilburn (1915–2001). Lilburn’s influence, while benign, is enormous, and not enough time has yet passed to allow his historical position to be placed in perspective. Symptomatically, in Thomson’s *Oxford history* the second half of the book is broken into three sections: (1) “Forerunners”; (2) Douglas Lilburn; (3) “Composers since Lilburn”. In other words, the country’s whole field of composition in the 20th century is seen in terms of one person: Douglas Lilburn. It must be said that Thomson’s view reflects, and was completely in step with, general attitudes in the 1970s and 1980s when the book was written. So in the field of classical art music, until Lilburn’s shadow can be traced more dispassionately and viewed through the correcting perspective of historical distance, it may not be feasible to write a balanced account.²⁴

A difficulty besetting anyone who might have thought of attempting anything approaching a complete history of New Zealand music has been, until very recently, the basic but crippling difficulty of accessing source materials. Music is, of course, intrinsically ephemeral and really exists primarily as sounds passing in time. In the cases of both Maori music and New Zealand folk music with European roots, the traditions are primarily aural, so there are few written primary sources, although for the period since about 1900 there exist some documentary sound recordings. But in New Zealand, even Western art music compositions have been difficult to track down, since, until quite recently, publication has been limited and recordings few. Live performances of new music in the majority of cases tend to be limited to a premiere—then the scores go off to lie silently on storage shelves. Even reasonably accessible and popular orchestral works in New Zealand would be lucky to receive three or four live, professional performances in a decade. Until the establishment of the New Zealand Music Archive at Wellington’s Alexander Turnbull Library in the 1980s (a specialist archival library funded directly by the government) it was extremely hard to locate and access a wide range of historical musical materials in any useful way, or even to find out what *might* exist. And it was not until the 1990s that the Centre for New Zealand Music opened and began to provide a centralised resource for researches into contemporary music.

Although many of the basic resources for research have become available in the past twenty years or so, there is yet to emerge an acceptable historiographic tool for the music historian in contemporary New Zealand. What is needed is a procedure which can combine the familiar cultural-historical approach, begun by Thomson, with meaningful style analysis, in what is now an officially bicultural, but in fact increasingly

²⁴ The only significant genre study in New Zealand music history to have been published to date is John Dix, *Stranded in paradise: New Zealand rock and roll—1955 to the modern era* (2nd edition, Auckland: Penguin 2005).

multicultural, nation. In his author's introduction to the *Oxford history*, John Mansfield Thomson summarised his aim in writing the book:

I have seen my prime task as that of recovering as much of the buried history of music in New Zealand as possible to provide a perspective and restore the continuity of the tradition.²⁵

For the reasons cited above, it was beyond the human ability of any person to achieve that noble goal completely at the time. But Thomson was able to signal both to the public and to musical and scholarly communities, that substantial repertoires and traditions of music did exist in the country. He, more than anyone, was acutely aware of his book's limitations, particularly in its final form after it had been savagely edited against his wishes. Yet the project was magnificent in conception and represents a powerful start. To date no scholar has been brave enough to take up the challenge and continue the historical project.

²⁵ Thomson, *The Oxford history of New Zealand music*, viii.

ENLIGHTENING A CONTINENT: THE LEGACY OF A MUSIC HISTORY IN AFRICA

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When the title of a six-volume monograph by Richard Taruskin reads *The Oxford history of Western music*, one wonders what meaning and reference it would have for the bigger part of the world not steeped in a Western tradition. Do works with titles like this only appear for reasons of commercial consumption, and because the majority of syllabi for music history is forever being taught on this limited and restricted scope in our schools, colleges, and universities? To be fair, if one ignores the title and considers only the text, one realizes that Taruskin has tried to be objective and nonpartisan in his views, being that his narrative actually deals with music in the Western literate tradition. He admits that there are those who argue that so-called classical music is able to express a much wider range of feeling and ideas than other kinds of music.¹ He also suggests that in spite of the fact that literacy serves as the book's central theme, he tried to keep the question of literacy and the way literacy and orality interrelate in the foreground. He posits that the literate tradition has always coexisted with the oral tradition, and that the non-literate aspects of performance practice and the oral aspects of music-making always go hand in hand.² Thus it seems that Taruskin insists on the presence of an accompanying nonliterate tradition, one that has "never been fully supplanted in Western classical music or anywhere else". He also writes, "No musical repertoire, not even the Beethoven symphonies, is wholly fixed and transmitted by its text; there are always unwritten performing conventions that must be learned by listening and reproduced (and that, like spoken languages, change over time)."³ To him it is the oral tradition which serves to "surround and attack the literate tradition like pincers" that will, in the end, win the day. Taruskin, to further prove his point, cites Meredith Monk: "In Western culture, paper has sometimes taken over the function of what music always was."⁴

¹ James R. Oestreich, "Debriefing: A history of Western music? Well, it's a long story", *The New York times* (19 December 2004) 2.

² *Ibid.*, 3.

³ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford history of Western music*, 6 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) vol. 5, 481.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 489.

For centuries on the African continent there has been an oral tradition regarding the establishment of a music history, in contrast to Western practice where the recording of history only really began with the invention of notation in North Central Europe during the 8th or 9th century. Music history in Africa has been “recorded” orally, expressed in many instances through performances and perceptions of the music itself rather than in writing. Most often, therefore, the founders of these music histories have remained anonymous, their histories passed along to pupils and followers who themselves then portrayed the received histories verbally and rather freely.

The following focuses on a few aspects regarding the rendering of a music history through musical means on the continent of Africa as well as on the lack of written evidence regarding these histories, which further complicates matters. Discussion will concentrate on how, in the past, these unwritten histories were often negatively assessed or misjudged by the Western musicological world, and how in later developments—mainly as a result of colonialism—histories were written, but often in distorted ways to suit new rulers. The way these written histories were and still are interpreted and the special problems encountered in obtaining information on these topics will be considered, as well as the difficulties of trying to render these histories in writing for contemporary encyclopedias, where it is necessary to apply certain kinds of editorial standards.

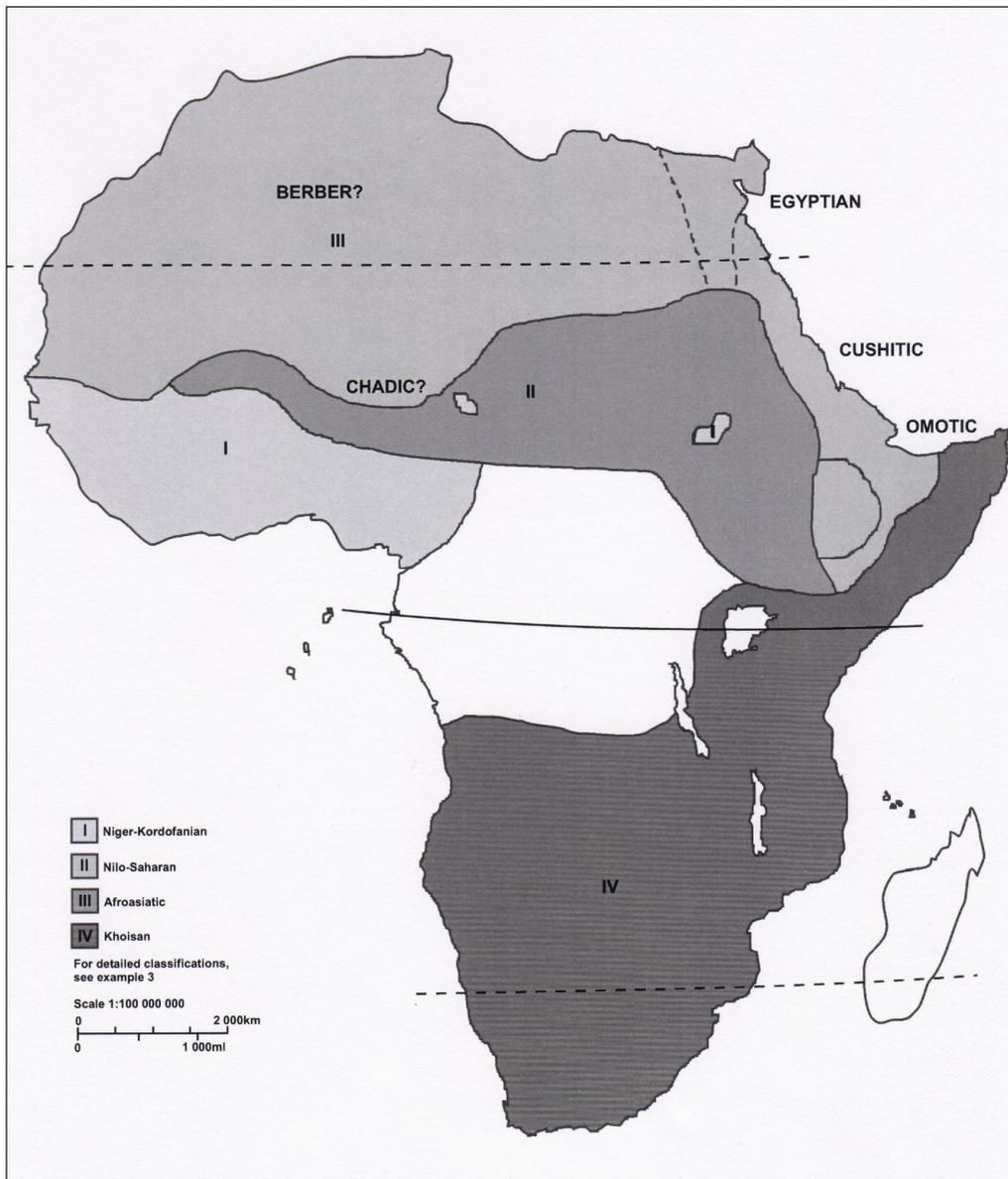
SAGA OF AN AFRICAN MUSIC HISTORY. On the African continent south of the Sahara, with its nonliterate customs, oral tradition has played a role in the saga of an African history of music. The strong and close bond—dependency, even—between music and speech is of central importance in understanding the changes that have taken place in the history of African music over many centuries. A linguistic approach to studying the dissemination of musical cultures proves most useful. The musical style of a certain population group is not so much determined by its ethnic and national coherency as by its language distribution.⁵ It is necessary to understand the distribution of speech patterns geographically and the inevitable historical changes that accompany it in order to be able to discern the music historical transformations that occurred during a specific period. It can be taken for granted that mutations in musical cultures occurred hand-in-hand with the evolution, amalgamation, and divisions of language, in addition to the geographical movements of population groups.

Many errors regarding African music history have resulted from the use of terms that misrepresent reality. The expression “ethnic music”, for instance, implies that a musical style belongs to a certain ethnic population group instead of pertaining to a linguistic entity.⁶ It is possible, by means of linguistic maps, to reconstruct (albeit hypothetically) the possible outlines of the most important African musical cultures, reaching as far back as 2500 B.C.E., including, for example, the Khoisan, pygmies, Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, and Afroasiatic musical cultures. Some linguistic maps according to Greenberg explain the changes and the nomadic movement of these language families over time [ex. 1].⁷

⁵ Gerhard Kubik, “Afrika südlich der Sahara”, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Sachteil*. Ed. by Ludwig Finscher (2nd rev. ed.; Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart, Metzler, 1994) vol. 1, col. 53.

⁶ John Blacking, “Challenging the myth of ethnic music: First performance of the new song in an African oral tradition (1961)”, *Yearbook for traditional music* 21 (1989) 17–24.

⁷ Jocelyn Murray, ed., *Cultural atlas of Africa* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981) 26.

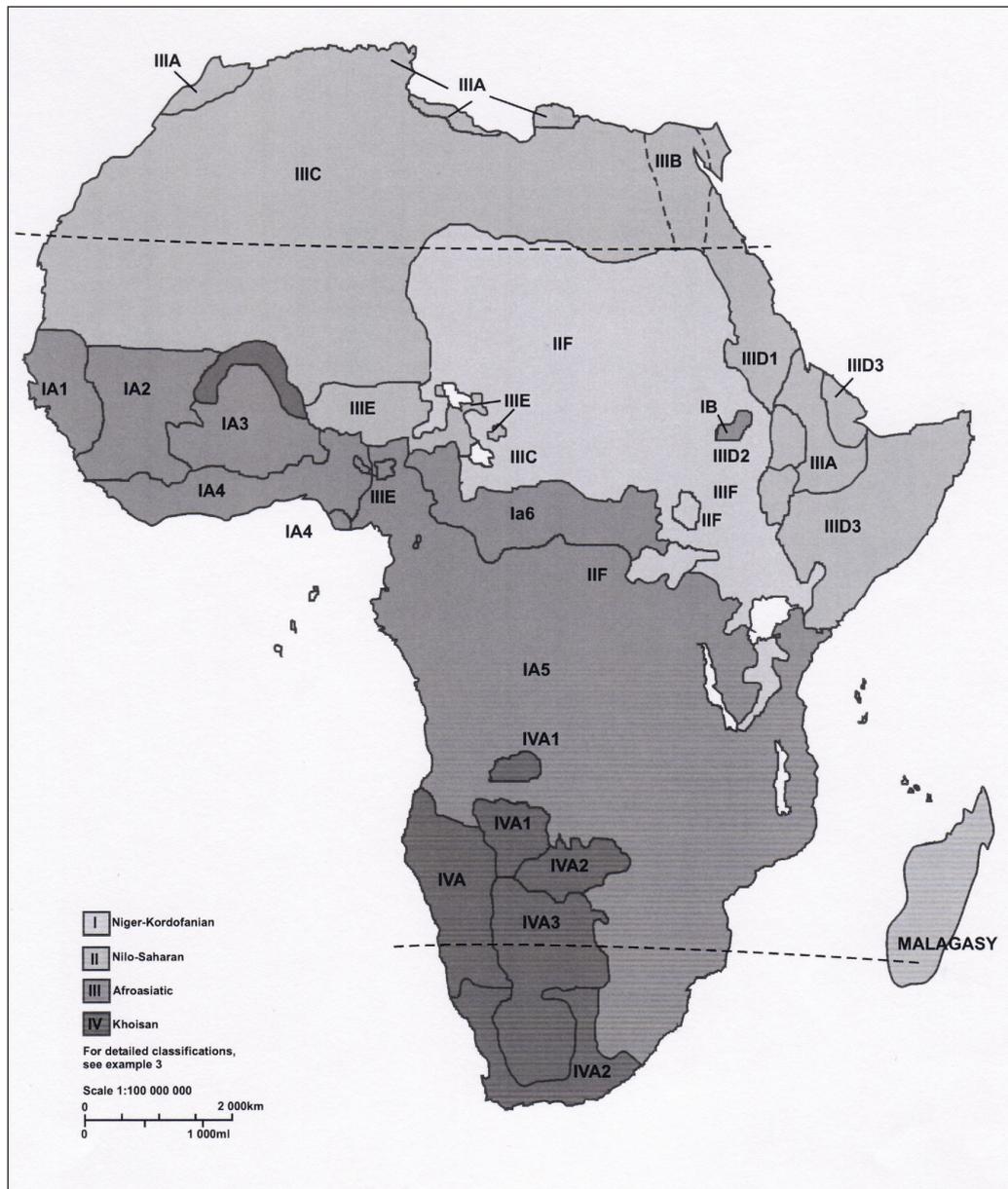


1. African language families ca. 2500 B.C.E.

Locations, of course, are only approximate. The comparatively confined range of the Niger-Congo languages is noticeable. Khoisan speakers range over the whole southern and eastern third of the continent; they were pushed back later by the incoming Bantu speakers of the Niger-Congo language family [ex. 2].⁸

In the north the Nilo-Saharan language family covers a much wider range than it does today. Afroasiatic languages were mostly confined to the shores of the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa in the east. In the south the distribution of Khoisan speakers was still considerably more extensive than it is now.

⁸ Ibid.



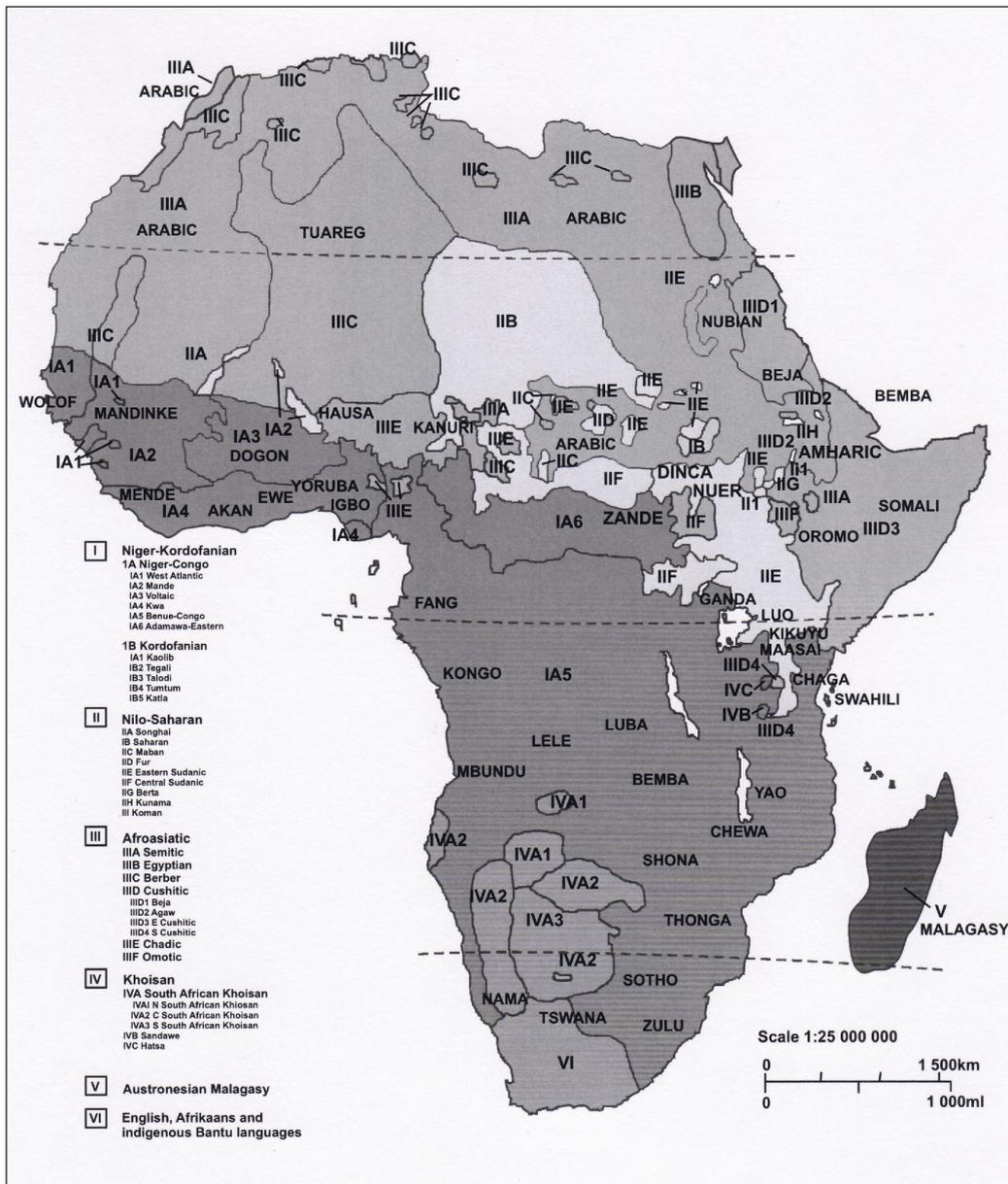
2. African language families ca. 1000 C.E.

In precolonial times the peoples of Africa were divided into hundreds of different nationalities and ethnic groups of varying size. The European conquests lumped different peoples together in colonial territories. Modern independent states in Africa have sought to blend various peoples together into single nations, often, as we know, with disastrous effects [ex. 3].⁹

Historical ethnic ties remain a potent force in African life as well as in music making and music history up to the present.¹⁰ Thus it can be argued that the one consistently

⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰ Ibid.



3. African language families during the 20th century.

valid way of classifying African societies is by the languages they speak. This inevitably has a direct influence on the legacy and understanding of the music histories of societies formed on the basis of language groups, stretching across artificially created borders.

RECONSTRUCTING AN AFRICAN MUSIC HISTORY. As expected in any proper research, a reconstruction of the music history of the African continent must be based on sources; from these one can trace chronological developments in order to draw up working hypotheses. We have already noted the role played by oral and linguistic traditions in the rendering of the music history of a certain society. The problem is, however, that although oral tradition is an important source of information on recent African music

histories, it has been proven that oral tradition almost never covers events that occurred more than 200 years ago.¹¹ Other research could be based on objects or artifacts and on iconographic and written sources. The former comprise historical objects from the past, such as artifacts found in an archeological dig, or ethnographic objects of more recent times held in museums or private collections. Iconographic sources were usually produced internally (by the culture of a specific period); most notable are the rock paintings and engravings that are spread over the continent from the Sahara to southern Africa, but also, for instance, reliefs or images found on artifacts like the terra-cotta pots from Ife in Yoruba-land. Written sources in Africa include Arabic, Chinese, and European travel reports originating as early as 1325. Indigenous records of pictograms, ideograms, phonological documents, as well as later ethnographic literature and conserved letters fall under this category.¹²

In addition the music history of the African-American population can be seen as part of African music history. Very often written or pictorial sources relating to music that were left by those forcibly deported from Africa to the New World give indirect information about the music history of their continent of origin. For example, among the many slaves deported from Africa to the Americas were some from Angola. Whether as composers or performers, the numerous black musicians found in the annals of the music histories of the New World obviously did not and could not cultivate particular musical styles of sub-Saharan Africa. However, the system of *cofradías* and *hermandades lirmandades* (confraternities and brotherhoods) inherited from the Iberian peninsula and implanted in Latin America throughout the colonial period contributed to the preservation of some aspects of black identities and their histories.¹³ The only genre performed in churches that retained some aspect of African identities was the villancico, a type of Christmas carol. We are still not sure if these works, in which the indigenous peoples took part, had to be performed in the courtyard of the church, but at least many of these compositions and their texts have been recorded for posterity. Thus black slaves and later on free blacks who hailed from as far away as Angola could, with their music and texts, influence the colonial art music of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Americas. At the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana is preserved a fascinating anonymous villancico text in which not only the origins of the unknown poet are revealed, but also the text of the work itself presents an unmistakable historical report as to its sources of origin in Africa. An unknown language is used, but it is most probably a combination of Spanish and one of the Angolan black languages.

Gugurugù, gurugù de Angola,
que lleuan la gala Ziolo, y Ziola.
Dala tura la gente de Angola
zà Niño llorando,
y aunque zà derramando diamantes
no cueztan balatos...¹⁴

¹¹ Kubik, "Afrika südlich der Sahara", 53.

¹² Ibid., 53–54.

¹³ Gerard Béhague, "Latin America, §III.2: Afro-American music: South America", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (2nd rev. ed.; London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 14, 348.

¹⁴ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS R.G. Lett.est. IV.3892(3) (no date).

DISTORTING A MUSIC HISTORY. During the period of colonialization in Africa music histories started to be written down, particularly in dominions created under the British rule. There was a tendency in written histories of bias towards the musical traditions and legacies of the ruler. So-called black or primitive music was dealt with in a separate chapter or section with little effort at integration into a wider cultural context. Because there were no previous written histories on which these authors and editors, who came from a late 19th- and early 20th-century Western musicological tradition, could draw, they often judged or misjudged these music histories, treating them only in passing, as superficial and of little importance. Similar attitudes are found in political, economic, medical, linguistic, and humanitarian studies, leading to the perception among Africans that as their intellectual histories were being disregarded by many on the rest of the globe, they were still living on a dark and forgotten continent.

The *South African music encyclopedia* published under the editorship of Jaques P. Malan by Oxford University Press serves as an example of a distorted written music history pertaining to Africa.¹⁵ The work consists of four volumes of about 500 pages each, published between 1979 and 1986; it deals mostly with musical societies, associations, centers, and collections; choral and orchestral organizations; musical activities in Christian denominations. The largest portion of the publication is about white Western-oriented composers and musicians who were active in the country at some point. This approach is not surprising considering that the encyclopedia was written and published during the high times of apartheid in South Africa, but it reflects similar attitudes found in the portrayal of music history in many other African countries under foreign governorship. As a token, some space was sacrificed to single entries on the music and musical activities of indigenous peoples. In the first volume a 25-page section is set aside under the then customary title of “The Bantu composers of South Africa”; this section deals almost exclusively with black composers who were active mostly in the writing of choral music. Quite an extensive part of the second volume, namely 250 pages, is entitled “Indigenous musics of South Africa” written by a number of authors on specialized subjects, and in the fourth volume under the heading “South African music collections”, a 15-page catalogue is devoted to the “Indigenous instruments in the Percival Kirby Collection”. This is how black or “Bantu” music was treated, without having to assimilate or compare it in even the faintest way with Western music, or even with so-called colored or Indian music also practiced in the same country.

WRITING OR REWRITING AN AFRICAN MUSIC HISTORY. Because of the many changes and cross-influences encountered in African music, the question of whether an objective history can really be written on the subject is valid. As there are scant written materials regarding especially the older origins of the art forms, one has to revert to other forms of information sources. One of the great pitfalls in this process can be to try and render a politically correct version, as prescribed by and adhering to a certain fad, which is in itself reflective only of one moment in time and, obviously, is not objective in its approach. It is no mean task to obtain adequate and factual information on some of the topics; unconventional methods often have to be used in getting facts and details right.

As the person responsible for most of the entries on southern Africa for the second edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I realize that a completely different

¹⁵ Jaques P. Malan, *South African music encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1979–86).

approach is necessary when rendering, for instance, biographies on indigenous black composers of the region. Most often, according to the prescriptions of these well-respected international large scale publications, the biographical information seems rather sketchy and not adhering to the normal trend usually expected of an acclaimed composer. The works lists would comprise works in only one or two genres, whilst the list of publications and bibliography would include few entries. This does not mean that one is dealing with an inferior composer or artist, but rather with an artistic personality operating in a completely different context to the norms expected of someone functioning in a Western compositional environment. No barring of information on these musical personalities should be allowed because of restrictive bureaucratic measures put in place by an editorial board, and usually few problems are encountered in this respect when you are dealing with editors of integrity.

We are dealing with music's intellectual history, and as proponents of this heritage we have a responsibility and commitment to our readers and followers. In the end it is about integrity and rendering of the truth, to which we as true academics are, in any case, committed. It is not always easy to find the truth among the myriad of information sources available to us, especially keeping in mind the way in which the literate tradition coexists with the oral tradition. This search for truth is, however, the big challenge to us as researchers, and should always remain the main aim and goal in our endeavor to render an objective and true picture of the world of music past and present.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS

HUGO RIEMANN'S *MUSIK-LEXIKON* AS A MIRROR OF GERMAN MUSIC HISTORY

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Writing about music history has usually been writing about the history of composition, as opposed to writing about musical life. While the former is mainly about the development of compositional techniques and, as such, is an intellectual history of composition, the latter is a rather sociological approach and tells us which music was performed and how it was received. Today's music dictionaries fall surely into the first category. But how about music dictionaries that are a century or more old? An analysis of Hugo Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*, its German national focus, and its usefulness (or uselessness?) for research on the history of the 19th- and early 20th-century musical life of Germans can reveal a lot about the history of music reception. This will be substantiated with results of research on (German) reception history of music around 1920 in the city of Brno, based on extensive newspaper research.

MUSICAL LIFE OF GERMANS IN BRNO AROUND 1920. Music history books can tell us about many composers who were famous at a specific point in time. However, those composers may not have played an important role of the musical life of *their* time. For instance, when we think of the time around 1920, such composers as Janáček, Elgar, Puccini, Schoenberg, Berg, Bartók, Humperdinck, Richard Strauss, Aleksandr Glazunov, and Satie come to mind, and many other living composers at the time, or even composers that were dead by 1920, such as Mahler and Debussy.

During the academic year 1995–96, I completed a research project on the musical life of Germans in Brno around 1920. The basis of this project was the Brno edition of the daily newspaper *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien*—printed twice daily and once on Sundays—which reported on musical life most extensively.¹ Brno, by 1920 a Czech town, was very much influenced by the musical life of Prague, Dresden, Berlin, and, of course, Vienna, and on a small scale it mirrored their musical life. Guest musicians from all of those cities came to Brno frequently, and Brno musicians traveled as guests to the

¹ I reported about this research in Nico Schüler, "Von Heroen, Genies und anderen: Zu Musik und Musikleben im Spiegel einer Brünner-Deutschen Zeitung im Januar 1920", *Zu Problemen der 'Heroen'- und der 'Genie'-Musikgeschichtsschreibung*, ed. by Nico Schüler (Hamburg: von Bockel, 1998) 113–46.

larger cities. Most pieces performed were composed within the past 20 to 30 years, and many of the composers are little known today or are totally forgotten. Some of them still have a tiny dictionary entry nowadays; others do not. And others, such as Eduard Chiari and Franz Langer, have never been mentioned in any dictionary. I wanted to find as much information about all composers as possible, so I used old editions of Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*.² Composers that were celebrated at the time were, for instance:

Tomaschek, Anton (1882–?)

Tomaschek was mentioned *only* in the 11th edition of the *Musik-Lexikon* (Riemann 1929, 1853). He was born in Brno, and was a composer and violinist. He composed orchestral music, much chamber music, and the opera *Das steinerne Herz* (1925).

Merz, Viktor (1891–?)

Merz was only mentioned in the 10th and 11th editions of the *Musik-Lexikon* (Riemann 1922, 818; Riemann 1929, 1163). He was born in Brno, studied chemistry and then composition, with Karl Frotzler in Brno and later with Franz Schreker in Vienna (until 1914). From 1914 on, Merz lived in Brno, composed orchestral music and much chamber music.

Weinberger, Charles (Karl Rudolf Michael) (1861–1939)

The Austrian composer Weinberger had an entry in the *Musik-Lexikon* from the 5th through 11th editions (Riemann 1900, 1238; Riemann 1905, 1447–48; Riemann 1909, 1534–35; Riemann 1916, 1222; Riemann 1919, 1297; Riemann 1922, 1405; Riemann 1929, 2003). He studied music in Geneva and Vienna and became professor of composition in Vienna in 1928. He composed more than 20 operettas (*Adam und Eva*, 1899; *Die romantische Frau*, 1910), the opera *Das Sonnenkind* (1929), as well as chamber music.

Hans, Lio (1882–1942)

Hans was only mentioned in the 10th and 11th editions of the *Musik-Lexikon* (Riemann 1922, 502; Riemann 1929, 703). "Lio Hans" was the artistic name of the composer Lili Scheidl-Hutterstraßer. She was born in Vienna, where she studied music and composed orchestral and chamber music, and at least three operas. Her opera *Maria von Magdala* (1919) was widely performed and well known.

In the daily newspapers, musicians were certainly mentioned, too. The violinist Erica Morini (1904–95), for instance, cannot be found anymore in any major dictionary today, but she was listed in the 11th and 12th editions of Riemann's dictionary (Riemann 1929, 1208; Gurlitt 1961, vol. 2, 254).³

Many of the composers who are very little known today, or even totally forgotten, were of equal importance to those considered today to be the masters of the time. Karl Geidner, for instance, was mentioned in the 1920s newspapers with the same respect as Franz Schreker, and Charles Weinberger with the same respect as Offenbach. Composers like Josef Gustav Mraczek, Ralph Benatzky, and Heinrich Granichstaedten were as well known as Schreker, Brahms, and Offenbach. On the other hand, composers like Janáček, Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Pfitzner, Honegger, Milhaud, Orff, Prokof'ev, Satie, and others, were mentioned extremely seldom in Brno newspapers around 1920.

² See below for a complete list of all editions of Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*.

³ Erica Morini immigrated to the U.S. and received, according to the 12th edition of the Riemann *Musik-Lexikon* (p. 254), an honorary doctorate from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1953. Much information on Morini is still available on the Internet, in daily newspapers through 1995, and in the liner notes of Morini's recordings.

Certainly musical events had a sociologically different function than our musical events today. Thus we would have to search for the reasons for “forgetting” some “geniuses” or “heroes” of that time in the different sociological circumstances. And this is the reason why—methodologically—a presentation of music history based on *today's* social structures and circumstances will always fail with regard to the musical life of the past. Those music histories—and even, or especially, if we talk only about the composers one can find in today's music dictionaries and the reception of their works—will always be a history of composition and not a history of musical life.

HUGO RIEMANN (1849–1919) AND HIS MUSIK-LEXIKON. Riemann studied philology, history, philosophy, and later music; he was also a gifted pianist. He completed a dissertation entitled *Über das musikalische Hören*, which was first rejected at Universität Leipzig, and eventually, with support by the German philosopher Hermann Lotze, was accepted in Göttingen in 1873. Riemann held various teaching positions, such as in Hamburg, Wiesbaden, and Leipzig, where he was promoted to professor in 1901. He became a celebrated teacher and strongly influenced the musicological and music-theoretical thought of the first half of the 20th century. Riemann believed that musicology should explain “the spiritual and expressive nature of the primitive elements of all musical experience... to ascertain the physical properties of tones and the mechanical conditions governing their creation.” Musicologists should not only study “the simple, most basic manifestations of this tone material, but also the complex, richly differentiated formations into which it has miraculously evolved.”⁴ Besides music theory, Riemann contributed greatly to music history. But music theory and music history always interacted in Riemann's historical research, in that musical works were seen as “milestones on the path to the full historical realization of a timeless musical logic. Riemann thus completed his discovery history of music theory with a developmental history of musical practice, a gradual evolution of tonal consciousness that culminated in the music of Beethoven.”⁵ However, such an approach to history up to Beethoven was based on a different philosophy than the history of music after Beethoven, as one can see in the selection of 19th-century composers in his dictionary. While the history through Beethoven is a history of composition, the history after Beethoven is, at least partially, a history of music reception. This may be accidental, as the historical distance was too short to allow music to become a “classical work of art” that “resists the destructive power of time”, as Riemann phrased it in his article “classical” (“klassisch”) from the fourth edition on.⁶ The 2001 edition of *The new Grove* qualified Riemann's historiography in the following way:

Historical or national stylistic differences, being excluded from the core of his musical logic, manifested themselves on a superficial plane which his theories did not presume to capture. Riemann was generally willing to grant different national traditions and

⁴ Hugo Riemann, *Grundriß der Musikwissenschaft*, quoted in Brian Hyer and Alexander Rehding, “Riemann, (Karl Wilhelm Julius) Hugo”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 21, 362.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 364.

⁶ Translation by the author of this article. The entire (original) entry “klassisch” in the fourth edition of his *Musik-Lexikon* reads as follows: “Klassisch heißt ein Kunstwerk, dem die vernichtende Macht der Zeit nichts anhaben kann; da der Beweis für diese Eigenschaft er durch den Verlauf der Zeit geführt werden kann, so gibt es keine lebenden Klassiker und alle echten Klassiker galten in ihrer Zeit als Romantiker, d.h. als Geister, die aus dem Schema, der Schablone herausstrebten.” Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon* (4th ed., Leipzig: Max Hesse's Verlag, 1894) 540.

historical periods their own developmental curves, all of which flow within a historical mainstream whose course is determined by the progressive actualization of a universal musical logic. For Riemann, the national tradition that formed the main current of that mainstream was the German—the close affiliation of German music with this musical logic had assured its hegemonic position since the 18th century.⁷

Unique in Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon* was the fact that articles on subjects, instruments, and terms, as well as articles on musicians and composers were written by one single author on the basis of a systematic understanding of musicology (which largely entails music theory *and* music history). This concept must be seen as the reason for its success. It became one of the most important encyclopedic music dictionaries of the first half of the 20th century, at least in German-speaking countries. But translations into English, French, Russian, and Danish, for instance, show the dissemination of the dictionary beyond German-speaking countries. The following is a list of all German editions of the *Musik-Lexikon*:

- Musik-Lexikon: Theorie und Geschichte der Musik, die Tonkünste alter und neuer Zeit mit Angabe ihrer Werke, nebst einer vollständigen Instrumentenkunde* (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882) 1036 pp.
2nd edition (1884), with corrections and additions added at the end, 1036 + xxxii pp.
3rd edition (1887), *Musik-Lexikon*, revised and enlarged edition (Leipzig: Max Hesse's Verlag, 1887) 1124 pp.
4th edition (1894), completely revised and enlarged, 1210 pp.
5th edition (1900), completely revised and enlarged, larger format from this ed. on, 1284 pp.
6th edition (1905), completely revised and enlarged, 1508 pp.
7th edition (1909), completely revised and enlarged, 1598 pp.
8th edition (1916), completely revised and enlarged [larger format from this ed. on], 1276 pp.
9th edition (1919), completely revised and enlarged, after the death of Riemann completed by Alfred Einstein, 1355 pp.
10th edition (1922), edited, revised, and enlarged by Alfred Einstein, 1469 pp.
11th edition (1929), edited, revised, and enlarged by Alfred Einstein, in two volumes, 2105 pp.
[12th edition (1939), ed. by Joseph Maria Müller-Blattau; not completed]
12th edition, *Riemann Musiklexikon*, completely revised (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1959–75)
vol. 1 (1957): Personenteil A–K, ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt, 986 pp.
vol. 2 (1961): Personenteil L–Z, ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt, 976 pp.
vol. 3 (1967): Sachteil; completed by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 1087 pp.
vol. 4 (1972): Ergänzungsband, Personenteil A–K, edited by Carl Dahlhaus, 698 pp.
vol. 5 (1975): Ergänzungsband, Personenteil L–Z, edited by Carl Dahlhaus, 964 pp.

The second edition was essentially a reprint of the first, with an appendix that contained additional entries and corrections. The subtitle was dropped with the third edition. The eighth edition was the last one completely revised by Riemann himself. The ninth edition was revised by Riemann through letter K; from letter L on it was completed by Alfred Einstein.

⁷ Hyer and Rehding, "Riemann, (Karl Wilhelm Julius) Hugo", 364.

Most important to Riemann was that the dictionary was in one volume, to make it practical to use, and he mixed alphabetical entries for terms and concepts with biographical notes on composers and musicians. Riemann's concept was that of a handbook. Furthermore, it was important to him that the list of works be as complete as possible. With regard to living composers, most of the information was obtained through Riemann's personal contact with the composers. Riemann's lexicographic philosophy becomes evident in his prefaces to the various editions of his *Musik-Lexikon*. In the preface to the first edition he wrote:

This music dictionary should, in the first place, provide—to the musician and to the music lover—short and precise information about the lifetime, fate, and accomplishments of composers, virtuosos, and teachers of this art, about the history and the current state of the art itself as well as of its theory and of musical instruments. Whenever possible, the relative length of the articles was reconciled with the importance of its contents. Regarding the selection of articles, a certain limitation was necessary because of space considerations; only in this way could the danger of meaninglessness of the articles caused by having too many be contered. The *intelligibility to all* was the highest law for the presentation; however, the author did *not* believe in going so far that eventually even practically educated orchestra musicians could not find more in the theoretical and historical articles than what they [already] know by themselves. As the book *is*, it will be of interest to the more highly educated musician and the music researcher and will stimulate the ambitious music lover. The attempt to create some interest in, and understanding of, the older periods of music history for more and more people may find approval, considering the attempts—that are gaining a broader and broader basis—to revive the works of the 16th and 17th centuries.⁸

Riemann made several important points here. First of all, all persons with an entry in his dictionary are of major importance, because he had to be very selective. However, longer articles are dedicated to the more important figures in music (history). Second, the intelligibility to all readers was of utmost importance, although a certain depth had to be retained. Third, although older time periods are being considered, Riemann implied a special emphasis on recent musical developments. In the preface to the eighth edition of his *Musik-Lexikon*, Riemann wrote:

Each new edition requires new cuts or eliminations of articles from previous editions that became dispensable to preserve the practicality of the book as being in one volume. Many requests for inclusion in the new edition had to, for that reason, remain unfulfilled. The author is asking, not to see this as a lack of recognition; but the danger

⁸ Translation by the author of this article. The original reads: "Das vorliegende Musik-Lexikon soll in erster Linie dem Musiker und Musikfreunde kurze und bündige Aufschlüsse geben über Lebenszeit, Schicksale und Verdienste von Komponisten, Virtuosen und Lehrern seiner Kunst, über die Geschichte und den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kunst selbst sowie ihrer Theorie und der musikalischen Instrumente. Nach Möglichkeit ist die relative Ausdehnung der Artikel in Einklang gebracht worden mit der Bedeutung ihres Inhalts. In der Auswahl der Artikel war eine gewisse Beschränkung durch Raumrücksichten geboten; der Gefahr der Inhaltlosigkeit der Artikel wegen zu großer Anzahl derselben war nur auf diesem Wege zu begegnen. Die *Gemeinfaßlichkeit* ist bei der Darstellung als strengstes Gesetz im Auge behalten worden; doch glaubte der Verfasser darin nicht so weit gehen zu dürfen, daß schließlich selbst nur der praktisch gebildete Orchestermusiker in den theoretischen und historischen Artikeln nicht mehr fände, als er selbst weiß. So wie das Buch ist, wird es auch dem höher gebildeten Musiker und dem Manne der Musikwissenschaft Interesse abgewinnen und dem strebsamen Kunstjünger mancherlei Anregung geben. Der Versuch, auch den älteren Epochen der Musikgeschichte Interesse und Verständnis in weiteren Kreisen zu wecken, kann gewiß im Hinblick auf die eine immer breitere Basis gewinnenden Versuche der Wiederbelebung von Werken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts zur Billigung finden." Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882) v.

that a biographical dictionary of musicians would degenerate into an address book of musicians is greater than one may think! The most important purpose of this book is still to provide a reliable overview of important accomplishments in the area of composition on the one hand and of musicological research on the other, and only to a limited degree can the accomplishments of musicians (singers, instrumentalists, conductors) and music teachers be recognized.⁹

Even more so than in the first edition, Riemann emphasizes the fact that all persons listed in his dictionary are of major importance, because many others could not be included. This is especially important considering the discussions in the first part of this paper: The many musicians and composers who are mentioned in Riemann's dictionary were indeed of great importance at the time, although many of them are totally forgotten today.

An important question is the German focus of Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*. While it would have taken an unreasonable amount of time to analyze every entry in every edition, I analyzed only entries of composers and musicians that started with the letter A in the first (1882) and the fifth edition (1900) of the *Musik-Lexikon*. However, since certain nationalities may have a higher number of last names starting with a specific letter, I compared the 1900 edition of Riemann's dictionary with the 1900 (first) edition of Theodore Baker's *A biographical dictionary of musicians* (published in the U.S.) and with Sir George Grove's 1900 revised reprint of his *A dictionary of music and musicians* (published in England).¹⁰ The same year, 1900, was chosen to maintain a certain historical basis to compare the dictionaries.

In the following table, the numbers in bold show the two most represented nationalities in each of the dictionaries. While Baker 1900 is very similar in scope to Riemann, the Grove dictionary has, percentage-wise, a much higher emphasis on Italian and British composers and musicians. More specifically, many of these Italian composers and musicians are those who eventually worked in the United Kingdom.

Baker's dictionary does not seem to support the idea that Riemann's dictionary was "special" as a mirror of German musical life, as Baker would be expected to have a stronger American focus. A closer look, however, reveals that Baker must have borrowed much from Riemann's dictionary, as many of the entries in Baker's dictionary are clearly taken from Riemann, often with changed wording, but on occasion literally copied

⁹ Translation by the author of this article. The original reads: "Jede neue Auflage zwingt zu neuen Kürzungen bzw. zur Streichung entbehrlich gewordener Artikel früherer Auflagen, um dem Buche die handliche Einbändigkeit zu bewahren. Gar manche Bitte um Berücksichtigung in der neuen Auflage mußte aus diesem Grunde unerfüllt bleiben. Der Verfasser bittet, darin keinen Mangel an Wertschätzung zu erblicken; aber die Gefahr, daß ein biographisches Tonkünstlerlexikon in ein Musiker-Adreßbuch ausartet, ist größer, als der Fernstehende ahnt! Der vornehmste Zweck des Buches ist nach wie vor eine möglichst zuverlässige Orientierung über bedeutende Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Komposition einerseits und der musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung andererseits, und nur in sehr beschränktem Maße kann daher die verdienstliche Tätigkeit der reproduzierenden Künstler (Gesangs- und Instrumentalvirtuosen, Dirigenten) und der Musiklehrer gewürdigt werden." Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon* (8th ed., Leipzig: Max Hesse's Verlag, 1916) xi.

¹⁰ Theodore Baker, *A biographical dictionary of musicians* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1900); George Grove, ed. *A dictionary of music and musicians (A.D. 1450–1889)* (reprint, with corrections, of the 1877–89 edition, London: Macmillan, 1900).

Table 1. FREQUENCIES OF COMPOSERS AND MUSICIANS,
WITH NAMES STARTING WITH THE LETTER A, ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES.

	Riemann 1882	Riemann 1900	Baker 1900	Grove 1900
German	77 (30.2%)	99 (29.5%)	97 (29.5%)	37 (20.4%)
Italian	68 (26.7%)	87 (26.0%)	81 (24.6%)	52 (28.9%)
French	37 (14.5%)	40 (11.9%)	41 (12.5%)	25 (13.9%)
British	20 (7.8%)	36 (10.7%)	30 (9.1%)	45 (25.0%)
Spanish	10 (3.9%)	12 (3.6%)	12 (3.6%)	8 (4.4%)
Flemish/Belgian	10 (3.9%)	11 (3.3%)	11 (3.3%)	3 (1.7%)
Austrian	7 (2.7%)	10 (3.0%)	9 (2.7%)	3 (1.7%)
Greek	7 (2.7%)	7 (2.1%)	8 (2.4%)	0
Dutch	4 (1.6%)	6 (1.8%)	5 (1.5%)	2 (1.1%)
Portuguese	4 (1.6%)	4 (1.2%)	3 (0.9%)	0
Hungarian	3 (1.2%)	4 (1.2%)	4 (1.2%)	0
Arabic	3 (1.2%)	3 (0.9%)	3 (0.9%)	0
Russian	2 (0.8%)	4 (1.2%)	5 (1.5%)	1 (0.55%)
Swedish	2 (0.8%)	5 (1.5%)	5 (1.5%)	2 (1.1%)
Czech	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)	0
American	0	0	8 (2.4%)	0
Canadian	0	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)	0
Cuban	0	0	1 (0.3%)	0
Danish	0	2 (0.6%)	1 (0.3%)	0
Irish	0	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.55%)
Polish	0	0	1 (0.3%)	0
Swiss	0	2 (0.6%)	1 (0.3%)	0
Finnish	0	0	0	1 (0.55%)
TOTAL	255	335	329	180

word by word. The Riemann edition that Baker most likely used was the fourth edition from 1894. On some occasions, Baker misinterpreted the German article, such as in the entry on the German composer Friedrich Wilhelm Agthe, as shown in Table 2. Baker may also have taken some information from the English translation of Riemann's fourth edition, which was published in Philadelphia in 1899.¹¹

Riemann implied in the prefaces to various editions of his *Musik-Lexikon* that there is a greater emphasis on recent ("modern") music, musicians, and composers. Focusing on the numbers (absolute frequencies) of musicians and composers from different time periods and comparing the numbers and percentages of composers and musicians that start with the letter A between the 1900 editions of Riemann, Baker, and Grove revealed the differences shown in Table 3.

¹¹ Hugo Riemann, *Encyclopaedic dictionary of music*, trans. by J.S. Shedlock (latest edition, revised to 1897, Philadelphia: Theo. Presser, 1899).

Table 2. ENTRIES IN RIEMANN 1894, COMPARED TO BAKER 1900.

Riemann 1894 (4th edition)	Baker 1900
Agthe, Friedrich Wilhelm, geboren 1794 zu Sangershausen, Schüler von Müller und Riemann in Weimar und Weinlig in Dresden, 1822–28 Kantor a. d. Kreuzschule, starb, seit 1828 geistig gestört, zu Sonnenstein bei Pirna. (p. 14)	Agthe, Friedrich Wilhelm, b. Sangershausen, 1794; d. insane at Sonnenstein, n. Pirna, after 1828. Pupil of Müller and Riemann (Dresden), and Weinlig (Leipzig). Cantor of the Dresden Kreuzschule, 1822–8. (p. 7)
Albert, Max, geb. 7. Jan. 1833 zu München, Virtuose auf der Zither und Verbesserer dieses Instruments, starb 4. Sept. 1882 in Berlin. (p. 19)	Albert, Max, a zither-virtuoso who inv. many improvements for his instr.; b. Munich, Jan. 7, 1833; d. Berlin, Sept. 4 1882. (p. 9)
Allihn, Heinrich Max, geb. 31. Aug. 1841 zu Halle a. S., 1876 Archidiakonus zu Weißenfels, 1885 Pfarrer und Kreisschulinspektor zu Athenstedt bei Halberstadt, bearbeitete Töpfer's "Lehrbuch der Orgelbaukunst" in 2. Aufl. (1888) und schrieb auch Einzelnes Interessante über Orgelbau für P. de Wits Instrumentenbauzeitung. (p. [VIII])	Allihn, Heinrich Max, b. Halle-on-Saale, Aug. 31, 1841; from 1885 pastor and school-inspector at Athenstadt, near Halberstadt (Harz); edited the 2nd edition (1888) of Töpfer's "Lehrbuch der Orgelbaukunst," and has contributed articles on organ-building to the Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau." (p. 13)

Table 3. FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF COMPOSERS AND MUSICIANS, WITH NAMES STARTING WITH THE LETTER A, ACCORDING TO TIME PERIODS.

	Riemann 1882	Riemann 1900	Baker 1900	Grove 1900
pre-450	9 (3.5%)	9 (2.7%)	10 (3.0%)	0
450–1450	9 (3.5%)	11 (3.3%)	10 (3.0%)	1 (0.55%)
1450–1600	24 (9.4%)	31 (9.2%)	24 (7.3%)	17 (9.4%)
17th century	41 (16.1%)	45 (13.4%)	39 (11.8%)	30 (16.7)
18th century	48 (18.8%)	53 (15.8%)	58 (17.6%)	50 (27.8%)
19th century	122 (47.7%)	182 (54.3%)	183 (55.6%)	77 (42.8%)
?	2 (0.8%)	4 (1.2%)	5 (1.5%)	5 (2.8%)
TOTAL	255	335	329	180

While Riemann and Baker emphasized the most recent music-historical developments (19th century), Grove included a higher percentage of musicians and composers from the 17th and 18th centuries.¹²

I started this paper with a summary of my research on the musical life of Germans in Brno around 1920. I mentioned that some composers celebrated then are forgotten today, but many composers that are famous for *that* time period from *today's* point of view were seldom performed and mentioned back then. One of these is Leoš Janáček (1854–1928). In Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon*, he was first mentioned in the 10th edition in 1922! On the other hand, the composer Alfred Abt (1855–88)—a Kapellmeister in Rudolstadt, Kiel, and Rostock—was first mentioned in the fifth edition of Riemann in 1900 and the last time in the tenth edition in 1922. Although born one year after

¹² The low number of pre-1450 musicians and composers in Grove's dictionary cannot necessarily be seen as a lack of interest on Grove's part in these early time periods. Rather, Grove's focus was on music after 1450, as can be seen in the addition to the subtitle of the dictionary: *A dictionary of music and musicians (A.D. 1450–1889)*.

Janáček, Abt was mentioned in the dictionary 22 years earlier than Janáček, but was then forgotten.

Finally, let us have a look at a few examples of composers that were added in a specific edition and dropped in later editions:

Andersen, Bigo (1852–95), 5th–7th editions

Andersen was born in Copenhagen, was a solo-flutist of the Thomas-Orchestra and a famous flute virtuoso. He committed suicide in Chicago. (Riemann 1900, 32; Riemann 1905, 34; Riemann 1909, 34.)

Appel, Karl (1812–95), 3rd–11th editions

Appel was a court concert master and was well known for his barbershop quartets and pedagogical violin compositions. He died in Dessau. (Riemann 1887, 37; Riemann 1894, 38; Riemann 1900, 39; Riemann 1905, 43; Riemann 1909, 44; Riemann 1916, 33; Riemann 1919, 35; Riemann 1922, 38; Riemann 1929, 53.)

Abesser, Edmund (1837–89), 4th–5th editions

Abesser was born in Saxony, was a composer of salon music, and composed the opera *Die liebliche Fee*. He died in Vienna. (Riemann 1894, 5; Riemann 1900, 5.)

Many other examples could be given of composers who were temporarily considered important, at least within Germany, but certain historical, social, and political situations led to them being forgotten.



Riemann's *Musik-Lexikon* was, and is, indeed a good source for research on 19th- and early 20th-century music. Many composers and musicians in various editions of Riemann's dictionary are forgotten today; and because Riemann's dictionary lists a high percentage of German composers, the dictionary is one of the very few sources available today for many of these composers. Riemann's dictionary was an excellent source of information for my research on the musical life of Germans around 1920, which also revealed that musical events at the time had a sociologically different function than our musical events today. Thus, we would have to search the different sociological circumstances for the reasons that some "geniuses" or "heroes" of that time have been forgotten. Music research based on *today's* social structures and circumstances, as displayed in *today's* dictionaries and history books, will always fail with regard to the musical life of the past. Those music histories, and even, or especially, if we talk only about the composers one can find in *today's* music dictionaries and the reception of their works, will always be a history of composition and not a history of musical life. The latter would require us to rethink our methodological approach to music historiographic research.

One of the most important keys for the understanding of music history was given by Riemann in his article "klassisch" (classical) in his *Musik-Lexikon* from its fourth edition on, in which he defined a "classical work of art" as one that "resists the destructive power of time."¹³ Together with the information given by Riemann in the prefaces of the various editions of his dictionary, we can conclude that those composers and musicians that are included in his dictionary—many of whom are forgotten today—were indeed major composers from the perspective of late 19th- and early 20th-century music and musical life.

¹³ Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon* (1894) 540.

THE PLACE OF SMALL MUSICAL CULTURES IN REFERENCE BOOKS

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Authors of general histories of music have to achieve such high standards that it is hard to find a successful book of this type. Ideally, works on music history should be written by authors with a vast knowledge of many national music histories, since one of their main aims is to analyze the changing relationships between national musical cultures. Since such knowledge can be found only rarely among historians, general histories of music tend to be focused either on the main lines of music history, thus neglecting contributions of cultures on the periphery (which happens when history is written by a single author), or to include presentations of less important musical cultures in chapters not integrated into the main text (which happens when specialists contribute to the volume).

It is easy to agree with Carl Dahlhaus that the history of music must primarily investigate relationships between cultures and at the same time achieve a continuous narrative.¹ Concerning the former requirement, earlier histories of music—mainly those written before World War II—tend to overemphasize the role of the nations to which their writers belonged, and it is easy to find examples of biased music historiography in which German, French, or Italian music is valued more highly than others.² The idea of writing about *continuous narrative* seems logical and plausible, but its realization is extremely difficult because of many parallel developments that should be followed. Although *progress* in music has been much debated, the notion of *progressive* in the sense of *new* and *original* is certainly indispensable in any historical narrative. It cannot be denied that for various reasons some European nations—such as Germany, Italy, or France—have contributed to the development of Western music more than others. However, it is hard to defend the views of musicologists who claim that only musical culture that contributed in an essential way to the creation of an “ideal type” in the course of its development and achieved a wide resonance should be included in the general history of music.³ Since smaller and peripheral European nations, such as those

¹ Carl Dahlhaus, “Gibt es eine Weltgeschichte der Music?” *Melos/Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1/5 (1975) 346.

² See more about this issue in Melita Milin, “General histories of music and the place of the European periphery”, *Muzikologija: Časopis Muzikološkog Instituta Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti* 1 (2001) 141–48.

³ Dahlhaus, “Gibt es eine Weltgeschichte der Music?”

in the Balkans and Scandinavia, have never been leaders in any musical movements such an argument would suggest that they should be excluded from general histories of music. But it is precisely because of the wide resonance of the music of “leaders” found not only in the borderlands of Europe, but also in North and South America, that their achievements, however modest, *should* be represented in such publications. Only then would the landscape of so-called Western music be complete and meaningful. One of the problems connected with music histories is certainly the nationalist aesthetic that characterized them from the mid-19th century until the end of World War II. The “strong concept of art” related to the Austro-German canon of great works of art, and the idea of autonomy as exposed in those books, presented a serious obstacle to an objective account of contributions from small, peripheral nations. Authors of some recently published articles argue that the notion of autonomy was in fact the product of German nationalism.⁴

When compared to histories of music, dictionaries and encyclopedias seem to offer greater possibilities for the objective presentation of facts, and lesser musical nations can obtain a space that is usually smaller than is deserved, but on the whole they are much better represented there than in general histories of music. Although it is not difficult to agree with Joseph Kerman when he claims that “a dictionary, even the best dictionary, is essentially just another trophy of positivism,”⁵ we are all aware of how indispensable they have become. Having reliable knowledge well stored and organized is useful for both professionals and amateurs, and can stimulate further research.

There is no doubt that two well-known dictionaries of music—the British *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians* and the German *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*—have the highest merit when compared to other works of that kind. It is commendable that their latest editions offer more space for non-Western and traditional music, thus gaining in universalistic character. Such a positive attitude was—in the case of the British publication—perhaps due to the experience of the British nation to attempt to emancipate itself from the cultural hegemony of Teutonicism.⁶ By no means, indeed, should European nations not belonging to the “central powers”—Germany with Austria, Italy, and France—be judged only by their relations with those leading nations. What obviously links them is their striving to be emancipated from the pressuring authority of the rich and influential German tradition and to achieve a genuine national voice. In that respect William Walton, Jan Sibelius, George Enescu, Manuel de Falla and so many other composers could be said to have belonged to the same cultural community that wished to reject the colonial status of their respective nations in music and culture in general. The first edition of *A dictionary of music and musicians*, edited by George Grove during the late 1870s and 1880s, had an Anglo-centric agenda, and it seems that the editor’s basic aspiration was to realize equality between British and German music and musicological standards, rather than differentiation.⁷ The latter aspiration was more noticeable in British music during the advent of the nationalist generation of the 1920s. In their attempt to improve the image of British music, the editors of those early

⁴ For instance, see Sanna Pederson, “A.B. Marx, Berlin concert life, and German national identity”, *19th-century music* 18/2 (fall 1994) 87–107. See also Michael Murphy, “Introduction”, *Musical constructions of nationalism*, ed. by Harry M. White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001) 1–15.

⁵ Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating music* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985) 225.

⁶ Jeremy Dibble, “Grove’s musical dictionary: A national document”, *Musical constructions of nationalism*, 33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 35, 40.

editions of *The Grove's dictionary* presented an ideal construction of an “English school” of composition, stretching back to the 13th century.⁸ However problematic, such moves had the benefit of redefining the canonical traditions of music history, so that little by little they led to the creation of even more space for the presentation of other peripheral musical nations.

In 1994 the publication of the second and very much revised edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* in 27 volumes began (the first edition had appeared between 1949 and 1979). As in the case of the latest edition of *The new Grove dictionary*, also being prepared during the 1990s, the new edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* dedicated a much larger place than before to traditional music and ethnomusicology. Both publications also had to deal with the implications of the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, followed by the dissolution of multinational states—the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia—and the subsequent emergence of new states. Thus the number of entries increased considerably, as did also their length as the presentation of important minorities (such as the Roma in several countries and the Albanians in Serbia) were also included.⁹ The number of composers given individual entries also increased, and not only because of the need to include musicians who had achieved recognition in the period after the last edition, but also because of the general desire to put more emphasis on the previously neglected eastern periphery of Europe.

As in the case of *The new Grove dictionary* and many other smaller dictionaries, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* invited musicologists to contribute articles on the musical culture of their own lands, but it was the task of the editors to define the content, organization, and length of the texts. Although balance and objectivity were proclaimed aims, the length of the articles should not be too strictly adhered to, especially when applied to small nations. For many of these their appearance in important reference books is almost their only chance to become known and appreciated outside of their countries.

Although so many positive things can be said about the orientation towards broadening the outlook in order to give more prominence to the musical cultures of peripheral countries, there have been problems in fulfilling that aim. It is easy to understand the reasons why musicologists who were invited to contribute to both publications sometimes protested their editors' rejection of their suggestions for inclusion of composers. The response of the editors was usually that international encyclopedias can only take into account a selection of composers, and that those publications cannot be made into replacements for national lexicons.¹⁰ Another argument offered for the relatively poorer representation of peripheral musical cultures was the wish of the editors, at least in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, to put weight on earlier periods of music history, and not so much on the last two centuries.¹¹ As is well known, it is precisely in the 19th and 20th centuries that almost all the peripheral countries of

⁸ Ibid., 46.

⁹ Christoph Flamm, “Osteuropäische Musik in der neuen MGG: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen westlicher Lexikographie,” paper presented at the Martenski Muzikalni Dni in Ruse, Bulgaria, held in March 1999. Marija Kostakeva, ed., *Konferencii 1999–2000: Muzikata mezdú Iztok i Zapad pred praga na 21 stoletie, Ruse, 1999; Globalizacija na kulturata: Muzika i multimedii, Ruse, 2000* (Ruse: Ruse Primaks, 2001) 163.

¹⁰ Ibid., 166.

¹¹ “Dem Ehrgeiz, die Musikgeschichte des eigenen Landes möglichst umfassend darzustellen, sind auch im Personenteil deutliche Grenzen gesetzt. Die Auswahl soll nach dem Wunsch des Herausgebers der neuen MGG, Prof. Ludwig Finscher, besonders auf die ältere Musikgeschichte konzentriert sein, im 19. und insbesondere 20. Jahrhundert kann nur eine Auswahl der möglichen Namen getroffen werden.” Ibid., 166.

Europe began their musical activities of the Western type, when conditions for this had finally been attained. Therefore they are handicapped by such a general concept.

One problem confronting editors of such large-scale reference books is certainly how to decide which composers proposed by consultants and contributors from a peripheral musical culture have international importance and really deserve to be included. Area directors from peripheral cultures should of course have objectivity when proposing the names and lengths of articles, but sometimes they are either too modest or too generous (which is more common!), as they are not sure about the criteria applied by the other area directors from peripheral cultures. Composers from the periphery have rarely attained international fame, but that is of course not a reason to discard the possibility of the relevance of their output. Objective criteria are hard to meet, and it is often a matter of discussion, persuasion, and negotiation as to how to deal with each case, and how to achieve balance among the articles.¹² The editors of reference books often insist that the length of articles is not essential for their relevance, but quality is. Basically that is true, of course, but the number of lines, i.e., the amount of information, is the first feature one encounters when reading an article, and that first impression already speaks for itself. Although nations that possess longer and richer traditions certainly deserve more space, an agreement should be reached as to the necessity of ensuring a “positive discrimination” of small, peripheral musical cultures. The reason for this seems obvious: Whereas articles on German, Austrian, French, Italian, Spanish, and some other nations’ music serve to restate and reaffirm their historic importance and value, articles on the other music traditions deserve to get more space than their objective relevance would suggest, not only because they are much less known, but also because standardized information about them in English or German is usually hard to obtain.

It is clear that musicologists from smaller nations consider invitations to write articles on their nation’s music and musicians, to define their place in the world of music, and to present it as internationally relevant, to be opportunities they cannot afford to miss. Each new edition of an encyclopedia presents opportunities to correct mistakes presented in earlier editions and to redefine certain features of the articles. Important political events that happen between two editions require more substantial interventions. I would like to illustrate briefly how this was done in the case of Yugoslavia, which has much in common with some other Eastern European states that have undergone dramatic political and social changes during the 1990s, mirrored also in the space of culture and art. I shall expose how the musical cultures of Yugoslavia’s constituent nations have been represented in two successive editions of *The new Grove dictionary* (1980 and 2001) with regard to the series of wars and the dissolution of the country that happened in the interim.¹³

In the 1980 edition there was one entry, “Yugoslavia”, which included a chapter on art music covering parallel musical developments of its constituent peoples—the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians—before and after the foundation of the country in 1918. (Much larger was the section dealing with the traditional music of those peoples.) The author, Bojan Bujić, who is a well-known

¹² Ibid., 164.

¹³ For reviews of the presentations of Croatian and Bosnian music in *The new Grove dictionary*, see Zdravko Blažeković, “Hrvatska glazba u novom Groveu” [Croatian music in *The new Grove*], *Cantus* 111 (September 2001) 28–32, and “The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians”, *Muzika: Časopis za muzičku kulturu* 5/1:17 (January–June 2001) 180–84.

Croatian-British musicologist and had been professor in Oxford for many years, had to face the same problem as the editors of *The new Grove dictionary* did on a much broader basis, namely, to produce an objective and balanced review of very different national traditions. Although some remarks could be made concerning disproportion of sections in that article (Serbian music seems more restrictively presented than the others), it is a good article and the author should not be blamed for its shortness. In the entry “Yugoslavia” in the 2001 edition the political changes that marked the 1990s were taken into account. Thus the term relates to a different, though homonymous country consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. Following the concept of giving considerably more space than in the previous edition to small musical cultures, the history of music of the two nations is given more elaboration and detail (the author is Roksanda Pejović). The former Yugoslav republics which seceded during the 1990s and founded independent states (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia) are given individual entries. On the whole a good balance is achieved, although some slight disproportion and differences in approach are noticeable, which is almost inevitable in works of this kind. For instance, in some cases introductory texts present historical facts exclusively (Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia), whereas in one case (Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro) the ethnic characteristics of the population seem to be of greatest importance. Also, musical institutions and performers are given relatively more space in some articles (Slovenia, Croatia) than in others (Yugoslavia).¹⁴

Taking into account that the new independent states were founded as a result of tragic inter-ethnic conflicts and that all those states wish now to rewrite their national and music histories, the articles covering their traditions in the 2001 edition of *The new Grove dictionary* are up to the task. However, the next edition should be the occasion to correct certain serious omissions (for instance in the Serbian bibliography) and disproportion. Serbia and Montenegro could expect that the next edition will have separate entries for each country, and that since the resolution of the Kosovo issue, its music would be dealt with accordingly. In the 2001 Grove dictionary traditional music of the three entities is handled in separate sections within the article on Yugoslavia.¹⁵ The motive for the separate presentation of Kosovo’s music tradition is no doubt a political one and a reaction to the recent war in Kosovo (1998–99),¹⁶ whereas in the previous edition it was dealt with in the frame of other traditional music in Serbia. That particular chapter is written by an American ethnomusicologist (Jane Sugarman), but it is not unique for articles concerning a national tradition to be signed by foreign specialists. Although such a practice cannot be criticized per se, sometimes it is not clear why a native musicologist was not engaged. Thus, it is hard to understand why a foreign musicologist (Niall O’Loughlin), who is not a specialist on Serbian music, was asked to write an entry on Stevan Mokranjac, the key figure in 19th-century Serbian musical

¹⁴ In the discussion following the reading of this paper at the RILM conference, Ivano Cavallini from Italy offered his remarks concerning certain arbitrary quality in presenting the facts concerning Yugoslav states. Among other examples were those on the geographical locations of those countries: Yugoslavia (i.e., Serbia and Montenegro) and Bosnia are “in Eastern Europe”, Croatia “in south-east Europe”, Slovenia “in Europe”, whereas “the region known as Macedonia is not a single nation, but is divided between three states: Greece, Bulgaria, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”.

¹⁵ Information on art music in Montenegro and Kosovo (however modest it might have been) should have been included in the dictionary.

¹⁶ The second edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* also includes a chapter on music in Kosovo within the article on Serbia and Montenegro: Tatjana Marković, “Musik der albanischen Komponisten in Kosovo”, *Sachteil* vol. 8, 1301–02.

culture, both for the 1980 and 2001 editions. A Serbian musicologist would certainly frown at some of the claims found in that particular article and at some omissions in the bibliography.¹⁷

The enlargement of the 2001 edition of *The new Grove dictionary* has made it possible to afford more space for small nations. To illustrate this with the articles on Serbian music and composers, the number of composers with separate entries has more than doubled when compared to the 1980 edition: 44 instead of 20. The figures for writers on music show the same rising trend: 11 instead of six. The number of cities with entries has stayed the same (Belgrade).¹⁸ Also, the article on Yugoslav (mainly Serbian) art music is much (about four to five times) longer than the article on Yugoslavia in the 1980 *New Grove dictionary* which covered the music of all six Yugoslav states. The cases of the other nations in Yugoslavia are very similar, so that in the final analysis the presentations of those small and smallest musical nations has been done relatively successfully, although some of the mentioned problems should not be overlooked.

I hope that this brief overview of the problems relating to the presentation of small musical cultures in international reference books has clarified the reasons for treating the music of those cultures with special care. Such an approach will bring a double benefit: On the one hand, readers will find accurate information on a lesser known tradition, for which histories of music are hard or, more often, impossible to find in a world language such as English or German; on the other hand, well-written articles on small and peripheral nations will help provide better insight into the phenomenon of musical creativity in the world as a whole. If the work is well done, it will also help to revise old stereotypes and hierarchies.

¹⁷ Here is one example: "Among the most noteworthy collections are 160 folk melodies from Kosovo (1896) and about 300 Serbian melodies." Such an expression is problematic because it implies that the melodies transcribed in Kosovo were not Serbian, and the truth is that they were mostly Serbian. It is also problematic to write about the "primitive inheritance of Serbian music" from which Mokranjac wished to liberate Serbian music.

¹⁸ In addition to the entry on Belgrade at least Novi Sad in Vojvodina and Kotor in Montenegro should have been included. There is, however, an entry on Novi Sad in *The Grove opera dictionary*.

RUSSIA'S NEW GROVE: PRICELESS RESOURCE OR PROPAGANDISTIC RUBBISH?

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There is a basic difference between Western and Soviet criticism: whereas Western criticism represents the subjective opinion of an individual critic, Soviet criticism is a collective opinion expressed in the words of an individual critic.¹

The six-volume Soviet *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija* (Music encyclopedia), published under the general editorship of Jurij Keldyš, is an exhaustive work presenting the history of music and musicians, in a sense the Soviet Union's version of *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*. More than anything, it is a window that peers onto Soviet musicianship and musicology. Its scope is remarkable. It offers a comprehensive look at Russian music as well as the music of all of the peoples included in the Soviet Union. Much of this material simply cannot be found in other non-Russian sources. Further, the *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija* endeavors to define many aspects of world music, with comprehensive entries for many foreign countries and foreign artists, genres, history of theory, and musical instruments, among numerous other categories of entries.

However, because this encyclopedia was envisioned and produced in the Soviet Union, it could not escape the strong propagandistic elements that were part of virtually any academic work produced in that country. In his article "Symphonic Marxism: Sovietizing pre-revolutionary music under Stalin", the historian Jiří Smrž nicely sums up the reasoning behind why the Soviet authorities felt it necessary to control writings about music.

Because of the close connection between the composer's consciousness and his art, assessing that very consciousness becomes a part of the critical endeavor. False consciousness creates false art. Since it is the function of art to educate, it follows that such false art must be identified, so that it can be properly condemned. The Soviet state funded the publications of scholarly editions of the works by the national classics, and of primary documents relating to them. The presence of leading Soviet composers on editorial

¹ Boris Schwarz, *Music and musical life in Soviet Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983) 320.

boards of these ventures, side by side with the musicologists who were... setting out the parameters for their creative endeavors, underlines the canonizing nature of these publishing activities.²

Keldyš's *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija* would surely be such a scholarly edition, and it was therefore under much scrutiny by Soviet authorities. Because of the ever-present and heavy-handed role of these authorities, the validity of the encyclopedia as a source comes into question. What is, on its face, a resource that deals extensively with music and musicians from all over the world, with a special emphasis on the peoples of the Soviet Union—a priceless resource indeed—potentially comes to be considered, in light of the overwhelming censorship, as propagandistic rubbish. It is my aim in this paper to examine this significant music resource in order to come to a decision on its relative merit as a viable source of information.

JURIJ VSEVOLODOVIČ KELDYŠ. The encyclopedia was edited by Jurij V. Keldyš (1907–95). The last name Keldyš has a possible Turkish or Finno-Ugric origin. It is known that his great grandfather was Eastern Orthodox, and this heritage may have extended back even further than that. Jurij's father, Vsevolod Keldyš (1878–1965), was a fairly famous civil engineer. He was a major general in the engineering corps of the military and a distinguished scientist of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. However, it was Jurij's brother Mstislav (1911–78) who really put the family name on the map. He was one of the most famous Soviet mathematicians, a three time Hero of Socialist Labor, President of the Akademija Nauk SSSR, and a recipient of the Lenin Prize and the State Prize of the USSR, among many other distinctions. One of Russia's most important institutes on applied mathematics bears his name to this day. Thus Jurij the musicologist, for the most part, would always live in the shadow of his more famous brother.

Still, Jurij did make a respectable name for himself, becoming a member of the Sojuz Kompozitorov SSSR and a professor at the Gosudarstvennaja Konservatorija in Moscow in 1948. He was not always, however, in the good graces of the Soviet authorities. Approximately one year after Andrej Źdanov's famous resolution *Ob opere "Velikaja družba" V. Muradeli* (On the opera *Velikaja družba* by Vano Muradeli), published on 11 February 1948, which severely rebuked many of the day's most significant composers, the hammer fell on musicologists. Since Źdanov died later in 1948, this musicological reprimand was given by the new General Secretary of the Sojuz Kompozitorov SSSR, Tihon Hrennikov. Among those receiving official censure were Lev Mazel', Ivan Martynov, Semjon Ginzburg, and Vladimir Protopopov. In his summation, Hrennikov unofficially upbraided Jurij Keldyš as well, but he escaped official censorship because of his more famous brother Mstislav, whose popularity in 1949 was increasing quickly in circles of Soviet power.

THE MUZYKAL'NAJA ĚNCIKLOPEDIJA was published in six volumes from 1973 to 1982, and it was the first such undertaking in the Soviet Union. Jurij Keldyš was fit for the task, having already written a three-volume *Istorija russskoj muzyki* (History of

² Jiří SmrŹ, "Symphonic Marxism: Sovietizing pre-revolutionary Russian music under Stalin", *Discourses in music* 4/3 (summer 2003), www.discourses.ca/v4n3a1.html.

Russian music; 1948–54), and edited a five-volume *Istorija muzyki narodov SSSR* (Music history of the peoples of the USSR; 1970–74). In the *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija*, the ubiquitous political bias is clear in the preface to the first volume, written by the editorial staff, which lists among its several missions “to show the richness and progressive role of the Russian classical legacy, to widely represent the most important occurrences in the musical culture of the Soviet peoples and of other socialist countries, and to illuminate the struggle of tendencies in contemporary foreign art”.³ It is not uncommon for any such dictionary to stress homegrown elements, as Keldyš stated here, but his emphasis on the political element and the focus on “socialist countries” and “the struggles in contemporary foreign art” should be noted.

The relative merits of the encyclopedia will become clear by examining some biographical entries. Because of the control exercised by the Soviet authorities over academic publications, one of the greatest challenges the editorial staff had in compiling this dictionary was how to deal with the countless Russian and Soviet musical figures who left the Soviet Union for political reasons. Artists such as Rahmaninov, Šaljapin, Glazunov, or even Stravinsky, who were once reviled for anti-Soviet activity, were allowed back into the good graces of the authorities, perhaps because of their irrefutable significance to Russian musical culture, or perhaps because of a new political thaw. Others were less fortunate. In short, the editors of the *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija* dealt with each musical figure on a case-by-case basis. One of the most egregious entries is the one for Mstislav Rostropovič:⁴

Rostropovič, Mstislav Leopoldovič (b. 27 March 1927, Baku) – cellist and conductor. In 1946 graduated from the Moscow Conservatory in the cello studio of S.M. Kozolupov; studied composition with V. Ja. Šebalin. Participated in a number of All-Union and international competitions. Taught at the Moscow Conservatory. From the 1960s has appeared also as a conductor. From 1974 has lived abroad. In 1978 Rostropovič and his wife, G.P. Višnevskaja, were stripped of their Soviet citizenship for acts that were detrimental to the prestige of the Soviet Union.

РОСТРОПОВИЧ Мстислав Леопольдович (р. 27 III 1927, Баку) – виолончелист и дирижёр. В 1946 окончил Московскую консерваторию по классу виолончели у С.М. Козолупова; по композиции занимался у В.Я. Шебалина. Участник ряда всесоюзных и междунар. Конкурсов исполнителей. Преподавал в Моск. Консерватории. С 60-х гг. Выступает также как дирижер. С 1974 за рубежом. В 1978 Р. и его жена Г.П. Вишневская лишены гражданства СССР за действия, наносящие ущерб престижу Союза ССР.

After providing shelter to Aleksandr Solženicyн and following a request from Leonid Brežnev himself for a two-year visa to live abroad, Rostropovič and Višnevskaja left the Soviet Union in the summer of 1974. Of course, one can learn almost nothing about Rostropovič's musicianship from this entry, which would clearly fall under the rubric “propagandistic rubbish”. It is not unimportant that the authorship of this entry is absent. Normally the author is indicated for each entry; it seems that for this particular biography no one wanted to take credit.

³ The original Russian reads: “... показать богатство и прогрессивную роль русского классического наследия, широко представить важнейшие явления музыкальной культуры народов Советского Союза и других социалистических стран, осветить борьбу направлений в современном зарубежном искусстве.” Jurij V. Keldyš, ed., *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija* (Moskva: Sovetskaja Ènciklopedija, 1973–82) vol. 1, 9–10.

⁴ Anonymous, “Rostropovič, Mstislav Leopoldovič”, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 726. English translation from the Russian in all entries is by the author.

In Moscow, Rostropovič assumed many of the duties of the cellist Daniel Šafran, whose encyclopedic entry is shown below:⁵

Šafran, Daniel Borisovič (b. 13 Jan. 1923, Leningrad). Soviet cellist. People's Artist of the USSR (1977). Member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1945. He began studies of the cello with his father, Boris Semenovič Šafran (1896–1980), a Distinguished Artist of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. In 1950 he graduated at the Leningrad Conservatory in the cello class of A. Ja. Štrimer. From 1943 he has been a soloist with the Moskovskaja Filarmonija. He was a first prize winner at the All-Union Violin and Cello Competition (1937), at the Worldwide Festival of Youth and Students Competition in Budapest (1949), and at the Vigan International Cello Competition in Prague (1950). He has been a jurist of the International Čajkovskij Competition in Moscow (1974 and 1978). Šafran is an outstanding representative of the Soviet school of cello playing. His playing is distinguished by nobility and grace, romantic animation, lyrical spirituality, intimacy, beauty, and a cantabile tone. In performance Šafran combines intellect and poetical inspiration, impeccable taste and technical mastery, depth in understanding the author's intent, and originality in revealing the content of compositions. Šafran is a master of both miniatures and large canvases. His repertory includes the cello concertos by Dvořák, Saint-Saëns, Schumann, Milhaud, Barber, as well as Prokof'ev, Šostakovič, Hačaturian, and Kabalevskij (the second concerto was dedicated to Šafran and first performed by him); the six suites for unaccompanied cello by Bach, and all of the cello sonatas by Beethoven and Brahms. Since 1946 he has been touring abroad (Australia, Austria, Great Britain, Belgium, East Germany, Italy, Canada, Poland, Romania, USA, West Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Japan, and countries of Latin America and the Near East). State Prize of the USSR recipient (1952). Honorary member of the International Academy of Artists in Rome (1959). To Šafran belongs a transcription for cello and piano of Šostakovič's sonata for viola and piano, as well as a number of articles published in Soviet journals.

ШАФРАН Даниил Борисович (р. 13 I 1923, Ленинград) – сов. виолончелист. Нар. арт. СССР (1977). Чл. КПСС с 1945. Первоначально обучался игре на виолончели под рук. отца – засл. деят. иск-в РСФСР Б о р и с а С е м ё н о в и ч а Ш. (1896–1980). В 1950 окончил Ленингр. консерваторию по классу виолончели у А.Я. Штримера. С 1943 солист Моск. филармонии. 1-е пр. на Всесоюзном конкурсе скрипачей и виолончелистов в Москве (1937), конкурсе Всемирного фестиваля молодёжи и студентов в Будапеште (1949), Междунар. конкурсе виолончелистов им. Г. Вигана в Праге (1950). Пред. жюри Междунар. конкурса им. П.И. Чайковского в Москве (виолончель, 1974, 1978). Ш. – выдающийся представитель сов. виолончельной школы. Игру Ш. отличают благородство и изящество, романтич. приподнятость, лирич. одухотворённость, задушевность, красота и певучесть звука. В исполнит. иск-ве Ш. сочетаются интеллект и поэтич. вдохновение, безукоризненный вкус и технич. мастерство, глубина прочтения авторского замысла и своеобразие раскрытия содержания произв. Ш. – мастер как миниатюр, так и крупных полотен. В его репертуаре концерты для виолончели с оркестром А. Дворжака, К. Сен-Санса, Р. Шумана, Д. Мийо, С. Барбера, а также С. С. Прокофьева, Д.Д. Шостаковича, А.И. Хачатуряна, Д.Б. Кабалевского (концерт № 2 посв. Ш. и впервые им исполнен), 6 сюит для виолончели соло И. С. Баха, все сонаты Л. Бетховена и И. Брамса. С 1946 гастролирует за рубежом (Австралия, Австрия, Великобритания, Бельгия, ГДР, Италия, Канада, Польша, Румыния, США, ФРГ, Франция, Чехословакия, Япония, страны Лат. Америки и Ближнего Востока). Гос. пр. СССР (1952). Почётный чл. Междунар. академии артистов в Риме (1959). Ш. принадлежит переложение для виолончели с фп. сонаты для альты с фп. Д.Д. Шостаковича. Автор ряда статей, опубликованных в сов. журналах.

The entry is accompanied by a photograph of Šafran with his cello. Such photos were reserved for figures whom the authorities wished to extol, those whom they wanted to vilify would never be represented by a photograph or illustration. As it turned out, I have heard both of these musicians in performance, and I have actually had the privilege

⁵ V.I. Rudenko, “Šafran, Daniel Borisovič”, *ibid.*, vol. 6, 294.

of meeting both of them in my several years of living in Russia. I can say categorically that they were both equally outstanding musicians, although by looking at the entries in the *Muzykal'naja enciklopedija* we get an entirely skewed version of reality.

That is not to say that Šafran's entry is inaccurate, but rather that the glaring omissions from Rostropovič's biography are unforgivable. Notice also the small differences in the way Šafran is referred to as a "Soviet" cellist and Rostropovich simply a "cellist"; how Šafran is a "People's Artist" yet there is no mention of the fact that Rostropovič was given this very same honor 11 years prior to Šafran; and how Šafran's membership in the communist party is touted.

The entry for Rostropovič's wife, Galina Višnevskaja, is equally illuminating:⁶

Višnevskaja, Galina Pavlovna (b. 25 Oct. 1926, Leningrad). Soviet singer (soprano). People's Artist of the USSR (1966). Student of V.N. Garina (Leningrad). Her stage activity began in 1944 with operettas, and later she worked with the Leningrad Filarmonija. Since 1952 she has been a soloist with the Bol'šoj Teatr of the USSR. An artist of versatile gifts, possessing an expressive voice of clear timbre and large dramatic talent, Višnevskaja has established a gallery of stage roles: Tat'jana, Lisa, Kupava, Marfa (*Carskaja nevesta*), Aida, Violetta, Cho-Cho-San, Tosca; Leonora (*Fidelio*), Cherubino, and the solo part in Poulenc's opera *La voix humaine*, among others. Performed the role of Liu (Puccini's *Turandot*) at La Scala in Milan. At the Bol'šoj Teatr was the first to perform the roles of Katarina (*Taming of the Shrew*, 1957), Nataša Rostova (*Vojna i mir*, 1959), Marina (Muradeli's *Oktjabr'*, 1964), and Sof'i Tkačenko (Prokof'ev's *Semyon Kotko*, 1970). As a concert and chamber singer has appeared in performances of songs and romances by Mussorgskij, Čajkovskij, and Šostakovič, often in ensemble with her husband, M.L. Rostropovič, playing piano. Benjamin Britten dedicated the solo in his *War Requiem* to Višnevskaja, as well as his song cycle to words by A. Puškin. Šostakovič also dedicated his song cycles to words by Saša Černij and A.A. Bloch to her. Has starred in a movie (the opera film *Katerina Izmajlova* by Šostakovič, 1966). Since 1955 has toured many countries: East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, England, USA, Austria, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, among others.

ВИШНЕВСКАЯ Галина Павловна (р. 25 X 1926, Ленинград) – сов. певица (сопрано). Нар. арт. СССР (1966). Уч-ца В. Н. Гариной (Ленинград). Сценич. деятельность начала в 1944 в оперетте, позднее работала в Ленингр. филармонии. С 1952 солистка Большого т-ра СССР. Артистка разностороннего дарования, обладающая выразительным голосом чистого тембра и большим драматич. талантом, В. создала галерею сценич. образов: Татьяна, Лиза, Купава; Марфа («Царская невеста»), Аида, Виолетта, Чио-Чио-сан, Tosca; Леонора («Фиделио»), Керубино, сольная партия в опере «Человеческий голос» Пуленка и др. Исполнила партию Лиу («Турандот» Пуччини) на сцене Миланского т-ра «Ла Скала». Была первой исполнительницей в Большом т-ре партий Катарины («Укрощение строптивой», 1957), Наташи Ростовской («Война и мир», 1959), Марины («Октябрь» Мурадели, 1964), Софьи Ткаченко («Семён Котко» Прокофьева, 1970). Как конц. и камерная певица выступает с исполнением песен и романсов М.П. Мусоргского, П.И. Чайковского, Д.Д. Шостаковича, часто в ансамбле в мужем – М.Л. Ростроповичем, исполняющим партию фп. Б. Бриттен посвятил В. соло в «Военном реквиеме» и вок. цикл на стихи А.С. Пушкина, Шостакович – вок. на стихи Саши Чёрного и А.А. Блока. Снималась в кино (фильм-опера «Катерина Измайлова» Шостаковича, 1966). С 1955 гастролирует во мн. странах мира: ГДР, Чехословакия, Югославия, Италии, Франции, Англии, США, Австрии, Японии, Австралии, Новой Зеландии и др.

Upon reading the glowing summary of her career in the entry, one wonders why she escaped censure. The answer is simple: Her entry appeared in the first volume of the encyclopedia, which was published before she and Rostropovič left the Soviet Union.

⁶ V.I. Zarubin, "Višnevskaja, Galina Pavlovna", *Muzykal'naja enciklopedija*, ed. by Jurij V. Keldyš (Moskva: Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija, 1973–82) vol. 1, 808.

Another dubious entry, for the musicologist Leonid Sabaneev, follows:⁷

Sabaneev, Leonid Leonidovič (b. 7 (19) Nov. 1881 in Moscow, d. 3 May 1968 in Antibes, France). Russian musicologist, music critic, and composer. In 1888 he studied with N.S. Zverev (piano), in 1889 with N.M. Laduhin (piano), and from 1890 to 1899 with S.I. Taneev (music theory). Graduated the Moscow Conservatory in the piano class of P.A. Šlecer, as well as from the departments of Mathematics and Natural Science of the Moscow University. Since 1909 he has composed and appeared as a music critic, working with many organs of the pre-Revolutionary and Soviet periodical press (including the newspaper *Golos Moskvy*, and the magazines *Muzyka*, *Muzykal'nyj sovremennik*, *Sovremennaja muzyka*, and *K novym beregam*, among others), and with the foreign press. From 1921 he was a member of the board of directors of the Gosudarstvennaja Akademija Hudoževstvennyh Nauk [ГАХН], and from 1921 to 1923 was the chairman of the scientific board of the Gosudarstvennyj Institut Muzykal'nogo Nauka. Since 1926 he has lived in France, Great Britain, and the United States. Sabaneev promoted contemporary music, wrote much on A.N. Scriabin (including *Scriabin*, Moscow, 1916), as well as on S.I. Taneev (*S.I. Taneev*, Paris, 1930), A.A. Krejn, and M. Ravel. He was contradictory in his critical opinions, frequently allowing arbitrary evaluations, showing a lack of principles. His musicological works—in large part marked by “vulgar sociology” and plagiarism—in a majority of cases do not have serious scientific meaning. Sabaneev’s musical compositions were written under the influence of Scriabin.

САБАНИЕВ Леонид Леонидович [7 (19) XI 1881, Москва – 3 V 1968, Антиб, Франция] – рус. музыковед, муз. критик, композитор. С 1888 занимался у Н.С. Зверева (фп.), с 1889 у Н.М. Ладухина и в 1890-1899 у С.И. Танеева (муз.-теоретич. предметы). Окончил Моск. консерваторию по классу фп. у П.А. Шлёцера, а также математич. ф-т и ф-т естествознания Моск. ун-та. С 1909 занимался композицией, выступал как муз. критик, сотрудничал во мн. органах дореволюц. и сов. периодич. печати (в т. ч. в газ. «Голос Москвы», журн. «Музыка», «Музыкальный современник», «Современная музыка», «К новым берегам» и др.), заруб. прессе. С 1921 чл. правления ГАХН, в 1921-23 пред. учёного совета ГИМНа. С 1926 жил во Франции, Великобритании, США. С. пропагандировал совр. музыку, много писал о А.Н. Скрябине (в т. ч. «Скрябин», М., 1916), а также о С.И. Танееве («С.И. Танеев», Париж, 1930), А.А. Крейне, М. Равеле. Был противоречив в критич. суждениях, зачастую допускал произвольные оценки, проявлял беспринципность. Его музыковедческие труды, во отмеченные чертами вульгарной социологии, компилятивностью, в большинстве своём не имеют серьёзного науч. значения. Муз. произв. С. написаны под влиянием Скрябина.

(The author’s phrase “vulgar sociology” was Soviet parlance for “sociological oversimplifications”.) Sabaneev’s ardent support of contemporary trends in music, or, as the Soviets put it, “modernism”, gained him the wrath of the authorities, which followed him all the way into the *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija*. Having written a dissertation on the music of Aleksandr Scriabin myself, I read the writings of Sabaneev, and I can say with certainty that this description of him is not balanced.

Not all émigrés suffered the wrath of Soviet authorities. Although short, an entry for Nathan Milstein is fairly positive:⁸

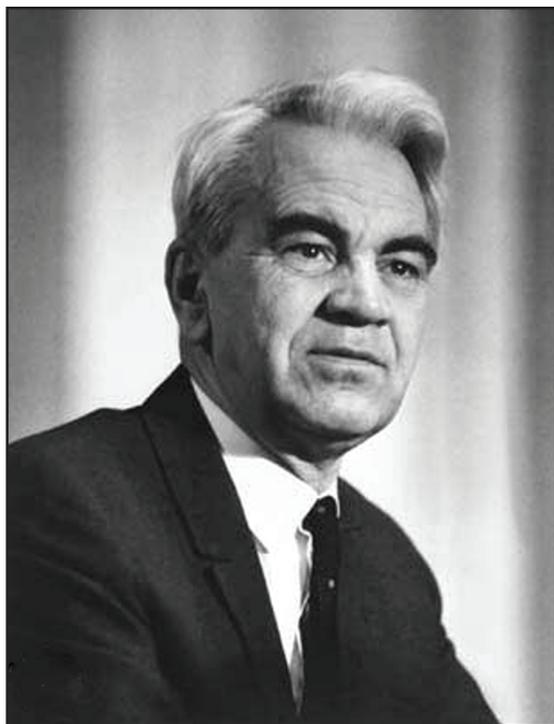
⁷ I.M. Jampol'skij, “Sabaneev, Leonid Leonidovič”, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 807–08.

⁸ Anonymous, “Mil'stejn (Milstein), Natan Mironovič”, *ibid.*, vol. 3, 599.

Milštein (Milstein), Natan Mironovič (b. 18 (31) Dec. 1904, Odessa). American violinist. As a child he studied violin in Odessa with P.S. Stoljarskij. Later studied with L.S. Auer at the Petrograd Conservatory and with E. Ysaÿe in Brussels. From 1920 to 1925 he played recitals in the Soviet Union, appearing in ensemble with the pianist V.S. Horowitz. Since 1925 he has lived abroad (since 1928 in the United States). He has toured in many countries. He possesses a perfect technique and impeccable taste. Chiefly performs a classic repertoire. He is the author of many transcriptions for violin (including the “Paganiniana”).

МИЛЬШТЕЙН (Milstein) Натан Миронович [р. 18 (31) XII 1904, Одесса] – амер. скрипач. Игре на скрипке обучался с детских лет в Одессе у П.С. Столярского. Позднее занимался у Л.С. Ауэра в Петрогр. консерватории и у Э. Изаи в Брюсселе. В 1920-25 концертировал в СССР, выступая в ансамбле с пианистом В. С. Горовицем. С 1925 живёт за границей (с 1928 – в США). Гастролировал во многих странах. Обладает совершенной техникой и безупречным вкусом. Исполняет гл. обр. классич. репертуар. Автор обр. для скрипки (в т. ч. «Паганиниана»).

The author refers to Milstein’s “perfect technique and impeccable taste”, clearly not something that would have been said about any artist on the black list of the Soviet authorities. This is the type of entry for a whole slew of musicians who left the USSR (Garbusova, Horowitz, Koussevitzky, Malko, and Piatigorsky), which are unfairly short, but positive. In fact, of the numerous famous and talented musicians who left the Soviet Union, few are given downright slanderous entries, and even fewer approach the absurdity of the Rostropovič example. However, those who left are never given much breadth in the entries; they are short but sweet, and they could never approach the accolades afforded to an artist like Šafran.



Jurij Vsevolodovič Keldyš
(1907–95)

On a deeper level, one must admit that in many respects Keldyš’s *Muzykal’naja enciklopedija* is a sound reference work. There is a vast number of entries that simply cannot be found anywhere else. The following table provides a sampling of wonders from the *Muzykal’naja enciklopedija* that cannot be found in 1980 edition of *The new*

Grove.⁹ Entries that do not appear in *The new Grove* are marked with an asterisk, and entries that are brief to the point of under-representation in *The new Grove*, relative to Keldyš's encyclopedia, are so indicated with a plus sign.

SAMPLES OF ENTRIES NOT FOUND (*) OR UNDER-REPRESENTED (⊕) IN
THE NEW GROVE (1980 ED.)

SUBJECT ENTRIES	BIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abhazian music⊕ • Vanemuine⊕ (old music-dramatic theater in Tartu, Estonia) • Dagestani music⊕ • kartsganag* (Ossetian percussion instrument) • Kružok novoj muzyki* (New Music Circle, an organization of Leningrad musical figures) • krjuki* (signs of Russian neumatic notation) • parakapzuk* (Armenian bagpipes) • Riga⊕ (capital of Latvia) • Simfoničeskij Orkestr Leningradskoj Filarmonii⊕ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aav, Evald (1900–39),* Estonian composer and choral conductor • Cristescu, Mircea (b. 22 Nov. 1928),* Romanian conductor • Karcev, Aleksandr (1883–1953),* Soviet composer • Kato, Kyosi (b. 12 Oct. 1906),* Japanese violinist • Krasnoščekov, Ivan (1798–1875),* Russian guitar and violin maker • Paliašvili, Ivan Petrovič (1868–1934),* Soviet conductor and pedagogue • Severskij, Mihail (1882–1954),* Soviet tenor • Tons, Edgar (1917–67),* Lithuanian conductor

For virtually all longer entries in the *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija* there is a solid list of works, for composers, and there is always a respectable bibliography. Also, most entries include the author's name, in the interest of full disclosure. It is precisely when we consider the enormous wealth of new material that we realize that this encyclopedia indeed has its merits. Of course the encyclopedia is most fruitful when dealing with the peoples and the music of the former Soviet Empire, and to this day it is a valuable resource when working with these issues.

MUZYKAL'NIJ ĚNCIKLOPEDIČESKIJ SLOVAR'. In 1991, the final year of the Soviet Union, the *Muzykal'nij ěnciklopedičeskij slovar'* (Music encyclopedic dictionary) was published, also under the general editorship of Keldyš. In its one volume it contains over 8000 entries, as opposed to the 7000 some odd entries included in its six-volume predecessor. This was due largely to a much smaller typeface, more abbreviations, and shorter entries. One of the main tasks of the editorial staff of the *Slovar* was to capture the numerous changes going on in the world. Rostropovič is presented as follows:¹⁰

⁹ I have chosen to compare Keldyš's work to the 1980 version of *The new Grove dictionary* since they are roughly from the same era.

¹⁰ Anonymous, "Rostropovič, Mstislav Leopoldovič", *Muzykal'nij ěnciklopedičeskij slovar'*, ed. by Grigorij V. Keldyš (Moskva: Sovetskaja Ěnciklopedija, 1991) 472. Keldyš apparently went by two first names, Jurij and Grigorij. See dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enc3p/152814.

Rostropovič, Mstislav Leopoldovič (b.1927). Cellist, conductor. People's Artist of the USSR (1966). Member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Student of S.M. Kozolupov (cello). One of the most prominent cellists of the 20th century. He has premiered a number of compositions by Glière, Mjaskovskij, Prokof'ev, Šebalin, Šostakovič, as well as Britten, Jolivet, Pipkov, Piston, and Foss, among others (several of which were dedicated to Rostropovič). In 1973 he debuted as a conductor. From 1948 to 1974 he taught at the Moscow Conservatory (from 1960 as a professor). Since 1974 he has lived abroad. From 1977 he has lead the National Symphony Orchestra (Washington) and also appears as a cellist. He has authored musical works. Recipient of the Lenin prize (1964), the State Prize of the USSR (1951). First Prize winner at the Vigan International Competition (Prague, 1950).

РОСТРОПОВИЧ Мстислав Леопольдович (р.1927) – виолончелист, дирижёр. Нар. арт. СССР (1966). Чл. Франц. академии изящных иск-в. Ученик С. М. Козолупова (влч.). Один из крупнейших виолончелистов 20 в. Первый исполнитель ряда соч. Р.М. Глиэра, Н.Я. Мясковского, С.С. Прокофьева, В.Я. Шебалина, Д.Д. Шостаковича, а также Б. Бриттена, А. Жоливе, Л. Пипкова, У. Пистона, Л. Фосса и др. (нек-рые посв. Р.). В 1973 дебютировал как дирижёр. В 1948-74 преподаватель Моск. конс. (с 1960 проф.). С 1974 живёт за рубежом. С 1977 возглавляет Нац. симф. оркестр (Вашингтон), выступает как виолончелист. Автор муз. произв. Ленинская пр. (1964), Гос. пр. СССР (1951). 1-я пр. на Междунар. конкурсе им. Г. Вигана (Прага, 1950).

This entry is significantly different from the one included in the first *Muzykal'naja enciklopedija*, and much more reasonable. Eliminated are acts detrimental to the prestige of the Soviet Union or the fact that he was stripped of Soviet citizenship, and included are some of Rostropovič's many distinctions and awards. This version of the encyclopedia gives a much more balanced view of events.

The entry for Daniel Šafran in the new encyclopedia, by contrast, is shorter than the earlier version:¹¹

Šafran, Daniel Borisovič (b. 1923). Soviet cellist. People's Artist of the USSR (1977). Member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1945. Student of A. Ja. Štrimer. Since 1943 has been a soloist of the Moskovskaja Filharmonija. The playing of Šafran, a most important representative of the Soviet cello school, is distinguished by nobility and grace, romantic animation, lyrical spirituality, beauty, and a cantabile tone. He has given premieres of many cello compositions by Soviet composers, a number of which were dedicated to him. Tours abroad. First Prize winner in the All-Union Competition of Violinists and Cellists (1937) and the Vigan International Competition (Prague, 1950). Jurist at several International Čajkovskij Competitions in Moscow (as cellist). Honorary member of the International Academy of Artists in Rome (1959). State Prize of the USSR (1952).

ШАФРАН Даниил Борисович (р. 1923) – сов. виолончелист. Нар. арт. СССР (1977). Чл. КПСС с 1945. Ученик А.Я. Штримера. С 1943 солист Моск. филармонии. Игру Ш. – крупнейшего предст. сов. виолончельной школы – отличают благородство и изящество, романтич. приподнятость, лирич. одухотворённость, красота и певучесть звука. Первый исполнитель мн. произв. сов. композиторов для влч., ряд к-рых посвящён Ш. Гастролирует за рубежом. 1-е пр. на Всес. конкурсе скрипачей и виолончелистов (1937) и Междунар. конкурсе виолончелистов им. Г. Вигана (Прага, 1950). Пред. жюри ряда Междунар. конкурсов им. П.И. Чайковского в Москве (виолончель). Почётный чл. Междунар. академии артистов в Риме (1959). Гос. пр. СССР (1952).

Some of the language in the Šafran entry was lifted straight from the earlier version, but its length has been shortened. The entries for these two outstanding 20th-century Russian cellists reflect a more balanced representation than the earlier encyclopedia. It is

¹¹ Anonymous, "Šafran, Daniel Borisovič", *ibid.*, 632.

also worth mentioning that both entries are unsigned (only the longest entries in this new encyclopedia bear the author's name) so the reader really sees the two figures on equal grounds, as they rightly should be. Thus, this final version of the Soviet *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija* represents a fairer and more accurate approach to Rostropoviĉ and Šafran, as well as to all other figures generally.¹²

PROPAGANDA IN THE NEW GROVE? After examining Keldyš's work, one wonders what propagandistic elements might be found in *The new Grove*?¹³ It would seem natural to find some such elements, insofar as the country of its publication, England, was deeply entrenched in cold-war politics. However, compared with the Soviet Union, the influence of political authorities over what musicologists and other music scholars said and wrote was of an entirely different nature, and it is difficult to find anything close to the type of propaganda one witnesses in Keldyš's work. In fact, it seems that Sadie and his editorial staff went to great pains to be fair and avoid propagandistic elements in *The new Grove*. A good example would be the entry for the German composer Hanns Eisler. A committed communist, he was severely rebuked in 1947 in the United States by the infamous House Committee on Un-American Activities, and only after a worldwide protest and the intervention of such luminaries as Chaplin, Copland, Einstein, and Matisse, was Eisler allowed to move back to what was then East Germany. *The new Grove* entry for Eisler, written by David Blake, is lengthy, balanced, and complete. Blake makes reference to the fact that some writers allowed political forces to shape their opinion of Eisler, yet he is quick to point out that Eisler was a topnotch composer whose stature should not be underestimated:

Some writers and musicians in capitalist countries have poured scorn on politically committed composers such as Eisler, as if it were reprehensible for an artist to be concerned about his function in society... Eisler's enormous output, much of it written at great speed for particular occasions, varies considerably in quality, but the standard is extremely high. Even in those works which do not totally succeed, the invention, vitality and superb professionalism give great satisfaction.¹⁴

This is just one example of the fair reporting of a politically controversial 20th-century musical figure. Stanley Sadie and the staff at *The new Grove* are to be commended for striving for such reports. Writing a politically balanced and, at times, exalted report about a composer who represented the other side of the political divide in the cold war would be simply unthinkable in Keldyš's *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija*.

In short, the Soviet *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija* was more isolated from the rest of the world when compared with *The new Grove*. This is apparent by examining the makeup of the contributors for both works. When discussing the changes involved between the

¹² In March of 2005 I asked Grigorij Voronov in Moscow, the editor-in-chief of Kompozitor, one of the largest music publishers in Russia, about plans to produce a new version of Keldyš's *Muzykal'naja ěnciklopedija*, and was surprised to learn that the work on this project is already under way at his publishing house. Although they have finished with the letter A, he is doubtful that the project can reach fruition because of the all-too-common post-Soviet lack of funding for such projects. It may be, in fact, many years before such an epic undertaking is seen through to completion in post-Soviet Russia.

¹³ Again, for a better comparison, I use the 1980 edition of *The new Grove*.

¹⁴ David Blake, "Eisler, Hanns", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1980) vol. 6, 91.

fifth edition of Grove's dictionary and what was to become the first edition of *The new Grove*, Stanley Sadie wrote:

The net of contributors has been cast much more widely in the pursuit of breadth, authority and excellence: whereas in the fifth edition British contributors outnumbered others by more than five to two, here they make up about one fifth of the total number.¹⁵

Thus we see the expansion of *The new Grove* beyond the scholarship of England. By contrast, although I cannot confirm the nationality of the many consultants listed in the prefatory material of Keldyš's encyclopedia, all of the last names are Russian, or from one of the republics of the USSR. There are no foreigners listed among the consultants. Looking back at *The new Grove*, in the acknowledgments section, Sadie mentions five contributors for help in dealing with the USSR: Genrih Orlov, Boris Schwarz, Jurij Keldyš, Grigorij Šneerson, and Izrail Markovič Jampol'skij.¹⁶ Thus Keldyš himself, along with Jampol'skij, who served as First Deputy Editor for the *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija* (and also was the author of the abovementioned entry for Leonid Sabaneev), were consultants for *The new Grove*. This also would have been unthinkable for the editors of the *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija*, that is, having authors from opposing political countries contributing to the overall effort. This also shows how Stanley Sadie respected Keldyš and his work. In fact, in the subheading "Encyclopedias" from the "Dictionaries and encyclopedias of music" entry in *The new Grove*, one cannot help but think the author is referring to Keldyš's encyclopedia when he says, "[T]he saving grace of many [music encyclopedias] (it gives some of them their only value) is the extent to which they are chauvinistic."¹⁷

In all of my research for this topic, I could find only one uttering by Sadie of a political nature, in the preface to the 2001 edition of *The new Grove*: "[C]ountries whose representation was in 1980 hampered by political factors are now considered on the same basis (at least as far as communications permit) as the main Western democracies".¹⁸ Of course the former Soviet Union would be such a country "hampered by political factors". I wish I had had the opportunity to ask Sadie about these issues before his death in March of 2005. It seems that he, unlike Keldyš, had enormous latitude in the publication of *The new Grove*. That said, what Keldyš was able to accomplish, knowing the perils of Soviet censorship, was nothing short of astounding.

There is nothing wrong with Socialist Realism as an aesthetic theory, only provided that the artist is indeed a Socialist Realist. If he is not, the theory, especially when it is administered as law and enforced by censorship, is a crippling thing.¹⁹

This quote about Socialist Realism by Arthur Miller is telling. Indeed, it was a crippling thing to engage in artistic endeavors in Soviet times and, to be sure, Jurij Keldyš and the authors who contributed to the *Muzykal'naja ènciklopedija* were bound

¹⁵ Sadie, Preface, *ibid.*, vol. 1, vii.

¹⁶ Sadie, Acknowledgments, *ibid.*, vol. 1, xxiv.

¹⁷ James B. Coover, "Dictionaries and encyclopedias of music", *ibid.*, vol. 5, 441.

¹⁸ Stanley Sadie, Preface, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (2nd ed. rev.; London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001) vol. 1, viii.

¹⁹ Arthur Miller, *Harper's magazine* (September 1969) 37–78, quoted in Schwarz, *Music and musical life in Soviet Russia*, 492.

by stringent regulations, voiced and unvoiced. They were constantly aware of that fine line between simply stating a fact, such as “this person was a composer”, and offering an opinion, like “this person was a *good* composer”. For the musicologist, the results of blurring this line often proved to be disastrous.

Boris Schwarz summed up the great contribution of Soviet musicology thus: “Soviet research is at its best in the presentation of documentary material, the painstaking exploration of primary sources within the history of Russian music. Such ‘factography’ ... may well be the most valuable contribution of Soviet musicologists.”²⁰ Keeping overt political statements aside, the subjective observations offered in Keldyš’s *Muzykal’naja ènciklopedija* are often also useful, incisive, and nuanced. One can certainly learn more than just mere facts by digging through this work. Despite the tightrope the authors had to traverse, it is a source worthy of academic interest. Reading the encyclopedia, it is most important to see its entries within the context of its circumstances, realizing that there will be a good deal of political material that needs to be either glossed over, ignored, or, conversely, taken into account. Thinking back to the original entry for Rostropovič, what is written is accurate if we accept that the last sentence is simply the official Soviet take on the matter. It is the overly political nature of the entry, with glaring omissions of fact, that would preclude the serious investigator from stopping at this source. That said, to deem the entire six volumes unworthy of scholarly interest because of the heavy-handed role of the Soviet authorities would be both self-defeating and academically irresponsible. There is information in this encyclopedia that simply cannot be found in any one source. This, combined with the fact that most of the scholarship contained therein is thorough and refined, is why Russia’s *New Grove* is, undoubtedly, a priceless resource.

²⁰ Schwarz, *Music and musical life in Soviet Russia*, 307.

A MAN AND HIS PORTRAITS: THE IMAGE OF GUSTAV ERNESAKS IN (SOVIET) WRITINGS ON MUSIC

Urve Lippus

EESTI MUUSIKA- JA TEATRIAKADEEMIA, TALLINN

The idea for this paper goes back to the mid-1990s, when I was asked to update some articles concerning Estonian music for the second edition of *The new Grove dictionary*. Having analyzed entries about the choral conductor and composer Gustav Ernesaks (1908–93) in several music dictionaries, I was somewhat upset by the incompatibility of those brief portraits and my own ideas of how to introduce him. Gustav Ernesaks is among the most complicated personalities for a study aiming to understand musical life in Soviet Estonia and, more generally, in the Soviet Union. He was trusted and beloved by Estonians as the leader of the national choral movement, and at the same time one of the leading figures supported and promoted by the Soviet authorities as a representative of Estonian music.

In 2003 Eesti Meestelaulu Selts (Society of Estonian Men's Choruses) initiated the building of a monument to commemorate the tenth anniversary of his death, and the society started a fund-raising campaign. His statue was unveiled during the 24th Eesti Üldlaulupidu (Estonian Song Festival) in July 2004, in the presence of thousands of singers, 13 years after Estonia gained its independence in 1991. His position in Estonia reveals a dichotomy. On the one hand, though he was not a member of the communist party, during the Soviet period the authorities created and promoted an official image of him as a supporter of their regime. On the other—and in spite of the fact that, since the late 1980s, public opinion had been extremely critical of those who were treated as celebrities in the Soviet period—the Eesti Meestelaulu Selts would never have raised money to commemorate a prominent supporter of the communists; instead, Estonians recognized him during the Soviet years as “our man”, and not one of “them”. At the time he was even called by his honorary nickname “Laulutaat” (father of song), and his song *Mu isamaa on minu arm* (My fatherland is my love), composed during the war in 1944, had become an unofficial Estonian national anthem; people stood up whenever it was sung. True, he was also the composer of the official Soviet Estonian anthem, a fact that nobody seems to remember today. In any event, the unveiling of his statue became an important cultural event in 2004. Ernesaks was skilled in choral writing and had a unique talent for composing simple yet beautiful and expressive melodies.

Written sources paint a somewhat different impression of Gustav Ernesaks, and therefore he can be a good test case of how the presentation of a person in music dictionaries is shaped by traditions of writing about music history. In most textbooks he is firstly a composer, secondly the founder and long-time leader of a professional chorus, thirdly a professor of conducting, and lastly a leader of the amateur choral movement. In brief lexicographic entries the final fact is often omitted; instead, they usually emphasize his five operas (he is also included in *The new Grove dictionary of opera*).¹ This lexicographic tradition, with its established patterns and values, can easily diminish the role of figures important in musical life and composers of popular genres, while concentrating on the masterpieces of loftier genres.

Beginning with Guido Adler's famous manifesto in the first issue of *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* in 1885,² the main subject of music history has been the music itself, that is, compositions. Earlier in the 19th century writings about music usually concentrated on the creator of music—the composer—and Adler's goal was to shift the focus from the composer's biography to his output, the music itself. Performers have always received less attention by historians, although prominent singers, instrumental virtuosos, and conductors were recognized celebrities in their own time. But their art was evanescent; only composers created permanent masterpieces of musical art and were equal to poets and painters. For a long time music history has elevated composing above any other musical activity; it has been the history of written music. As for compositions, the aesthetics of the 19th and early 20th centuries appreciated absolute music and placed the genres of concert music and opera much higher than functional music or music for amateurs. Accordingly, in writings on music, large-scale compositions are traditionally considered to be more important than small-scale works, and complex structures more interesting than simple forms. This hierarchy of values affects the compilation of historical surveys and reference works: The space allowed to one person in a survey or in a lexical entry is strictly limited, forcing the writer to select the most important works or facts of life. Without evaluations, through its structure and selection of works, such a text becomes strongly value-loaded. The format of a traditional music dictionary fits best the composer whose most important works are operas, oratorios, and symphonies. Writing about other important figures in musical life or a popular composer of songs needs a creative attitude and can sometimes lead to confrontation with the editor, whose task is to make the style and format of articles uniform.

That is certainly not a problem specific to Soviet writings about music. However, in the Soviet system the conventions of writing about music were supported by a high degree of bureaucracy and furthered by the Soviet value system and style of writing. In many respects the Soviet value system for music was extremely traditional, and it placed composers and their written music at the top of the hierarchy.³ The most important organization in Soviet musical life was the Sojuz Kompozitorov SSSR (Composers' Union), which also included among its members musicologists and ethnomusicologists, since their research and writings were thought to support composition and the chronicling of music history. Prominent composers like Dmitrij Šostakovič or Tihon Hrennikov, the

¹ *The new Grove dictionary of opera*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992) vol. 2, 73.

² Guido Adler, "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885) 5–20.

³ Composers were paid by the government only for compositions written in scores that could be deposited in an archive or library.

long-standing president of the Sojuz Kompozitorov, were considered to be authorities on musical life in general, not only on contemporary music. For example, the organizing committee of the first three Čajkovskij competitions for pianists, violinists, cellists, and singers (first held in 1958)—one of the most important international events in Soviet musical life—was headed by Šostakovič. Though he was an excellent pianist and was still giving recitals in the 1950s, he was far more famous as a composer. In fact, he was the most prominent composer (i.e., the most authoritative musician) at that time in the Soviet Union.

Information about Soviet music was mostly distributed by the central administration of the Sojuz Kompozitorov in Moscow, because only this society had access to international societies and various networks outside of the USSR. Reports collected in Moscow from the local organizations were naturally written in Russian and formatted according to general standards and official values. For example, official titles such as People's Artist and state awards were considered to be the most important information about a person. Membership in the Communist Party and its governing bodies were always mentioned. As for compositions, politically engaged works were certainly pointed out as important ones.

In the case of Gustav Ernesaks two different models shaped writings about him: first, the general tradition of music history, which valued the activities of a composer more than the activities in other areas of musical life; second, the Soviet tradition, which valued official titles and state prizes. It should be remembered that Ernesaks himself was not fluent in Russian, and therefore, information about him was always translated into Russian by someone else. When editors of reference books in the West were looking for entries about Soviet composers during the Soviet years, they commissioned them mostly from Moscow, and this is how it happened that Ernesaks's biography was usually translated from Russian into English, German, or French, from Cyrillic back to the roman alphabet.

For an analysis of Ernesaks's reception in reference books I have compared articles in the following dictionaries:

- ≈ *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 6, 237 (by I.M. Jampol'skij).
- ≈ *The new Grove dictionary of opera*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992) vol. 2, 73 (unsigned, possibly written on the basis of the article in the 1980 *New Grove*).
- ≈ *Muzikal'naja ěnciklopedija*, ed. by Jurij V. Keldiš (Moskva: Sovetskaja ěnciklopedija, 1982) vol. 6, 548–49 (by Avo Hirvesoo; in Russian, quoted in my translation).
- ≈ *Riemann Musiklexikon: Erganzungsband. Personenteil A–K*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1972) 329 (unsigned).
- ≈ *Dictionnaire de la musique: Les hommes et leurs oeuvres. A–K*, ed. by Marc Honegger (Paris: Bordas, 1970, 2nd ed., 1993) 373 (unsigned).
- ≈ I shall refer also to my own article in the second edition of *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 8, 304. In the mid-1990s I was asked to update the earlier article by Jampol'skij, but the entry became practically a new article and was published under my name. The result would probably have been different if I had started writing a new entry from scratch. The first edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* did not have an entry about Ernesaks, and the second edition includes my own article based on the entry in Grove 2001.

With the exception of my own, written after the fall of the Soviet Union, all articles are based on information distributed in Russian by the Sojuz Kompozitorov SSSR. The author of the entry in the *Muzikal'naja ěnciklopedija* is an Estonian, Avo Hirvesoo (and we find there fewer factual errors), but the design and the style of the article follow Soviet lexicographic standards.

Let us see how these sources present Ernesaks. All sources calling him Gustav Gustavoviĉ follow the Russian tradition of addressing people by their first name and patronymic. Estonians have never followed this tradition. Another mistake originated in the translation from Russian of the name of his birth place. While the German and French dictionaries give the name of the village correctly as Perila, the 1980 Grove gives it as Peril. The final *a* is a common declination ending in the Russian language, which might have been a reason that the translator of Jampol'skiĵ's article omitted it.

Following the established value system of the time, all Western sources first discuss Ernesaks's work as a composer. Translating from secondary sources, the French dictionary presents him as an orchestral conductor, although Ernesaks avoided conducting orchestras; his field was *a cappella* choral music. The phrase "Artiste de l'Union soviětique (1947)" is also imprecise, since he received this title in 1956; in 1947 he was awarded the title of People's Artist of the Estonian SSR. The Soviet dictionary lists his titles and membership in governmental bodies in the first sentence. Although not directly stated, we learn there also that Ernesaks was not a member of the Communist Party; if he were, it would certainly have been mentioned.

Table 1. WHO WAS GUSTAV ERNESAKS?

Grove (1980)	Ernesaks, Gustav Gustavovich	<i>b</i> Peril, 12 Dec 1[90]8	Estonian composer and conductor
Opera Grove (1992)	Ernesaks, Gustav Gustavovich	<i>b</i> Peril, 12 Dec 1908	Estonian composer
<i>Muzikal'naja ěnciklopedija</i> (1982)	Ernesaks, Gustav Gustavoviĉ	born 29. XI (12. XII) 1908, Perila, near Tallinn	Soviet choral conductor and composer, People's Artist of the SSSR (1956), Hero of Socialist Labor (1974), Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the ESSR of the 4th–7th assembles
Riemann (1972)	Ernesaks, Gustav Gustavoviĉ	*29.11. (12. 12.) 1908 zu Perila (Kreis Harjumaa, Estland)	estnisch-sowjetischer Komponist
Honegger (1970, 1993)	Ernessaks, Gustav Gustavovitch	*Perila (Estland) 12. 12. 1908	comp. et chef d'orch. estonien. Artiste de l'Union soviětique (1947)
Grove (2001)	Ernesaks, Gustav	<i>b</i> Perila, Harjumaa, 12 Dec 1908; <i>d</i> Tallinn, 24 Jan 1993	Estonian choral conductor and composer

Now let us compare the different entries with regard to what each considers to be his more important activities. Most articles mention that he was an important conductor, but there are different opinions about his achievements as a choral leader. When Ernesaks studied at the Tallinna Konservatoorium no class in choral conducting was offered, and aspects of directing a chorus were included in the department of music education, from which Ernesaks graduated in 1931. Its final exam included both music and pedagogical subjects. After that Ernesaks continued studies in composition, working at the same time as a music teacher and a conductor of several amateur choruses. Later in his artistic

life, conducting choruses and organizing choral life was always more important than composing—thus, it is incorrect to mention only his composition studies. If studies in music teaching are not worth recording, then it would be better to skip all his studies than to leave an impression that his main education was in composition. All dictionaries agree that he has conducted important choruses, but they differ in appreciating his activities with professional choruses and his role as leader of the amateur choral movement. For the Estonian writer Avo Hirvesoo, writing in *Muzikal'naja ènciklopedija*, that he was the leader of the Song Festivals was important. The German dictionary changed that function into a more familiar term: “Vorsitzender des Estnischen Sängerbunds”. In fact, amateur Estonian choral societies, wide-spread during the first half of the 20th century, were forbidden as independent entities by the Soviet authorities; choruses were affiliated then with schools, collective farms, or factories. While for Estonians the first thing to remember about Ernesaks is his leadership of the nationwide Estonian choral movement, for compilers of international dictionaries, amateur music making was not important. The 1980 *New Grove* does not find it important to mention the choral movement, although Ernesaks’s short-term occupation as a choral conductor at the ENSV Riiklikud Kunstiansamblid (State Artistic Ensembles of the ESSR) in 1942–44 is mentioned. That is a clear political choice: Artists who were active in the Soviet Union during the war created a firm foundation for their future careers, which were always mentioned later in their official records.

When the war broke out in 1941 Ernesaks was drafted into the Soviet Army. Later, musicians, actors, writers, and other artists were brought to Jaroslavl to create the State Ensembles. A unique fact about Ernesaks is that, having received a request to establish a professional chorus at the Eesti NSV Riiklik Filharmonia (State Philharmonic of the Estonian SSR) in 1944, he decided that the ensemble should be a men’s chorus. In a relatively short time his chorus achieved remarkably high performing standards. Most of the singers were not trained as professional musicians, and the greater part of the repertoire came from the old pre-war men’s singing tradition. In 1952 the chorus was renamed the Eesti NSV Riiklik Akadeemiline Meeskoor (The State Academic Men’s Chorus of the Estonian SSR).⁴ However, the German dictionary omitted his work with this chorus. Most probably, for the German musical imagination, “Vorsitzender der Estnischen Sängerbunds” is representative of everything related to men’s choruses, not normally considered part of a professional musical life. The French dictionary omitted his relation to the choral movement as well as the fact that his group was a men’s chorus, probably because, again, these activities refer to amateur musical life. We may ask why all other entries except *Muzikal'naja ènciklopedija* have forgotten his pre-war professional career and start their surveys with the 1940s, but I would not give that political significance. Certainly there was a tendency to diminish the achievements of Estonian musical life before the Soviet period, and we can track it in some other writings, but Ernesaks became an outstanding figure only in the Soviet period. My own article has skipped the earlier years as well in order to focus on the Soviet period. Finally, it is not quite clear why Jampol’skij in the 1980 *New Grove* does not mention his professorship. Rewriting the article for the new edition, I decided not to bring this up because I preferred to use the limited space for writing about Eesti Üldlalupeod (Estonian Song Festivals) and Ernesaks’s role as the leader of the national choral movement.

⁴ It is now called the Eesti Rahvusmeeskoor (Estonian National Men’s Chorus).

Table 2. GUSTAV ERNESAKS AS A MUSICIAN

	Studies	Achievements as a conductor as a leader of the national choral movement	... as a professor of music (choral conducting)
Grove (1980)	Composition	... and was conductor of the choir of the Estonian State Artistic Ensemble (1942–1944). In 1944 he formed, and has since directed, the first professional choir of the Tallinn Philharmonic, now known as the Men's Academic State Choir of the Estonian SSR; under his direction it has become one of the best Soviet choral groups, distinguished by authentic national character, wide tonal and dynamic range and immaculate technique.		
Opera Grove (1992)	Composition	... in 1944 formed the first professional choir of the Tallinn Philharmonic; under his direction it became one of the best Soviet choral groups.		
<i>Muzikal'naja enciklopedija</i> (1982)	Music pedagogy and composition	Choral conductor since the 1930s, conducted the choruses of the Estonian Art Ensembles in Jaroslavl during the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945. The founder of the Academic Men's Chorus of the ESSR (1944), the artistic leader and chief conductor of this prominent choral group.	The main conductor of the all-republic song festivals of the ESSR (since 1947).	Teaches at the Tallinn Conservatory (since 1937, professor since 1945). Among his students are the choral conductors K. Areng, J. Variste, O. Oja.
Riemann (1972)	Musikpädagogik und Komposition		... ist gegenwärtig Vorsitzender des Estnischen Sängerbunds ...	Er wurde 1937 Lehrer am Konservatorium Tallinn (1944 Dekan, 1946 Professor) ...
Honegger (1970, 1993)		C'est un chef de choeurs important de la République d'Estonie		... il a été professeur au Cons. de Tallinn
Grove (2001)		1944 formed the State Academic Men's Choir (now the Estonian National Men's Choir), the first professional concert choir in Estonia. Under his direction (until his retirement in 1975), the ensemble became one of the best Soviet choral groups and a true representative of Estonian music.	As reviver of the Estonian choral movement under the Soviet regime and as a long-time leader in Estonian music, Ernesaks also served as chief conductor at the Song Festival in Tallinn, an event held every five years.	

Most writings introduced Ernesaks primarily as a composer, but in presenting his compositions there is even more distortion than in his biography: Entries give most space to his operas, mention some of his cantatas or cycles of songs (as if they were large-scale compositions), and in the end add that he has composed many popular songs. Actually his most important compositions are some of his numerous choral songs, which are still performed frequently, while his operas are completely forgotten. Evidently the fact that he composed the music of the Soviet Estonian anthem was something extraordinary to be mentioned. If Ernesaks was primarily a composer, it would have been normal to observe his large-scale compositions first and only then to speak of his songs. But his more important occupation was that of a choral conductor, and like many of his colleagues, he composed mostly works for his own choruses. His favorite concert programs were carefully selected sets of *a cappella* songs, and he avoided conducting large-scale works for voices and orchestra (he did not conduct his operas himself). A *cappella* song was the genre he really mastered as a composer. Trying to resolve the problem of how to present his compositions in the 2001 *New Grove*, I considered most important the fact that some of his songs have become extremely popular. One title I even included in the main text. However, in the works list I had to follow the uniform format of listing his stage works first, then the cycles and a selection of the more complex choral compositions, concluding with the phrase “many other choral works, solo songs and songs for children”, although compositions belonging to “other works” is the music for which he is famous.

The fantastic orthography of some work titles as they appear in encyclopedias is the result of multiple translations and transcriptions from Estonian to Russian and then from Russian to English, German, or French. The orthography and language of titles is a larger problem in the works lists than in the biographical parts of entries. The 1980 *New Grove*, for example, gives the title of Ernesaks’s opera incorrectly as *Pyukhayarvn* (instead of *Pühajärv*), and the date of composition as 1947 (instead of 1946).

The selection of Ernesaks’s titles and prizes included in the analyzed articles seems somewhat incidental. The Soviet hierarchy of official titles and prizes was complex and, evidently, it was puzzling to foreign editors when they were making decisions about which of them to cut out. In Jampol’skij’s article in the 1980 *New Grove* only Ernesaks’s title of People’s Artist of the ESSR is mentioned and not the much higher title of People’s Artist of the USSR. The original article might have listed more titles and awards, but in shortening the entry the editor removed one title without understanding its true significance. “Lenin Prizewinner”, mentioned in the *New Grove* entry, certainly refers to the highest state prize in the USSR—the Lenin prize—that Ernesaks received in 1970. It was considered something like a Soviet version of the Nobel prize and higher than the Stalin prize, which Ernesaks received in 1947 and 1951. (The Stalin prize was referred to as the state prize in later records). The Honegger dictionary omitted some his prizes, listing only his 1947 title of People’s Artist of the ESSR, the 1956 title of the People’s Artist of the USSR, and the last of his two Stalin (state) prizes, omitting also the more important Lenin prize.

We may ask whether Ernesaks received the titles and prizes for his compositions or for his performances. The Stalin prize in 1947 was given to him for the opera *Pühajärv*, in 1951 for the opera *Tormide rand* (The coast of storms), and the Lenin prize was given to him in 1970 for the compositions for—and a series of concert programs with—the Riiklik Akadeemiline Meeskoor. Titles like People’s Artist were more often given to performers.

Table 3. ERNESAKS AS A COMPOSER

	Choral (vocal) music	Operas, theater, and film	Prizes, recognition
Grove (1980)	... and choral works ...; a cantata, <i>The Horn of Battle</i> , based on an Estonian folk epic, and more than 200 choral works. A suite <i>How the Fishermen Live</i> , many songs ... have become widely popular.	Ernesaks is also a talented composer of stage ... works including the operas <i>Pyukhayarvn</i> (1947); <i>The Edge of the Storm</i> (1949); <i>Hand in Hand</i> (1955), revised as <i>Mikhail i Mari</i> (1965); <i>Baptism of Fire</i> (1957); <i>The Bridegroom of Mulgimaa</i> (1960); ... and his music for theater and films have become widely popular.	... is a People's Artist of the Estonian SSR, and a Lenin Prizewinner.
Opera Grove (1992)	... and choral works, songs ...	Ernesaks is also a talented composer of stage and ... music for the theater and films.... Ernesaks's style evolved gradually as he perfected his stage technique and operatic language; he created individual roles for both recitative and orchestra. He did not however transcend the limits of his chosen form: traditional, realistic opera, with a succession of musical numbers that use leitmotifs as a structural basis. Choral episodes, in a heroic style or depicting everyday life, are prominent; they are frequently based on folk elements.	
<i>Muzikal'naja enciklopedija</i> (1982)	His main field of composition is the choral genres. The author of the music for the state anthem of the ESSR (confirmed in 1945).	[Operas listed in Works]	Lenin Prize (1970), State Prizes of the USSR (1947, 1951), State Prizes of the ESSR (1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1959, 1965).
Riemann (1972)	Orchesterkantate <i>Sõjasarv</i> ("Kriegshorn", 1943); mehrere Kantaten a cappella und mehr als 200 Chorlieder. E. ist Komponist der estnischen Staatshymne.	Opern <i>Pühajärv</i> ("Heiligensee", Tallinn 1946), <i>Tormide rand</i> ("Strand der Stürme", 1949), <i>Käsikäes</i> ("Hand in Hand", 1955), <i>Tuleristsed</i> ("Feuertaufer", 1956) und <i>Vigased pruudid</i> ("Bräute mit Fehlern", 1959)	
Honegger (1970, 1993)	Il est l'auteur de l'hymne national estonien.	[Operas listed in Works]	Artiste de l'Union soviétique (1947) ... et lauréat du Prix d'État (1951) ...
Grove (2001)	Several of his own songs, such as <i>Mu isamaa on minu arm</i> ('My Fatherland, My Love'), have become popular and his more complex choral works are often performed.	His operatic compositions take the form of realistic number operas featuring simple music, often based on folk elements.	

Finally, let us see how Ernesaks was introduced to Estonian readers. A small book surveying his life and works was written by his colleague and former student Artur

Vahter, who was Ernesaks's assistant conductor at the Riiklik Akadeemiline Meeskoor from 1947 to 1956, and in the 1950s taught the course on music history at the Tallinn conservatory. It was published in 1959 and evidently planned for the 50th birthday of Ernesaks in December 1958. Its abridged version, translated into Russian, appeared in Moscow in 1961.⁵ The Russian version served also as a bibliographic source for some of the articles we have analyzed above. Vahter's book follows traditional models of narratives about composers, which can be seen in the following table listing its chapters and the number of pages devoted to each subject.

Table 4. ARTUR VAHTER, *GUSTAV ERNESAKS*

Contents	Estonian edition (no. of pages)	Russian edition (no. of pages)
1. Preface	1	none
2. Parents and childhood	4	merged with chapter 3
3. School years	3	3
4. In the conservatory	7	3
5. In the field of professional work	6	3
6. The first years of the Soviet rule	4	3
7. At cultural reconstruction work after the war	1	merged with chapter 8
8. G. Ernesaks as the main conductor of the Song Festivals	5	3
9. G. Ernesaks and the Riiklik Akadeemiline Meeskoor	16	8
10. G. Ernesaks as a professor	4	4
11. Compositions from the period of the bourgeois regime	9	7
12. Compositions from the time of the Great Patriotic War	6	4
13. Choral compositions from the after-war period	17	12
14. Cyclic works	10	8
15. Solo songs	6	omitted
16. Operas	[total of 58]	[total of 46]
<i>Pühajärv</i> [The sacred lake]	11	8
<i>Tormide rand</i> [The coast of storms]	13	9
<i>Käsikäes</i> [Hand in hand]	11	7
<i>Tuleristsed</i> [The baptism of fire]	12	10
Conclusions	11	12
17. Conclusion	1	1
Works	Omitted	8

In writing a historical survey there are different evaluative processes at work. One of them is the number of pages devoted to each chapter: More important subjects are discussed in greater length. The order in which issues are presented (if not strictly chronological) also establishes a hierarchy. Usually the more important topics come earlier in the discourse. This book mixes different principles of presenting the material: thematic chapters (biography, activities, works) are combined with chronological

⁵ Artur Vahter, *Gustav Ernesaks*. Eesti Heliloojaid (Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 1959; abridged Russian translation, Moskva: Sovetskyj Kompozitor, 1961).

dispositions (pre-war period, war-time, post-war period), and compositions are observed in groups according to genres (choral songs, cycles, solo songs, operas). The structure of the book suggests the preferences or value judgments of the writer. Operas received the most space, projecting a notion that they are the most important issue for discussion (58 pages). The description of choral music is divided chronologically and generically between chapters 11 and 14. Altogether those chapters occupy 42 pages. The amount of music introduced there is immeasurably larger and more interesting than the operas. In the abbreviated Russian version, the proportions of chapters remained the same. Those proportions are an outcome of Vahter's way of dealing with music, which was common in Estonian writings at the time. A lengthy description of the plots takes up most of the space in the section on operas, while music is described in a general sense with few music examples. The chapter on operas begins with the following statement:

Gustav Ernesaks would never have become a creator of operas, if he did not feel responsibility to people; the feeling common to all those composers who have passed through the school of ideological and artistic development in the demanding survival tests of the Great Patriotic War. He realized that it is not possible to satisfy the improved cultural needs of people only with choral songs and attempted to apply all his creative strength for resolving the great tasks confronting the Soviet community.

This awkward introduction is very different from the initial paragraphs of Vahter's chapters dealing with Ernesaks's choral compositions: Writing choral songs had been a natural part of his creative work since the 1930s; they did not need any "awakening" forces. When he was composing his first opera in 1946, Ernesaks had neither earlier experiences of orchestral writing nor contact with theater. The best known of his operas is *Tormide rand* (1949), which tells a story about the conflict between coastal villagers and a local German baron in which the villagers are supported by the captain of a Russian ship that has crashed into a rock near the coast. The plot was clearly political: a Russian leader coming to support Estonians in their fight against German barons. This opera was presented in Moscow and received the Stalin prize in 1951.

Ernesaks's former colleagues and students seem to remember best his everyday work with choruses and the sound of his men's chorus in the 1950s and early 1960s. They all remember its unique well-balanced, soft, deep, lyrical sound. Although some remarkable recordings conducted by Ernesaks have survived, his live performances convey a tone quality that was particularly enchanting. The Riiklik Akadeemiline Meeskoor became famous in Russia also, and several prominent composers wrote for it. Chapters dedicated to the Riiklik Akadeemiline Meeskoor in Vahter's book describe its founding, survey the important concerts and tours, but this, his most important life-long work, got only half the number of pages as did the presentation of his now forgotten operas. Chapters introducing the Song Festivals (five pages), the Meeskoor (16 pages), and his teaching (four pages) come to a total of only 25 pages. We may add here chapters 5 and 6 (ten pages) dealing with his choral activities before the war, but this still does not correct the balance.

In the 1950s when Artur Vahter wrote his book, it was not yet possible to use sound recordings as a source for investigating music history, although recordings and sound archives already existed. Today's technology has made sound recordings easily accessible, and contemporary researchers can study performance practice using them in addition to concert programs and reviews as source material. Ernesaks's recording

of his song *Lauliku talveüksindus* (The winter loneliness of a poet) was made at the Estonian Radio in 1959. The song is extremely slow and reveals his ability to sustain tension, to bring out nuances in the texture and articulation. It also shows how Ernesaks was a master of the *Liedertafel* style both as a conductor and a composer. However, within the value system of written Estonian music history, any association with *Liedertafel* style would immediately suggest the influence of low German music, bad taste, sentimentalism, primitive and conservative musical language. Artur Vahter would never have said anything like that about Gustav Ernesaks, his great teacher and one of the icons of Estonian music.

Though Ernesaks was an important figure in Estonian musical life, this was not so self-evident in writings about him, which followed the rules of traditional writings on music history. His importance in music history can be shown in two different ways: either by adjusting his portrait to the existing conventions of writing on music; or to expand the scope of music history by bringing musical life closer to the center of our attention, and including in the discourse amateur music-making and its leaders. Recent changes in the writing style of music history allows us to take the latter view. Ernesaks's biographers in his own lifetime tried to adjust his portrait to the conventions of music history and presented him as a creator of several operas. This distortion is not so evident in Estonian writings, since the role of the choral movement in the formation of the national culture is a recognized element of the Estonian historical narrative, and the prestige of choral music is higher than in many European countries. But even in Estonian writings Ernesaks's operas are often presented as important masterpieces only because of their genre, revealing that the writer of a survey is following the conventions of general music history rather than reflecting on the particular subject.

PERIODICALS

THE ALLGEMEINE MUSIKALISCHE ZEITUNG: CRADLE OF MODERN MUSICOLOGY

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The venerable *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (*AmZ*), which bestrode the literate German-speaking musical world in the first half of the 19th century like a true colossus, is a source more than just familiar to musicologists. Reviews of published music from the *AmZ*, and reports on live performances throughout Europe, are regularly cited in scholarly research—a recent full-text search on JSTOR produced 611 hits—and some items that appeared there, like E.T.A. Hoffmann’s Beethoven reviews, have attained iconic status.¹

It is also fair to say, though, that this source has been tapped mainly for evidence of historical attitudes and documentation of the concert life of the past. Of 166 primary sources cited in David Gramit’s recent book *Cultivating music*, for example, 57 are from the *AmZ*, while most of the rest come from other, less prominent, journals of the early 19th century.² Gramit also makes the interesting observation, however, that: “Examining these documents has made me keenly aware not only of their formative influence on the field of musicology but also of the extent to which the project they delineate has shaped my own understandings of music.”³

For those of us heavily invested in musicology, it may seem self-evident that the way we understand music is inextricably bound together with the field and with its history. For many, the wish that Gramit then expresses to loosen their hold on our musical imaginations may seem self-evident as well. What I intend to do here, though, is to present not an ideological analysis of the *AmZ*’s contents, but a formal one. Excluding the more familiar reviews and concert reports, I will concentrate on the essays, which appeared in nearly every issue under a variety of titles such as *Abhandlungen*, *Theoretische Aufsätze*, *Biographische Nachrichten*. These essays were not peer-reviewed, and their writers usually did not hold advanced degrees or tenured positions. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest

¹ The search was conducted 16 May 2005 using the Advanced Search function. The exact phrase “Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung” was searched in the full text of all 32 music journals included in JSTOR.

² David Gramit, *Cultivating music: The aspirations, interests, and limits of German musical culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 241–50.

³ *Ibid.*, x.

that the topics they chose to write about are surprisingly close to those now covered in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, or in a half-dozen more specialized journals devoted to the various subdisciplines of early-21st-century musicology. The *AmZ*, in other words, was the prototype of a modern musicology journal.

Let me digress briefly and point out that the same could be said about other more short-lived publications of two centuries ago. Taken together, the Berlin and Viennese *AmZs* and *Caecilia* provide a comparable trove of proto-musicological writing. I have chosen to focus on the first eight years of the *AmZ* (1798–1806) because its weekly issues constitute a historical watershed. By its very permanence, the *AmZ* established that there was an ongoing forum for this kind of writing, and in the process helped to perpetuate it. Over the past few decades we have seen this happen with the subdisciplines that I just mentioned. As they received their own journals, music theory, music education, and similar fields reached what might be called critical mass status, allowing them to establish academic positions and grant degrees, a process that is now repeating itself in areas like film music and popular music studies. Knowing which was the chicken and which the egg in these situations is less important than understanding that a journal conveys weight and intellectual respectability. The fact that A.B. Marx's tenure as editor of the Berlin *AmZ* dovetailed with his historically significant appointment to the university in that city indicates that the same was true in the 1820s and 1830s.

First, though, there was the *AmZ*. Table 1 lists about three quarters of the approximately 250 essays that appeared in that journal during its first eight years. I have made a preliminary attempt to divide them by subject matter and approach into several broad categories, each of which would be recognized as a subdiscipline of modern musicology. Those that are not listed are the ones that could not be categorized in this way. As a control, I have also examined the articles in the ten volumes of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* published between 1995 and 2004 (table 2), and have found that about the same proportion of them can be placed in one of these same categories. Those that cannot be so placed often span two or more of the categories—for example Simon Morrison's article "Skryabin and the impossible" in volume 51, which combines biography and analytical study—or show a degree of historical retrospection that is only possible in a more mature field. This paper, for example, could not have been written two hundred years ago, nor could most recent studies of reception history, many of which draw on the *AmZ* itself as a primary source. Similarly, articles on aesthetic issues in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*—like Mark Evan Bonds's "Idealism and the aesthetics of instrumental music at the turn of the nineteenth century" in volume 50—tend to scrutinize the ideas of the past rather than proposing ones for the present; the difference is not one of subject matter, but of increasing historical self-awareness.

The subject of my paper, though, is not methodology. If anyone wants to suggest that the *AmZ* articles are methodologically primitive and naively unreflective I will not argue the point, at least for today. What I do want to demonstrate is that, formally speaking, the *AmZ* presents the structure and agenda of modern musicology, making it a turning point—perhaps the decisive turning point—in the intellectual history of our field.

Of course one of the crucial factors in the success of a journal is the ability and intellectual range of its editor, and in this regard I do want to put in a kind word for Johann Friedrich Rochlitz (1769–1842). Rochlitz's foibles have been well documented in recent scholarship. Reading the essays and editorial introductions that he contributed

copiously to the *AmZ*, though, one encounters a probing mind that was well aware of its limitations, and sought in the journal a way to transcend them through the contributions of others. The long article that he wrote on the publication of Beethoven's op. 131, for example, is an extraordinary act of self-confession, in which Rochlitz grapples valiantly with the difficulties he has had in coming to terms with the work, his argument degenerating almost to the point of incoherence under the weight of his compulsive discursiveness.⁴

More germane to the present discussion is an article by Rochlitz in the first volume of the *AmZ* titled "Vorschläge zu Betrachtungen über die neueste Geschichte der Musik" (Suggestions for discussions about the most recent history of music).⁵ In it, Rochlitz points out that there is, as of 1799, an abundance of works dealing with the history of old music, but next to nothing on "der neuesten," by which he apparently means the music of the previous fifty years. Tellingly, he describes the writings on older music, of which his foremost example is Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, as "criticism, in the highest meaning of the word", and suggests that those writing on later music should aspire to the same goal. He writes:

If such a history of music and of the development of a nation, for example the German, in that art, is not to become, as is customary, a history of individual men of distinction, it must, it seems to me, move together with the history of that nation's development generally; or, should this seem too ambitious, at least with the history of the culture of all the arts and of the nation in itself.⁶

Rochlitz continues with a few brief outlines of recent German music and culture, going as far as he is able, or willing, in fulfilling his own specifications. It is clear, though, that his primary goal is to challenge his readers: He is issuing what amounts to a "call for papers", requesting submissions dealing with the history of music in the late 18th century from a cross-cultural perspective that transcends the "great man" mentality he perceived in the writings of his contemporaries.

The response was apparently not overwhelming, since most of the historical articles published over the next several years did in fact deal with older music, if not necessarily with great men. In an attempt to jump-start the process, Rochlitz included in the sixth volume of the *AmZ* some excerpts from Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's as yet unpublished *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*.⁷ Significantly, except for a brief article on Gluck, he avoided the sections of Schubart's work that dealt with individual composers, choosing instead essays on specific epochs in the histories of Italian and German music.

⁴ Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, "Auf Veranlassung von:", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 30 (1828) 485–95, 501–09.

⁵ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1798–99) 625–29.

⁶ "Soll eine solche Geschichte der Musik und der Bildung einer Nation, z. B. der Deutschen, für diese Kunst, nicht, wie gewöhnlich, Geschichte einzelner verdienster Männer werden: so muss sie, wie mich dünkt, mit der Geschichte der Bildung der Nation überhaupt; oder, wenn dies ja allzuweit aussehend schiene, wenigstens mit der Geschichte der Kultur aller Künste und der Nation für desselben, fortschreiten." *Ibid.*, 626–27.

⁷ Daniel Christian Friedrich Schubart, "Aus der Geschichte der italienischen Musik bis auf Jomelli", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1803–04) 230–41 (with an editorial introduction); "Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Musik, von Luther bis auf Kaiser Karl den sechsten", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1803–04) 253–60; "Aus der Geschichte der pfälzbayerischen Schule: Bis auf Vogler", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1803–04) 269–77; and "Aus der Geschichte derjenigen Meister, welche keiner Schule angehörten und auch keine stifteten", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1803–04) 277–79 (Gluck only). The complete work by Schubart was published in Vienna in 1806.

A few noteworthy historical articles were apparently written expressly for the *AmZ*. Perhaps the most intriguing of them is an article on chorale singing in the Bohemian churches of Jan Hus's time that appeared in volume 5.⁸ The author, identified only as "R.R.," examines a 1566 publication with melodies that he determines to date back to 1400 or even earlier. He transcribes them into soprano clef (the music examples are provided in a supplement to the same issue) and furnishes them with a figured bass. He then proceeds to make some far-reaching generalizations about their use of the church modes, which comprise the bulk of the article. In the conclusion, he argues that modern composers should take advantage of the greater flexibility that the modes allow in the composition of polyphonic music.

Although the methodology of this article is transparently flawed, what is important from our perspective is that it is consistently applied. A specific, rather obscure historical repertoire is identified, it is dated on the basis of source study and other evidence, it is transcribed into more recent notation, its procedures are systematically analyzed, and conclusions are drawn about its applicability to current practice. From a formal point of view, the article passes muster as a piece of musicological writing. The fact that the *AmZ* encouraged such writing, while attempting to foster "critical" approaches to music of more recent vintage, is a testimony to its scholarly integrity, even if the results are less than satisfactory by today's standards.

If Rochlitz was disappointed in his search for nonbiographical historical writing, though, the sheer number of articles (45 in all) listed in table 1 under biography makes it clear that this was an overriding concern of *AmZ* authors. Indeed, these formal articles are only part of the picture. The correspondence sections are also rich in biographical information, since they detail the comings and goings of composers and performers both major and minor, frequently interspersing information on their origin, studies, previous activities, and state of health. Though these are not presented in any systematic format, their documentary value is self-evident.⁹

The biographical articles, though, are the real thing: They focus on a single individual and methodically present his or her life and major accomplishments. Sometimes they amount to obituaries for recently deceased musicians, such as the three-column article by "X.Y.Z." on David Traugott Nicolai that appears in volume 3, whose tone suggests that the author was personally acquainted with the subject.¹⁰ Two articles by Ernst Ludwig Gerber in volume 8, though—on Bononcini and Fux—are drafts for the author's *Tonkünstler Lexikon* of 1812–14.¹¹ Both include partial catalogues of the composer's work. In Bononcini's case, this includes "as many of his published and unpublished works as news is to be had of"—26 works in all. The Fux catalogue, meanwhile, is divided by category into *Writings*, *Church music*, *Theater music*, and *Chamber music*.

⁸ R.R., "Ueber den Choralgesang der Böhmischen Kirchen zu Johann Hussens Zeiten", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1802–03) 461–71.

⁹ These sections are one of the main sources for the biographical annotations in Wayne Senner, Robin Wallace, and William Meredith, eds., *The critical reception of Beethoven's compositions by his German contemporaries*, vols. 1–2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999–2001) vols. 3 and 4 pending.

¹⁰ X.Y.Z., "David Traugott Nicolai, Churfürstl. Sächs. Hof-Organist, wie auch Oragnist an der St. Petri und Pauli Kirche zu Görlitz", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1801–02) 18–21.

¹¹ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, "Fux", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8/24 (12 March 1806) 369–75; and "Buononcini", 8/25 (19 March 1806) 385–96. The titles are from the table of contents for this volume; in the volume itself the articles appear under the heading "BIOGRAPHISCHE BEYTRÄGE". These articles did not appear in the first edition of Gerber's *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* of 1790–92, although there was a brief piece on Giovanni and Antonio Buononcini (col. 223–24).

A somewhat different biographical impulse would come to fruition in volume 11 with the publication of Griesinger's "Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn", which itself can best be seen as a kind of musical counterpart to Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*: an anecdotal biography by an acquaintance of the subject, which is at the same time an important source of our impressions about his personality.¹²

It is in its documentation of the lives of minor musicians, though, that the scope of the *AmZ*'s achievement in biography is most evident. Lesser figures—like Johann Friedrich Bärwald and Bendix Friedrich Zink—who do not appear in Gerber, were continually dignified with biographical sketches. Of course these provide invaluable historical source material, but they also give a sense of the intellectual context in which a work like Gerber's *Lexikon* arose.

As table 1 shows, *AmZ* writers also frequently dealt with performance practice, though their contributions usually had more to do with contemporary music than with the music of the past. An indication of their outlook is provided by this phrase from an article in volume 5 on the misuse of tempo rubato: "If a good composer has written an opera, he knows best what character he has placed in each piece and what kind of performance they require. If, however, he has to direct an opera by another, then, if he wants to deserve the name of director, he must have penetrated its spirit to the point that he can say precisely that this is how the master wanted it."¹³ Here is the modern theory of realizing the composer's intentions, which, in this author's view, is what sets off an informed performance from a merely capricious one.

Its appearance in the *AmZ*, though, does not mean that this view was universally shared. Quite the contrary: *AmZ* writers on performance practice frequently called attention to the fact that they were broaching opinions that were either uncommon or innovative, or perhaps both. For example, an article by August Eberhard Müller entitled "Ueber Flöte und wahres Flötenspiel" (On flutes and correct playing of the flute) in volume 1 argues for the incomparable superiority of flutes with several keys over those of even the recent past, due to the greater evenness of tone that they produce, but says that most flutists do not yet understand how to use them. The purpose of the article is to give them practical advice.¹⁴ That advice is seconded by the flute-maker Johann George Tromlitz in an article in the following volume.¹⁵ It was Tromlitz (who was, incidentally, the great-grandfather of Clara Schumann) who introduced the F, G[♯], and B[♭] keys advocated by Müller, and the 75-year-old was already the author of three innovative manuals on flute playing.¹⁶ The one-two punch that these authors deliver can thus be seen as a ringing endorsement of avant-garde performance standards. Tromlitz

¹² Georg August Griesinger, "Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 11 (1808–09) 641–49, 657–68, 673–81, 689–99, 705–13, 721–33, 737–44. This is followed by "Anmerkungen der Redakt. Zur vorstehenden Biographie Haydns" (744–47) and "Nachtrag zur Biographie J. Haydns" (776–81).

¹³ "Hat ein gutter Tonsetzer eine Oper komponirt, so muss doc er am besten wissen, welchen Charakter er in seine Stücke gelegt hat und welchen Vortrag sie erfordern: hat er aber die Oper eines andern zu dirigiren, so muss er, wenn er den Nahmen eines Direktors mit Recht führen will, den Geist derselben so penetrirt haben, dass er bestimmt sagen kann: so hat es der Meister gewollt." Anonymous, "Ueber den Misbrauch des Tempo rubato", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1802–03) 147.

¹⁴ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1798–99) 193–97.

¹⁵ Johann George Tromlitz, "Abhandlung über den schönen Ton auf der Flöte, und dessen wahre und ächte Behandlung. Auf Veranlassung der im 9ten Stück des ersten Jahrganges dieser musikalischen Zeitung geäußerten Anfragen an die modernsten Komponisten und Virtuosen", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1799–1800) 301–04, 316–20.

¹⁶ Ardal Powell, "Tromlitz, Johann Georg", *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

also looks down his nose at the estimable Johann Joachim Quantz, who, he claims, was not enough of a scholar to write his treatise himself, and hence hired a musical amateur for that purpose, accounting for the work's inadequacies.¹⁷

Meanwhile, an article on bowing technique in volume 6 seeks to instruct string players on the differences between modern bowing and that of the past,¹⁸ while one on quartet playing in the same volume argues that quartets should be studied and practiced so as to achieve the highest possible standards of performance.¹⁹ An article on piano tuning in volume 7 complains about the poor general understanding of tuning and the mechanics of the piano, even among those who tune these instruments professionally.²⁰

The clear implication is that these writers, at least, saw the *AmZ* as a forum for controversial ideas and practical advice that might have wide-ranging effects on current performance standards. Far from simply reflecting the preferences of their contemporaries, they were hoping to influence and shape those preferences. Their aims were similar to those of today's scholars in this field, and they were clearly pleased that the *AmZ* gave them a place both to vent and to instruct.

The articles on theoretical topics are perhaps the most derivative of those listed in table 1. Volume 1 contains a series of essays by Justin Heinrich Knecht, whose *Gemeinnützlichtes Elementarwerk der Harmonie und des Generalbasses* had been published in four parts over the previous decade.²¹ Tellingly, the *Intelligenz-Blatt* of May 1799 contains an advertisement from Knecht for the longer work. The appearance of these short excerpts in the *AmZ*, though, was not superfluous, since it prompted reactions by two other writers in the field: the physician Christian Friedrich Quandt and the eminent Abbé Vogler.²² Both expressed admiration for Knecht's work, while supplementing it with observations of their own. Their contributions, in other words, perform a function similar to that of the "letters" or "communications received" sections of today's journals, in which correspondents are often allowed significant press space if a recently published article touches on the subject of their own research. While this may seem a facile comparison, a scholarly journal is still probably the only published forum (apart from the Internet) in which participants in an exchange of ideas are allowed to respond to each other spontaneously at such length. The fact that the *AmZ* provided space for such exchanges thus helped to set an important precedent.

A similar exchange between the prominent acoustician Ernst Florenz Friedrich Chladni, whose *Die Akustik* was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1802, and two other authors, both obscure, occurred in volumes 3, 5, and 6.²³ Chladni's contribution,

¹⁷ Tromlitz, "Abhandlung", 320.

¹⁸ Anonymous, "Ueber die heutige verworrene Strichsbezeichnung", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1803–04) 729–36.

¹⁹ Giuseppe Maria Cambini, "Ausführung der Instrumentalquartetten", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6 (1803–04) 781–83.

²⁰ W., "Ueber das Stimmen der Fortepianos", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7 (1804–05) 617–20, with an editorial supplement continuing to 623.

²¹ Justin Heinrich Knecht, "Ueber die Harmonie", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1798–99) 129–34, 161–66, 321–27, 527–36, 561–65, 593–99. The longer work, subtitled *Das ist: Wahre Art, die Begleitungskunst in Verbindung mit einer vollkommenen Kenntnis aller Harmonien nach Voglerschen Grundsätzen zu lehren und zu lernen*, was published at Augsburg by Julius Wilhelm Hamm between 1792 and 1797.

²² A biographical sketch of Christian Friedrich Quandt (1766–1806) appeared in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8 (1805–06) 609–16.

²³ Ernst Florenz Friedrich Chladni, "Ueber die wahre Ursache des Consonirens und Dissonirens", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1800–01) 337–43, 353–59; J.H., "Einige Erinnerungen bey Chladni's Akustik", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1802–03) 824–27; J.L.W. Kühnau, Jr., "Akustisch-literarische Bemerkungen von E.F.F. Chladni",

which is densely mathematical, is one of the most technically challenging pieces of writing to appear in the *AmZ*.

Also noteworthy from a scholarly perspective is the call by Friedrich Guthmann, in volume 8, for a truly comprehensive encyclopedia of music, with multiple volumes and contributors under a single editor.²⁴ If this work had come to fruition, it would have differed fundamentally from the single-author encyclopedias that proliferated at the time, many of them now notorious due to their authors' undisguised biases.

The articles that I have placed under the heading of *General aesthetic issues* are those that deal with the inherent value of music, and ways that it can be determined or improved. Johann Friedrich Anton Fleischmann's article in volume 1, titled "Wie muss ein Tonstück beschaffen seyn, um gut genannt werden zu können?" (What must a piece of music do in order to be considered good), contains a description of a three-part sonata form prototype, but this is only a small part of an essay that examines all aspects of its title, including the composer's knowledge of the instruments and of what makes an effect with an audience.²⁵

Many of these articles, though, exhibit what might be considered their authors' insecurity about the status of music among the fine arts generally. For our purposes, it is perhaps enough to point to their number—scarcely a volume passed without two or more such articles—and their length—these are among the most substantial essays to appear in the *AmZ*. Clearly Rochlitz considered this a priority, indicating as much with an essay in the first volume in which he divided listeners into four different groups, after a pattern established in reference to travelers in Laurence Sterne's *A sentimental journey*.²⁶ Rochlitz can thus take credit for being the first to broach in the *AmZ* the idea that only one select group of listeners can really hear music in all of its fullness. This fourth group, he said, consists of "those who hear with their entire soul . . . For them, art is a means to the perfection and ennoblement of the race. What scholarship aims to bring about through learning, directed at the intellect, art, they believe, should bring through its representations, offered to the feelings."²⁷ His own evident insight into the issues involved, along with the intellectual open-mindedness alluded to earlier, help to explain why he decided to publish such a seemingly outrageous review as that written by E.T.A. Hoffmann of Beethoven's fifth symphony. Hoffmann, who is often cited together with Tieck and Wackenroder as the virtual inventor of German Romantic music aesthetics, did not appear in a journalistic vacuum. His *AmZ* writings made their way into print because they fit the intellectual context of a sustained conversation on music aesthetics that had been going on unabated for over a decade.

Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 6 (1803–04) 719–22.

²⁴ Friedrich Guthmann, "Encyklopädie der Theorie der Musik: Ein Vorschlag", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8 (1805–06) 463–64.

²⁵ Johann Friedrich Anton Fleischmann, "Wie muss ein Tonstück beschaffen seyn, um gut genannt werden zu können? Was ist erforderlich zu einem vollkommenen Komponisten?" *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1798–99) 209–13, 225–28.

²⁶ Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, "Die Verschiedenheit der Urtheile über Werke der Tonkunst", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1798–99) 497–06.

²⁷ "In der vierten Klasse stehen, oft übersehen, fast immer unbefragt; diejenigen, welche mit ganzer Seele hören. Sie gehen von richtigen Grundsätzen über die Kunst im Allgemeinen aus. Ihnen ist die Kunst eins der Mittel zur Vervollkommung und Veredlung des Geschlechts. Was die Wissenschaft durch Lehren, an die Vernunft gerichtet, bewirken soll, das soll, wie sie glauben, die Kunst durch ihre Darstellungen, dem Gefühl vorgehalten, bewirken." *Ibid.*, 505.

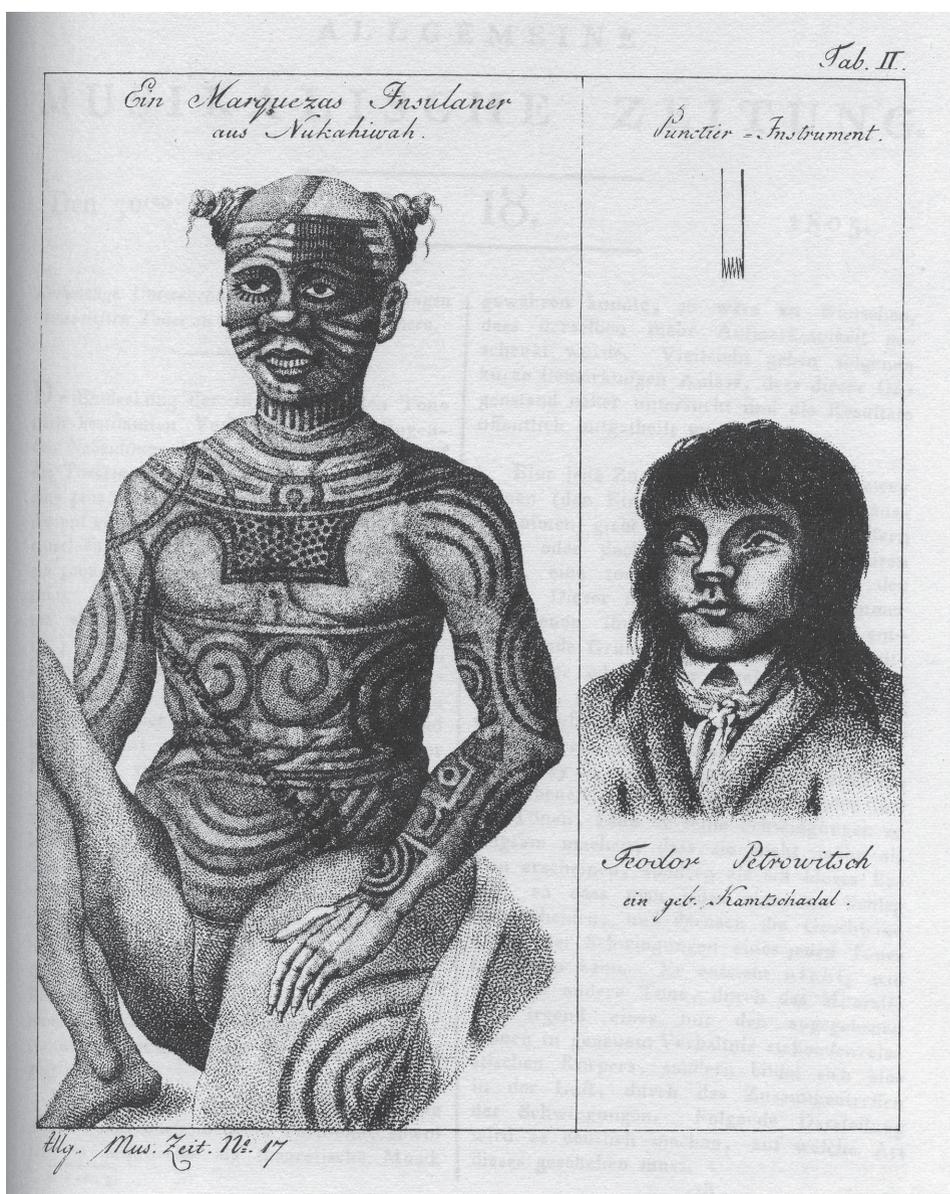


Illustration showing natives of the Isles Marquises and of Kamčatka, included in the article by Tilesius, "Bachia, oder Kamtschadalischer Bärenanz, Nationalmusik und Tanz, und Das Menschenfresser-Lied der Marquesas-Insulaner auf Nukahiwah, ein Nationalgesang", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7 (1804–05).

Most of the other categories listed in table 1 can be dealt with quickly in the course of this formal description. The articles on instruments pertain to those in current use, not those used in the past. Those on national and folk music would hardly qualify as "ethnomusicology", in the sense that we use that term today. Virtually all are written with an innate assumption of the superiority of Western European, Germanic musical culture, but at the same time they systematically acknowledge that that culture is not monolithic, treating the music of each European nationality as a distinct entity.

AmZ authors do go farther afield. An article in volume 7 on the music of Kamčatka, written by a visiting diplomat, speaks condescendingly of a “bear dance” that the author witnessed, which he transcribes into a well-behaved D major in duple meter, complete with bear grunts on accented notes. His transcription of the “Menschenfresser-Lied” from the Îles Marquises, though, presents a very different work: a clearly non-Western piece that unfolds chromatically within the space of a diminished fourth. The article is accompanied by engravings of native performers [fig. 1].²⁸

Medical issues, meanwhile, were an occasional concern, their infrequent appearance (six articles in all) and mainly psychological orientation almost exactly matched by Gayle Sherwood’s lone article on Charles Ives’s neurasthenia in volume 54 of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (*JAMS*).²⁹

In its focus on issues dealing with the history and theory of music, with the biographies of musicians past and present, and with performance practice, the *AmZ* shows considerable overlap with the contents of *JAMS* and other current musicological journals. There is one major discrepancy, though, that was brought to light by the comparison with the ten volumes of *JAMS* described earlier: Over an eight-year period the *AmZ* published 12 articles dealing with music education, while over a ten-year period *JAMS* published none. Of course that imbalance can easily be remedied by turning to *College music symposium* and elsewhere, but its existence is, I would suggest, more than a historical curiosity. The lack of articles in *JAMS* that directly address educational issues is at least partly a result of that increased self-awareness I alluded to earlier, whose absence David Gramit identifies as one of the distinguishing features of early 19th-century writings on music.³⁰ Like most mainline musicology journals, *JAMS* is read primarily by people who are used to distinguishing between the scholarly and the teaching components of their academic “load”. To conflate the two would raise more red flags than a single article could resolve.

That this was not true for the *AmZ* is not simply a function of its larger audience or of the fact that few of its writers held university appointments. Many of them clearly did some teaching, and what Gramit has termed the cultivation of music was at the forefront of their awareness. In a sense, everything in the *AmZ* dealt with music education. Those articles that I have specifically placed under this heading actually deal, for the most part, with some highly specific segment of it: singing, keyboard playing, the instruction of women, and so forth. The passion to take music education seriously, though, was the motivating force behind the *AmZ* as a whole, including the reviews and correspondence sections. Understanding this fact allows us to grasp the limits of the present comparison, but to do so, perhaps, with a note of postmodern self-awareness. For if, like good postmodernists, we seek the history of the present in the *AmZ*, we may find something that looks very much like a mirror image of ourselves.

To resort to a rather broad generalization, early 21st-century musicologists tend to be aware that the world perceives us as elitists, and to be at least a trifle insecure about that perception. Whether or not we wish to address that insecurity in our work—as many now do—it remains a constant subtext, and everything we write works around it

²⁸ Tilesius, “Bachia, oder Kantschadalischer Bärenanz, Nationalmusik und Tanz, und das Menschenfresser-Lied der Marquezas-Insulaner auf Nukahiwah, ein Nationalgesang,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7 (1804–05) 261–71.

²⁹ See Gayle Sherwood, “Charles Ives and ‘our national malady,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54/3 (fall 2001) 555–84.

³⁰ Gramit, *Cultivating music*, 17.

to some extent or another. The ideal locus for musicological discourse is a paper session like this one, and a musicologist who writes or speaks for the public is slumming, no matter how eloquently and successfully he or she may do it.

AmZ writers directed their insecurity in the other direction. Their ideal audience was the public, and this remained true no matter how far they succeeded in elevating the level of proto-academic discourse about music. The fact that such elevation took place, though, is indisputable, and it is for that reason that I feel justified in claiming them as our first forebears in the discipline of musicology.

TABLE 1
ALLGEMEINE MUSIKALISCHE ZEITUNG (1798–1806)

Essays from volumes I (1798–99) to VIII (1805–06) of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* are listed in chronological order under each subject heading. The authors' names have been listed as fully as possible, with those portions not appearing in the text given in parentheses at their first appearance. Roman numerals refer to volumes and arabic numerals to column numbers. Titles included in the bibliography follow the original typography; untitled articles are listed with the title published in the table of contents, which usually appeared in nonitalicized font.

MUSIC HISTORY

- *Etwas über den sogenannten musikalischen Styl* [Something about so-called musical style], (Ernst Ludwig) Gerber, I, 292–97, 305–12.
- *Vorschläge zu Betrachtungen über die neueste Geschichte der Musik* [Suggestions for discussions about the most recent history of music], Fried(rich) Rochlitz, I, 625–29.
- *Ueber die Tonzeichen, nebst Vorschlag einer kleinen Veränderung in Absicht der Benennung der Töne* [On the signs for notes, with a suggestion for a slight change in regard to their names], (Henrik) Klein, I, 641–48.
- *Ueber die Composition der Geisterinsel von Hrn. Concertmeister Zumsteeg in Stuttgart* [On the composition *Der Geisterinsel* by Mr. Concertmaster Zumsteeg in Stuttgart], (Johann Friedrich) Christmann, I, 657–76, 689–711, 785–813.
- *Ueber den Choralgesang der Böhmischen Kirchen zu Johann Hussens Zeiten* [On chorale singing in Bohemian churches in Jan Hus's times], R. R., V, 461–71.
- *Luther über Tonkunst* [Luther on music], Anon., VI, 497–503, 629–33.
- *Schubart über Tonkunst* [Schubart on music], listed in the table of contents as *Proben einer Geschichte der Tonkunst*, (Christian Friedrich Daniel) Schubart, VI, 229–41. Editorial introduction, followed by *Aus der Geschichte der italienischen Musik bis auf Jomelli* [From the history of Italian music up to Jomelli], 253–60; *Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Musik, von Luther bis auf Kaiser Karl den sechsten* [From the history of German music, from Luther up to Emperor Karl the sixth], 269–78; *Aus der Geschichte der pfälzbayerschen Schule: Bis auf Vogler* [From the history of the Pfalz-Bavarian school: Up to Vogler], 278–79; *Aus der Geschichte derjenigen Meister, welche keiner Schule angehörten und auch keine stifteten* [From the history of those masters who belonged to no school and founded none], (Gluck only). Entire article consists of excerpts from the manuscript of *Ideen zur einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, which was not published until 1806.)
- *Rhapsodische Gedanken über die Musik alter und neuer Zeit* [Rhapsodic thoughts on the music of older and more recent times], D(octor?) C(hristian) Schreiber, Eisenach, VI, 349–58.
- *Auszug aus dem Briefe eines Reisenden* [Excerpt from the letter of a traveler], L., VII, 795–98. Comments at length on Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*; advocates for more interest in old music.
- *Bruchstücke zur nähern Kenntniss des heutigen Griechenlands, gesammelt auf einer Reise von J.L.S. Bartholdy, im Jahr 1803–1804. Erster Theil*. Berlin, in der Realschulbuchhandlung [Long review,

with musical examples, of *Fragments toward a more exact knowledge of present-day Greek music, compiled after a journey by J.L.S. Bartholdy, in the years 1803–1804*, Anon., VIII, 274–82.

- *Ueber den Zustand der Musik in Italien, vornämlich in Neapel* [On the state of music in Italy, particularly in Naples]; *Geschichte der Konservatorien in Neapel* [History of the conservatories in Naples], Anon., VIII, 289–97, 502–07.

BIOGRAPHY

- *Verbürgte Anekdoten aus Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozarts Leben, ein Beytrag zur richtigern Kenntnis dieses Mannes, als Mensch und Künstler* [Authentic anecdotes from Wolfgang Gottlieb (sic) Mozart's life, a contribution to the more accurate knowledge of this man as person and artist], Friedrich Rochlitz, I, 17–24, 49–55, 81–86, 113–17, 145–52, 177–83.
- Johann Friedrich Bärwald, Z***, I, 28–32.
- *Nachricht von dem verstorbenen Mr. Henry Carry, dem Verfasser des Textes und der Musik, von: "God save great George our King"* [Report on the late Mr. Henry Carey, author of the text and music of "God Save the King"], Anon., I, 60–62.
- Biographische Nachrichten: Carl Heinrich Kaeserlen (Ueber Käserlen aus Waiblingen) [Biographical reports: Carl Heinrich Kaeserlen (on Käserlen aus Waiblingen)], Christmann, I, 66–72.
- *Christian Gottlob Neefens Lebenslauf von ihm selbst beschrieben* [Christian Gottlob Neefe's life story, written by himself] (with an editorial introduction), I, 241–45, 257–61, 273–78.
- *Einzigste Anekdoten aus Mozarts Leben, von seiner hinterlassenen Gattin uns mitgetheilt* [Various anecdotes from Mozart's life, reported by his widow], (includes the familiar story about Mozart playing his part of a violin sonata from a blank page), I, 289–91, 360–64.
- *Neefe's Lebensgeschichte von seinen hinterlassenen Wittwe fortgesetzt* [Continuation of (C. G.) Neefe's life story by his widow], S.M. Neefe, I, 360–64.
- *Einige nähere Umstände aus dem Leben des am 30sten November 1798 verstorbenen Cabinets-Sekretairs Friedrich Fleischmann, in Meiningen* [Various details from the life of the cabinet secretary (Johann) Friedrich (Anton) Fleischmann in Meiningen, who died on 30 November 1798], Thurecht Fleischmann (brother of the subject), I, 417–22.
- *Einige Tonkünstler älterer Zeiten: Ueber den Violinspieler Lolly* [Various musicians of past times: On the violin player (Antonio) Lolly], X.Y., I, 577–84, 609–13, supplement, 685.
- *Einige Tonkünstler älterer Zeiten: Christoph Schetky der Violincellist* [Various musicians of past times: Christoph Schetky the cellist], X.Y., II, 33–37, 81–87. This is followed by information about his two sisters, Mrs. Louise Kemke and the unmarried Ludomilla, both singers.
- Die Fürstin Juliane in Bückeburg [Princess Juliane in Bückeburg], Horstig, II, 220–23. Princess Juliane was a major patron of music and student of Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach.
- *Einige Worte über den kürzlich verstorbenen Komponisten Domenico Della Maria, nach einem Aufsatz (sic) von Alexander Düval im 4ten St. des Journ. Frankreich und einigen Privat-Nachrichten* [Various words about the recently deceased composer Domenico Della Maria, from an essay by Alexander Duval in the 4th number of the journal *Frankreich* and various private reports], Anon., II, 714–16.
- *David Traugott Nicolai, Churfürstl. Sächs. Hof-Organist, wie auch Organist an der St. Petri und Pauli Kirche zu Görlitz* [David Traugott Nicolai, electoral Saxon court organist, and also organist at the churches of Peter and Paul in Görlitz], X.Y.Z., III, 18–21.
- *I.A.P. Schulz dargestellt von I. F. Reichard* [I (Johann) A (braham) P (eter) Schulz portrayed by I.F. Reichard], I (Johann) F (riedrich) Reichardt, III, 153–57, 169–76, 597–606, 613–20, 629–35.
- *An die Herausgeber der allgem. Musical. Zeitung auf Veranlassung der Recension der Werke des seligen Hofkapellmeister Kraus in No. 1. Jahr 1798, S. 9. 10. 11. 12.* [To the editor of the *AmZ* on the occasion of the review of the works of the blessed Hofkapellmeister Kraus in volume 1 of 1798, pp. (sic) 9, 10, 11, 12], Anon., III, 318–20.
- *Noch einige Kleinigkeiten aus Mozarts Leben* [Several more small items from Mozart's life], Friedrich Rochlitz, III, 450–52, 493–97, 590–96.
- *Ueber Piccini's Leben und Werke. A. d. Französischen* [On Piccini's life and works. From the French], Anon., III, 661–68.
- Ioh(ann) Gottf(ried) Bruwill in Berlin, Anon., III, 693–97.

- *Jakob Scheller*, Anon., III, 705–07.
- B(endix) Fr(iedrich) Zink in *Ludwigslust*, Anon., III, 754.
- *Erinnerung an Faustina Hasse* [Memories of Faustina Hasse], Friedrich Rochlitz, III, 805–18.
- *Joseph und Heinrich Gugel* [Joseph and Heinrich Gugel], Christmann, III, 843, 844.
- *Georg Eginhard, Graf zu Erbach* [Georg Eginhard, Count of Erbach], Anon., IV, 33–36.
- *Christian, Fürst zu Wittgenstein-Berleburg* [Christian, Prince of Wittgenstein-Berleburg], Anon., IV, 36–42.
- (Naumanns Tod) [(Johann Gottlieb) Naumann's death], Friedrich Rochlitz, IV, 112.
- *Madame* (Maria Margarethe) Danzi., K.C., Munich, IV, 124–26.
- J. R. Zumsteeg's Tod [J(ohann) R(udolf) Zumsteeg's death], Anon., IV, 324–28.
- *Erinnerung an Elisabeth Mara*, von Friedrich Rochlitz [Memories of Elisabeth Mara], Friedrich Rochlitz, IV, 465–74, 481–89.
- *Cimaros's Tod* [Cimaros's death], Anon., IV, 606–07.
- *Etwas über den berühmten italienischen Komponisten Niccola Jomelli*. Zur fernern Berichtigung einiger seiner Lebensumstände, und zur genauern unparteiischen Prüfung der Urtheile, die sich in verschiedenen deutschen Schriften über ihn, als Künstler, befinden (Aus Italien eingesandt, und aus dem Italienischen übersetzt.) [Something about the celebrated Italian composer Niccola Jomelli], Anon. (translated from the Italian), IV, 633–37.
- Prof. J.J. Engels Tod [Prof. J(ohann) J(akob) Engel's death], Anon., IV, 687–88.
- Sarti's Tod [Sarti's death], Anon., IV, 766.
- *Johann Brandl*, Christmann, V, 149–55.
- [Obituary for Karl Leopold Röllig], Friedrich Rochlitz, VI, 450–52.
- *Die Gebrüder Pixis in Braunschweig* [The Pixis brothers in Braunschweig], (Karl Gottlieb) Horstig, VI, 565–69.
- *D. Chladni* [Dr. (Ernst Florenz Friedrich) Chladni], (Karl Gottlieb) Horstig, VI, 569–71.
- *Zum Andenken Johann Adam Hillers* [To the memory of Johann Adam Hiller], Anon., VI, 845–58, 861–72.
- *Zur Biographie des am 13ten Oktober 1805, zu Berlin verstorbenen Musikdirektors Kühnau* [Toward a biography of music director (Johann Christoph) Kühnau, who died in Berlin on 13 October 1805], Anon., VIII, 102–04.
- (Johann Ludwig) Willing, Anon., Nordhausen, December 1805, VIII, 254–56.
- *Biographische Beyträge* [Biographical contributions]. *An die Redaktion der allgemeinen musikalischen Zeitung zu Leipzig, von Ernst Ludwig Gerber* [To the editor of the allgemeine musikalische Zeitung in Leipzig by Ernst Ludwig Gerber], Ernst Ludwig Gerber, VIII, 369–75: Fux (includes a partial catalogue of his works), 385–96; Bononcini (includes a partial catalogue of his works).
- Friedrich August Weber, Friedrich Rochlitz, VIII, 430–31.
- Cannabich., Franz Danzi (Munich), VIII, 529–30.
- *Christian Friedrich Quandt*. (geb. D. 17. Sept. 1766; gest. D. 30. Jan. 1806) [Christian Friedrich Quandt (born 17 Sept. 1766, died 30 Jan. 1806)], Anon. Eingesandt [submitted], VIII, 609–16.
- *Herschel als Musiker* [Friedrich Wilhelm (Sir William) Herschel as musician], Anon., VIII, 737–41.

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

- *Bescheidene Anfrage an die modernsten Komponisten und Virtuosen* [Modest requests for the most modern composers and virtuosos], F., I, 141–44, 152–55.
- *Ueber Flöte und wahres Flötenspiel* [On flutes and correct playing of the flute], August Eberhard Müller, I, 193–97.
- *Ueber das jetzt gewöhnliche Aufführen einzelner Opernscenen in Konzerten* [On the now customary performance of single opera scenes in concerts], Z..., I, 481–87.
- *Abhandlung über den schönen Ton auf der Flöte, und dessen wahre und ächte Behandlung. Auf Veranlassung der im 9ten Stück des ersten Jahrganges dieser musikalischen Zeitung geäußerten Anfragen an die modernsten Komponisten und Virtuosen* [About beautiful tone on the flute, and the true and correct treatment thereof. On the occasion of the requests made in the 9th issue of

- the first volume of this musical journal of the most modern composers and virtuosos), (Johann George) Tromlitz, II, 301–04, 316–20.
- *Einige Bemerkungen über Sprache und Gesang* [Several observations on speech and singing], Willehlm Traugott Krug, III, 57–63.
 - *Einige Bemerkungen über den zweckmässigen Gebrauch des Waldhorns. Von Philipp Dornaus, churfürstl. Trierschen Kammermusikus* [Observations on the appropriate use of the Waldhorn. By Philipp Dornaus, electoral chamber musician at Trier], with *Zusatz der Redaktion* [note to the editor], Philipp Dornaus, III, 308–14.
 - *Etwas über das Liederspiel* [Something on plays with singing], Johann Friedrich Reichardt, III, 709–17.
 - *Bemerkungen über die zweckmässige Einrichtung der Wirbel an der Violine, der Bratsche und dem Violoncell.* (Von dem Erfinder der neuen von Seide gesponnen Saiten) [Observations on the appropriate arrangement of the pegs on the violin, viola and violoncello. (By the inventor of the new strings spun from silk)], III, 781–83.
 - *Ueber den Misbrauch des Tempo rubato* [On the misuse of tempo rubato], Anon., V, 145–49.
 - *Ueber die Stimmung der musikalischen Instrumente überhaupt, und der Orgeln insbesondere*, von Knecht. [On the tuning of the musical instruments in general, and the organ in particular], (Justin Heinrich) Knecht, V, 529–33.
 - *Tartini's Brief an Madame B** seine Schülerin.* Padua, den 6. März 1760 [Tartini's letter to Madame B**, his student (Padua, 6 March, 1760)], VI, 133–38.
 - *Bruchstück aus einer noch ungedruckten Methodik des Klavier- und Pianofortspiels von Friedrich Guthmann.* Stufengang des Unterrichts. [Fragment from an as yet unpublished method of keyboard and pianoforte playing. Levels of instruction], Friedrich Guthmann, VI, 407–09.
 - *Aphorismen über Orgelspiel, Choralgesang und Kirchenmusik* [Aphorisms on organ playing, choral singing and church music] Fr(iedrich) Guthmann, VI, 437–41.
 - *Wunsch des sel. Oberkonsistorialraths Silberschlag in Berlin* [Wish of the Oberkonsistorialrath Silberschlag in Berlin], (Johann Christoph) Kühnau in Berlin, VI, 441–43. Reprints a passage from a largely inaccessible work suggesting that organists need to be highly educated about music and sensitive to the role it plays in church.
 - *Ueber die heutige verworrene Strichsbezeichnung* [On our currently confused bowing designations], Anon., VI, 729–36.
 - *Ausführung der Instrumentalquartetten* [Performance of instrumental quartets], (Giuseppe Maria) Cambini in Paris, VI, 781–83.
 - *Wunsch und Bitte an praktische Musiker* [Wish and plea to practicing musicians], Fr(iedrich) Guthmann, VI, 783–84. Asks more people to publish stories about their musical education.
 - *Ueber musikalische Gedächtniskunst (Mnemonik)* [On the art of musical memory (mnemonics)], Friedrich Guthmann, VII, 181–87.
 - *Gedanken über musikalischen Vortrag und Ausdruck* [Thoughts on musical performance and expression], Friedrich Guthmann, VII, 345–47.
 - *Ueber Abweichung vom Takte* [On departures from the beat], Friedrich Guthmann, VII, 347–49.
 - *Ueber das Stimmen der Fortepianos* [On the tuning of fortepianos], W. in F., VII, 617–20, with an editorial supplement continuing to 623.
 - *Ueber Kadenzen* [On cadenzas], Friedrich Guthmann, VII, 649–51. Argues against their widespread use in performance.
 - *Expectorationen über die heutige Musik* [Expectorations on present-day music], Friedrich Guthmann, VII, 773–79. Includes sections on excessive haste in performance of Allegros, musical movement, and dance music; ends with a promise of more “expectorations” in future issues.
 - *Noch etwas über die Verbesserung des Orgelspielens auf dem Lande* [Something more on the improvement of organ playing in the country], W., F., VIII, 187–89.
 - *Ueber Gitarrenspiel* [On guitar playing], Fr(iedrich) Guthmann (dated 14 Feb., 1806), VIII, 362–66.
 - *Noch einige Hülfsmittel zur Verbesserung der Kirchenmusik an kleinern Orten* [A few more hints for the improvement of church music in small locations], W., VIII, 633–35.
 - *Vorschlag* [Suggestion], Anon., VIII, 741–44. Urges composers of piano music to include fingerings.

- *Ueber die Harmonie, von Knecht* [On harmony], Knecht.
 - *Ob die Harmonie in der Natur gegründet sey* [Whether harmony is grounded in nature], I, 129–34.
 - *Ob die Alten etwas von der Harmonie gewusst haben* [Whether the ancients knew anything about harmony], I, 161–66.
 - *Was zur allmählichen Fortschreibung in der Kenntniss der Harmonie im mittlern Zeitalter beygetragen habe* [What contribution was made in the intervening time to the gradual progress of our knowledge of harmony], I, 321–27.
 - *Wie weit man heut zu Tag mit den neuesten Entdeckungen in der Harmonie gekommen sey* [How far we have come today with the most recent discoveries about harmony], I, 527–36.
 - *Ob die Harmonie aus der Melodie, oder diese aus jener entspringe* [Whether harmony arises from melody or vice versa], I, 561–65.
 - *Ob und in wie ferne die Melodie den Vorzug vor der Harmonie habe* [Whether and to what extent melody has precedence over harmony], I, 593–99.
- *Nachtrag zu Knechts Abhandlung über die Harmonie* [Supplement to Knecht's discussion of harmony], (Christian Friedrich) Quandt, I, 346–48. Published under the heading "Korrespondenz".
- *Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste unter dem Artikel Verrückung angeführten zwey Beyspiele von Pergolesi und Graun, zur Beantwortung einer Aeusserung des Hrn.V. Dittersdorf in Nr. 13. D. I. Jahrg. Der A. M. Z. Seite 204 und 205* [On the two examples of retrograde by Pergolesi and Graun given in Sulzer's *Theorie der Schönen Künste*, in response to comments by Mr. V. Dittersdorf in no. 13 of v. I of the *AmZ*, pp. (sic) 204 and 205], J(ohann) A(braham) P(eter) Schulz, II, 257–65, 273–80.
- *Abt Voglers Aeusserung über Hrn. Knechts Harmonik* [Abbé Vogler's evaluation of Knecht on harmony], Abbé (Georg Joseph) Vogler, II, 689–96. An evaluation of the lengthy article *Ueber die Harmonie* in vol. I (see above).
- *Ton und Farbe* [Tone and color], (Johann) August Apel, II, 753–62, 768–74.
- *Ideen zu einer metaphysischen Entwicklung der Lehren vom Takte (in der Musik)* [Ideas on a metaphysical development of the doctrine of meter (in music)], (Johann Karl Friedrich) Triest, III, 3–10.
- *Ueber die wahre Ursache des Consonirens und Dissonirens* [On the true causes of consonance and dissonance], E(rnst) F(lorenz) F(riedrich) Chladni, III, 337–43, 353–59.
- *Data zur Akustik* [Data on acoustics], Eine Abhandlung, vorgelesen bey der Sitzung der Gesellschaft der naturforschenden Freunde in Berlin, vom Abt Vogler, den 15ten Dezember 1800 [A paper presented at the meeting of the friends of the natural sciences in Berlin by Abbé Vogler, 15 December 1800], Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler, III, 517–25, 533–40, 549–54, 565–71.
- *Einige Erinnerungen bey Chladni's Akustik* [Several recollections of Chladni's acoustics], J. H., V, 824–27.
- *Noch ein Wort über den musikalischen Zeitmesser* [Another word on the measurement of musical time], J. G. E. Stöckel, Burg, near Magdeburg, VI, 49–55 (with an editorial introduction).
- *Ueber die musikalische Wiederholung und Veränderung* [On musical repetition and variation], C(hristian) F(riedrich) Michaelis, Leipzig, VI, 197–200.
- *Akustisch-literarische Bemerkungen von E. F. F. Chladni* [Acoustic-literary observations by E.F.F. Chladni], J.L.W. Kühnau jun. Organist bey der Luisenstädter Kapelle [J.L.W. Kühnau Jr., organist at the Luisenstädter Kapelle], VI, 719–22.
- *Encyklopädie der Theorie der Musik*. Ein Vorschlag [Encyclopedia of music theory, a suggestion], Fr(iedrich) Guthmann (dated 14 Feb., 1806), VIII, 463–64. Recommends the creation of a multi-volume, truly comprehensive encyclopedia of music, under a single editor with multiple contributors.
- *Ketzereyen über Generalbass und Harmonie* [Heresies on general bass and harmony], Fr(iedrich) Guthmann, VIII, 593–98. Discusses harmonic irregularities in recent compositions, mostly dealing with voice leading, doubling of voices, etc.

- *Wie muss ein Tonstück beschaffen seyn, um gut genannt werden zu können?—Was ist erforderlich zu einem vollkommenen Komponisten?* [What must a piece of music do in order to be considered good? What is necessary for an accomplished composer?], (Johann Friedrich Anton) Fleischmann, I, 209–13, 225–28. This essay is considered a landmark in the developing awareness of musical form.
- *Die Verschiedenheit der Urtheile über Werke der Tonkunst* [The diversity of judgments about works of music], Friedrich Rochlitz, Leipzig, I, 497–506.
- *Ueber die Tonkunst* [On musical art], Anon., I, 721–27, 737–43, 753–60, 769–77.
- *Ueber den Rang der Tonkunst unter den schönen Künsten* [On the ranking of music among the fine arts], C(hristian) F(riedrich) Michaelis, Leipzig, II, 183–86. States that music's appeal is primarily to the emotions. Suggests that any art gains when combined with others, as e.g., in poetry set to music.
- *Etwas über den Werth der Musik überhaupt, und die Mittel, ihn zu erhöhen* [Something on the value of music in general and the means of raising it], Triest, II, 817–23, 833–41, 849–56.
- *Musikalische Fragmente* [Musical fragments], Franz Horn, IV, 401–08, 417–26, 433–37, 449–57, 785–91, 801–11, 817–31, 841–48. Short essays on the aesthetics of music and its relationship to other arts.
- *Ueber Gemüthsstimmung in musikalischer Hinsicht*. Ein psychologisch-ästhetischer Versuch [On emotions from a musical perspective: A psychological-aesthetic essay], K.W. Frantz, Kollaborator an der Domschule zu Halberstadt [K.W. Frantz, collaborator at the Cathedral School in Halberstadt], IV, 657–69.
- *Aufschlüsse über Musik aus den Werken der Philosophen* [Conclusions about music in the works of the philosophers], Anon., V, 129–36.
- *Gedanken eines Franzosen über die Analogie zwischen Gesichts- und Gehörsvorstellungen, zwischen Malerey und Musik* [Thoughts of a Frenchman about the analogy between representations for the eyesight and for the hearing, between painting and music], E. (sic; probably Christian) F(riedrich) Michaelis, Leipzig, Feb. 1804, VI, 333–38. Cites approvingly some ideas from *Essai sur le perfectionnement des beaux-arts par les sciences exactes, ou calculs et hypotheses sur la poésie, la peinture et la musique* by (Jacques Antoine) R(évéróni) S(aint-) C(yr), published in Paris in 2 volumes in 1803.
- *Bemerkungen über eine Stelle im Intelligenz-Blatte der Jenaischen allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung, 1804. Nro. 13. pag. 99* [Observations on a passage from the *Intelligenz-Blatte der Jenaischen allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, 1804. No. 13. p. 99], J(sic Ernst) L(udwig) Gerber, VI, 549–56. Challenges the idea, raised in the cited journal, that music deserves a low ranking among the arts because of the lack of specificity of its subject matter.
- *Noch einige Bemerkungen über den Rang der Tonkunst unter den schönen Künsten. (Als Nachtrag und nähere Bestimmung zu einem frühern Aufsätze)* [Several more observations on the rank of music among the fine arts (as supplement to and clarification of his earlier essay)], Michaelis, VI, 765–75.
- *Ueber den Geist der Tonkunst* [On the spirit of music], Michaelis, VI, 829–34. Addresses the idea that good music must not just be technically good, but must have a spiritual content, which cannot be precisely defined verbally.
- *Aphorismen* [Aphorisms], C(hristian?) Schreiber, VII, 81–84. Short pieces dealing with music as communication of feeling, tone painting, etc.
- *Einige Gedanken zu einer Erfahrung* [Several thoughts about an experience], D(ocor?) Hohnbaum, VII, 133–38. Ideas on polarity of emotional response, with observations on a recent journey.
- *Ueber die Benutzung der Musik zur Veredlung der Landleute, als Sache des Staates* [On the use of music on the part of the state for the ennoblement of the peasantry], Anon., VII, 665–73.
- *Ueber den zweckmässigen Gebrauch der Mittel der Tonkunst* [On the appropriate use of the means of musical art], Friedrich Rochlitz, VIII, 3–10, 49–59, 193–201, 241–49.
- *Musik und Poesie* [Music and poetry], (Johann) A(ugust) Apel, VIII, 449–57, 465–70.
- *Ein Versuch, das innere Wesen der Tonkunst zu entwickeln* [An attempt to develop the inner essence of musical art], C(hristian) F(riedrich) Michaelis, VIII, 673–83, 691–96.

- *Beyträge zu einer Aesthetik der Musik* [Contributions to an aesthetic of music], Schreiber, VIII, 337–41, continuation promised in the following issue, but it did not appear.

MUSIC EDUCATION

- *Vorschläge zu besserer Einrichtung der Singschulen in Deutschland* [Suggestions for better arrangement of singing schools in Germany], Horstig, I, 166–74, 185–89, 197–201, 214–20.
- *Etwas über den guten Unterricht in den Anfangsgründen* [On good instruction in the beginning grades], Horstig, I, 449–54.
- *Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der gewöhnlichen Singschulen in Deutschland* [Suggestions for improvement of the customary singing schools in Germany], Klein, I, 465–71. With an editorial introduction.
- *Bemerkungen über die Ausbildung der Tonkunst in Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* [Observations on the improvement of music in Germany in the 18th century], Triest, III, 225–35, 241–49, 257–64, 273–86, 297–308, 321–31, 369–79, 389–401, 405–10, 421–32, 437–45. Vom Verf. der Abhandlung: über den Werth der Musik u. s. w., im 48–50sten Stück des 2ten Jahrg. d. Z. [By the author of the paper: On the value of music etc., in nos. 48–50 of the AmZ], listed above under GENERAL AESTHETIC ISSUES.
- *Ueber die Ausbildung und Veredlung des musikalischen Gehörs* [On the training and ennoblement of musical hearing], D. Friedrich August Weber in Heilbronn, D(ocor) Friedrich August Weber, III, 469–72, 485–90, 501–06.
- *Meine Gedanken über den ersten Unterricht im Klavierspielen* [My thoughts on the first instruction in keyboard playing], Anon., VI, 599–601. Number 2 in a series of Miscellen.
- *Einige Gedanken über die Vortheile der frühen musikalischen Bildung* [Several thoughts on the advantages of early musical training], C(hristian) F(riedrich) Michaelis, Leipzig, VII, 117–26.
- *Berichtigung irriger Begriffe vom Musik-Unterricht* [Correction of false concepts in music instruction], M(ichaelis), VII, 601–05.
- *Fragmente eines Briefes von einem in Deutschland reisenden Lehrer des Gesanges* [Fragments from a letter by a singing teacher traveling in Germany], Anon., VII, 605–10.
- *Ueber den Gesang in der Bürgerschule zu Leipzig* [On singing in the middle-class school at Leipzig], Friedr(ich) Wilh(elm) Lindner, teacher at the school, VIII, 145–58, 161–73. With an editorial introduction.
- *Winke über den musikalischen Unterricht der Frauenzimmer* [Suggestions for the musical instruction of women], Fr(iedrich) Guthmann, 16 April 1806, VIII, 513–16. Deals with general musical instruction, not the instruction of virtuosos, whom the author considers to be in a class by themselves.
- *An die Stifter einer neuen Gesangschule zu Heidelberg* [To the founders of a new singing school at Heidelberg], Horstig, Heidelberg, 11 Aug. 1806, VIII, 817–22.

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- *Ueber die vermeynte Schädlichkeit des Harmonikaspiels* [On the supposed harmfulness of harmonica playing], Friedr(ich) Friedrich Rochlitz, I, 97–102.
- *Musterung der gewöhnlichen musikalischen Instrumente* [Tabulation of customary musical instruments], Horstig, I, 372–75.
- *Ueber die durch Glasstäbe andern Körpern entlockten Töne* [On the sounds drawn by a glass rod from other bodies], Dr. Chr(istian) Fr(iedrich) Quandt, II, 321–24.
- *Briefe über die Harfe* [Letters about the harp], Anon., III, 697–701.
- *Knechts kurze Beantwortung der ihm vorgelegten Frage: Was für Vortheile hat sich die praktische Musik von der Anwendung des Voglerschen Systems zu versprechen?* [Knecht's short answer to the question posed to him: What advantages can practical music expect from employing Vogler's system?], Knecht, III, 725–32, 741–50.
- *Auch ein Wort über das Bogenklavier zur Widerlegung und Berichtigung des vom Herrn Röllig im Febr. Stücke 1801 des Journals des Luxus und der Moden hierüber gefällten Urtheils von C. F. A. Kellermann, in Nordhausen* [Another word on the Bogenklavier, in contradiction to and correction of the judgment expressed on this subject in the February issue of the *Journal des*

- Luxus und der Moden* by Mr. Röllig, by C.F.A. Kellerman, in Nordhausen], C.F.A. Kellermann, III, 757–68.
- *Gedanken über des Hrn. Abt Voglers Orgel-Simplifications-System, besonders über die laut einer öffentlichen Bekanntmachung bewirkte Umschaffung der St. Marien-Orgel in Berlin, und deren Verwandlung in ein, seinem Orchestrion ähnliches Instrument, wobey zugleich vieles über zweckmässige Beschaffenheit und Zusammenstellung der Orgelstimmen vorkommt* [Thoughts about Mr. Abbé Vogler's system of organ simplification, particularly on the rebuilding of the St. Marian-Organ in Berlin], Anon., IV, 49–58.
 - *Ueber die Fehler der bisherigen Flöten, besonders der Klappenflöten, nebst einem Vorschlage zur besseren Einrichtung derselben* [On the failings of flutes until now, particularly of flutes with keys, with some suggestions for improvement of the mechanism], Anon., V, 609–16, 625–38, 644–54, 673–83.
 - *Ueber den mechanischen Bau der Violin* [On the mechanical structure of the violin], (Johann Friedrich) Schubert, V, 769–77.
 - *Ueber das Voglerische Simplifications-System* [On Vogler's simplification system], Horstig, Bückeburg, V, 821–24.
 - *Versuch einer nähern Beleuchtung des Serpent, von E.L. Gerber* [Attempt to shed new light on the serpent], J(ohann) L(udwig) Gerber, VI, 17–25.
 - *Fortgesetzte Unterhaltungen über einige im 50 Stücke des vorigen Jahrgangs dieser Zeitung zur Sprache gekommene Gegenstände* [Continued discussion over various items discussed in the 50th number of the last year of this journal], Anon., VI, 138–42. Refers to Horstig's comments on the Vogler simplification system in *AmZ*, V, 821–24.
 - *Vorschläge zur Verbesserung des Kontraviolons* [Suggestions for improvement of the contraviolon], Schubert, VI, 187–91.
 - *Noch etwas über den Bau der Geige (in Beziehung auf einen Aufsatz in dieser Zeitung 5ter Jahrg. S. 769 u. folg.)*. [Yet more on the construction of the violin, in reference to an article in this journal, vol. 5, pp. (sic) 769 ff.], Ernst (later Duke Ernst I of?) Gotha, VII, 49–56.
 - *Einige Worte über Orgeln und Orgelspieler* [Several words on organs and organists], Anon., VII, 341–44.
 - *Ueber Komposition für's Waldhorn* [On composition for the Waldhorn], C.S.(?), VII, 651–53.
 - *Einige Bemerkungen über den Misbrauch der Blasinstrumente in der Neuern Musik* [Various observations on the misuse of wind instruments in more recent music], C(hristian) F(riedrich) Michaelis, VIII, 97–102.
 - *Fortepianos mit Pedalen* [Fortepianos with pedals], Anon., VIII, 565–70.
 - *An die Redaktion der Allgem. musikalischen Zeitung* [To the editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*], John Antes, Fulneck near Leeds, VIII, 657–62. Consists of a letter by the author to the editors of the journal, reporting on his work to improve the hammer of the pianoforte, the violin, particularly in regard to tuning, and the violin bow.
 - (Ungen. über Dietz's) *Melodion* [(On Dietz's) *Melodion*], Anon., VIII, 715–19. The parenthetical information appears only in the table of contents.

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- *Einige Ideen über den Geist der französischen Nationallieder, vom Pfarrer Christmann* [Various ideas about the spirit of French national songs, by Pastor Christmann], Christmann, I, 228–36, 246–50, 261–69.
- *Ueber die Nationaltänze der Ungarn* [On the national dances of Hungary], Anon. (Henrik Klein), II, 609–16. With an editorial introduction.
- *Ueber das Intermezzo der Italiener* [On the intermezzo of the Italians], Anon., II, 865–69, 881–86.
- *Einige Worte über deutschen Volksesang*. [Several words on German folk song.], (Johann Gottlieb) C(arl) Spazier, III, 73–81, 89–94, 105–11.
- *Einige Bemerkungen über die Musik der Türken, zur Berichtigung mehrerer Reisebeschreiber* [Some observations on the music of the Turks, as reported by various travel writers], A.G., T., IV, 17–23.

- *Etwas über Volkslieder*. [Something on folksongs.], C(hristian) Schreiber, VI, 713–18.
- *Einige Bemerkungen über Volksgesang; bey Gelegenheit des Briefs eines Reisenden im 36. St. des 6ten Jahrgangs der M. Z.* [Several observations on folk song, occasioned by the letter of a traveler in no. 36 of the 6th volume of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*], L., E---n, VII, 33–40.
- *Ueber den Charakter, den die italienische und deutsche Musik haben, und die französische haben sollte* [On the characteristics that German and Italian music have, and that French music should have], C. in Paris, VII, 149–55.
- *Ueber einen Aufsatz mit der Ueberschrift: Wollen alle Deutsche Musikanten werden? (in der Bibliothek der pädagog. Literatur, herausgeg- von Guthsmuths, November 1804)* [On an essay with the title: “Do all Germans want to be musicians?” (in the library of pedagogical literature, published by Guthsmuths, November 1804)], C(hristian) F(reidrich) Michaelis, Leipzig, VII, 229–37.
- *Bachia, oder Kamtschadalischer Bärenanz, Nationalmusik und Tanz, und Das Menschenfresser-Lied der Marquesas-Insulaner auf Nukahiwah, ein Nationalgesag, von Herrn Hofr. Tilesius, Mitglied der Krusensternschen Reiseesellschaft, vom St. Peter-Pauls-Hafen auf Kamtschatka, am 1. Sept. 1804, dem Tage der Abreise nach Japan, an seine Freunde nach Leipzig abgesandt.* [Bachia, or Kamchatkan bear dance, national music and dance, and the man-eater song of the Marquesas islanders of Nukahiva, a patriotic song, from St. Peter-Pauls-Hafen on Kamčatka, set by Mr. Court Counselor Tilesius, member of the Krusenstern travel society, to his friends in Leipzig, 1 Sept. 1804, the day of his departure from Japan], (Hofrat) Tilesius, VII, 261–71.
- *Ueber den ehemaligen und jetzigen Zustand der Musik in Wirtemberg* [On the past and present state of music in Wirtemberg (sic)], Anon., VII, 325–33.
- *Gedanken über den Geist der heutigen deutschen Setzkunst* [Thoughts on the spirit of present-day German composition], D. Hohnbaum, VII, 397–402. Preceded by an editorial admonition (Vorerinnerung des Herausgebers).
- *Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Musik in Neapel* [Present state of music in Naples], Anon., VII 557–70, 759–66. With an editorial admonition (Vorerinnerung).
- *Nachtrag zu den, in No. 25. der Leipziger musikalischen Zeitung 1805. eingerückten “Gedanken über den Geist der heutigen deutschen Setzkunst.”* [Supplement to “Thoughts on the spirit of present-day German composition”, in no. 25 of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* for 1805.], Er(nst) Ludw(ig) Gerber, VII, 573–78.
- *Ueber Schottische und Irländische Musik (Aus dem Englischen)* [On Scottish and Irish music (translated from English)], C(hristian) F(riedrich) M(ichaelis) (presumably as translator), VIII, 407–13.

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- *Einige flüchtige Worte über Verbindung der Musik mit der Poesie, durch die Beylage No. XII.* *Veranlasst* [A few fleeting words on the connection between music and poetry, on the occasion of supplement no. 12], Friedrich Rochlitz, I, 433–40. The supplement in question, which appeared at the end of the issue of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* that contained this article, consisted of a German version of Haydn’s “In thee I bear so dear a part”, Hob. XXVIa:33.
- *Musik als Chiffresprache, von Christmann* [Music as coded speech], Christmann, II, 327–29.
- *Musik und Deklamation* [On music and declamation] (Bey Gelegenheit der Preisaufgabe des französischen Nationalinstituts [Occasioned by the award of a prize by the French national institute]), (Johann) Aug(ust) Apel, IV, 129–39, 145–51, 160–70, 177–88, 193–204, 209–16.

MEDICAL ISSUES

- *Von der Singstimme, ihren Krankheiten und Mitteln dagegen, von D. Friedr. August Weber in Heilbronn* [On the singing voice, its sicknesses, and remedies for them], D(occtor) (Friedrich August) Weber, II, 701–10, 721–27, 737–43, 774–80, 785–95, 801–10.
- *Ueber ein physiologisches Kennzeichen des musikalischen Talents.* Nach Hrn. D. Galls Entdeckungen [On a physiological sign of musical talent, according to Mr. D. Gall’s discoveries], Anon., IV, 65–69.
- *Von dem Einflusse der Musik auf den menschlichen Körper und ihrer medicinischen Anwendung, von D. Friedr. August Weber in Heilbronn* [On the influence of music on the human body and its medicinal uses], Dr. F(riedrich) A(ugust) Weber, IV, 561–69, 577–89, 593–99, 609–17.

- *Doktor F.A. Weber in Heilbronn über den Einfluss des Singens auf die Gesundheit* [On the influence of singing on health], Doctor F(riedrich) A(ugust) Weber in Heilbronn, VI, 813–22.
- *Vermischte Gedanken psychologischen Inhalts für praktische Musiker* [Mixed ideas of psychological content for practicing musicians], Friedrich Guthmann, VIII, 81–88.
- *Diätetische und psychologische Bemerkungen für praktische Musiker* [Dietary and psychological observations for practicing musicians], Fr(iedrich) Guthmann, 12 May, VIII, 663–65.

TABLE 2
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- Jeffrey Magee, “Revisiting Fletcher Henderson’s ‘Copenhagen’”, 48/1 (spring 1995) 42–66.
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- Kristina Muxfeldt, “Schubert, Platen, and the myth of Narcissus”, 49/3 (fall 1996) 480–527.
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LEIPZIG'S ALLGEMEINE MUSIKALISCHE ZEITUNG AND THE VIENNESE CLASSICAL CANON

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In his first set of *Skizze von Wien*, short descriptions of everyday life in the capital city of the Holy Roman Empire, Johann Pezzl described the coffee house, where in addition to drinking coffee (as well as chocolate, punch, lemonade, almond milk, etc.) “.. one studies, plays cards, chats, sleeps, does business, talks politics, reads the newspapers, and so on ...”¹ Quite an assortment of newspapers was available in Vienna, especially during the years of relative freedom of the press in the reign of Joseph II (1780–90). The *Wiener Zeitung*, published twice weekly, covered the imperial court’s activities, as well as current events both domestic and foreign (these would become particularly weighty during the French Revolution and the wars with Napoleon), advertising (including books and sheet music), obituaries, and the occasional benefit concert announcement—but nothing approaching the arts section of a 21st-century metropolitan newspaper. There were other Viennese periodicals in an assortment of languages: *Gazette de Vienne*, *Gazetta di Vienna*, and *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, among others. Cultural news, by contrast, came from outside: publications such as the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (Jena, from 1785) and *Weimar’s Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (from 1788).

Music, too, was represented in a spate of German-language magazines from the outside, whose mastheads bore prominent names: Johann Friedrich Reichardt’s *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* (Berlin, 1782–91); Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1782–84 and 1789); Carl Friedrich Cramer’s *Magazin der Musik* (Hamburg, 1783–84); and Heinrich Christoph Koch’s *Journal der Tonkunst* (Erfurt, 1795; two issues only), to name but a few. But despite the intellectual prestige of their editors, these music journals were all short-lived. Thus the appearance in 1798 of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, which would ultimately enjoy a fifty-year run, must have been a welcome addition to turn-of-the-19th-century German cultural life.

¹ Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien* (1786–90) in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and Vienna* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991) 155. Pezzl (11 November 1756–9 June 1823), a Freemason, was secretary and librarian to Prince Wenzel Kaunitz from 1784, then held a position in the imperial Hof- und Staatskanzlei. “Pezzl Johann”, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, ed. by Felix Czeike (Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau/Orac, 2004) vol. 4, 534.

Founded as an arm of the Leipzig-based music publishing firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* printed articles on an array of musical topics: reviews of new music, analytical essays, biographies of important composers both present and past, and reports on musical activity from local correspondents in cities across Europe. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* is thus a significant source of information on reception history, and given the extent of its coverage, was in a position to shape the development (and therefore, the history) of music in Europe. Its initial editor, Leipzig-born and educated Friedrich Rochlitz, commissioned many of these articles from people he knew personally, especially in the journal's early years. In the case of Vienna it is quite apparent that some of these correspondents were not native Viennese, but outsiders from Germany. Thus the "official" story of what was important in Viennese music—its composers, works, most significant compositional genres, and attitudes—was shaped by a North German viewpoint that differed at times from that of the Viennese themselves, and particularly so in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung's* first three formative years, 1798 to 1801.

Leipzig, located in Saxony, was an independent city in the Lutheran Protestant north, with a flourishing publishing industry. Musically its people were accustomed to speaking up and taking charge, hence J.S. Bach's troubles with the city council, but also the foundation of the famed Gewandhaus hall for public concerts in 1781. The original Breitkopf, Bernhard Christoph (1695–1777) had achieved his first big commercial success there in 1725 with the publication of a Hebrew Bible (pointing not only to the presence of a viable Jewish community, but a cosmopolitan, liberal mindset). Two generations later Gottfried Christoph Härtel (1763–1827) joined the firm, in 1795, and bought it outright in 1796. He likewise took advantage of a distinct marketing opportunity, courting Constanze Mozart for the publication rights of her late husband's works. And with Haydn's being a hot property after his two successful English concert tours, he had similar designs on this other Viennese master. Then when Härtel determined to publish a comprehensive musical journal as a "house organ" for the firm, he found a worthy editor in Friedrich Rochlitz.²

Rochlitz (1769–1842) was a product of Leipzig's cultural environment. Educated at the Thomasschule, he had studied composition and counterpoint with its Kantor, Johann Friedrich Doles, who in turn had been a student of Sebastian Bach. In 1789 Rochlitz met Mozart, who was then on tour, and the story according to *The new Grove* is that he felt so inadequate in comparison to Mozart's phenomenal talent that he turned away from music, first to theology, then to writing, at which he proved to be quite accomplished. His translation of *Don Giovanni*, for example, became the standard German-language version of this work, and one of the Viennese reviews in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* contains a very pointed criticism of an "inferior" translation made by the court opera singer Friedrich Lippert.³ Rochlitz appears to have been a very cultivated man who counted Goethe among his friends.

² Hans-Martin Plesske, "Breitkopf & Härtel", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) vol. 3, 251–53.

³ "Kurze Uebersicht des Bedeutendsten aus dem gesammten jetzigen Musikwesen in Wien", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3/3 (15 October 1800) col. 41–51. Unfortunately, it appears that Rochlitz's literary success did not extend to his stage plays, at least not in Vienna. A three-act Lustspiel, *Es ist die Rechte nicht*, premiered in the Kärntner Theater by the court's German Acting Company on 25 July 1803, received only two more performances (27 July and 2 August) after its opening night. Rochlitz's work may have been doomed to unfair competition, however, as Peter Winter's opera *Marie von Montalban* also premiered that week, and a proven opera composer with an exotic setting off the coast of Malibar

Another influential figure in latter 18th-century Leipzig was Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804), who replaced Doles as Kantor in 1789. Hiller had studied law at the University of Leipzig and began to write on musical topics while working in Dresden in the service of Saxon Prime Minister Count Heinrich von Brühl.⁴ He returned to Leipzig in 1762 and nine years later founded the famous Singschule there. He was an ardent promoter of choral music, German singing, and German music overall. His writings for the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* give the impression of someone who was dedicated to improving the standard of singing in Germany (and in point of fact, his anti-French and anti-Italian biases would have placed him at odds with theatrical tastes in a number of German-speaking cities, including Vienna). As conductor of the Gewandhaus concerts (1781–85), and ultimately Kantor at the Thomaskirche and its school (1789–1800), he must have wielded considerable influence in Leipzig's musical circles.⁵

But how does biographical parade lead to canon formation in Vienna?

VOLUME 1 (1 OCTOBER 1798–25 SEPTEMBER 1799). The first Viennese report appeared quite early in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung's* run, in 1/4 (24 October 1798), cols. 62–64, and is simply entitled “Auszug eines Briefes von Wien” (Except from a letter from Vienna):

You know how much I have always been interested in genuine music, especially where church music is concerned. Thus your invitation to examine the things in the musical world which interest me most of all was so agreeable. I wish I could write to you of many pleasantries. But it is sad how poor the choirs [*Singchöre*] have been in nearly all the German cities to which my path has led so far, and I really do believe that ours are better. Overall, I cannot lower deeply enough the opinion you have formed of the taste and love for music (looking at the subject in overall) in this imperial capital. Certainly one hears much, very much music here, but it is a matter of what kind. Music is heard as just one of so many niceties of life, like drinking hot chocolate in the morning, and with as little interest in the nourishment of the one as in the other.⁶ Individual exceptions you will recall without my having to remind you; but here, too, no one asks “Is the composition good?” but only “Is it new?” For example, ask a number of our elegant defenders of art and so-called musical connoisseurs about the worthy old Albrechtsberger: no one knows of his existence! Even the great Joseph Haydn is no less known in the discriminating places of Germany, England, and France than here, in his place of residence. For a long time not a single opera by Mozart has been performed, with the possible exception of *Die Zauberflöte*.... So—overall I have found the choirs to be in poor shape, and I pity how much space it would take to give individual accounts of

may have scored an easy victory over a North German journalist. Österreichisches Theater Museum, *Theaterzettel* 1803, 773.042-D Th.

Rochlitz was no more successful with his second Viennese attempt five years later. *Der rechte Arzt*, a four-act Lustspiel “freely adapted” by Friedrich Ludwig Schmidt, likewise garnered only three performances (4, 5, and 9 October 1808), then was cut from the repertory. Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776–1966* (Wien: Georg Prachner, 1966) vol. 1, 103–04.

⁴ Count Brühl had recommended his Kapellmeister, Gottlob Harrer, as Johann Sebastian Bach's successor in Leipzig. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds. *The new Bach reader: A life of Johann Sebastian Bach in letters and documents*, rev. by Christoph Wolff (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998) 240.

⁵ Anna Amalie Abert, “Hiller, Johann Adam,” *The new Grove*, vol. 8, 564–68.

⁶ The empress Maria Theresa, whose own avocational interest helped underscore music as a prestigious venue of social and domestic activity among the 18th-century nobility, may have had a similar effect on culinary tastes as well. On display in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum is a porcelain coffee and hot chocolate set owned by the empress, and the “Wiener Frühstück,” advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung*, consisted of rolls and a choice of either coffee, tea, or hot chocolate, just as it does today.

them. Permit me instead to express some thoughts on this. In Italy at least one expects the choirs to be terrible, and only the students at the new public musical institutions in Paris might be expected to better distinguish themselves. From whence this evil comes to us, I know not. Do the present-day cantors, Kapellmeisters, and music directors not have enough knowledge, warmth, or application for this good endeavor, now that the old Bach school has died out among them?

Already in this first article, consistent themes have begun to emerge: the superficiality of local tastes; the lack of reverence for “good” music, as reflected in the works of Mozart, Haydn, and Albrechtsberger; the lowness of local performance standards (referring in this case to choral music, but later to be applied more widely); and the need for guidance from outside.

These remarks bear the enigmatic signature “C.”—unusual in that virtually all the local reports would be unsigned, probably on the assumption that anonymity would guarantee objectivity, avoid offending the powerful, and ward off any problems with censorship. “C” is obviously someone who is familiar to the editor (or the publisher), although on a “Sie” basis, rather than “du”, and who is making a tour, although whether as a musician or as a diplomat is unclear. The writer is a champion of North German musical values, especially in respect to choral training, but with a knowledge of both Haydn (now famous as a result of his London tours) and Mozart (whose operas had attracted considerable attention in German theaters outside of Vienna, including those of Berlin and Leipzig). One possibility would be Gottfried Christoph Härtel, if he had been in Vienna recently to discuss business with the widow Mozart. At any rate, a handful of contributors to the first eight volumes of *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* did sign their articles with initials; in volume 1, these include F, Z... , and Z***.⁷ Authors of signed contributions to volume 1 included (Henrik) Klein, (Ernst Ludwig) Gerber, and, intriguingly, (Johann Friedrich) Christmann, who contributed a sizeable handful of articles during the first five years of *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*'s publication.⁸

Christmann, a writer of both words and music, stands out as a logical candidate for “C.” Born in 1752 in Ludwigsburg, seat of the Dukes of Württemberg, he received his early musical training as a flutist and keyboard player, and attended gymnasium in nearby Stuttgart. He published lieder, including a collection of *Vaterlandslieder*, as well as an *Elementarbuch der Tonkunst* (Speyer, 1782–89). With the Speyer music publisher Heinrich Philippe Carl Bossler, he was co-editor of the weekly *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* (1788–90). But in addition to his musical interests, having studied theology in Tübingen, in 1784 he took up a Lutheran pastorate. His so-called Württemberg Hymnbook, co-authored with Justin Heinrich Knecht, obviously combines his musical and religious vocations.⁹ With this career combination it stands to reason that Christmann would be especially sensitive to choral traditions in the German-speaking lands.

⁷ I am indebted to Professor Robin Wallace for this point.

⁸ Christmann contributed a number of articles to the early issues of *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, including “Biographische Nachrichten [Carl Heinrich Kaefelern]”, 1/5 (31 October 1798) col. 66–72; “Einige Ideen über den Geist der französischen Nationallieder”, 1/15 (9 January 1799) col. 228–36; “Ueber die Composition der Geisterinsel von Hrn. Concertmeister Zumsteeg in Stuttgart”, 1/42 (17 July 1799) col. 657–76, 1/43 (24 July 1799) col. 689–711, and 1/48 (28 August 1799) col. 785–813; “Musik als Chiffresprache”, 2/9 (5 February 1800) col. 327–29; “Nachricht. Joseph und Heinrich Gugel”, 3/51 (16 September 1801) col. 842–44; “Biographische Nachricht. Johann Brandl”, 5/9 (24 November 1802) col. 149–55; and “Hermann, ein heroisches Singspiel von Herrn Brandl in Musik gestzt”, 5/19 (2 February 1803) col. 324–27.

⁹ *Vollstimmige Sammlung, theils ganz neu componirter, theils verbesserter, vierstimmiger Choralmelodien, für das*

The second Viennese article to appear was an excerpt from a letter from Baron Gottfried van Swieten dated “end of December 1798”, and published just over a week later.¹⁰ Swieten’s writing is dense and wordy, rather than journalistic (in the modern sense, anyway); his topic, a lengthy essay describing his role in preparing the text for Hayn’s *Die Schöpfung*. He begins, however, with an explanation of his own musical credo:

As far as music is concerned, I am really from the olden days when in order to practice an art, it was considered necessary to learn it thoroughly and properly. There I find nourishment for heart and soul: there I gather strength whenever I see new evidence of the degeneration of Art. My consolation above all is in Händel and the Bachs, but also in the few masters of our own day who wander the paths of those models of tradition and greatness with sure feet; and who either show promise of reaching the mark, or have reached it already. Doubtless the Mozart who was too soon snatched away from us would have attained it. Joseph Haydn, however, stays firmly on the track, and with his latest masterpiece, *Die Schöpfung*, he appears to have moved farther out in front. In this splendid work his exalted genius was not only able to fulfill, but to surpass every expectation.

The son of empress Maria Theresa’s personal physician Gerhard van Swieten, Gottfried was born in the Netherlands (20 October 1733), moved to Vienna with his family at age twelve and was educated there, after which he spent the formative years of his career in diplomatic postings, particularly in Berlin (1770–77). During the reign of Joseph II he rose to considerable power as president of the Court Commission on Education and Censorship, a position from which he was relieved by Joseph’s successor, Leopold II. If universally regarded by the Viennese as a connoisseur and patron of music whose views were influential, he was in some ways still an outsider—emotionally a north German who valued intellect over frivolity or sensual beauty, a man whose eight symphonies in the words of Haydn were “as stiff as the man himself”.¹¹ But his musical opinions carried considerable influence, to the extent that Rochlitz and Härtel soon tried to enlist the Baron’s services as a Viennese contributor on a regular basis (although Swieten declined, claiming that he lacked a knowledge of suitable subjects).¹² Gottfried van Swieten’s aesthetic stance as expressed in this letter can be seen as formative for the Viennese classical canon. He revered the “great masters”, regarded thorough training (rather than superficial awareness) as a prerequisite for the appreciation of music, idealized Mozart and Haydn as models, and clearly was out of sync with frivolous popular tastes.

Nowhere was Viennese popular taste so evident as in the theaters. The Court sponsored two opera companies: one Italian, catering to the tastes of the upper nobility and imperial family (the empress Maria Theresa, wife of Franz II, had grown up in Naples), and one German. In addition there were two suburban theaters which gave musical productions in German: Emanuel Schikaneder’s Theater auf der Wieden (replaced in

Neue Württembergische Landgesangbuch (Stuttgart, 1799; supplements 1806–16). Shelley Davis, “Christmann, Johann Friedrich”, *The new Grove*, vol. 4, 374.

¹⁰ “Aus einem Briefe des Herrn Geheimen Raths, Freyherrn van Swieten”, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1/15 (9 January 1799) col. 252–55. Generally the suspense date between the date an article or letter was written and when it was published in the early years of the journal was quite short, suggesting that timeliness was an important aspect of journalism, then as now.

¹¹ Georg August Griesinger, “Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn”, *Haydn: Two contemporary portraits*, trans. and ed. by Vernon Gotwals (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968) 38.

¹² Letter of 25 March 1801 from Georg August Griesinger to Gottfried Christoph Härtel. *Eben komme ich von Haydn*, ed. by Otto Biba (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch, 1987) 63–64.

June of 1801 by the Theater an der Wien), and the Theater in der Leopoldstadt (today's second Bezirk), directed by Karl Edler von Marinelli. The Leopoldstadt Theater's productions only rarely appear in the Viennese reports, but beginning in 1/48 (28 August 1799), in a letter dated "end of July 1799", the anonymous correspondent initiates the trend of Schikaneder-bashing in a report on the newest operas, most of them by local composers. In the court theaters, the writer liked the "splendid music" in Joseph Weigl's opera buffa *La principessa d'Amalfi* (although it received only four performances that season)¹³ and cited several new German productions in passing: Süssmayr's *Der Marktschreyer* and *Die Liebe im Seraglio*, Paul Wranitzky's *Der Schreiner*, as well as the promise of a new work by Gyrowetz. A new production of Weiss's *Der Jagd* with music by Johann Baptist Schenk "did not please" at all.

When it came to the suburban theaters, however, none of the operas seemed particularly distinctive except Schikaneder's *Der rothe Geist im Donnergebirge* "which had very nice music by Herr [Ignaz] Ritter von Seyfried and Herr [Joseph] Trübensee [Triebensee]". At this point the writer's prescriptive bias begins to emerge. "Overall it seems to me that the public here is finally weary of seeing all these ghost and magical farces in the theater, and longs for a nourishing diet more in keeping with common sense." He then decries five very popular local productions: *Der Alte überall und nirgends*, *Der Tyroler Wastel*, *Die Ostindier von Spittelber*, *Der Sturm*, and *Das Donauweibchen*.¹⁴ With the exception of *Der Sturm*, these were all *Lokalstücke*, set in Vienna itself, and very similar to modern television sitcoms such as *Cheers* and *Frazier*. The country bumpkin Wastel comes to visit his city cousin in Vienna, and the extended family visits the amusement park in the Prater. Plays and operas with exotic Asian settings or elements had been fashionable in the Viennese theaters for some time, and Spittelberg was a neighborhood in Vienna: the location of the old "Spittal", or hospital (predating the Allgemeines Krankenhaus on Alserstrasse), in today's seventh Bezirk. And the "Donauweibchen" was simply a variant of the Little Mermaid story, set on the Danube.

Programming at these two "priviligirte" suburban theaters was aimed to include the middle class, but Schikaneder's offerings appealed to the nobility as well (the empress's mother, Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples, was an avid attendee). Schikaneder offered visual spectacle—lavish sets, costumes, machines—and enchanting music from its local house composers. Magic opera packed the seats and avoided the censor's gaze, while local subjects offered an accessible comic vehicle. But to an editor in Leipzig, from the outside looking in, and addressing a broad German population, these productions probably did seem trivial. They would not have been in line with more universal preoccupations such as social satire in *Le nozze di Figaro* or morality in *Don Juan (Don Giovanni)*, nor did they draw from such elevated, and elevating, topics as the Creation story itself, so significant during a time when Germans in both the north and south were sensing the need to create a nation of their own, in the face of universal French domination in Europe. Thus it was all too easy to marginalize the successful Schikaneder on the "other" side

¹³ This was a revival of a 1794 production, performed five times that year. In 1799 it was presented on 11, 12, 19, and 30 June, and was not heard again in Vienna. Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776–1966*, 2 vols. (Wien: George Prachner Verlag, 1966), vol. 1, 100.

¹⁴ *Der Alte überall und nirgends*, Leopoldstadt Theater; text by Karl Friedrich Hensler; music by Wenzel Müller. *Der Tyroler Wastel*, Theater auf der Wieden; text by Schikaneder; music by Jakob Haibel. *Die Ostindier von Spittelberg*, Theater auf der Wieden; Schikaneder and Haibel. *Der Sturm*, after Shakespeare's *The tempest*, Leopoldstadt Theater; Hensler and Müller. *Das Donauweibchen*, Leopoldstadt Theater; text by Hensler; music by Ferdinand Kauer.

of the city walls, whose productions did not articulate the high art stance of Baron van Swieten and his northern-looking intellectual coterie.

VOLUME 2 (1 OCTOBER 1799–24 SEPTEMBER 1800). In volume 2 there enters a new voice, that of Georg August Griesinger (1769–1845). Born in Stuttgart, he had attended the premiere of *Die Zauberflöte* at the Theater auf der Wieden in 1791. Early in the year 1799, after having completed a master's degree in theology at the University of Leipzig, he came to Vienna as tutor to the six-year-old son of the Saxon ambassador, Count Johann Hilmar Adolph von Schönfeld. Although his teaching duties kept him busy, Griesinger contributed political news to several newspapers, and his friend Härtel kept him occupied as well with requests for musical news. Griesinger served the important function of middleman between Haydn and the Breitkopf & Härtel as the firm sought to publish his works: conveying information from one party to the other, bearing gifts, and generally keeping both sides happy. Härtel commissioned Griesinger to find local contributors for his journal, but a close analysis of the articles of volumes 2 and 3 reveal that his pen was represented there as well. In volume 2, three out of ten articles (2/2, 2/16, and 2/23) include information from Griesinger. In volume 3, the proportion is seven out of 18 (3/12, 3/28, 3/29, 3/32, 3/33, 3/41, and 3/42).¹⁵ Most of the Viennese articles in this volume appear under the heading “Kurze nachrichten aus Briefen”, so were probably compiled from several writers, and range from strictly factual content (who performed what, and where) to evaluative. Griesinger's reporting dates from a letter of 21 September 1799, giving a short, factual summary of a high Mass held in the Italian [Minoriten] Church to celebrate the Austrian forces' delivery of the city of Mantua (on 28 July 1799) which had been under siege by the French since 8 April.

The composition was by Pichl, who also directed. The Emperor was present with the entire court; because of the cramped space tickets were issued, without which no one was allowed entrance. The music pleased immensely, which is not so astonishing in that, among many others, the best singers of the Court theater were performing.¹⁶

“Germanness” and the need to uplift Viennese musical tastes are prevalent themes in Griesinger's contributions, consistent with the general tone in these early years. When he arrived in town, Haydn's *Schöpfung* had received its first private performances at Prince Schwarzenberg's city palace (29 and 30 April; 7 and 10 May 1798). In a signed letter (“Gr.”) of 25 December 1799, Griesinger gave a glowing report of the Tonkünstler-Societät's benefit concert in the Burg Theater on 22 and 23 December, featuring this new work. He cites the work's “extraordinary effect”, exceeding his highest expectations; its “fullness of harmony, charm, dignity, and rich splendor”; its judicious use of tone-painting in several places, which was “thoroughly noble, suitable, and genuine, rather than trivial”. He admired the singing of the three principals: Herr [Ignaz] Saal, his daughter [Therese] Saal, and Herr Professor Breitmayer [actually the lawyer Mathias Rathmayer]. It is interesting to read Griesinger's thoughts on Haydn's conducting, in which he “inspired the numerous musical personnel with the spirit in which the work was composed and needed to be performed. From his anything but excessive movements

¹⁵ These statistics were derived by comparing copy of these articles in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* with identical passages in Otto Biba's compilation of Griesinger's correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel, *Eben komme ich von Haydn*.

¹⁶ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2/2 (9 October 1799) col. 32.

one read very distinctly in every passage what he thought and wanted to be felt." His preference for a somewhat restrained physical manner is notable, for this sentiment returns to the detriment of violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh (3/3) as well as some of the city's leading opera singers. Returning to the subject of German nationalism, however, Griesinger concludes his essay with the hope that "... a work which has brought so much honor to Haydn and the German fatherland will never be disfigured by inept or mediocre execution."

The subject of nationality, combined with the axiom that a prophet is without honor in his own land, returns in an excerpt from Griesinger's letter of 12 February 1800, published in 2/23 (5 March 1800). The article gives a very thorough technical description of a new invention by "Herr Mätzl [Maelzel], a young *Mechanikus* living in Vienna". This mechanical orchestra seems to have been a rather elaborate contraption, on top of which stood four trumpets, flute pipes, along with "a double bellows, triangle, and hammers, which strike on metal strings"; on the bottom were cymbals and a bass drum, which was fitted out with a special mallet to produce timpani effects. Griesinger was clearly enchanted with this fantastic piece of gadgetry, even suggesting that it could be put to use to play music during the intermissions at the court theaters! But then follows the party line: "Herr Mätzl's talent finds inadequate encouragement on German soil, so he will look to foreign lands for this."

Volume 2 covers a lot of ground. As reported in the pages of the new journal, Haydn was now working on *Die Jahreszeiten* [to another text by van Swieten] (2/19). As of 6 August 1800, the Court Theater already had its own production of *Die Zauberflöte* in rehearsal (2/45).¹⁷ These were both newsworthy items, and certainly beneficial to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung's* publisher, who after all was in the business of selling the music of Mozart and Haydn. Beethoven also emerged at this point to join the Viennese canon. He had already been lauded earlier for his excellent improvisational ability, "second only to Mozart, who still remains the *non plus ultra*" (1/33, 15 May 1799). The Bohemian horn player Giovanni Punto (née Johann Wenzel Stich) had given a benefit academy in the Kärtnertor Theater on 18 April 1800. The work that pleased the most was "a sonata for fortepiano and waldhorn, composed by Beethoven and played by himself and Punto". The sonata was found "so distinctive" (an attribute customarily linked with Haydn) that "despite the new Theater Ordinance which forbids da capos and loud applause, the virtuosi were nevertheless persuaded by very loud clapping, when they reached the end, to start at the beginning and to play it through once more."¹⁸

VOLUME 3 (1 OCTOBER 1800–23 SEPTEMBER 1801). All of these trends—Haydn as model composer, the elevation of Beethoven, the vilification of Schikaneder, and a focus on the need to elevate local standards—continue to appear in the third year of Vienna's reports in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. In eighteen articles distributed across nineteen issues, Haydn figures prominently in six of them. His *Schöpfung*, constantly in the press, was performed again at the Tonkünstler-Societät's benefit concerts on 22 and

¹⁷ The premiere of this new production did not take place until 24 February 1801, nearly a decade after its first outing at the Theater auf der Wieden.

¹⁸ On 1 February 1800 the imperial court issued a *Theater=Ordnung*, consisting of 27 separate points to be observed by those attending performances at the Burg Theater. In addition to forbidding such spontaneous encores as the one noted above, it prohibited attendance by dogs and small children and designated one-way streets to expedite pre- and post-performance traffic flow. *Wiener Zeitung* (5 February 1800) col. 396–98.

23 December 1800 (3/15). Two of his symphonies were performed on a benefit concert for wounded Austrian soldiers in the Grosser Redoutensaal,¹⁹ organized by prominent amateur singer Christine Frank (née Gerhardi), assisted by a cast of “superior artists” including several of the court opera singers (3/21).

Griesinger, as might be expected, contributed to the journal’s coverage of Haydn: at least four of the six notices. In his letter of 25 March 1801 he wrote that Haydn’s *Sieben letzten Worte* was to be performed in its “new, complete and masterful adaptation with voices”²⁰ at the upcoming benefit concert of the Tonkünstler-Societät (28 March), and reported that *Die Jahreszeiten* was finished, and would soon be performed at Prince Schwarzenberg’s palace (3/29, 15 April 1801). Then this private premiere had to be postponed, since the singers were all involved in (apparently extra) rehearsals for Lichtenstein’s new opera, *Bathmendi* (3/32). Finally, in his letter of 29 April 1801 Griesinger promises that he will be sending his “essay” on 2 May, and shortly thereafter, billed as “Korrespondenz”, there appears a long article, dated “Vienna, the 2nd of May, 1801”, describing *Die Jahreszeiten*’s text and musical setting (3/34).

It is easy to see how such substantial press coverage could elevate an artist or composer to iconic status: sound is ephemeral, but words endure. Emanuel Schikaneder, on the other hand, continued to be vilified in the press. On 4 March 1801 (3/23) it was announced that Schikaneder would be building a new theater, which would be ready in several months. This was news indeed, for the Burg Theater was small, its acoustics poor, and a new theater suggested greater opulence and technological capability (which the new Theater an der Wien would certainly provide). To counter such allure, though, the contributor adds that Schikaneder’s “latest miserable production”, the magic opera *Proteus und Arabiens Söhne*, was being performed “continuously and unremittingly”. Schikaneder’s music director and house composer Ignaz von Seyfried takes it in the teeth a few weeks later (3/25, 18 March 1801) with the allegation that there was nothing special about his new operas, other than the fact that there was really nothing new about them, and all the roles were “pompous, noisy, and overloaded with accompaniment and dissonance.”²¹ (Fortunately for Schikaneder, there was also some criticism of the new singers in the Court theater’s German Opera company.) The brand new Theater an der Wien itself garnered rich praise:

Schikaneder’s new theater in point of fact has far surpassed even his own expectations. Already beautiful on the outside with its eye-catching building, its furnishings inside are simple, comfortable, yet distinguished, and it is so richly equipped with sets, stage machines, and the like to such a degree as scarcely any other opera theater in Germany. It is said to have cost nearly 200,000 Gulden, and that is not at all improbable.²²

¹⁹ 30 January 1801. The other work cited was Beethoven’s “grand sonata ... for pianoforte accompanied by Punto on the waldhorn”. The fact that no other composers’ works were specified places Haydn and Beethoven in an especially prominent light here.

²⁰ *Die sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze* was originally an orchestral work, composed for Cádiz in 1786–87. Haydn reworked the composition as an oratorio in 1795–96, using Baron van Swieten’s adaptation of a text by Joseph Frieberth.

²¹ Although unspecified in the article, these productions would have been *Alceste* (a travesty, with text by Joseph Richter), premiered 2 December 1800; *Proteus und Arabiens Söhne* (magic opera, and a collaborative effort with Matthäus Stegmayer), premiered 31 January 1801; and *Der Schub ohne Fuss* (one-act operetta), premiered 21 February 1801.

²² *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3/38 (17 June 1801) col. 643.

The article then gives us a clue as to *why* Schikaneder might not have fared so well in the press: there was a discrepancy between the perceived poor quality of Schikaneder the writer and the enormous success of Schikaneder the entrepreneur:

In general one is very much puzzled when Schikaneder the poet exchanges himself for the prudent entrepreneur. He knows so well, as scarcely anyone else, what is suitable for the stage, he knows his public, and above all, he is unrivalled in knowing how to keep a theater box office in good standing.²³

Griesinger presaged this sentiment in his review, written on 18 March 1801, of the Court theater's new production of *Die Zauberflöte*. He complimented the new sets, the orchestra's playing, the principal singers (Therese Saal as Pamina; Therese Rosenbaum as the Queen of the Night; and Carl Weinmüller as Sarastro). But he, too, did not like Schikaneder's writing:

In general the weariness of the text, which has already lost the charm of novelty, was entirely too noticeable in many places, and thus weakened the overall impression. What is accepted with indulgence at the suburban theaters is a violation of taste from the theaters inside the city walls.²⁴

The accusation that local standards were poor was nowhere so consistently apparent as in the extended unsigned essay that appeared across two issues, "Kurze Uebersicht des Bedeutendsten aus dem gesammten jetzigen Musikwesen in Wien" (3/3, 15 October 1800 col. 41–51; and 3/4, 22 October 1800 col 65–69). As implied in the title, this article is a survey of the primary musical venues in the imperial capital, covering the court's Italian and German opera companies, public academies (including those of the Tonkünstler-Societät, a pension fund for musicians' widows and orphans, Augarten Concerts, and a few select public academies), church music, amateur activity (private academies), and prospects for musicians. An extended analysis of this article would require an essay in itself; suffice it to say that the overall tone is predominantly critical, and for the most part, anti-Viennese. The principals of the Italian Opera company (Irene Tomeoni, Francesca Riccardi, Amon Pasqua, Lorenzo Cypriani, and Carlo Angrisani) were all found wanting in some aspect. The only one spared was the tenor Giuseppe Simoni, who began life as a Bohemian named "Joseph", and although "in decline due to his age" was "deserving of respect". In addition to being neither native Italian nor native Viennese, the fact that he sang in empress Maria Theresa's private concerts may well have shielded him from a more penetrating critique.²⁵

The German Opera singers tended to fare better, although the reviews were mixed. Madame Willmann Galvani was found to use "artistry to improve her uneven voice", but was a good actress who presented "a fine figure on stage". Mlle. Gassmann (by then actually Madame Therese Rosenbaum) had a beautiful voice, a good bravura manner, but was "a poor actress and often sang out of tune".²⁶ The tenor Karl Friedrich Lippert

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and music at the Viennese court, 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123, 207, 335, et al.

²⁶ The extant picture of Madame Rosenbaum, in costume as the Queen of the Night, shows her to have been on the hefty side, so "poor actress" might have been a euphemism for "overweight", especially in comparison with the presumably more svelte Magdalena Willmann Galvani.

received scathing criticism for his unpleasant voice, facial grimaces, arrogant acting style, strong accent (he had previously sung in Berlin), the fact that he was “neither tenor nor bass” (i.e., a baritone), and for his translations of various theatrical pieces. Most likely the latter point was the root of the problem: the German Opera company had recently used Lippert’s translation of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* for its 1798 production (as *Don Juan*). Remembering that *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* editor Friedrich Rochlitz had also made a translation of this work, Lippert’s *Don Juan* probably did not endear him to the writer of this article, particularly if that writer had come from northern Germany. The winners of the German vocal category, predictably, were Ignaz and Therese Saal, lauded for their performances in Haydn’s *Schöpfung*. Aside from his merits as a “pleasing singer” who was “truly knowledgeable and industrious”, Herr Saal, like Simoni, sang in the Empress’s private concerts, and his daughter Therese, whose surviving portrait shows her to have been very attractive, was popular among the nobility.

The category devoted to public academies is especially significant in how the writing of history has shaped the formation of a canon of works and composers. The commentary on the Tonkünstler-Societät’s four annual benefit concerts states that although these used to be poorly done, once Paul Wranitzky became secretary he started programming Haydn’s oratorios, with the implication that the results were much better. The Augarten Concerts, a series of summer performances in which mostly noble amateurs provided both orchestra and soloists, were seen to be in a state of decline since the (professional) violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh had taken over the directorship from one Herr (Anton) Rudolph (listed among the attorneys in the 1800 *Schematismus*, or court directory). Schuppanzigh, in the writer’s estimation, was just in it for the money or for connections, rather than for the love of Art. This article, finding him to be “merely a practitioner, without a thorough knowledge of theory and composition”, who although a good quartet player with good sight-reading ability, lacked the necessary grand manner and technical command for concerto playing, has formed our perception of Schuppanzigh’s playing, especially with its assertion that “his double stops and his playing in the high register are often out of tune”. Yet the 24-year-old Schuppanzigh, as leader of the ensemble that would premiere so many of Beethoven’s string quartets, would ultimately become a driving force in establishing the string quartet as a privileged genre, to be placed on the pedestal of public concert programs.

The placement of Beethoven within the Viennese canon originates from this article’s discussion of recent distinguished public academies. From the Burg Theater it cites only two: Punto’s academy (the one in which Beethoven’s new horn sonata was encored) and Beethoven’s concert of 2 April 1800 (although the date is not indicated as such). Since his arrival from Bonn in 1792, Beethoven had performed in public and in private a number of times, but this was his first independent academy. Given the fact that it was singled out for extensive discussion in this overview, it must have been a highly anticipated event. This is the article that tells of the inadequacy of the conductor, Giacomo Conti (leader of the Italian Opera orchestra, with whom Beethoven initially did not wish to work), of the orchestra’s lack of accompanying ability in the concerto,²⁷ of its lack of fire in performing the symphony. And while praising Beethoven’s “masterful” piano improvisation and the new septet (op. 20), “written with very much taste and feeling” (the playbills indicate that it was dedicated to the Empress), the new symphony

²⁷ Probably the piano concerto in C, op. 15.

(no. 1 in C) “used the wind instruments entirely too much, so that it was more like music for a wind band than a full orchestra”. However, the symphony also exhibited a great deal of “skill, novelty, and richness of ideas”, qualities that were often attached to Haydn as well. Although professionally active and resident in Vienna, Beethoven, like Mozart and Haydn, had come from outside. He had proven himself in Prague, Dresden, and Berlin on a tour in the spring of 1796 (i.e., outside of Vienna, and in the North) and had a significant connection to the imperial family in that his former patron in Bonn was the Elector of Cologne, Archduke Maximilian Franz, uncle of the reigning Emperor Franz II, and, as a young boy, onetime playmate of Mozart.



In these first three years of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung's* existence it probably took a while to find regular local correspondents from Vienna. Given the amount of material coming from letters (both from Georg August Griesinger and others) it seems very likely that this early source of Viennese reception history, so influential in shaping its canon, was colored by a northern “prescriptive” viewpoint, rather than a strictly local “descriptive” one. Given the extensive amount of data presented in 35 individual articles, it would be impossible to include every single facet. But the theme that emerges from these pages in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* is one of an emerging “golden age”, in which Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven were positioned as the standard bearers of an elevated and universal German musical culture.

INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SERBIAN AND VIENNESE CONCEPTS OF 19TH-CENTURY MUSIC JOURNALS

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CONTEXTUALIZATION: VIENNA AS THE CENTER OF 19TH-CENTURY SERBIAN CULTURE. Viennese influences played a key role in forming the modern Serbian state and culture by providing the emerging Serbian bourgeois class with political liberalism and an emphasized Enlightenment presence.¹ Two main interdependent strategies in the networking processes of Serbs living in both Ottoman and Austrian(-Hungarian) Empires in political, social, and cultural discourses were the *Vereinsgesetz* and the public manifestation of cultural societies, as well as newly established media—namely, literary and music journals.² These processes signified a change in the direction of political orientation, turning from Russia to the Austrian Empire, and was followed by a long-lasting transformation of Serbia from an Ottoman province to an independent European country, with forms of bourgeois life reflected in the written media, particularly in calendar almanacs. Later on, the specialized education of intellectuals coming (back) from Vienna, Pest, Buda, Leipzig, Prague, and Pressburg resulted in professionalized media, among them music journals.

Serbian music journals, established in the 1880s, were anticipated in two ways: on the one hand, notes on music and musical life were occasionally included in popular calendar almanacs and illustrated magazines; on the other, items were reprinted from Viennese, German, Czech, and Russian (music) journals. As in most of Europe, calendar

The article is a part of the research project “World chronotopes of Serbian music”, no. 147045, supported by the Serbian Ministry of Science.

¹ Different areas of Serbia were, since the end of the 14th century, gradually invaded by the Ottomans. After an extensive migration of Serbian people northwards since 1690, retreating in front of the Ottoman conquerors from Kosovo and southern Serbia, the centers of Serbian culture turned out to be towns under the Austrian administration, such as Vienna, Pressburg, or free royal cities in the territory of Vojvodina, like Novi Sad, Sombor, Subotica, and Sremski Karlovci. The consequences were remarkable: The majority of Serbian people lived outside of Serbia, dispersed all over Europe, and, therefore, two parallel political, cultural, artistic traditions followed, namely, Austrian (later, Austro-Hungarian) and Ottoman.

² See Tatjana Marković, “Strategies of networking Viennese culture”, *Music and networking*, ed. by Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2005) 48–58.

almanacs and illustrated magazines were highly popular and widely disseminated among the Serbian population and were primarily intended for educational purposes. They contained information on the phases of the moon, geography, animals, housekeeping, advice on agriculture, hygiene, and health care, mainly based on translations from French, German, and Russian sources, as well as patriotic poetry and articles on the social importance of theater and music. Starting with popular magazines that promoted Enlightenment ideas, one can find notes on a variety of topics, such as announcements and reviews of theater plays, concerts, and new novels, and articles about choral societies and on music education. Although they are not important contributions to Serbian music historiography, these articles have historical significance as early steps in communicating information about secular music to a wide audience in Serbia, one that had been interested mainly in church music.

The popularity of calendars among a wide circle of readers resulted in their transformation into a separate and very interesting literary genre during the next several decades, especially during the Romantic period.³ It is also important that those Serbian calendars and journals were reviewed in Viennese magazines from the very beginning of the 19th century. Thus, for instance, an article from *Intelligenzblatt zu den Annalen* reported in 1803 that the Cyrillic calendar *Mésiaczoslaw léta ot rozdestwa Christowa 1803* was published at the university publishing house in Buda for the “slavisch-servischn und wallachischen Nation in den k.k. Erbländern”.⁴

The calendar almanac of the broadest organization in Serbian and Yugoslav history, the Ujedinjena omladina srpska (United Serbian Youth), demonstrates the role of such publications in political and cultural communications. The Serbian student society Zora (Aurora), in Vienna, initiated the founding of the Ujedinjena omladina association in 1866 with the aim of uniting Serbian people in all of Europe. The new national and educational association, consisting of 16 literary and choral societies, published its own calendar, promoted a liberal ideology through the journal, the choral societies' *besedas*,⁵ and theater plays with music. Their *Srpski omladinski kalendar* from 1868 shows that they promoted the unification of South Slavic people from the beginning of their activities, especially of dispersed Serbian people, which is apparent also from the cover page itself [fig. 1].⁶ It is worth mentioning that at the same time (from 1869 on), the Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo Kolo (Croatian Choral Society Kolo) also published its calendar. Another such calendar, *Bog i Hrvati* (God and the Croats), which was published in Zagreb from 1893 to at least 1908, is a precious source for 19th-century music, since it regularly included biographies of musicians.

³ See Dejan Medaković, “Štampanje srpskih knjiga i novina u Beču u XVIII i XIX veku” [Printing of Serbian books and newspapers in Vienna in the 18th and 19th centuries], Mirjana Brković and Jasna Katralović, *Srpska knjiga u Beču, 1741–1900/Das serbische Buch in Wien, 1741–1900* (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije; Vukova zadužbina; Novi Sad: Biblioteka Matice srpske; Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2002) 23.

⁴ See Gertraud Marinelli-König, *Die Südslaven in den Wiener Zeitschriften des Vormärz (1805–1848)* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994).

⁵ In this context, the term meant a mixed concert program. It is still applied only to designate the speech, and is not related to any kind of musical event.

⁶ The title page of the *Srpski omladinski kalendar* [Serbian youth calendar] for 1868 reflects the ideology of Mihailo Obrenović promoted through establishing the Balkan union with Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and partly Bulgaria, 1866–68.



1. *Srpski omladinski kalendar za prestupnu 1868. godinu* [Serbian Youth calendar for the leap-year 1868] (Beograd, 1868). The title page of the calendar published by the organization Ujedinjena omladina indicates on the wreath the territories where Serbian people lived: Serbia, Banat, Srem, Bačka, Zeta, Old Serbia (today Kosovo and Macedonia), Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia.

PRINTING OFFICES IN VIENNA: INITIAL STEPS IN THE RE/CONTINUATION OF PUBLISHING SERBIAN BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, AND FIRST MUSIC EDITIONS. Although individual books in Serbian started reappearing in the 1740s after an interruption of about one century⁷—published by Hristofor Žefarović (1710–53) in Vienna, the court

⁷ Books were published earlier in Venice. The last of them was the *Psalter* (1638). Later on, the first (known) Serbian

poet of the Patriarch of Peć (1725–37) Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta (1698–1748).⁸ However, the royal privilege for establishing a Serbian printing office in Vienna, issued in 1770, meant the beginning of a steady flow of newspapers, magazines, and books.⁹ The earliest publications came out of the Serbian printing office in Vienna owned by the Austrian Josef Kurzbeck/Kurzböck (1736–92), who published 151 books, mainly in Church Slavonic Cyrillic script, between 1770 and 1792.¹⁰ The majority of them were religious books, textbooks for schools, administrative regulations, tributes to significant persons, and some literary works. After Kurzbeck's death, the type was bought by the journalist Stefan von Novaković (d.1823), and for the first time they were now owned by a Serb. However, because of financial problems, Novaković sold it three years later to the University in Pest and from then on, the Pest printing office was the only place where Serbian publications could have been printed. Thus the publishing of Serbian historical self-representative books and a calendar soon spread from Vienna to other cities.¹¹

Except for the Bible and other religious books, Novaković's publishing activity was guided by Enlightenment ideology, and his main contributions to 18th-century Serbian literature are certainly secular books, such as *Istorija raznyh slavenskih' narodov naipäče Bolgar', Horvatov' i Serbov'* (History of different Slavic peoples, in the first place of Bulgarians, Croats, and Serbs; 1794–95) by Jovan Rajić, *Sobranija raznih naravoučitel'nih veščeij v polzu i uveselenije* (Collection of various educational issues, useful in work and funny) by Dositej Obradović, *Mali bukvar za veliku decu* (A small spelling book for big children) by Mihailo Maksimović, and *Grammatika italianskaja: Radi upotreblenija illiričeskija junošesti* (Italian grammar: For Illyrian youth) by archimandrite Vikentije Ljuština.

The first Serbian newspapers were also published in Vienna. Stefan von Novaković established *Slaveno-serbskija vjedomosti* (Slavic-Serbian news; 1792–94), which published mainly articles and commentaries about the political situation in Europe that were translated from the *Wiener Zeitung*.¹² In the general framework of the journal the

calendar almanac was published by Zaharije Orfelin in Venice in 1765. Orfelin also published the first South Slavic journal, *Slaveno-serbski magazin* [Slavic-Serbian magazine] (1768).

⁸ Arsenije IV Čarnojević (1633–1706) was also the leader of the large migration of Serbian people from Kosovo and southern Serbia northwards.

⁹ See Dinko Davidov, *Srpske privilegije carskog doma habzburškog* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1994). Among Žefarović's editions were *Stematografija* (or, *Izobraženij oružij ilirskij*, 1741), a collection of coats of arms and heraldic poems related mainly to Serbian saints and rulers, two translations *Poučenje svjatitel'skoje k novopostavljenom jereju* [Holy instructions for the newly positioned priest] (1742), *Privilegija črez blaženim imperatori* [Privileges by the blessed emperor] (1744), *Starij grad Ierusalim* [The old city of Jerusalem] by Simeon Simeonović (1748), and the lost *Mjesacoslov* (1743–44), which was probably an almanac with calendar.

¹⁰ "It was only then that the first edition came off the press in modern Cyrillic, the so-called 'urban' alphabet, modelled after the style of printed Roman letters and introduced in Russia at the beginning of the 18th century by order of Peter the Great. Serbian writers themselves, and also printing houses beyond the borders of Austria, proved to be much less conservative. Thus, as early as 1754, *The History of Montenegro*, written by Montenegrin metropolitan Vasilije Petrović, came out in print in St. Petersburg. In 1768, the *Slavo-Serbian Magazine* of Zaharije Orfelin and in 1772... the biography of Peter the Great came out in Venice. In 1783, *The Life and Adventures of Dositej Obradović* was published in Leipzig. This is only to mention a few of the more significant works". Pavle Ivić and Mitar Pešikan, "Serbian printing", *History of Serbian culture*, ed. by Pavle Ivić (2nd ed., Belgrade: Mrlješ, Verzal Press, 1999) 144.

¹¹ It is worth pointing out one more communicative role of the calendars: One of the earliest of Gutenberg's publications, the *Turkish calendar* of 1454, was aimed at warning European Christians about how threatening the Ottoman army was, as the occupation of Serbia in the middle of the 15th century shows.

¹² "Najveći broj priloga preveden je iz bečkog lista *Wiener Zeitung*, čiji su sadržaj, prevashodno, bili spoljna politika, ratna zbivanja u tadašnjoj Evropi i oskudne vesti o Srbima". Branka Bulatović, "Kulturni letopis Banata u prvim srpskim listovima" [Cultural chronicles of Banat in the earliest Serbian papers], *Banatska periodika XIX i XX veka: Zbornik radova*, ed. by Vesna Matović and Marija Cindori (Novi Sad: Matica srpska; Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost; Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka Žarko Zrenjanin, 1995) 12.

aim to establish a national ideology is apparent, and in the announcement of his journal, the editor claimed that every people aiming to make its name eternal should certainly cherish its national language and science. Among reports from Serbian centers, the first news about Serbian theater life in Vršac and Timișoara were included. Other papers published in Vienna, all short lived, were *Serbskija povsednevnija novini* (Serbian daily newspaper; 1791–92) as well as the early magazines *Novine serbske* (Serbian newspaper; 1813) and *Zabavnik* (Magazine for entertainment; 1816).

Serbian journalism continued in 1813 with the publication of the first issue of the *Novine serbske iz carstvujušćega grada Vienne* (Serbian news from the imperial city of Vienna; 1813–22). Like Novaković earlier, its editor Dimitrije Davidović (1789–1838) pointed out that any people who would like to be recognized as enlightened must have its national magazines, which are especially important for the four million Serbs. Following this attitude, the *Novine serbske iz carstvujušćega grada Vienne* changed its direction from translations of travelogues, biographies, and writings on history to national issues, mainly concerning Serbian literature: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) wrote several articles explaining and defending his reform of the Serbian language. Due to the influence of Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844) and other Slavic ideologists in Austria, the *Novine serbske* is recognized as the first magazine “which systematically considered the questions related to other Slavic peoples” and also brought for the first time “the hints of those ideas which will be dominant among Serbs before 1848 under the name of Pan-Slavism”.¹³

Later on, Serbian magazines were issued in other cities as well, such as Buda, Pest,¹⁴ and Timișoara, and finally in Belgrade. In 1832, in the period when Serbia gained autonomy as a principality (1830–39) under the rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović, the printing office—the Knjaževska srpska pečatnja—established in Belgrade, was for the first time located within the country.¹⁵

An unavoidable point in considering the early publishing history of Serbian books and periodicals as well as the establishment and development of modern Serbian literature has to do with the Mechitaristen-Druckerei in Vienna. The list of Serbian books, magazines, and newspapers published by Armenian monks is rather impressive and could serve as a model of publishing policy at that time.¹⁶ “The Mechitarists were not only deserving credit for neatly printing these books of ours... but by preparing the types they also contributed

¹³ Jovan Skerlić, *Istorijski pregled srpske štampe, 1791–1911* [Historical survey of the Serbian press, 1791–1911] (Beograd: Državna štamparije Kraljevine Srbije, 1911) 5.

¹⁴ The *Letopis Matice srpske* [The chronicle of Matica srpska] (1825) is not only the most important journal at that time, but also one of the oldest European literary journals still being published. After the initial run in Pest, *Letopis Matice srpske*, as well as the Matica srpska itself, moved in 1864 to Novi Sad. The Matica srpska has been a significant cultural institution, organizing literary and musical events, publishing journals and individual studies; it has a rich library and manuscript collection. During the 19th century in particular, it was led by the most distinguished authors, poets, linguists, historians of literature, and musicians, who initiated, for instance, the establishment and development of Serbian literature through their open competitions for the first Serbian drama, the national anthem, and many other similar initiatives.

¹⁵ “While only 194 Serbian books came out in the first decade of the nineteenth century according to the *Serbian Bibliography* of Stojan Novaković, and 386 book came out in the 1840s that number had grown to 670 by the sixth decade of the century. The role played by books printed in Serbia quickly increased, and it surpassed the halfway mark by the second half of the seventh decade.” Pavle Ivić and Mitar Pešikan, “Serbian printing”, 145.

¹⁶ See Günther Wyrzens, “Serbische Drucke”, *Die Slavica der Wiener Mechitaristen-Druckerei*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 460 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985) 54–177.

to the aesthetical improvement of graphical typeface of our [Serbian, T.M.] alphabet".¹⁷ The insight into the chosen literary genres and topics shows the constructing of an ideology that provided a basis for defining Serbian national identity.¹⁸

The very first Serbian publication of the Mechitaristen-Druckerei was the *Srpski rječnik*, a Serbian–German–Latin dictionary with 26,270 terms. The book is regarded as the most important book by Vuk Karadžić because it presented both Serbian grammar of the literary language based on the Štokavian dialect used in epics as well as a new writing system.¹⁹ The dictionary had significant consequences not only for constituting Serbian Romantic literature, but also for the foundation of music terminology in the Serbian language, especially after 1866, when the reformed language was officially adopted in Serbia. In the same year Milan Milovuk (1825–83), the Serbian musician from Pest, published the first theory of music, the *Teorički osnovi muzike* (The basics of music theory; 1866), with new music terms.

Among the publications in Serbian issued by the Mechitaristen-Druckerei were also the first music editions which appeared either as an appendix in cultural magazines or in textbooks (the choral composition *Graničar* by Mita Topalović was added to the *Srbska čitanka za gimnazije* by Jovan Subotić, 1855), or as individual editions, starting with *Srbske narodne pesme* (Serbian folk songs; 1859) arranged for voice and piano by Kornelije Stanković (1831–65). Music editions published by other Viennese printers include the following: Kornelije Stanković, *Pravoslavno crkveno pojanje u srbskog naroda* (Orthodox church chant of the Serbian people), vol. 1: *Liturgija sv. Jovana Zlatoustag* (Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom), arranged for four voices and piano (1862), and *Srbske narodne pesme* (Serbian folk songs) for voice and piano, 2 vols. (1862–63); Dragutin (Karel) Čížek (1831–1913), *Nezavisnost Srbije* (Independence of Serbia) for piano, op. 102 (1878); Josif Marinković (1851–1931), *Zvučna davorija sa napevom crnogorske pesme "Onam' onamo"* (A patriotic song with the melody of the Montenegrin song "Onam' onamo"), op. 3 (1879); Robert Tollinger (1859–1911), *Crnogorskom vojniku* (To a Montenegrin soldier), for male choir (1886); Mita Topalović (1849–1912), *Pesme u dva glasa za učenike narodnih škola* (Two-part songs for pupils from people's schools,

¹⁷ "Mehitaristi nisu zaslužni samo za uredno štampanje ovih naših knjiga i za korektno držanje u vezi sa komplikacijama do kojih je došlo zbog njihovog štampanja već su, pripremajući slova u svojoj režiji, doprineli i estetskom usavršavanju naše grafije." See Zoran Konstantinović, "Kulturna misija i politika: Uloga bečkih mehitarista u štampanju srpskih knjiga 1847. godine" [Cultural mission and politics: The role of Viennese Mechitarists in printing Serbian books in 1847], *Godina 1847. u srpskoj književnosti i kulturi: 150 godina kasnije*, ed. by Predrag Palavestra (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1999) 42.

¹⁸ The process included firstly Pan-Slavism and later Serbian nationalism. In the process, the very understanding of Serbian-ness was redefined. It is obvious, for instance, from an article about the folk and church rites of Serbs from Herzegovina ("Srbi Hercegovcy muhamedanskog' i pravoslavno-istočnog' veroispovjedanja"/Serbs from Herzegovina of the Muslim and Orthodox-East religions), published in the Serbian folk calendar *Vojvodanin* for 1854, that Serbs who accepted Islam were also included as national citizens, but this was later abandoned in favor of belief that only Serbs of the Orthodox religion could be regarded as "real Serbs". In 1825 the Orthodox Church reached the status of the state institution, and in the constitutions of 1869, 1888, and 1901 the state religion of Serbia was confirmed as "Eastern-Orthodox".

¹⁹ The new orthography of the Serbian language meant the application of a rule that every sound is represented by one letter, which was more closely related to German than to Russian. The process was a sign of the cultural and political shift toward Austria instead of Russia, and the question was discussed in 1825 in *Srbski letopis* [Serbian annual], one of the Serbian magazines published in Vienna. The *Srbski letopis* reprinted a review from a Russian scientific journal of 1824 concerning three volumes of Serbian folk poetry by Vuk Stefanović. This very positive opinion about Karadžić's publications concluded with a criticism that reflected the political struggle between Austria and Russia for domination in Serbia: "It should be noticed that Vuk Stefanović and other Serbian authors suddenly had an idea to suppress ancient Slavic alphabet by introducing new letters and orthography incompatible with the Slavs. Instead of rapprochement of Serbs and Russians and make easier mutual exchange of their vernacular works, they tear the union between two languages."

1887); and Tihomir Ostojić (1865–1921), *Srpski zvuci, narodne pesme i igre* (Serbian sounds, folk songs and dances), arranged for piano (1894). It is significant that music literature was also presented; the book *Nauka glavnih pojmova muzike* (The science of main musical terms) by Dragutin (Karel) Blažek (1847–1922), published in 1889, signifies the establishing of discourse about music, too.

MUSIC JOURNALS. Following the first articles on literature and the arts published in almanacs, general newspapers, and magazines, the earliest writings on music were published in 1825 in newspapers, illustrated magazines, and calendars.²⁰ Along with general literature on music, texts on specialized topics, attitudes, and terminology appeared. The earliest Serbian music journals were published toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. This was relatively late in comparison with other European countries, but the historical circumstances of Serbian people did not provide favorable conditions any earlier.²¹

The format of *Kornelije* (1883), the first music periodical, followed the format of calendar almanacs, and since only a single issue was published, it has in the first place historical significance. *Gudalo* (1886–87), with its ten published issues, can be regarded as the first true professional music periodical in the Serbian language. Twenty years after Milovuk's attempt to establish Serbian music terminology, its development was continued here, particularly due to the efforts of the journal's publisher and editor, the Czech composer and cellist Robert Tollinger (1859–1911), who wrote the first extensive music analyses of his own choral compositions printed as inserts to the journal.²² The journal's masthead lists Milan Petrović as its editor and publisher, but it is known that Tollinger did the editorial work on the journal using the pseudonym Mladen in the byline. The *Srpski muzički list* (1903), edited by Isidor Bajić, dedicated most of its space to news items. The last periodical before World War I, *Gusle* (1911–14), was an official journal of the Savez srpskih pevačkih društava (Association of Croatian Choral Societies), and included mainly news items related to Serbian choral societies in the Habsburg Monarchy, Ottoman Empire, and even in the United States. The journal was analogous to *Pjevački vjesnik* (1904–12), published in Zagreb by the Savez hrvatskih pjevačkih društava, and had similar contents. With the exception of *Kornelije*, which was published in Belgrade, the other three journals were published in those urban centers of Vojvodina that had sizeable Serbian populations: Velika Kikinda, Novi Sad, and Sombor.

²⁰ A possible model of music calendars could be the Viennese *Fromme's musikalische Welt*, or *Kalender für die musikalische Welt*, edited by Carl Fromme (1876–1901), containing data about musical life in Vienna and other towns in the Habsburg monarchy, including those with a Serbian population as well.

²¹ Roksanda Pejović lists some 150 articles on music published between 1825 and 1882, over 350 between 1882 to 1900, and 6540 articles until 1918. Roksanda Pejović, *Kritike, članci i posebne publikacije u srpskoj muzičkoj prošlosti (1825–1918)* [Criticism, articles, and special publications in the Serbian musical past (1825–1918)] (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1994) 26.

²² During the 19th century, many Czech musicians lived in Vojvodina and Serbia, working as choir conductors, music teachers, and performers. They composed mainly choral music on Serbian lyrics, and some of them were also music writers. One of the most significant among them was the composer, cellist, editor of the music journal *Gudalo*, and music publisher Robert Tollinger, who worked in Kikinda, Šabac and then in Cetinje (Montenegro). During his stay in Kikinda (1880–90), the town was an important music center since its choral society, the Društvo za negovanje muzike Gusle, was one of the most accomplished vocal ensembles among very many such ensembles in Serbia. Within this society Tollinger published his journal and compositions. He was also the organizer of the concerts and performed as a cellist. The fact that his analyses are hard to understand today shows how long the process of determination and adoption of music terminology was, which had its beginning in the literal translations of terms from German.

WRITINGS ON MUSIC. Morphologically speaking, writings on music included short biographies of significant musicians, simple descriptions of artistic events, and news about the activities of choral societies, and were mainly written by amateurs. In the 1880s more profound concert reviews, essays on music and its social role, and analyses of newly published compositions were introduced, with theoretical and aesthetic comments modelled after Viennese and German journals on culture, literature, and the arts. However, their general tone was in accord with the national program present at the time in Serbian periodicals.

The editorial by Robert Tollinger in the first issue of *Gudalo* (Velika Kikinda, 1 January 1886) explained the intended direction of the journal. He pointed out that the continuity of Serbian culture and music was interrupted from the Kosovo Battle of 1389, when the Serbian Empire lost its independence and became an Ottoman province, to the appearance of Kornelije Stanković (1831–65), and that the circumstances “turned out in a much better way” with the beginning of Stanković’s professional work.²³ The editorial claimed further that many widely accepted choral compositions by Davorin Jenko (1835–1914) provided the impetus for founding new choral societies, which were in turn the primary reason for initiating a professional music journal. The main goal of the journal was to connect and unify all choral societies in order to bring further advancement to musical culture among the Serbian people. Serbian, Croatian, and other Slavic choral societies were asked to send to the editor of the *Gudalo* news items about their activities as well as relevant questions. Later the journal intended to collect news items about all kinds of musical events and compositions coming from “Slavic tribes”,²⁴ which were supposed to be analyzed and reviewed. It also intended to encourage music publishing in order to advance Serbian music, because this was seen as the only way to provide “healthy directions to our music” as well as compositions for the school and home in order to “expel foreign influences from our homes, which are now overwhelmed by it”.²⁵ The third direction of the journal was to collect data and material for “creating our history of music”. Considering these goals, the editorial concludes that “our aims are rather big and hard to achieve. Nevertheless, we hope to fulfill these tasks fast and gradually... We are aware that the readership of our journal is still small, but our requirements are also very small. If we are lucky enough to get at least 200 subscribers... for the beginning that would be enough”.²⁶ The national promotion was obviously connected with an educational approach, characteristic of those still-popular almanacs with calendars and other Serbian periodicals of the time.

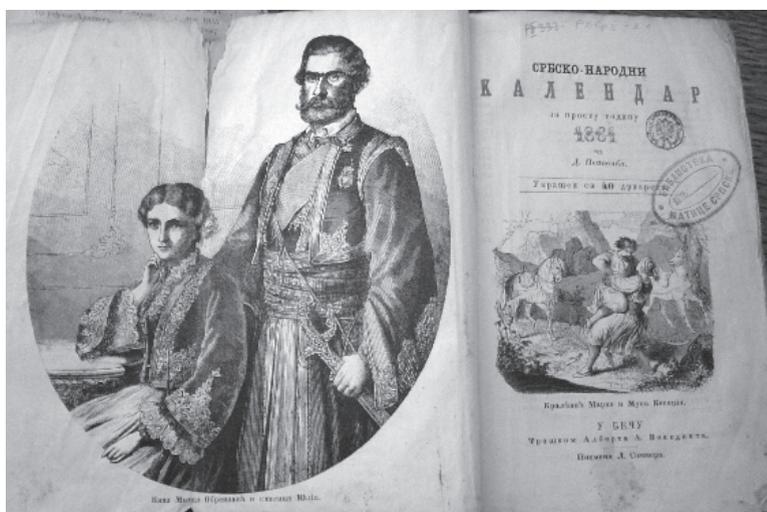
²³ “Новорођај гласбе у нас морамо рачунати од Корнелија Станковића. После Косова, а пре њега, на томе пољу није учинио нико озбиљна и успешна корака у нас. Али од Корнелија овамо почеше се ствари на боље окрећати”. “Приступ” [The introduction], *Гудало* 1 (1886) 1–2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁵ “Трудићемо се, да поновљеном развијтку гласбе наше здраве правце дамо; порадићемо, да нам се напишу чим пре, за прву потребу нужна стручна дела за школу и кућу, да се напишу и издаду ваљани гласботвори, те да се потисне туђинштина из кућа наши, која их је досад плавила”. *Ibid.*, 3. It is interesting to mention that a similar opinion about Kornelije Stanković and Davorin Jenko was expressed in the same year in the first survey of Serbian music, written by the Croatian historian, author, and amateur composer Vjekoslav Klaić (1849–1928): “Muzika u Srba” [Music among the Serbs], *Vienac* 18/46 (1886) 734–35; 18/47 (1886) 746–48; 18/48 (1886) 763–66.

²⁶ “Поред свега овога обратићемо велику пажњу на куплење података за градиво повеснице наше гласбе. У томе молимо сваког пријатеља српског напретка да нам буде на руци и да нам постави сваки, па ма и најсићушнији податак о прошлости српске гласбе... Ово су нам смерови. Доста су велики и тешко изведљиви. Па ипак се надамо, да ћемо постепеном решењу задаћа, које смо себи истакли, брзо и успешно приступити... Ми знамо, да је публика за наш лист за сада још врло мала, али су и наши захтеви врло мали. Послужили нас срећа да добијемо само 200 претплатника, ... за прве потребе било би нам и то довољно.” “Приступ” [The introduction], 3–4.

The contents of *Gudalo* followed the model of European, and especially Viennese, music journals, such as *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (1852–60), edited by Franz-Xaver Glöggel. The *Musik-Zeitung* was known to Serbian musicians and editors in Vojvodina, who even translated articles from it, such as the one about Kornelije Stanković published in *Serbski dnevnik*.²⁷ A comparison of the contents of these journals shows that Viennese and Serbian editors shared the same or similar concerns: The main feature in the *Musik-Zeitung*, published in eight installments during its first year (1852, nos. 11–18), was dedicated to the question of what is music (*Was ist Musik*), just as *Gudalo* published in its first issue an article about the beginnings and development of music. Both journals considered issues related to folk music and folk melodies, published announcements and notes about new compositions, music performances (primarily related to opera performances and choral societies in the Viennese journal, and to the concerts of choral societies in the Serbian journal), advertisements for new editions



2. *Sprsko-narodni kalendar za prostu godinu 1861* [Serbian popular calendar for common year 1861] (Wien, 1861). The title page shows a picture of the Serbian national hero Kraljević Marko struggling against Musa the Robber (Musa Kesedžija); on the left foldout are shown Prince Mihailo Obrenović and Princess Julija.

of music, advertisements for private lessons on instruments, notes about the history of music, biographies or portraits of contemporary composers (Rossini, Marschner, Händel, Beethoven, Mozart, Czerny, Glinka, Diabelli, Chopin, Haydn, John Field)²⁸ and performers (more so in *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*), and correspondence.

Every issue of *Gudalo* included a music supplement—a composition by Tollinger—and those pieces were analyzed in the journal itself. In the first issue Tollinger included his choral composition called, symbolically enough, *Dižimo škole!* (Let's build schools!),

²⁷ Serbian musicians and authors could have known *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* also from the fact that it was published by the Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei in Vienna.

²⁸ There were also other signs showing the importance of the discourse of biography. In *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 26 (25 June 1857) 105–06, was published an advertisement for a collection of composers' biographies: "Sammlung von Biographien, Ernst Balde in Kassel, Sammlung von Biographien der jetzt lebenden Komponisten mit Portraits, das Heft zu dem sehr billigen Preise von 4 Silbergroschen".

followed by an analysis of another of Tollinger's compositions (*Svatovac* for piano). The section on biographies included an extensive biography of Franz Liszt and a list of his works, a report about Anton Rubiņštejn's concert tour, and at the end came miscellanea with news about musicians, composers, vocal and instrumental ensembles, concerts, new operas, and the concert programmes of Serbian choral societies in various cities, such as Novi Sad, Timișoara, Velika Kikinda, and Martonoš.²⁹

Over the lifespan of *Gudalo*, Tollinger published 18 biographical articles on those composers, musicians, and music writers (and in some cases also their family members) that he considered to be representative of the 18th and 19th centuries. The most extensive biographies were of Liszt, Beethoven, Chopin, Paganini, Salieri, Haydn, and, interestingly, the musicologist August Wilhelm Ambros. It seems that although only biographies of Leopold, Maria Anna, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart are attributed to Hugo Riemann, his *Musik-Lexikon*, published two years earlier, served Tollinger as the model for all entries.³⁰ From there he translated biographies of August Wilhelm Ambros,³¹ Beethoven,³² Czerny, Donizetti, Carl Joseph Lipinski, Moritz Moszkowski, the Mozart family,³³ Paganini, Benedikt Randhartinger, and Antonio Salieri. In his biographies of the Haydn brothers, Tollinger omitted Riemann's details about Joseph Haydn's early music education, as well as remarks concerning the characteristics of the composer's musical language, but at the end he made his own comment that Franjo Ksaver Kuhač "proved" Joseph's and Michael Haydn's Croatian origin.³⁴

Tollinger made more substantial changes in the biographies of Smetana, Chopin, and Čajkovskij, since with those entries he promoted the Pan-Slavic ideology that was the journal's main orientation. Consequently Riemann's entries translated from the *Musik-Lexikon* were only the basis for much broader biographies of the composers in the *Gudalo*. Tollinger followed Riemann's text about Čajkovskij's biography up to the following evaluation: "his compositions are often surprising in their spicy harmonic means, fresh pulsating rhythm, and wonderful melodies; still, to our German ears their theme sometimes sounds trivial, although it is a good Russian national melody."³⁵ Commenting on this opinion, Tollinger pointed out that Germans would always have an objection to anything of Slavic origin, but that cannot harm Čajkovskij's compositions;

²⁹ The complete bibliography of articles published in *Gudalo* is appended.

³⁰ Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon. Theorie und Geschichte der Musik, die Tonkünstler alter und neuer Zeit mit Angabe ihrer Werke, nebst einer vollständigen Instrumentenkunde*. Zweite, vermehrte Ausgabe (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1884).

³¹ In the entry about August Wilhelm Ambros, Tollinger added only a remark that it is a pity that Ambros did not pay more attention to the music of Slavs in his otherwise excellent history of music. "Животописи: Август Вилем Амброс" [Biographies: August Wilhelm Ambros], *Гудало* 8 (1886) 152.

³² The only difference in the Serbian journal concerns the bibliography of works about Beethoven: Instead of some 20 books listed by Riemann, Tollinger mentioned only one, the most important biography of the composer written by A.W. Thayer. "Животописи: Бетховен Лудвик ван" [Biographies: Beethoven Ludwig van], *Гудало* 10 (1887) 181.

³³ There is one interesting change made in the translation of the list of W.A. Mozart's works: Riemann's titles for the groups of works "Konzerte und Solostücke mit Orchester" and "Kammermusik", Tollinger translated in his journal as "Концерти и салонске гласбине са свегласијем" [Concerts and salon compositions with orchestra] and "Дворска гласба" [Court music]. Riemann, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus", *Musik-Lexikon*, 611; Др. Х. Римањ, "Животописи: Моцарт, Волфганг Амадеј" [Biographies: Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus], *Гудало* 4 (1886) 84.

³⁴ "Животописи: Франја Јосип Хајдн; Јован Михајло Хајдн" [Biographies: Franz Joseph Haydn; Johann Michael Haydn], *Гудало* 9 (1886) 171.

³⁵ "Seine Kompositionen uebererraschen oft durch pikante harmonische Wendungen, frisch pulsierende Rhythmik und eigenartige Melodik; doch erscheint unsern deutschen Ohren auch manchmal ein Thema banal, das gut russisch-national sein mag". Riemann, "Tschaikowsky, Peter Iljitsch", *Musik-Lexikon*, 941.

it could make Čajkovskij's music harder "to get into the big Germany, but not to prevent it," since his music was already known all over Germany.³⁶

The Slavic-German "misunderstanding" is also present in Chopin's biography. Following Riemann's survey of his life and work, or, more accurately, of how his greatness and originality were understood by the Germans, Tollinger commented that in spite of their well-known and profound thoroughness in research, Germans could not have understood the uniqueness of Chopin's music, which is otherwise obvious and easy to recognize: "Chopin was a thoroughly Polish man. [He] was fed with Polish milk, raised with Polish word and song. His compositions—especially the early ones—are completely national to Poland. With his ten-years-younger contemporary Stanisław Moniuszko, Chopin is the most perfect representative of Polish national music. The Germans should recognize and admit that, and then they will immediately have the key to the riddle that they cannot solve."³⁷ The greatness of Chopin, continues Tollinger, thus has its roots in his origins, and for that reason the composer reached the peak of his originality and creativity in his early twenties, since he formed his unique style while in Warsaw and could not have developed it further since he moved to Paris thereafter. Therefore, only the work "at the source of the national genius" could provide such deep creativity, never reached even by Liszt or Schumann, who tried to create music like Chopin's.³⁸ According to Tollinger, or, more precisely, Franjo Ks. Kuhač's firm standpoint, Slavic people are the most gifted musically, and their origins as such, embodied in the greatest music, could offer relevant proof.

Precisely like Kuhač, who nevertheless claimed that the representatives of his motherland Croatia are the most gifted for music among all Slavic people, Tollinger had the same opinion about his countrymen, the Czech composers. This is obvious from the entry about Smetana, the most extensive biography in the journal, in which Tollinger's additions to Riemann's entry from the *Musik-Lexikon* were inspired by Eliška Krásnohorská's monograph.³⁹ Having in mind that Krásnohorská collaborated with Smetana, was the librettist of his four operas,⁴⁰ and also wrote and promoted Romantic poetry, her (and consequently Tollinger's) rhetoric is rather romanticized. Smetana is presented as the founder of the newer Czech music, very talented, but, at that time, not yet sufficiently recognized in the context of European music history. The time when his name would be written in golden letters was anticipated.⁴¹ Smetana's biography was

³⁶ "Што је словенско, Немцима не може бити без замерке. Но те замерке Чајковским гласботворинама не крње ни најмање вредности. Отешчавају им улазак у велику Немачку, али га не спречавају. Чајковски гласботвори отимају из дана у дан све то већа маха у Немачкој. Велики концертски заводи, слабо се осврћу на сићушне народносне суревњивости, и ти заводи негују Чајковске гласботворе већ широм по свој Немачкој." "Животописи: Петар Чайковский Илич" [Biographies: Petr Čajkovskij Ilič], *Гудало* 8 (1886) 149–50.

³⁷ "Шопен је био кроз Пољак. Одгојен је о пољском млеку, одгојен је пољском речи и попевком. Његови су гласботвори—особито они из млађи му година—скроз пољски народни. Шопен је са својим сурвемењак, само за десет година млађим Станиславом Моњушким, најсавршенији представник пољске народне гласбе. Нека Немци то увиде и признаду, па ће одма имати кључа решењу загонетке, која им је нерешива." "Животописи: Фредерик Франсоа Шопен" [Biographies: Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin], *Гудало* 7 (1886) 138.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Eliška Krásnohorská, *Bedřich Smetana: Nástin jeho života i působení jeho uměleckého* [Bedřich Smetana: An outline of his life and artistic work] (Praha: F.A. Urbánek, 1885).

⁴⁰ Beside librettos for Smetana's four operas (*Hubička* [The kiss], 1876; *Tajemství* [The secret], 1879; *Čertova stěna* [The devil's wall], 1883; *Viola*, unfinished), she also wrote librettos for Zdeněk Fibich's and Karel Bendl's operas.

⁴¹ "И ако вањство знаменитост и важност Сметанови уметнички дела данас јоште није пуно признало и уважило, то није далеко доба, кога ће повесница *чешке* гласбе име Сметаново златним словима забележити, и тиме и у анале опште повеснице уврстити." Cf. "Животописи: Бедрих Сметана" [Biographies: Bedřich Smetana], *Гудало* 3 (1886) 54.

written in a way that was typical for presenting founders of a national music, or for composers who were chosen to be the first national composer. He is described to be so deeply dedicated to music and his creative work that he never understood it as his job or as a means for earning a living, but only as the idealized embodiment of his love for the *Heimat*. Similar descriptions can be found in earlier writings about Kornelije Stanković and Vatroslav Lisinski, the first Serbian and Croatian national composers respectively. Tollinger stressed, just as the first biographer of Stanković, Fedor Demelić, did, that Smetana's musical language was developed and modern, but not too advanced, and certainly not as advanced as Wagner's.⁴² Therefore, "the genius of Smetana directed Czech music to its authenticity, provided the characteristic Czech national type of music. His influence on younger and the youngest generation is and will remain very strong for a long time."⁴³

The frequent contributions in both *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* and in the *Gudalo* point to the great importance of Liedertafeln in Vienna and to the concerts of many Serbian choral societies in and out of the country. These journals are also precious sources of information about the activities of the choral societies of many nationalities active "auf unsere vaterlaendischen Gegenden",⁴⁴ as the editor of *Fromme's musikalische Welt* pointed out in his editorial in the first issue of 1876. Detailed information about

⁴² "Ту (у опери *Либуба* – Т.М.) се Сметана придржавао модерни гласбено-драмски начела, али без да их је заштрино до Вагнерова схваћања и употребе." Ibid.

⁴³ "Његова гениалност дала је чешком гласботворењу правац изворности, чешки народносни тип. Уплив његов на новије и најновије поколење чешко био је, и остаје још дуго силан." Ibid.

⁴⁴ Thus, in 1878, for instance, news items in *Fromme's musikalische Welt* were received from music institutions in over 300 towns of central and south Europe (listed by their German names), and they document how even small Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian places supported an interesting musical life: Agram, Aich, Althabendorf, Altheim, Andritz, Arad, Arbesbach, Arco, Arnau, Aspach, Aussig an der Elbe, Baden, Baumgarten, Bela, Bennisch, Bilin, Bielitz, Bozen, Braunau, Boehm. Kamnitz, Boehm. Leipa, Boehmen, Braunau aus Oberoesterreich, Bregenz, Brixen, Brody, Brood, Bruck an der Leitha, Bruck an der Mur, Bruenn, Budapest, Budweis, Cattaro, Christofsgrund, Chrudim, Cilli, Chittavecchia, Curzola, Czernowitz, Debreczin, Deutch. Liebau, Deutsch-Landsberg, Dornbirn, Dux, Ebreichsdorf, Eger, Egg, Eggenburg, Eisenerz, Eisenstadt, Ellbogen, Engabrum, Engelsbegr, Enns, Erlau, Essegg, Feldkirch, Fischamend, Fischern, Franzensbad, Frassanz, Freistadt aus Oberoesterreich, Freistadt aus Schlesien, Freundenthal, Friedland, Friesach, Fuenkirchen, Fuerstenfeld, Gars, Georgswalde, Glina, Gmunden, Gmuend, Gobelsburg, Goisern, Goerkau, Goerz, Goetzis, Graz, Greifenburg, Grein, Gross. Kanizsa, Gross. Sieghardts, Grottau, Grulich, Guens, Hainburg, Haendorf bei Friedland, Hall, Hallein, Hard, Harzdorf bei Reichenberg, Haugsdorf, Heinrichsgruen, Hermannstadt, Herzongenburg, Hittisau, Hoechst, Hohenelbe, Hohenems, Hohenstadt, Iglau, Innsbruck, Inzersdorf am Wienerberg, Irdning, Ischl, Jaegerndorf, Jičín, Joachimsthal, Josefstadt, Judenburg, Jungbunzlau, Kardas-Rečič, Karlsbad, Kaschau, Katharinenberg, Késmark, Kindberg, Kirchdorf, Klagenfurt, Klaus, Klausenburg, Klosterneuburg, Knin, Knitelfeld, Kolin, Korneuburg, Kostajnica, Krainburg, Kratzau, Kreibitz, Krems, Kremsler, Kremsmuenster, Laa an der Thaya, Laibach, Langenbruck, Langenlois, Leibnitz, Leitmeritz, Lemberg, Leoben, Leobersdorf, Lesina, Leutschau, Leva, Lienz, Liesing, Lingenau, Linz, Lundenburg, Lustenau, Machendorf, Maffersdorf, Mahrenberg, Makarska, Marburg, Marienthal, Maros-Ujvár, Marschendorf, Matheótz, Mauthausen, Melk, Meisterdorf, Meran, Mies, Micolocz, Mistek, Moedling, Mondsee, Muraru, Nagy-Enyed, Neuhabendorf, Neuhaus, Neulengbach, Neundorf bei Kratzau, Nenkirchen, Neusohl, Neustadt, Maehr. Neustadt, Oberdrauburg, Oberlaa, Oberwoelz, Oberzeiring, Oedenburg, Olmuetz, Orsova, Ostrau, Maehr. Papá, Petrinja, Petschau, Pettau, Pilsen, Pirkenhammer, Pisek, Poprád, Pottendorf, Prag, Prerau, Pressburg, Prossnitz, Przemysl, Raab, Raabs, Radautz, Radkersburg, Ragusa, Reichenberg, Retz, Ried, Riva, Rohle, Rottenman, Rudolfswerth, Rumburg, Saaz, Salzburg, Schaerding, Schessburg, Schatzlar, Scheibbs, Schemnitz, Schlins, Schönau, Schönborn, Schönlinde, Schrems, Schwanberg, Schwaneustadt, Schwarzenenthal, Schwechat, Sebenico, Seitenstetten, Sereth, Sissek, Spatalo, Spital, St. Martin aus Ennskreis, St. Nikola an der Donau, St. Peter in der Au, St. Poelten, St. Veit, Stainz, Stanislau, Steinamanger, Streinschoenau, Sternberg, Steyr, Stockerau, Strakonitz, Stuhlweissenburg, Szegedin, Tabor, Tarnopol, Tarnow, Teplitz, Teschen, Traiskirchen, Trau, Trautenau, Trebitsch, Trient, Triest, Troppau, Trumau, Tullin, Uebelbach, Ung. Hradisch, Ung. Weisskirchen, Voecklabruck, Waidhofen an der Thaya, Waidhofen an der Ybbs, Warasdin, Warnsdorf, Wels, Werschetz, Wien, Wiener-Neustadt, Wittingau, Wolfersdorf, Wolfsberg, Wuerbenthal, Ybbs, Zara, Zeidler, Zeltweg, Zlabings, Znaim, Zwettl, Zwickau, Boehm. Zwittau.

individual ensembles includes the names of the conductor and concert master of the orchestras, as, for example, Dragomir Krančević at the Nemzeti Színház in Budapest.

Because of its terminology, one announcement of a choral society's concert published in *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* deserves special attention. The concerts of choral societies were referred to mainly as "besede" in Serbian, probably because they were not concerts in the traditional sense, but events with mixed programs often consisting of educational speeches related to housekeeping, geography, biology, medicine, astronomy, history, or poetry; the recitation of poems; performances of lieder and instrumental compositions; and even gymnastic exercises. The term was rarely used later, and eventually it disappeared completely from music terminology. For this reason it is interesting to see it used in the Viennese journal with the same meaning; a note about a Slavic festival says: "On 21 December this year a 'Beseda' was held in Sperl Hall. These celebrations of the Slavs were, as every year, well attended".⁴⁵ Czech and Russian songs accompanied by the orchestra of Johann Strauß, who also collaborated with the Serbian community in Vienna, were included in the program.

Viennese journals used to print news items about musical life in the Serbian towns of Vojvodina as well as about Serbian musicians or institutions in Vienna and other cities in the Habsburg monarchy, as was the case with *Fromme's musikalische Welt*. The most significant of these news items is an extensive comment about the first performance of Serbian Orthodox chant in a transcription and harmonization by Kornelije Stanković, the first professional Serbian composer and a member of the *Ujedinjena omladina srpska*. Being influenced by Vuk Karadžić, the Serbian patriarch Josif Rajačić, and his professor in Vienna, Simon Sechter, Stanković worked on developing strategies for establishing a national music based on folk melodies. This performance was recognized as the turning point in the history of Serbian music, and it attracted the attention of high-level members of Serbian and foreign social circles. His first collection of 12 folk melodies, *Srbske narodne pesme* (Vienna 1862)—dedicated to the Serbian prince Mihailo Obrenović III (1823–68), who was also a supporter of the *Ujedinjena omladina srpska*—was the earliest edition of music by a Serbian composer. In the introduction Stanković explained that he had published two volumes of folk songs earlier, but he considers this one to be truly the first one because he heard and transcribed all of the included songs himself, and because these songs represent the pure characteristic of folk music.⁴⁶ Then he goes on to say that this time he did not provide only the melody, as earlier, but for each song he supplied the artistic embellishment, but in such a way that has preserved the spirit which the people gave to it. Stanković's activity was very positively evaluated by Simon Sechter, who collaborated with *Die Neue Wiener Musik-*

⁴⁵ "Am 21. Dezember d. J. war 'Beseda' in den Sperl-Salen. Dieses fest der Slaven in Wien war wie alljährlich besucht". "Kunstnachrichten", *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 52 (24 December 1857) 209.

⁴⁶ "Пре ове књиге народних песама (мелодија), издао сам још две, али ја ову називам првом, едно за то, што сам све ове песме сам собом у народу чуо, и што су оне чиста особина нашега народа; а друго што овде ние само мелодија написана као пре, него сам још огледао, те сам свакој мелодији дао вештачки украс, али тако, да у њој не повређен остане дух, коим ју е народ задахнуо. (...) Али Његовој Светлости кнезу србском Михаилу не само да морам за то захвалити, што сам могао доћи у средину свога народа, него његова доброта допустила е још да смем ово дело његовом светлом имену посветити. Тако обилној милости едва се моје упоредити воља, с којом сам радио око овога посла, и она воља, коју сам том обилатом милошћу задобио, да и у напредак радим око свега онога, што е народно и што е намењено користи народној. А о народу нашем нека е овај милост нов јасан знак, како Његова Светлост прима под своју заштиту све оно, што е народно, и што е намењено користи народној. У Бечу о Ускресу, 1862. Корнилие Станковић". *Србске народне песме* сакупио, и у ноте за певање и клавир написао Корнелије Станковић. Прва књига, у Бечу 1862 [Serbian folk songs, collected and transcribed for singing and piano by Kornelije Stanković] (Wien: Gustave Albrecht, 1862) 5.

Kon z e r t.

Das Konzert spirituel des Cornelius Stankovits, welches am Ostermontage um die Mittagsstunde im Musikvereinssaale statt fand, war im hohen Grade intressant. Es bestand aus Choral-Melodien der griechisch-slavischen Liturgie, vom Konzertgeber aus der ursprünglichen Quelle geschöpft, und für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Bass gesetzt, welche von vierzig Sängern und Sängerinnen ausgeführt wurden.

Erst unserm Zeitalter war es vorbehalten, über die Musik der neueren Griechen, über die bisher ein unerklärliches Dunkel herrscht, einiges Licht zu verbreiten. Das größte Verdienst hierbei gebührt dem gelehrten Franzosen Villoteau, welcher den General Bonaparte nach Egypten begleitete, und nach seiner Zurückkunft in einer Reihe höchst schätzbarer Abhandlungen theils aus dem Schatze der an Ort und Stelle gesammelten Notizen, theils mit Hilfe der seltenen Manuskripte der großen Pariser Bibliothek die Musik (die musikalischen Systeme) der Egyptier, Araber, Perser, Syrier, Armenier, Griechen und Juden beschrieben hat. Nach der im neunten Jahrhunderte erfolgten, im elften vollkommener ausgesprochenen Trennung der griechischen von der lateinischen Kirche wurde eine neue Liturgie eingeführt, worin die Namen ungemein viel und vielerlei zu singen hatten. Es ist in dieser und in der nächstfolgenden Periode, daß jene Gesänge entstanden, die noch heut zu Tage im Gebrauche sind; eine fast ungläubliche Zahl von Hymnen (Poetiker und Melodiker) that sich damals hervor, ihre Namen sind gewöhnlich auch noch in den Gesangbüchern angezeigt. Mitunter erscheinen auch noch Gesänge, welche dem h. Johannes Damascenus aus dem achten Jahrhunderte zugeschrieben werden. Aus welchen Quellen Herr Stankovits die von ihm vorgeführten Proben von Ostersliedern, Gesängen aus der Liturgie des heiligen Basilus des Großen, und aus der Ephanie, dann der Melodien für den Charfsamstag und jene für Pfingsten schöpfte, ist uns unbekannt; so viel aber ist sicher, daß alle diese Gesänge den Charakter des Ursprünglichen, Volksthümlichen im höchsten Grade an sich tragen, und daß namentlich der allen slavischen Volksweisen eigenthümliche klagende Ton überall hindurchklinget. Diese in ihrer Grundfarbe so aleichartigen Gesänge sind reich an Modulationen von der schönsten und ergreifendsten Art, da sich darin das echt religiöse und gläubige Gemüth in seiner gänzlichen Hingebung spiegelt. Bei der größten Einfachheit und Ruhe aber geht die wärmste Bewegung durch alle dargelegten Seelenstimmungen. Auffallend ist die innere gleiche Taktart und die stete Wiederkehr einiger musikalischer Phrasen und Wendungen. Den größten Eindruck brachte der dritte Gesang aus der Liturgie des heiligen Basilus des Großen „Es erfreut sich deiner“ hervor, der wiederholt werden mußte. Der vom Konzertgeber komponirte Cherubin'sche Gesang ist recht edel gehalten, und schmiegt sich der Weise der ursprünglichen Gesänge ziemlich treu an. Die Melodie für Pfingsten „Freue Dich, Königin“ ist ein sehr interessantes ausdrucksvolles Tonstück, worin die Stimmen sich in geschickt geführten Imitationen in- und gegen einander bewegen.

Die Ausführung dieser Gesänge unter der Leitung des Hr. Stankovits war eine wundervolle, die meisten Mitwirkenden waren aus dem Chorpersonale des Kärnthnertheaters entnommen, und sangen wie mit einer Seele, wie aus einer Brust, wie mit einer Stimme. Man kann sich ein innigeres Verschmelzen, ein zarteres Betonen, Tragen und Heben der Töne, mehr Kraft und Melodie, eine feinere und edlere Schattirung des Vortrags kaum denken, und man sah wieder einmal deutlich, was ein von seiner Aufgabe ganz durchdrungener Dirigent über ein Chor- oder Orchester-Personale vermag.

Zeitung and published on 12 April 1855 a report about Stanković [fig. 3] that was in turn translated and published in Serbian journals, primarily the *Srbski dnevnik*.

Emphasizing the importance of the concert dedicated to Serbian Orthodox music, Sechter compared it to the significance of Egyptian, Arabic, Syrian, Persian, Armenian, Greek, and Jewish “music systems”. Then he pointed out that he is not familiar with the sources from which Stanković wrote the liturgy, “so viel aber ist sicher, dass alle diese Gesängen den Charakter des Ursprünglichen, Volkstümlichen im höchsten Grade as sich tragen, und dass namentlich der allen slavischen Volkweisen eigenthümliche klagende Ton überall hindurchklingt. Diese in ihrer Grundfärbung so gleichartigen Gesänge sind reich an Modulazionen von der schönsten ergreisendsten Art, da sich darin spiegelt”. Stanković’s concert from 1861 in the Musikverein in Vienna was also positively reviewed by Leopold Alexander Zellner in his *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*. The importance of Stanković’s work was recognized even by the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph II and the Russian emperor Aleksandr II, who both awarded him medals.

The activities of Kornelije Stanković can be seen as a case study of the analysis of Serbian and Viennese writings on music. His efforts to promote Serbian folk and church music as well as the fact that he died young provided fertile ground for the creation of his iconic place in Serbia (naming after him the first music journal, choral society, and later music school, and other institutions) and abroad.



Historical and political circumstances caused large-scale migrations of Serbian people for several centuries after the 1690s, with the consequence that the majority of the Serbian population in the 19th century lived outside of the country, dispersed all over Europe. Intellectuals, educated Serbian bourgeois, thus made Vienna the center of Serbian culture and arts as well as the center of Serbian printed media, including music journals. Their concept shows how national journals were developed in general—from almanacs with calendars that had educational purposes and were intended for a wide audience (like *Kornelije*, the first music journal that was organized as a calendar) with translated news items from Viennese, German, Czech, French, and Russian journals related to musical life, to professional studies on question about music history, theory, analyses of selected compositions, as well as music (primarily choral) performance, and thoughts about building a national music culture (such as *Gudalo*). The first steps in establishing Serbian music historiography thus were realized in early music journals, in intertextual relations with Viennese cultural and music magazines, and were accepted as a canon until nowadays, with recent redefinitions.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, studying precisely 19th-century Viennese journals could provide deeper insight into Serbian musical life and writings and, therefore, to the mentioned redefinition of the canon in national music historiography.

⁴⁷ For instance, significantly more light should be shed on the history of Serbian stage music performance, as it is almost unknown until now. The importance of studying Viennese journals could be illustrated by the article “Ueber des theaterwesen in Ungarn” by a certain Csaplovits, who reports the following: “In serbischer Sprache spielte eine Dilettanten-Gesellschaft im Ofner Theater zum ersten Male 1820, den 22. und 26. August”. *Humorist* 141 (29 September 1837) 563–64. Such information is frequently unknown and not included in any history of Serbian music.

TABLE

GDALLO: ČASOPIS ZA UNAPREĐENJE GLAZBE, NOS. 1–10 (1886/87)

(Unless indicated, all contributions were unsigned.
Presumably, they were written by Robert Tollinger)

MAIN FEATURES (all signed Mladen, what was the pseudonym of the editor Robert Tollinger)

- Летимичан поглед на зачетак и развитак гласбе [A brief overview of the beginnings and development of music], no. 1, 4–6.
- Јавна нега гласбе у нас [Public music-playing among us], no. 2, 17–18. {In Vojvodina}
- О критици гласбе [On music criticism], no. 3, 37–43.
- Наши стручни називи [Our professional terminology], no. 3, 43–45.
- О настави певања у народној школи (Корнелије) [On teaching singing in public schools (Kornelije)], no. 4. {In Vojvodina}
- О гласовном сликању [On tone painting], no. 5, 89–94.
- О правцу и саставу програма наши певачки дружин [On the direction and programming of our choral societies], no. 6, 105–15. {In Serbia}
- Неколико речи о кућној нези гласбе [A few words on playing at home], no. 7, 125–32.
- Гласба на нашој народној позорници [Music on our national stage], no. 8, 142–46. {Argues in favor of founding permanent theater choir and orchestra in Belgrade}
- Певачким дружинама нашим [To our choral societies], no. 9, 157–65. {On Serbian choral societies in Vojvodina}
- Махне у првој настави гласбе [Flaws in early music education], no. 10, 173–76.

НАШ ПРИЛОГ [OUR SUPPLEMENTS] / ПРИКАЗИ [REVIEWS OF COMPOSITIONS] / ПРЕТПРЕС [ANALYSIS OF COMPOSITIONS] / КРИТИЧКИ ВЕСТНИК [CRITICISM OF COMPOSITIONS]

- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Дижимо школе!*, двозбор, четворогласан мешовит и четворогласан дечији уз пратњу гласовира за две руке на речи Змаја Јована Јовановића, дело 4 [*Dižimo škole!*, double chorus for mixed and children choirs with piano accompaniment, op. 4], no. 1, 6–7.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Сватовац*, за гласовир, дело 2 [*Svatovac*, for piano, op. 2], no. 1, 7–8.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Неколико листића из гласовне записнице*, за гласовир у две руке, дело 5 [*Nekoliko listića iz glasovne zapisnice*, for piano four hands, op. 5], no. 2, 22–23.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Слике и прилике из дечијег живота*, 32 гласовна комадића, дело 8 [*Slike i prilike iz dečjeg života*, 32 pieces for piano, op. 8], no. 2, 23.
- Robert Tollinger (Robert Tollinger), *Младост и радост*, 12 гласовних сличица ради вежбања у предавању на гласовиру, дело 9 [*Mladost i radost*, 12 little piano images for practicing piano playing, op. 9], no. 2, 23–24.
- Ј.К. Борјановић (J.K. Borjanović), *Песма на божић*, за два гласа удешена [*Pesma na božić*, arranged for two voices], no. 2, 31–33.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Три патриотске песме*, за мушки хор, дело 6 [*Tri patriotske pesme*, for male choir, op. 6], no. 3, 46–47.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Пулољци*, низ песмица за дечије грло са пратњом гласовира, дело 10 [*Pupoljci*, cycle of children songs with piano accompaniment, op. 10], no. 4, 68–69.
- Јован Иванишевић (Jovan Ivanišević), *У част витешкога војводе тимочке војске ђенерала М. Леујанина Марш*, за гласовир [*U čast viteškoga vojvode timočke vojske đenerala M. Lešjanina Marš*, for piano], no. 4, 87.
- Шандор Босилјевац (Šandor Bosiljevac), *Хрватица*, коло за гласовир, op. 11 [*Hrvaticam*, kolo for piano, op. 11], no. 4, 87–88.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Две српске игре*, за гласовир у четири руке, дело 11 [*Zwei serbische Tänze* for piano in four hands, op. 11], no. 5, 94–95.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Храму св. Тројице у Вел. Кикинди сазиданом госпођом Меланијом Николић рођ. Гајчић, *Литургија светог Јована Златоустога*, лаког

слога за три мушка гласа, дело 12 [*Liturgija svetog Jovana Zlatoustoga, for 3 male voices, dedicated to the Hram sv. Trojice in Velika Kikinda, built by Mrs. Melanija Nikolić, born Gajčić, op. 12*], no. 6, 115–16.

- Алојзије Милчински (Alojzije Milčinski), *Молитва* од Бранка Радичевића, за мешовит лик [*Molitva by Branko Radičević, for mixed choir*], no. 6, 116–21.
- Антон Хочевар (Anton Hočevar), *Да л' то..., Небо моје* од Ђуре Јакшића, за баритон или алт уз пратњу гласовира [*Da l' to..., Nebo moje by Đura Jakšić, for baritone or alto with piano*], no. 6, 124.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Русанђанке*, 6 песама за мешовити збор у духу певања српског народа, дело 13 [*Rusanđanke, 6 songs in the spirit of Serbian folk melodies, for mixed choir, op. 13*], no. 7, 132–134.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Зачинка*, за гусле, хармониум и гласовир, дело 14 [*Začinka, Serbian serenade for violin, harmonium and piano, op. 14*], no. 8, 147.
- Даворин Јенко (Davorin Jenko), Глазба алегорији *Маркова сабља* [*Music for allegory Markova sablja*], no. 9, 172a–72c.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Г. Милану К. Петровићу, народном учитељу у В. Кикинди, *І. Ђулић Змаја-Јована Јовановића*, самопев за тенор или сопран са пратњом ситних гуда, хармониума и гласовира, дело 15 [*I. Đulić by Zmaj Jovan Jovanović, dedicated to Mr. Milan K. Petrović, teacher in Velika Kikinda, for tenor or soprano with strings, harmonium and piano accompaniment, op. 15*], no. 9, 166.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Три песме за два женска гласа са пратњом гласовира дело 16 [*Three songs for two female voices with piano accompaniment, op. 16*], no. 10, 177.

ЖИВОТОПИСИ [BIOGRAPHIES]

- Фрања Лист [Franz Liszt], no. 1, 8–13.
- Карло Черни [Carl Czerny], no. 2, 27–28.
- Антонио Салиери [Antonio Salieri], no. 2, 28–29.
- Бенедикт Рандхартингер [Benedikt Randhartinger], no. 2, 29.
- Бедрих Сметана [Bedřich Smetana], no. 3, 49–54.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Јован Ђорђе Леополдо Моцарт [Johann Georg Leopold Mozart] no. 4, 77–78.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Марија Анна Моцарт [Maria Anna Mozart], no. 4, 78.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Волфганг Амадеј Моцарт [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart], no. 4, 78–84.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Волфганг Амадеј Моцарт [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Jr.], no. 4, 84.
- Николо Паганини [Nicolo Paganini], no. 7, 134–36.
- Фредерик Франсоа Шопен [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin], no. 7, 136–39.
- Петар Чайковскиј Илјич [Pëtr Il'ič Čajkovskij], no. 8, 149–52.
- Август Вилем Амброс [August Wilhelm Ambros], no. 8, 152–53.
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- Јован Михајло Хајдн [Johann Michael Haydn], no. 9, 171.
- Бетховен Лудвик ван [Ludwig van Beethoven], no. 10, 177–81.
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ИЗВЕШТАЈИ [REPORTS]

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- Опера у Загребу [Opera in Zagreb], no. 1, 14–15.
- Извештај о раду Панчевачког српског певачког друштва за год. 1885 [A report about activities of the Serbian church choral society in Pančevo in the year 1885], no. 2, 25–27.

- Димитрије Славјански-Агрењев и Немачка [Dmitrij Slavjanskij-Agrenev in Germany], no. 2, 29–31. {Translation from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Berlin}
- Са народне позорнице у Београду [From the National theater in Belgrade], no. 3, 48–49. {*Dve sirotice* by С. Ochsendorff, with music by Davorin Jenko}
- Димитрије Агрењев-Славјански и његова радња на пољу гласбе [Dmitrij Agrenev Slavjanskij and his work in the field of music], no. 4, 85–86. {Translated from a Czech newspaper}
- (†), Прослава десетгодишњице Мите Топаловића [Celebration of the tenth anniversary of Mita Topalović], no. 5, 95–98. {The Pančevačko pevačko društvo celebrated the 10th anniversary of the work with its conductor Mita Topalović}
- Прослава дана смрти Сметанове [Commemoration of Smetana's death], no. 6, 121–22.
- Славјански у Паризу [Slavjanskij in Paris], no. 6, 122. {Translation from *Le Figaro*, Paris}
- Чешки глас о Славјанском и његовом збору [Czech voice about Slavjanski and his choir], no. 6, 122–23 {Translation from *Dalibor*, Prague}
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NO. 1, P. 15:

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- У Павловску [In Pavlovsk]. {The fourth symphonic concert in the season conducted by Vojtěch Hlavač}
- Едвард Ремењи [Eduard Reményi]. {The violinist gave a concert in California}
- Нова руска опера [New Russian opera]. {*Kordeliá* by Solov'ev}
- Нове гласботворине [New compositions]. {Announcement for new compositions by Robert Tollinger, published by the Braća Jovanović bookshop in Pančevo}

NO. 2, P. 33–35:

- Слављење Листа у Русији [Celebration of Liszt in Russia].
- Најновија дела Фрање Листа [The newest compositions by Franz Liszt].
- Антон Рубинштајн на одмору [Anton Rubinštejn on holidays].
- Гђцу Олгу Васиљевићеву [Ms. Olga Vasiljević]. {Announcement for the concert of the pianist in Szeged}
- Друштво “Гусле” позвано у госте [The society Gusle is invited for a visit]. {The Serbian choral society Gusle is invited to Szeged}
- Нов Интендант Будимпештанске кр. опере [The new director of the Budapest opera]. {Appointment of Stephen Keglevich}
- †Јосиф Алојзије Тихачек [†Josif Alojzije Tihaček]. {An obituary}
- Број ученика и ученица на бечкој конзерваторији год 1885/6 [The number of students at the Vienna Conservatory in 1885/86].
- Новост, стара 100 година [News older than 100 years]. {Performance of an overture by Friedrich the Great in Berlin}
- “Севиљски берберин” на београдској позорници [*Il barbiere di Siviglia* at the Belgrade National theater].
- Новина у Будимпештанској краљ. опери [News from the Budapest Royal Opera]. {The premiere of Ödön von Mihalovich's opera *Hagbarth und Signe* in Budapest}
- Немачка опера у Петрограду [German opera in St. Petersburg]. {Permanent German opera has been initiated}
- Вјера Тиманова [Vjera Timanova]. {Concert tour of the pianist}
- Нова гласбовина [New composition]. {Announcement for the edition of Jovan Ivanišević's *Radničko kolo*}

NO. 3, P. 55–56:

- Магистрат вароши Париза [Municipal council in Paris]. {Agreement with L'Odeon theater for a series of afternoon opera performances}
- У Балтимору [In Baltimore]. {Death of a nun and singer Agneska Gubertova from Baltimore}
- Почасни дарови [Honoring presents]. {Presents given to the singer Joseph Tihaček became the property of the city of Dresden after his death}
- †Луј Келер [†Louis Köhler]. {Obituary for the composer well-known in Serbian homes for his pedagogical literature}
- Драгоцене глзбала [Precious instruments]. {Outlines recent prices of master violins}
- Консерваторија у Стутгарту [The Stuttgart Conservatory]. {Statistics about students}
- Рубинштајнова опера “Фераморс” [Rubinštejn's opera *Feramors*]. {Performance by the Court Opera in Munich}
- “Мерлин” [*Merlin*]. {Performance of Karl Goldmark's opera in Vienna Hofoper, and preparation for its staging in Budapest}
- Јени Линд [Jenny Lind].
- Нова слика Мункачијева [New painting by Mihály Munkácsy]. {Describes the painting *Dying Mozart*}
- В. Хршималијева шаљива опера “Заклети принц” [Vojtěch Hřimaly's comic opera *Zaklety princ* (Der erwünschte Prinz)].

NO. 4, P. 88:

- Народно позориште у Београду [National theater in Belgrade]. {Performance of the drama vaudeville *Le paradis des femmes* by Xavier de Motnepin i H. de Charlien, with music by Davorin Jenko}
- Оцењивачи [Evaluators]. {Dragotin Jenko, Josif Svoboda, and Jovan Ivanišević will be on the jury for compositions submitted to the competition organized by the Pevačko društvo Kolo in Melenci}

NO. 5, P. 103–105:

- Царско признање Рубинштајну [Anton Rubinštejn awarded by the Russian Emperor].
- Нови професори на Будимпештанској глзбеној академији [New professors at the Budapest Music academy].
- Специална повест српске глзбе [A special history of Serbian music]. {Franjo Ksaver Kuhač is working on a history of Serbian music}
- Из Ческе глзбене библиографије [From the Czech music bibliography]. {Announcement for new music editions}
- Заклада за међународне награде [Foundation for international awards]. {Anton Rubinštejn established a foundation for awarding musicians 20 to 26 years old}
- Јубилеј опере “Хугеноти” у Паризу [Jubilee of the opera *Les Huguenots* in Paris]. {50th anniversary}
- В. Хлавач у Немачкој [V. Hlavač in Germany].
- Изгорело позориште [Theater burned down]. {Starkbek's theater in Lvov}
- Издашни удеоничари [Generous share-holders]. {The first season of the German opera in New York}
- У Београду [In Belgrade]. {The farewell concert of the Beogradsko radničko pevačko društvo organized for its conductor Jovan Ivanišević}

NO. 6, P. 124–126:

- Државна стипендија за изучавање глзбе [State fellowship for study of music]. {Awarded to Jovan Ivanišević for the study of music in Prague}
- Награда [An award]. {The Holy Synod of Serbia awarded Mita Topalović for transcription of Serbian Orthodox chant}
- Славени на консерваторију у Бечу [Slavs at the Vienna Conservatory]. {Concert of students from Slavic countries, including the violinist Vladislav Miličević from Serbia}
- Стогодишњица опере “Фигарова свадба” у Бечу [A centennial of the opera *Le nozze di Figaro* in Vienna].

- Рубинштајн [Rubinštejn]. {Series of eight historical concerts presented in Paris}
- Одликовање [A recognition]. {Russian czar awarded Alois Alexander Buchta, conductor of the choir of the Russian diplomatic church in Vienna}
- Глазбена берза [Music market]. {In New York}
- Дарови уметнице [Donation by an artist]. {The soprano Marcella Sembrich made a donation to conservatories in Kraków and Lvov}
- Родољубив дар [Patriotic contribution]. {Donation to the Polish theater in Kraków}
- Халевијева опера “Жидовка” [Halévy’s opera *La Juive*]. {500th performance in Paris}
- Друштво француски аутора [Society of French authors]. {In the first three months of 1886 received royalties were 190,000 Francs}
- Глазбеници у Енглеској [Musicians in England]. {Among 4000 musicians, there are 1600 foreigners}
- Популарни концерти [Popular concerts]. {Concerts of the Umelecká Beseda in Prague}
- Руска опера у иноземству [Russian opera abroad]. {Planned performances in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, and London}
- Лист [Liszt]. {Trip to Paris, Brussels, and London}

NO. 7, P. 139–140:

- Нове оргуље [New organ]. {At the Stephansdom, Vienna}
- Драгоцена глазбала [Precious instruments]. {Sale of masters’ violins}
- Нова опера [New opera]. {The Milan premiere of the opera *Flora mirabilis* by the Greek composer Spiro Samara}
- Лепа оставина [A nice inheritance]. {The daughter of the singer Marie Heilborn inherited three million Francs}
- Са сталне изложбе учила у Грацу [From the permanent exhibition of teaching equipment in Graz]. {Received 756 objects}
- Тражи се зборовођа [Search for choral conductor]. {Advertisement for position in an unspecified Croatian town}
- Штедионица-покровитељка уметности [Savings bank sponsoring the arts]. {Innsbruck bank donated 10,000 forints for music school}
- Антон Рубинштајн [Anton Rubinštejn]. {Donated 4000 marks to music institutions in Berlin}
- Марцела Сембрић [Marcela Sembrich]. {The soprano Marcella Sembrich performed in Berlin and donated proceeds to institutions for retired musicians}
- Лорцингова опера “Czar und Zimmermann” [Lortzing’s opera *Czar und Zimmermann*]. {Performance of the opera in Paris, under the title *Les deux Pierre*, was the first presentation of the composer in France}
- Тугаљивост Шпањолака [Protest of Spanish women]. {300 Spanish women protested against a certain baritone Silvio, who was perceived to be too old and insufficiently good looking for the role of Don Juan}

NO. 8, P. 153–157:

- Листова смрт [Liszt’s death].
- Течај год. 1886/7. на мађарској глазбеној академији у Будимпешти [Courses in 1886/87 at the Hungarian Music academy in Budapest].
- Петар Чајковски [Pëtr Čajkovskij]. {Prepares concerts in Paris}
- Антон Рубинштајн [Anton Rubinštejn]. {Works on a symphony and prepares for a trip to Odessa, Bucharest, Prague, and Leipzig}
- Слављење Хлавача у Русији [Celebration of Hlavač in Russia]. {Concert in Pavlovsk near St. Petersburg in honor of the Czech composer}
- Највише одликовање [The highest award]. {Emperor Franz Joseph awarded gold medal to the Hlahol choral society for its 25th anniversary}
- Споменик Белину [Monument to Bellini]. {Unveiling of the monument in front of the Naples Conservatory}
- Споменик Берлиоцу [Monument to Berlioz]. {Unveiling of the monument in Paris, and performance of *Benvenuto Cellini*}
- Јосиф Вјењавски [Józef Wieniawski]. {Invited to teach at the Conservatory in St. Petersburg}

- Георг Хеншел [Georg Henschel]. {Appointed professor at the Conservatory in London}
- Марцела Сембрић [Marcella Sembrich]. {Signed contract for 60 concerts, for the total amount of 240,000 marks}
- Американска опера [American opera]. {American opera troupe is preparing for a tour and is organizing fund raising}
- Најбољи метод наставе певања у школи [The best method of training voice in school]. {Teaching method of Hermann Hauer was adopted at the Conservatory in Berlin}
- Српска народна песма у немачкој изради [Serbian folk song in German rendition]. {Announcement for the edition of *Zwei Lieder aus Osten für hohe Sopranstimme* by Wilhelm Kinzl in Leipzig}
- Северно америчка народна химна [Modern American national anthem]. {The United States still has not selected its national anthem}
- Међународно позориште [International theater]. {Preparation for the building of a new international theater in Berlin}
- Репертоар московског оперског друштва за иноземство [Repertoire of the Moscow opera society for the international tour]. {Announcement of the program for the tour in Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, London, Paris, and Milan}
- {Announcement of the death of members of the Society Gusle: Smilja Crvenkova, Ilija Dabić, Nikola Krčadinac}
- Испунило се пророчанство [A fulfilled prophecy]. {Only one composition is submitted to the competition for the best choral works announced by the Serbian choral society from Melenci since six-forint award was insufficient incentive}
- Осамнаеста слава заједнице певачких друштава швајцарских [The eighteenth celebration of the association of Swiss choral societies]. {Held in St. Gall}
- Позоришта у Паризу [Theaters in Paris]. {Report about finances of Paris theaters}
- Необична парница [Unusual court process]. {Report about the court procedures concerning whether or not the piano soloist should be placed on stage}
- Женски официри [Women as officers]. {Appointment of women as officers at the military academy in France}

NO. 9, P. 171–172C:

- “Пупољци” пред судом јавне критике [“Buds” exposed to public criticism]. {The journal *Javor* published a comment about the text from no. 4}
- Листова вероисповест [Liszt’s religiosity].

NO. 10, 1887, 185–188:

- Симфонијски концерти музикалног општества у Петрограду [Symphonic concerts of the Russian music society in St. Petersburg]. {Announcement of the 1887/88 series of concerts conducted by Anton Rubinštejn}
- Претплатни симфонијски концерти у Петрограду [Symphonic subscription concerts in St. Petersburg]. {Announcement of the four-concert series conducted by Rimskij-Korsakov}
- Завод за бесплатно изучавање гласбе у Петрограду [The institute for the free study of music in St. Petersburg]. {The music school founded by Milij Balakirev in 1862}
- Са конзерваторије у Петрограду [From the Conservatory in St. Petersburg].
- Нови руски гласботвори [New Russian compositions]. {New compositions by Cezar Kùj, Pëtr Il’ič Čajkovskij, and Karl Davidov}
- Дилегантска драматско-декламаторна задруга у Петрограду [Amateur dramatic theater society in St. Petersburg].
- Шпански на мађарској позорници [The Spanish language on the Hungarian stage]. {Singers in one performance of Verdi’s *Aida* performed in Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian}
- Најбоља мушка певачка задруга у Немачкој [The best male choral society in Germany]. {Choral society of teachers in Frankfurt am Main}
- Опет исторички концерти [Historical concerts again]. {Hans von Bülow is preparing a series of concerts}
- Нов изналазак у Белгији [New discovery in Belgium]. {Construction of an appliance for recording mechanical action on keyboard instruments}

- Са бечке глазбаоне [From a Viennese music room]. {Statistics about music students in Vienna}
- Ново позориште [New theater]. {Expansion of the theater building in Pressburg}
- Морска критика [Weird criticism]. {Report about negative criticism on Dvořák's opera *Šelma sedlák*, published in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*}
- Женски тенор [A female tenor singer]. {Italian alto Barnani-Dini trained her voice to sing in the tenor register}
- Шеста симфонија Рубинштајнова [Rubinštejn's sixth symphony]. {The sixth symphony, dedicated to Liszt, was performed at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig}
- Руско царско оперско друштво у Петрограду [Russian imperial opera society in St. Petersburg]. {Announcement of the repertoire for the current opera season}
- Одличије за глазбаре и глазботворце [Awards for musicians and composers]. {The French government established award Order Lyrique}
- Антон Рубинштајн на ново одликован [Anton Rubinštejn awarded again].
- Рубинштајнова опера “Фераморс” [Rubinštejn's opera *Feramors*]. {Performance of the opera at the German theater in Prague}
- “Souvenirs artistiques”. [The Belgian publisher Eduard Grégoir is working on a biographical dictionary and asks artists to send him information about themselves]
- Са Листовог гроба [From the grave of Liszt].
- Рубинштајнов “Демон” [Rubinštejn's *Demon*]. {The opera had its 101st performance in Moscow}
- Рубинштајнов “Неро” [Rubinštejn's *Nero*]. {Plans for performances of the opera in America}
- Е. Ремењи [E. Remény]. {The celebrated Hungarian violinist lives in America}

ПРОГРАМИ [PROGRAMS] – INCLUDES PROGRAMS OF CONCERTS

NO. 1, P. 16:

- У Новом-Саду о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Novi Sad]. {Celebration of the St. Sava Day at the Srpska velika gimnazija in Novi Sad}
- У Тамишвару на Богојављење [Epiphany in Timișoara]. {Srpska temišovarska pevačka družina}
- У В.-Кикинди, о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Velika Kikinda]. { Celebration of the St. Sava Day by the Pevačko društvo Gusle in Velika Kikinda}
- У Мартоношу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Martonoš].

NO. 2, P. 35–36С:

- У Г.-Карловцу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Gornji Karlovac]. {Srpska učiteljska škola}
- У Вршцу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Vršac]. {Srpski učiteljski zbor}
- У Панчеву о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Pančevo]. {Viša djevojačka škola}
- У Сомбору о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Sombor]. {Celebration of the St. Sava Day among Serbian clerks}
- У Загребу у очи св. Саве [The St. Sava Eve in Zagreb]. {Srpsko pevačko društvo}
- У Бањој Луци о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Banja Luka]. {Srpska pravoslavna osnovna škola}
- У Бјељини о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Bjeljina]. {Srpski crkveni školski odbor}
- У Земуну о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Zemun]. {Srpska crkvena pevačka zadruga}
- У Грацу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Graz]. {Srpsko akademsko pevačko društvo Srbadija}
- У Сарајеву о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Sarajevo]. {Srpska pravoslavna osnovna škola}
- У Доњем Осјеку о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Lower Osijek]. {Srpska čitaonica}
- У Дољ. Тузли светосавска беседа [The beseda on St. Sava Day in Doljnja Tuzla]. {Srpska crkveno školska opština}
- У Ковину 23. јануара (4. фебруара) [In Kovin, 23 January (4 February)]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Срем. Карловцима на три јерарха [In Sremskim Karlovcima on Three Holy Hierarchs]. {Srpska gimnazija}
- У Загребу 10/22. фебруара [In Zagreb on 10/22 February]. {Narodni zemaljski glazbeni zavod}
- У Панчеву 25. јануара [In Pančevo, 25 January]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}

- У Меленци на три јерарха [In Melenci on Three Holy Hierarchs]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo Kolo}
- У Вел.-Бечкереку 18/30. јануара [In Veliki Bečkerek 18/30 January]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo Zidanje Ravanice}

NO. 3, P. 56A–56B:

- У Н. Саду 1. фебруара [In Novi Sad, 1 February]. {The singer Dušan Janković}
- У В. Кикинди 2/14. фебруара [In Velika Kikinda, 2/14 February]. {Srpska занатлијска задруга}
- У Руми о св. Сретенију [In Ruma on St. Sretenije]. {Srpska занатлијска задруга}
- У Модошу о 9/21. фебруара [In Moduš, 9/21 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Новом Саду 15/27. фебруара [In Novi Sad, 15/27 February]. {Viša девојачка школа}
- У Вршцу 20. фебруара [In Vršac, 20 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Сегедину 20/8. фебруара [In Szeged, 20/8 February]. {Srpska женска задруга}
- У Белојцркви 20. фебруара [In Bela Crkva, 20 February]. {Srpsko pevačko društvo}
- У Панчеву 22. фебруара [In Pančevo, 22 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Митровици 23. фебруара [In Mitrovica, 23 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}

NO. 4, P. 86–87, 89:

- Панчево, 28. фебруара 1886 [In Pančevo, 28 February 1886]. {The Pančevačko pevačko društvo organized the second annual concert; the committee of the choral society decided to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the work with its conductor Mita Topalović}

NO. 5, 89A:

- У Панчеву на други дан ускрса [In Pančevo, on the day after Easter]. {The Pančevačko pevačko društvo organized a concert celebrating the 10th anniversary of the work with its conductor Mita Topalović}
- У Београду, на Цвети [In Beograd, on Palm Sunday]. {The Beogradsko radničko pevačko društvo organized a benefit for its conductor Jovan Ivanišević to study abroad.}

NO. 6, P. 124B:

- У Н.-Саду 25. маја/6. јуна [In Novi Sad, 25 May/6 June]. {Choral society of the Srpska čitaonica}
- У Ст.-Бечеју на други дан ускрса [In Stari Bečej, the day after Easter]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Котору 27. априла/9 маја [In Kotor, 27 April/9 May]. {The Gymnasium and the Srpsko pevačko društvo Jedinstvo}

NO. 7, P. 140A–B:

- У Вел.-Бечкереку 17/29. маја [In Veliki Bečkerek, 17/29 May]. {The Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo from Veliki Bečkerek organized a benefit concert for the Srpsko narodno pozorište in Novi Sad}
- У Београду 20. маја [In Belgrade, 20 May]. {The committee for support of poor students in Belgrade organized a concert}
- У Срем.-Карловци 13/25. маја [In Sremski Karlovci, 13/25 May]. {Dušan Janković with guests in Sremski Karlovci for the Srpsko narodno pozorište from Novi Sad}
- У Вршцу 21. маја [In Vršac, 21 May]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko in Vršac performed their 75th regular concert}
- У Темишвару 11/23. јуна [In Timisoara, 11/23 June]. {Srpsko pevačko društvo}
- У Меленци о Петрову-дне [In Melenci, on St. Peter's Day]. {Pevačko društvo Gusle from Velika Kikinda}

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

- Приступ [Editorial], no. 1, 1–2.
- Распис награде [Announcement of the award], no. 3, 45–46. {Competition for six mixed choral compositions, announced by the Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo Kolo in Melenci}
- Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, Pozdrav uredništvu "Gudala" [Greetings to the editors of *Gudala*], no. 4, 58–59.
- Б.Б., Почетци нотного црквеног појања у Панчеву и развиће Панчевачког црквеног

- певачког друштва [The beginnings of church singing in Pančevo from music scores and the development of the Pančevačko crkveno pevačko društvo], no. 4, 69–77. {The article emphasizes that members of the choral society were singing from notated scores, rather than as earlier following oral tradition}
- Позив на учешће у сталној специјалној изложби гласбовина и гласбала сталне изложбе учила у Грацу [Invitation to the permanent special exhibition of the compositions and music instruments at the permanent exhibition of teaching equipment in Graz], no. 4, 88a–88b.
 - Franjo Ks. Kuhač, Obći prikaz onih glasbala koja našem narodu rabe ili su mu se ikada rabila [General overview of instruments which are used in our nation, or were used in the past], no. 5, 98.
 - Преглед штампаних теоретичких, критичких и гласбено-зnanствених радња Фр. Ш. Кухача [An overview of printed theoretical, critical and music scholarly works by Franjo Ks. Kuhač], no. 5, 104b–04c.
 - Прослава дана смрти Сметанове у Прагу 11. и 12. маја о.г.п.н. [Commemoration on the death day of Smetana in Paris on 11 and 12 May of this year], no. 6, 121–22.
 - Досадашња издања друштва “Гусле” [Compositions published by the Choral Society Gusle], no. 7, 140a–40b. {In Velika Kikinda}
 - [Announcement of Franz Liszt’s death], no. 8, 141.
 - [Robert Tollinger], “Пупољци” од бунике и поп без петрахиља: Скромне примедбе на критику господина Јована Иванишевића штампану у 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. и 36. броју “Јавора” из године 1886 [“Buds” of henbane and priest without faith: Modest comments on the criticism by Mr. Jovan Ivanišević, printed in nos. 30, 31, 32, 33 34, 35 and 36 of *Javor* for the year 1886], no. 10, 188a–88c. {Editor of *Gudalo* is defending music terminology used in the journal, as well as his negative opinion of Ivanišević’s composition}

LA REVUE MUSICALE (1920–40) AND THE FOUNDING OF A MODERN MUSIC

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Founded in 1920 under the initiative of the musicologist Henry Prunières (1886–1942), *La revue musicale* adopted the principal mission to support the profound changes taking place in music during that period. The support the fledgling journal intended to lend to the development of music was grounded in its founder's desire to educate a music-loving readership as part of a general movement to develop musical understanding in France. In an interview of 1929, Prunières elaborated on the subject:

It seems to me that the duty of any music critic worthy of the title is to make every effort to dispel the public's ignorance and its absurd biases, to inspire simultaneously a love for the art of the past, which is above suspicion, and the art of the present, an *a priori* abomination. It was with this in mind that I founded *La revue musicale* in 1920.¹

Prunières directed this “international” revue until 1940, assisted by the music critic André Coeuroy, editor-in-chief until 1936, and later by composer-critic Robert Bernard who acted as co-director and editor-in-chief of the journal until the Second World War. Bernard later assumed directorship of the journal in the late 1940s.² *La revue musicale* published a great number of articles addressing questions of aesthetics, repertoire, and performance, devoting as much attention to early music as it did to contemporary works. Musical supplements, special issues, and numerous chronicles converge in an exceptional portrait of musical life in France and abroad—the journal having had collaborators in most European and American centers. Music critics (such as Vuillermoz or Schloezer), musicologists (such as Dufourcq, Dumesnil, Machabey, and Pincherle), composers

¹ “Le devoir du critique musical digne de ce nom me semble être de tenter les plus grands efforts pour dissiper l'ignorance du public et ses préventions absurdes, lui faire aimer à la fois l'art du passé qu'il ne soupçonne pas et l'art du présent qu'il abomine *a priori*. C'est dans cet esprit que j'ai fondé en 1920 *La revue musicale*.” Excerpted from an interview with Henry Prunières conducted by Frédéric Lefèvre for “Nouvelles Littéraires”, *La revue musicale* 10/98 (November 1929) 91.

² Composer and music scholar Robert Bernard (1900–71) was originally from Switzerland. After studying composition in Geneva, he became a professor at the Schola Cantorum and wrote music criticism. He contributed to *La revue musicale* with increasing regularity until he was appointed editor-in-chief. His publications include biographies of Franck, Aubert, and Roussel, as well as a work entitled *Les tendances de la musique française moderne* (1930).

(such as Auric, Samazeuilh, Koechlin, Milhaud, Honegger, Tansman, and Wellesz), and performers (such as Ansermet or Cortot) all contributed articles to this journal, which not only provided a remarkable representation of the musical milieu and the ideas that permeated it, but also situated musical works in an international context and explored deeply burning questions of language and aesthetics of the 1920s and 1930s, such as modernity, polytonality, the reception of Schoenberg's music, neoclassicism, the influence of jazz, and even the effect of technological developments such as recording and radio on musical creativity.

La revue musicale also constitutes a remarkable source of articles on contemporary composers (Dukas, Debussy, Hindemith, Ravel, Satie, Stravinsky, Caplet, and Roussel) and on early music that contributed to an understanding of the repertoire and the development of public taste. A number of articles are devoted to early music editing, correspondence and important texts, and historical studies of the biographies and works of composers from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries (Boïeldieu, Mouret, Rameau, Lully). This pronounced effort would prove considerably influential on the new generations of composers of the 1920s and 1930s who had greater access to early music and to the aesthetic theories that surrounded the repertoire. The critical apparatus developed by *La revue musicale* may be considered a key element in the development of the "neoclassical" music that was so important in France at the time. It should be noted that in addition to intense publishing activity, journal editors organized concerts intended to complement monthly issues, and more particularly, a series of special numbers devoted as much to contemporary French composers as to earlier artists such as Wagner, Lully, Beethoven, Chopin, and Mozart, and including poets such as Goethe and Ronsard.

The texts that emanated from the editorial committee undeniably oriented the journal towards the promotion of a modern aesthetic that eschewed the intransigent nationalism that marked the French musical milieu prior to the First World War. In order to accomplish this, the journal developed a network of influence. Aside from correspondents placed all over the world, the journal would channel its readership's attention to specific topics such as ballet, the relationship between literature and music, and the state of music in the world. The journal also became a meeting ground with its *Mardi de La revue musicale* (Musical revue Tuesdays) that worked to define the bases and characteristics of the kind of modern music that Prunières and his regular contributors envisaged. First organized at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier—which belonged to Jacques Copeau, an active member of *La nouvelle revue française*—these events provided occasions to hear works by certain French and foreign contemporary composers alongside music by early masters, much like the general programming at Copeau's theater, in which works by Molière, Shakespeare, and Claudel were freely intermingled. Thus audiences experienced concert combinations that were eloquent in terms of their symbolic meaning. In the course of a single season (1936), it was possible to hear a saxophone quartet concert, another featuring violin music by Mondonville and Biber followed by works of Pierre-Octave Ferroud, or a recital devoted to the music of Robert Schumann (to complement a special issue of 1936), which concluded with Albert Roussel's *Sinfonietta*.

HENRY PRUNIÈRES. Henry Prunières was born in Paris in 1886. He studied music history with Romain Rolland at the Sorbonne from 1906 to 1913, at which point he defended a doctoral dissertation entitled *L'opéra italien en France avant Lulli*. As

a musicologist, Prunières would later be considered one of the great specialists of 17th-century French and Italian music, in a career launched by the publication of his dissertation in 1913. After 1930 he directed the edition of the complete works of Lully, though the project was only completed after his death, and wrote a biography of the composer as well as numerous articles on a variety of subjects related to his period of specialization. It should be noted that Prunières's work on Lully continues to function as a point of reference for research in the field.

This tremendous interest in the music of the past strongly influenced *La revue musicale*, where early music occupied a place of privilege. Guided by the spirit of *La nouvelle revue française*, a publication grounded in an openness of spirit and sensitive blending of artistic disciplines, Prunières in no way limited his project to a strictly musicological approach. In any case, the *Revue de musicologie*, founded earlier in 1917, already satisfied the needs of this segment of the market. As a “friend of Stravinsky, Alban Berg, and Milhaud, and the biographer of Monteverdi and Lulli,”³ Prunières conceived of *La revue musicale* as a project that would not only create ties between music and other artistic disciplines such as dance and literature, but would also bring together an increasingly broad range of styles, genres, and aesthetic constructs. From its earliest issues onward, a basis of inclusion and interdisciplinarity is reflected in the review's subtitle “Revue internationale d'art musical ancien et moderne” (A international review of early and modern musical art).

LA REVUE MUSICALE AND LA NOUVELLE REVUE FRANÇAISE. Initially *La revue musicale* appears intimately connected to the same readership as *La nouvelle revue française*, as well as the Éditions Gallimard, which supported Prunières's review during the 1920s. The founding of *La nouvelle revue française* dates back to 1908–09 and coincides with the formation of André Gide's literary circle, which included Jacques Copeau and Jacques Rivière. By 1911 Gide felt compelled to widen the scope of the review's activities and, with Jean Schlumberger and Gaston Gallimard, he created the Éditions de *La nouvelle revue française*. Suspended throughout the First World War, publication of the review resumed in 1919 with the appointment of Jacques Rivière as director. At the same time Gaston Gallimard took indirect control of Éditions de la *Nouvelle revue française* by founding the Librairie Gallimard, a publication consortium that managed an increasingly significant group of editing activities. Over the years Gallimard flourished through initiatives that included the opening of a Parisian bookstore, an increase in the number of titles available for mass consumption such as *Nouvelles littéraires* (1922) and the sensational journal *Le détective* (1928), as well as more or less independent reviews from within the Gallimard consortium, including *La revue musicale* (1920), *La revue juive* (1925), and *La revue du cinéma* (1929). As a publication managed from the outset by Marcel Doisy, Gaston Gallimard, and Henry Prunières, *La revue musicale* was integrated within a remarkable intellectual and commercial network that explains, in part, not only its success, but also its national and international reputation.⁴

The fact that between 1920 and 1926 *La revue musicale* was published by *La nouvelle revue française*—which was clearly identified with literary figures such as Rivière,

³ “Hommage à Henry Prunières,” *La revue musicale* brochure (1952–53) 18.

⁴ Three months into its publication, *La revue musicale* circulated to some 1300 subscribers, which is considerable by comparison with the *La nouvelle revue française* which had the same number of subscribers during this time period. See Lefèvre, “Nouvelles Littéraires,” 92.

Cocteau, Gide, Claudel, Valéry, and Breton who defended new French literature, several of whom worked closely with composers such as Milhaud and Honegger—proved definitive in setting out the review's fundamental principles. Aside from political or non-political trends associated with *La nouvelle revue française* that infiltrated Prunières's review, this new music periodical appeared to be endowed with a "social" worldview similar to *La nouvelle revue française's* between the two world wars, more specifically in the years that Jacques Rivière directed the literary review. Rivière used *La nouvelle revue française* as a platform to express his "pro-European and pacifist stance, and to militate against Poincaré's policies in favor of a Franco-German reconciliation"⁵

Prunières shared this vision of a new and modern world, and this is why he surrounded himself with collaborators who would help him attain this ideal. André Coeuroy, a student of Max Reger who was also a polyglot with an excellent knowledge of German, was engaged as editor-in-chief and would later carve out a considerable place in the periodical for early and modern German music, as well as works from nations newly born from the treaty of Versailles such as Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Memoirs published by Claude Delvincourt reveal that Prunières meditated on his project for several years prior to the founding of *La revue musicale*. As a resident at the Villa Médicis in 1917, the composer met Prunières who "was thinking about creating a music journal in the grand style, which he ... spoke of often with a certain amount of anxiety.... Would he ever be able to realize this ambitious project?"⁶ The Italian music critic Guido Maria Gatti confirms this:

[*La revue musicale*] was born during one of his soirées, where musicians, painters, writers, and music critics assembled at his house on the Corso d'Italia.... I had several conversations with him and Alfredo Casella on a subject we took to heart: to create a review in support of the musical movement that was developing in all countries at the time, which appeared very distinctly as a fundamental disruption.⁷

When Jacques Rivière assumed the directorship of *La nouvelle revue française* in 1919, an exceptional set of circumstances was created for Prunières. From that point on he was able to count on an intellectual and publishing infrastructure that would support his project, the foundations of which were closely bound to the broader objectives of Rivière's *La nouvelle revue française*. The latter's intellectual and social vision emerged in Prunières's new publication, which defended the same idea of a universal modernity that was also based on a specific type of classicism, one that transcended boundaries, time, and the conflicts that had marked the history of Western music up to that point.

The editorial that Rivière published in 1919, as *La Nouvelle revue française* was beginning to resume its activities, constituted a rally cry that Prunières very much expected. In this text, Rivière defines the guiding principles and editorial policies not only for *La nouvelle revue française*, but also for the full range of activities of the Éditions

⁵ See the historical summary for Éditions Gallimard on the publisher's website.

⁶ "Pensait à la création d'une revue musicale de grand style dont il... parlait souvent avec une certain anxiété... Pourrait-il jamais réaliser cet ambitieux projet." "Hommage à Henry Prunières", 13.

⁷ "[*La revue musicale*] naquit pendant une de ces soirées au cours desquelles il rassemblait dans sa maison du Corso d'Italia des musiciens, des peintres, des écrivains et des critiques musicaux.... Je m'étreints à plusieurs reprises, avec lui et Alfredo Casella, du sujet qui nous tenait à cœur : créer une revue pour appuyer le mouvement musical qui se développait dans tous les pays à ce moment et qui s'annonçait avec l'aspect précis d'un bouleversement fondamental." Ibid., 16.

de la *Nouvelle revue française*. These directional lines of force would be more or less replicated in *La revue musicale*:

We would like to recreate the impartial review, a publication where we will continue freely to judge and to create, not as though “nothing had happened”, but by continuing to obey, in every instance, only specific principles.... In these pages, readers will find a minimum of will and intention, and a maximum of reality and evidence.⁸

Directed by Rivière, *La nouvelle revue française*'s aesthetic and critical project acquired great significance that most certainly had an influence on the editorial policies of *La revue musicale*, which, in Prunière's words, “reported from an international point of view”, without necessarily neglecting “to glorify certain outstanding French musicians.”⁹ A simple parallel between Prunière's words and those of Rivière tells much:

Already in the past what we admired in *La nouvelle revue française* was that alongside a perfect openness of spirit lay an ability to show taste and preference. Its opinions could be deciphered. It had ideas in the back of its head. At the same time, it could be as sensitive as a microphone to the slightest rustle of Beauty, even while it sought it out in likely places. Today, more than ever, it is our intention to do the work of the critic, that is, to discover, choose, and recommend.¹⁰

This passage reveals not only the affinities between the two men, but the similarities between the fundamental objectives of the two reviews. With respect to *La nouvelle revue française*, it was a case of Rivière conceiving an organ that would promulgate a new art built on the past (romanticism and symbolism) and on awareness through the process of reason: “We welcome the assertion of intelligence that visibly seeks to reclaim its rights in art today; not by entirely supplanting sensibility, but by penetrating it in order to analyze and master it.”¹¹ Prunière found in *La nouvelle revue française* not only an echo of his thought, but also an exceptional vehicle that could be used to reach the French and international intellectual and artistic milieu that would nourish the movement towards a new art, musical responses to which eventually came from Stravinsky, Ravel, Prokof'ev, Bartók, Honegger, Casella, Hindemith, and Martinů, to name only a few.

The destiny of *La nouvelle revue française* changed course after 1925 with the death of Jacques Rivière and the appointment of Jean Paulhan as editor-in-chief, with the strong support of Gaston Gallimard. The political evolution in France, rumors first of fascism and then nazism, and then another world war motivated the publication of increasingly insistent position statements by the review's authors, and this despite Paulhan's considerable effort to distance the publication as much as possible from

⁸ “Nous voulons refaire une revue désintéressée, une revue où l'on continuera de juger et de créer en toute liberté d'esprit, non pas 'comme si rien ne s'était passé' mais en continuant de n'obéir, dans chaque ordre, qu'à des principes spécifiques.... On trouvera dans ses pages, le minimum de volonté et d'intention, la maximum de réalité et d'évidence.” Jacques Rivière, “*La nouvelle revue française*”, *Études Études (1909–1924)*, ed. and annot. by Alain Rivière (Paris: Gallimard, 1999) 33–34.

⁹ Lefèvre, “Nouvelles littéraires”, 91.

¹⁰ “Déjà dans le passé, ce qu'on aimait dans *La nouvelle revue française*, c'est qu'à côté d'une parfaite ouverture d'esprit elle savait montrer du goût et des préférences. On lui devinait des opinions. Elle avait des idées de derrière la tête. En même temps qu'elle savait se rendre sensible comme un microphone aux moindres bruissements de la Beauté, tout de même elle la cherchait dans la direction d'où elle devait venir. Aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, nous avons l'intention de faire œuvre critique, c'est-à-dire de discerner, de choisir, de recommander.” Rivière, “*La nouvelle revue française*”, 34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

every form of dogmatism.¹² As a result, those involved with *La revue musicale* began to dissociate themselves from the milieu of *La nouvelle revue française* and in 1926 the consortium seems to have withdrawn support from its sister publication. It is not difficult to imagine that with Rivière's death, Prunières's review lost some of its importance in the eyes of the Éditions de la *Nouvelle revue française* directors, as Gaston Gallimard turned towards other fields of interest he deemed more "contemporary", and above all, more profitable. The infant Gallimard empire immersed itself in the publication of *Le détective*, which had mass circulation, and *La revue du cinéma* in 1928. But not all bridges were burned. A close collaborator of *La revue musicale*, Boris de Schloezer, remained with *La nouvelle revue française* while contributing more than 100 items to the black-sheep journal between October of 1921 and June of 1940. And other writers also contributed to both reviews: André Suarès, Georges Jean-Aubry, and Léon-Paul Fargue in particular.

While there existed a close relationship between *La revue musicale* and *La nouvelle revue française* that was maintained by, among others, Rivière (whose particular sensitivity to the musical milieu and whose artistic affinities closely approximated those of Prunières), a number of points of contention grew up between the two organizations that provide concrete testimony to the aesthetic orientation and ideological autonomy that Prunières had in mind for his review. In the early 1920s, several texts devoted to the activities of the Ballets Suédois and to the works of the Groupe des Six betray a sure knowledge of dadaism and surrealism, and occupy an important place at the center of the literary review. Auric's *Parade* (1921) and Morand's *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* (1921) figured as reviews alongside Brossard's critique of Alfred Jarry's *Ubu-Roi* (1921). In the context of the surrealist universe cultivated by several authors affiliated with *La nouvelle revue française*, it is not surprising to read apocalyptic discourse such as Auric's in the passage below.

There is no doubt that a new world is imminent, and it seems to me that what we agreed to call "works" will no longer do. The generations that immediately preceded us are crushed beneath the vanity of all their art. Further discussion can only entail repetition ad nauseum, but it is nonetheless important to reiterate that our flight from so much "beauty" will truly be *a rising from among the dead*.¹³

There was little place for momentarily "extremist" thinking such as this in *La revue musicale* under Prunières's direction. If we are able to rely on what he wrote to Koechlin in 1921, Prunières had absolutely no interest in *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* or the many other works by the young members of the Groupe des Six.¹⁴ But Prunières's opinions should not be considered absolute dictates, as another letter to Koechlin reveals:

¹² Martyn Cornick, *The Nouvelle revue française under Jean Paulhan, 1925–1940* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995) 20.

¹³ "Sans nul doute un monde nouveau se prépare et il me semble que ce qu'on a convenu d'appeler des œuvres ne lui servira en rien. Les générations qui nous précèdent immédiatement, les voici écrasés par la vanité de tout leur art. À parler encore de celui-ci on ne peut que rabâcher, mais il importe tout de même de le dire : notre évasion de tant de 'beauté' sera véritablement le réveil d'entre les morts." Georges Auric, "Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. – Les Ballets russes: à propos de *Parade*", *La nouvelle revue française* (1 February 1921) 224–27, reproduced in *Lesprit NRF, 1908–1940* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1990) 342–43.

¹⁴ Unpublished letter from Henry Prunières to Charles Koechlin dated 25 June 1921 (Paris, Médiathèque Musicale Mahler, Fonds Koechlin, correspondence, box 13).

Your article on sensitivity in music enchanted me. I entirely share your ideas on this point, and your wisdom provides a useful counterbalance to certain ramblings that can be found in the same issue of *La revue musicale*.¹⁵

For the review's editorial committee, this was more a matter of supporting the emergence of a new music guided by 17th- and 18th-century pre-Classic and Classic forms rooted in the double heritage of the Bach–Beethoven–Wagner line and the Fauré–Debussy tradition. The best example of this is found in the writings of Charles Koechlin, who contributed regularly to the review. This same agenda shines through Prunières's 1935 summary of musical creativity in France:

In all the work produced by French musicians today, there are really only two broad tendencies. The first leads the French, like the musicians of all the other countries, in tow towards classic and preclassic forms. The second provides many of its enthusiasts with a rather false ideal in the form of urbane salon music. In Germany, however, it was possible to discern a movement in favor of folk music between 1923 and 1933.¹⁶

This historical overview of the foundation of *La revue musicale* provides only a prelude to more substantial research that will be spread over the next few years. But it is already evident, and it is the hypothesis of the Observatoire International de la Création et des Cultures Musicales research group, that studying *La revue musicale* will shed light on the tremendous variety of influences and relationships that shaped the musical activity of this era in the same way as the creation of new works, in which the new blended with the nation's musical legacy and branched out far beyond the French border. We stand before a highly complex portrait of musical evolution after 1920 in which the interaction between new and old works plays a central role, and where the latter reemerges in the former through the aesthetic principles of neoclassicism.

The energy generated by *La revue musicale's* various spheres of activity undoubtedly contributed to the renewal of musical thought in France. The journal thus assumed a functional role—in Hans Robert Jauss's definition—in the same way that realities of music practice itself would later take part in the evolution of musical thought among musicians and audiences alike. The *Revue* both guided and modified its readership's vision of the discipline—something that had been shaped previously by its surrounding environment and context.¹⁷ Assimilation of the *Revue's* content also engendered a change in social behavior with respect to musical activities (i.e., concerts, publications, and recordings) through the development of new aesthetic criteria and exposure to new listening habits.

¹⁵ "J'ai été enchanté de votre article sur la sensibilité dans la musique. Je partage entièrement vos idées sur ce point et votre sagesse me paraît opposer un utile contrepoint à certaines divagations dont on pouvait trouver trace dans le même numéro de *La revue musicale*." Unpublished letter from Henry Prunières to Charles Koechlin dated 25 February 1929 (Paris, Médiathèque Musicale Mahler, Fonds Koechlin, correspondance, box 13).

¹⁶ "Dans tout mouvement créateur des musiciens français, nous ne pouvons guère aujourd'hui discerner que deux tendances. La première entraîne les français comme les musiciens de tous les autres pays vers les formes classiques et préclassiques, la seconde fournit à beaucoup d'entre eux un idéal assez factice de musique mondaine de salon. Au contraire, en Allemagne, nous voyons de 1923 à 1933, se dessiner un mouvement en faveur d'une musique populaire." Henry Prunières, "Les tendances actuelles de la musique (2^e partie)", *La revue musicale* 17/163 (February 1936), 85. This is a collection of excerpts from Prunières study published in volume 7 of *L'encyclopédie française* ("Les arts du temps" section).

¹⁷ See Hans Robert Jauss, *Pour une esthétique de la réception*, trans. from German by Claude Maillard (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) 80.

A shift in the attention of the bourgeois milieu occurs in the 1920s, from the concert that sustained, perhaps unknowingly, the art of the “scandalous event”¹⁸, to an activity that was fundamentally intellectual in character and based on an awareness of a historical lineage that was already part of contemporary music. This awareness coincided with the gradual crumbling of the bourgeois, partly aristocratic audience’s political and economic underpinnings.¹⁹ Modern art became distanced from more revolutionary models of radical change, breaking completely with the past, in favor of an intellectual approach that was more deeply rooted in the cultural values and treasures of a past that seemed more essential for consumers of learned music. *La revue musicale* thus created an extended network for the dissemination of musical knowledge that opened up new horizons. This network rested on a remarkable alliance between musical traditions in the process of rediscovery and the performance of new works that were also part of the revival. Prunières’s journal became a beacon for an entire segment of the European musical milieu that might well have disappeared after the First World War. After 20 years of methodically constructing a new musical art, firmly grounded in its roots and in its attachment to the Classicism of the Enlightenment, it would unfortunately take only five years of war to permanently extinguish the flame of this astonishingly illuminating musical torch.

¹⁸ We can quote the scandal around the premiere of Ravel’s *Histoires naturelles* or Stravinsky’s *Le sacre du printemps*.

¹⁹ Based on the partial list of guests for the opening of its new offices in 1936, the milieu surrounding *La revue musicale* differed substantially from societies such as *La Sérénade*. The urbane world has a presence, but those in attendance from this sector are atypical representatives, composed of intellectuals and highly placed government officials.

TOWARDS A TOPOLOGY OF AESTHETIC DISCUSSION CONTAINED IN *LA REVUE MUSICALE* OF THE 1920S

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The themes treated in *La revue musicale* under the direction of Henry Prunières are characterized by both their richness and their diversity. Whether it is a question of music history, of modernity, of non-Western musics, or simply of the relationship between music and the other worlds of art, the range of subjects broached not only serves to elucidate the intellectual ferment that characterized the interwar period but also the refinement of results proper to musical epistemology. In studying the journal I have uncovered a train of thought that not only reveals the richness of these reflections but also permits one to grasp the position of the different writers with regards to the intellectual discourse of the period and the musicological challenges it confronts (i.e., aesthetic interests). Themes recur in a variety of guises. The value of art, its anthropological scope and artistic perfection provide inexhaustible sources of discussion for the review's various authors. Furthermore the authors make conscious efforts to elevate the quality of the discourse and its heuristic impact in order to force the music lover to consider such lofty aesthetic and moral concerns as what constitutes a masterpiece and how it may be identified as such. For the researcher the vast aesthetic field that this line of inquiry presents opens up the possibility for a classification of aesthetic interests and thus accordingly the themes treated and the methods of argument used in the different articles. This classification in turn provides a means of evaluating the quality of the discourse during the period in addition to its heuristic and epistemological value *vis-à-vis* the context in which it is found.

In order to better demonstrate and evaluate the multitude of aesthetic interests and the arguments which define them, the present study is divided into two parts. The first part questions the notion of what constituted aesthetics for the people of the period and the fields of investigation that served to define it, resulting in a topology of aesthetic interest in relation to the themes broached and the structure of inquiry. A substantial part of the analysis is given to the themes of the articles and the elements that cap the defended discourse. Thus the aesthetic interests are revealed in all of their specificity. Only representative examples will be used to support the proposed topology. Albeit

confined to the 1920s, the exhaustive nature of the subjects discussed provides more than enough material for the present study. A more accurate panorama of aesthetic concerns emerges from the aforementioned analysis that facilitates a better understanding of the epistemological preoccupations guiding an intellectual *milieu* in ferment over all facets of modern art and the resultant reevaluation of art as a whole.

AESTHETICS IN *LA REVUE MUSICALE*: A POLYMORPHOUS INTEREST. It is impossible to derive a classification of aesthetic interests without first understanding what the people of the period understood as aesthetics. What was meant by the field of aesthetics at the time? is the most logical question to ask before beginning this study. The question is complicated by the fact that in the history of the discipline aesthetics has not ceased to clad itself in different guises by questioning the very nature of its being and heuristic modalities. Even today no single aesthetic viewpoint can be identified. Aesthetics is by its very nature ambiguous, thereby permitting (no doubt strategically) the treatment of a plethora of themes linked by concepts of sensibility and the “art work”. In order to better appreciate the issues from the interwar period it is important to identify the concepts that are grouped together today under the umbrella of “aesthetics”.

The ambivalence that has always characterized aesthetics derives from its double but not dualist nature. On one hand we have the reflection on the “art object”, the questioning of its artistic value—and the type of language used and what it can reveal. On the other, we have the reflections questioning the reception of the “art work” and the sensory experience attached to that reception. If the first leans towards the poetics—where the compositional aspect effects a return to the aesthetic—the second brings about a contrary movement. This ambivalence is only apparent *a priori* since far from defining a fixed reality, the two categories are deployed conjointly to address the subject at hand. *La revue musicale* of the 1920s does not escape this ambivalent use of the concept of aesthetics. While the field of aesthetics is often invoked to investigate the particular experience to which the musical object refers, it is more often used in the investigation of the art object and its creation via discussions on the modality of its existence. During the period authors of the journal unceasingly questioned the genesis of art works and the poetic mechanisms which contributed to their creation. In the article “Psychologie et musique” by Boris de Schloezer,¹ the Russian musicologist strives to understand the psychic element that he feels forms the basis of artistic creation. For Schloezer, the artist is at once thoughtful and emotive—it is the artist who realizes the art work from a unique position which defines it. By concentrating on the hermeneutics of the poetic strategies unique to the composer, Schloezer tries to grasp the essence of the musical and the specific. The author’s study, however, does not concentrate solely on an investigation of poetics. He also considers the psychological functions that form the basis of reception in conjunction with the formal character of the art work. Thus the inherent ambivalence of aesthetics unfolds in Schloezer’s article into the search for an original perspective taking into account the two fundamental poles of the work of art: its creation and its reception, both subject to the contingencies of psychism.

A sign that this ambivalence has permeated all bodies of knowledge is that we also find it in the secondary musicological discipline associated with music aesthetics. The lexicographic entry in the 1980 edition of *The new Grove* defines “aesthetics of music” as

¹ *La revue musicale* 2/8 (June 1921) 244–56.

“The philosophy of the meaning and value of music”.² The entry is significant in that from the outset of the definition philosophy is linked with the field of aesthetics as though the two were inseparable. When it comes time in turn to define music aesthetics, a plethora of subjects are treated, ranging from beauty in music to the specificity of artistic practices. This last phrase leaves no doubt as to the problem posed by the heuristic positioning of music aesthetics: “The word ‘aesthetics’ is also often used more broadly, to include all the intellectual enterprises we have just ruled out; and more narrowly, to apply only attempts to establish a rational basis for enjoyment and evaluation.”³ Thus we have passed from an ambivalent notion to a field that encompasses the ensemble of intellectual enterprise consecrated to music and the rational foundation of knowledge that permits one to evaluate it (music). Is this not what Adler called systematic musicology?⁴ Sign of the time? Perhaps. But above all, it signifies a growing awareness that saw *The new Grove* of 2001 group music aesthetics under the heading “Philosophy of music”;⁵ thus underscoring the fact that aesthetics in music is differentiated primarily by the conceptual baggage to which it has recourse and is justly influenced by philosophy. Philosophical discourse on music therefore shares an epistemological “ground” connecting the anthropological and the ontological to the value of music. It is important to stress the scientific relevance of these discussions by linking them to the vast field of philosophical knowledge—in a way similar to Schloezer’s affirmation that “aesthetics submits artistic phenomena to scientific inquiry”.⁶

One must not forget, however, the more traditional notions upon which aesthetics has long been based: beauty, taste, appreciation, sensibility. Albeit a very broad definition of aesthetics, it is yet apt. Carducci-Agustini says of aesthetics that it is “the study of the notion of art and that the notion itself cannot be extracted from the problem of all knowledge.”⁷ This in some senses echos the preoccupations of *The new Grove* of 2001. But this definition also reminds us of the more elementary enterprise which forms the basis of aesthetics—to separate art from what it is not, to evaluate the quality of the art work, its worth and the many notions that constitute the concept of “beauty”. The problem is approached in this very way in *La revue musicale*—in the discussion by Raymond Petit who writes: “aesthetics in and of itself—the ideas man forms of ‘the beautiful’—all of this appears difficult to separate from the more general views of the world.”⁸ Here Petit expresses the need to link the study of art to larger discussions on the state of anthropology or the future of humanity—to question the social utility of art and its contribution to the well-being of man.

² F.E. Sparshott, “Aesthetics of music”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan; New York: Grove’s Dictionaries, 1980) vol. 1, 120.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Jean-Jacques Nattiez, “L’inconfort de la musicologie”, *La musique, la recherche et la vie: Un dialogue et quelques dérivés* (Montréal: Leméac, 1999) 219–35.

⁵ Andrew Bowie, Stephen Davies, Lydia Goehr, and F.E. Sparshott, “Philosophy of music”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 19, 601–31.

⁶ “L’esthétique soumet à la science le phénomène artistique.” Boris de Schloezer, “Réflexions sur la musique: Esthétique musicale”, *La revue musicale* 6/10 (August 1925) 172.

⁷ “L’étude de la notion d’art, et que cette notion ne peut être abstraite du problème de la connaissance tout entier.” Edgardo Carducci-Agustini, “Rapports entre la musique et les autres arts”, *La revue musicale* 7/10 (August 1926) 133.

⁸ “L’esthétique en elle-même, les idées que les hommes se forment du beau, tout cela paraît bien difficilement séparable de vues plus générales sur l’ensemble du monde.” Raymond Petit, “Musique supra sensible et musique humaine”, *La revue musicale* 8/8 (June 1927) 292.

Others have a more normative view of the birth of art. In an article by Moch, also written for *La revue musicale*, aesthetics is defined as a science capable of “releasing a few laws common to all the arts.”⁹ Somewhat surprising from a contemporary standpoint is the constant need of the period’s authors to establish a series of laws that serve to proscribe the “true” rules for creation that will culminate in works worthy of the term “art”. While not always expressed overtly, this preoccupation remains constant for the various writers of *La revue musicale*. In a way, in all of the articles directly or indirectly treating the subject of aesthetics, the authors attempt to establish a set of normative criteria to ennoble artistic creation and the performance of art, thereby supporting the concepts of “the musical” and the ideologies they defend. When Jimenez affirms that “aesthetics as a separate discipline is authorized to reflect on art—on works forging a conceptual universe building ‘a knowledge’”,¹⁰ he encapsulates the ideal to which the aesthetic reflections of *La revue musicale* point. Such criteria also provide a means of linking “the musical” to the larger artistic discourse in order to better overcome the marginalised nature of “sound art”. The period is more relativist on the topic of art. Indeed arguments strongly marked by the search for normative general “truths” by which to group art either in terms of common objectives or destiny (according to social or anthropological efficiency) are often overwhelmed by constant intellectual gymnastics.

While a more in-depth analysis of the discussion on what aesthetics represented for the authors of *La revue musicale* lies beyond the scope of this paper, the brief discussion in the previous paragraphs nevertheless brings to light certain key notions of the period that play a structural role with regards to the ideas promoted in *La revue musicale* and the arguments themselves. Beauty, normative criteria, the establishment of universal laws, musical sensibility—all of these together helped to create a system of concepts, a veritable theoretical “ground”, upon which music lovers of the period could reflect and which they could put to work in making sense of art and music. Thus aesthetics constitutes one of the primary functions of knowledge. In a single phrase, Jimenez captures the essence of what is found in *La revue musicale* of the period: “This system circumscribes a theoretical space, a veritable epistemological environment, where one can speak, be understood but also confront and contradict those who would discuss aesthetics.”¹¹

THE CLASSIFICATION OF AESTHETIC SUBJECTS. The aesthetic interests of *La revue musicale* can be grouped into three general categories: (1) the aesthetic reflections expressed or revealed through explorations of the extramusical; (2) reflections that concentrate on the aesthetic object itself; and (3) reflections touching on general epistemology. Limiting the scope of the aforementioned categories can only furnish a partial delineation of the subjects broached and the interests manifested therein. The aforementioned categories are in no way intended as hard and fast rules, and yet they are self-contained. In order to achieve a better classification of the many branches of

⁹ “Dégager quelques lois communes à tous les arts.” F. Moch, “Réflexions sur l’esthétique, la poésie et la prosodie”, *La revue musicale* 10/9 (September–October 1929) 232.

¹⁰ “L’esthétique, quant à elle, comme discipline à part entière, s’autorise à réfléchir sur l’art et sur les oeuvres en forgeant un univers conceptuel constitutif d’un savoir.” Marc Jimenez, *Qu’est-ce que l’esthétique?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 20–21.

¹¹ “Ce système circonscrit un espace théorique, un véritable lieu épistémologique où peuvent se parler et se comprendre, mais aussi s’affronter et se contredire, ceux qui entendent traiter d’esthétique.” *Ibid.*, 25.

aesthetic discussion presented in *La revue musicale* of the 1920s, these three categories may be further broken down into subcategories.

Category 1: Aesthetic reflections expressed or revealed through explorations of the extramusical. Extramusical interests are omnipresent in *La revue musicale*. For example, numerous articles strive to describe the relationship between certain mythic figures of Western culture and music. Armand Machabey's essay on Montaigne and music,¹² Maurice Barrès's article on the pleasure of music chez Stendhal,¹³ that of Gabriel Marcel consecrated to the possible interpretation of Bergson's philosophical ideas in music¹⁴—all constitute examples of this type of article. The overriding concern for each author is the linking of music to the larger cultural field by using the encounter between a canonized genius and music as a point of intersection. Further examples of this are found in the articles on Goethe, Rousseau, Delacroix, and Proust. In a culture strongly influenced by literature, particularly French, there is an effort to counter the marginalisation of music by linking it to other domains of art and culture, thereby underscoring its importance for the human genus—for all time and all periods. In the "Chroniques et notes" section of the review, for example, the section titled "La musique et les lettres" comments on the aesthetic preoccupations that lie at the core of musical study. The link between music and literature was established during the 1920s by the review's senior editor, André Coeuroy. In 1923, Coeuroy authored a work on music and literature in which he explains his aesthetic position: "I propose here to persuade writers that the musical idea is not negligible to musicians, that literature is not an Ivory Tower—to all intellectuals—that music is not on the margin of intellect. The most noble undertaking of intelligence strives towards a convergence of all arts."¹⁵

Coeuroy's statement exemplifies the preoccupations inherent in the first extramusical category. This tendency to group writers and musicians together according to a common theme is also true of the other arts, most notably dance, painting and cinema. Two subcategories emerge: one represented by the interest in linking music and literature; the other, music and the whole ensemble of the arts. In the article "La couleur en mouvement décor rationnel de la musique",¹⁶ Carol-Bérard suggests an ideal way of integrating music with the visual in order to heighten perception. In a text by Lionel Landry entitled "Musique et cinéma",¹⁷ the author confronts the artificial segregation of the arts by highlighting the role music plays in perception during the screening of a film. In the aforementioned articles those elements deemed extramusical only appear as such. Their function is to return focus to the music in such a way as to better elucidate that which links it to the other arts; to prove how the arts share a common conceptual ground which in turn may be used to achieve better comprehension.

¹² Armand Machabey, "Montaigne et la musique", *La revue musicale* 9/9 (July 1928) 260–71; 9/10 (August 1928) 342–50; idem, "La musique au temps de Montaigne", *La revue musicale* 9/11 (October 1928) 465–74; 10/1 (November 1928) 37–45.

¹³ Maurice Barrès, "Stendhal et la musique", *La revue musicale* 1/ 1 (November 1920) 22–27.

¹⁴ Gabriel Marcel, "Bergonisme et musique", *La revue musicale* 6/5 (March 1925) 219–29.

¹⁵ "On se propose ici de persuader les écrivains que l'idée musicale n'est pas négligeable, aux musiciens que la littérature n'est pas une tour d'ivoire, à tous les intellectuels que la musique n'est pas en marge de l'esprit. La démarche la plus noble de l'intelligence s'achemine vers la convergence des arts." André Coeuroy, "Musique et littérature", *La revue musicale* 5/4 (February 1924) 187.

¹⁶ *La revue musicale* 3/8 (August 1922) 147–61.

¹⁷ *La revue musicale* 8/4 (February 1927) 136–41.

Category 2: Reflections that concentrate on the aesthetic object itself. In writings touching on musical language, it is the notion of the work that is queried—all the benefits derived when the human dimension of music is considered. Ideas concerning the very essence of creation are questioned: the psychic and physiological that lead to a work's creation and the value that may be given creation in light of established normative criteria. In other words, the aesthetic reflections attached to the work of art result in a certain humanization of a field that would otherwise be solely determined by the technical nature of language. The work is therefore treated in its entirety through aesthetic discussion that reveals an order which constitutes part of a broader discourse. Within this category, three subcategories can be discerned. The first is characterized by reflections on a musical language where the artistic goal is to achieve maximal procedural efficiency with regard to certain characteristics such as balance, size, beauty, harmony, unity. One of the masters of this type of study is without a doubt Charles Koechlin. His numerous articles often aim at warning young musicians against facile musical means and the excesses of certain musical procedures. An example of this can be found in the articles "D'une nouvelle mode musicale",¹⁸ "Le retour à Bach",¹⁹ and "Modernisme et nouveauté".²⁰ Koechlin's aesthetic preoccupations often center upon the involvement of the artist in moral values in order to assure heightened spirituality as poetic catalyst. Thus one can perhaps understand why some authors of the period try to establish rules in order to better comprehend musical creation; the effects of art being so fundamental that not to study them would be neglectful.

The second subcategory is particularly interesting. It is the one which treats the aesthetic of a given composer. At first glance, aesthetics in this latter context appears to be confounded with style, since the majority of articles in this subcategory constitute thorough investigations of procedures and idioms used by a given composer. The goal, however, is to better understand what it is that makes the composer unique—not to catalogue compositional practices. The article "L'esthétique d'Albéric Magnard" by Claude Laforêt best exemplifies the articles of the second subcategory.²¹ By concentrating on Magnard the artist, and by endeavoring to comprehend the originality of his musical writing, the author attempts to do justice to the composer's music by emphasizing traits such as "authenticity", "grandeur", "uniqueness". The aesthetic interests manifested in this subcategory should not be equated with style because they include overarching concepts that serve as the foundation of the work in its quest to be original, allowing for an appreciation of the work from another perspective.

Aesthetic reflections centered on the attraction of the "other" (i.e., the non-Western) constitutes the third and final subcategory. The number of articles about non-Western musics increased over the decade. These articles represent a form of ethnomusicology for which the objective was to arrive at a better understanding of musical difference. The articles, however, are always written with the goal of evaluating the quality and pertinence of these "other" musics in relation to contemporary Western art. What can the study of "other" musics bring us? To what extent do they invite us to reconsider our own music and musicological tools, even our general comprehension of "the musical"? This is the type of questioning confronted in the aesthetic reflection of this third subcategory.

¹⁸ *La revue musicale* 2/10 (August 1921) 132–46.

¹⁹ *La revue musicale* 8/1 (November 1926) 1–12.

²⁰ *La revue musicale* 8/9 (July 1927) 1–13.

²¹ *La revue musicale* 1/1 (November 1920) 28–33.

The article “Musiques persanes” by Henri Furst²² is constructed around the author’s impressions and appreciation of music heard in Tehran. During the course of the article various comparisons are made with Western music. The same observation holds true for Alfredo Casella’s article “Matière et timbre.”²³ Demonstrating how 20th-century music proceeds towards the exploration of timbre, Casella eventually extolls the virtues of Chinese music, its beauty deriving from the quality of the musical matter used. Finally included in the third subcategory are all of the reflections on the value of jazz, which fed a number of musical debates during the period. Reflections on jazz underscore the prominent place held by aesthetics in contemporary evaluations of music—the notion of a work as the result of creation that emerges when it is endowed with a human dimension that guides it, and leads it to the possibility of establishing a masterpiece.

Category 3: Reflections touching on general epistemology. The final category includes everything that relates to the general knowledge of music that is heavily informed by philosophical reflection and discussions of the relationship between aesthetics and the art work. Epistemology will be used here in two ways: first to establish the concepts that will be used to define the theoretical and heuristic field of comprehension and of the apprehension of the music of the period; second to demonstrate their limits while at the same time proposing a critical discourse for better evaluating the works and better discarding unfounded aesthetic pretensions. Despite the plethora of subcategories open to analysis I have chosen to concentrate on only three of the most characteristic of the aesthetic reflections of the period. The first subcategory pertains to an investigation of the essence of the musical, summarized in Boris de Schloezer’s debate with Lionel Landry on the question of musical reality;²⁴ the first proclaims that it is found in the work; the second speaks of the power of sound and hearing as the constitutive element of the musical. This study, fundamental to the field of aesthetics, has no other motivation than to reveal the truths upon which music rests in order to exist—to discover that which truly gives rise to music and lends it its seductive power for the human, and thus to discover the definitive heuristic key for understanding music and for unraveling all of the implications arising from creation and knowledge. The undertaking is substantial and would explain why authors often end up supporting opposing positions like Schloezer’s, whose argument is based on the objectivity of the neutral object, and Landry’s, who argues for auditory complicity as essential to the musical work.²⁵ For other authors such as Carducci-Agustini,²⁶ the search for this essence of the musical becomes the moment of taking ownership of the mechanisms fundamental to artistic creation.

The second subcategory consists of discovering the role that musical sensibility plays in the acts of creation and reception. It is important to mention the two extremes

²² *La revue musicale* 7/5 (March 1926) 228–35.

²³ *La revue musicale* 2/6 (April 1921) 39–43.

²⁴ See Lionel Landry, “Le pouvoir ses sons,” *La revue musicale* 10/5 (March 1929) 132–37; idem, *La sensibilité musicale: Ses éléments, sa formation* (Paris: Alcan, 1927); Boris de Schloezer, “Réflexions sur la musique,” *La revue musicale* 8/10 (September 1927) 178–81. See also idem, “Notes en marge: À la recherche de la réalité musicale,” *La revue musicale* 9/3 (January 1928) 214–28; 9/4 (February 1928) 48–52; 9/5 (March 1928) 133–37; 9/6 (April 1928) 244–49; and Charles Koechlin, “Du rôle de la sensibilité dans la musique,” *La revue musicale* 10/3 (January 1929) 200–21.

²⁵ See Danick Trottier, “Pour une esthétique de l’objet musical: Le recours à l’herméneutique comme rempart au relativisme,” *Perspectives de l’esthétique musicale: Entre théorie et histoire*, ed. by Alessandro Arbo (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2007) 125–44.

²⁶ Carducci-Agustini, “Rapports entre la musique et les autres arts,” 133–40.

of objectivity and subjectivity, because some would like to avoid discussions of both—so dear to the authors of the period—in favor solely of subjectivity thereby making the content of the work abstract. Awareness of both extremes facilitates a better understanding of the middle-of-the-road position that Schloezer adopted on many occasions between 1921 and 1926—choosing a position half-way between objectivity and subjectivity by returning to psychological considerations, notably by speaking of the effects of music on the conscience resulting from music as sound object.²⁷ The multiple facets of reception and the place that emotions play in the hearing of music constitute the main issues questioned under the heading musical sensibility. In an article by Nicholas Obouhow on emotion in music, the author defends an idea that aptly summarizes the problems that surround this notion: “It is only at this point that music revived by the balance found between intellect and sensibility would be able to continue (in keeping with its nature) its work of leading humanity towards ‘the Ideal’.”²⁸ The themes dear to aesthetic discourse are evoked here but from the particular angle of the reception of the musical; that only sensibility will permit the listener to perceive the richness and the message of the work. In other words, it is less about affirming that the artist should address sensibility and more about putting into perspective the psychic and the physical experiences that serve to better the appreciation of music. But how to attain a more elaborate discussion worthy of the term “criticism” with regards to the ability to judge?

The third subcategory that appears to fascinate the thinkers of the period may be found in the writings of various authors, as Koechlin and Schloezer, who crossed intellectual swords over the role that musical criticism should play or assume in aesthetic discourse.²⁹ The question also has a bearing on the ability to judge, in the sense of discerning the value of critical judgement with respect to art and to the function that it could assume as a guide in the research of the masterpieces and the defense of established norms. Criticism is, in the end, the conduit of aesthetic idealism upon which the large corpus of writings of the period are focussed; anxious to base their conception of the musical on stable criteria that contribute effectively to the argument. While some believe that criticism may only take place *a posteriori* of the work, as in the case of Moch who says that “the critic ... can only reveal and codify that which he finds ready-made in the work of the poet”,³⁰ others are of the opinion that criticism should be placed *a priori*, significantly relying on the theoretical field, defining its scope and thus the concern over the quality of works of art. This is Schloezer’s position: “The critic will not penetrate the intimate essence of the work, will not discover its specific character unless he adopts an exclusively aesthetic point of view, i.e. formal.... But for such an analysis to yield results it must refer to certain general concepts, that is to say, it should be guided by theoretical views.”³¹ Inevitably this third and final subcategory pertains above all to the vast field

²⁷ See for example Boris de Schloezer, “Réflexions sur la musique: Théories et critique”, *La revue musicale* 5/2 (November 1923) 83–87; idem, “Réflexions sur la musique: Esthétique musicale”, 171–74.

²⁸ “Ce n’est qu’à partir de ce moment que la musique redevenue vivante par l’équilibre retrouvé entre l’esprit et la sensibilité, sera à même de continuer, conformément à son origine, son oeuvre d’évolution de l’humanité vers l’Idéal.” Nicolas Obouhow, “L’émotion dans la musique”, *La revue musicale* 8/7 (May 1927) 172.

²⁹ Charles Koechlin, “Le compositeur et la critique musicale”, *La revue musicale* 8/10 (September 1927) 108–16; Schloezer, “Réflexions sur la musique”.

³⁰ “Le critique ... ne peut que dégager et codifier ce qu’il trouve, tout fait, dans l’oeuvre du poète.” F. Moch, “Réflexions sur l’esthétique, la poésie et la prosodie”, 235.

³¹ “Le critique ne pénétrera l’essence intime de l’oeuvre, il ne découvrira son caractère spécifique qu’en se plaçant à un point de vue exclusivement esthétique, c’est-à-dire formel.... Mais pour qu’une telle analyse soit féconde..., elle doit nécessairement se référer à certaines conceptions générales, elle doit se laisser guider par des vues théoriques.” Schloezer,

of theoretical knowledge placed at the forefront in order to anchor musical aesthetic knowledge and to identify what is worthy of heuristic interest.

It goes without saying that these three categories and their offshoots—self-reductive and oblivious to self-contradictions and intermediate positions—are primarily useful in evaluating a first approach to aesthetic interests contained in issues of *La revue musicale* during the 1920s. Aesthetics appears thus to open a vast theoretic discourse that permits the perception of the various guises of “the musical” in, to-date, less explored heuristic avenues. One therefore has the impression, on a number of occasions (perhaps influenced by a contemporary perspective), that musical aesthetics is confounded in the period with musicological reflection as separate from the history of music. Schloezer actually makes this observation, and gives one pause when he writes: “In aesthetics, theory is a work tool; a means of research.”³² Thus aesthetics was perceived at the time, and certainly for the writers of *La revue musicale*, as the principal heuristic tool of musicological reflection particularly with respect to the well-explored paths of the biographical genre, historical work and purely technical analysis. But even in these three paths, the questions of artistic worth and normative criteria are also subjects of discussion. Thus aesthetics must be considered the primary tool for musicological reflection of the period. All of the aforementioned interests revolve around a common center and the same function *vis-à-vis* musical epistemology—the study of sense, or, the significance attributed to art in terms of its symbolic, ontological, metaphysical and anthropological import. When Jimenez affirms that “aesthetics holds its own if it responds to the increasing demands of interpretation, elucidation and signification”, he elucidates the major role assumed by aesthetics in *La revue musicale* of the 1920s.³³ The aesthetic interests presented in this study constitute an integral part of the daily artistic discourse of the period. At time when many were confronted by the quandary of modern music in all its forms, aesthetics allowed them to circumscribe music within a boundary of logic.

“Réflexions sur la musique: Théories et critique”, 86.

³² “La théorie en esthétique est un instrument de travail, un moyen de recherche.” Ibid.

³³ “L’esthétique tient son pari si elle répond aux demandes croissantes d’interprétation, d’éclaircissement et de sens.” Jimenez, *Qu’est-ce que l’esthétique?* 431.

DANCE IN HENRY PRUNIÈRES'S *LA REVUE MUSICALE* (1920–40): BETWEEN THE EARLY AND THE MODERN

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Edited between 1920 and 1940 by Henry Prunières (1886–1942), *La revue musicale* is considered to be one of the most important music periodicals published in France in the interwar period. As such, it constituted a privileged site for discussion and reflection on aesthetic orientations of the period, and offers a remarkable portrait of musical activity in France. The original subtitle, “Revue internationale d’art musical ancien et moderne,” encapsulates an ambitious program of Prunières. Far from reserving its space solely for music, the journal made ample room for related artistic disciplines, such as literature, painting, and theater. Among these sister disciplines, dance and ballet featured prominently.

This article provides a typological and thematic portrait of the writings on dance and ballet that appeared in *La revue musicale*. What subjects are treated? Who are the authors? What links may exist between the journal’s editorial stances and these subjects and authors? All of these questions may be addressed through a study of primary sources, which constitutes a first step in a wider project to analyze and interpret the discourse on dance and ballet in *La revue musicale* in light of French cultural and artistic history of the interwar period. My objective is two-fold: first, to look more closely at one of the many aspects of *La revue musicale*’s ideology and aesthetic, and second, to bring new understanding to the reception of ballet, an artistic discipline that was very important during this period. Beginning with a survey of the journal’s ballet criticism, general articles on dance, and special issues devoted to the subject, it becomes clear that *La revue musicale* not only followed dance activity and practice between the wars, but it also acted in shaping the discipline through expressions of its editorial positions.

THE CRITICS: A REFLECTION OF MUSICAL ACTIVITY AND CHOREOGRAPHY BETWEEN THE WARS. The marked presence of dance in the pages of *La revue musicale* may be

explained initially as a reflection of the prestigious place that ballet held in Parisian cultural life during the interwar period, and particularly within the domain of music. The arrival of the Ballets Russes in Paris in 1909 transformed the artistic scene and infused choreographic art with an incomparable level of energy. Manfred Kelkel describes the shift as follows:

Relegated to the ranks of entertainment for long-time subscribers, at the time, ballet had become completely decadent, and it would take the extraordinary infusions of exoticism brought by Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes to bring about the advent of the golden age of ballet that has been discussed at length.¹

Diaghilev also made of ballet a creative space that was sought out by composers; he commissioned some of the major scores of the 20th century, such as Debussy's *Jeux*, Satie's *Parade*, Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps*, *Pulcinella*, *Renard*, *Les noces*, and *Apollon Musagète*, and even Prokof'ev's *Le chout* (*Skazka pro šuta*), *Le pas d'acier* (*Stalnoj skok*), and *Bludnyj syn*. Following World War I, various companies were formed in the midst of the success of the Ballets Russes: first, Rolf de Maré's Ballets Suédois, and later, those financed by Ida Rubinstein and the Comte Étienne de Beaumont. Paris emerged as a European center for dance. In an article published in *La revue musicale* in 1929, Émile Vuillermoz noted, not without some irony,

We have entered the century of the dance. Each day, new types of maenads and corybants are born. There are psychological, philosophical, metaphysical, metachoric, ideographic, esoteric, conceptual, mystical, critical, idealist, determinist, and gymnopedist dances.²

A witness to the energy and diversity of Parisian dance activity, *La revue musicale* offered excellent coverage of ballet and dance events presented in Paris during the interwar period in its "Chroniques et notes" section. Between 1920 and 1930, ballet criticism reached readers mainly through the writings of Émile Vuillermoz (lead critic for the opera section), Henry Prunières (editor), and Boris de Schloezer (regular contributor), as well as André Coeuroy (editor-in-chief) and Valentin Parnac (contributor). While these critics generally devoted a large amount of space to narrative, set, and choreography, their writings appear to be even more centered on musical commentary.

A thorough study of ballet reception in *La revue musicale* is beyond the scope of this article. However, it is possible to provide an overview of some of the productions that were reviewed. Stravinsky makes an excellent starting point, since Vuillermoz and Prunières ardently supported his music. Vuillermoz described *Renard* as a "fantasy burlesque, very savagely Slavic," and called attention to the rhythmic force of *Les noces*, which he declared to be "the most precious part of the score."³ In reaction to *Apollon Musagète*, Prunières informed readers that

¹ "Relégué au rang de divertissement pour vieil abonné, le ballet était alors en pleine décadence et il faudra les extraordinaires bouffées d'exotisme, répandues en 1909 par les Ballets russes de Serge de Diaghilev, pour qu'advienne enfin cet âge d'or du ballet dont on a tant parlé." Manfred Kelkel, *La musique de ballet en France de la Belle Époque aux Années Folles* (Paris: Vrin, 1992) 2.

² "Nous sommes au siècle de la danse. Chaque jour voit naître une variété nouvelle de ménades et de corybantes. Il y a des danses psychologiques, philosophiques, métaphysiques, métachoriques, idéographiques, ésotériques, conceptualistes, mystiques, criticistes, idéalistes, déterministes et gymnopédistes." Émile Vuillermoz, "Les Sakharoff", *La revue musicale* 2/8 (June 1921) 257–60.

³ "Fantaisie burlesque, très sauvagement slave", Émile Vuillermoz, "Les noces Corinthiennes—Artémis troublée—Frvolant: Ballets Russes", *La revue musicale* 3/8 (June 1922) 262–64. "Le plus précieux élément de la partition", Émile

a new Stravinsky has appeared. His music is no longer the barbarous intoxication of destruction as it was in *Le sacre du printemps*. He is appeased within himself. His classicism is no longer only an attitude: One senses that he is responding to an intimate need of his mind and heart.⁴

As concerns the Ballets Suédois, which represented the modernity and daring of the young generation in the immediate post-war period, Vuillermoz showed no mercy. Reviews such as this, laced with xenophobic undertones, make this clear:

If the Ballet Suédois's accomplishments truly represent all of the effort of the "cosmopolitan generation working in Paris", our own indigenous art should feel the highest degree of patriotic pride. For it appears infinitely more favorable by comparison. The irritating mediocrity of the conceptions and performances of Jean Borlin's company is extremely humiliating for the representatives of artistic internationalism from the workshops of Montparnasse. There is such an impoverished imagination, such an indigence of creative means, and such a hesitation in its violence that one immediately pities the sterile agitation of these false revolutionaries.⁵

With respect to ballets composed by members of the Groupe des Six, opinion was divided. *Les mariés de la Tour Eiffel* prompted only a short review by Coeuroy.⁶ Of Milhaud's ballets, one critic wrote of *L'homme et son désir* that "his work is odd and brutal, but not without primitive splendor", while *Salade* was declared to offer "one of the most lively representations of the *Jeune France* musical generation."⁷ Still, *La création du monde* came under fire for its lack of daring.⁸ Prunières, *La revue musicale*'s director, in particular appreciated the evocation of the past in Auric's *Les fâcheux* and the popular energy of Poulenc's *Les biches*. But Milhaud's *Le train bleu* left him indifferent; he felt that "only the refrains might have a chance to find a regular place in the repertoires of wind ensembles and *Orpheon* choirs."⁹ On the whole, Ballets Russes productions benefited from broader and more favorable coverage in *La revue musicale* than events organized by the Ballets Suédois, Ida Rubinstein, the Comte de Beaumont, and the Opéra de Paris.

Beginning in the early 1930s, editors added a regular feature especially devoted to dance.¹⁰ The creation of this new section doubtless had roots in the renewal of repertory

Vuillermoz, "Noces. Igor Stravinsky", *La revue musicale* 4/10 (August 1923) 69–72.

⁴ "Un Stravinsky nouveau se révèle. Ce n'est plus le barbare ivre de destruction du *Sacre du printemps*, l'apaisement s'est fait en lui. Son classicisme n'est plus comme naguère une attitude, on sent qu'il répond à un besoin intime de son esprit et de son cœur." Henry Prunières, "Ballets Russes", *La revue musicale* 9/9 (July 1928) 287–88.

⁵ "Si vraiment les réalisations des Ballets suédois résument tout le libre effort de "la génération cosmopolite qui travaille à Paris", notre art indigène peut ressentir le plus patriotique orgueil. Car la comparaison lui est infiniment favorable. La médiocrité désolante des conceptions et des exécutions de la troupe de Jean Borlin est fort humiliante pour les représentants de l'internationalisme artistique des ateliers de Montparnasse. Il y a là une telle pauvreté d'imagination, une telle indigence de moyens plastiques et une telle timidité dans l'agression qu'on prend immédiatement en pitié l'agitation stérile de ces faux révolutionnaires." Émile Vuillermoz, "Les Ballets Suédois—*L'Arlequin*", *La revue musicale* 6/4 (February 1924) 165–68.

⁶ André Coeuroy, "Les mariés de la Tour Eiffel", *La revue musicale* 2/10 (August 1921) 162–63.

⁷ "La recherche est cuieuse et brutale, mais non sans splendeur primitive...". Coeuroy, "L'homme et son désir", *La revue musicale* 2/10 (August 1921) 162. "Un des visages les plus vivants de la 'jeune France' musicale...", Boris de Schloezer, "Salade, ballet de Darius Milhaud", *La revue musicale* 5/8 (June 1924) 242–43.

⁸ Vuillermoz, "Les Théâtres Lyriques. *Le jardin du paradis*—Ballets Suédois—*La griffe*—*Sainte Odile*—*Le cloître*", *La revue musicale* 5/2 (December 1923) 166–69.

⁹ Henry Prunières, "Les fâcheux de Georges Auric et *Les biches* de Francis Poulenc aux Ballets Russes", *La revue musicale* 5/9 (July 1924) 61–65. "Certains refrains ont chance de trouver bon accueil dans les répertoires des fanfares et orphéons." Henry Prunières, "Le train bleu (aux Ballets Russes)", *La revue musicale* 5/10 (August 1924) 152–53.

¹⁰ A section entitled "Questions chorégraphiques", which gave voice to dancers on questions of technique, also

ballet at the Opéra de Paris. Writers for this section included, as always, Prunières and Parnac, as well as René Baron, Marie Levinson, Julie Sazonova, and Alexandrine Troussevitch. In contrast to the criticism of the previous decade, this new section appears to be more devoted to the choreographic aspects of dance, providing little gloss on the music. This may arise from the fact that many ballets presented during the 1930s had been performed in the 1920s with the same music but different choreography. The dance section in *La revue musicale* bears witness to the continually strong presence of a discipline that was even more diversified than it had been in the previous decade. It also demonstrates the importance given to dance through a perspective that reaches beyond its effect on musical creativity.

Ballets figuring in the dance section include Kurt Jooss's *Le tapis vert* (1932). This work made a strong impression on Prunières, who praised it as "an impressive revelation and a milestone in the history of ballet. It is the most moving dance event to be realized since the demise of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes."¹¹ Lifar's productions of *L'envol d'Icare* (1935) and *David triomphant* (1937), to music by Igor Markevitch and Vittorio Rieti respectively, as well as revivals of *Daphnis et Chloé* and *Giselle*, a pinnacle of romantic ballet, were also singled out for praise.¹² As a result of its reputation, a number of companies flocked to Paris: the Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo,¹³ the Ballets 1933,¹⁴ London's Vic-Wells Ballet,¹⁵ the Philadelphia Ballet,¹⁶ the Ballets Polonais with Nijinska,¹⁷ and Jean Weidt's Ballets 38,¹⁸ to mention only a few. Artists from the four corners of the earth paraded their talent on the Parisian scene, drawn to the city by its rich array of dance activity and informed audiences. The list is impressive: Indra Ramosay, Nyota Inyoka, and Uday Shan-Kar from India;¹⁹ Kurdish dancer Leila Bederkhan;²⁰ Sai Shoki from Korea;²¹ and Yachi Nimura and Toshi Komori from Japan. Komori made his mark in the 1926 production of Armande de Polignac's ballet *Urashima*.²² Others included Kurt Jooss, Agnès de Mille,²³ and Alexandre von Swain,²⁴ some of whom would later become leaders in the realm of modern dance.

appeared sporadically.

¹¹ "Le tapis vert est une révélation de marque et une date dans l'histoire du Ballet. C'est le plus émouvant spectacle chorégraphique qui ait été réalisé depuis la disparition des Ballets russes de Diaghilev." Henry Prunières, "La danse: *Le tapis vert*", *La revue musicale* 13/130 (November 1932) 309–10.

¹² Julie Sazonova, "La danse: *David triomphant* (Opéra)", *La revue musicale* 18/175 (June–July 1937) 112–13; René Baron, "Variétés: Sur *Giselle*", *La revue musicale* 13/126 (May 1932) 398–400; Julie Sazonova, "La danse: À l'Opéra—*Daphnis et Chloé*", *La revue musicale* 15/144 (March 1934) 236–37.

¹³ Henry Prunières, "Ballets de Monte-Carlo", *La revue musicale* 14/138 (July 1933) 121; Alexandrine Troussevitch, "La danse: Les Ballets Russes de Monte-Carlo", *La revue musicale* 15/147 (June 1934) 56–57; Pierre-Octave Ferroud, "Autour de la danse: Les Soirées de Monte-Carlo", *La revue musicale* 16/157 (June 1935) 53–56; René Baron, "La danse: Ballets de Monte-Carlo", *La revue musicale* 18/175 (June–July 1937) 111.

¹⁴ Henry Prunières, "Ballets 1933", *La revue musicale* 14/137 (June 1933) 43; 14/138 (July–August 1933) 121.

¹⁵ Julie Sazonova, "Le Vic-Wells Ballet, du Théâtre Sadlers Wells de Londres", *La revue musicale* 18/175 (June–July 1937) 105–06.

¹⁶ Henry Prunières, "Ballet de Philadelphie", *La revue musicale* 18/175 (June–July 1937) 106.

¹⁷ René Baron, "La danse: Les Ballets Polonais", *La revue musicale* 18/179 (December 1937) 442.

¹⁸ Henry Prunières, "La danse: Les Ballets 38", *La revue musicale* 20/189 (March 1939) 137–38.

¹⁹ René Baron, "La danse: Uday Shan-Kar", *La revue musicale* 18/171 (January 1937) 58–59.

²⁰ Julie Sazonova, "La danse: Leila Bederkhan", *La revue musicale* 17/162 (January 1936) 66.

²¹ Julie Sazonova, "Questions chorégraphiques", *La revue musicale* 20/192 (July 1939) 66.

²² Henry Prunières, "La danse: Ballets de Nyota Inyoka—Yachi Nimura (Vieux-Colombier)", *La revue musicale* 14/134 (March 1933) 206–07; idem, "Ballet *Urashima*, par Armande de Polignac", *La revue musicale* 7/4 (February 1926) 147–48. René Baron, "La Danse: Toshi Komori", *La revue musicale* 15/144 (March 1934), 239.

²³ René Baron, "La danse: Récital Agnès de Mille", *La revue musicale* 16/157 (June 1935) 52–63.

²⁴ René Baron, "La danse: Alexandre von Swaine—La danse", *La revue musicale* 17/170 (December 1936) 448–49; idem, "La danse: Alexandre von Swaine", *La revue musicale* 18/179 (December 1937) 442–43; Claude Chamfray,

Among the group of dancers that *La revue musicale* followed closely, the Russian couple Clotilde and Alexandre Sakharoff as well as the Spanish dancer Argentina—whose Parisian success prompted a veritable pilgrimage of epigones²⁵—drew regular, enthusiastic responses from the journal for almost 25 years.²⁶ The inauguration of the Archives Internationales de la Danse, at the initiative of the Ballets Suédois's Rolf de Maré,²⁷ set off a period of intense activity in traditional, classical, and non-Western dance that was duly reported in the pages of the journal.²⁸

On the whole, criticism published by *La revue musicale* offers a highly diversified portrait of dance during the interwar period, a portrait that may be easily divided into two periods that pivot around the dissolving of the Ballets Russes after Diaghilev's death in 1929.

PRUNIÈRES AND DANCE. The significance accorded dance in *La revue musicale* resulted not only from the intensity of dance activities during the period and the concomitant rage among composers and the public for ballet; dance was also closely related to its editor's interests. A specialist of French and Italian 18th-century music, and Lully in particular, Prunières also produced writings on the ballet de cour that continue to hold an authoritative place in the literature.²⁹ Aside from a generous amount of ballet criticism, Prunières contributed a number of full-fledged articles on the subject to the review. In the course of one centered on the 19th-century Neapolitan dancer and choreographer Salvatore Vigano, he encourages dancers to renew their art through inspiration from past masters:

"La danse: Récital de danse Alexandre von Swaine, Centre Marcelin Berthelot", *La revue musicale* 20/193 (August–November 1939) 110; Julie Sazonova, "Questions chorégraphiques [Alexandre von Swain]", *La revue musicale* 20/192 (July 1939) 67.

²⁵ Julie Sazonova, "La danse: La Sardana de Teresina", *La revue musicale* 17/163 (February 1936) 136–37; idem, "La danse: Danses Espagnoles", *La revue musicale* 17/165 (March 1936) 221; Marie A. Levinson, "La danse: Emma de Miranda, Salle d'Iéna", *La revue musicale* 17/165 (April 1936) 302.

²⁶ Émile Vuillermoz, "Les Sakharoff", *La revue musicale* 2/8 (June 1921) 257–60; Roland Manuel, "Les danses des Sakharoff", *La revue musicale* 3/9 (July 1922) 68–69; Gabriel Audisio, "Les Sakharoff (Théâtre des Champs-Élysées)", *La revue musicale* 10/11 (December 1929) 170; Julie Sazonova, "La danse: Les Sakharoff", *La revue musicale* 16/158 (July–August 1935) 144–45; Roger Lannes, "La danse: Le récital Clotilde et Alexandre Sakharoff", *La revue musicale* 19/184 (June 1938) 396–97; Henry Prunières, "Argentina", *La revue musicale* 9/5 (March 1928) 154; Valentin Parnac, "Ballets Espagnols de l'Argentina", *La revue musicale* 9/11 (October 1928) 475–76; idem, "Les danses de l'Argentina (Théâtre des Champs-Élysées)", *La revue musicale* 10/7 (May–June 1929) 71–72; René Baron, "La danse: Argentina" *La revue musicale* 14/137 (June 1933) 61–62; idem, *La revue musicale* 16/158 (July–August 1935) 145; idem, *La revue musicale* 17/167 (July–August 1936) 61–62.

²⁷ Henry Prunières, "La danse: Inauguration des Archives de la Danse", *La revue musicale* 14/137 (June 1933) 62–63; Pierre Tugal, "Un centre de documentation unique: Les Archives Internationales de la Danse", *La revue musicale* 18/175 (June–July 1937) 71–73.

²⁸ Alexandrine Trousevitich, "La danse: Les conférences des Archives Internationales de la Danse", *La revue musicale* 15/146 (May 1934) 393–94; idem, "La danse: Exposition organisée par les Archives Internationales de la Danse", *La revue musicale* 15/146 (May 1934) 396; Yves Lacroix-Novaro, "La danse: Vieilles danses Françaises", *La revue musicale* 17/162 (January 1936) 70–71; René Baron, "Alexandre von Swaine: La danse", *La revue musicale* 17/170 (December 1936) 448–49; Henri Collet, "Les conférences: Gala de danse", *La revue musicale* 18/173 (April 1937) 217; René Baron, "La danse: Aux Archives de la Danse", *La revue musicale* 18/174 (May 1937) 305–06; Julie Sazonova, "La danse aux Archives Internationales de la Danse: Théâtre et Danses aux Indes Néerlandaises", *La revue musicale* 20/189 (March 1939) 135–37.

²⁹ Henry Prunières, *Le ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1914); idem, "Le ballet sous Louis XIII", *Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musicologie* 10/2 (1914) 1–16; idem, "Ronsard et les fêtes de cour", *La revue musicale* 5/7 (May 1924) 27–45. See James R. Anthony, "Ballet de cour", *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

There is some interest for great modern choreographers to study closely Viganò's ballets.... The work of scholars such as Jaques-Dalcroze, instinctive discoveries by dancers such as Isadora Duncan, and productions the likes of Fokine, Nijinsky, and Massine tell of the advent of a new theatrical form of dance that will be to classic dance what Debussy's continuous recit was to Gounod's melody. The perfect union of pantomime and dance in a single dramatic work, rhythmically underpinned by music, is the goal towards which all choreographers more or less conscientiously strive.³⁰

This conception of dance is in fact directly linked to one of *La revue musicale's* guiding principles: to take from the past in order to construct musical modernity. Prunières's personal interest in dance may partly explain the presence of a number of seminal articles devoted to the subject in *La revue musicale*.

THE ARTICLES: HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE AND CONTEMPORARY STAKES. In *La revue musicale*, the themes of articles on dance, like those devoted to music, also reflect the idea of a fruitful coexistence of the early and the modern. On one hand, there are texts that take an historical perspective. On the other, there are writings that provide reflection on strictly contemporary problems in ballet. The first group includes a number of biographies of dancers and choreographers,³¹ texts exploring the relationship between specific composers or writers and ballet,³² and articles on well-defined genres or periods.³³ Among the historical articles appearing in regular issues of *La revue musicale*, writings on subjects bound up in the revival of French dance traditions of the 17th and 18th centuries dominate other subjects. For example, in an article on the traditional bourrée of Auvergne, Mario Versepuy describes the origins, steps, and music for the dance, which he qualifies as the most popular and characteristic of all early regional dances of the French provinces, and claims that "it expresses the musical sentiment of an entire territory, an entire race."³⁴ In his article entitled "Notes sur le ballet au XVII^e siècle: Les danseurs de Lully", André Levinson recalls the choreographic theories of

³⁰ "Un grand chorégraphe moderne aurait intérêt à étudier de très près les ballets de Viganò.... Les recherches d'un Jaques-Dalcroze, les trouvailles instinctives d'une Isadora Duncan, les réalisations des Fokine, des Nijinsky, des Massine présagent l'avènement d'une danse théâtrale nouvelle qui sera à la danse classique ce que le récit continu de Debussy est à la mélodie de Gounod. L'union parfaite de la pantomime et de la danse en une action dramatique, rythmée par la musique, est ce vers quoi tendent plus ou moins consciemment tous les chorégraphes modernes." Henry Prunières, "Salvatore Viganò", *La revue musicale* 3/2 (December 1921) 94.

³¹ Henry Prunières, "Salvatore Viganò", *La revue musicale* 3/2 (December 1921) 71–94; F. Prior, "Un grand maître du ballet au XIX^e siècle: Auguste Bournonville", *La revue musicale* 18/179 (December 1937) 401–10. See also Georges Favre, "La danseuse Clotilde Maffeurai, première femme d'Adrien Boieldieu", *La revue musicale* 21/195 (January 1940) 1–11; Jean Allary, "Mémoires d'Isadora Duncan: Amour, musique et danse", *La revue musicale* 9/5 (March 1928) 97–116; Julie Sazonova, "Anna Pavlova", *La revue musicale* 12/114 (April 1931) 303–13.

³² Emmanuel Couvreur, "Isadora Duncan et Wagner", *La revue musicale* 2/4 (February 1921) 188; André Cœuroy, "Wagner et le ballet", *La revue musicale* 3/2 (December 1921) 206–13; André Levinson, "Théophile Gautier et le ballet Romantique", *La revue musicale* 3/2 (December 1921) 149–62; idem, "Stéphane Mallarmé, métaphysicien du ballet", *La revue musicale* 5/1 (November 1923) 21–33; idem, "Stravinsky et la danse", *La revue musicale* 5/2 (December 1923) 155–65; idem, "Notes sur le ballet au XVII^e siècle: Les danseurs de Lully", *La revue musicale* 6/3 (January 1925) 44–55; idem, "Le ballet de *Prométhée*: Beethoven et Viganò", *La revue musicale* 8/6 (April 1927) 87–97; Serge Lifar, "Maurice Ravel et le ballet", *La revue musicale* 19/187 (December 1938) 266–72; idem, "Igor Stravinsky, législateur de ballet", *La revue musicale* 20/191 (May–June 1939) 81–90; Julie Sazonova, "Molière et la danse", *La revue musicale* 18/173 (April 1937) 162–76.

³³ Mario Versepuy, "La bourrée d'Auvergne", *La revue musicale* 5/3 (January 1924) 45–49; Léon-Honoré Labande, "Ballets dansés à la cour d'Honoré II, Prince de Monaco en 1654–1655", *La revue musicale* 10/1 (November 1928) 7–26; Valentine Hugo, "La danse au théâtre pendant la Révolution Française", *La revue musicale* 3/5 (March 1922) 220–30; 3/6 (April 1922) 44–50; 3/7 (May 1922) 127–46.

³⁴ "Elle exprime le sentiment musical de tout un terroir, de toute une race." Versepuy, "La bourrée d'Auvergne", 45.

individuals such as Beauchamps, Pécourt, and Feuillet, who erected the rules of the monumental French school of ballet.³⁵ An important contribution on dance during the French Revolution came to the journal from Valentine Hugo, whose interest in ballet is revealed in his many remarkable sketches of Nijinsky.³⁶ An article on ballets danced at the court of Monaco during the 17th century, another on Molière and dance, and even a description of various episodes in the busy life of dancer Clotilde Malfleurai all provided readers with a historical perspective on a contemporary art.³⁷

Aside from articles of a historical nature, articles delving into theoretical and aesthetic problems associated with ballet also appear in *La revue musicale*. Questions of dance notation, the psychological processes involved in creating choreography, and relationships between dance and music in ballet are all considered.³⁸ Beginning in the 1930s, articles debating future directions in dance appear to take precedence over historical issues. These writings echo debates waged within the dance community, beginning with Serge Lifar and his *Manifeste du chorégraphe* (1935),³⁹ in which he insists on the autonomy of dance in relationship to the other arts, and music in particular. Lifar's name was raised time and again in the pages of *La revue musicale* during the decade. In his article on dance in concert, Fernand Divoire explored the question of whether or not the addition of choreography diminished or enriched preexisting musical works, and raises Lifar's campaign as an example:

An artist who might have an "idea of dance" and who might seek out great music in order to add his dance to it commits a grave error.... If a person has "an idea of dance", he must attempt to replicate Serge Lifar's accomplishment: Create a dance and write music adapted to this dance.⁴⁰

Alexandrine Troussevitch refers to Lifar in "La chorégraphie et ses rapports avec la musique," which traces the evolution of ballet since Petipa while underscoring the alternation of dominating roles between dance and music. She concludes with commentary on Lifar's *L'envol d'Icar*, which illustrates the union of dance and composition, telling readers that "a whole new way has opened up—the unified work of choreographer and composer, both following the same path, holding to the same

³⁵ André Levinson, "Les danseurs de Lully," *La revue musicale* 6/3 (January 1925) 44–55.

³⁶ Valentine Hugo, "La danse au théâtre pendant la Révolution Française"; Richard Buckle, *Nijinsky on stage* (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

³⁷ Léon-Honoré Labande, "Ballets dansés à la cour d'Honoré II, Prince de Monaco en 1654–1655," *La revue musicale* 10/1 (November 1928) 7–26; Julie Sazonova, "Molière et la danse," *La revue musicale* 18/173 (April 1937) 162–76; Georges Favre, "La danseuse Clotilde Malfleurai, première femme d'Adrien Boieldieu," *La revue musicale* 21/195 (January 1940) 1–11.

³⁸ Marcel Stani Ducout, "Le chant de la danse: Note schématique sur une synthèse de la danse et de la musique," *La revue musicale* 18/173 (April 1937) 184–91; Valentin Parnac, "Notation de danse," *La revue musicale* 9/5 (March 1928) 129–32; Boris de Schloezer, "Psychologie et danse," *La revue musicale* 3/2 (Decembre 1921) 214–22; René Baron, "Ballet moderne: Tentative de conciliation," *La revue musicale* 14/137 (June 1933) 8; Fernand Divoire, "La danse au concert," *La revue musicale* 18/179 (December 1937) 406–10; Lazare Saminsky, "La nouvelle chorégraphie et sa musique," *La revue musicale* 4/8 (June 1923) 147–49; André Suarès, "Danse et musique," *La revue musicale* 3/2 (December 1921) 133–41; Alexandrine Troussevitch, "La chorégraphie et ses rapports avec la musique," *La revue musicale* 15/146 (May 1934) 340–48; Boulos Ristelhueber, "La danse de demain et le goût du théâtre," *La revue musicale* 20/190 (April 1939) 177–83.

³⁹ Serge Lifar, *Le manifeste du chorégraphe* (Paris: Coopérative Etoile, 1935).

⁴⁰ "Une artiste qui aurait "une idée de danse", et chercherait quelque grande musique pour y ajouter sa danse, commettrait une erreur grave.... Si l'on a "une idée de danse", alors il faut tenter ce qu'a réalisé Serge Lifar: créer la danse et faire écrire la musique qui s'adapte à cette danse." Fernand Divoire, "La danse au concert," *La revue musicale* 18/179 (December 1937) 409–10.

internal guideline.”⁴¹ Finally, Roger Lannes’s “La solitude d’un danseur: D’*Icare* à *David triomphant*” constructs a panegyric to the ballets of Lifar, as well as Ristelhueber, in a general consideration of future perspectives in dance, in which he asserts:

I assume it is obvious that the greatest event in classical ballet since Diaghilev’s death was the performance of *Icare*, for this ballet opened up new horizons for academic dance. And the entirety of Serge Lifar’s incessant experiments are obviously more useful to the health of classical ballet than all the new works [*créations*] that merely constitute reproductions of a choreography that has been repeated a thousand times over, albeit with a new score, outfitted in new colors, substituting leprechauns for gnomes or elves for sylphs.⁴²

The journal also provides direct testimony from Lifar on his theories of ballet, notably in a provocative article entitled “Igor Stravinsky: Législateur de ballet”, who is sharply taken to task for having

committed a fatal error in becoming a ballet composer.... This error of Mr. Stravinsky had disastrous consequences for 20th-century ballet: Other musicians, complete strangers to dance, followed Stravinsky’s example and forced us to dance to undanceable music. As a result, contemporary ballet found itself in an impasse from which choreographic authors now ardently seek escape.⁴³

We might question the important place given Lifar in *La revue musicale*. On one hand, his arrival at the Opéra de Paris ties in with the renewal of dance repertoire at this French institution and the establishing of a veritable “dance strategy.”⁴⁴ On the other, coming from Diaghilev’s company and the Franco-Russian ballet school, his work in dance also marks the renewal of the French ballet tradition that *La revue musicale* had a sure hand in reviving.

Still, Lifar’s work is not the only effort championed in the journal. In fact, several articles report on the presence and dissemination of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze’s ideas about eurhythmics, a method founded on an understanding of rhythm in which dance constitutes a significant element, though not an end in itself.⁴⁵ This method would make a profound impression later on Jacques Rouché, who instituted a class of eurhythmics at

⁴¹ “C’est une voie toute nouvelle qui vient de s’ouvrir – d’un travail uni du chorégraphe et du compositeur, les deux suivant le même chemin et tenant le même fil intérieur.” Alexandrine Troussevitch, “La chorégraphie et ses rapports avec la musique”, *La revue musicale* 15/146 (May 1934) 348.

⁴² “Je tiens pour évident que le plus grand événement du ballet classique depuis la disparition de Diaghilev a été la représentation d’*Icare*, car ce ballet a ouvert à la danse d’académie un horizon nouveau. Et toutes les recherches incessantes d’un Serge Lifar sont manifestement plus utiles à la santé du ballet classique, que toutes les “créations” qui se bornent à reproduire, accompagnées par une nouvelle partition, habillées d’étoffes d’autres couleurs et mettant en scène des lutins au lieu de gnomes ou des elfes au lieu de sylphides, une chorégraphie déjà mille fois ressassée.” Roger Lannes, “La solitude d’un danseur: D’*Icare* à *David triomphant*”, *La revue musicale* 18/173 (April 1937) 177–83; Boulos Ristelhueber, “La danse de demain et le goût du théâtre”, *La revue musicale* 20/190 (April 1939) 177–83.

⁴³ “M. Stravinsky a commis une erreur fatale en devenant un compositeur de ballets.... Cette erreur de M. Stravinsky a eu des conséquences désastreuses pour le ballet au XX^e siècle : d’autres musiciens, totalement étrangers à la danse, ont suivi l’exemple de Stravinsky et nous ont obligé à faire danser des partitions indansables. Le ballet contemporain s’est ainsi retrouvé dans une impasse dont les choréauteurs que nous sommes cherchent ardemment l’issue.” Serge Lifar, “Igor Stravinsky: Législateur de ballet”, *La revue musicale* 20/191 (May–June 1939) 90.

⁴⁴ Kelkel, *La musique de ballet*, 5.

⁴⁵ Albert Jeanneret, “Rythmique”, *La revue musicale* 2/10 (August 1921) 166–67; R. Pasmanik-Bespalova, “Danse et rythmique”, *La revue musicale* 5/6 (April 1924) 59–66; Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, “La technique intérieure du rythme”, *La revue musicale* 7/1 (November 1925) 25–36; Yves Lacroix-Novaro, “La danse: École de rythmique de Miss Pledge”, *La revue musicale* 14/138 (July–August 1933) 137; Samuel Baud-Bovy, “Suisse: Un festival Jaques-Dalcroze à Genève”, *La revue musicale* 18/174 (May 1937) 304–05.

the Opéra's dance school.⁴⁶ Aside from historical texts on ballet, *La revue musicale* made space for reflections on contemporary choreography, and thus appears concerned with being able to read in dance, always from a multidisciplinary point of view, its mandate to support transformations within the artistic movement.

SPECIAL ISSUES: MILESTONES OF THE CHOREOGRAPHIC MOVEMENT. In addition to background articles published regularly in *La revue musicale*, dance was also explored in issues exclusively devoted to the subject. Whatever the theme, those three thematic issues occupy an important place in the history of *La revue musicale's* content, because they reveal editorial biases through the subjects chosen, and thus considered richly significant or dictated by the artistic conditions of the time. These also particularly reflect the privileged situation and evolution of the art of dance in France, and become, in many ways the bearers of its milestones.

The first issue devoted to dance appeared in December of 1921 under the title "Le ballet au XIX^e siècle" and was the second publication of its kind undertaken by the journal, which reveals the level of attention Prunières and his team devoted to the choreographic art from the very beginning, the context of which, it is true, was highly favorable.⁴⁷ Richly illustrated, this issue is notable for its reproductions of various legendary, 19th-century ballerinas such as Marie Taglioni, Fanny Elssler, Carlotta Grisi, and Fanny Cerito, as well as a sonnet by Degas that was illustrated by 13 of his drawings. Paul Valéry, André Suarès, George Gabory, Victor du Bled, Vuillermoz, Levinson, Prunières, de Schloezer, and Coeuroy all contributed articles.⁴⁸

With the Ballets Russes ten years into its reign over the Parisian dance scene, and as Rolf de Maré settled into the capital along with his Ballets Suédois, the celebration of the golden age of the Opéra de Paris's ballet corps through articles on romantic ballet and its dancing icons in this 1921 special issue is not entirely innocent. Amidst the post-war choreographic turmoil, the issue recalls the legacy and glory days of this French company, the repertoire of which conserved its conventional approach to art and delayed its participation in modern trends of the time.⁴⁹ After renewing the art of dance, and even the very concept of ballet as a synthetic art, and bewitching the public with richly exotic productions, the Ballets Russes appeared as a beneficial and regenerating force for French ballet, which had become artistically impoverished and outdated at the end of the 19th century as a result of excessive virtuosity. According to Vuillermoz,

Ballet in opera made of the dancer a puppet on a string who performed displays of technical prowess for the pleasure of long-time subscribers. The Ballets Russes

⁴⁶ Ivor Guest, *Le ballet de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Théâtre National de l'Opéra, 1976) 158–60.

⁴⁷ The first special issue published by *La revue musicale* was devoted to the memory of Debussy and appeared in 1920.

⁴⁸ The following articles are included in the volume (3/2; December 1921): Paul Valéry, "L'âme et la danse" (97–130); André Suarès, "Danse et musique" (133–41); Émile Vuillermoz, "Le ballet moderne" (142–48); André Levinson, "Théophile Gautier et le ballet Romantique" (149–62); Georges Gabory, "Zambelli (poème)" (163–66); Henry Prunières, "Salvatore Viganò" (167–90); Victor du Bled, "Le ballet de l'Opéra" (191–205); André Coeuroy, "Wagner et le ballet" (206–13); Boris de Schloezer, "Psychologie et danse" (214–22).

⁴⁹ Rouché would later refuse to mount *Les mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, but would present Pierné's *Cydalise et le chèvre-pied*. See Kelkel, *La musique de ballet*, 5.

demonstrated qualities of the pure French tradition in classic dance. It was a surprise to discover such a respect for the past among these revolutionaries.⁵⁰

In the same article, Vuillermoz calls for a renewal of classic technique that the evolution of musical language necessitates:

Classic dance was based on the principle of melodic squareness: If it wants to become part of the corpus of modern masterpieces—and it should—it will be forced to modify its rhythmic balance and soften its conception of the measure. Without abandoning its high doctrine in the least, dance has a duty to follow the prosody of our new composers.⁵¹

Passages such as this illustrate well the mindset in which music plays a prominent role in ballet. At the same time, it is precisely this conception that would be called into question some years later, in the pages of the same journal.

A second thematic issue on dance, devoted to the Ballets Russes, appeared in December 1930 as a tribute to Diaghilev, who had died in the previous year.⁵² This issue was intended as a memorial to the producer and impresario behind the Ballets Russes, who had been able to endow his company with impressive artistic drawing power. The issue contains testimonials, memories of friends and collaborators such as Gabriel Astruc, Alexandre Benois, Robert Brussel, Michel Georges-Michel, Émile Henriot, Louis Laloy, Michel Larionov, the Comtesse de Noailles, and Gilbert de Voisins.⁵³ In his concluding article, Prunières summarized Diaghilev's contribution to the worlds of music and dance as follows:

For almost 20 years, the Ballets Russes provided us with new things in the realms of music, visual art, and choreography every year. Aesthetic issues that seemed eternally debated in the inner sancta of Montparnasse and Montmartre were taken before the mass public. Each season came to call into question all that we previous believed to have been said already. Diaghilev's work was not always wildly successful, but there was much to be learned even from the failures. One might say that all of musical and artistic life depended in large part on this extraordinary man.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ "Le ballet d'opéra a fait de la danseuse une marionnette articulée exécutant ses prouesses techniques pour le plaisir des vieux abonnés. Les Ballets russes ont démontré les qualités de la pure tradition française dans la chorégraphie classique. On ne s'attendait pas à découvrir chez ces révolutionnaires un tel respect du passé." Émile Vuillermoz, "Le ballet moderne," *La revue musicale* 3/2 (December 1921) 49.

⁵¹ "La danse classique était basée sur le principe de la carrure mélodique : si elle veut s'annexer les chefs-d'œuvre modernes – et elle le doit – elle sera bien forcée de modifier son équilibre rythmique et d'assouplir sa conception de la mesure. Sans rien abandonner de sa haute doctrine, elle a le devoir de suivre la nouvelle prosodie de nos compositeurs." *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵² Henry Prunières, "Adieu à Diaghilev," *La revue musicale* 10/9 (September–October 1929) 193–96.

⁵³ The following articles are included in the volume (11/110; December 1930): Comtesse de Noailles, "Adieux aux Ballets Russes" (1–7); Émile Henriot, "Les Ballets Russes" (8–16); Gilbert de Voisins, "La belle légende des Ballets Russes" (17–20); Alexandre Benois, "Serge de Diaghilev: Essai de portrait par un ami-collaborateur" (21–32); Robert Brussel, "Avant la Fête" (33–41); Gabriel Astruc, "Le premier feu d'artifice" (42–47); Michel Larionov, "Souvenir sur Diaghilev" (48–56); Louis Laloy, "Hommage à Diaghilev" (57–61); Michel Georges-Michel, "La mort de Serge de Diaghilev et la fin des Ballets Russes" (62–66); Julie Sazonova, "La chorégraphie des Ballets Russes" (67–77); André Warnod, "Les peintres et les Ballets Russes" (78–89); Maurice Brillant, "L'influence multiforme des Ballets Russes" (90–100, [January 1931] 17–36); Henry Prunières, "Conclusion" (101–07).

⁵⁴ "Pendant près de vingt ans, les Ballets russes, chaque année, nous ont approvisionné de nouveautés d'ordre musical, plastique, pictural et chorégraphique. Des problèmes d'esthétique qui semblaient devoir être éternellement débattus dans les cénacles de Montparnasse et de Montmartre, ont été portés devant le grand public. Chaque saison venait mettre en cause tout ce qu'on croyait décidément élucidé. Diaghilev ne remportait pas que des victoires, mais il y avait beaucoup à apprendre même de ces défaites. On peut dire que toute la vie musicale et artistique dépendait pour une large part de cet

Published in 1938, the third thematic issue on dance focused on contemporary ballet.⁵⁵ It provides an accounting of the evolution of ballet since the death of Diaghilev and the arrival of Lifar at the Opéra de Paris, and meditates on future perspectives for the discipline. The polemic surrounding the relationship between music and dance had been in full force for some time already, voiced in the pages of *La revue musicale*. This issue opens with an article devoted to the memory of Diaghilev, which refutes accusations that he had reduced the role of dance to give greater importance to music.⁵⁶ Further on, Serge Lifar extended ideas he had expressed in his *Manifeste du chorégraphe*, writing, “To avoid disappearing, to develop freely, through its creative momentum, ballet must throw off the yoke of music, despite its charm and beauty.”⁵⁷ André Boll retorted in his article entitled “Pour ou contre une chorégraphie autonome,” asserting that “while the choreographic author is not himself a composer, it seems that a hierarchy in all matters must be preserved. This hierarchy requires that music dictate choreography, and not that choreography impose its rhythms on the music.”⁵⁸ *La revue musicale* does not appear to take a firm position to defend the composer’s point of view in this debate. However, it stimulates this defense by offering a platform where diametrically opposed ideas could meet.



Writings on dance in *La revue musicale* between 1920 and 1940 take the form of ballet criticism, background articles, and special issues. The authors are for the most part members of the editorial team, and regular contributors (Prunières, Cœuroy, Baron, Vuillermoz, de Schloezer), literary figures (Suarès, Valéry), and ballet specialists, dancers, or choreographers (Levinson, Lifar, Parnac, Sazonova, Troussevitch). The marked presence of dance in a journal mainly devoted to music but informed by multidisciplinary interest may be explained not only by the close relationship that the two disciplines had historically maintained and the importance of ballet on the Parisian artistic scene during the interwar period, but also by the personal interests of the director and the desire to reaffirm the role of ballet in the French artistic tradition.

An overview of the writings on dance reveals two major editorial positions allying a consideration of the past and the promotion of modernity: one centered on increasing valuation of the French choreographic tradition, the other focused on contemporary problems arising from the relationship between dance and music in ballet. Moreover, two central figures in French ballet of the interwar era, Diaghilev and Lifar, occupy a

homme extraordinaire.” Henry Prunières, “Conclusion,” *La revue musicale* 11/110 (December 1930) 105.

⁵⁵ The following articles are included in the volume (19/184; September 1938): Pierre Michaut, “Souvenir de Diaghilev” (161–72); Serge Lifar, “La danse et la musique” (173–86); André Boll, “Pour ou contre une chorégraphie autonome” (187–90); Roger Lannes, “Poésie de la danse” (191–97); André Boll, “Le décor de ballet” (198–200); Fernand Divoire, “Avenir du ballet” (201–06); Julie Sazonova, “Questions chorégraphiques” (207–10); José Bruyr, “En marge : Pour un petit Ana de la Danse. Mlle Suzanne Lorcica nous parle” (211–14).

⁵⁶ Pierre Michaut, “Souvenir de Diaghilev,” *La revue musicale* 19/184 (March 1938) 161–72.

⁵⁷ “Pour ne point disparaître, pour se développer librement, dans son élan créateur, le ballet doit briser le joug de la musique, fût-il beau et charmeur.” Serge Lifar, “La danse et la musique,” *La revue musicale* 19/184 (March 1938) 173–86.

⁵⁸ “Tant que le choréauteur ne sera pas lui-même compositeur il semble qu’il faille conserver, en tout état de choses, une hiérarchie. Et cette hiérarchie exige que la musique commande la chorégraphie et non que la chorégraphie impose ses rythmes à la musique.” André Boll, “Pour ou contre une chorégraphie autonome,” *La revue musicale* 19/184 (March 1938) 187–90.

significant place in the pages of the journal. In fact, the journal's content with respect to dance is neatly divided into two periods corresponding with the end of the Ballets Russes and the arrival of Lifar at the Opéra. What remains to be established is the degree to which this time delimitation may be applied to the entire corpus of articles in *La revue musicale*, and the extent to which certain texts may have been published at the expressed wish of the editor. Nonetheless, a foundation has now been laid for a broader study of the discourse of dance and the reception of ballet in *La revue musicale* with respect to French cultural history of the period between the wars.

HISTORIOGRAPHY & ITS DIRECTIONS

CHANGING THE MUSICAL OBJECT: APPROACHES TO PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS

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It is a simple statistical fact that, for most people across the world, music means performance, whether live or recorded, and not scores. Given that, and the fact that records are the primary documents of music as performance, it might be thought of as strange that there is such an imbalance in musicological research training between score- and recording-based source criticism. Indeed to many musicologists it might not be immediately obvious what recording-based source criticism might mean. So let me offer a concrete example.

In 1987 Pearl Opal produced a compact disc called *Alessandro Moreschi: The last castrato* (OPAL CD 9823). On this compact disc is a recording of Moreschi singing the “Crucifixus” from Rossini’s *Petite messe solennelle*, made at the Vatican on 3 April 1902. Fred and Will Gaisberg had been sent round the world by the Gramophone Company to “acquire a catalogue of native recordings”, and came to Rome hoping to record Pope Leo XIII. They were denied a papal audience, so instead they recorded Moreschi (who at that time directed the Sistine chapel choir), and the resulting recording was issued on the Red G & T’s label. It is this which has been remastered on the Pearl Opal compact disc.

That much you can read from the compact disc insert. The interpretational problems start when you listen to the compact disc itself, which reveals a highly unfamiliar style of vocal production, characterized by ornamentation that might easily be mistaken for lack of control. But then, maybe what we are hearing *is* lack of control. This session was Moreschi’s first experience of being recorded and the circumstances must have been unnerving. The piano accompanist was probably placed at the opposite end of the room, disrupting the performers’ sense of ensemble. Moreschi will have sung into a large horn, probably being told to step into it for quiet or low passages and away for loud or high ones. Such disruption, coupled to the sense of the uncanny that marked many first encounters with recording technology, may have completely undermined Moreschi’s composure. The performance that was recorded may have been wholly unrepresentative of how Moreschi normally sang.

Then again, the sound we hear may be far from the sound that was recorded on 3 April 1902. The process of transfer involves making a number of what can only be called interpretive decisions—what stylus to use, how much noise reduction to apply—but the most basic decision is how fast to play the record. (Recording and playing speeds at the turn of the 20th century were as variable as orchestral pitch in the 19th.) The compact disc liner, which refers to another recording of the “Crucifixus” which Moreschi made two years later, makes the problem obvious:

The pitching of Moreschi’s records presented us with some problems since no-one had the slightest idea what his voice ought to sound like. However we discovered that when we pitched both the 1902 and 1904 recordings of Rossini’s Crucifixus at the score key of A^b, all the records made at both sessions fell into score keys or reasonable keys, and sound vocally correct to several musicians for whom they were played.

The problem, of course, is how the “several musicians for whom they were played” could know what was “vocally correct” in a castrato, since the production (if that is the right word) of castrati was made illegal in 1870. The only reliable way in which we could possibly know how music sounded a century ago, after all, is by means of recordings.

The circularity inherent in interpreting early recordings is not complete, of course. We have contemporary accounts of how castrati sounded (though words are rarely unproblematic guides to performance practice). We have the other recordings Moreschi made during the 3 April 1902 session, and matrix numbers (numbers stamped into the original discs) make it possible to reconstruct the sequence in which he made them and so judge whether Moreschi started nervously but gained confidence as the session continued. We can also compare the 1902 recording of the “Crucifixus” with the 1904 one; indeed we might conclude from the fact that it was rerecorded that the 1902 recording was considered substandard. (Then again, the “Crucifixus” was the first recording made in the 11 April 1904 session, so perhaps they started with what was seen as a particularly successful performance from 1902 in order to settle Moreschi down.) And these are, of course, all source-critical arguments. The point I am trying to make is not, then, that recordings can tell us nothing about historical performance style: it is that recordings are historical documents just as scores are, and as much in need of historically and technically grounded interpretation. In short, discographical source-critical skills should be seen as an essential part of musicological research skills training today.

If musicologists have been slow to exploit the potential of sound recordings as documents for the writing of music history, they can hardly be blamed. Working with recordings is much like working with scores would be if it were not for RISM and other initiatives which have built the basic infrastructure for most musicological research. Although some online discographies are just beginning to appear, and the catalogues of a few sound archives are available on the web, serious work on primary sources entails obtaining sometimes inaccessible hard-copy publications (for instance, pre-war record company catalogues or composer discographies), and once you have established that a given recording exists, or existed, you have the problem of tracking down a copy. Even then, proper interpretation may not be possible without access to the original recording documentation which, if it exists at all, is probably held in the record company’s archives (if the record company still exists, or if you can establish which of the present-day majors it was incorporated into). There are, quite frankly, easier ways of doing musicology.

Yet I do not think it is primarily these practical difficulties that have held back the use of sound recordings as primary sources for the writing of music history. The more entrenched problems have been conceptual. Though this is not the place to present the argument in detail, musicology can be seen as a by-product of 19th-century European nationalism. That is not simply to say that it was motivated by the grand project of reconstructing, or inventing, national origins and so underpinning national identity: It is to say that musicology was largely modelled on the values and practices of the then dominant discipline in the human sciences, philology. Hence the traditional musicological emphasis on editing as a process of removing the encrustations of later interpretation in order to arrive back at the original; hence, too, the emphasis on musical works rather than the patterns of social usage through which they acquire meaning.

And most relevantly in the present context, hence the idea of music as in essence a form of writing. To see musical works as texts which can be “reproduced” in performance (the standard translation for Schoenberg’s or Adorno’s writings on performance) is in effect to see music as a branch of literature. A comparison with poetry makes the point: Poetry can be read aloud, but we do not normally think of it as a performing art, because we see its meaning as already inherent in the written text—reading it aloud is an optional extra. In the same way, musicology’s scriptist orientation inhibits its ability to conceptualize music as the performing art we all know it is; and that, of course, includes musicologists. My claim is not that musicologists are not interested in performance, but that the conceptual apparatus built into the discipline during the century before last makes it hard for us to translate that interest effectively into our writing.

It may seem that I have been offering a very old-fashioned characterization of musicology, a discipline which was, after all, radically transformed in the 1990s, with issues of social meaning, gender, ideology and so forth being brought firmly onto the agenda, alongside an acceptance of the importance of popular as well as world music traditions. Yet the “New” musicologists’ opening up of the discipline did less than might have been expected to place performance—and, as the primary texts of performance, recordings—at the heart of the discipline. One reason, perhaps, was the influence of Adorno: Social meaning was seen as encoded in the musical text, which turned interpretation into a process of decoding. Because early “New” musicologists, in particular, looked for social meaning in the text, they were not inclined to observe it in the interpersonal and social transactions which those texts prompted—that is, in the meanings that are constructed through the act of musical performance.

If we think of music in these latter terms, the result is an approach maximally opposed to the idea of performance as the reproduction of a text. Seen this way, a Mozart string quartet, for example, choreographs an ongoing series of social interactions: That is what it means to keep in time and play in tune. The musicians do not keep in time because each is playing to some objective, standardized beat, as when session musicians play to a click track, wearing headphones. The “time” that a string quartet keeps is something negotiated between the players in the course of performance (as well as the rehearsals that have likely preceded it); the objective time of twice as long and half as long that you see in the score is only an initial starting point, a framework within which negotiation takes place. In other words, musical time as performed and experienced is a social construction, and the act of making music together is an act of forging and maintaining community. There is a sense, then, in which the sound of a string quartet is community made audible, and my claim is that this is inseparable from what the music means to us.

In his essay “The grain of the voice”, which compares the singing of Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau and Charles Panzera, Roland Barthes complained of language’s incapacity to handle music. And he continued, “rather than trying to change directly the language on music, it would be better to change the musical object itself, as it presents itself to discourse”:¹ That is an apt description of the kind of disciplinary refocusing that is entailed in locating the production of musical meaning in performance and not, or not simply, the score. My aim in this paper, then, is to set out a personal selection of possible approaches to music as performance rather than as writing, maintaining some balance between what might be termed technically and culturally oriented approaches, and drawing not only on some work I have done, but also on some work I have not. I begin with the use of empirical measurements, generally presented in graphic form, not because I wish to give priority to these methods, but because they represent the most visible aspect of much recent writing on performance—and also because they raise some basic problems that I see as inherent in such work.

Figures 1–3 illustrate two principal approaches, both based on the measurement of time. The first two are from an article by José Bowen and illustrate the way in which musicologically interesting conclusions can be drawn from very simple empirical data. Both relate to the first movement exposition of Beethoven’s fifth symphony.² Figure 1 charts the duration of the exposition in almost 70 different recordings (in seconds) against the date when the recording was made: the trend line indicates that, on average, the exposition is getting shorter as average tempos increase. (One might ask how robust this trend is, given the degree of scatter in the data.)

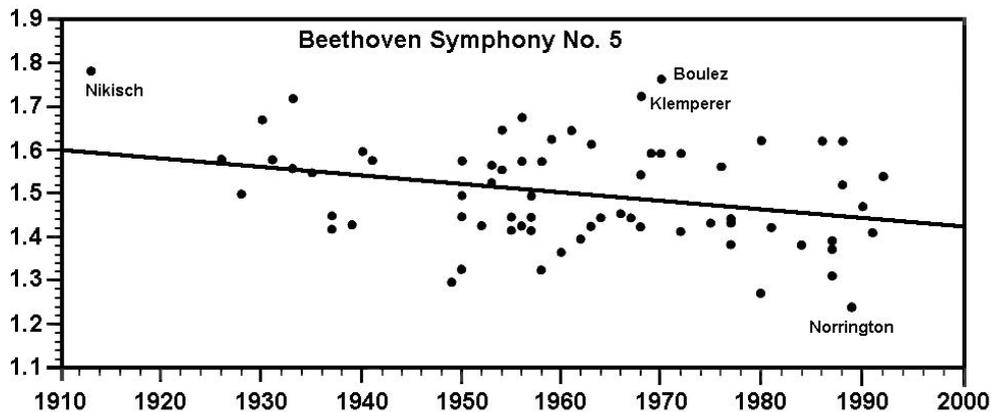


Fig. 1. José Bowen’s analysis of durations in recordings of the first movement exposition from Beethoven’s symphony no. 5.

Figure 2 also shows the duration of the exposition on the vertical axis, but now charts this against the average tempo of the first theme: The result is a measure of performance flexibility, understood as the extent to which the exposition as a whole takes longer (“relaxation”) or shorter (“compression”) than a metronomic extrapolation would suggest. The “Average Flexibility Line” shows how almost all performances are “relaxed”,

¹ Roland Barthes, *Image, music, text*, ed. and trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977) 180.

² José Antonio Bowen, “Tempo, duration, and flexibility: Techniques in the analysis of performance”, *The journal of musicological research* 16/2 (1996) 115, 136.

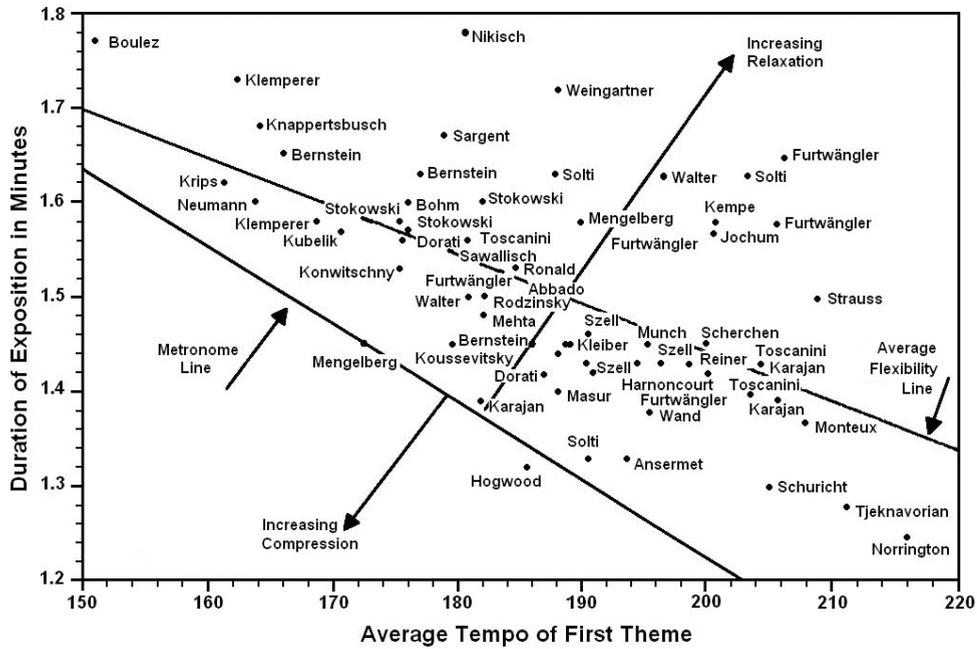


Fig. 2. José Bowen's flexibility graph of recordings of Beethoven's symphony no. 5, first movement.

whether through taking the second theme more slowly or introducing rallentandos or rhetorical pauses; Hogwood's recording emerges as clearly anomalous.

The limitation of this approach is that so little musical information is embodied in it: duration of exposition and recording date in figure 1, duration of exposition and average tempo of first theme in figure 2. This means that, for example, the data conflate recordings which take the second theme slower, and recordings which introduce rallentandos or rhetorical pauses—which may be, musically, a very important distinction.

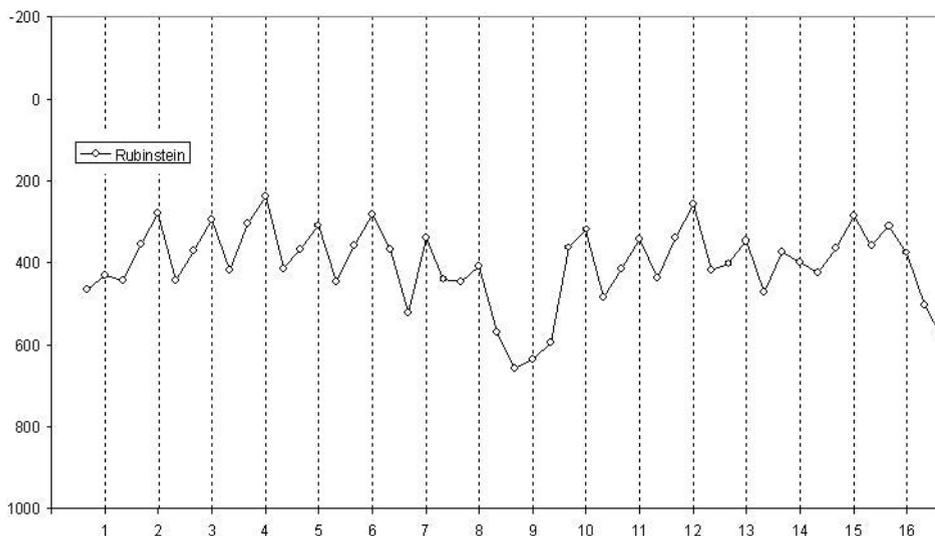


Fig. 3. Tempo graph of Artur Rubinstein's 1939 recording of Chopin's mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1–16 (milliseconds).

Hence the increasingly frequent use by musicologists of tempo graphs such as figure 3, a representation of bars 1–16 of Rubinstein’s 1939 recording of Chopin’s mazurka op. 67, no. 4 (a score is at figure 4). Such graphs are commonly generated by tapping on a computer keyboard in time to the music and importing the data into a spreadsheet program; in this case the data were made more accurate through subsequent visual comparison with the waveform. Since higher means faster and lower means slower (the vertical scale is milliseconds), the most obvious—and unsurprising—feature is the broad *rallentando* which marks the end of the first eight-bar phrase; Rubinstein’s prolongation of the third beat of bar 6 audibly initiates the cadential motion. The almost identical profile of bars 2–4 and 10–12 reflects their musical identity (though, of course, Rubinstein did not have to play them the same way), with the downbeats of bars 4 and 12 being the shortest within these 16 bars. And the succession of V-shaped contours shows how consistently Rubinstein makes the first beat of the bar the shortest and the second the longest, with the third beat coming somewhere in the middle. This is, after all, a mazurka.

Fig. 4. Chopin’s mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1–16.

When musicologists and particularly analysts use graphs of this kind, they are usually trying to make some point about the interpretation of higher-level structure, as seen in terms of Schenkerian analysis, for instance. That’s where the first of the basic problems I referred to comes in. If you begin, as people usually do, by analysing the score, and then see how far you can map the score-based analysis onto performance features, you are in effect filtering the performance data, discarding data that do not fit—or, at least, do not bear upon—the score-based analysis. If this nevertheless seems a plausible thing to do, that reflects how deeply embedded the idea of the performance “reproducing” the compositional text remains: We may not use that word nowadays, but the idea persists

behind common terminologies of performance “projecting,” “articulating,” or “expressing” structure (the last term is particularly revealing, since it coincides with the Schenkerian model according to which surface design “expresses” structure). Working from page to stage, as they say in theater studies, such analyses do not so much change so much the musical object as pursue the old object by other means.

This is linked to the second problem, which is that—in contradistinction to the Bowen-style approach—such analyses often involve working with very few recordings of a given work, perhaps only one. Again it is the paradigm of reproduction that makes this seem plausible: The recording is interpreted directly in relation to the score, almost as if the music was being performed for the very first time. But in reality—and this has become even more the case since historical recordings have become widely disseminated—performers perform and listeners listen relationally, that is, in terms of patterns of similarity and difference as compared with other performances. The “vertical” dimension which relates score to performance is, in this way, complemented by a “horizontal” dimension that relates each performance to others, and this second dimension can only be incorporated into the analysis if we analyse recordings comparatively, and use large enough data sets to be able to extrapolate trends from them.

And that leads to the third problem, which is the established musicological and analytical focus on the work as the essential unit of musical meaning. As in the case of the vertical and horizontal dimensions to which I have just referred, this is a matter of both/and, not either/or: It makes sense to understand a given performance of op. 67, no. 4, in the context of other performances of op. 67, no. 4, but it also makes sense to understand it in terms of features—melodic, motivic, harmonic, rhythmic, combinations of all these things—that are shared between op. 67, no. 4, and other early mazurkas (op. 67, no. 4 is a posthumous work), the mazurkas in general, Chopin’s piano music as a whole, and so on. Though individual works may establish their own performance traditions and, to that extent, have independent histories, it is absurd to imagine a stylistic history of performances of op. 67, no. 4, that is unrelated to performance style at these larger levels, and, accordingly, the analytical basis for such a history should involve features that cut across individual works. But that is where traditional analytical approaches are not well adapted for the purpose at hand. I can draw an analogy from computing: Microsoft Office makes it impossible to carry out complex operations across files, and hence the file becomes a basic conceptual framework in the same way that musical works are for most established analytical methods. Unix, by comparison, leads you to think in terms of patterns of data irrespective of their location within files: In this respect, it is much more similar to the style-analytical approaches which lay at the heart of musicology during the first half of the 20th century, but fell out of favor after World War II—ironically, not long before developments in computer technology made analysis based on large bodies of data fully practical for the first time. I see the rehabilitation of style analysis as a precondition for a well developed musicology of performance.

I can illustrate some possible ways of addressing the first two of these problems with reference to a project recently initiated at the AHRC Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music.³ (We also have plans to address the third problem, but I will not discuss them here.) The project involves the development of semi-automated

³ The project is a collaboration between Craig Sapp, Andrew Earis, and myself; details at www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/content/projects/chopin.html and www.mazurka.org.uk.

methods for the capture of accurate timing information from recordings of piano music—this is where most of the research effort has gone at the time of writing—and their application to a large corpus of recordings of Chopin’s mazurkas. Since my focus in this paper is on approaches to performance analysis rather than substantive interpretation, I shall deal only with bars 1–16 from eight recordings by different pianists of op. 67, no. 4, one of them being the Rubinstein recording graphed in figure 3, but the methods I describe can be scaled up to much larger bodies of data.⁴

It is in the nature of a project of this kind that it is front-loaded. You have to make a significant investment in data acquisition, but when that is done, certain kinds of analysis become trivially easy: Figure 5, for example, shows tempo flexibility, like figure 1, but figure 5 is based on the relationship of each beat to the average, which makes it a musically more fine-grained measure than Bowen’s. (While the horizontal axis represents date of recording, there is an argument that the pianist’s date of birth is actually more revealing, on the grounds that most performers acquire their style of playing at a relatively young age.)

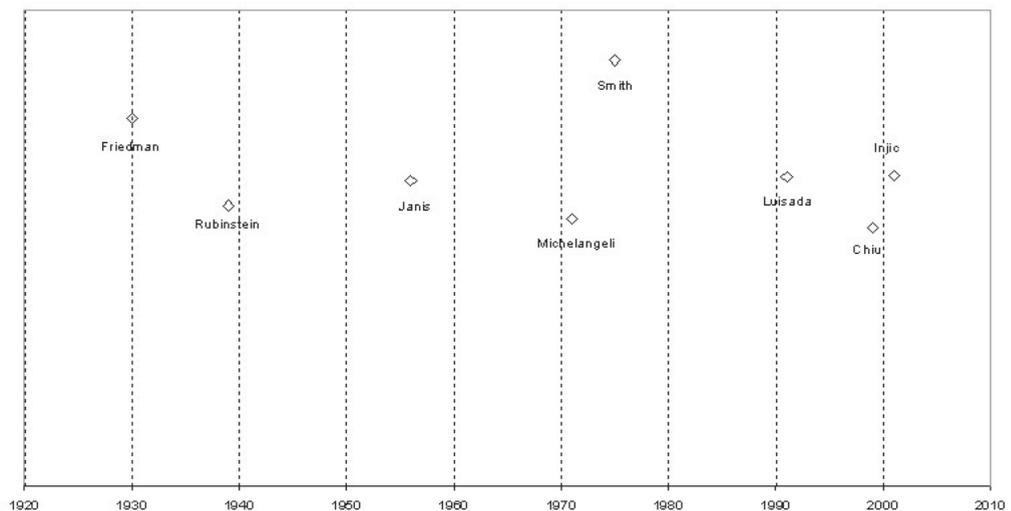


Fig. 5. Flexibility graph of recordings of Chopin’s mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1–16.

No correlational approach can tell you about the moment-to-moment decisions that lie at the heart of performance style, however, and so figure 6 is a version of figure 3 with the addition of data for the other seven recordings and an overall average. Graphs like this contain a great deal of information, but they do not communicate it effectively to readers. Perhaps a good way to think about this is to ask what this kind of graph actually represents. The obvious answer is that it represents the length of each beat, but a more telling one is that it represents a pattern of deviation as compared with strictly metronomic performance—the kind of “performance” for which a sequencer is required, since humans are incapable of performing without interpreting. (Such a metronomic “performance” would, of course, show up as a straight horizontal line.) To put it that

⁴ The recordings (with original release dates) are as follows: Frederic Chiu, HMX 2907352.53 (1999); Ignazy Friedman, Philips 456 784–2 (1930); Eugen Indjic, Calliope 3321 (2001); Byron Janis, Philips 456 847–2 (1956); Jean-Marc Luisada, DG 463054–2 (1991); Arturo Benedetti Michelangeli, Philips 456 904–2 (1971); Artur Rubinstein, Naxos 8.110656–57 (1939); and Ronald Smith, EMI 724358576726 (1975).

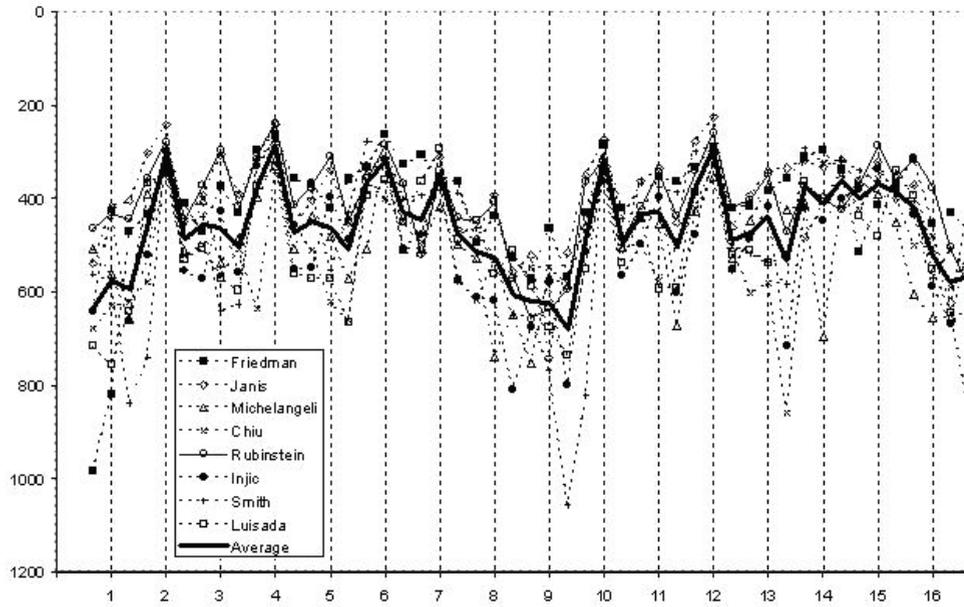


Fig. 6. Tempo graph of recordings of Chopin's mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1–16, with average.

way raises the obvious question: What is the psychological reality of a metronome line, when nobody can play the music that way, and what leads us to think that it might be a useful yardstick for analysis?

The answer to the latter question is straightforward enough: Once again, it is the scriptist tendency to see performance as the reproduction—with certain deviations—of a text in which half notes are encoded as twice as long as quarter notes and quarters as twice as long as eighths. (Recall what I said about the objective time of twice as long and half as long being only a framework for negotiation.) Finding other ways to represent performers' shaping of tempo is less straightforward, though we are experimenting with a number of alternatives to the traditional graphic approach.⁵ But even within the traditional graphic approach there are alternatives, some of which I would now like to briefly consider. The most obvious is to graph the pattern of divergence between tempo profiles that *do* have some kind of degree of psychological reality; the graph at the top of figure 7, for instance, measures Rubinstein's performance against the average profile from figure 6. (So the high values at the beginning of the upper graph reflect the fact that Rubinstein begins faster than average.) The rationale for this is that the average profile, which could, of course, be refined for a particular time and place, represents an aspect of the horizon of expectations against which an individual performance might be heard. That may or may not be a plausible argument, though there is perhaps evidence of psychological reality in the fact that synthesized performances based on average values generally receive good evaluations from listeners.⁶ But even if it is not, the same

⁵ Such as representations adapted from Craig Sapp's "keyscapes" (ccrma.stanford.edu/~craig/keyscapes/); another example is the "performance worm" animations developed at the Austrian Research Institute for Artificial Intelligence (ÖFAI).

⁶ Bruno Repp, "The aesthetic quality of a quantitatively average music performance: two preliminary experiments," *Music perception*, 14/4 (1997) 419–44.

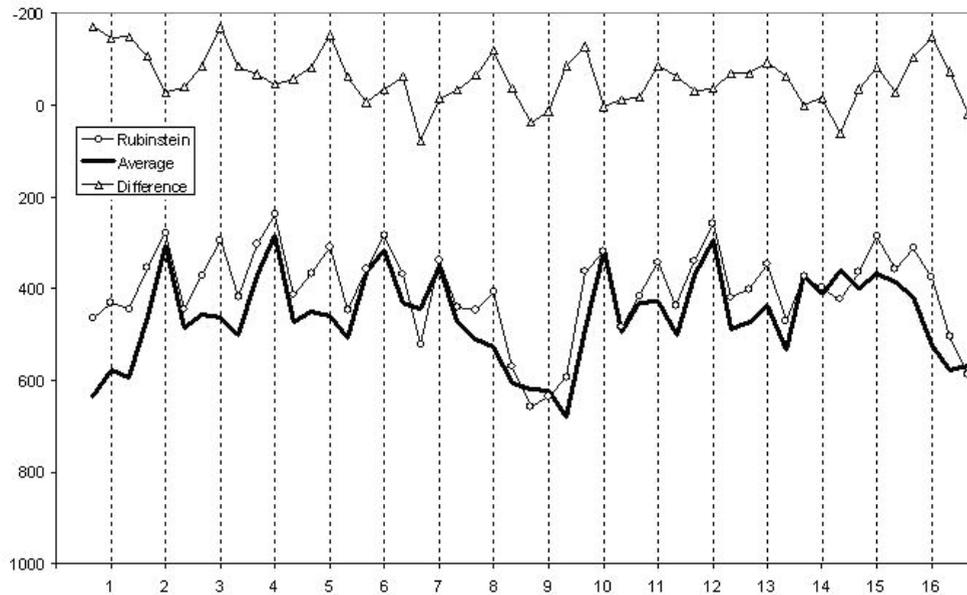


Fig. 7. Comparison between average tempo values in recordings of Chopin's mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1-16, and Rubinstein's 1939 recording.

method might be used to graph the profile of one performance against that of another, embodying the kind of relational listening of which I spoke earlier. Used this way, the graph becomes a diagnostic, directing your attention to those features of one performer's style that particularly distinguish it from another's.

A more principled way of achieving a similar end might be to stick with the conventional tempo profile but attempt to break it down into its components. I will illustrate what I mean by describing two such components, though more would be needed for the approach to be very useful (and here I am moving from things we have done to things we are planning). I have already referred to the characteristic way in which mazurkas are played, with the first beat the shortest, resulting in a kind of built-in syncopation or swing. One of the trivially easy analyses to which I referred focuses on how different performers interpret what I call the mazurka "script": Figure 8 shows the data for these eight recordings, and it can be seen that Rubinstein's version is quite close to the average (Friedman is the least typical, since his third beats are, on average, longer than his second beats). Of course, this begs the question of the extent to which performers play this script consistently—in other words, the extent to which the script is a constant or a context-dependent variable—but, by way of approximation, we could incorporate the average script values within a baseline for analysis of op. 67, no. 4. In figure 9 these script values have been subtracted from the values that make up the tempo profile: This removes at least some of the jitter in the profile attributable to the characteristic metrical shaping of the mazurka.

As for the second component, earlier I referred to the division of these 16 bars into two phrases of eight, and called it unsurprising—and this is more than a matter of common sense: It is well known from Neil Todd's work that performance of music of the so called common-practice style can be modelled as a series of superimposed arch-shaped profiles (at the four-bar level, eight-bar level and so on) expressed in terms

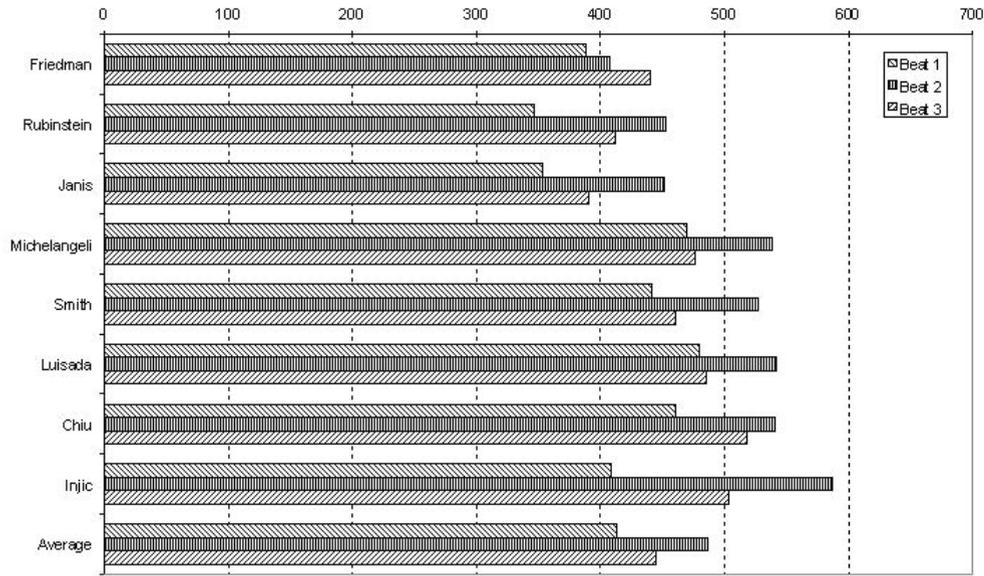


Fig. 8. Average duration of beats in recordings of Chopin's mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1–16 (milliseconds).

of both tempo and dynamics.⁷ So we could treat this hierarchical phrasing model as a second component of a tempo baseline for op. 67, no. 4. And it is easy to think of other components that could be included within such an approach (some of the rules built into the expressive performance generation program *Director Musices*, by Anders Friberg, Johan Sundberg, and others, would be obvious candidates). The more such standard components of performance timing we can account for and subtract from the tempo profile of any individual performance, the more the resulting profile will highlight what is idiosyncratic about that performance rather than the general stylistic norms that inform it.

But we could go further than this. In terms of Todd's hierarchical phrasing model, what is striking about figure 9 is the absence of any clear articulation at the four-bar level. The trend line brings this out, and the note names below suggest a good musical reason for it: Despite the rhythmic repetitions and melodic sequences, the first eight-bar phrase is strongly based on a descending melodic arpeggiation of the tonic triad, and to this extent it functions as an irreducible unit. At least—and here is the point—that is how Rubinstein plays it. That means that we shall close in on one of the specific features of Rubinstein's playing of this piece, and be able to compare it more acutely with other performances, if we invoke not just the superimposed hierarchical phrasing model, but the relative weighting attached to different structural levels (high at the eight-bar level and low at the four-bar one). And at this point the approach becomes something more than a principled way of constructing a baseline tempo profile against which the idiosyncratic qualities of individual recordings stand out: It becomes a way of representing aspects of individual recordings. What I have been describing is, in fact, an application of a method recently developed by Peter Desain and Luke Windsor, among others, which not only models performances in terms of the relative weightings of a set

⁷ First set out in Neil Todd, "A model of expressive timing in tonal music," *Music perception* 3/1 (fall 1985) 33–57.

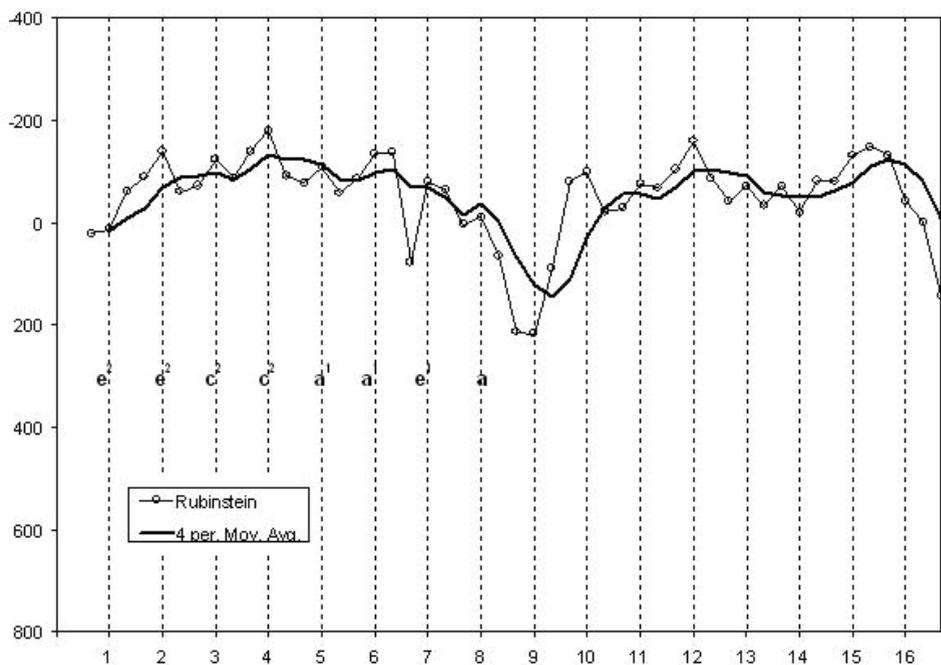


Fig. 9. Normalized tempo graphs of Chopin's mazurka op. 67, no. 4, bars 1–16 (average and Rubinstein 1939), with prominent melodic notes.

of predefined analytical components, but also derives the weightings mathematically from the performance timing data. (In principle the same is possible for dynamic data, but nobody has tried that yet.)⁸

One can then envisage a range of components and weightings—some of them, perhaps, based on score-based analytical approaches—which would together constitute a compact representation of performance style: a representation drawn (unlike Bowen's correlations) from the details of the performance's note-to-note progression, but at the same time (unlike the conventional tempo-profile approaches) enabling direct comparison across large numbers of recordings. We would have a means of characterising one performer's style in relation to other performers' styles across a number of common dimensions, as well as in terms of its idiosyncratic features. That, in turn, would provide a much better informed basis for the kind of correlational analysis exemplified by Bowen's graphs or figure 5 above; it would also open up possibilities for stylistic comparison across different mazurkas. In this way a common method could support performance analysis drawing on two distinct epistemologies: on the one hand refined perception and critical evaluation of individual performances (the equivalent of work-oriented structural analysis), and on the other hand more abstract and empirically determined mapping of trends in performance style (the equivalent of the largely defunct tradition of composition-oriented style analysis).⁹

⁸ See Luke Windsor, Peter Desain, Amandine Penel, and Michiel Borkent, "A structurally guided method for the decomposition of expression in music performance", *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 119/2 (2006) 1182–93. My thanks to Luke Windsor for discussing this approach with me.

⁹ I have explained what I see as the relationship between empirical method and epistemology at greater length in "Border crossings: A commentary on Henkjan Honing's 'On the growing role of observation, formalization and experimental method in musicology'", *Empirical musicology review* 1 (2006) 7–11.

But at this point I would like to address some of the possible problems with this kind of approach. Any computational style analysis poses the risk of being swamped by data that are too reduced to support musically interesting conclusions. It is easy to imagine objections along these lines: Do not beat durations need to be understood in terms of the specific rhythmic events that take place within the beats, for instance, and is durational information a sufficient basis for analysing performance style considering its interaction with other parameters such as dynamics or articulation?¹⁰ (We hope to extend our data capture methods to include both sub-beat timing and dynamics, but the basic point is that all analysis involves data reduction.) It is also easy to imagine a more all-encompassing objection: Is not using computers to analyze recordings an example of analysis “turning ideas into objects, and putting objects in place of people,”¹¹ so theorizing both performers and the experience of music out of performance?

This more all-encompassing criticism involves a false if widespread conflation of the use of computers and the retreat from experience, and as such merits a brief response. Recall where my discussion of computational modelling of performances came from: the attempt to establish a baseline for tempo analysis that has more psychological reality than the conventional metronome line. I suggested that one might instead focus on the patterns of similarities and differences between different performances, or between a given performance and some kind of customised baseline appropriate to the music in question, and so bring the individual qualities of the performance into high relief, before developing this into the idea that one might attempt to represent aspects of particular performances through a system of analytical weightings. And, as in the case of Anthony Pople’s “Tonalties” software,¹² using the Desain/Windsor method means starting with a set of analytical parameters based on your intuitions about the performance in question, running the empirical analysis, checking the fit with the data, and using that as a basis for modifying the parameters and rerunning the analysis: It is an iterative process which can equally well be described as one of refining the fit between model and data, and of refining the analytical intuitions with which you began. In effect you are “tuning” your analytical experience of the performance, bringing it into the sharpest possible focus rather as you might adjust a microscope. The computer is being used, as is usually most productive in the arts and humanities, not as a substitute for the human researcher, but as an assistant, or, as Pople expressed it, “a junior partner ... in an expert-to-expert dialogue about the analysis of specific pieces.”¹³

But the objection about theorizing performers out of performance is not so easily disposed of, and leads to what I see as a general principle in performance analysis: no one method can capture more than one dimension of what is always a multidimensional practice, and therefore it is always necessary to combine methods. I can make this point by describing a specific case when empirical analysis would have been misleading if it had not been supplemented by reference to the performer. This comes from a project carried out by Eric Clarke, Bryn Harrison, and Philip Thomas as well as myself, which

¹⁰ The classic discussion of such fundamental issues is Peter Desain and Henkjan Honing, “Tempo curves considered harmful”, *Contemporary music review* 7/2 (1993) 123–38 (www.nici.kun.nl/mmm/papers/dh-93-f.pdf).

¹¹ Richard Taruskin, *Text and act: Essays on music and performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 24.

¹² Anthony Pople, “Using complex set theory for tonal analysis: An introduction to the Tonalties Project”, *Music analysis* 23/2–3 (July 2004) 153–94. See also www.nottingham.ac.uk/music/tonalties/.

¹³ Anthony Pople, “Modelling musical structure”, *Empirical musicology: Aims, methods, prospects*, ed. by Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 151.

involved Thomas learning and performing a piano piece composed by Harrison, with recordings being made of the rehearsals and the premiere, as well as a session at which they worked on the piece together.¹⁴ The aspect of this project that is relevant here is our evaluation of the accuracy of Thomas's rhythmic interpretation.

Our first analysis treated the music as a single sequence of note attacks and correlated these with the specifications in the score; in terms of rhythmic detail the correlation was not very high, which might seem unsurprising given its complexity. (The passage with which I am concerned is notated in the score as three polyphonic lines—though that is not the effect of the music when you listen to it—with abundant irrational and sometimes nested rhythmic values.) But then we realized that the way we had analysed the music did not at all correspond with how Thomas had conceived it as he learned the piece. In Thomas's words,

Each of the three lines has its own internal energy, which is difficult to sustain throughout its duration. I felt that the only way to learn this was to get to know each line on its own, and then in pairs before putting them all together, much like Bach counterpoint.... When putting everything together I would then find points that I could identify as markers, such as a downbeat in one voice which the other voices could respond to, always trying to hear the individual energy of each line as learned on its own.¹⁵

Reanalysed as three separate lines, it turned out that the pattern of note attacks was not just extremely close to the specifications in the score, but had been so almost from the very first time Thomas played through the music. Our initial evaluation of the rhythmic accuracy of Thomas's playing, then, was based on a misunderstanding of his performance strategy: We had interpreted the data in a manner that was mathematically right but musically wrong. And the point I am making is that it took a combination of different kinds of information—empirical and ethnographic data—to bring this to light. My own contribution to the project was an ethnographic study of what complex rhythms mean for the performer (and composer), based as much on what Thomas and Harrison said as on the performance data narrowly defined.

More generally, I would argue that the more you rely on hard, quantitative data such as inter-onset timings in analysing performance, the more important it is to triangulate this against ethnographic and other forms of qualitative data—the kinds of data familiar to popular musicologists, ethnomusicologists, and interdisciplinary performance theorists. (I am thinking primarily of theater and dance studies, but more generally, of approaches to performance as embodied action.) Of course, to take my argument back to its starting point, ethnographic approaches cannot be directly applied to historical recordings. But the point to make here is the one Peter Jeffrey made in relation to medieval chant: You maximize your chances of making sense of such meagre traces of past performance events as chant notations (and the same applies to recordings) by interpreting them in terms of a broad conception of performance that builds on every possible form of available evidence.

How, then, might it be possible to bring together the kind of empirical analysis I have been talking about and the broader issues of cultural meaning, on which I

¹⁴ Eric F. Clarke, Nicholas Cook, Bryn Harrison, and Philip Thomas, "Interpretation and performance in Bryn Harrison's *être-temps*", *Musicae scientiae* 9/1 (spring 2005) 31–74.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

touched near the beginning of this paper? It is too easy to assume that you need to do the empirical analysis before starting to think about cultural meaning: This strategy for analytical deferral (which, in effect, goes back to Hanslick) might be sidestepped by, for example, asking whether some of the differences in performance style emerging from the mazurkas project might not be explained in terms of the difference between rhetorical and structuralist approaches to performance. (Although rhetoric can be used to articulate structure—so, this is not a simple binary—rhetoric implies a reception-oriented conception of what music is, and the distinction between this and a structuralist conception takes one deep into the domains of ontology and aesthetics.) But I can briefly outline a more straightforward answer to this question with reference to a particularly telling example of changing performance style.

Webern's piano variations op. 27 were written just two years before World War II, and became well known only after the war, and specifically in the context of the Darmstadt avant-garde within which Boulez elevated Webern to the role of patron saint of new music. Op. 27 consequently took on something of the status of a sacred text, and was disseminated in the cool, abstract recordings of modernist performers such as Charles Rosen. But, as anybody knows who has read Peter Stadlen on this subject, Webern's own conception of the music was very different. Stadlen had given the premiere back in 1937, in Vienna, and had been intensively coached for the performance by Webern himself. As Stadlen records, Webern

spent countless hours trying to convey to me every nuance of performance down to the finest detail. As he sang and shouted, waved his arms and stamped his feet in an attempt to bring out what he called the meaning of the music I was amazed to see him treat those few scrappy notes as if they were cascades of sound. He kept on referring to the melody which, he said, must be as telling as a spoken sentence. This melody would sometimes reside in the top notes of the right hand and then for some bars be divided between both left and right. It was shaped by an enormous amount of constant rubato and by a most unpredictable distribution of accents. But there were also definite changes of tempo every few bars to mark the beginning of a new "sentence".¹⁶

Although in 1979 Universal Edition published a facsimile edition of Stadlen's own score of op. 27, annotated with Webern's performance directions, none of what Stadlen describes can be traced in the standard published edition. So this is a classic demonstration of just how slender a basis scores can provide for musicological interpretation. However, it is equally a classic demonstration of the dangers of using recordings as a basis for musicological interpretation, for none of what Stadlen describes can be heard in the recordings released during the 1950s and 1960s either. Recordings like Rosen's, with their concern for objectivity and balance—you might say their structuralist rather than rhetorical orientation—construe op. 27 as an emblem of post-war modernism, which is to say modernism in the tradition of the Bauhaus and the "International" style. When cultural historians—historians of architecture as much as musicologists—speak of "modernism", that is usually what they mean. Yet with its focus on clarity of structural articulation, Bauhaus/International modernism is strikingly different from the Viennese variety, the central conception of which might be said to be the concealment of hidden meaning behind appearances. One of the musicological achievements of the last two

¹⁶ Peter Stadlen, "Serialism reconsidered", *The score* 22 (1958) 12.

decades, made possible through exploration of the Webern *Nachlass* as well as increasing historical distance, has been the writing of Webern back into the context of pre-war Viennese modernism, with its strange juxtapositions of Neoplatonism, positivism, and Krausian ethics, and with the waltz as its ubiquitous soundtrack. And it is this reinvented, and surely more complex, image of Webern that sounds through such more recent recordings of op. 27 as, for instance, that of Mitsuko Uchida (2000).

The purpose of what I have said is not, of course, to stipulate how op. 27 should be played. It is rather to suggest that recordings of op. 27 embody changing thinking about Webern, which corresponds to the way in which the man and his music have been written into very different analytical and historical stories—stories that are animated by very different aesthetic, and perhaps also social and ideological, values. In that case, the kind of technical analysis that I have been discussing in this paper, tempo graphs and all, can become an instrument for refining and nuancing broad cultural concepts such as modernism: The music on the records—the authentic soundtrack of the 20th century—can function as a primary source for historical and critical understanding across the arts and beyond. In his article “Cinderella, or, Music and the human sciences”, Leon Botstein has called for music to be enlisted “as a primary vehicle for the reinterpretation of culture and society”.¹⁷ I would like to think that the kind of performance analysis I have sketched in this paper could be a step towards doing just that. And if that is right, then writing performance into the mainstream of musicology may be the key to completing the job that the “New” musicologists began.

¹⁷ Leon Botstein, “Cinderella, or, Music and the human sciences: Unfootnoted musings from the margins”, *Current musicology* 53 (2002) 134.

MUSICOLOGY AND PERFORMANCE

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Over the past 100 years musicology and performance have had an uncomfortable relationship. Until recently musicologists tended to assume that they were uniquely qualified to tell performers how music should go: Historians knew which instruments were used, how performers were supposed to do their ornaments and so on; theorists knew which notes were the important ones, the ones performers should “do something” to point up. What exactly performers were to do was a matter for them, mere craft, not something scholars need concern themselves with. More recently musicology has begun to fancy itself as performative, and in many ways it is, but not in any that brings us closer to understanding what happens when a performer (literally) makes music, nor of how the ways in which a performer shapes it tell listeners, and commentators if they listen, how the music works. Joel Lester has argued effectively that we might learn something important about musical pieces from studying performances.¹ And one could go further and suggest we could learn still more from asking the right questions of listeners, for it is a fact never to be forgotten that music makes profound sense to people who have never read a word of musicology. How it sounds and how it feels are the keys to understanding what it is and how it works. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that we can expect over the next few years to learn a lot more, by studying performances closely, about the ways in which performers make music work.

At the same time we should do well to start to think about the extent to which how music sounds in performance has always influenced what scholars have written about it. I do not just mean the sounds of external performances. It is easy enough to show that when scholars talk about music as music (for example, discussing details of a score as opposed to, say, ideas about music's cultural context) they are also (often only) referring to a performance imagined in their minds. That performance, if it imagines sound realistically, must be shaped to a significant extent by the styles of performance dominant in the scholar's memory, which usually means styles current in their day. (One takes Jonathan Dunsby's point, of course, that such a performance may not be a very good one artistically, but it would have to be uselessly incompetent to escape its historical

¹ Joel Lester, “Performance and analysis: Interaction and interpretation”, *The practice of performance: Studies in musical interpretation*, ed. by John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 197–216.

performance-stylistic context.²) This means that performance style 100 years ago will have led scholars to make different kinds of points about scores, and about the meaning of music in general, than recent performances lead scholars to make today. So there is a relationship between period performance style and commentary that deserves our attention, for performance shapes academic commentary much more profoundly than academics might previously have liked to believe. But how does the stylistic relationship between performing and writing about music work? What sorts of connections can be made between them, and at what level? Is it just that by happening in the same period they inevitably share some low-level features of that period's way of being communicative? Or is there some level at which thinking about music, whether in concepts or in sound, has common features that change in parallel over time? If there is a close relationship, where do innovations typically arise first, in the playing or in the writing?

I must admit that when I planned the paper from which this article developed I thought it was going to be relatively easy to sort out this relationship for the two case studies discussed here, Schubert songs and modernist orchestral music, because I had a very clear impression of what the answers were going to be, for those repertoires if for nothing else. But actually it is not so easy in practice. Impressions like that develop over many years from an accumulation of small details, and the accumulation tends to survive and develop in the memory while passing observations that seem irrelevant (in other words, that might be contradictory) get left aside. Such impressions can be very hard to demonstrate with a few killer pieces of evidence, which is the sort of demonstration conference papers and articles prefer. But at least for modernist orchestral music I can draw on my own memories of earlier performances. I was a music student in London in the early 1970s, and I seem to recall quite vividly the sound of the BBC Symphony Orchestra under Boulez, the London Sinfonietta under Elgar Howarth, the Fires of London under Peter Maxwell Davies and so on, playing new and recent works on the South Bank and at the Round House. It is not the sound I hear today. It was distinctly reassuring to be able to refer back to Timothy Day's discussion of changing Webern performance which suggested a development along exactly the lines I recalled, from fragmented discontinuous sounds towards more shapely and linear realizations of those exceptionally spare scores.³ Even so, it came as a huge relief to find as I worked that when one makes a side-by-side comparison of Boulez recordings from the 1970s and the 1990s just as Day did for Webern recordings from the 1950s and 1970s, there is indeed a very noticeable difference in approach, and it is the difference I had constructed for myself. Moreover there is some parallel to be seen in the way people wrote about the music then and later, albeit following changes in performance style after some delay. Why there should have been a delay we must also consider.

The Schubert situation is somewhat different. The differences in performance style between the 1920s, 1950s, and today are very obvious and well documented and hardly need more demonstration. But the question of how writing about the music has changed in parallel is more tricky. It is obvious that it has—Richard Capell and Lawrence Kramer do not on the whole see Schubert song from the same points of view—but it is not

² Ibid., 198.

³ Timothy Day, *A century of recorded music: Listening to musical history* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000) 178–85.

obvious how that change has parallels in performance. This is a question to which we shall return when we have looked at some examples.

I would like to begin, because I think the examples are easier to explain, with modernist music, and with Pierre Boulez and his own *Pli selon pli* (of 1958–62, perhaps continuing), which he has recorded three times over the past 30 years. To understand the differences, though, we need to go back further, to his composing and writing in the early 1950s. To an extent *Pli selon pli* was reacting to but also developing out of a view of composition current around 1950 in which each note was a self-contained and fully calculated event, each parameter determined by a precompositional scheme. The resulting “punct-ual” or “pointillist” style was very noticeable in early performances. Pieces like Stockhausen’s *Punkte* (1952) or Boulez’s *Structures Ia* (1951) were aggregates of many individual notes of equal significance, and at first that is how they sounded.⁴ There was a system, but what happened next was for the listener completely unpredictable in detail: There was no *audible* connection between notes. Listeners were left to make connections where they could, or simply enjoy each moment as it happened. It was not evident that the instrumentalists (or the conductors) had much sense of point to point connection either; they just played each note as written (or tried to—that is the other side of the coin). Nowadays, looking back from a much more linear performance style, Boulez claims that the performers just had not learnt how to do it then.⁵ But it is not at all clear that they intended to. Those who had read about pointillist serialism (the conductors quite probably, less often the players) knew that a disconnected manner was conceptually perfectly appropriate, and there is no sign that it worried them.

It was in 1954, while writing *Le marteau sans maître*, which already began to recreate linear continuity, that Boulez began to conduct.⁶ At the same time his writings (and those of his colleagues) increasingly attacked the apparent chaos of integral serialism, advocating working with fields now rather than points.⁷ This criticism of the chaotic sound of earlier scores rather suggests that his change of compositional approach was prompted by hearing the pointillist works and by starting to conduct them for himself.⁸

⁴ We get some understanding of why this was desirable from Boulez’s remark quoted by Stacey (Peter Stacey, *Boulez and the modern concept* [Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987] 24); and from Boulez’s *Relevés d’apprenti* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966) 74: “I think that music should be collective hysteria and enchantment, violently modern.” Modernity for Boulez in the 1950s verged on the vicious—Stacey sees “something of the theatre of cruelty” about the extremes of *Structures I*—whereas by the 1980s it tended more towards the enchanting.

⁵ See *Boulez on conducting: Conversations with Cécile Gilly*, transl. by Richard Stokes (London: Faber & Faber, 2003; first French edition, 2002) 64–66, especially on Webern. Also see “What had brought this “punctual” style about? The justified rejection of thematicism. Yet it was rather a naïve idea of “composition” to cast a simple hierarchy or organization in the role previously filled by thematic relationships. Such relationships are specific, whereas a sound hierarchy on its own is largely ineffective.” “Current investigations” (1954), *Stocktakings from an apprenticeship*, transl. by Stephen Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 16–17.

⁶ Domaine Musicale began in early 1954 (Jean Vermeil, *Conversations with Boulez: Thoughts on conducting*, transl. by Camille Naish [Portland, Ore.: Amadeus Press, 1996; first French edition, 1989] 20.) Boulez conducted seriously (international orchestras) from 1957–58 onwards (Vermeil, *Conversations*, 23).

⁷ “The notions of field of action and punctual encounter. A field admits the possibility of free will operating within limits wide enough not to be inhibiting; the punctual encounter, on the other hand, is the only conceivable solution at any given moment.” (“... Near and far” [1954], *Stocktakings*, 151)

⁸ In both conducting books (Vermeil and Gilly) Boulez admits that conducting made him write more playable music, but the point he makes is about technical and ensemble difficulty, not style. (Vermeil, *Conversations*, 33) That said, increasingly fluent conducting technique is likely to lead to increasingly fluid music. And he says, “What I appreciate, after practicing the various techniques of conducting and doing it rather well, what I appreciate is that there’s always some feedback between conducting and composing. It sets up a circle which has nothing to do with virtuosity.... Virtuosity should serve the music’s content rather than conceal it.” (Vermeil, *Conversations*, 34.)

Boulez did not record *Pli selon pli* for the first time until 1969, around a decade after its composition. It is a very accomplished performance, and far from pointillist, but when one compares it to a performance from today the differences are still very marked,

Example 1

Score: figs. 29–32 (pp. 22–23)

1969 recording: 7' 28" – 8' 12"

2001 recording: 7' 19" – 8' 01"

so that it is clear that the development between pointillist and modern performance has for him been slow but as yet undeviating. An example from the first movement, "Don", illustrates this.⁹

The extract is framed by long trills; and between them the orchestra is split into two and the relative timing left to the conductor. In fact Boulez plays the elements in almost the same order, but adjusts the timing. In 1969 we get individual musical gestures one by one, with spaces between them. By contrast, in the most recent recording from 2001 the events are arranged so that one gesture is rounded off by the next, and several are run together, all adding up to a much greater sense of continuity. Detailed examination using spectrograms, which show frequency, timing, and amplitude in minute detail across the whole spectrum, shows how Boulez lengthens the string tremolando passages at figs. 36 and 38 in the score; each takes about 20% longer in 2001, and it is noticeable and very relevant that these are the passages most like his more recent compositional style. After the trills (1969 from 7' 41", 2001 from 7' 34") Boulez exchanges the mandolin and ensemble chords to make better continuity, and the vibraphone notes that in the 1969 recording fade to inaudibility quite rapidly last in 2001 across the length of the first two events, creating a link from one to the next. The final groups before the closing trills (1969 from 7' 51", 2001 from 7' 41.5") are brought closer together, followed by longer trills in 2001, reflecting Boulez's increasing taste for trills so evident through his intervening compositions.

There is another very clear example during the final (variable order) section. Again the 2001 performance is faster and more streamlined, and Boulez used the options

EXAMPLE 2

Score: letter B, p. 29 to after
letter C, p. 34

1969: 11' 40" – 12' 29"

1981: 12' 50" – 13' 42"

2001: 12' 23" – 13' 11"

offered in the score to overlap some elements that had previously been separate. To fill out the picture I recommend comparing both with the intervening 1981 recording, whose treatment of this passage does indeed sound stylistically in between those of the first and third recordings, emphasizing that this has been a process of gradual but consistent change in Boulez's musical tastes.¹⁰

Perhaps the most telling example in "Don" of the way in which Boulez's own compositional interests interact with his performance style comes at the end of the movement, which has been rescored in order to provide some tuned percussion that will sound on after the last chord—originally they were damped some

⁹ Pierre Boulez, *Don* (Universal Edition, UE 13614 LW, 1967), figs. 29–32 (pp. 22–23). 1969 recording: *Boulez conducts Boulez*, BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Pierre Boulez, a 2-LP set, CBS Diamond Cut, DC 40173 (recorded 1969, issued 1970), disc 1, side 1, band 1. 2001 recording: Boulez, *Pli selon Pli*, Ensemble Intercontemporain, conducted by Pierre Boulez, CD, Deutsche Grammophon 471 344-2 (recorded January–February 2001, issued 2002), track 1. In order to ensure comparability between LP and CD issues, timings are counted from the start of the first sound. Timings on CD displays will therefore be slightly later. I regret that for copyright reasons it is necessary with all these examples to refer readers to the score and recordings rather than provide them.

¹⁰ Score: first order of sections from letter B, p. 29 to after letter C, p. 34. 1981 recording: BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Pierre Boulez; *Pierre Boulez conducts Pierre Boulez Pli selon Pli*, 2-LP set, Erato NUM 75050 (recorded November 1981, issued 1983), disc 1, side 1, band 1.

bars before the wind instruments finished the piece. This is a different Boulez, after he has discovered the sounds of the 4X in *Répons*.¹¹

It seems likely that reproduction quality also plays a role in our different responses to these recordings. Digital recording and reproduction between them allow more of the quieter instruments to sound audibly through the remainder. But it is clear from spectrograms that in this case that is not the only factor by any means, and may not be a very important one. Boulez is changing the balance, including changing the percussion mallets and overlapping layers of the score, because it makes better musical sense to him now than it did then. We need, therefore, to understand these changes in the round. They involve not just a general change in performance style, though that too; not just a gradual increase in comfort for performers who become with experience more able to cope with scores of this complexity; but also changes that are absolutely crucial to Boulez as a composer, transforming a focus on points in the early 1950s into one on lines and elaborated harmony increasingly since the late 1970s, mingled with a tendency ever more towards tremolos and cascades of bright sounds which tie together continuity with precision. It is not so much that Boulez becomes a melodist, then; more that he develops an increasing fascination with sound, as opposed to notes. Of course he is also notoriously prone to rewriting earlier scores to bring them up to date. But that has happened only in small ways in “Don”; much more of what we can hear in these examples is the product of a changed performance style than of recomposition. And this is crucially important. Features of his compositional style are effectively expressed in a manner of performance so that the meaning of a score changes over time. That performance changes scores could not be clearer.

Can we provide some context for these changes that relates them to more general trends? It is much easier to do this for earlier periods—say comparing the 1930s and 1950s—since in this Boulez case one side of the comparison concerns a current style, of which we can be only dimly aware simply because we are living through it. You have to be able to stand outside and look back in order to see clearly what has happened. It is especially difficult here because we are comparing a performance style developed in line with an ideology (of which pointillism and analysis of serial structures are two symptoms), and at a time when performers were struggling to play the notes at all, with one that seems fully merged with our current general style. If forced to describe the latter, one might mention pinpoint accuracy coupled with vivid sound and a taste for the striking gesture, factors in which “historically informed” performance and digital sound have been especially influential. Apply these characterizations to a selection of recent performances and recordings and perhaps you may see what I mean. But you will agree that this is pretty unsatisfactory as a description of current style. Even so, relating current Boulez to general style is still not as tricky as making the link for 1970s performances, which seem so divorced from contemporary recordings of mainstream orchestral music (think Klemperer or Boult). It is a little easier if we take music that verges on modernism, Stravinsky for example, where a lushness and linearity has unmistakably crept back in since the composer’s death. Or Schoenberg.

¹¹ Compare also the vibraphone chords in the three versions of fig. 12: The 2001 performance (4’ 44”; cf. 1969 5’ 02”; 1981 5’ 19” could only have happened after *Répons* and the 4X, especially since often (though not at the end here) the 2001 performance uses softer mallets than the 1969.

Pierrot lunaire makes an appropriate comparison. Boulez's recordings of 1961 and 1997 show very much the same pattern of change as do the *Pli selon pli* discs,¹² but we can place these within a wider context, indeed as wide as we like since there are so many others than can be compared. In fact, in terms of the inexpressivity of the instrumental playing the 1961 recording is not so unlike the 1940 recording overseen by Schoenberg.¹³ Neither has much in common with contemporary playing in mainstream repertoire, but in both cases one can reasonably argue that composers were working with performers they knew well, all aiming for a modernist approach to playing atonal music. The deep expressivity of mainstream repertoire performance was irrelevant, in fact to be spurned. A more provocative comparison is with the two versions, 1967 and 1977, with Jane Manning as vocalist, the first with the uncondacted Vesuvius Ensemble, the second with the Nash Ensemble under Simon Rattle.¹⁴ Both groups specialized in modern music, but both worked within a more mainstream (English) interpretative tradition, their modernism considerably less dry and more conventionally shapely. Even so we see, albeit over a much smaller distance, the same journey from relatively inexpressive to markedly more so across those ten years. To take just one song as emblematic, in no. 7 for flute and voice we hear in Boulez's 1961 recording (and also in Schoenberg's) rather straight flute tone with relatively little dynamic change or dynamic articulation, considering the markings in the score. At the opposite extreme, in Boulez's 1997 recording we find much greater dynamic fluctuation within notes and more flexible timing: it is more conventionally musical, with the desiderata of continuity and shape overseeing all the details. Between these, in terms of expressive style, come both Manning versions, the 1967 less and the 1977 somewhat more expressive in a manner that Boulez by 1997 has simply taken further (as has everybody else, of course). I think what this amounts to is a consistent pattern of change, in which modernist performers deliberately removed themselves from current style before turning back ever more enthusiastically to meet up with it again. There are all sorts of reasons one might propose for that change of direction, economic, social, even political, but it would be reasonable also to point to the way in which mainstream performance style, in gradually accommodating "historically informed" performance, was also accommodating modernism, bringing itself, by developing a style that was both clean *and* expressive, within the increasingly conservative modernist pale. It is at least a three-way process that allowed the avant garde, the HIPsters and the mainstream to converge towards something they could all live with.

Certainly Boulez offers a particularly good example of performance style changing in relation to other kinds of style because he rewrites his own history by rewriting his pieces (including *Pli selon pli*).¹⁵ But he is simply doing explicitly something that

¹² 1961 recording: "Arnold Schoenberg: *Pierrot Lunaire*, op. 21 / Serenade, op. 24", Domaine Musical Ensemble, Helga Pilarczyk (voice), directed by Pierre Boulez, 2-LP set, Everest SDBR(D) 3171, recorded 1961, first issued (on Wergo) 1962, this issue 1971. 1997 recording: "Schoenberg—*Pierrot Lunaire*", Christine Schäfer (voice), conducted by Pierre Boulez, DG 457 630-2, recorded September 1997, issued 1998.

¹³ "Schoenberg: *Pierrot Lunaire*, Trio op. 45", Erika Stiedry-Wagner (voice), directed by Arnold Schoenberg, CBS MPK 45695, recorded September 1940, this issue 1989.

¹⁴ 1967: "Schoenberg: *Pierrot Lunaire*, Chamber symphony no. 1", Vesuvius Ensemble, Jane Manning (voice), Forum 9106, recorded 1967, this issue 2005. 1977: "Schoenberg: *Pierrot Lunaire*—Webern: Concerto, op. 24", Nash Ensemble, Jane Manning (voice), conducted by Simon Rattle, Chandos CHAN 6534, recorded 1977, this issue 2005.

¹⁵ Compare also Boulez's 1965 revision of *Le soleil des eaux* which introduces greater continuities in sonority (chorus, conversion of vocal part from part-speech to all song) and in melody/harmony, often assigning notes previously separate to one instrument or one chord. (Paul Griffiths, *Boulez* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978] 17). This is a long way

happens anyway all the time. Music changes as people change. Boulez is a useful case because unlike almost all performing composers he is such a superlatively competent performer that we really can, for once, take his recordings as insights into his inner ear, his composer's imagination. With most composers you dare not do that because their performing is too much shaped by the limits of their performing abilities. (One need only mention Stravinsky again to see the truth of that.)

It is easy enough to confirm the relationship between Boulez's development as an interpreter and styles of writing about music. For these purposes, popular books that attempt to explain and generalize are especially revealing, which itself gives us a clue as to the level at which these sorts of relationships operate. Style is by its very nature a generalizing phenomenon. Making relationships between small details of performances and commentaries will work on occasion, but it is likely to involve a fair amount of special pleading when there is not a simple musical point being stressed in both. At the other end of the spectrum, general stylistic features are going to be hard to relate precisely once one gets beyond musical discussions. How can we say that the vivid struck sounds of recent Boulez reflect anything specific in the communicative norms of the early 21st century? And yet it is possible, even likely, that they do. To start with, then, we are going to have to look for relationships somewhere between these extremes, within musical discussions but at a relatively generalizing level. Consequently the more popular textbooks are especially fruitful.

In 1969 H.H. Stuckenschmidt in his influential *Twentieth century music* wrote of "The overall abruptness of style [in Boulez], the pointillistic melodic writing and seemingly arbitrary rhythms" which he found "reminiscent of exotic models."¹⁶ Reginald Smith Brindle in 1975, in a chapter called "The avant-garde: Pointillism," wrote of "This almost single-note texture, with widely scattered, almost disconnected sounds and uniformly subdued emotive undertones" which "came to be called the 'pointillist' style", and he emphasized what then seemed to him to be a notable characteristic of Boulez, namely that he "has shown little desire for change over twenty years . . .", hence "the largely undeviating art of Boulez."¹⁷ So well into the 1970s there was a strong sense that the style remained the same. But not for much longer, as we see from following Paul Griffiths. Griffiths has been commentating on this music for more than 30 years as a critic and, through the huge influence his books have had on young musicians and music students,

from the Second Sonata (1947–48) which specifically forbade the performer to use expressive nuances. Related also are likely to be the changes of MM in the unannounced revision of *Le marteau* (compare early and more recent printings of the miniature score).

¹⁶ Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Twentieth century music*, transl. by Richard Deveson. World University Library (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969). Boulez "emerged as a leading advocate of serial and pointillistic techniques". (214) "The chirping, knocking, porcelain-like sounds of *Le marteau*, as always in Boulez, have an aura of inspired unpredictability that is strangely at odds with the mathematical determinism of the work's serial construction." (214) "The overall abruptness of style, the pointillistic melodic writing and seemingly arbitrary rhythms are also reminiscent of exotic models." (216)

¹⁷ Reginald Smith Brindle, *The new music: The avant-garde since 1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) 17. The preintegral serial works of the early 1950s "often have very sparse textures, brief phrases tracing stark, angular melodic outlines, and as often as not very subdued dynamics. This almost single-note texture, with widely scattered, almost disconnected sounds and uniformly subdued emotive undertones, came to be called the 'pointillist' style—a not inappropriate description. As works of the following period of integral serialism at first continued the same kind of sound texture, the term pointillist continued to be used almost throughout the Fifties, until music changed its character to such a degree that the term was no longer appropriate." And still several times in this 1975 book Smith Brindle takes Boulez as notable for the lack of change in his approach to composition: "Boulez has shown little desire for change over twenty years. . ." (133), and "By classic [avant-garde], I mean well-established, central, mainstream, something like the largely undeviating art of Boulez" (133, n. 1).

as a teacher, which makes his testimony especially valuable.¹⁸ The 1995 revision of his 1981 book, *Modern music*, is especially interesting. Discussing Stockhausen's *Kreuzspiel* Griffiths inserts a new paragraph in the revision on what the music is like to listen to,¹⁹ making room for it by cutting down on the technical discussion of the serial process. *Structures* book II, hardly mentioned in 1981, gains a lyrical description of the sound of the piece: "solo breaks loosened by ... flurries of grace notes", "flashing events reflected in still pools", "a glacial succession of chords", "whirling rotation".²⁰ Commentary of this sort would have been laughed out of court in the texts of the 1970s. Then students interested in new music, a tiny but determined minority, wanted facts, above all facts about compositional processes. How every detail derived from the series was a much more pressing concern than what in metaphorical terms the music sounded like.²¹ Griffiths' substantial rewriting of *Modern music* (now *Modern music and after*) provides the clearest example one could wish for of the way in which attitudes have changed. Throughout the revision references to compositional techniques have been replaced by comments on the resulting sound. Where once he heard structure, now Griffiths hears musical effect. By coincidence his first edition appeared in the same year as Boulez's second recording of *Pli selon pli*, the one I have mentioned only in passing and in example 2. As suggested there, we can hear already in that recording a clear trend towards a more linear style, but naturally enough it takes some time for that to filter through into books. Though writing around 1980, then, Griffiths was really telling us about the way Boulez was perceived in the 1960s and 1970s. There is no doubt, though, that the trends he reflects are characteristic of changed priorities in modernist music in general. His revision is responding to decades of performances and recordings, and to a change in the general period aesthetic away from formalism and towards perception, a change which performances show just as well as, and considerably before, academic analyses and commentaries.

I should like to try to tease out more exactly the relationship between these changes in style, because this is a rather intriguing case, containing an initial stage we find rarely elsewhere. If we sort out the chronology a little more precisely we shall see that the way composers wrote about integral serialism in the 1950s changed the direction of musical scholarship. Recall the state of musical analysis in 1950. This was just before Reti (1951) and Salzer (1952), and a few years before Keller (1957–60).²² In fact the highly

¹⁸ Paul Griffiths, *Modern music: The avant garde since 1945* (London: Dent, 1981), and *Modern music and after: Directions since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). For example, "pointillist writing" (in Goeyvaerts, 1981, 50) is replaced by "detached notes" (1995, 31): It is a small point but shows how a word that seemed completely appropriate then now seems wrong. "Pointillist techniques" (1981, 55) becomes "points" (1995, 37), again a move from composition technique to effect. "[A]n important contribution to the smooth flow of the musical processes" becomes "a decisive contribution to the streamlined glide of process, and gives the game a tension of direction." (*ibid.*) Stockhausen of course makes a very good example, perhaps clearer (so less interesting) than Boulez, since he so explicitly talked about and composed with points in the 1950s and melody from the 1970s. And one can draw examples from page after page of the 1995 revision. The revised discussion of *Le marteau*, completely rewritten to take account of Koblyakov's analytical discoveries, ends with a lyrical paean to Boulez's play of relationships between the fixed and the flexible (1995, 84).

¹⁹ Griffiths, *Modern music and after*, 33–35.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 115.

²¹ I am speaking here only from my memory of the composer's group at the Royal College of Music in the early 1970s, but we certainly felt representative of our generation at the time.

²² Rudolph Reti, *The thematic process in music* (New York: Macmillan, 1951). Felix Salzer, *Structural hearing: Tonal coherence in music* (New York: Boni, 1952). Hans Keller, see especially "Functional analysis: Its pure appreciation", *Music review* 18 (1957) 202–06; 19 (1958), 192–200; 21 (1960), 73–76, 237–39. For further reading start with Christopher Wintle's "Keller, Hans", *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

analytical writing of Boulez and Stockhausen and their circle in the 1950s (especially in *Die Reihe*) predate the explosion of interest in systematic musical analysis. The *Journal of music theory* was founded 1957 but did not publish its first article on atonal music until 1961; *Perspectives of new music* was founded only in 1962. It seems more than likely that the ways in which these composers wrote about integral serialism in the early 1950s, and the pieces in which they demonstrated it, had a profound influence on the rise of analysis in the U.S. and U.K. in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Many of the most influential analysts were first and foremost concerned with modern music, then diversified. David Lewin wrote on Schoenberg in the 1960s, moving out to Brahms and Wagner later; Allen Forte wrote on atonal music in the 1950s, moving into Mozart, Mahler, and Liszt in the 1980s; Edward T. Cone, who was older, moved into Stravinsky and the Second Viennese School in the 1960s and then out again later; Arnold Whittall moved into contemporary music in the 1960s and then diversified into Wagner especially from the early 1980s; and one could go on: the pattern is strikingly consistent. In parallel, Milton Babbitt composed serially from the late 1940s, but wrote as a theorist most influentially from 1960. This seems a very clear case where composers led the way in their composing, their writing about their composing, and their performances of their compositions, all making a coherent modernist whole that deeply influenced everyone else and reshaped a generation's way of thinking about how to study atonal music. What's happened since then—for composers from the mid-1970s (Stockhausen's formula pieces such as *Mantra* and *Inori*, Boulez's harmonic elaboration in *Rituel* and subsequent pieces) and for theorists from around 1980—is a move towards more attractive sounds, more humane commentary, more immediately appealing scores, and criticism grounded more in literary than in musical theory. Trends in performance style, away from objectivity towards a new expressivity, have worked towards the same end.

What we see in this example is a process whereby composers inspire a completely new, formalist way of thinking about music, which at first they mirror in their performances. But as their compositional priorities change, so does their performing. Scholarship follows composers into a formalist analytical interest in atonal music, but then with careers set in place and expectations from colleagues and students hard to shift, scholarship takes some considerable time to catch up, only gradually becoming interested in a less formalized approach to scores. What has happened in the interim, and what provides a wider context for all this, is a general move away from systems towards responses, from the mathematical towards the narrative, from structuralism to deconstruction, from autonomy to cultural construction, in composition from atonality to neotonality, in politics from radicalism to neoconservatism. For better or for worse, it is all of a piece, a coherent consequence of changes in the way influential thinkers see the world. For scholars all this can conveniently be encapsulated in the notion of postmodernism, a word that gained intellectual currency at very much the same time (the end of the 1970s) as Boulez's style was beginning obviously to change. Although Boulez was certainly in the thick of modern intellectual life at the time (the heyday of IRCAM), it would be far-fetched to press the coincidence into service in any kind of argument about cause and effect. The point is rather that both become current because of more general changes, and it is the working of this more general level that really needs to be studied if we want to know more about the way intellectual style develops.

Let's turn to the case of Schubert song. There was little detailed writing before the late 1920s, by which time Schubert's songs had been recorded regularly for 30 years,

and performed for over 100. For Richard Capell in the first book-length commentary, published in 1928, the songs meant exactly what they seemed to mean; they told simple stories which the music illustrated.²³ For Capell the very best recordings (Capell lists recordings only in the first edition, incidentally) were those by Sir George Henschel, recorded in 1914. Capell says, “These records show, no doubt, how Schubert intended his songs to be sung. There is no show and no self-consciousness about this singing. The performance strikes the right balance between voice and piano,”²⁴ as well it might because Henschel accompanied himself. “Das Wandern”, the first song of *Die schöne Müllerin*, provides a good example of their shared understanding of what Schubert meant.²⁵ Henschel’s is a straightforward approach. The miller’s boy feels precisely what he sings. There are no hidden meanings, no self-deception. Similarly, for Capell the boy is “a lovesick lad in a green valley”. He says,

Schubert simply did not know what to do with the bold and the bad of the earth. But he lent his luckless young miller tones that he could not have bettered if he had wanted them for himself. And surely just such a one would he himself have been if he had fallen to such a milleress’s charms; timid and rapturous, flower-plucking and star-gazing, a fount of tenderness, a gulf of despair.²⁶

It is easy for us to laugh at this, just as we sometimes laugh at the singing of 90 years ago. But this is how it was. A poet’s love was pure, generous, and honest, and it was in the same spirit that one should sing. It is at this level of social construction, I think, that we can sensibly look for connections between performing music and writing about it. In this case, given the length of the previous performance tradition, it seems reasonable to assume that the way people sang and played had a profound influence on the way they started to write about music. Both, of course, were shaped by the general communicative norms of their time.

But what happens when performance style changes suddenly? The late 1940s provide an obvious example. Until the Second World War Schubert singing continued this tradition of simple and direct expression of overt emotional states. What is true of Henschel in 1914 is still true of Elisabeth Schumann or Gerhard Hüsch in the later 1930s and of Lotte Lehmann in the early war years. But a new generation, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, making their first recordings in the late 1940s, read these songs quite differently. For them Schubert is a composer of drama and inner turmoil. Listen, if you can, to Fischer-Dieskau’s 1971 recording of “Am Feierabend”, especially the last minute (from “allen eine gute Nacht”).²⁷ Fischer-Dieskau attacks notes with explosive sforzandi, strong consonants, sometimes pitch glides, and shapes them with rapid hairpin dynamics that push forward in the sound the cacophonous harmonics around 3kHz in which his voice was so strong, while Gerald Moore stabs at the piano downbeats. The whole thing is a decidedly strong response to a text that only fantasizes about work. For a miller’s boy who in his outer life seems a low-achiever it

²³ Richard Capell, *Schubert's songs* (London: Ernest Benn, 1928; 2nd ed., 1957; 3rd ed. rev. by Martin Cooper, London: Duckworth, 1973).

²⁴ Capell, *Schubert's songs* (1928) 282. Appendix III, “Gramophone records”, was only in this edition.

²⁵ From *Schubert: Lieder on record, 1898–1952*, vol. I 1898–1939, disc 2, track 8; from HMV 7-42006, mat. Ak17387e; recorded 9 January 1914 at Hayes, engineer George Dillnutt.

²⁶ Capell, *Schubert's songs* (1928) 191.

²⁷ “Franz Schubert, Lieder” (DG 437 214-2), vol. III, disc 1 (437 236-2), track 5. Rec. Berlin December/1971.

conjures up a strength of mind that we can only attribute to a notably vivid imagination. Fischer-Dieskau's is a performance that conjures up an inner life at odds with outward appearance, then, distinctly unlike the Henschel/Capell approach.

It takes some years for this to filter through to writing on Schubert. Although the performance I have described was recorded in 1971, Fischer-Dieskau had been singing *Die schöne Müllerin* in a similar manner for over 20 years; yet much of the commentary on Schubert through the 1960s still emphasized Schubert's shy, naive, melodious approach to setting poems. For Lotte Lehmann, writing in 1945, "Am Feierabend" should end with passionate impatience, "the impatience", she says, "of one in love, which causes the bystander some quiet amusement", giving way in the final bars to "dreamy yearning".²⁸ By contrast, for Fischer-Dieskau in his own book in 1971 the energetic music "expresses the lad's fanatical desire for work", the return of that music at the end gives the piece "psychological depth—which clearly goes far beyond the poet's intentions", and the final bars express "not only weariness, but also a deep yearning".²⁹ In other words, everything about this music has been ratcheted up a notch, a wide notch. And from then on we begin to find commentators speaking more often about Schubert songs in terms of drama and psychological disturbance. For Graham Johnson "Am Feierabend" is characterized by "healthy physical activity combined with unhealthily suppressed feeling".³⁰ It is still some way from here to Lawrence Kramer's view of the miller boy as a masochist and "Am Feierabend" as wish-fulfilling fantasy, the miller's daughter, later in the song, "abolishing her father by reenacting his music in an emotionalized, dephallicized, ambiguous form", as Kramer says.³¹ But could we have got there without a previous performance tradition in which psychologized readings seemed essential? Would it have occurred to anyone to have read Schubert along these lines if people had continued to sing him as a domestic composer of pleasing melodies? A sexual-psychologized interpretation would have been impossibly far-fetched in that performance context. Of course, such a naive performance style as that of the pre-War period reflected its social environment, but note how much sooner performers responded to changes in the wider world. Long before Schubert became deeply disturbed in the musicological literature, Fischer-Dieskau, guided by his wartime experience of the worst of human behavior as well as by his interest (characteristic of German intellectual life after the Second World War) in Freudian psychoanalysis, was showing us where the composer's secrets were to be found.

A third example of the priority of style change in performance over commentary is so obvious that it barely needs to be mentioned; namely, historically informed performance. The way scholars write about Baroque music (especially) has been radically influenced by the sounds and manners of HIP, a new world of performance style developed out of nothing but instruments, practice and imagination, in an extraordinary example of cultural evolution at work, by a multiplying cult of performers in the face of much early ridicule from writers. As testimony to its power, it has now, after 40 years, gained such a following as to become an essential argument in recent ontologies of music. I am

²⁸ Lotte Lehmann, *Eighteen song cycles: Studies in their interpretation* (London: Cassell, 1971) 24; republished from *More than singing: The interpretation of songs*, transl. by Frances Holden (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1945).

²⁹ Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Schubert: A biographical study of his songs*, transl. & ed. by Kenneth S. Whitton (London: Cassell, 1976; first German ed., 1971) 178.

³⁰ Graham Johnson, booklet to Hyperion CDJ33025, "The Hyperion Schubert edition: *Die schöne Müllerin*", 18.

³¹ Lawrence Kramer, *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, subjectivity, song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 140.

thinking especially of Stephen Davies and, to very different effect, Peter Kivy.³² In both cases, their very notion of what a piece of music is depends on historical performance style. And it is curious, but deeply telling, that the necessity of this for defining music itself should never have occurred to a philosopher until it had become familiar through modern performances.

More challenging, and so more interesting, are less obvious links between playing and writing, and the levels on which we might explore them. At the moment it seems hard to imagine that we will ever get far in connecting vocabularies—phrases used in emotional speech communication and sounding gestures characteristic of a particular period's musical performance, for example—though there must be connections of some sort. Capell's "lad", recalling Shropshire Lad and all that innocence challenged by circumstances, compares well to the heart-on-sleeve emotionalism evoked by playing about with tempo, the subject swayed hither and thither by forces they cannot control; as against the inner mental life and the language of therapy evoked through Fischer-Dieskau's sudden changes in dynamic, overturning what seemed stable, a style characterized by a succession of instabilities. A more promising approach might be to compare styles of acting and styles of singing, though we need to remember that it is one of the primary purposes of music in a society—indeed possibly music's principal value for survival³³—that it should express feelings that cannot safely be expressed in everyday communication. Musical performance we should expect to be more emotional than speech or (still more so) than manners. Nevertheless the difficulty of showing how period style embraces these various communicative systems should not discourage us: Music offers a particularly good way in, because, consisting as it does of ingredients that can be measured, it is possible to show how style is produced by it. Certainly, styles of emotional communication are not easy to relate. But given that many of us share a sense that somehow they are related, it seems reasonable to suppose that sooner or later it will become possible to show how, and music provides a particularly good place to start.

Now that more and more scholars are taking performance as their overt starting-point for study, the mutual influence of performance and commentary may become harder to spot, simply because the two are going to be ever more intimately mixed up in writings on music. On the plus side, the probability of influence should at least be far easier to acknowledge: How much we learn about music from performances is becoming ever more obvious. For now perhaps we can agree that performance is an important route by which a sense of how music works reaches writers on music. It comes from a general period sense of proper styles of emotional expressivity, which musical performance, along with speech and acting, is particularly good at encapsulating and transmitting. The question remains why it generally takes scholars so long to pick up the implications of changed ways in which people sing and play. Performers, after all, are subject to career constraints just like scholars. As a performer you dare not be too innovative if you want work (the counter-example of Glenn Gould is cited over and over simply because he is almost the only instance of it). And the same certainly applies in scholarship. But performance at least is not institutionalized. Small changes in approach, mutations if you want to make a genetic analogy, can be introduced unintentionally, unconsciously

³² Stephen Davies, *Musical meaning and expression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical reflections on musical performance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

³³ Ian Cross, "Is music the most important thing we ever did? Music, development and evolution", *Music, mind and science*, ed. by Yi Suk Won (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1999) 10–39.

even, easily and frequently, and can accumulate quite rapidly, free from any framework other than that provided by the notes and past experience.³⁴ Scholarship is far more constrained by ideologies and by strategies for promotion, which weigh down upon interpretation, so that it becomes a far more complicated affair than manipulating notes in time, pitch and amplitude for expressive effect. Performance shifts all the time; scholarship has to change by revolutions or hardly at all.



It is far too soon for conclusions. These are just observations based on contrasting examples. I think there is a real subject here, but it is very early days, and it remains to be seen whether others find it appealing—and worth the risk. What I think we can say reasonably is that on the whole performance is changed by musicology less than musicology by performance. Performers make clear new aspects of music that musicology then begins to write about, ascribing them, of course, to historical or theoretical causes rather than to performers since that is where musicologists are trained to look. That is something we can change by focusing much more thoughtfully on the study of performance. Why is the influence greater in one direction than the other? Simply because music in performance encapsulates, represents, and communicates styles of emotional communication in a uniquely direct and powerful way. If musicologists communicate them too, however palely, they pick them up not just from the world around them but also from the musical performances that they, especially, are currently hearing. How these styles of communication might be defined, and how music encapsulates them so efficiently, are difficult but potentially fascinating questions to be answered by many more disciplines than just our own.

³⁴ A neo-Darwinian view of performance style change is taken in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and histories of performance style", *The Cambridge companion to recorded music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Changing approaches to singing Schubert are discussed also in Leech-Wilkinson's "Sound and meaning in recordings of Schubert's *Die junge Nonne*", *Musicae scientiae* 11 (2007) 209–36.

KATEGORIE OR WERTIDEE? THE EARLY YEARS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FOLK MUSIC COUNCIL

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Founded in the aftermath of World War II, the International Folk Music Council was a diverse group of scholars, enthusiasts, and artists united toward three goals: the promotion of understanding and friendship between nations through common interests in folk music, the furtherance of comparative studies, and, most urgently, the preservation, revival, and dissemination of the world's rapidly disappearing musical traditions. But beyond these general common causes, its members differed widely on many topics—not least, on the very definitions of the term *folk music* and its all-important qualifier, *authentic*. The debate formally began at the Council's first general conference, in September 1948 in Basel, with a paper presented by Walter Wiora.¹

He began by citing a controversy that had arisen exactly one hundred years earlier between two prominent German musicians: Ludwig Erk, who was the leading scholar of German traditional music, and Johannes Brahms. The object of this controversy was Kretzschmer and Zuccalmaglio's collection of German folk songs.² Erk contended that most of the songs that Kretzschmer and Zuccalmaglio published were not traditional songs at all; they were either from doubtful sources, or from their own imaginations. Brahms, who used Kretzschmer and Zuccalmaglio's collection for most of his own folk-song settings, vehemently disagreed. He even turned the tables, asserting that the beautiful melodies in this collection were more genuine than the commonplace tunes collected by Erk and other scholars.

Wiora suggested that this striking disagreement about the nature of authenticity could be understood by distinguishing between the scholarly approach, which involved viewing traditional music as a *Kategorie* (category), and the creative approach, for which traditional music was a *Wertidee* (inspiring ideal). Demonstrating through older manuscript sources that some of Kretzschmer and Zuccalmaglio's formerly suspect

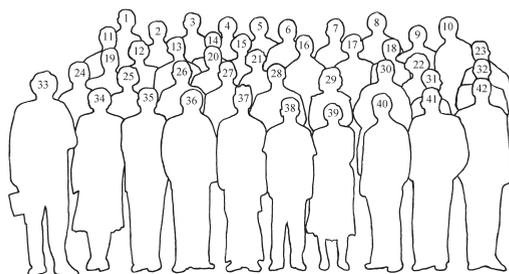
¹ Walter Wiora, "Concerning the conception of authentic folk music," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 1 (1949) 14–19. The paper was read in German; the published version is in English.

² Andreas Kretzschmer and Anton Wilhelm Florentin von Zuccalmaglio, *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Original-Weisen* (Berlin: Vreins-Buchhandlung, 1838–41).



Conference of the International Folk Music Council, Bloomington, 1950.
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1. Reidar Thoralf Christiansen 2. E. Eddy Nadel 3. V. Dolan 4. Sam Eskin 5. Ahmet Saygun 6. Bertrand Harris Bronson 7. J. Olcott Sanders 8. Joseph Raben 9. Ruth Crawford Seeger 10. Charles Seeger 11. J. Mickey
12. B. Lattimer 13. H. Reeves 14. L. Austen 15. Sidney Robertson Cowell 16. George Pullen Jackson 17. Evelyn K. Wells 18. Mrs. La Farge 19. Jonas Balys 20. Duncan Emrich 21. May Gadd 22. A. Kaufman 23. H. Darington
24. Seán Ó Súilleabháin 25. Sirvart Poladian 26. Laurits Bødker 27. Albert Lord 28. Samuel P. Bayard 29. Nilüfer Saygun 30. Herbert Halpert 31. Elizabeth Burchenal 32. Åke Campbell 33. Otto Andersson 34. Mrs. Lumpkin 35. Ben Gray Lumpkin 36. Sigurd Emanuel Erixon 37. Jasīmauddīna 38. George Herzog 39. Maud Karpeles 40. Marius Barbeau 41. Walter Anderson 42. Stith Thompson.



songs were indeed authentic, Wiora vindicated Brahms's intuitive reaction to them: The composer saw through the editor's romantic colorings to the songs' essences, while the scholar "did not discern the true picture in its false frame."³

Wiora was not out to discredit Erk and other scholars of traditional music; rather, he was urging the members of the Council to develop an ability to judge authenticity as Brahms did—by intuitively grasping essences—rather than simply assuming that anything sung by *das Volk* was automatically genuine. This call for discrimination was echoed five years later, in a much less nuanced tone, by the Council's president, Ralph Vaughan Williams:

I believe that folk music has in it the possibilities of the greatest and purest beauty. But of course there are dull songs and dances, just as there are dull people who have passed them on in former generations... Now there is a tendency at present to think that everything that is danced in the village hall or sung in a public house is FOLK, and therefore to be encouraged. This is [a] fatal example of dangerous broadmindedness.... Only that which is genuinely traditional must be preserved, and all that must be recorded in our libraries and museums; but only that which has the germs of great art must be let loose on the simple-minded public whom we invite to sample our wares.⁴

Composers like Brahms and Vaughan Williams were confident in their ability to recognize cultural value instinctively; but clearly many members of the Council wanted a concrete definition of what it was that they were trying to preserve and disseminate. Wiora offered some observations: *folk* does not refer only to country people or peasants; *authentic* should not be confused with *old*; and anonymity and oral transmission are not necessarily proofs of genuine folk music.⁵

These ideas were controversial, to say the least. In the discussion that followed Wiora's presentation, Maud Karpeles contended that the only satisfactory definition of *folk song* was "a song that during the course of time has been submitted to the process of oral transmission."⁶ Patrick Shuldham-Shaw disagreed, insisting that new folk songs and folk tunes are constantly appearing in flourishing traditions. He had been particularly impressed by the creativity of the fiddlers he had met in the Shetland Islands, who composed new tunes regularly, without recourse to notation; surely these new creations were no less authentic than the older tunes in their repertoires.⁷

A lively debate followed. Gwynn Williams differentiated between *conscious invention* and *unconscious expression*, the latter representing authentic tradition.⁸ Ahmet Saygun distinguished between *popular* and *folk*: Just because someone whistles a tune from *Carmen* doesn't make it a folk tune.⁹ (It is interesting that his "popular" example is an aria from an opera.) Finally, Karpeles agreed that a composed song could eventually become a folk song, but only after it had been sufficiently subjected to oral transmission and re-creation to become fully idiomatic.¹⁰

³ Ibid., 17.

⁴ Ralph Vaughan Williams, "Opening session", *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 5 (1953) 8.

⁵ Wiora, "Concerning the conception", 15-16.

⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁷ Ibid., 18.

⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁹ Ibid., 18.

¹⁰ Ibid., 19.

The distinction between *folkloric* and *popular* was taken up again by Albert Marinus, one of the Council's vice-presidents, a few years later. Defining popular songs as the creations of songsmiths who sought to please the public, he agreed with Karpeles that a popular song could in time become a folk song. However, he maintained that new songs composed by performers of traditional music were just as authentically traditional as older songs: "To only consider music of such origin to be popular would be foolhardy". Marinus rejected the notion that songs ever arose unconsciously or spontaneously among "the people": Each had an original author, even though that person's name is unknown. His final definition of *folkloric song* was intentionally vague; a definitive definition, he argued, "prematurely freezes knowledge."¹¹

Meanwhile, Karpeles was trying to hammer out a clear definition that the Council could agree on. At their third meeting, she presented her views on the matter in a paper that provided an interesting mixture of certainty and uncertainty: For example, her opening paragraph includes both the admission that "authenticity must always be a comparative rather than an absolute quality" and the assurance that her goal is "preserving the purity of the folk music that has come down to us."¹² Her proposed "working definition" of folk music was "music that has been submitted through the course of many generations to the process of oral transmission."¹³

"Art music", she stated, "although it owes something to tradition, is in the main the product of an individual.... Folk music, on the other hand, develops mainly unconsciously. Its evolution is dependent not on one person but on many; its conception is a matter of many generations; and, strictly speaking, it never attains a final form."¹⁴ She discussed the three aspects of this necessary evolution—continuity, variation, and selection—noting that in the "variation" phase "the untutored artist of today will adapt indiscriminately from traditional and from composed sources,"¹⁵ and that the third phase, "the verdict of the community", is no longer sufficiently operative: "As far as we can see, modern conditions are such that natural selection cannot operate freely, because it is continuously subjected to interference."¹⁶ As an example, she cited the modern tendency among Appalachians to add banjo or guitar accompaniment to their formerly unaccompanied traditional singing. She considered this to be a "popular" development, brought on by contact with the outside world—above all, by listening to the radio. She noted that purists consider this music to be less authentic. "And", she said, "I think the purists are right."¹⁷

This rupture in the workings of tradition, brought on by modern developments, gives special urgency to understanding true authenticity:

[W]hereas formerly the evolution of folk music was an unconscious matter, there are now conscious agencies at work. There are the many folklore societies that are actively engaged in bringing the songs and dances before the public by means of instruction, social gatherings, performances, festivals, and so on. There are the schools that include

¹¹ Albert Marinus, "Chanson populaire—Chanson folklorique", *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 6 (1954) 21–25. "Nous considérerions en tout cas fort téméraire de vouloir ne considérer comme populaire qu'une musique ayant semblable origine." "On fige ainsi précocement le savoir." (All translations from French are by Murat Eyüboğlu).

¹² Maud Karpeles, "Some reflections on authenticity in folk music", *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 3 (1951) 10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

folk song and folk dance in their curriculum. There are the entertainers of various kinds, including the radio. And finally, there are the individual collectors who publish their material. All this is excellent, of course, provided that it is done with a full sense of discrimination and responsibility.... We have therefore a great responsibility.... For, by selecting the best and most authentic folk music, we may in some measure counteract the damaging effects produced by modern conditions.¹⁸

Scholars can help in determining what is “the best and most authentic folk music” by demonstrating what has stood the test of time, but mere age is not enough: “the ultimate test should be based on artistic grounds.”

The purest folk music is that which has been submitted to the crucible of tradition, and which emerges as a complete artistic unity. If the modern ingredients in folk music do not stand out as misfits but merge with the older elements so that together they make a satisfying whole, then I think we can be confident that this music has as much claim to authenticity as the music produced by the peasants of some isolated region who have had no contact with modern ways of life.¹⁹

Again, a lively debate ensued. Albert Lord suggested that “oral composition” was a better criterion for folk music than “oral transmission.”²⁰ George Herzog disagreed, saying that Lord’s focus on individual creativity was understandable given his work with epic singers, but that one should not generalize about folk song on the basis of the epic tradition. However, while Herzog agreed with Karpeles’s emphasis on oral transmission, he expressed reservations about her subjective criteria for judging authenticity.²¹ Karpeles agreed that such subjectivity could be problematic, but stated that sufficient immersion in the tradition enabled the acquisition of a sure taste for authenticity.²² Sidney Robertson Cowell noted the difficulties of being simultaneously a musicologist, philosopher, and aesthete, maintaining that one must find the proper balance between subjectivity and objectivity.²³ Stith Thompson questioned whether collectors should search for ideal versions of songs; the Bengali poet Jasīmauddīna responded that everything sung by the unlettered should be collected, and that value judgments could come later.²⁴ Opinions ranged widely, and the session chair ultimately had to close the discussion.

The debates continued, and the Council’s meeting in 1952 included three discussion sessions focusing largely on matters of definition and clarification. One of the most contentious matters involved the idea that a song had to pass through several generations in order to become a folk song; this criterion was particularly questioned by delegates from non-European countries. Based on his experiences in what was then Northern Rhodesia, Arthur Morris Jones declared that the idea that folk music could not be spontaneously created was biased by Western thought.²⁵ U Khin Zaw, from Rangoon, asserted that the very timelessness of folk music meant that it could be born any minute.²⁶ Several delegates expressed the opinion that the definition should

¹⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹ Ibid., 14.

²⁰ Ibid., 14.

²¹ Ibid., 14.

²² Ibid., 14–15.

²³ Ibid., 15.

²⁴ Ibid., 16.

²⁵ International Folk Music Council, “General report”, *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 5 (1953) 12.

²⁶ Ibid., 14.

not be applied from the outside, but should simply be based on majority acceptance by the country or community in question. Karpeles disagreed with the idea that common currency was enough to turn a song immediately into a folk song, but she accepted the idea that new material could become absorbed into the tradition fairly quickly.²⁷ For her and a number of others, the question of time was less important than the question of whether the song had been refashioned through variation and selection.

The delegates also worked on clarifying these processes, and here we may begin to understand why these debates mattered so much to them. The discussion of the process of continuity was largely about its disruption, and whether the Council could do anything about it. Several delegates spoke of the pernicious influence of radio; for example, the Norwegian folklorist Ole Mørk Sandvik stated that “The radio has become a formidable rival to traditional song. Every minute of the day the children can hear music from remote places, and in the long run this may destroy the sense of the national musical mother-tongue.”²⁸ Variation was also the subject of some concern: A number of delegates expressed worries that songs were crystallizing due to the efforts of the very people who were trying to preserve them. Patrick Shuldham-Shaw, for example, stated that he knew of instances where judges at folk music festivals had deducted marks when singers deviated from printed versions of songs.²⁹ Discussion of selection again raised questions of value. Donal O’Sullivan, for example, stated that when scholars encounter newer folk songs that they feel run contrary to the tradition they should not encourage them.³⁰ Others, like Felix Hoeburger, raised the idea that new developments are signs of a healthy tradition, and that those who place a high value on quaintness are cooperating more with tourism than with scholarship.³¹

The urgency of the Council’s work was addressed directly. Industrialization was destroying any sense of community, and the nature of industrial labor produces spiritual numbness. Stupefied workers are manipulated by the mass media into accepting passive forms of entertainment that only increase this numbness. A return to traditional recreation is necessary to revive the common person’s creativity and vigor.³² The German folklorist Kiem Pauli summed up the importance of the Council’s endeavors—speaking, of course, to an audience still reeling from the events of World War II:

Whoever cultivates the deeply-rooted native element in his own little circle, whoever co-operates with fundamentally sound human beings by means of fundamentally genuine folk songs, exerts an influence far beyond the confines of his native land.... The more firmly a people is rooted in its native soil, the more easily will it understand the individuality preserved by other peoples, in conjunction with whom it will offer resistance to the continuously crushing process of mass production and levelling that today annihilates the divinely ordained diversity of the world.³³

The next year Karpeles presented a final definition of folk music, and it was accepted—though not unanimously—by the Council.³⁴ It was brief and somewhat

²⁷ Ibid., 10.

²⁸ Ibid., 12.

²⁹ Ibid., 13.

³⁰ Ibid., 14.

³¹ Ibid., 14.

³² Ibid., 14–15.

³³ Ibid., 16.

³⁴ International Folk Music Council, “Resolutions,” *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 7 (1955) 23.

anticlimactic, omitting the topics that had proved most contentious; by 1954, six years after the Council's founding, *something* had to be produced for general agreement. It reaffirmed the importance of continuity, variation, and selection; it allowed that it could be the product of an individual, and it specified (and this is likely what caused some objection) that "it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of music by the community that gives it its folk character."³⁵

Recalling the terms Wiora raised in his presentation at the Council's first meeting, we can see that the organization quickly set off in the direction of *Kategorie*, working hard to define genuine folk music so it could be protected and encouraged, both in terms of products and processes. As the field of ethnomusicology developed and the International Folk Music Council became the International Council for Traditional Music, the emphasis on authenticity, in one sense or another, remained. But *Wertidee* remained a vital element. These people were not simply motivated by utopian social engineering: They loved the music. Many were performers, even composers, themselves. Today's ethnomusicologists, for all their ethnographic training, tend to be music lovers as well.

However, the Brahms-Erk dichotomy has not disappeared. In the mass-mediated domain of world music, intuitive value judgment reigns supreme; and while the word *authentic* is bandied about, consumers have no more interest than Brahms did in commonplace music. Composers like the singer-songwriters Peter Gabriel and David Byrne enthusiastically promote their favorite world music performers on the basis of aesthetics alone, as do many record companies and concert organizers, with impressive public support. It is a world that could not have been foreseen by the members of the IFMC in the 1940s and 1950s, and it encompasses some of their worst nightmares and loftiest dreams.

³⁵ Maud Karpeles, "Definition of folk music," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 7 (1955) 6.

MUSIC'S CONTEXT: GENEALOGICAL AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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I received a letter recently from a certain Diane Weckebach, Executive Marketing Manager for Schirmer's, yet, given the message of the letter, I would have been foolish on a number of levels to think it was actually addressing me. Not that she got my name or address wrong; it began rationally enough with "Dear Professor Currie". But the letter then launched into the following:

Music is the expression of people living at a particular time and in a particular place, and this cultural context is vital to an understanding of music history. The great music of the Western classical tradition was written by real men and women, often during tumultuous times. Cultural context, therefore, is vital to an understanding of this music and its history.

Context holds for me the possibility of being philosophically and politically somewhat problematic, so in being confronted with the assumption that I whole-heartedly believed in contextual studies there was the annoyance that a certain me—not the real me—had nevertheless been addressed as if it were me (as if in the throes of passion I'd got suspicious that my partner was thinking of someone else whilst whispering my name). There was also the annoyance of what amounts to a tautological assumption being passed off as an argument: The first sentence is rhetorically structured as an assertion—that music was written by people in a particular context and that this context is important—whereas the following two sentences are structured as a logical proof: that because music was written by real people "often during tumultuous times" then context "therefore" is vital to an understanding of music. The only addition here that justifies the transformation of a mildly thuggish assertion into a slightly more sophisticated proof is the strange detail that these "real" people were writing music "often during tumultuous times". So context is therefore "vital to an understanding of this music and its history" since context is a spectacle, in this instance a traumatic one; context has force. (We should note two things here: First, that the invocation of force, in and of itself, to clinch an argument

is a somewhat thuggish gesture. Second, that contextual study seeks to illustrate the many positive associations that accrue around the notion of “the force of reality”; and, therefore, that there is an important realist trope at work within its discourse.)

Of course, what I am describing here is a mere sales letter sent out in a mass mailing, as its continuation immediately reveals:

Cultural context, therefore, is vital to an understanding of this music and its history. That is why Thomson Schirmer is proud to announce the debut of a clear, new choice in teaching music history—*Music in Western civilization* by Craig Wright and Bryan Simms.

But it is in fact the functional context of this letter that disturbs me. The points its first paragraph makes are almost identical with those one can find in most contemporary postmodern musicology—except, of course, that it is absent of the often passionate argumentation by which such statements are accompanied in the scholarly literature (or at least used to be). To take but one example, in the opening pages of his *Classical music and postmodern knowledge*, Lawrence Kramer writes that

[t]he truth is that we listen, and with feeling only as we read and act, as speaking subjects in a world of contingencies [in other words “at a particular time and at a particular place ... as real men and women”] ... the project of postmodernism is simply an effort to show that this truth is rather a good thing than otherwise.¹

Kramer says that music needs to be placed back in the realm of “human interest”² and that the object sought within our investigations is “meaning: concrete, complex, and historically determined.”³ But in the letter I received these kinds of remarks are now occurring unambiguously as part of the display value of a commodity within exchange. Thomson Schirmer is not bringing out this book because its hermeneutic practice “is vital”; the “that is why” is completely disingenuous. What is “vital” is that the notion of context now sells books—context has become a practice that no longer needs to validate itself, and this is a situation that is attested not only by the thuggish sophistry of the argument of the paragraph by which I have been disturbed, but the almost pro-forma manner in which assertions of context’s hermeneutic capital occur in recent scholarly works.⁴ Context has become a kind of second nature to us, an instinctual gesture and thus potentially hegemonic and ideological. Even if we contentedly practice within the discourse of contextual studies we run the risk of being interpolated into it as into an ideology (to make recourse to Althusserian terminology); we can misconstrue its hailing of us (“Dear Professor Currie”) as a moment when we respond freely to its call, rather than recognizing that in being hailed in the first place it is necessary that we are already within the orbit of its force (“always-already”, to use Althusser’s words).⁵

¹ Lawrence Kramer, *Classical music and postmodern knowledge* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995) xiii.

² *Ibid.*, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴ I have elaborated this point in the essay, “Better the puppet?” *Current musicology* 74 (fall 2002) 5–45; and the review of David Yearsley’s *Bach and the meanings of counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), in *Eighteenth-century music* 1/1 (March 2004) 100–04.

⁵ Louis Althusser, “Ideology and ideological state apparatuses: Notes towards an investigation”, *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*, trans. from the French by Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971) 175–76.

This is a harsh political indictment, in particular since, if we go back to context's roots, we can see that it emerged in anti-Enlightenment critiques of the 18th century as a means of liberating human activity from the potentially oppressive, indifferent, and dominating abstraction of Enlightenment reason. Although it was not then named as such, context was to be the spanner in the works of the hegemony and ideology of Enlightenment, as we can see if we turn to the 18th-century and that remarkable critic of the Enlightenment, Johann Gottfried von Herder. Context emerged in the precursory cultural pluralism of certain aspects of 18th-century thinking as political, a situation which is strongly analogous to the conditions in which context came to the fore in postmodern musicology, where it entered debate in order to wrest music back into cultural practice and away from what was perceived as the dominating conceptual control of the abstract and supposedly anti-human abstractions of musical formalism and the notion of the music itself. However, since the primary form of domination in the world in which we now live is the totality of global capitalism, context's incorporation into that system of commodity exchange possibly indicates that its critical value as a force of resistance to domination has now, potentially, been neutralized. And this is something to be deeply bemoaned.

The Enlightenment attempted to found social ethics upon universals: that all men have access to a transcendental moral autonomy, separate from the realms of nature, history, and empirical reality, and that the degree to which others, through their will, are in possession and control of such autonomy, is the mark by which they will be judged. Through recourse to the act of will that Enlightenment condones, different individuals and groups suppress or overcome their immediate desires and instincts, and by doing so they enable an Enlightened, cosmopolitan society (a kind of rational dialogue between parts in relation to a whole) to come into being. Contrary to this, Herder championed pluralism and particularism; each different culture is, as he says of classical Greek culture, "*unique!* in the sequence of all the centuries—*only like itself!*"⁶ Each culture, therefore, is to be deemed valid on its own terms, in Isaiah Berlin's précis, "only in terms of its own scale of values, its own rules of thought and action, and not those of some other culture."⁷ Man's highest achievement does not lie in being able to scale the heights of Enlightened autonomy; in fact, for Herder, to imagine that one could look down from a position above the individuating clouds of cultural context was to be made spell bound, and therefore impotent, by an alluring set of intellectual hazards. As he states in one of his most well-known texts, *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung des Menschheit* of 1774,

each human perfection is *national, generational* [säkular], and, considered most exactly, individual. People form to a greater fullness only what *time, clime, need, world, fate* gives occasion for. *Turned away* from the rest. The inclinations or capacities slumbering in the heart can never become *finished skills*.⁸

For Herder, the Enlightenment marks a turning away from the context from which one has been engendered and which is the source of all one's best skills, achievements, and

⁶ Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Philosophical writings*, trans. and ed. by Michael N. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 307.

⁷ Isaiah Berlin, *Three critics of the enlightenment: Vico, Hamann, Herder*, ed. by Henry Hardy (London: Pimlico, Random House, 2000) 15.

⁸ Herder, *Philosophical writings*, 294.

contentment; it is like abandoning one's home, exiling oneself into a permanent sense of un-belonging, the only recompense being the use of an

artificial manner of thought... [whose] *first principles* are so *commonplace*, pass as *play-things* from hand to hand and as platitudes from *lip to lip*—[and] precisely for this reason, it proves probable that they *cannot* any longer achieve *any effect*.⁹

Enlightened wisdom, “so refined and immaterial, is abstracted spirit which without use flies away.”¹⁰ This is a philosophy that absolutely validates the creative and life affirming energies (Herder's famous *Kräfte*) that are generated through not transcending one's horizons, through not trying to understand the universe as a totality, but by accepting and celebrating from within the totality of one's own cultural context, since “the age of wishful foreign migrations and journeys abroad is already sickness, bloating, unhealthy fullness, intimation of death!”¹¹ As Berlin correctly observes, Herder's most original achievement was that “more than any other writer, he conceived and cast light upon the crucially important social function of ‘belonging.’”¹²

Riding on the back of earlier Modernist critiques of Enlightenment universalizing, most notably Adorno and Horkheimer's *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, postmodernism has also been particularly critical of Enlightenment claims, and in ways that are in fact strongly redolent of Herder. Patricia Waugh writes the following in summary of this position: The argument is that

it is enlightened reason which has placed us in the iron grip of forms of oppression, external and internalized, which though more invisible are more insidiously powerful than pre-modern forms of control [such as absolutism, for example]. Enlightenment is seen to be the ideological arm of the rationalizing and dehumanizing logic of industrial capital's drive towards an efficiency which has its own (ultimately irrational) end.¹³

Or to précis the kind of argument that one finds in Jean-François Lyotard, postmodernism is critical of Enlightened “meta-narratives”: those “horizons of universalization” (autonomy, reason, and so on) that are ideologically imposed control the world by totalizing “meta-narratives” of interpretation, and marginalize and eradicate differences. Postmodernism validates interpretation in terms of contexts, since they historically and geographically localize claims, creating a pluralistic terrain of knowledge, which the pragmatist philosopher Richard Rorty, for example, views as radically democratic. For Rorty we should just reject all absolute conceptualizations and universals, seeing them not only as instances of a failure to negotiate successfully—without making recourse to God-like substitutes—the challenge posed to us by the possibility of a demythologized world, but also as a kind of sublime distraction from participation in more pragmatic and realizable projects that could tangibly alter people's lives. This latter position is the one most frequently adopted by postmodern musicology, both by card-carrying members (such a Lawrence Kramer) and also fellow-travellers (such as Richard Taruskin). As they tirelessly affirm, we have nothing to loose by removing the metaphysical scenery that has been repeatedly erected as the perspectival backdrop to music, and to think

⁹ Ibid., 321.

¹⁰ Ibid., 324.

¹¹ Ibid., 297

¹² Ibid., 220.

¹³ Patricia Waugh, ed., *Postmodernism: A reader* (London: Edward Arnold, 1992) 88.

that we do is to exhibit a profound lack of faith not only in music but more importantly in the historically embedded human subjects who produce it. As an act of human empowerment, then, we should joyously work to contextualize music more locally—since, as postmodernists both imply and assert, the local, once all metaphysical depth has been flattened out of it, is then, in and of itself, profound.

Contextual studies seeks to respect the difference of other contexts and cultures through attempting to remove any metaphysical vantage point from their own methodologies, since such vantage points are considered tantamount to a form of hermeneutic imperialism, if not the means by which imperialism itself enacts colonization. But what if the context that you are trying to appreciate is one that valorizes a certain metaphysical vantage point? In other words, what happens when that which one is trying to respect does not necessarily respect the very politics on which your respect is founded? Is it not the case that in such situations postmodern cultural critics run the risk of becoming decidedly ideological and, in order tacitly to defend their methodologies have to ignore certain things—or worse, just interpret them as unfortunate delusions on the part of the “real men and women” who are the participants and producers of the context? In his typical and necessarily brutal fashion, Slavoj Žižek has been unrelenting in emphasizing this point. He writes as follows:

We in the West—we Western liberals that is—already presume the authority of neutral judgment, but we do not accept the Other as such. We implicitly introduce a certain limit. We test the Other against our notions of human rights, dignity and equality of sexes and then, to put it in slightly cynical terms, we say we accept those of your customs which pass this test. We already filter the Other, and what passes the filter is allowed. But what is allowed is this relatively insignificant superficial aspect which doesn't bother anyone. What we get at the end is a censored Other. The Other is allowed but only insofar as it passes our standards. So again, this logic of respect for the Other cannot be the ultimate horizon of our ethical engagement.¹⁴

Or, put more crudely,

today's tolerant liberal multiculturalism [is] an experience of the Other deprived of its Otherness ([we construct] the idealized Other who dances fascinating dances and has an ecologically and holistic approach to reality, while practices like wife beating remain out of sight...)¹⁵

Is it not the case, then, that the anti-metaphysical stance of postmodern cultural studies in fact becomes a new metaphysical position itself, and thus replicates the very interpretive imperialism of which postmodernists and their ancestors (anti-Enlightenment critics such as Herder) have found the Enlightenment guilty? For why can metaphysical transcendence not be seen as a “human interest”, to appropriate Kramer's terms? For example, in a remarkable critique of ethnomusicological anti-formalism, Martin Scherzinger has pointed out that contained within the context of Shona mbira is a respect for the autonomous musical moment that is analogous to “[t]he idea that music is a self-regulating process, endowed with a quasi-spiritual agency”, which is a commonplace of Romantic aesthetics. In other words, in trying to

¹⁴ Glyn Daly and Slavoj Žižek, *Conversations with Žižek* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004) 124.

¹⁵ Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the desert of the real: Five essays on September 11 and related dates* (London; New York: Verso, 2002) 11.

respect and understand Shona mbira, anti-formalist ethnomusicologists are confronted by something that is analogous to the very foundations of the formalism that they seek to reject from their own discourse; contained within the context they seek to illustrate lies the seeds of a rejection of the very notion context. Scherzinger writes,

Of course, there are profound differences between these traditions, but I am marking their affinities to dramatize the fact that it is not only Westerners who subscribe to notions of musical autonomy, high seriousness, and mystical transfiguration. Now, the radical ethnomusicological rejection of the romantic ideas that music is self-sufficient and inhabits a privileged social standing, in favor of an all-determining “social context,” is methodologically defeating in this conjuncture.¹⁶

This situation, in which there is a resistance to context within the context studied, brings us to my most important political concern: the question of limits and boundaries. Lawrence Kramer bluntly states that “Neither music nor anything else can be other than worldly through and through.”¹⁷ Postmodern context-driven studies are often deeply suspicious of any position within a particular context that claims to transcend that context, to stand outside of its limits or peripheries. (This is why the values of 19th-century musical culture—autonomy and transcendence—have so often been treated brutally by postmodern musicology; if the 19th century were a non-Western culture, the hermeneutic space opened up for it by postmodern discourse would strike us more often as Abu Ghraib than as Switzerland.) Of course, there is much to be condoned politically about postmodernism’s suspicion regarding the claims of transcendence, and here (ironically) postmodernism, which so frequently sets itself up in opposition to the Enlightenment, validates itself in deeply Enlightened terms, since the Enlightenment’s founding gesture is to unmask the mumbo-jumbo and obfuscations of scholasticism and un-Enlightened politics as merely power and authority: The Enlightenment shows that authority draws its source not from some timeless metaphysical truth outside of the realm of the here-and-now, but is merely an effect produced by a certain enforced distortion of the here-and-now. And let us be under no confusion here, disenchantment can be a remarkably potent political force; it is, in fact, at the basis of all responsible critiques. The point, though, is that the transcendent option can also be a remarkably effective political tool, and in these times of political catastrophe (and to repeat that point: *these times of political catastrophe*) it strikes me as almost precious not to become skilled in as many weapons as we possibly can. Of course the transcendent mythologizing option *can and has* been used for negative means. This is almost a given of the political thrust of contemporary musicology. But it is also the case that the gesture of disenchantment is similarly guilty of heinous crimes. Skim through the pages of Adorno and Horkheimer’s *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. Both mythology *and* disenchantment stand and welcome us at the gates of inhumanity. We can never justify moving into the suburbs of forgetting, of finding a home where we are no longer confronted with the indissoluble fact of the incomprehensible number of humans who have and continue to find themselves confronted with either facing or having passed through these gates. It is our job to

¹⁶ Martin Scherzinger, “Negotiating the music-theory/African-music nexus: A political critique of ethnomusicological anti-formalism and a strategic analysis of the harmonic patterning of the Shona mbira song *Nyamaropa*,” *Perspectives of new music* 39/1 (winter 2001) 30–31. See also his “Music, spirit possession and the copyright law: Cross-cultural comparisons and strategic speculations,” *Yearbook for traditional music* 31 (1999) 102–25.

¹⁷ Kramer, *Classical music and postmodern knowledge*, 17.

show—through music, through the thoughts that inspire us from our confrontation with music, from accessing the music within our thoughts—how the opposite can also be true: that mythology and disenchantment can lead us back out again. We have to work to exile ourselves permanently from the suburb of inhumanity. In short, we have to invalidate our own context. The highest form of morality is never to feel comfortable in your own home.

To be absolutely clear here, I am not proposing that there is a transcendent realm literally existing outside of our situation which, in some kind of mystical, science-fiction sense we can take part in whilst still being here. In a literally empirical and materialist sense we cannot be elsewhere and neither can music, which, as the product of the labor of human subjects, is as completely wrapped up in the antagonistic dilemmas of our context as we are. Yet our context cannot be everything. As Scherzinger writes, “The academic insistence on a politics of difference (i.e., a set of discrete and secure cultural identities, like so many niche markets) fails to register that these identities are subject to slippage.”¹⁸ And there is a relatively sober theoretical account for why this is the case that can be found in the recent political philosophy of Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, and Žižek. Through recourse to and appropriation of the Lacanian concept of the *real*, these political theorists have emphasized that no social configuration (or context or identity) can ever be completely totalized, that “Society doesn’t exist”, it can never be completely self-present to itself, and that there is always some kind of gap, or traumatic blot, that resists symbolization, and to which we remain blind. As Žižek writes, the thesis “that the Social is always an inconsistent field structured around a constitutive impossibility, traversed by a ‘central’ antagonism”—this then implies that every process of identification conferring on us a fixed socio-symbolic identity is ultimately doomed to fail.”¹⁹ There is nothing mystical or obfuscatory about the Lacanian notion of the real; it is not some God-like substitute in the face of demythologization, to invoke an earlier position I touched upon. Rather, the real is a limit within the symbolization of society and context itself, as is attested by Lacan’s Freudian reformulation of structuralist linguistics. Thus, to assert that there is always something else (which is the transcendent position) present within the current context is not to trade in impossibilities. Rather, it is the very notion that there isn’t anything else that is the impossibility—an impossibility in the sense of being utterly unacceptable, for in the modern era it is the ideological move *per se*. As Žižek continues, “The function of the ideological fantasy is to mask this inconsistency [within fixed socio-symbolic identity], the fact that ‘Society doesn’t exist’, and thus to compensate us for the failed identification.”²⁰ For Žižek we can see such a masking of the fundamental inconsistency, for example, in the figure of the Jew in anti-semitic discourse. Moreover, if a situation were completely totalized then theoretically (and I speak from a Hegelian perspective here) there would be no possibility of a negative to keep the historical dialectic in action. And, of course, the end of the dialectic would mean, in Hegel, that we had reached the absolute condition of totality, freedom, which is the end of history, where *Geist* has come to full self-consciousness. A completely self-present totality (such as context, as it is sometimes scripted within modern cultural discourse) eradicates, then, the possibility of change, which from history we know

¹⁸ Scherzinger, “Negotiating the music-theory/African-music nexus”, 17.

¹⁹ Slavoj Žižek, *The sublime object of ideology* (London; New York: Verso, 1989) 126–27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 126–27.

does occur. Thus, although the transcendent—like the figure of the Jew in anti-semitic discourse—can be the means of blotting out the acknowledgement of the fundamental limits of a context (one is reminded here of Marx’s famous remark that “Religion is the opium of the people”), it can also be the means of putting us in touch with that limit point. And by putting us in touch with that point we perhaps gain the ability to fulfill the call of Adorno’s words from the end of *Minima moralia*: “Perspectives must be fashioned that displace and estrange the world, reveal it to be, with its rifts and crevices, as indigent and distorted as it will appear one day in messianic light.”²¹ Also, we gain the ability to put into effect the most important aspect of our political life, our right to change the parameters of our condition, and to show that how things are presently is merely the way in which things have gone wrong, rather than the way things are and will be *ad infinitum*, like nature or myth. Romantic aesthetics scripted music above all else as capable of placing us in this politically volatile place. We need to know what our contexts are so that we can then let this limit point intervene in them so that things can change.

²¹ Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima moralia: Reflections from damaged life*, trans. from the German by E.F.N. Jephcott (London; New York: Verso, 1978) 247.

REDISCOVERING “SONORISTICS”: A GROUNDBREAKING THEORY FROM THE MARGINS OF MUSICOLOGY

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There seems to be an accepted belief among English-speaking musicologists that all important ideas in musicology are available in either English or German. I would like to suggest, however, that many interesting concepts are developed outside of “mainstream” musicology, but because of the language barrier, they remain relatively unknown to the Western world. There are many gaps to be filled in this regard, and to fill one of them is my modest aim in this paper.

The name of this gap is “sonoristics”, but, apart from its English-sounding name, the term is not to be found in any of the standard dictionaries.¹ It can, however, be found occasionally in some sources. An English-speaking reader, for instance, might encounter the noun “sonoristics” in the RILM database, which also indexes its derivatives: an adjective “sonoristic” as well as another, more frequently occurring noun, “sonorism”. These references, however, are rather limited and include mainly selected articles on the subject, mostly by authors from Central- and Eastern-European circles. They do not offer a satisfactory explanation of “sonoristics” or important distinctions between the variants of the word; I will attempt to delineate those in the course of this paper.

Although the existence of the term “sonoristics” in the English language is precarious, its core can lead one to intuitively grasp the semantic field of the term as having to do with sound. This indeed is the case as “sonoristics” is a literal translation of the term “sonorystyka” coined in Polish musicology in the 1950s and associated primarily with the work of its inventor, Józef Chomiński (1906–94), who thought of it as a new branch of study centered on the sound technique of a composition.²

The focus on sound is crucial here, for Chomiński’s work—a body of numerous books and articles either specifically devoted to, or revealing, a strong “sonoristic” focus—offered theoretical foundations for an analysis of a musical work in its *sounding* form. Today, this may sound like an obvious truth, but formulated in the early 1960s, in a

¹ I have recently contributed an article, “Sonoristics, Sonorism”, to *Grove music online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

² Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, “Chomiński, Józef Michał”, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 5, 705.

period when the prevalent theoretical fascination was with the work's internal structure rather than its sound, Chomiński's ideas were undeniably breaking new ground.

The new term was introduced in a 1956 article of Chomiński's in which he undertook an evaluation of the changes that had taken place in 20th-century compositional technique up to that time and demonstrated a new methodological approach to the music in question based on developments in contemporary music.³

For Chomiński, the essential aspect of all 20th-century music had been the search for new sound qualities, which, after the radical changes in the tonal system and its eventual breakdown, had become the growing concern of 20th-century composers. During the impressionist period, he claimed, composers discovered "pure sound", independent from chordal relationships, and this discovery led in subsequent decades to the development of new structural principles, based on transformations of the fundamental substance of music—the *sonus* itself. The most apparent stages of this process, represented by Debussy, Schönberg's *Klanfarbenmelodie*, Webern's "pointillism", Messiaen, Stockhausen, and Boulez, show most clearly that the older analytic categories, especially melody and harmony, are no longer sufficient to describe the new music. The specific qualities of sound generated by this music, stated Chomiński, essentially independent from such factors as a melodic line or a chord, are of a purely sonorous origin. It was these that he termed "sonoristic values".

What exactly are "sonoristic values"? Originally, Chomiński linked the sonoristic element in music with "tone color", the emancipation of which occurred in the impressionist period. Indeed, the French composers' approach to harmony in this period revealed a subtle change of compositional interests: Instead of focusing primarily on the functionality of chords, they began to explore their purely *sonci* (surface) qualities.⁴ For instance, argued Chomiński, in the music of Debussy the harmonic element is frequently transformed into a timbral one by means of a specific textural disposition, orchestration, dynamics, and articulation. Thus, although an analyst may still discover in a composition the dominant-tonic relationships, the actual, sounding form of the work "contains something more than its external tonal attire. There arise, from the specific elements of the harmonic or melodic type, sonoristic values."⁵

This subtle but important shift could also be compared to the discoveries made by Symbolist poets such as Mallarmé, Verlaine, and Rimbaud: once they discovered previously unnoticed musical aspects of the words, it was the rich, full-of-various-shades *sound*, rather than the meaning of the words, that began to determine the artistic value of the poem. Similarly, when composers transferred their interest from the "content" (motives, themes, and their development) of the musical work to its "appearance" (sound qualities), the main goal of musical composition became the penetration of the sonic properties of the musical material.⁶

Traditionally, such phenomena in music had been discussed in terms of coloristics, the element of music that most historians find of distinctive importance in the musical language of Debussy. Chomiński suggested, however, that the terms "coloristics" and "tone color" were not quite applicable to music as the qualities associated with the

³ Józef Chomiński, "Z zagadnień techniki kompozytorskiej XX wieku" [Problems of the compositional technique in the twentieth century], *Muzyka* 20/3 (1956) 23–48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵ Józef Chomiński, "Ze studiów nad impresjonizmem Szymanowskiego" (1956) [Studies on Szymanowski's impressionism], *Studia nad twórczością Karola Szymanowskiego* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1969) 193.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

art of painting were, as regards material, extraneous to it. Color in music, he claimed, "does not have a visual character, but is simply a substitute term denoting a conscious formation of sonic, [i.e.,] sonoristic values".⁷ In addition, he maintained, coloristics, as it had developed since the Mannheim school and throughout the 19th century, is the element of the musical work that has a merely "coloring" role and appears on the basis of other elements, such as harmony. But the development of the sound technique in 20th-century music suggests that "the term can no longer stand for all the sonoristic values [of the musical work]".⁸ Clearly, this implies that not only the semantic scope of Chomiński's term is significantly broader than that of coloristics, but also that these very phenomena identified by him as sonoristic had greatly affected the makeup of modern compositions.

Indeed, the sonoristic factor that surfaced in the impressionist period altered the fundamental mechanisms of the musical work, so that soon "the structural and expressive roles were taken over by purely sonic values of the work, enriched by registral differences and the wealth of dynamic, agogic, and articulatory means".⁹ According to Chomiński, this new approach to musical composition can already be seen around 1913 in the music of the Viennese composers, in which two important changes occurred: (1) the emancipation of individual notes of a melody, resulting from the breaking of the melodic line into isolated sounds that were placed in contrasting registers; and (2) the elimination of the bass foundation from the sound structure of a composition and the use of the bass register for purely timbral effects.¹⁰ The defining moment of this process was marked by the musical language of Webern, in which the balance between traditional elements, such as melody and harmony, and the sonoristic ways of structuring the musical discourse was reversed.

A fragment of Anton Webern's song *Die Sonne* clearly exemplifies some of the changes in the structure of the musical work that the Polish author was describing [ex. 1]. The song under discussion reveals no traces of melody and harmony in the traditional sense; on the contrary, it shows a complete transformation of both concepts into a sonic universe regulated by rhythm, timbre, and registral contrasts.

According to Chomiński, the harmonic element in this song is reduced to "intensive concords", such as seconds, major sevenths, and minor ninths, which, because of their dissonant force, act here as *accents* rather than chords, and thus display a *dynamic* rather than harmonic character. This limited role of harmony, combined with the emancipation of the bass register from its traditional role of the harmonic foundation, and the overall sonically multi-layered texture¹¹ make it impossible for the listener to hear the resulting verticalities in functional terms. Instead, the harmonic element in Webern's song has been transformed into a sonoristic one.

Similarly, all horizontal parts in the excerpt from Webern utilize large intervals and thus bring together sounds belonging to diametrically opposed registers. Such lines are distinctly removed from traditional melodic constructs in that they lack one of the basic factors of coherence characteristic of tonal music: the leading tones. Indeed, the

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Chomiński, "Z zagadnień", 36.

⁹ Józef Chomiński, "Szymanowski i muzyka europejska XX w." (1962) [Szymanowski and the European music of the twentieth century], *Studia nad twórczością*, 5.

¹⁰ Chomiński, "Z zagadnień", 33.

¹¹ Ibid., 40.

Example 1. Anton Webern, *Die Sonne*, op. 14, no. 1, mm. 1–6.

potential impact of the leading tones could be demonstrated by transposing the notes of the vocal part in the above example to a common register [ex. 2].¹²

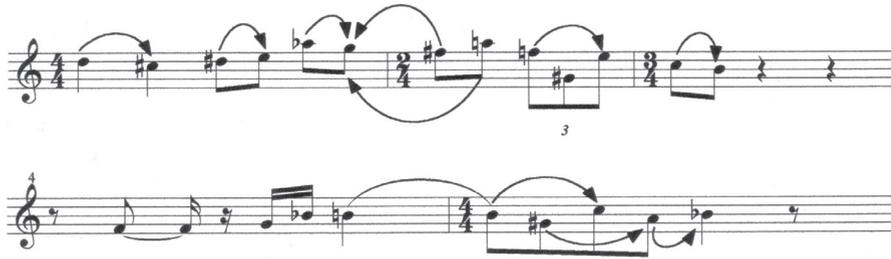
“This manipulation is instructive”, stated Chomiński, “insofar as it helps us understand how much Webern moves away from the conventional melodic structure, to which we had become accustomed in the course of the centuries.”¹³ In terms of perception, it reveals the significance of “energetic transformations” that these horizontal structures undergo in his music, for now their traditional directionality ensured by the leading tones is disrupted by means of octave transfers, which “cancel the melodic cohesion of notes, and what comes to the fore instead is their sonoristic value.”¹⁴ In other words, a given melodic structure will be perceived as sonoristic precisely when its essential aspect—continuity—is lost, i.e., when a melody ceases to be itself and becomes a configuration of disparate notes whose temporal succession is powered by means of contrasting intervals, durations, registers, articulation, and dynamics.

It is in Webern, then, that we reach a turning point in the history of musical technique; here the functions of traditional elements, such as melody and harmony, had

¹² Ibid., 38.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Józef Chomiński, “Nauka harmonii a nowa technika dźwiękowa” [The study of harmony and the new sound technique], *Muzyka* 21/2 (1957) 13.



Example 2. Vocal part of Webern's *Die Sonne* transposed to a common register (after Chomiński 1956).

been diminished so considerably that they had become no more than cofactors of a new autonomous element of the musical work: sonoristics.¹⁵

Here we come very close to understanding the original and one of the essential meanings of the word "sonoristics", which clearly functions as an umbrella term encompassing all aspects of the work's sonority; i.e., all the phenomena that in the course of the 20th century were commonly subsumed under the notion of timbre. For instance, Karlheinz Stockhausen once noted that Webern's music, as early as 1910, contained in embryonic form what was to gain significance some 40 years later: "'Timbre' is no longer a garb, a package, [or] a disguise, but it is *form*."¹⁶ Similarly Pierre Boulez, commenting on the development of compositional technique in the middle of the 20th century, perceived dynamics and timbre as "no longer content with their decorative or expressive role, but, while preserving these qualities, seeking also a functional importance, which increases their power and importance...."¹⁷ Chomiński went a step further, for his identification of sonoristics as a new musical element was in fact the recognition of an entirely new layer of a musical work; its impact transcended the function of any single element but rather manifested itself through their interaction. These elements first and foremost included timbre, texture, registers, articulation, dynamics, rhythm, and agogic, but the list does not end here; according to Chomiński, both melody and harmony may also be included among sonoristic means, but it is usually their interaction with other elements that generates sonoristic values.¹⁸

By introducing the new term, Chomiński also attempted to rationalize analytical terminology, for "sonoristic", a derivation from the French word *sonore* ("sonorous"), was a musical term designed to capture the novel sound qualities of 20th-century music that could not be explained satisfactorily by older music theory. Indeed, the latter, with its reliance on "negative" language with terms such as "atonal", "athematic", "asymmetric", or "noise," defined new musical realities in terms of absence, while "sonoristic value" clearly placed the emphasis on presence and implied that a sound phenomenon, no matter how radical, represents a positive aspect to be realized in a composition.¹⁹

¹⁵ Chomiński, "Ze studiów nad impresjonizmem", 194.

¹⁶ Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Arbeitsbericht 1952/53: Orientierung", *Texte zur elektronischen und instrumentalen Musik* (Köln: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1963) vol. 1, 36.

¹⁷ Pierre Boulez, "Alea", *Stocktakings from an apprenticeship*, trans. by Stephen Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 35. (Orig publ. in *Relevés d'apprenti*, Paris 1966.)

¹⁸ Chomiński, "Z zagadnień", 31.

¹⁹ It has also been suggested that the term "sonoristic value" implies a primary aesthetic idea of a composition. See Hanna Kostrzewska, *Sonorystyka* (Poznań: Ars Nova, 1994) 11.

The sense of the increased importance of this new element in music was reinforced by further discoveries in the realm of sound that were made in the course of the 20th century. The road to these explorations had been laid out by such pieces as Edgard Varèse's *Ionisation* (1929–31), the first composition written for percussion-only instruments, or John Cage's experiments with the prepared piano, such as *Amores* (1943).²⁰ The former validated the structural use of unpitched sounds in a musical composition; the second opened the path to unconventional uses of traditional instruments as a way of enriching the sound palette of a contemporary composition.

This development reached its peak in the avant-garde music of the 1950s and 1960s, which displayed a plethora of new sound effects that suggested the existence of completely new structural laws governing the musical work. And it was primarily in this context that Chomiński's ideas proved especially useful for they allowed a systematic description of the latest developments in new music. In addition, it was at that time that the term "sonorism" was coined to describe a radical style, associated with works by Penderecki, Górecki, Kilar, Serocki, Szalonek, and others, which made extensive use of unconventional sounds. In addition, there are compositions whose titles clearly evoke the stimulus of Chomiński's term, such as *De natura sonoris* by Penderecki, *Equivalenze sonore* by Bogusław Schöffler, or *Les sons* and *Improvisations sonoristiques* by Włodzimierz Szalonek, to mention just a few. This fact cannot be overlooked for it proves that Chomiński's concept also served as a methodological approach to composition itself.

The label "sonorism", however, although clearly inspired by Chomiński's writings, was more closely linked with the work of younger scholars and critics, who tended to view the above mentioned group of Polish composers as a school of sorts. Chomiński himself, on the other hand, preferred to use the term "sonoristics" and extended the use of this word to encompass a broadly conceived compositional technique which focused on sonic, or timbral, explorations.²¹ This technique, he maintained, "is a compositional tool analogous to harmony, counterpoint, and orchestration."²²

In a larger context, Chomiński's work represents an attempt to find an analytical method appropriate for the music in question. Such a method would strive to explain the essence of a contemporary work based on its actual *sounding* form, as opposed to older theories, which generally treated its structural elements in an abstract way, independently of their sonorous realization.

For instance, Hans Mersmann's division of musical elements into primary and secondary ones was still a stronghold of European music theory in the 1950s;²³ similarly, some of the newer approaches to 12-tone music oftentimes focused on the mere enumeration of respective row notes, while leaving the actual musical work outside

²⁰ See Józef Chomiński and Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Teoria formy: Małe formy instrumentalne* [A theory of form: Short instrumental forms] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1983) 127–31.

²¹ Józef Chomiński, "Wkład kompozytorów polskich do rozwoju języka sonorystycznego" [The contribution of Polish composers to the development of the sonoristic language], *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna, 1944–1964* [The Polish contemporary musical culture, 1944–1964], ed. by Elżbieta Dziębowska (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1968) 95–119. Also, Józef Chomiński, "The contribution of Polish composers to the shaping of a modern language in music", *Polish musicological studies*, ed. by Zofia Chechlińska and Jan Stęszewski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977) vol. 1, 167–215. (The last essay was originally published in Chomiński, *Muzyka Polski Ludowej*, Kraków, 1968).

²² Józef Chomiński and Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Historia muzyki* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990) vol. 1, 288.

²³ Surprisingly, this classification was retained by some theorists well into the 20th century. Cf. Leonard Meyer, *Style and music: Theory, history, and ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

of such numerical analyses.²⁴ Chomiński questioned the existing analytical methods as he believed that the problems of sonoristic phenomena in 20th-century music required that analysis focus on

the factors shaping the sound of the work, i.e., the selection of performing means, instrumental and vocal texture, dynamics, agogic, articulation. These are factors that Mersmann considered secondary elements of the musical work.²⁵

Although in theory these considerations were generally thrust aside, in practice

each composer was bound to take them into account . . . in order to be able to write his composition and make its performance possible. In sonoristics, it is impossible to treat these problems from an abstract point of view, since any kind of composing is bound to start with the actual sound effects of the composition.²⁶

This view led Chomiński to introduce a new classification of formal issues which formed the essence of an analytical method that became known in Polish musicology as the theory of sonoristics. Already in 1961 he defined this theory as a “new branch of study, with the sound technique of our century as its subject” and subdivided it into the following categories: sound technology, rationalization of time, formation of horizontal and vertical structures, transformation of elements, and formal continuum.²⁷ Chomiński realized his theoretical postulates most fully in an excellent monograph devoted to Polish music after World War II, entitled *Muzyka Polski Ludowej*, published in 1968.²⁸ I will briefly discuss these categories based on this monograph.

SOUND TECHNOLOGY. In Chomiński’s theory, sound technology “comprises the entire set of procedures associated with the selection and treatment of generators of sound, both traditional and new”.²⁹ As such, it includes the hottest musical invention of Chomiński’s time—electronic music—which epitomized for him the ultimate ideal of sonoristic composition, for it reached into the very essence of sound: its spectrum and wave structure.³⁰ This clearly reflects the view of contemporary composers, who, like Karlheinz Stockhausen, considered “Klangkomposition” to be the compositional challenge of the day:

The unique and non-transferable composition of one’s sound material is to my mind just as important today as, for example, the selection of themes, motives and formal schemes was in earlier compositions, for the composition of timbres is indeed no longer the colouration of a musical structure . . . but is from the very beginning fully equal to all other procedures that one employs in the production of a musical composition.³¹

²⁴ Chomiński’s criticism was directed primarily against the theories of Kurth, Mersmann, and, with regard to twelve-tone music, Leibowitz and Rufer. See Chomiński, “Z zagadnień”, 26–29 *passim*.

²⁵ Chomiński, “Ze studiów nad impresjonizmem”, 183.

²⁶ Chomiński, “The contribution of Polish composers to the shaping of a modern language”, 168.

²⁷ Józef Chomiński, “Technika sonorystyczna jako przedmiot systematycznego szkolenia” [The sonoristic technique as the subject of a systematic training], *Muzyka* 25/3 (1961) 4.

²⁸ Józef Chomiński, *Muzyka Polski Ludowej* [The music of the Polish People’s Republic]. Wydział i nauk solectnych Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Studia o Polsce współczesnej (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1968).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

³⁰ See, for instance, Chomiński, *Teoria formy*, 235.

³¹ Karlheinz Stockhausen, as quoted in Roger Smalley, “Momenté: Material for the listener and composer. 1”, *The musical times* 115/1571 (January 1974) 23.

Such technical manipulations of sound objects are totally different from the conventional activities of a traditional composer. Nevertheless, traditional instruments are also used to create sonoristic pieces in which composers, rather than concentrating on conventional units of musical meaning, such as themes, melodies, harmonic progressions, or contrapuntal relationships, focus on concrete “sound objects” and their transformations. Since these objects are approached as real, i.e., aurally perceivable phenomena, analysis—according to Chomiński—should begin with the description of the specific performing forces that are used to generate them, the specific kinds of articulation employed in their execution, and their dynamic features. All these elements form the first category of sonoristic theory, which Chomiński called “sound technology”.

A fragment of Krzysztof Penderecki’s composition *Anaklasis* (1959/1960) shows clearly the increased roles of these elements in the structuring of the specific sound objects in time [ex. 3]. Clearly, since the composition is not about melody or harmony, but rather about various sound objects and their transformations, i.e., the purely sonic qualities determine its structure, it can be said to be “sonoristically regulated.”³²

Example 3. Krzysztof Penderecki, *Anaklasis*, segment 3.

RATIONALIZATION OF TIME. The consideration of time organization in 20th-century works led Chomiński to the discovery of two operating procedures which transcended the older categories of meter and rhythm: monochrony and polychrony. Monochronic regulation of time in a composition, according to him, employs a single primary temporal unit to which the most diverse rhythmic and metric patterns can be related. In this type of temporal organization, which had been the basis of music from the mensural rhythmic system to the most complex polymetric structures of contemporary music, all such relationships are relative and independent from the agogic factor.

³² “Sonoristic regulation”, another term for “sonoristic technique”, was used by Chomiński in his later writings. See Chomiński, *Teoria formy*, 126.

In contrast, polychronic organization, which represents a “synthesis of various factors, namely agogic, metric and rhythmic values,”³³ involves constant variability of dynamic temporal units, and in effect exhibits an aleatory character. In the music based on this principle the temporal flow of sound impulses is measured, and graphically represented in scores, in seconds, but within these precisely measured spaces the duration of individual impulses remains variable. Such polychronic organization has been utilized in *Anaklasis*.

The two terms introduced by Chomiński—monochrony and polychrony—represent remarkably perceptive descriptions of the present-day musical reality; indeed, one only needs to recall Pierre Boulez’s equivalent notions of “smooth” and “striated” time³⁴ to realize the unique proximity of sonoristic theory to the actual compositional practice of Chomiński’s time.

HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL STRUCTURES. In our description of the excerpt from *Anaklasis* we have so far discussed, in a somewhat general manner, how the sounds are generated and organized temporally. But we have yet to define the nature of the specific sound objects we are dealing with here, which are clearly far removed from typical melodic and harmonic constructs of tonal music. According to Chomiński, these formations could be discussed systematically only in very general terms, as horizontal and vertical structures, and it was these two terms that the Polish musicologist adopted as the third category of his sonoristic theory.

The main structural constructs in this fragment of *Anaklasis* are tone-clusters. As opposed to traditional harmonic structures like chords in which the selectivity of individual sounds is preserved, tone-clusters accumulate a number of small intervals, in this case semitones, which cause the loss of this selectivity. According to Chomiński,

clusters can be seen as a result of the transformation of a vertical structure into a horizontal one, which in effect completely destroys the harmonic factor. This kind of transformation, however, does not lead to a restitution of melodic qualities, for the new horizontal structure may swell, increase its sound mass, or become a static sound block, i.e., acquire properties that are diametrically opposed to those of a dynamic, mobile melodic construct.³⁵

For instance, Penderecki differentiates the clusters in the above example by means of their distinct pitch and timbral constitution as well as contrasting positioning in the chromatic sound space. The resulting sound objects and their interplay create a sense of constant balancing between the horizontal and vertical dimensions; in effect, they generate neither exclusively melodic nor harmonic values, but rather purely sonoristic ones.

TRANSFORMATION OF ELEMENTS. The most essential aspect of sonoristic theory has to do with the concept of transformation. According to Chomiński, transformational processes in music encompass a variety of phenomena, some of which I have already mentioned in the context of the hitherto discussed analytic categories of his theory. In contemporary music, for instance, the most noticeable kind of transformation is

³³ Chomiński, “Wkład kompozytorów polskich do rozwoju”, 107.

³⁴ Pierre Boulez, *Boulez on music today*, trans. by Susan Bradshaw and Richard Rodney Bennett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971) 88–99. (Originally published in *Penser la musique aujourd’hui*, Paris 1963.)

³⁵ Chomiński, *Muzyka Polski Ludowej*, 153. Unless otherwise noted, this and the following translations are my own.

the one found in electronic music, where “a specific sound object is indeed subjected to transformational manipulations”.³⁶ As regards traditional performing means, however,

one may speak of transformation in the modern sense only when certain instruments are used in a manner different from that applied formerly, [i.e.] against their natural properties and original purposes; in other words, when generators of melody and harmony are transformed into tools that serve to produce rustling effects and tone colors.³⁷

For example, the methods of articulation on string instruments that Krzysztof Penderecki used in his *Threnody “To the victims of Hiroshima”* for 52 strings (1960), a work which has gained the status of a sonoristic manifesto, were so radical—they included, for instance, striking the body of the instruments—that several European orchestras refused to perform the piece in the early 1960s.³⁸ But, as Penderecki explained, we still “remain within the bounds of a characteristic ‘instrumental sound,’ which does not cease to be itself even though we are gradually expanding it by means of new effects”.³⁹

As has been mentioned above, such unusual sound effects were frequently found in works by Penderecki, Górecki, and many others, and were perceived as the defining feature of sonorism as a style. What it means in practical terms is that the range of the musical material has been extended to include a variety of non-musical sounds, a fact that sonoristics recognizes as an enrichment of contemporary music.

But the problem of transformation is by no means limited exclusively to the new sound effects of sonoristic pieces. On the contrary, claimed Chomiński, “the evolutionary processes of music in general can be reduced to constant transformations of sonic phenomena”,⁴⁰ and many of them involve changes of the functions of traditional elements. Already in the 19th century one frequently finds metamorphoses of the harmonic element, a chord, into a dynamic value, an accent. In newer music, such dynamic treatment of harmony is frequently found in Bartók. A different kind of transformation takes place when the melodic element loses its original character and instead gains a coloristic function. This is frequently caused by rapid figuration which obliterates the distinctiveness of the line in favor of sonic plateaus, such as the ones found in Stravinsky’s *Loiseau de feu* or *Le sacre de printemps*. “The idea of transformation”, perceptively noted Michał Bristiger, “allows sonoristics to retain as valid the idea of [musical] elements and at the same time to adapt this terminological apparatus for the description of contemporary works.”⁴¹ But at the same time, we might add, it allows one to view older music in a new way, a point to which I will return shortly.

FORMAL ISSUES. Chomiński believed that there was a general crisis of form in 20th-century music, which originated around 1910 and continued well into the 1960s. Nevertheless, the Polish musicologist distinguished form as a separate category of his

³⁶ Ibid., 164.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ See Ludwik Erhardt, *Spotkania z Krzysztofem Pendereckim* [Meetings with Krzysztof Penderecki] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975) 36.

³⁹ Tadeusz A. Zieliński, “Współczesny kompozytor a tradycja: Rozmowa z Krzysztofem Pendereckim” [A contemporary composer and tradition: A conversation with Krzysztof Penderecki], *Ruch muzyczny* 12 (1963) 8.

⁴⁰ Chomiński, *Muzyka Polski Ludowej*, 163.

⁴¹ Michał Bristiger, “Sonorismo e strutturalismo”, *Collage* 9 (1973) 73.

sonoristic theory; apparently he regarded it as a perceivable and analyzable trait of contemporary music that should be accounted for by a modern theory.

But Chomiński's discussion of form in the context of sonoristic regulation was reduced to only one level: that of technique. Musical compositions have long existed, he argued—such as the canon, the fugue, or variations—in which technical procedures held priority over strict architectonic principles; and it was also the case with much contemporary music, in which, as he put it, “mainly technical matters come to the foreground; they totally match the problems of form”.⁴² Thus, form *sensu largo* can only be defined in very general terms, as “the resultant of the interaction among various regulatory elements”,⁴³ while the task of analysis is to elucidate the actual forming processes employed in a particular piece of music.

Chomiński's maneuver to place the equal sign between form and technique nevertheless offers some interesting implications for formal analysis. His focus on the particularity of form, as opposed to schematism, implies that the analysis of form in contemporary music need not necessarily be directed towards the internal structure of the work, but may instead point to its surface, i.e., the level on which the sonic phenomena are heard. Thus, sonoristics replaces “formal symbolism”, which was sometimes viewed as its weakness,⁴⁴ with a view of form as a sounding phenomenon. This fact alone situates sonoristics on the opposite side of other contemporary theories, e.g., that of Schenker, whose analytic graphs always point away from the surface of the piece toward the inner, and abstract, “fundamental structure”.

Such a method of analysis, which does not search for the deep structure of the work but instead seeks to answer the most fundamental question—how does it sound?—proved to be a very attractive analytical tool, capable of illuminating a variety of musical traditions. The new methodological stance offered by Chomiński had an enormous impact on other scholars, who applied the concept of sonoristics to composers such as Liszt, Chopin, and Szymanowski.⁴⁵ In addition, Chomiński himself demonstrated the fertile applicability of this concept to 19th-century composers such as Wagner and Beethoven.⁴⁶ In both cases he convincingly showed that it is possible to hear their music “sonoristically”.

But how does one listen to 19th-century tonal music sonoristically? For an answer to this question we turn to the already mentioned “sonoristic” composer, Krzysztof Penderecki, who in 1963 described a specific kind of music perception. He suggested

listening to a Čajkovskij symphony, putting aside its harmonic course and specific pitch content and concentrating solely on the development of instrumental sound: its timbre, dynamics, register, durations of individual tones, density and width of the sound throughout the score, types of figuration in the strings, etc. It will become evident

⁴² Chomiński, *Muzyka Polski Ludowej*, 166.

⁴³ Chomiński, *Teoria formy*, 15.

⁴⁴ Bristiger, “Sonorismo”, 73.

⁴⁵ Władysław Malinowski, “Problem sonorystyki w ‘Mitach’ Karola Szymanowskiego” [The problem of sonoristics in Karol Szymanowski's *Myths*] *Muzyka* 2/4 (1957) 31–44; Antoni Prosnak, “Zagadnienie sonorystyki na przykładzie etiud Chopina” [The problem of sonoristics in Chopin's études] *Muzyka* 3/1–2 (1958) 14–32; Monika Gorczycka, “Nowatorstwo techniki dźwiękowej *Années de pèlerinage* Liszta” [The innovation of sound technique in Liszt's *Années de pèlerinage*] *Muzyka* 6/4 (1961) 47–59.

⁴⁶ Józef Chomiński, “Wagner i muzyka współczesna” [Wagner and contemporary music], *Ruch muzyczny* 10 (1963) 4–6; Chomiński, “Beethoven (1770–1970)”, *Muzyka* 15/4 (1970) 3–15. The last essay was also published in English as “Beethoven”, *Polish musicological studies*, ed. by Zofia Chechlińska and Jan Stęszewski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1986) vol. 2, 54–73.

that this trajectory is in itself extremely interesting, rich, and altogether consciously composed. As an artistic value of the piece, it at times significantly surpasses its harmonic content—suffice it to compare it with the piano reduction alone. Of course, in Čajkovskij, these aspects are still closely connected, and the listening I have proposed ... is an artificial manipulation. Nevertheless, it allows one to realize that the habits of sonic perception of music were developing long ago, though originally they were grounded in strictly intervallic progressions.⁴⁷

It was precisely this mode of perception that lay at the basis of Chomiński's concept of sonoristics. While certainly anachronistic, "sonorostic hearing" is also highly rewarding, for, by breaking away with the established manner of listening and opening one's ears to the intricacies of a composition in its actual sounding form, one becomes capable of discovering an entirely new aspect of the music in question.

In his above-mentioned 1970 article, Chomiński attempted a unique and daring analysis of Beethoven's music, conducted to reveal the prognostic character of the composer's musical language. The results were enlightening. For instance, the stationary sound in the opening of the ninth symphony exemplifies for Chomiński a sonoristic phenomenon, one that is not "born out of a melody, but out of a search for pure sound,"⁴⁸ i.e., it is regulated primarily by timbre and dynamics. Similarly, the tenth variation of Beethoven's *Diabelli variations*, op. 120, is viewed as a stage in the process of condensation of the harmonic space, which links the chord with the added sixth in the Beethoven piece with microtonal verticalities found in 20th-century music.⁴⁹ By the same token, the thirteenth variation of this work contains the embryos of isolated sounds, free from melodic relationships, that were to be fully sanctioned as compositional means only by Webern.⁵⁰

Obviously, the sonoristic character of these phenomena in Beethoven can only be noticed from the perspective of 20th-century music. In this way sonoristics becomes a retrograde method of analysis that, like a microscope, "makes it possible to investigate imperceptible elements of the musical work."⁵¹ But perhaps the most important is the fact that, in the theoretical landscape of the 20th century, where the general tendency of music theory was toward abstraction and objectivity based on mathematical models, sonoristics represented a search for a different kind of objectivity, one that is always verifiable aurally. As such, it opens up a world of interpretive possibilities for many different kinds of music from different eras, traditions, and cultures. This aspect certainly makes sonoristics a valuable tool for modern scholars, apart from the fact that it was created outside of mainstream musicology.

In the course of this essay I have attempted to sketch an outline of the concept of sonoristics and define the three main meanings of the term as they can be deduced from Chomiński's writings: from the description of a new musical element that became prominent in 20th-century music, to a technique of composition associated with the mid-century *avant-garde*, and finally to an analytic theory that focused on the issues of timbre and texture.

⁴⁷ Zieliński, "Współczesny kompozytor a tradycja", 8-9.

⁴⁸ Chomiński, "Beethoven (1770–1970)", 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

But such a broad semantic concept of Chomiński's term (an issue made much more complex if one also considers the notion of "sonorism") impedes its precise definition. "It is difficult to characterize it in one sentence", wrote Elżbieta Dziębowska in 1979, one of Chomiński's students, but "it undoubtedly involves a new concept of analyzing the musical work, the essence of which has to do with studying the evolution of the actual sound as the carrier of musical expression. This theory concentrates on the issues of timbre (understood broadly, as the sonic qualities inherent in the traditional elements of the musical work as well as sound structures intrinsic to contemporary music) and texture."⁵² The uniqueness of Chomiński's approach had been recognized even earlier; in 1973, Michał Bristiger suggested that sonoristics represents "a totally new realm of musical thought, on the border of music theory, compositional practice, and the psychology of hearing."⁵³

But no matter how we define it, sonoristics remains largely unknown to the musicological community at large; similarly, the fame of its derivative "sonorism" in the West does not fare much better, either. The need to include these concepts in our thinking is clearly evident from the following two statements.

In 1974, John Vinton, having just edited the *Dictionary of contemporary music*, noted that all the stylistic categories of 20th-century music are troublesome for "none of them specifically mentions a central characteristic of our time, the rise of texture and timbre as prime thematic elements."⁵⁴ Undoubtedly Vinton would have been quite pleased to discover that the stylistic category he wished for had already existed and functioned successfully in Polish musicology for 14 years. But although "sonorism" had the potential of becoming one the most important 20th-century "isms", it has never moved beyond the Iron Curtain and remains associated with certain avant-garde developments in Poland and Russia. And in 1987, in his celebrated book on the history of music analysis, Ian Bent maintained:

The analysis of music as sonorous material had remained comparatively undeveloped, apart from the work of Pierre Schaeffer, who followed his *Traite* of 1966 . . . with his *Guide des objets sonores* (1983), and from that of two Norwegians, Lasse Thoresen and Olav Anton Thommessen, who in the early 1980s were formulating a verbal and symbolic language for formal description of sound qualities.⁵⁵

Contrary to Bent's statement, "the analysis of music as sonorous material" has, in fact, not only been undertaken but also developed in a full-fledged theory, and it did so some 20 years before Bent's book was published. As the theory of the musical work that took as its point of departure the compositional techniques of the 20th century, sonoristics remains one of the most inventive contributions to modern music theory. The fact that it continues to await wider recognition proves that the road to global musicology lies still ahead of us.

⁵² Elżbieta Dziębowska, "Koncepcja realnego kształtu dzieła muzycznego" [A concept of the actual shape of the musical work], *Muzyka* 24/4 (1979) 15.

⁵³ Michał Bristiger, "Krytyka muzyczna a poetyka muzyki" [Music criticism and the poetics of music], *Współczesne problemy krytyki artystycznej* [Contemporary issues in art criticism], ed. by Alicja Helman (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973) 109.

⁵⁴ John Vinton, "A change of mind", *The music review* 35/3–4 (November 1974) 301.

⁵⁵ Ian Bent, *Analysis* (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1987) 71.

NUMBER FETISHISM: THE HISTORY OF THE USE OF INFORMATION THEORY AS A TOOL FOR MUSICAL ANALYSIS

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Music's experiment with information theory took place in the cultural atmosphere of the 1950s and 1960s when information theory was being applied to many different disciplines. Born in the Bell Laboratories in the 1940s, a child of men in white coats; information theory, once taken up and transformed by those working in the humanities, presented an opportunity for universality, a method of analysis that could potentially be applied to anything and provide a way of comparing art works made from different media. An examination of the application of information theory to musical analysis also gives us a new angle on the very early use of computers for music.

Information theory was conceived as a result of technical experiments in telephone and telegraph technology. At the very beginning of its conception, information theory branched into two: a technical consideration of how electronic communication can be made more efficient; and a more metaphorical treatment of information theory, including using it as a model of the communication of music. It is the latter that I am talking about in this paper.

Information theory is a statistical theory that measures content and the efficiency of human-machine communication system. In music it was used by analysts to gauge the probability systems of pieces of music and compare them, as well as using these statistics to measure differences in style and explore what musical forms convey information to the listener most efficiently. Fuller, more technical definitions can be found in any of the articles that I mention here, and a lengthy explanation of information theory is not on my agenda.

The primary sources listed at the end in some way or another use information theory to analyze music. The usefulness of this body of work lies in its compactness, its self-referential nature, and the fact that it represents a clear evolution in one type of thinking about music. I have limited myself to the U.S. between about 1950 and 1971. Computers were in their infancy at the time these analyses were being attempted, so

in one sense they are computer analyses of music before computers. This was a finite movement with clear implications as to the direction that the ideas came from, and what they went on to be.

Culturally, science and technology were very visible in the 1950s and 1960s. The cognitive revolution in psychology is said to have begun in the mid-1940s,¹ and continued into the 1980s. Wiener's book on cybernetics came out in 1948 and set the scene for the use of cybernetics in art and art reception in the 1960s. Claude Shannon's seminal paper on information theory was published in 1948.²

The writers here are precomputer information theorists, who, since the computer has been more readily available and easier to use, might seem to us to be prehistoric and laughable. They even seem to belittle their own work. The question is, then, can we still consider them important all these years later? What did information theory analysis ever do for music?

The ideal of information theoretical studies of music imagines that it will give people a greater insight into the workings of human communication systems. The use of information theory assumes that communication can be used as a metaphor for music. This metaphor was used to a lesser or greater extent of sophistication. Using it in a quantitative way, as most of these writers did, naturally evolved into the use of computers in musical analysis.

Music analysis with computers has dissolved into so many other subdisciplines and complex issues that the simple methods used by these writers have been long surpassed. However, many of the methods have informed the basis of computer analysis of music—and many of the problems are still the same, and can be applied to any kind of musical analysis, indeed, to any kind of analysis of a communication system. Computers have been able to aid in the analysis of music to the point where it no longer has to be analyzed as a static entity, and can be analyzed dynamically. The analyses here, however, are by necessity static because of the nature of the tools used for the analysis.

The ideal of analysis of music as a dynamic system was present in the 1950s. For example, Coons and Kraehenbuehl say in their *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* article from 1958:

It is this change of informedness from event to event that constitutes the reality of experience, and it is this change that is the measurable aspect of any experience. If methods for interpreting this measure can be both rationally and empirically developed, they will provide a useful tool for any scientist seeking to construct a general theory regarding any type of temporal experience.³

The important words in this quote are “measurable”, “rational”, “empirical”, and “scientist”. Reflecting the scientific bent of musicology at the time, Coons and Kraehenbuehl imply that the word “scientist” can be applied to the music theorist or analyst.

¹ George A. Miller, “The cognitive revolution: A historical perspective”, *TRENDS in cognitive sciences* 7/3 (March 2003) 141–44.

² Claude E. Shannon, “A mathematical theory of communication”, *The Bell System technical journal* 27 (July 1948) 379–423; (October 1948) 623–56.

³ Edgar Coons and David Kraehenbuehl, “Information as a measure of the experience of music”, *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* 17/4 (June 1959) 514.

The Pinkerton and Youngblood articles, listed at the end, explore the use of information theory in analysing and predicting melodies. Youngblood goes a little further by talking about the usefulness of information theory when analyzing styles.

Attneave's article is not directly concerned with the analysis of music, but stochastic composition (using probability as a compositional tool) was a phenomenon that came out of this way of thinking. (Xenakis had already been using these techniques in France with *Metastasis*, 1954, and was to publish his *Musiques formelles* in French in 1962, which was translated and published by the University of Indiana in 1971⁴). The Attneave article here is important because it appeared in the *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* with the Coons and Kraehenbuehl article in a special set of three articles that came from a symposium called "Information Theory and the Arts" held in New York in 1957. This shows the speed at which these information-theoretical ideas were travelling from discipline to discipline. In 1957 the concept of information theory, even in science and technology, was less than a decade old and already it was being applied liberally to the arts.

Keeping, for a moment, with composition, David Kraehenbuehl wrote a piece of music based in information theory called *A formal triad*, and more famously, Hiller incorporated the ideas from his information theory analyses into his Illiac Suite computer program.

Coons and Kraehenbuehl were concerned with form, in music. This allowed them to use the theory to describe something that is not absolutely specific to music, making them less open to criticism. Brawley's dissertation analyses rhythm using information theory. The emerging trend is almost like that of serialism: first apply it to melody, then branch out into rhythm, then later down the list we come to the application of information theory to more than one parameter. Bean, Fuller, Hiller and Lewin consider more than one parameter in their articles.

It is worth mentioning briefly the work of Meyer-Eppler and Eimert in Europe, who did similar work to that which I am talking about, but more explicitly related to serialism. However, in American articles there are not many references to the work in Europe, apart from a few references to Moles (especially, as might be expected, in Cohen's article⁵) and some references to the work of Eco⁶ in Bean and Hiller's article⁷—the article abstracted from Bean's thesis and submitted to *The journal of music theory*.

By the time we get to about 1961 and Bean, the field has expanded enough to become a viable area for research in universities. Bean, Fuller and Youngblood all submitted doctoral dissertations about information theory and music, and Brawley's study was submitted as a master's thesis.

The geographical distribution of the people involved is significant. Indiana University saw most activity in the late 1950s, with dissertations by Brawley and Youngblood, then activity shifted to Illinois where Hiller and his students become somewhat of a focus around which much subsequent activity orbited. The English version of Abraham Moles's

⁴ Iannis Xenakis, *Formalized music: Thought and mathematics in music* (Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1992).

⁵ Joel E. Cohen, "Information theory and music", *Behavioural science* 7/2 (April 1962) 160. In this section Cohen discusses the differences and similarities of the work of Meyer and Moles. Cohen translated Moles's book into English.

⁶ Umberto Eco, "Apertura e 'informazione' nella struttura musicale: Uno strumento d'indagine", *Incontri musicali* 4 (1960) 57.

⁷ Lejaren Hiller and Calvert Bean Jr., "Information theory analyses of four sonata expositions", *Journal of music theory* 10/1 (spring 1966) 96–137.

book *Information theory and esthetic perception* was published by Illinois University Press in 1966, and Cohen acknowledges Hiller in the translator's preface as assisting with finding the translation a publisher.⁸

Lejaren Hiller had gained a doctorate in chemistry from Princeton, and there he studied theory and composition with Milton Babbitt and Roger Sessions. The musical ideas of these two men, as well as the new mathematics of communication were obviously influences on Hiller, and he was in a unique position to feel the full effects of these two areas, being significantly involved in both the natural sciences and music.

Hiller went to work at Illinois in the chemistry faculty in 1952, where he studied for his master's degree in music. In 1958 he joined the music faculty and set up the experimental music studios—the first in the United States. His student, Calvert Bean, finished his thesis *Information theory applied to the analysis of particular formal processes in music* in 1961, and Fuller his, *An information theory analysis of Anton Webern's symphony op. 21* in 1965. They were published in the *Journal of music theory* in 1966 and 1967 respectively, as joint publications with Hiller.

By far the journal with the most articles about music and information theory was the *Journal of music theory*. David Kraehenbuehl, who was a student of Hindemith's—and there are echoes of Hindemith in this kind of work—was one of the founders of this journal in 1957. The article he and Edgar Coons wrote in 1958 was in the fourth publication of that journal. Youngblood's article came out in the previous issue in spring 1958. In that same issue, spring 1958, David Kraehenbuehl wrote an editorial, "What is music theory?" in which he makes his case for what music theory should be:

A musical theory is a general operation which, when applied to the facts of music, produces predicted results. If the application of the theory fails to produce predicted results, the theory is invalid. It must be modified or altogether abandoned in favor of some new hypothesis which, after suffering testing, may develop into a useful theory.⁹

This is typical of thought in the late 1950s, and clearly the information theory of music suited what Kraehenbuehl wanted for his new journal. Information theory analysis was modified several times by several people, and eventually its concepts, methodologies and ideals were modified and became part of more complex analytical systems, many of which rely on the use of computers.

By 1971, the theory had developed enough to be able to be subject to general criticism. Hessert's dissertation has much criticism in it, and Vermazen's article is a criticism of Meyer's attitude towards information theory. Cohen's criticism had come some years earlier in 1962, while he was an undergraduate Maths student at Harvard. He said:

"experiments" were performed without regard to their validity or significance. This was usually done by appealing to the reader's intuition with amorphous generalities, then leap-frogging to the *H*-formula [from Shannon] for information content and inserting some numbers. Of this trick, extensions into musical theory have been particularly guilty.¹⁰

⁸ Abraham A. Moles, *Information theory and aesthetic perception* (Urbana; London: University of Illinois Press, 1966).

⁹ David Kraehenbuehl, "What is music theory?", *Journal of music theory* 2/1 (April 1958) 1.

¹⁰ Joel E. Cohen, "Information theory and music", *Behavioural science* 7/2 (April 1962) 137.

Coons and Kraehenbuehl, after criticising the previous articles by Youngblood and Pinkerton, say,

Traditional information theory does not provide us with any analytical tools for the study of this immediate problem of musical creation.¹¹

Instead, their paper explores the effectiveness of certain structures for conveying a pleasing balance between information and redundancy. So Coons and Kraehenbuehl attach their own definition to information, make some tables of predictions, redundancy and information content, then conclude that the rondo form is more effective than extended tertiary form (ABACA is better than ABABA, because the former asserts the importance of A more clearly than the latter).

One example of the evolution of the use of information theory for analysis is the way that Coons and Kraehenbuehl criticized and expanded on the ideas of Youngblood and Pinkerton. Coons and Kraehenbuehl criticize the analyses of Youngblood and Pinkerton because they assume that music in similar styles have the same rule-set, whereas the rule-sets are different for each style (Schubert, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Schumann do not choose their musical material from the same symbol-set as composers of Gregorian chant), and different for every composer. The rule-set is different at different stages in the same piece as well. Coons and Kraehenbuehl propose a system where the rule-set in effect at any one time is then confirmed or denied by the following event. When the provisional prediction in the current system is nonconfirmed, information is generated. If a piece has modulated, then it is false to carry on predicting the probability of a certain note coming next in the phrase according to the old key. The probabilities have completely changed. If this is taken into account, then far more redundancy is detected in a piece when a phrase is repeated in the new key, whereas if the probabilities were still based on the old key, this would carry far more information, but to the listener it would be obvious that this is a repeat, and therefore have redundancy.

Leonard B. Meyer comes at the subject from a different angle than we have seen so far. He does not start out with Shannon's equations and then adapt them for his own purposes; he starts with music and the listener's reaction to it, a cognitive approach to the perception of music. Meyer does not tar himself with the same brush as the writers criticised by Cohen and Hessert, and is not open to as much criticism because he does not give tables of results and graphs of information content, which is seen (as we have seen from Cohen's comments) as pseudoscience. Meyer preserves the idea of the use of communication as a metaphor for music, interpreting information-theoretical concepts into musical language. His work remains important and known. Meyer refers to information theory at the very end of *Emotion and meaning in music*:

it is significant that many of the concepts presented in this book have clear counterparts in the theory of games and in information theory... it seems possible to equate the inhibition of a tendency, which of necessity gives rise to uncertainty and an awareness of alternative consequents, with the concept of entropy in information theory.¹²

Significantly, Meyer does not use information theory to analyze music, but explores the parallels between the concepts of music and information:

¹¹ Coons and Kraehenbuehl, "Information as a measure of the experience of music", 511.

¹² Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and meaning in music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) 255.

Thus value, information, and meaning might profitably be considered as being different, though related, experiential realizations of a basic stochastic process governed by the law of entropy.¹³

Eugene Narmour's work could be seen partly as an implementation of Meyer's theories. His *Beyond Schenkerism: The need for alternatives in musical analysis* from 1977 outlines the need to combine many analytical techniques. His later books go some way to achieving this.¹⁴ In comparison, the analyses that I am looking at here appear very simplistic. Narmour's work is informed by all of the cognitive activity that went on between the 1940s and 1990s, of which I believe this small set of musical analyses is a part. However, Narmour's personal opinion of information theory is very different to that of Meyer:

If, of course, music perception were a simple matter of expectation, prediction, and antecedent-consequent relationships, then music theory could become a tidy little branch of information theory, and the embodied meaning of antecedent and consequent events could be evaluated according to, say, Markoff chains.¹⁵

Of course, Narmour is speaking from a position about twenty years after Meyer, when the use of computers has moved music analysis to a position where it can consider music as a dynamical system, and take into account embedded meanings and metameanings that the considerations of music as a simple Markoff chain cannot.

The number of calculations involved in an information theory analysis was time consuming, and the use of computers allowed the process to become quicker and more complex.

Fred Attneave states that a computer somewhere in-between a completely autonomous machine and the imitative machine is needed in order to get towards a better understanding of musical communication. Calvert Bean, one of Hiller's students, predicts the use of computers:

The formidable task of assessing... frequencies is one that should be programmed for automatic high-speed digital computers, if full-scale information analyses are to be pursued.¹⁶

There was a very early example of the use of a computer to do very complex calculations in order to analyze music by F.P. Brooks and his associates in 1957. The results were published in the *IRE transactions of electronic computers*—notably in a journal that would not ordinarily be read by musicologists. Brooks used the computer to calculate the redundancy levels in music according to up to eight of the steps that went before the event in question, in other words, the item in question is looked at in a wider context. And work has carried on in computer science and in the electronic music studios, although now this early stage of information theory analysis has been surpassed

¹³ Leonard B. Meyer, "Meaning in music and information theory", *Journal of aesthetic sand art criticism* 15/4 (June 1957) 424.

¹⁴ Eugene Narmour, *The analysis and cognition of melodic complexity: The implication-realization model* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹⁵ Eugene Narmour, *Beyond Schenkerism: The need for alternatives in music analysis* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 126 (footnote).

¹⁶ Calvert Bean Jr., *Information theory applied to the analysis of particular formal processes in music* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1961) 13.

and embedded in computer programs. Allen Forte's work on a Program for the Analytic Reading of Scores in 1966 is an early example.

The musical score... constitutes a complete system of graphic signs and, properly represented for computer input, may be analysed by a program as a logical image of the unfolding musical events that make up the composition.¹⁷

Computers play an important role in psychological-musical research today and ideas from this early thinking have been dissolved and expanded into all different kinds of concerns including music cognition, machine intelligence (replicating humans), machine representation (storing music in order to analyse and search it—a problem that has not been completely solved¹⁸) and psychological research into the human brain. Had a looser, less technical, metaphorical “information theory” been used in the early analyses, they may not have immediately come up against the type of criticism that they have.

The argument that I am making here is not that information theoretical analysis is useful per se, but the problems and methodology that the treatment of music in this way throws up is invaluable to our understanding of music and musical communication. These writers have encountered in their analyses problems that could be brought to the surface by critics/analysts/theorists/psychologists and philosophers. They were perhaps in need of an “information theory” that was more removed from the men in white coats. In this vein, Moles writes of a more philosophical information theory:

The theory offers not only properly new results, but a new method of presentation, a synthesis of known facts in a new structure, making evident the gaps, destined to be filled, in our knowledge. It may be classed, with the great scientific theories, among the *heuristic models*, and more particularly among those which we term methods of presentation and of *phenomenologic variation*.¹⁹

The difficulty with the seeming uselessness of the body of work that makes up music's early experiment with information theory is that everybody can understand them. Having come from no one discipline in particular, the jargon is not complex; scientists and musicians can understand it. The attraction of something that was superficially completely objective and scientific and yet was not shrouded in masses of equations and jargon must have been great. The studies that came after are often opaque to all but the mathematician and computer scientist. The problems became harder to extract from the content. Now this research is done in the computer science department of the university.

This work was very self-aware and self-critical, and this reflects the general mood in art and science at the time, the structuralists and poststructuralists being extremely self-conscious. It is, I think, because of the self-consciousness of these writers that there is so much doubt sewn into the articles.

Through the ideas of Meyer the concept of communication as a metaphor for music has become innate in much contemporary musical theory and analysis.²⁰

¹⁷ Allen Forte, “A program for the analytic reading of scores”, *Journal of music theory* 10/2 (winter 1966) 330–64.

¹⁸ Walter B. Hewlett and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *The virtual score: Representation, retrieval, restoration* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2001).

¹⁹ Abraham Moles, *Information theory and aesthetic perception* (Urbana; London: University of Illinois Press, 1966) 32.

²⁰ Nicholas Cook, *A guide to musical analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 70–89. Cook includes a comparison of Meyer's methods with those of Schenker; both methods are shown to have their advantages and

The work was characteristic of its time and set the agenda for the research that has come since. The major breakthrough, perhaps, is the fact that these musicologists could actually speak to musicians in this mathematically informed way: barriers were broken down, allowing for new research directions and collaborations.

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UNITED STATES, 1956–71

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MUSICAL BIOGRAPHY—FURTHER THOUGHTS

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Even though musicology is no longer what it used to be, as it has been expanding its boundaries and reconsidering its goals, biography as a genre is only beginning to be an object of scholarly research among musicologists.¹ And just as at the end of the 19th century, when musicology was establishing itself as a distinct field of academic study, biography still occupies an ambiguous position in musicological research. The traditional perception of biography—that it lacks scholarly respectability and serves primarily to situate musicians in their time—still appears to exercise a strong hold in musicological publications. For example, in a recent *Introduction to research in music*, biographical research is described as producing

accounts of the lives or lives and works of composers or other musical figures so that we can understand the background of the composer's works and important connections with other composers or performers, influential figures from the worlds of drama or literature, etc. Many biographies fit the "life and works" pattern, combining biographical detail with some serious analysis of the composer's works.²

The authors then warn their readers:

Not all biographies are sources for serious research; a glance through the large body of biographies written about Mozart, for example, shows that they run the gamut from romanticized views, more hagiography than biography, that treat the composer only as a misunderstood or divinely inspired genius, to serious works that shed important light on his short but incredibly productive life. As good examples of biographical research, we cite the multi-volume study of Haydn's life and works by H.C. Robbins Landon and Richard Taruskin's work on Stravinsky.³

¹ For a discussion on the place of biography in musicology and its current condition, see Jolanta T. Pekacz, "Memory, history and meaning: Musical biography and its discontents," *Journal of musicological research* 23/1 (January–March 2004) 39–80; and "Introduction," *Musical biography: Towards new paradigms*, ed. by Jolanta T. Pekacz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 1–16.

² Richard J. Wingell and Silvia Herzog, *Introduction to research in music* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001) 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 17–18. The two works the authors refer to are H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and works*, 5 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976–80) and Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian traditions: A biography of the works through Mavra*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

Why these works are singled out as examples of “good” biographical research is never explained. Perhaps, for the authors of the *Introduction to research in music*, the source of scholarly respectability of the former is its accumulation of facts and of the latter its focus on Stravinsky’s works, not on his life. Not surprisingly, biography does not feature in the section on “New kinds of musicological research”—an outgrowth of recent changes in musicology and the attempts to broaden the traditional view of music—which includes hermeneutics, political meanings of music, reception history, and gender and sexuality.⁴

Perhaps the most frequent line of criticism of musical biography is the alleged lack of relevance of biographical knowledge to aesthetics and criticism, grounded in the belief that “life” and “works” are unrelated; that the meaning of a work is independent of its author’s life. The denial of such relevance informed musicology’s founding fathers, who marginalized biography. Further, this denial was inherent in New Criticism, as well as in a number of similar theoretical positions that came after it, such as structuralism and deconstruction. The claim that biography is irrelevant is also a familiar position of those musicologists who may not represent an explicitly anti-biographical approach but who do not see how biographical knowledge can be practically incorporated into analysis or criticism.⁵ Maynard Solomon, in his comment on the anti-biographical stance, noted the following:

to the extent that biographical data exist, they—like knowledge of history, of culture, of the anatomy of forms—alter the state of awareness within which we perceive art. And this in turn cannot fail—regardless of our will—to affect aesthetic and cultural judgement, if these terms are to mean something other than the merely analytical or taxonomic.⁶

Perhaps, as Solomon put it, the problem lies in the fact that musical critics “often seek concrete associations between biography and art, whereas it may be sufficient only to understand the *necessity* of the tie, to set the life alongside the work and thus to throw the outlines of the interchange into relief.”⁷

The extent to which the evaluation and appreciation of musical works is linked to biographical knowledge appears to be greater than some musicologists would admit. Whether admitted or not, biography has been playing an important role in the cultural discourse of musicology: It both reflects the status of music and actively participates in shaping its perception. The discipline’s focus on individual composers who were believed to have made a significant contribution to music history demonstrates the extent to which biography has shaped musicology. Critical and analytical practices in the discipline provide abundant evidence of the extent to which biographical data have informed musicological practice. Musical meaning has not only been derived from biography but has also been culturally constructed, just as biography has been, which provides a powerful argument against self-referentiality, fixed meaning, and stability of the work’s identity.

⁴ Wingell and Herzog, *Introduction to research in music*, 18–22.

⁵ One example is Kofi Agawu, “Schubert’s sexuality: A prescription for analysis?”, *19th-century music* 17/1 (summer 1993) 79–82.

⁶ Maynard Solomon, “Thoughts on biography”, *19th-century music* 5/3 (spring 1982) 268–76; reprinted in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988) 101–15.

⁷ Solomon, “Thoughts on biography”, 273.

Take, for example, the evaluation of Beethoven's late music, which was recently shown to have been contingent upon the reevaluation of his biography. Kristin Marta Knittel argued that contrasting interpretations and evaluations of Beethoven's last works in the 19th century were grounded in his biographical data—his deafness, depression, isolation, perhaps insanity—not in his music.⁸ In the decades immediately following Beethoven's death, critics drew a direct connection between his physical and mental suffering, concluding that his late works were a failure. It was the reevaluation of Beethoven's deafness by Richard Wagner in his essay *Beethoven* (1870) that initiated a critical reappraisal of Beethoven's late compositions. Wagner argued that Beethoven's late works were his greatest achievement and that Beethoven's loss of hearing was actually beneficial, if not indispensable, to the creative process that produced them. Wagner's reassessment reflected his change of heart: In his earlier writings he had held views typical of the period, that is, he had considered the late works of Beethoven as failed experiments, not masterpieces.⁹ Moreover, Wagner arrived at his conclusion about Beethoven's genius not on the basis of the inherent musical value of Beethoven's late works, but on the basis of Schopenhauer's ideas concerning music, which allowed him to see Beethoven's loss of hearing as the disappearance of the last vestige that had prevented the composer from living entirely in his inner world. In other words, neither the circumstances had changed (Beethoven's deafness), nor was any evidence of artistic superiority of Beethoven's late works provided; only the evaluation of the role of these circumstances had.

Although Wagner held the opinion expressed in his 1870 essay for only three years before changing his mind again, Wagner's romanticization of Beethoven's suffering, particularly his deafness, transformed the way critics have assessed his life and works. The reevaluation had an immediate appeal and remained compelling for later generations of scholars. Twentieth-century scholars generally accepted Wagner's 1870 paradox that Beethoven's hearing loss was essential to the creation of his music. Furthermore, biographical assumptions continue to shape present-day discussions of Beethoven's music.¹⁰

Similarly, biographical traditions affected the criticism of Chopin's music in that critics have supported their analytical contentions with biographical evidence or stereotypes.¹¹ The persistence of the stereotype of Chopin as a Polish patriot overshadowed the reception of Chopin as a composer, at least in 19th- and 20th-century Poland. Polish 19th-century composers saw in Chopin's music primarily (if not exclusively) stylized pictures of Polish landscapes and an incarnation of some unspecified "Polishness". For example, one of the most prominent Polish composers of that era, Zygmunt Noskowski (1846–1909), often referred to Chopin as "a poet [a bard] of our [Polish] fields and meadows", hearing in Chopin's music an evocation of Polish landscapes.¹² In his famous speech delivered at the opening of the celebration

⁸ Kristin Marta Knittel, "Wagner, deafness, and the reception of Beethoven's last style", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51/1 (spring 1998) 49–82.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

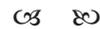
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 74–76.

¹¹ See Jolanta T. Pekacz, "Deconstructing a 'national composer': Chopin and Polish exiles in Paris, 1831–1849", *19th-century music* 24/2 (fall 2000) 161–72; and "The nation's property: Chopin's biography as a cultural discourse", *Musical biography: Towards new paradigms*, ed. by Jolanta T. Pekacz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 43–68.

¹² See, for example, "On the essence of Chopin's compositions" (1902), as quoted by Adam Harasowski, *The skein of legends around Chopin* (Glasgow: William MacLellan, 1967) 280–81. See also Mieczyslaw Tomaszewski, ed.,

of the 100th anniversary of Chopin's birth in Lwów, on 23 October 1910, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, an eminent Polish pianist, politician, and ardent patriot made an appeal to his listeners by emphasizing Chopin's patriotic rather than his musical values.¹³ Paderewski's speech was an emotional invocation to Poles separated by the partitioning of their country, and it was a marvelous piece of oratory.

All this points to the significance of biographical knowledge in the construction of meaning of a musical work. In practice, biographical data have been used to explain the composer's work, and there is rarely a characterization completely divorced from the biographical aspect. The actual problem seems to lie more in the difficulty of incorporating such biographical knowledge into music analysis and criticism rather than in the legitimacy of such knowledge.



The relationship between life and works has been a perennial problem of musical biography, and, for that matter, of the entire field of music history, and the questions as to whether and to what extent a composer's life informs his or her work and whether work can illuminate life have been matters of discrepant views.¹⁴ Put in a broader perspective, this question turns on whether a work of music is a purely musical and aesthetic self-referential entity with significance of its own, or whether it is conditioned by the historical, social, political, economic, religious, and other contexts in which it is produced and functions. In other words, to what extent is the work constituted by the musical and to what extent is the work constituted by the extra-musical? The distinction between the musical and the extra-musical, and the belief in the superiority of the former, originated in the 19th century with the ascendance of the Romantic ideology "emancipating music" from its context and the ideology of musical idealism. Before this, music was considered to be part of the social world in which it originated and functioned, and not as separable or independent of it.¹⁵

The belief in the self-referentiality of music is thus an essentially modernist trait, one that renders music largely opaque from an extra-musical perspective and assumes that the meaning of a piece of music derives from itself or from its relation to other pieces of music, and not from relation to any reality outside of music. Close textual analysis informed by this thinking considers works of music as aesthetic objects filled with meaning, meaning that is not discernible by the analysis of historical intentions and authorial circumstances; hence music can only be understood from the inside out.

Kompozytorzy polscy o Fryderyku Chopinie [Polish composers on Frédéric Chopin] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1964).

¹³ Ignacy Jan Paderewski, "Mowa Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego", *Obchód setnej rocznicy urodzin Fryderyka Chopina i pierwszy zjazd muzyków polskich we Lwowie 23 do 28 października 1910. Księga pamiątkowa przedłożona przez komitet obchodu* [Celebration of the 100th anniversary of Frédéric Chopin's birthday and the First Congress of Polish Musicians in Lwów, 23 to 28 October 1910: A memorial publication submitted by the celebration committee] (Lwów, 1912).

¹⁴ Carl Jung, for example, argued for a separation between human-personal qualities and impersonal-creative process. "An artist can only be understood through his creative art and not through the inadequacies and personal conflicts of his nature." Carl Jung, "Psychologie und Dichtung", trans. by Eugene Jolas. *Transitions, an international quarterly for creative experiment* (June 1930) 41, 43. Nineteenth-century biography, on the other hand, exemplifies an opposite approach based on the assumption of a close relationship between the life and work of an artist. See Hans Lenneberg, *Witnesses and scholars: Studies in musical biography* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), especially chapters 1 and 7.

¹⁵ See, for example, the discussion in Lydia Goehr, "Writing music history", *History and theory* 31/2 (May 1992) especially 191ff.

Pushed to its logical limits, the belief in the self-referentiality of music reduces music history to a sequence of musical styles and ultimately collapses music history into formal analysis. Such reduction produces distortions and anachronisms in interpretation, since the analyst is attempting to make the work of music fit into a prescribed theory. Further, decontextualization presupposes the existence of a canon of great works embodying absolute aesthetic values and timeless truths, although in reality lesser works are often more emblematic of their time's basic ideas than are masterpieces. As Jim Samson puts it, decontextualization and “the analytical mode of our century has not just elevated the concept of structure, and with it the myth of the musical work; it has also reduced the rich diversities of stylistic history to its own canon of competing and successive period styles” at the cost of wider critical perspectives, thus obscuring its true origins.¹⁶ In effect, it confines music to the vagaries and fashions of scholarship.

It is helpful to see the relationship between life and work as historically located and inseparable from the predominant concepts of authorship. And if the interpretation of the relationship between life and music is rooted in the predominant concepts of authorship—related, in turn, to the concept of the self and the concept of art—then a single scheme for conceptualizing this relationship (“biography does not matter” or “biography does matter”) is not possible. There were greater and lesser degrees of authorial inscription in various historical periods. In the mimetic tradition, for example, the author was a transmitter of tradition; in 19th-century theories of art the author is a creator; in 20th-century contextualism the mimetic tradition is back and the author is viewed as the embodiment of his or her cultural context. Related to this is the recognition that many lives are shaped by commonly held expectations associated with specific careers; that is, the artist may act in a way that is expected of “artists” in a given time and place.

This recognition that the degrees of authorial inscription were different in different historical periods seems to have informed Albert Schweitzer's distinction between “subjective” and “objective” artists. Richard Wagner exemplified the former category; Johann Sebastian Bach the latter.¹⁷ Bach appeared “objective” and “superpersonal”; he was entirely of his time. He exercised no criticism upon the media of artistic expression available to him and he did not feel an inner compulsion to open new paths. His life was irrelevant because the roots of his creativity did not come from the events of his life or his personality. According to Schweitzer, “Bach's works would have been the same even if his existence had run quite another course.”¹⁸ In other words, Bach's music was an unmediated expression of the *zeitgeist*. In contrast, Wagner was “subjective”; he placed himself in opposition to his epoch and originated new forms for the expression of his ideas. His work was almost independent of the time in which he lived.

The recognition of the limitations of essentialism and formalism and the developments in literary studies over the last decades gradually led to a renewed interest in context among musicologists. Without denying the legitimacy of granting music a degree of autonomy and forcing it to reflect a reality beyond itself, it is now believed that context provides a broader framework for meaning of a musical work. Put in stronger terms, context is in fact a condition *sine qua non* for music to be heard as music and not

¹⁶ Jim Samson, *Chopin. The master musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 292.

¹⁷ See Albert Schweitzer, *J.S. Bach*, 2 vols., trans. by Ernest Newman (New York: Dover Publications, 1966) vol. 1, 1–2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 1.

as meaningless noise. Jacques Barzun, one of the early advocates of contextualization, made the following claim:

As in architecture, the finished work must be usable (playable, readable, listenable, graspable). In a hundred places form has to fit local purpose or obstacle, and the evidence of these needs is often found nowhere but in sources external to the work. No “method” limited to “intrinsic” elements will discover the contingencies amid which all art is produced: this is not only a truth but a truism, a tautology.¹⁹

Other musicologists, too, declare that they reject the notion of the autonomy of music and argue that musical inquiry be opened to the contingent and the historical.²⁰



The recognition that a grasp of context is fundamental to understand a text brings the work of music back to the realm of history. The emphasis on historical context collapses much of the distinction between the musical and the extra-musical because it makes it impossible to maintain that a piece of music is historically autonomous—it can only be granted a degree of autonomy as an aesthetic, not an historical product.²¹ It becomes essential to demonstrate the extent to which music *is* part of cultural history, in addition to being part of the history of musical style. Further, the recognition of context implies the recognition that the work of music is somehow *conditioned* by the historical. For example, it is subject to “structuring structures” that derive from its context, as Lawrence Kramer put it—that is, locally general dispositions, tendencies or cultural tropes—or, as Karol Berger suggested, it is structurally related to forms of the “historical consciousness” of the time.²² This begs the question, however, of what these structures and forms actually are. Are they what we want them to be or imagine that they are, or are they “out there” to be discovered?

It seems obvious that the proposition to contextualize music and to restore it for history can only be implemented after the context has been established: historical, social, political, aesthetic. Otherwise we are left with an inward-oriented music criticism where an interpretative “explanation” rests upon what itself needs to be established before any explanation can be attempted.²³ Or we are left with a historical context which has little

¹⁹ Jacques Barzun, “Biography and criticism: A misalliance?” *Critical questions: On music and letters, culture and biography 1940–1980*, ed. by Bea Friedland (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1982) 201; first published as “Biography and criticism: A misalliance disputed”, *Critical inquiry* 1/3 (March 1975) 479–96.

²⁰ See, for example, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, *Deconstructive variations: Music and reason in Western society* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Susan McClary, *Feminine endings: Music, gender, and sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

²¹ See also Martin Donougho, “Music and history”, *What is music? An introduction to the philosophy of music*, ed. by Philip Alperson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) 329–48.

²² Lawrence Kramer, *Classical music and postmodern knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 18; Karol Berger, “Chopin’s ballade op. 23 and the revolution of the intellectuals”, *Chopin studies 2*, ed. by John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 72–83.

²³ A recent example of such inward-oriented interpretation is Mary Hunter’s *The culture of opera buffa in Mozart’s Vienna: A poetics of entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), particularly the chapter on opera buffa as sheer pleasure. Although the author states that she is interested in the ways opera buffa functioned in relation to the audience (p. xi), she does not discuss the reception of the genre and treats opera buffa primarily within its own framework of reference. Hunter infers what made opera buffa pleasurable primarily from a textual analysis of its typical structural plot components (such as familiarity, conventionality, predictability, and plot archetypes). While such analysis determines the most frequent tactics used by the authors of opera buffa librettos, it tells nothing about the audience’s response. Hunter supports her contentions as to what made opera buffa pleasurable by evoking Freud’s contested idea of the pleasures

to do with the music we wish to contextualize, being merely a background, added but not integrated. If music is to be interpreted from the outside in, as well as from the inside out, the outside cannot be an arbitrary invention of the analyst, nor can it be an unintegrated background. Thus there is a need for putting the historical context in place.

The need to develop the historical end of criticism and to make interpretation of music historically legitimate requires the limitation of a variety of interpretations to the historically plausible. As Leonard B. Meyer succinctly put it, “[t]hough documents do not determine interpretations, they do establish limiting conditions—the facts; and though hypotheses may differ, they must be consonant with our general experience of the world.”²⁴ Further, the study of the historical context of music is not to replace or, worse yet, “absorb” music as such, as some scholars worry, but it is necessary to conceptualize possible “explanations” of music within the plausible. Lydia Goehr rightly noted that to critically question one side of the distinction between the musical and the extra-musical does not always have to result in the disintegration of the distinction. Rather, it can be a route by which we give new life to the other side—in this case to the historical.²⁵

Paraphrasing Hayden White, if musical works are “functions” or “articulations” of their historical contexts, it does not follow that they are nothing but “records” or “reflections” of such contexts.²⁶ Actually, the opposite has been recently argued. One of the most important arguments advanced by the New Historicists is that literary texts participate in the construction of the cultural system rather than stand as fixed and frozen products of it. In other words, not only is context vital to understand music, but also, music is helpful to gain an understanding of class structure, the political community, social values, and ways of life. Such understanding can be achieved, however, only by working with an awareness of the social structures and intellectual practices particular to musical culture. Society is not a unity but an amalgam of interlocking spheres: What is context for one is focus for another.²⁷ As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, a present-day historian argued,

[h]istory cannot simply be reduced—or elevated—to a collection, theory, and practice of reading texts. The simple objection to the subsumption of history to textual criticism lies in the varieties of evidence upon which historians draw. For historians, the text exists as a function or articulation of context. In this sense historians work at the juncture of the symbiosis between text and context, with context understood to mean the very conditions of textual production and dissemination.²⁸

“History” is either merely a storehouse of interesting (often unrepresentative, though) anecdotes used to enhance the reading of the musical text, or it is absorbed into

of pervasive conventionality (reported from a secondary source). Even if predictability and conventionality are clues in explaining the success of the opera buffa genre with the audience, the question remains regarding the particular content of the familiar and the conventional perpetuated by the genre; that is, why was opera buffa so profoundly conservative?

²⁴ Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and music: Theory, history, and ideology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) 72–73.

²⁵ Goehr, “Writing music history”, 197.

²⁶ Hayden White, “New historicism: A comment”, *The new historicism*, ed. by H. Aram Veeseer (New York; London: Routledge, 1989) 299.

²⁷ William Weber, “Beyond the zeitgeist: Recent work in music history”, *Journal of modern history* 66/2 (June 1994) 345.

²⁸ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, “Literary criticism and the politics of the new historicism”, *The new historicism*, ed. by H. Aram Veeseer (New York; London: Routledge, 1989) 216–17.

the text or discourse without (re)considering its specific characteristics. Thus the piece of music remains the locus of attention and the primary (often the exclusive) matrix of its own meaning, very much in the same way as the contested modernist approach.²⁹ The plea for context does not imply the use of the empirical evidence of history, in effect closing a piece of music within itself; rather it opens up an extra-musical perspective and relates the work of music to the outside. Such critical procedure serves to demonstrate an individual subjectivity in interpreting an inherent structure of the piece of music, and it is grounded in an essentialist view of the art work as an epiphenomenon of its creator's (or/and its critic's) personality.³⁰

If context is vital for the understanding of a work of music, then the meaning cannot be divorced from questions of biography and intention. The renewed interest in context brings the genre of biography to the limelight. Any attempt to write a biography indicates the author's concern with the historical, as biography normally belongs to the genre of history, and for historians the essential requirement in a biography is that it understands the subject in his or her historical context.³¹ But the emphasis on context establishes a new rapport within the traditional dichotomy between life and work as two poles of the creative process contingent upon each other, in that both life and work are contingent upon the context in which they are located, rather than upon each other.

This means that rather than speculate about how work resulted from life which has so often been done, for example, in Chopin's case, the biographer shifts emphasis to the process of negotiation between artists and their social and cultural environment. For example, how much did the artists' temperament contribute to their success? What were the views on artistic personalities at the time, and how did they affect the way the artists fashioned themselves? What were the strategies they employed in their relationship with private patrons in the age that witnessed a profound restructuring of traditional social and political hierarchies, such as the 19th century? How did these strategies affect their music? Especially, how did they construct their musical identity when placed between the Romantic perception of artistry as the articulation of the artists' interiority and the consumerist demands of the salon audience. The Romantic stereotype (and expectation) in which the artists were seen and saw themselves as iconoclast, unappreciated, eccentric, and rebellious was more abstract than real and the process of negotiation between the artists and their public was all the more important. Masterful as it was, much of Chopin's music had the capacity to cater to the whole range of musical amateurs, not only the most sophisticated ones.

The emphasis on the process of negotiation allows for an explanation of change over time in, as well as synchronic diversity of, compositional output, in contrast to the traditional psychological approach which assumes that the same stimuli produce the same psychic reactions. The emphasis on the process of negotiation also contextualizes music without depriving it of its specific character as an artistic pronouncement; that is, without depriving it of its autonomy and artistic status. Music is not collapsed into a mere function or reflection of its context. As a result of a contested negotiation, it

²⁹ Gary Tomlinson, "Musical pasts and postmodern musicologies: A response to Lawrence Kramer", *Current musicology* 53 (1993) 20; see also Brian Hyer's review of Kramer's *Classical music and postmodern knowledge* in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51/2 (summer 1998) 421.

³⁰ James Webster, "Music, pathology, sexuality, Beethoven, Schubert", *18th-century music* 17/1 (summer 1993) 93.

³¹ John Tosh, *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history* (2nd ed., London: Longman, 1995) 77.

retains its capacity to challenge, defy, or violate its context. This is particularly relevant to 19th-century composers who considered it their mission to subjugate the prevailing musical idiom and make it into a personal language, rather than comply with the prevailing musical taste; hence the tension between the artist and the public. On the one hand the artist was elevated to the position of a public hero; on the other, the same public questioned his authority and was likely to condemn him as arrogant and incomprehensible.

The synergy between music and the context in which it functions makes music contextual not because of reference to the world beyond itself but by virtue of social values and contexts that it absorbed.³² For biography writing, one implication of this approach is a new balance between life and work on the one hand, and the context in which they were situated on the other. An artist's life is taken into consideration as part of this context, as opposed to an approach that deals with context only insofar as it is part of an artist's life, as has been traditionally the case.

In his 1996 biography of Chopin, Jim Samson addresses methodological difficulties involved in establishing a relationship between a composer and his music in a scholarly and satisfactory manner, and ultimately reveals the impossibility of a specific methodology that would make it possible.

Too little is yet known about the mental processes involved in composition to allow any but the most obvious connections to be made. Since we are not (I suggest) in a position to attempt a thorough integration of 'life' and 'works', we had better accept the hybrid character of this genre [biography]. It remains, and it probably should remain, two books in one.³³

In effect, he offers a pragmatic solution which consists of interleaving the two books—life and works—through alternating chapters of biography and musical commentary without, however, implying a degree of integration. Indeed, one may argue that to blend works and life is not a desirable pursuit of biography because it may create an illusion of unity and coherence, and thus another totalizing picture which is as false as any coherent story can be.

It may be useful to reformulate the life vs. works relationship and ask whether composers have a privileged relationship to their work. From a postmodern perspective the answer is definitely negative; the same is the case from the analyst's or critic's perspective. The biographer or historian, however, needs to take the composers' own account more seriously, as evidence about the persons themselves, their life experience, historical environment, and artistic intentions. We may then say that the work does not "belong" to the composer; that is, the explanation through biographical data (including the composer's statements) is one thing and the multiple ways in which the work is meaningful to people at various times and places is quite another. It is the biographer's job to take the composers' account or comment about their work. But it is as true that the work can be interpreted differently from the author's intention, whether conscious or declared, as demonstrated by reception history. Thus, the work "belongs" to a biography in a specific and limited way.

³² Stephen Greenblatt, "Culture", *Critical terms for literary study*, ed. by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 227.

³³ Samson, *Chopin*, v.

Musical meaning is thus an effect, rather than a cause; it is clearly a product of current discursive practices. Compare, for example, the perception of Chopin's music as reflected in the reviews published in British newspapers, the classifications of Chopin's music in publishing catalogues in Germany as *Salonmusik*, and, by contrast, opinions by Polish 19th-century authors. While for the British many of Chopin's compositions were feminine, often trivial, and incomprehensible, and for the Germans they belonged to the inferior genre of *Salonmusik*, Polish critics emphasized artistic seriousness, masculinity, and power of Chopin's music, precisely because this fit the stereotype of a national hero. They wanted to see Chopin as a national hero, and such a hero was supposed to be serious, masculine, and unambiguous in his gender identity. By the same token, in England and Germany Chopin's music was often seen as inferior. It may be worth emphasizing that it involved logical pyrotechnics on the part of Polish authors to consider a composer of small musical forms masculine. After all Chopin did not even compose an opera, not to mention a symphony. In order to construct the stereotype, Chopin's heroism, often missing in his music, was inferred from his life (by emphasizing his dedication to the Polish cause).

This is to emphasize that ultimately the biographer (as the author) has no control upon the meaning, or has it in a very limited way. Not only does the subject escape from the biographer's grasp, but also the reading or listening audience appropriates the biography or music in a variety of ways, different from both author's and subject's intentions. This defines the task of biography in a way quite different from traditional perspectives. The task of biography can no longer be defined as pursuit of "definite biography" (as there is no such thing possible) but rather as the less presumptuous attempt to interpret, once again, the subject's life, tell another story about it; highlight another possible version, not to nail down the "ultimate" or the "final." If nothing else, this task is the recognition of an intensely complex and fluid human condition and ultimately a deferential approach to the subject.

MUSICOLOGY AND FICTION

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As an aspect of human life and culture—frequently, as an overwhelmingly pervasive and problematic aspect—music has found its way into novels, plays, poems, and other forms of imaginative fiction.¹ Musical facts (and fancies) can be found in Homer's epics as well as the tales of aboriginal peoples; in Dante's *Commedia* as well as Hindu and Arabic poetry; and in novels by Dickens, Dostoevskij, and James Joyce as well as science-fiction stories and television screenplays. Entire dramas have been devoted to real-life musicians: Puškin's *Mocart i Sal'eri* is a case in point,² Peter Shaffer's *Amadeus* another.³ Other fictions describe imaginary composers and performers: consider Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus*⁴ and Marcia Davenport's *Of Lena Geyer*.⁵ (We shall return to Davenport, Mann, and Shaffer below.)

A large number of historical, scientific, and speculative studies deal in some sense with both music and fiction. A majority of these studies have been written from imaginative-literary perspectives. Whether Homeric verse was actually sung; why Dante referred to certain Gregorian chants; or which operas and street songs are mentioned in *Ulysses*—investigations of these kinds mostly map music onto fiction, rather than the other way round. A much smaller number of studies have been written from musicological

Portions of the article were presented during a discussion of "Mozart and literature" at the colloquium "Mozart: A lasting presence" sponsored by Carleton University and held on 19 January 2006 in Ottawa, Ontario. I would like to thank Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University for financial support that enabled me to attend both this event and "Music's intellectual history" held from 16–19 March 2005 in New York City. I would also like to thank James Devaille, Karl Precoda, and Robert Wallace for reading and commenting on portions of the present text.

¹ Throughout the present article I mostly avoid the more general term "literature", because it is often also used to refer to secondary sources of information, as in *Fourscore classics of music literature: A guide to selected original sources on theory and other writings on music not available in English*, ed. by Gustave Reese (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957). Occasionally I employ the phrase "imaginative literature" as a general term for novels, poetry, plays, short stories, and the like.

² Reprinted in English as *Mozart and Salieri* in *The poems, prose, and plays of Alexander Pushkin*, trans. by Avrahm Yarmolinsky (New York: Modern Library, 1964) 428–37. Originally published in Russian in 1830. All references to this and other fictions in the present article are to English-language texts or translations.

³ Peter Shaffer, *Amadeus: A play* (New York; London: Samuel French, 1981).

⁴ Thomas Mann, *Doctor Faustus: The life of the German composer Adrian Leverkühn, as told by a friend*, trans. by H.T. Lowe-Porter (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948). Originally published in German in 1947.

⁵ Marcia Davenport, *Of Lena Geyer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).

perspectives. How a given poem or play has been set to music; in what ways a Mozart opera may have been influenced by literary traditions;⁶ or where (and why) text-painting appears in particular Renaissance motets or Baroque oratorios—investigations of these kinds mostly map fiction onto music. The Modern Language Association's massive bibliography as well as a great many other reference works continue to catalog studies primarily written by and addressed to *littérateurs*.⁷ RILM, on the other hand, catalogs studies primarily written by and addressed to musicologists.⁸

Prior to the 1980s, musicologists mostly either ignored fictions or looked down their nose at them, instead devoting themselves exclusively to musical "facts". Nevertheless, the number of studies devoted to musicological issues *and* works of imaginative literature is substantial. Several outstanding monographs have already served generations of scholars,⁹ and new contributions continually appear in print. Even if studies devoted exclusively or even primarily to opera, song, choral compositions, text-painting, and programmism are eliminated from consideration, the remaining books and articles comprise an important part of *musicology's* intellectual history.

The present article is devoted to exploring several issues associated with musicological investigations into imaginative literature, especially those pertaining to reception and formal organization. Most of the fictions discussed at any length have won acclaim either as canonical masterpieces (e.g., Shakespeare's sonnets), or as popular successes (e.g., Ruth Rendell's novel *A judgement in stone*¹⁰), or as models for what can and should be done in specialized forms of fiction (e.g., Bruce Sterling's and Lewis Shiner's science-fiction story *Mozart in mirrorshades*¹¹). Most, too, have received at least a little attention in musicological publications.

As Calvin Brown is said to have observed, there is no really satisfactory way to "classify" the different possible relationships between fiction and music.¹² In the pages below I move, insofar as possible, from "earlier" to "more recent" as well as from the "general" to the "specific", beginning with factual and culturally situated references to music in selected works of imaginative literature, before then proceeding—as Steven Scher has suggested—by way of evocative references and devices to structural and stylistic parallels and principles between fiction and music.¹³ Scher has himself cautioned

⁶ See, for instance, R.B. Moberly, "The influence of French classical drama on Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*", *Music & letters* 55/3 (1978) 245–67.

⁷ Timothy Dow Adams, et al., "When Euterpe meets Calliope: An annotated bibliography of music and literary style, 1945–1981", *Style* 19 (1985) 151–90. Unlike many literary bibliographies, this one includes citations from *Music & letters* as well as the *Journal of the history of ideas*, the *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism*, and other interdisciplinary periodicals.

⁸ In recent years *RILM abstracts of music literature* has also incorporated references to a great many publications devoted to imaginative literature, cultural studies, and so on. RILM no longer covers unilaterally "musicological" publications, which is one of many reasons it has proven so useful to scholars in a variety of fields.

⁹ Among other "classics", all of them in this group devoted to musical issues and English literature, see John Hollander, *The untuning of the sky: Ideas of music in English poetry, 1500–1700* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961); Bruce Pattison, *Music and poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: Methuen and Co., 1948); and John Stevens, *Music & poetry at the early Tudor court* (London: Methuen and Co., 1961). Among "classics" devoted to musical issues and German literature is Scher, *Verbal music in German literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

¹⁰ Ruth Rendell, *A judgement in stone* (London: Hutcheson, 1977; rep. ed., New York: Vintage Books, 2000).

¹¹ Bruce Sterling and Lewis Shiner, *Mozart in mirrorshades*. Originally published in *Omni* (September 1985). Reprinted in *Mirrorshades: The cyberpunk anthology*, ed. by Bruce Sterling (New York: Arbor House, 1986) 223–39. Also reprinted in *The best alternate history stories of the 20th century*, ed. by Harry Turtledove and Martin H. Greenberg (New York: Ballantine, 2001); and other collections. Subsequent references are to the *Cyberpunk anthology* edition.

¹² Quoted in Adams et al., "When Euterpe meets Calliope", 151.

¹³ See Steven Paul Scher, "How meaningful is 'musical' in literary criticism?" *Yearbook of comparative and general literature* 21 (1972) 25–56 *passim*; and other studies.

scholars against drawing “easy analogies” between music and fiction.¹⁴ On the other hand, as Thomas Campbell has pointed out, “such analogies can prove useful if they are carefully delineated.”¹⁵ I agree. In addition to identifying and evaluating useful analogies throughout the pages that follow, I have attempted to construct a few of my own.



During the later 19th and early 20th centuries, the infant discipline of musicology increasingly defined itself in terms of primary sources and positivist methodologies. Western art music, especially German art music, became the *sine qua non* for scholarly study, in large part because this kind of music was understood as most perfectly created and preserved *in writing* rather than through performance or in terms of extra-notational commentary. As early as 1885 Guido Adler went so far as to dismiss musical biography for having “forced its way into the foreground” of a profession grounded in notational science rather than speculation.¹⁶ Even the “oral traditions and socialized performances” associated with folk and popular music were for decades accepted as “legitimate” only after they have been transcribed and reworked into books and articles: as such—as “forms to be dissected”—they could then be “placed in a library in a format that is deemed to be knowledge.”¹⁷

As the discipline of musicology evolved it modeled itself to some extent on the somewhat better established, yet equally “modern”, equally self-conscious disciplines of political and social history. As Monika Otter has observed, “History as scholarly inquiry concerned with archival research and documentation is only about two centuries old.” Furthermore,

the mental habit of regarding historiography as a transparent medium with no literary substance of its own, a self-effacing text that simply shows things “as they really were” (“wie es eigentlich gewesen”), derives from nineteenth-century historicism.... To classical, medieval, and early modern Europeans, history was not a separate academic discipline, but a subsection of rhetoric (as was poetry and what we would call fictional narrative).¹⁸

For a variety of reasons, early–20th-century musicologists often did not concern themselves with “history” in the broader sense of that term.¹⁹ Instead, the centuries-

¹⁴ Scher has also observed that “organizing principles such as repetition, variation, balance, and contrast pervade both musical and literary textures; and the straightforward way they usually function in [their] respective arts yields many points of contact for legitimate comparison”. Steven Scher, “Literature and music”, *Interrelations of literature*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Barricelli and Joseph Gibaldi (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982) 225–50 *passim*. Quoted in Thomas P. Campbell, “Machaut and Chaucer: ‘Ars nova’ and the art of narrative”, *The Chaucer review* 24 (1990) 287.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Translated from Guido Adler, “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft”, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885) 10. For additional information about the boundaries of early musicology, which often excluded even such “narrative modes” of scholarly discourse as biography, see Jolanta T. Pekacz’s introduction to *Musical biography: Towards new paradigms*, ed. by Pekacz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) esp. 2–4. For additional information about the emergence of musicology as a “Germanic” discipline, see Alexander Rehding, “The quest for the origins of music in Germany circa 1900”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53/2 (summer 2000) 345–85.

¹⁷ Alastair Williams, *Constructing musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 105.

¹⁸ Monika Otter, “Functions of fiction in historical writing”, *Writing medieval history*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005) 109.

¹⁹ See the introduction to *Music and history: Bridging the disciplines*, ed. by Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005) vii–xvii.

old assumption that history was itself “a branch of literature”²⁰ was gradually replaced by an assumption that history, literature, and musicology are freestanding intellectual organisms, separate trees with separate disciplinary roots, branches, and intellectual-ecological habitats. And this, in contradistinction to Hans Robert Jauss’s contentions that the (re)emergence of historical fiction in the early 19th century abolished “the classical separation between *res fictae*, the realm of poetry, and *res factae*, the object of history,” thereby transforming “poetic fiction” into “the horizon of reality” and “historical reality” into “the horizon of poetry.”²¹

Rather than merge methodologies and interests with those of historians, sociologists, or other scholars, musicologists largely consecrated themselves exclusively to “the study of musical phenomena,” which they perceived as “existing in splendid isolation” from other human activities.²² What John Kimmey has called an “historical/systematic dyad” eventually developed. Traditionally, historical musicologists (some would say, “real” musicologists) have concerned themselves with the sources, documents, and practices associated with the evolution of European art music, while systematic musicologists (including ethnomusicologists) have taken pretty much everything else “musical” as their purview.²³ Meanwhile, theorists (perhaps Kimmey should have used the term “triad”) have increasingly devoted themselves to diagrams, charts, and even—in the publications of Hans Keller—“wordless functional analyses.”²⁴ In contradistinction to the scientific and mathematical methods adopted by music historians, systematists, and theorists (who, to a considerable extent, still strive to eschew subjective judgments), journalists and popularizers have often “emotionalized” the effects of music on actual men and women.

A few individuals, however, have long inveighed again an exclusively positivist musicology, especially one fixated on “analysis” rather than other modes of criticism and assessment. Joseph Kerman, for example, has maintained that musicology tends to make information into an end in itself, rather than treating facts as “steps on the ladder” to “a general field theory of [musicological] criticism.”²⁵ As early as 1965, Kerman used a then-recent anthology of musicological position papers²⁶ as a stick to beat many of his colleagues:

Someone has spoken about the growth of American musicology from infancy to adolescence; the metaphor is irresistible. Yet as many readers have noticed with a twinge, only Mantle Hood’s essay on ethnomusicology [published in the anthology in question] conveys the sense of horizon, excitement, experimentation, and just plain kicking around that one associates with even the most docile adolescents. Has historical musicology somehow skipped this phase? I hope instead we are still in its infancy. The

²⁰ Lionel Gossman, “History and literature”, *The writing of history: Literary form and historical understanding*, ed. by Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978) 23; italics in the original.

²¹ Hans Robert Jauss, *Question and answer: Forms of dialogic understanding*, ed. and trans. by Michael Hays (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989) 27.

²² John A. Kimmey, Jr., *A critique of musicology: Clarifying the scope, limits, and purposes of musicology* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1988) 197.

²³ *Ibid.*, 198–204.

²⁴ See, for example, Hans Keller, “Functional analysis: Its pure appreciation”, *The music review* 18 (1957) 202–06; and 19 (1958) 192–200.

²⁵ Joseph Kerman, “A profile for American musicology”, *Write all these down: Essays on music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 8. Kerman’s essay was published originally in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18/1 (spring 1965) 61–69.

²⁶ *Musicology*, ed. by Frank L. Harrison, Mantle Hood, and Claude V. Palisca (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

critical profile [proposed elsewhere in Kerman's essay] for American musicology would supply some of this excitement. It would neither replace nor slight our traditional scholarly pursuits, but would on the contrary ... help [fill the] gap between the scholar and the general public.²⁷

Although exclusively positivist researches and several varieties of analysis still flourish, at least in certain circles, Kerman has lived to see the field of musicology transformed in a variety of ways. In the process of transformation, more than a few musicologists have embraced their own brands of self-assertiveness and "just plain kicking around". Entire volumes, for example, have been devoted to "gay" musicology—a development no one would have predicted 40 years ago.²⁸ Early–21st-century musicology seems to be redefining itself in terms of interdisciplinary investigations into interrelated musical and cultural issues.

In the process, music scholars have become critics as well as fact-finders: students of emotion as well as cerebration, of pleasures and pains as well as precise measurements and descriptions. Referring in 1995 to "current trends in music scholarship", Pieter Van den Toorn singled out Leo Treitler as exemplary of (inter)disciplinary redefinition, especially because of Treitler's insistence that musicology "acknowledge more fully and openly the mundane social and political attitudes that ... lie just beneath [music's] surface"—and this, even when "the prevailing winds would seem to favor an objective knowledge of observation and fact processed in detached and impersonal tones."²⁹ Redefinition has not solved all problems, of course, nor will it. Even among specialists, interdisciplinary approaches to certain issues have proven themselves "both a blessing and a curse", in part because scholars "still often talk past each other" and "overarching coherence" is seldom arrived at.³⁰ Nevertheless, the search for what Lawrence Kramer has called "postmodern musicology" continues.³¹ One aspect of this search has been an increased willingness for musicologists to explore the extra-musical. Including imaginative literature.

The question remains: What can fiction—which is to say, the study of fiction—do for musicology? What can novels and poems teach us *about* music? One answer to these questions is: nothing at all. As Kevin Korsyn puts it, playing Devil's Advocate in the guise of an individual "who can converse intelligently about literary theory, art history, [or] film studies": Isn't music "just something you *do*? You play it, compose it, listen to it? Why, then, would anybody want to talk about it?"³² (Sometimes, instead of simply talking about music, musicology seems increasingly to be concerned with "talk[ing] about talking about music."³³) Furthermore, fiction is "false", deceptive. Nor *is* it music,

²⁷ Kerman, "A profile for American musicology", 8. Other scholars agree with Kerman, at least to the extent of questioning analysis as a royal road to musical understanding. Gary Tomlinson, for example, has also urged musicologists to give fuller consideration to contextual elements "beyond the work itself, indeed beyond musical works in general". Gary Tomlinson, "The web of culture: A context for musicology", *19th-century music* 7/3 (April 1984) 360.

²⁸ See, for example, *Queering the pitch: The new gay and lesbian musicology*, ed. by Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York: Routledge, 1994).

²⁹ Pieter Van den Toorn, *Music, politics, and the academy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 44.

³⁰ Michael J. Kramer, "The multitrack model: Cultural history and the interdisciplinary study of popular music", *Music and history: Bridging the disciplines*, 221.

³¹ See Lawrence Kramer, *Classical music and postmodern knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) *passim*.

³² Kevin Korsyn, *Decentering music: A critique of contemporary musical research* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 65; italics in the original.

³³ *Ibid.*, 34.

especially the European instrumental art music canonized by previous generations of musicologists in the form of a self-contained system of “purely” structural coherences.

On the other hand, aren't music and fiction both aural arts? Certainly poetry is aural—although, as Karl Precoda has suggested, prose fiction is a post-aural art form, written to be read “on” the page instead of out loud.³⁴ Whether contextually “poetic” or “prosaic”, the sounds of certain words and phrases sometimes suggest their own meanings: Poe's “tintinnabulation”, with its evocation of bells, is a case in point; so is Tennyson's “murmuring of innumerable bees.”³⁵ Too, trumpet flourishes are linked acoustically to their uses: as calls to battle, say, or as proclamations of royal personages. The simplest spoken sounds are capable of evoking or even becoming music itself as well as conveying meaning; Wallace Stevens, a poet “obsessed with sound”, sometimes treated syllables as if they were “*physical*” phenomena—and this, even though his fictive Peter Quince suggests that “music is feeling, then, not sound.”³⁶

To separate music and fiction altogether from each other seems silly. Simply to lump them together, however, seems equally silly. An example: As a poetic device, onomatopoeia has nothing *necessarily* to do with music, just as the timbres and volumes of musical instruments have nothing *necessarily* to do with extra-musical circumstances.³⁷ Nor does music *necessarily* tell stories. Instead, as Carolyn Abbate and others have suggested, narrativity should be understood “not as the normal condition of music, but as something anomalous.”³⁸ Or, in the opinion of Vera Micznik, degrees of narrativity separate the style and works of Beethoven (less narrative) from those of Mahler (more narrative).³⁹

Along quite different lines, Russell Reaver has claimed that what “the aural effect of literature” actually has “in common with music” manifests itself as an “interruption of our line of logical expectation” in order to facilitate “a heightened awareness of life” as “being” or “existence.”⁴⁰ In this sense, music can be considered “philosophical” and even “spiritual”—which means that, in some sense, it must also be “literary” (although not necessarily “fictional”).⁴¹ Or, as German aestheticians such as Ludwig Tieck and Franz Grillparzer put it centuries ago, music aspires to “ultimate” accomplishments beyond those of the other arts.⁴² In every other sense, though, music is finally, only itself. As Reaver himself puts it,

the sequence [of musical events, as in the events of a story ultimately] depends on the inner dynamisms of *music itself*, on its expectations of movement in tonalities and

³⁴ Karl Precoda, in a personal communication with the present author.

³⁵ With regard to links in language between timbres and meanings, see Calvin S. Brown, *Music and literature: A comparison of the arts* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1948) 33–35.

³⁶ Mervyn Nicholson, “The slightest sound matters: Stevens' sound cosmology”, *The Wallace Stevens journal* 18/1 (spring 1994) 63; italics in the original. “Peter Quince at the clavier” is quoted by Nicholson on this and subsequent pages.

³⁷ Nor has onomatopoeia altogether remained in favor with *littérateurs*, one of whom recently described attempts to “imitate environmental sounds” in both fiction and music as “dead metaphor”. See James Guetti, *Word-music: The aesthetic aspect of narrative fiction* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980) 1–41 *passim*.

³⁸ Nicholas Cook, “Uncanny moments: Juxtaposition and the collage principle in music”, *Approaches to meaning in music*, ed. by Byron Almen and Edward Pearsall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006) 112–13.

³⁹ See Vera Micznik, “Music and narrative revisited: Degrees of narrativity in Beethoven and Mahler”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126 (2001) 193–249. Any additional discussion of narrative as an approach to understanding music is beyond the scope of the present article.

⁴⁰ J. Russell Reaver, “How musical is literature?” *Mosaic* 18/4 (fall 1985) 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Quoted in Lydia Goehr, *The imaginary museum of musical works: An essay in the philosophy of music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 154.

rhythms.... Since music—even program music—never has the literalness of literature, music and literature cannot be compared example for example as though a literary phrase must mean the same as a musical phrase.⁴³

In spite of music's independence from the other arts, or even its purported supremacy over them, musicologists are sometimes required to enter the realm of imaginative literature, just as *littérateurs* sometimes have to enter into the realm of music. Just as it is necessary to know something about *A midsummer night's dream* in order to perform, or even listen intelligently to, the orchestral works of composers as different from one other as Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Sergej Prokof'ev; so, to produce many of Shakespeare's plays "authentically", it is necessary to know something about the role of song in Elizabethan drama. For these and other reasons, many musical reference works boast articles on "Shakespeare."⁴⁴ But Shakespeare's plays and poems are unusual insofar as the history of musicology is concerned. Few references to "poetry", "drama", "the novel", and similar fictional forms "overall" can be found even in contemporary musicological dictionaries.⁴⁵ As Robert Morgan reminds us, many musical scholars, "at least in the United States, seem uncomfortable when confronted with larger questions of intentionality, social and psychological context, or supra-musical influence"—and thus remain "stubbornly formalistic."⁴⁶ No one can understand *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag* without knowing what *Don Giovanni* is about. Nevertheless, a great many Mozart scholars seem to understand Mozart without even having heard of Eduard Mörike's novella.⁴⁷ (We shall also return to Mörike below.)

Discussions of "supra-musical influences" exist, of course, and have for decades. Consider Calvin Brown's groundbreaking *Music and literature*, written during the 1940s in "hope that it might open up a field of thought which has not yet been systematically explored": the various interrelationships between imaginative literature and music.⁴⁸ Consider too the second edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, which, in spite of certain conservative nationalist and methodological tendencies implicit in much of its contents, boasts an excellent article on "music and musicians in fiction"—one that ranges from Homer, the Brothers Grimm, and Thomas Mann to discussions of "fictive music", "the lyric", and "musical anecdotes."⁴⁹ Moreover, and for most of a century, musicological periodicals have published occasional articles about "musical" novelists or poets, or about the appearance of musical figures or issues in imaginative literature.⁵⁰

⁴³ Russel Reaver, "How musical is literature?", 2–3; italics added.

⁴⁴ Christopher R. Wilson, et al., "Shakespeare", *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 2001) vol. 23, 192–98.

⁴⁵ See, for example, *Musicology: The key concepts*, ed. by David Beard and Kenneth Gloag (New York: Routledge, 2005), which excludes most musical-literary subjects.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Peter J. Rabinowitz, "Circumstantial evidence: Musical analysis and theories of reading", *Mosaic* 18/4 (December 1985) 160. See also Robert Morgan, "Theory, analysis, and criticism", *Journal of musicology* 1/1 (1982) 15–18. Morgan's words were written more than a quarter century ago; American scholars, I am convinced, have long since caught up with their European counterparts.

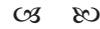
⁴⁷ Reprinted in English as *Mozart's journey to Prague*, trans. by Leopold von Loewenstein-Wertheim (London: John Calder, 1957; repr. ed. 1976). Originally published in German in 1855.

⁴⁸ See Brown, *Music and literature*.

⁴⁹ Uwe Schweikert, "Musik und Musiker in der Literatur", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997) Sachteil vol. 6, cols. 801–14.

⁵⁰ Three examples, identified in chronological order of publication, must suffice: Vilma Raskin Potter, "Poetry and the fiddler's foot: Meters in Thomas Hardy's work", *The musical quarterly* 65/1 (January 1979) 48–71; Eric Valentin, "Mozart in der französischen Dichtung", *Acta mozartiana* 30/4 (1983) 71–74; and Daniel Herwitz, "The cook, his wife, the philosopher, and the librettist", *The musical quarterly* 78/1 (spring 1994) 48–76. Herwitz's article deals with interrelationships between Italian literature, the story of Don Juan, Da Ponte's libretto for Mozart's opera, and

Finally, an increasing number of interdisciplinary publications are being devoted to “music and...” subjects, such as “music and nationalism”, “music and cultural values”, and “music and the media”.⁵¹ The time seems ripe for an overview of past and present investigations into interrelationships between fiction and music.



Fictions may (or may not) be “musical”. If “musical”, however, are they necessarily “unusual”? Or do “musical” fictions merely “prove the rule”: viz., that imaginative literature has, for the most part, little to teach musicologists? Three authors—Geoffrey Chaucer, William Shakespeare, and Thomas Hardy—produced imaginative literature that has been read as “musical” in one way or another. A few of their poems illustrate certain of the possibilities and limitations inherent in examining fiction as a source of musicological fact.

In his verse, including portions of his celebrated *Canterbury tales*, Chaucer often refers music. Although he names no contemporary composer in his writings and mentions only one theorist, Boethius (whose treatise on music he himself translated), Chaucer demonstrated his considerable musical knowledge primarily through a “large and varied assortment of figures of speech based on music”, especially those of everyday experience.⁵² Consider the opening of the “Pardoner’s tale”, which describes “syngeres with harpes” and

... a compaignye
Of yonge folks that haunteden folye,
As riot, hazard, stywes, and taverns,
Where as with harpes, lutes, and gyternes
They daunce and playen at dees both day and nyght,
And eten also and drynken over hir myght...⁵³

(Adolescents, it seems, have long been beer-addled pop-music fans.)

Furthermore, Chaucer’s knowledge especially of Guillaume de Machaut’s literary and musical output unquestionably influenced his own verse. Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*, for example, “is dependent upon no [fewer] than four of Machaut’s narrative *dits* for its general subject matter; and hundreds of specific lines can be traced to Machaut” in this and other of Chaucer’s poems.⁵⁴ In comparing *The parliament of fowls*

Kierkegaard’s *Enten/eller* (see note 83).

⁵¹ In recent years German nationalism has often been discussed in conjunction with Wagner, Hitler, and National Socialism. See, for example, Thomas S. Grey, “Wagner’s *Die Meistersinger* as national opera (1868–1945)”, *Music and German national identity*, ed. by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002) 78–104. See also Potter, *Most German of the arts: Musicology and society from the Weimar Republic to the end of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998). Finally, see Vaget’s “Wagner-Kult” essay, cited in note 162.

⁵² Clair C. Olson, “Chaucer and music of the fourteenth century”, *Speculum* 16/1 (January 1941) 71, 85. See also Robert Boenig, “Musical irony in the *Pardoner’s tale*”, *The Chaucer review* 24 (1990) 253–58; D.S. Brewer, “Chaucer’s attitudes to music”, *Poetica: An international journal of linguistic-literary studies* 15–16 (1981) 128–35; David Chamberlain, “Musical signs and symbols in Chaucer: Convention and originality”, *Signs and symbols in Chaucer’s poetry*, ed. by John P. Hermann and John J. Burke (University, Ala.; University of Alabama Press, 1981) 43–80; and David Leon Higdon, “Diverse melodies in Chaucer’s *General prologue*”, *Criticism* 14 (1972) 97–108.

⁵³ Quoted from *The complete poetry and prose of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. by John H. Fisher (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1989) 224.

⁵⁴ Campbell, “Machaut and Chaucer”, 276.

and the “Miller’s tale” with the music and verse of Machaut’s *Je puis trop bien*, Thomas Campbell has identified links between words and music, including: (1) a reluctance “to resolve ambiguities or to justify the presentation of disparate, even exclusive, solutions to a problem”; (2) a preference “for the simultaneous, rather than the serial, depiction of related events”; and (3) a preference “for concatenation, where several perspectives, situations, or scenes are deftly nestled beside, or inside, one another.”⁵⁵ In other words, Chaucer’s poetry incorporates “literary” processes analogous to “musical” dissonance, polyphony, and cadences. Like Machaut’s *Je puis*, several of Chaucer’s poems—or so Campbell argues—approximate the separate medieval systems of *musique naturelle* (poetry) and *musique artificielle* (music) in that they “respond to or decorate one another, while simultaneously remaining independent.”⁵⁶ Thus, in the “Miller’s tale”, the complexities of the several overlapping plots are suddenly resolved and “climax together ... within twenty short, snappy lines” that call to mind “simultaneous, separate [musical] themes which occur in parallel, but not harmonic relationship.”⁵⁷ Thus, within Chaucer’s poetry, music functions as an organizational metaphor, not merely as an experiential and cultural metonymy.

Like many of Chaucer’s poems, several of Shakespeare’s sonnets deal explicitly with musical issues. Consider no. 128, which describes a girl playing a keyboard instrument⁵⁸ and begins:

How oft, when thou, my music, music play’st,
Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
With thy sweet fingers when thou gently sway’st
The wiry concord that mine ear confounds,
Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap
To kiss the tender inward of thy hand⁵⁹

In Renaissance sonnets and sonnet sequences, music was often linked with sexuality and gender.⁶⁰ Throughout Shakespeare’s poem, music serves as a metaphor for heterosexual love—more specifically, as a synecdoche (the “trope *par excellence* of reduction”) for jealousy.⁶¹ In line 1, for example, the poet lays claim to “his” music (the girl); and in lines 5–6 he envies the “nimble jacks” who kiss her hand. Helen Vendler begins her description of the “metaphor of music” present throughout this sonnet with an introductory reference to the “tonic note” of the poet’s “opening sigh”; she also observes that the poem as a whole “exists to amplify the sense through which, by synecdoche, the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 277–78.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 283.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 286.

⁵⁸ According to John Benson, who wrote in 1640, as well as many subsequent scholars, Shakespeare’s first 126 sonnets were addressed originally “to a male”, with “masculine pronouns [changed] to feminine” and titles introduced “which directed sonnets to the young man to a mistress”. Even if true—and more than one scholar has contested Benson’s claim—sonnet no. 128 falls historically into another group of poems. See Margreta de Grazia, “The scandal of Shakespeare’s sonnets”, *Shakespeare’s sonnets: Critical essays*, ed. by James Schiffer (New York: Garland, 2000) 89.

⁵⁹ Quoted from *The unabridged William Shakespeare*, ed. by William George Clark and William Aldis Wright (Philadelphia: Running Press, 1989) 1304. Other editions may differ in spelling or punctuation.

⁶⁰ See, for example, William J. Kennedy, “Petrarchan textuality: Commentaries and gender revisions”, *Discourse of authority in medieval and Renaissance literature*, ed. by Kevin Brownlee and Walter Stephens (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989) 151–68 *passim*.

⁶¹ See Helen Vendler’s essay on sonnet 128 in Vendler, *The art of Shakespeare’s sonnets* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1997) 543.

lady can be called the lover's music"—and this largely in terms of two "erogenous zones": lips and fingers.⁶²

Clearly Shakespeare's sonnet is "about" music, even if it may not be as "contrapuntal" as some of Chaucer's verse. To what extent, however, is it factually reliable in terms of musicological information? Students of Renaissance performance practices would probably consider sonnet no. 128 a poorly written—or, at best, an eccentric—description of how an actual virginal works. In line 2, for example, Shakespeare seems to confuse the wooden soundboard of the instrument (the poet's metaphorical rival in love⁶³) with its wooden keys, either by mistake or through "a kind of metonymy" in which wood is associated with the poet's rival.⁶⁴ In line 3 Shakespeare describes the girl as swaying unnecessarily from side to side—although "sway'st" may also refer to control or mastery exercised by that rival. In line 5 he seems to confuse "jacks", the quills that pluck the strings, with the keys the lady depresses to work the jacks. (Or does he? Shakespeare's description takes into account the optical illusion of keys rising, instead of being struck, to "kiss" the girl's hand. It is also possible, as David Crookes has done, to read Shakespeare's reference to jacks metaphorically, in terms of a "ceremonial greeting to a superior."⁶⁵) And so on. In the last analysis, however, sonnet 128 has little or nothing to teach us about actual music-making, save in the realms of poetic license and imagery.

Another reading of this poem, however—this one proposed by Fred Blick—links sonnet no. 128 with other portions of Shakespeare's literary output by way of esoteric internal references to the Pythagorean tradition of "mathematical" music. According to Blick, the locations within Shakespeare's cycle of both sonnets 8 and 128 (those most explicitly devoted to musical issues) reveal the poet's awareness of "the general Pythagorean philosophy of numbers" also cited in act 5, scene 1, of *The merchant of Venice*.⁶⁶ Since the number "128" calls to mind *vis-à-vis* "8" the ratio of a given tone to another tone precisely four octaves lower (128:8::16:1); since, too, "four octaves was the range of the virginal in Shakespeare's time"; and, finally, since another of the sonnets (no. 141) employs a pun on "base" (i.e., physically and morally "low") and "bass": therefore—or so Blick's argument concludes—Shakespeare's sonnet "conjures up the image of a fortunate keyboard "tikled" erotically by the fingers of the Dark Lady [herself a "base" figure] in the presence of the unhappily envious poet."⁶⁷ For John Hollander, aspects of sonnet no. 8 also suggest the realm of *musica speculativa*: of "sympathetic vibrations" as

⁶² Vendler, *The art of Shakespeare's sonnets*, 546–47.

⁶³ Renaissance commentaries on contemporaneous sonnets, including Petrarch's, associated certain "rhetorical situations" with "male competition". Kennedy, "Petrarchan textuality", 163.

⁶⁴ Hollander, *The untuning of the sky*, 136.

⁶⁵ See David Z. Crookes, "Shakespeare's sonnet 128", *Explicator* 43/2 (winter 1985) 14–15. Crookes also refers to *Richard II*, act 3, scene 3, and provides a diagram showing "how an individual virginal-key operates" mechanically.

⁶⁶ Fred Blick, "Shakespeare's musical sonnets: Numbers 8, 128, and Pythagoras", *The upstart crow* 19 (1999) 155. For additional information about Elizabethan poetry and metaphorical images of musical instruments, including references to Pythagorean theory, see Gretchen L. Finney, "A world of instruments", *ELH* 20 (1953) 87–120. Regarding sonnet 8, see Kennedy, "Petrarchan textuality", 164–65.

⁶⁷ Blick, "Shakespeare's musical sonnets", 161–62. The "Dark lady" is one of three "characters" in the poet's sonnets and is first introduced in sonnet no. 127.

An even more complex argument about the placement of sonnet 128 (among others) in the whole of Shakespeare's sonnets may be found in Thomas P. Roche, *Petrarch and the English sonnet sequences* (New York: AMS Press, 1989) 456 and elsewhere. See too Claes Schaar, *Elizabethan sonnet themes and the dating of Shakespeare's "sonnets"* (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons, 1962); and Brents Stirling, *The Shakespeare sonnet order: Poems and groups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

well as the “three-part polyphony of the familial unit” described as “sister, and child, and happy mother” mentioned in line 11.⁶⁸

If Shakespeare’s sonnet can be more perfectly understood in terms of insights into musical instruments and Pythagorean arcana, Thomas Hardy’s “Lines to a movement in Mozart’s E-flat symphony” can perhaps be better understood in terms of scansion and melody. At first glance, however, “Lines” appears to lack any meaningful musical content. For one thing, only its title mentions “music” (a Mozart symphony); the poem itself—the first of its four stanzas is reprinted below—seemingly has nothing to do with music in general or Mozart in particular:

Show me again the time
When in the Junetide’s prime
We flew by meads and mountains northerly! –
Yea, to such freshness, fairness, fullness, fineness, freeness,
Love lures life on.⁶⁹

To complicate things, the very existence of a poem about “art” music flies in the face of statements by several of his biographers that Hardy only enjoyed “folk” tunes.⁷⁰ In point of fact, Hardy knew more than a little about classical music.⁷¹ Furthermore, Robert Gittings has suggested that “Lines” constituted “an attempt [by Hardy] to fit words to Mozart’s well-known symphony in E-flat, the minuet and trio movement.”⁷² If Gittings is correct, a musicological puzzle would appear to be embedded in Hardy’s imaginative-literary text, with the title providing a clue to its solution.

Of the four canonical works in that key,⁷³ no. 39, K.543, would appear the most plausible link with Hardy’s “Lines”, if only because that symphony has always been the most frequently performed of Mozart’s “E-flat” symphonies. Unfortunately, the poem cannot in any way be made to “fit” (whatever that might mean) the minuet-and-trio movements in any relevant Mozart symphony, including K.543. Instead, according to Colin Boone, the poem incorporates distinctive rhythmic patterns derived from the principal theme of the second (or “Andante”) movement of Mozart’s symphony no. 19, K.132.⁷⁴ Although not entirely convincing, Boone’s argument makes sense. Compare, for example, Hardy’s first line, which Boone reads as:

Show-- / --- / me-a / gain-the / time-- / --

⁶⁸ Hollander, *The untuning of the sky*, 136–137.

⁶⁹ Quoted from *The complete poems of Thomas Hardy*, ed. by James Gibson (London: Macmillan, 1976) 458.

⁷⁰ Vera Mardon claims that Hardy “never wished to discuss classical music or composers”, even though she acknowledges that “classical composers and their music ... formed themes for some of his poems”. Colin C. Boone, “Hardy’s poem *Lines to a movement in Mozart’s E-flat symphony* – Which symphony?” *The Thomas Hardy journal* 6/1 (February 1990) 63. See also Mardon, with James Stevens-Cox, *Thomas Hardy as a musician* (Beaminster, Dorset: Stevens-Cox, 1964) 21. On the other hand, folk songs, singers, and instrumentalists figure in many of Hardy’s works, often as symbols of “old” English ways and rural cultures. See Harold Toliver, “The dance under the greenwood tree: Hardy’s bucolics”, *Nineteenth-century fiction* 17 (1962) 57–68; and other studies.

⁷¹ Hardy is known to have attended classical concerts in London during the 1890s and 1900s. See F.B. Pinion, *A Hardy companion: A guide to the works of Thomas Hardy and their background* (London: Macmillan, 1968) 187–93 *passim*.

⁷² Robert Gittings, *The older Hardy* (London: Heinemann, 1978) 96.

⁷³ Four E-flat symphonies by Mozart are considered genuine: nos. 1 (K.16), 19 (K.132), 26 (K.186), and 39 (K.543). A fifth work, identified in some iterations of the Köchel catalogue as K.18 and sometimes referred to as “no. 0”, was actually composed by Carl Friedrich Abel. See Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart’s symphonies: Context, performance practice, reception* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), *passim*.

⁷⁴ See Boone, “Hardy’s poem *Lines to a movement in Mozart’s E-flat symphony*”, 61–69. Mozart composed two slow movements for K.132, the second designated *andantino grazioso*. See Zaslaw, *Mozart’s symphonies*, 233.

with the opening measures of Mozart's melody:



Example 1: Mozart, symphony no. 19, *andante*, mm. 1–6 (first violin part)

Each syllable or hyphen in Boone's reading indicates a beat in Mozart's tune; each diagonal slash indicates the end of one measure and the beginning of another.⁷⁵ In order to make this first example work, however, one must ignore the tie at the beginning of measure 3. Similarly, Boone maintains that lines 4–5 can be read (with some alterations) as

Yea-- / to-such / freshness- /-fairness / full-ness / Love lures life / on--

These lines recall subsequent portions of Mozart's tune:



Example 2: Mozart, symphony no. 19, *andante*, mm. 13–19 (first violin part)

The fact that Hardy called his poem "Lines to a movement", rather than "Lines to a minuet"⁷⁶ (as Gittings erroneously implies), also argues for the *andante* in question. Finally, we should remember that Hardy was under no compulsion to follow Mozart's metrics precisely.⁷⁷

Coincidentally, perhaps, Mozart's *andante* is an unusually long and complicated composition. Its reputation too is unusual: Alfred Einstein considered it "full of spiritual unrest and rebellion", while Luigi Della Croce and Neal Zaslaw have described it as "exceptional" and so "personal" as to call for replacement within K.132.⁷⁸ In addition, the opening of Mozart's melody "reproduces the incipit of a Gregorian Credo", while its later phrases reproduce part of "a popular German Christmas carol, *Joseph lieber, Joseph mein*".⁷⁹ Although symphonies were sometimes performed during church services, the presence of similar "liturgical" references in the subsequent, "all-too-worldly" minuet-and-trio suggest an "ironic or parodistic" (rather than "sacred") interpretation.⁸⁰ Did Hardy agree with any of these experts? Was he even aware of the facts they cite? Probably not.

What ultimately makes most of Chaucer's, Shakespeare's, and Hardy's fiction *musicologically* significant is not references to or incorporations of particular compositional strategies, instruments, mathematical ratios, or tunes. Instead, and for

⁷⁵ Boone, "Hardy's poem Lines to a movement in Mozart's E-flat symphony", 67–68.
⁷⁶ See *The variorum edition of the complete poems of Thomas Hardy*, ed. by James Gibson (London: Macmillan, 1979) no. 388 (p. 458).
⁷⁷ Nor may Boone's thesis help *littérateurs* read Hardy's poetry. In Calvin Brown's opinion, employing musical notation to "explain" English verse is "in general more of a nuisance than a help". Calvin Brown, "Can musical notation help English scansion?" *Journal of aesthetics and art criticism* 23 (1965) 333.
⁷⁸ Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His character, his work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945) 222; and Luigi Della Croce, *Le 75 sinfonie di Mozart: Guida e analisi critica* (Torino: Eda, 1977) 145. Quoted in Zaslaw, *Mozart's symphonies*, 236.
⁷⁹ Zaslaw, *Mozart's symphonies*, 233–34.
⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

many readers, the principal musical value of fiction involves *reception*. Like hundreds, possibly thousands of other literary works—and not only essays, articles, and reviews, but novels, plays, short stories, and so on—the poems examined above tell us how their authors and contemporaries “heard” music.⁸¹ In other words, all “musical” fiction may be grist for reception-oriented musicological millers.

Today, for instance, every student of Mozart’s 19th- and early 20th-century reputation turns to reviews of performances preserved in magazines and newspapers, as well as to portraits, scores, and other form of cultural documentation.⁸² The same students might also turn—and, increasingly, *are* turning—to Søren Kierkegaard’s *Enten/eller*,⁸³ Friedrich Nietzsche’s *Der Fall Wagner*,⁸⁴ and Romain Rolland’s *Jean-Christophe*⁸⁵ for additional information and insights. Although Nietzsche mostly uses Mozart as a stick for Wagner-beating (at least in his later writings), and although Rolland is better known for his opinions about Beethoven,⁸⁶ all three authors have more than a few things to say about how their contemporaries and themselves understood and enjoyed “their” Mozart.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart is an especially interesting figure insofar as imaginative fiction and reception issues are concerned, because an unusually large number of novels, poems, plays, and short stories mention him and his music.⁸⁷ More than a few of these fictions devolve upon the composer’s real or imagined personality or social circumstances: Mozart as prodigy, profligate, or pauper. In *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag*, for example, Mörrike depicts the composer as good-natured, sensual, and somewhat absent-minded, a man fascinated by beauty of all kinds: at once an embodiment of Biedermeier domesticity and a proto-Romantic critic of late-18th-century Europe’s stifling social order. In *Marrying Mozart*, on the other hand, Stephanie Cowell depicts her protagonist as a rebellious, aloof, and sexually compelling youth.⁸⁸ Mörrike addressed his novella to a small, highly sophisticated readership, one sympathetic to subtle ironies and romantic inflections; his knowledge of the composer’s music informs much of his

⁸¹ For a general review of musical reception, especially insofar as 1980s European musicology is concerned, see *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft*, ed. by Friedhelm Krummacker and Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991).

⁸² Examples of such studies include Belinda Cannone, *La réception des opéras de Mozart dans la presse parisienne (1793–1829)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991); Ulrich Drüener, “Die Frührezeption von Mozarts Werken im Musikaliendruck”, *Acta mozartiana* 40/2 (1993) 39–49; and M. Schmidt, “Dreams of flying: Zur Mozart-Rezeption in Schönbergs’ Spätstil”, *Acta mozartiana* 52 (June 2005) 81–93.

⁸³ Reprinted in English as Søren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or*, trans. by Howard Vincent Hong and Edna Hatlestad Hong (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987). Originally published in Danish in 1843. Among studies of Mozart and Kierkegaard, see Jörg Zimmermann, “Philosophische Musikrezeption im Zeichen des spekulativ-erotischen Ohrs: Sören [sic] Kierkegaard hört Mozarts’ Don Juan”, *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte*, 73–103.

⁸⁴ Reprinted in English in *The case of Wagner / Nietzsche contra Wagner / Selected aphorisms*, trans. by Anthony M. Ludovici. The complete works of Friedrich Nietzsche 8 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964). *Der Fall Wagner* was originally published in German in 1888.

⁸⁵ Reprinted in English as Romain Rolland, *Jean Christophe*, trans. by Gilbert Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 1938). Originally published serially in French in 1905–06.

⁸⁶ Rolland’s *Beethoven-Bild* has recently received attention from German musicologists. Among other studies, see Stefan Hanheide, “Die Beethoven-Interpretation von Romain Rolland und ihre methodischen Grundlagen”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 61/4 (2004) 255–74; and Maria Hülle-Keeding, *Romain Rollands visionäres Beethovenbild im Jean-Christophe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997).

⁸⁷ A very few of these fictions, including works by Hermann Hesse, are identified and described in Carol Wootton, “Literary portraits of Mozart”, *Mosaic* 18/2 (fall 1985) 77–84. See also Erich Valentin, *Die goldene Spur: Mozart in der Dichtung Hermann Hesses* (Augsburg: Die Brigg, 1966); and Paulina Salz Pollak, “The influence of Mozart’s *The Magic Flute* on Hesse’s *Steppenwolf*”, *Proteus* 8/2 (fall 1991) 50–56. Other surveys, similar in certain respects to Wootton’s, ignore Hesse in favor of Mörrike, Puškin, and Shaffer’s *Amadeus*. See, for example, Gerhard Vom Hofe, “Mozart-Bilder in der Literatur”, *Mozart: Ansichten*, ed. by Gerhard Sauder (St. Inberg: Röhrig, 1995) 101–27.

⁸⁸ Stephanie Cowell, *Marrying Mozart: A novel* (New York: Viking, 2004).

MOZART.

A POEM,
BY C. D. BRADLEE,
1883.

One hundred twenty and seven years ago, at Salzburg-town,
A lovely babe was born, MOZART by name, whose great renown
In all after years a true grace and holy joy did bring ;
And thankful hearts around that blessed name do closely cling ;
And throughout all the world a music grand is strangely felt,
That will bind all human hearts by one harmonious belt ;
And make all years, *as only one*, by strains so soft and grand,
That come to every shore with love, as by Divine command.

MOZART, when he was only four, played on the clarichord,
And minuets performed, with great, and strong, and strange accord ;
And when but seven, *at sight*, he hardest music read and played,
And notes, and tunes, and chords, at once his nimble will obeyed ;
When only twelve, a dedication-piece by him was given
For those who raised a church to teach the orphaned young of Heaven ;
And when thirteen years of age, indeed, an order he received
Greater than could be dreamed, or for a moment be believed.

As an " Archbishop's Director," he nobly, truly stood,
A master-mind, and leading soul, in every changing mood ;
And at sixteen he was, by all throughout the world confest
The leading perfect artist, under the severest test ;
At twenty-three the " Imperial Court " their plaudits gave,
And for their own especial use his mighty powers did crave ;
As " Royal Composer," by law, he from that time was known ;
And thus his splendid fame to highest, noblest heights had grown.

Idomeneo was the greatest work that bore his name
He ever gave the waiting world ; a kindling light, a flame,
A great, uplifting, holy grace, that made us all rejoice,
And called right proudly forth, at once, the world's applauding voice ;
And at twenty-four this striking piece found, from him its birth,
And onward rolled, with holy, gracious sweetness, round the earth ;
Whil'st other great and mighty works he gave unto us all,
That, with sweet and sacred beauty, on happy hearts do fall.

Nearly ninety-two years ago, December fifth, they say,
This mighty, noted man went home, and found eternal day !
No, *no!* for, in truth, *he lives*, and will live forevermore ;
His works in mystic, golden chains, will bind him to our shore ;
Henshel and *Carl Zerrahn*, and many more, his notes will take,
And, by their mighty, wondrous skill, his soul again will wake.
And MOZART thus will truly live, and daily bless the heart,
And through all other gifted souls a saving grace impart.

story. Cowell's larger readership probably consists mostly of "true romance" enthusiasts, and she employs tropes from that genre as well as from historical novels of several kinds. She has little to say about music, however.

Other fictions deal primarily with one or more of Mozart's compositions. "After K452" by Richard Howard⁸⁹ and "Mozart's D major string quintet K.593, 2nd movement, mm. 53–56" by Arthur Margolin⁹⁰ are cases in point. (*Die Zauberflöte*, *Don Giovanni*, and the *Requiem* have been much more frequently fictionalized.) Musicologists may not care for Howard's and Margolin's poems, however, because neither actually mentions "music"—and this, in spite of the fact that Margolin's effort was published in *Perspectives*, a professional, peer-reviewed journal. Still other novels and stories about Mozart belong to the literary genre 19th-century fantasist Charles Renouvier dubbed *uchronias*: "alternate" histories of imaginary futures.⁹¹ Imagine that Mozart moved to England in his youth and lived there into his sixties, where he composed an opera entitled *Susan and Michael* but never wrote a *Requiem*: this is the premise of Bernard Bastable's novel *Dead, Mr. Mozart*.⁹² Bastable's book is primarily a crime thriller, whereas *Mozart in mirrorshades*—as we shall see below—combines dystopian *uchronia* with pointed social satire.

Comparatively few and far between, early-19th-century fictions often praised Mozart for moral as well as musical qualities. This made sense for several reasons—chief among them the fact that, prior to the last one hundred years or so, only a handful of Mozart's works were performed with any frequency. As Leon Botstein has explained, his subject's reputation was transformed during the late 1800s and early 1900s, when Mozart was perceived as an "ideal candidate for aesthetic renewal" because of his innocence, stylistically "sweet" compositional style, universal appeal, and psychological profundity.⁹³ These qualities eventually led to what Botstein has epitomized as "an almost unbearable excess" of late-20th-century "Mostly Mozart" broadcasts, festivals, and recordings.⁹⁴

Botstein supports his arguments largely with references to musical journalism and the opinions of musicologists and conductors, including such "antique" authorities as Eduard Hanslick and Richard Strauss; he eschews fiction in favor of *belles lettres* as a source of information. Nevertheless, novelists and poets have also helped remake Mozart in their own images. Consider the poem published in 1883 by Boston's C.D. Bradlee, which refers to the composer as a "perfect artist" and possessed of "a great, uplifting, holy grace" [fig. 1].⁹⁵ Richard Specht, who later edited *Der Merkur*, published an early-20th-century tribute of his own: twelve "Mozart poems" epitomizing and exalting individual operatic characters [fig. 2].⁹⁶ By World War I, in other words, Mozart as international musical superstar had "arrived".

⁸⁹ Richard Howard, "After K452," *Like most revelations: New poems* (New York: Pantheon, 1994) 57–58. Originally published in 1991 in *The New Yorker*.

⁹⁰ Arthur Margolin, "Mozart's D major string quintet, K.593, 2nd movement, mm. 53–56," *Perspectives of new music* 18/1–2 (1979–80) 381, 383–90.

⁹¹ See Charles Renouvier, *Uchronie 1876: Uchronie (L'Utopie dans l'histoire): Esquisse historique apocryphe du développement de la civilisation européenne tel qu'il n'a pas été, tel qu'il aurait pu être* (repr. ed., Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1988).

⁹² Bernard Bastable, *Dead, Mr. Mozart* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995).

⁹³ Leon Botstein, "Aesthetics and ideology in the fin-de-siècle Mozart revival," *Current musicology* 51 (1993) 6, 10.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁵ C.D. Bradlee, *Mozart: A poem* (Boston: privately printed, 1883). The author thanks the trustees of Brown University Library for permission to reprint in facsimile this unique document.

⁹⁶ Richard Specht, *Mozart: Zwölf Gedichte*, illus. by Heinrich Lefler (Wien: M. Munk, ca. 1910). The volume is unpaginated.

Requiem

Mein Stanzertl, komm zu mir. Hierher. Ganz nah.
Dank schön. So bist bei mir und so ist's gut,
Und jetzt hör' zu. Und, gelt, du darfst nicht weinen —
Das halt ich jetzt nicht aus — mir tut's zu weh!
Siehst: ich bin ja ganz ruhig. Und weiß doch sicher,
Mit mir ist's aus. Schau meine Hände an,
Wie abgezehrt sie sind und blaß und hager —
Ich glaub', ich könnte die Oktav nicht spannen —
Und schau' nur, Stanzertl, wie die Haut mir trocknet
Und wie die Haare spröde und brüchig sind —
Und wie mir das Gesicht verändert ist:
Ich fürcht' mich fast vor meinen eignen Augen,
Sie sind so wild und stehn so starr und glühend,
Als hätten sie was Schreckliches gesehen —
Und haben's auch vielleicht . . . doch das sind Träume . . .

Ich fürcht' mich jetzt so oft. Nicht vor dem Tod:
Der ist mir lieb und Freund und singt mir vor —
Das schönste, was ich weiß, hab ich von ihm . . .
Doch manchmal fürcht' ich mich, ganz ohne Grund . . .
Es schüttelt mich vor Angst — und auch vor Zorn
Und Schmerz, daß ich schon jetzt, gerade jetzt
Davon soll, da ich ruhig leben könnte,
Jetzt meine Kunst verlassen, da ich nicht mehr
Der Mode Sklave, nicht von Spekulanten mehr
Gefesselt, frei und unabhängig sein
Und sagen könnte, was das Herz mir eingibt, —
Das alles weiß ich selber erst seit jetzt,
Seit ich gemeint, das Leben macht mich frei . . .
Nun tut's der Tod — — — und alles nehm' ich mit,
Und wenige wissen, wie ich wirklich bin . . .
Kann's nicht mehr zeigen . . .

Doch! Ich kann's ja! Stanzertl,
Jetzt darfst mir meine Blätter nicht mehr weigern —
Gib sie mir her — sonst wird's zu spät! Du mußt!
Hab's ja gesagt: das Requiem wird für mich,
Und jener graue Bote war Freund Hein —
Mein Freund, der mir heut nacht viel vorgespielt . . .
Denn weißt: heut nacht hat mir geträumt . . . vielleicht auch
War's gar kein Traum, ich glaub' nicht, daß ich schlief — —
Hat mir geträumt, daß ich im Sarge läge,

In 1956, to cite a more recent example, W.H. Auden published his *Metatalogue* to “*The magic flute*.” An assessment of the composer’s character as well as his music, Auden’s *Metatalogue* reflects its author’s expert knowledge of 18th-century opera and verse: it was Auden who, together with Chester Kallman, wrote the libretto for *The rake’s progress*. In one passage Auden facetiously summarizes a century and more of *Mozart-Rezeptionsgeschichte* in terms of national identities, with a little mid–20th-century Existentialism thrown in:

We know the *Mozart* of our fathers’ time
Was gay, rococo, sweet, but not sublime,
A Viennese Italian; that is changed
Since music critics learned to feel ‘estranged’;
Now it’s the Germans he is classed amongst,
A *Geist* whose music was composed from *Angst*,
At International Festivals enjoys
An equal status with the Twelve-Tone Boys.⁹⁷

(Or possibly, as Botstein has suggested, a position of cultural superiority—rather than mere equality—insofar as Schoenberg’s and Webern’s 21st-century reputations are concerned.) In another part of his *Metatalogue*, Auden brings the story of *Die Zauberflöte* up-to-date, costuming its cast as American academics. The Queen of the Night, for example, is presented as “A highly paid and most efficient Dean / (Who, as we all know, really runs the College).” Sarastro—the poet’s “voice”—finds himself “Teaching the History of Ancient Myth / At Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Bennington or Smith”.⁹⁸ Pamina, in the meantime, works as a fact-checker for *Time* magazine, while her graduate-student husband acquires “manly wisdom as he wishes / While changing diapers and doing dishes”—a suburban adaptation of Tamino’s Trials by Fire and Water.⁹⁹

Of importance especially to the post-1970s Mozart reception has been the success of *Amadeus*, Miloš Forman’s film adaptation of Shaffer’s stage play.¹⁰⁰ Auden’s Mozart, who “indulged in toilet humour with his cousin” even as he “created masterpieces by the dozen”, anticipates Forman’s film portrait and, in this, anticipated a thousand Salzburg gift-shop souvenirs. Because it presents the composer as a “wild and crazy guy”, free-spirited and sexy (even as it preserves and reinforces his status as creative culture-god), *Amadeus* transformed Mozart into a pop icon, a composer of movie music and cell-phone ring tones.¹⁰¹ Thanks to Forman and other Hollywood film-makers, compositions such

⁹⁷ W.H. Auden, *Metatalogue* to “*The magic flute*”. Repr. in Auden, *Selected poetry* (2nd ed., New York: Vintage, 1970) 174. The use of music as a way of situating fictions in terms of national cultures as well as ethnic political causes is becoming ever more widespread. See, for example, Sean V. Golden, “Traditional Irish music in contemporary Irish literature”, *Mosaic* 12 (1979) 1–23.

⁹⁸ Auden, “Metatalogue”, 175.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 175–76.

¹⁰⁰ *Amadeus*, directed by Miloš Forman (1984).

¹⁰¹ Although they have little to do with imaginative literature, “classical” ring tones have become important to students of postmodern culture. As Erkki Pekkälä explains, “a high-pitched musical fragment from a Mozart symphony”, when employed as a ring-tone—today a downloadable source of musical information—transforms its users and listeners into “creators or conveyers of new cultural signifiers”. Erkki Pekkälä, “A theme (and world) of one’s own: The semiotics and ownership of cell-phone ring tones”: a paper presented at the 17th congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, and summarized in *IMS 2002: 17th International Congress. Programme abstracts*, the congress program (Leuven: Alamire Foundation, 2002) 166.

as *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* and portions of the *Requiem* have become almost as familiar in pop-culture circles as certain songs by Irving Berlin and the Beatles.¹⁰²

The various ways Mozart's career and creations have been described, distorted, or speculated upon in post-*Amadeus* imaginative literature also exemplify aspects of the composer's emerging postmodern reputation and influence. Consider three recent Mozart fictions: the bizarre "alternative" *Künstlerporträt* of Sterling's and Shiner's *Mozart in mirrorshades*; Rendell's *A judgement in stone*, with its sophisticated and ironic references to *Don Giovanni*; and the academically precise playfulness of *The Mozart forgeries*, a "caper novel" by Daniel Leeson.¹⁰³ *Mozart in mirrorshades* satirizes the retroactive corruption of a lost and lovely past by an unspeakably awful "present". For its authors, Mozart's status as postmodern media "star" personalizes a tale of endless "alternative" Europes ready and waiting to be looted by late-capitalist American corporations. Before the end of the story the young musician manages to secure a green card and escapes to the United States, where one of his pop tunes has already reached "number five on the *Billboard* charts! Number five!"¹⁰⁴ The very existence of science fiction "about" classical music suggests that "pop culture" is becoming a synonym for "culture". Unlike many other recent fictions, Sterling's and Shiner's story has even been evaluated in a professional musicological periodical.¹⁰⁵

A judgement in stone, on the other hand, draws upon the stern justice meted out in *Don Giovanni* as well as upon Mozart's reputation as a "classy" composer, one that up-to-date, well-to-do people ought to—and often do—listen to. The Statue that confronts Da Ponte's fictional libertine is transformed by Rendell into "a stone that breathed":¹⁰⁶ housemaid Eunice Parchman. An illiterate, lower-class servant, Eunice murders her sophisticated employers the Cloverdales (husband George, wife Jacqueline, daughter Melinda, and adopted son Giles) because they live a life of pleasure she can neither understand nor sympathize with. Rendell coordinates Eunice's fictional butchery with a televised broadcast of Mozart's *dramma giocoso*. Thus, as a van driven by Joan Smith, Eunice's partner in crime, enters the Cloverdale's drive, we "hear" the Don singing "O guarda, guarda" (Look, look!).¹⁰⁷ A few minutes later, Jacqueline—who declines to accompany her husband into the kitchen, where Eunice and Joan are preparing to kill the entire family—settles "back against the sofa cushions" as act 2 begins with the quarrel between Leporello and the Don: "Ma che ho ti fatto, che vuoi lasciarmi?" (But what have I done to you that you wish to leave me?).¹⁰⁸ In the kitchen, as Eunice and Joan shoot George in the neck with a shotgun, we hear in the background, "O, taci inguisto core" (Be silent, treacherous heart).¹⁰⁹ Although it predates *Amadeus* by seven years, *A judgement in stone* is perhaps even more critical of social stereotypes associated with music than

¹⁰² See Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, *Amadeus: Milos Formans Film als musikhistorisches Phänomen* (Graz: Akademische Drunk- und Verlagsanstalt, 1999).

¹⁰³ Daniel N. Leeson, *The Mozart forgeries: A caper novel for the serious Mozart aficionado* (New York: iUniverse, 2004).

¹⁰⁴ Sterling and Shiner, *Mozart in mirrorshades*, 238.

¹⁰⁵ See René T.A. Lysloff, "Mozart in mirrorshades: Ethnomusicology, technology, and the politics of representation," *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology* 41/2 (1997) 206–17. A few other works of speculative fiction, including Philip K. Dick's influential novel *Do androids dream of electric sheep?* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), may also have been influenced by Mozart. See Patrick A. McCarthy, "Do androids dream of magic flutes?" *Paradoxa: Studies in world literary genres* 5/13–14 (1999–2000) 344–52.

¹⁰⁶ Rendell, *A judgement in stone*, 156.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Mozart in mirrorshades. Throughout Rendell's pages, gendered depictions of power are consistently inverted: It is the Cloverdales, men and women alike, who are "feminized" in terms of their cultivated tastes, while Eunice, their murderer, is "masculinized" in terms of her appearance, strength, and unshakable Philistinism.

Finally, *The Mozart forgeries*. Reminiscent of situations scattered throughout detective stories from the 1960s to the present day, Leeson's novel pursues to the bitter (hypothetical) end the problems inherent in faking and selling not mere copies of extant Mozart manuscripts, but newly "created" 21st-century holographs of the clarinet quintet, K.581, and clarinet concerto, K.622. Filled with musicological facts, including the titles of actual reference works, *The Mozart forgeries* also mentions such real-life musicologists as J. Rigbie Turner, recently of The Morgan Library and Museum; some of the novel's most exciting scenes are set in or near Sotheby's and Christie's actual New York auction houses. Leeson is not only himself a Mozart expert¹¹⁰ but a storyteller who entertains us with his expertise. His novel remains one of a very few contemporary fictions to have been acclaimed in the professional musicological press.¹¹¹

With the exception of a few novels, including Davenport's and Leeson's, "musical" fictions have mostly been written by musical amateurs. This is not to argue, however, that educated and even expert musical opinions are rare in fiction. Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay*,¹¹² for instance, contains a scene adapted from a review of Mozart's G-minor string quintet, K.516, written in 1922–23, when Huxley served as music critic for the *Westminster gazette*.¹¹³ The celebrated fifth chapter of E.M. Forster's *Howard's end* wittily "reviews" an imaginary performance of Beethoven's fifth symphony as well as masterpieces by Brahms, Debussy, and Elgar.¹¹⁴ "Coordination", another of Forster's stories, even includes Beethoven as a character.¹¹⁵ Finally, Willa Cather's *Song of the lark*—the story of a Great Plains farm girl who becomes a celebrated singer—incorporates conductor Theodore Thomas, singer Lilli Lehmann, and other real-life musicians into its cast of characters.¹¹⁶

The song of the lark, however, penetrates farther into music than do Forster's and Huxley's fictions.¹¹⁷ So does Davenport's *Of Lena Geyer*. Thea Kronborg, Cather's protagonist, is modeled on Olive Fremstad, a Swedish-born Wagnerian soprano raised

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Leeson, "The miracle of the Mozart manuscripts", *Musical America* 111/1 (January 1991) 23–25.

¹¹¹ An especially interesting review of *The Mozart forgeries*, written by D.W. Krummel, appeared in *Notes* 61/3 (March 2005) 777–78. See also, *The clarinet* 32 (June 2005) 76.

¹¹² Aldous Huxley, *Antic Hay* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1923).

¹¹³ See John Aplin, "Aldous Huxley's music criticism: Some sources for the fiction", *English language notes* 21/1 (September 1983) 58–62. Aplin also comments on "comparable passages" devoted to Bach and Beethoven in *Point counter point* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1928), and on adaptations from Huxley's *reportage* in his story "Young Archimedes". See also Zack Bowen, "Allusions to musical works in [Huxley's] *Point counter point*", *Studies in the novel* 9 (1977) 488–508. Finally, see Werner Wolf, "The Musicalization of Fiction: Versuche intermedialer Grenzüberschreitung zwischen Musik und Literatur im englischen Erzählen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts", *Intermedialität: Theorie und Praxis eines interdisziplinären Forschungsgebiets*, ed. by Jörg Helbig (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1998) 133–64; Wolf's essay considers not only Huxley's novel, but "fugal" works by Thomas de Quincey and Gabriel Josipovici.

¹¹⁴ See E.M. Forster, *Howard's end*, ed. by Alistair M. Duckworth (New York: Bedford; St. Martin's, 1997) esp. 42–52. Forster's novel was originally published in 1910.

¹¹⁵ Reprinted in *The collected tales of E.M. Forster* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947) and other anthologies.

¹¹⁶ Willa Cather, *The song of the lark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915).

¹¹⁷ In spite of the importance of music within her novels and short stories, Cather "recognized fully her own limitations where music was concerned". Edith Lewis, *Willa Cather Living: A personal record* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953) 48. Although she took piano lessons as a child, Cather "was more interested in what her teacher could tell her about other things, especially his European past, than she was in playing" the instrument itself. Richard Giannone, *Music in Willa Cather's fiction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968) 4. Cather's real-life interest in her foreign-born teacher suggests Thea's interest in Andor Harsanyi's invented background and knowledge of poetry.

in Minnesota;¹¹⁸ other characters and incidents recall Cather's own Nebraska girlhood. In addition to exploring the possibilities of musical biography in her conjoined Thea-Fremstad heroine, Cather attempts at least once in *The song of the lark* to "reproduce the emotional effect of the Wagner operas upon the printed page."¹¹⁹ Of eight short stories published by Cather between 1915 and 1920, four portray "artists who live by their voice[es], whose singing is their work" in life.¹²⁰ One of these stories, *A Wagner matinée*, has been called "the most poignant account of Wagner's music jarring awake dormant feeling" in American women filled with "fin de siècle ferment."¹²¹

Perry Meisel approaches *The song of the lark* and other fictions from a quite different but equally interesting perspective. For him, Cather's novels, including *The song of the lark*, "dramatize in thematic as well as rhetorical ways" the same "loops or crossings" he perceives "at work in electric blues and rhythm and blues": chiasmi (in the language of classical rhetoric) that reveal the problematic paired illusions "of deep mind and open space, interior and exterior, inside and outside, dandy and cowboy, East and West."¹²² In other words, as Thea travels from rural Colorado to Chicago (and back), she dramatizes—as do the blues and rock 'n' roll—certain key conflicts in America's cultural and social development.

Of Lena Geyer is also exceptionally "musical", especially insofar as it embodies its author's intimate personal knowledge of composers, performers, and works associated with the operatic stage. Davenport's novel is full of precisely phrased musical history, including descriptions of Vienna at the turn of the last century and of the Metropolitan Opera in New York City. Herself the daughter of celebrated diva Alma Gluck, Davenport contributed columns about music to *The New Yorker* magazine and published a well-known biography of Mozart.¹²³ Yet surprisingly few musicologists have taken her seriously.¹²⁴ True, Davenport distanced herself from certain autobiographical aspects of her novel, asserting that Geyer was not her mother and reducing Guido Vestri, Geyer's fictional conductor, coach, and lover, to the significance of "a wooden Indian" who "leaks sawdust."¹²⁵ In explaining how she struggled to complete her book, however, Davenport confessed that, unless she "could recreate the authenticity of the several years between 1908 and 1915 when Maestro [Arturo Toscanini] at the Metropolitan made operatic history that has no parallel, there [would have been] no novel."¹²⁶ (*Of Lena Geyer* also includes Gustav Mahler among its *personnel*.) Even Joseph Horowitz, who sought out almost every existing source of information about the impact of Toscanini's conducting on American culture, scarcely acknowledges Davenport's existence in his "culture god"

¹¹⁸ See Cather, "Three American singers", *McClure's magazine* 42 (December 1913) 33–48.

¹¹⁹ Quoted from Cather's preface to Gertrude Hall, *The Wagnerian romances* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925) vii.

¹²⁰ Giannone, *Music in Willa Cather's fiction*, 99.

¹²¹ Joseph Horowitz, "Finding a 'real self': American women and the Wagner cult of the late nineteenth century", *The musical quarterly* 78/2 (summer 1994) 191, 195.

¹²² Perry Meisel, *The cowboy and the dandy: Crossing over from romanticism to rock and roll* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 85–86.

¹²³ See Davenport, *Mozart* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

¹²⁴ With reference to Geyer as a fictional diva and from a feminist perspective, see Susan J. Leonardi, "To have a voice: The politics of the diva", *Perspectives on contemporary literature* 13 (1987) 65–72. An essay of my own considers Davenport's novel as an exemplar of America's fondness for and reception of Viennese operetta traditions. See Michael Saffle, "Do you ever dream of Vienna? America's glorification of musical central Europe, 1865–1965", *Identität – Kultur – Raum: Kulturelle Praktiken und die Ausbildung von Imagined Communities in Nordamerika und Zentraleuropa*, ed. by Susan Ingram, Markus Reisenleitner, and Cornelia Szabó-Knotik (Wien: Turia + Kant, 2001) 59–76 *passim*.

¹²⁵ Davenport, *Too strong for fantasy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967) 216–17.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 217.

study.¹²⁷ And this, even though descriptions of a “fictional” Vestri caused a furious real-life Toscanini to exclaim, “It is not me, not at all. *Vergogna!* Shame on you!”¹²⁸ One feels the Maestro may have protested too much.

Save, perhaps, for some of Chaucer’s poetry and for Hardy’s “Lines”, none of the imaginative literary works discussed above appears to incorporate anything essentially or especially “musical” in its organization or style. Even if Meisel is correct and Cather’s fiction in some sense “works” like rock and the blues, *The song of the lark* is far more “about” music than “of” it. Can fiction be put together “like” music? If so, how? Four pairs of works, each composed of a fiction and a musical composition, appear to share formal, expressive, or stylistic similarities: Gabriel Josipovici’s *Goldberg: Variations* and Bach’s eponymous masterpiece; Eduard Mörike’s *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag* and *Don Giovanni*; Jane Austen’s *Pride and prejudice* and Mozart’s piano concerto no. 9, K.271; and Thomas Mann’s *Doktor Faustus* and Beethoven’s sonata op. 111. A fifth work of fiction, Toni Morrison’s *Jazz*, can be read in terms of the musical as well as more broadly cultural traditions that inform its contents and textures.



For centuries, speakers of English have used the word “form” to refer to shapes as well as boundaries, collections, populations, and regulations; “form” is also understood as suggesting a “style of expressing the thoughts and ideas in literary or musical composition, including the arrangement and order” of their “different parts”.¹²⁹ For Carl Dahlhaus, musical form involves structural coherence on a large scale—the overall coherence, for example, of a sonata movement rather than the significance of particular chords, key changes, timbres, or tunes within it.¹³⁰ In this sense musical form seems to exist independently of individual composers or styles. Melodies and modulations, for example, may come and go, but the “sonata idea” (to borrow a phrase from William S. Newman) persists—if not forever, at least for quite a while.¹³¹ On the other hand, musical coherence may exist outside of, or in addition to, formal traditions and patterns. A piano piece may be called “sonata” but have nothing to do with so-called “sonata form”.

In describing his own evolution as an author of imaginative literature, Gabriel Josipovici has already answered the first question posed above (“Can fiction be put together ‘like’ music?”) with a qualified “yes”.¹³² What’s more, in *Goldberg: Variations* he

¹²⁷ See Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini: How he became an American culture-god and helped create a new audience for old music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987). Horowitz mentions Davenport twice (*ibid.*, 153 and 187n); on both occasions, however, he acknowledges her only at second-hand.

¹²⁸ Quoted in Barry Paris, “Unconquerable (Marcia Davenport)”, *The New Yorker* 67/9 (22 April 1991) 66. For a more detailed account of the author’s encounter with Toscanini, see Davenport, *Too strong for fantasy*, 222–23.

¹²⁹ *The Oxford English dictionary* (2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon, 1989) vol. 6, 78–82.

¹³⁰ Among a host of publications in which he considered formal aspects of musical compositions, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Between romanticism and modernism: Four studies in the music of the later nineteenth century*, trans. by Mary Whittall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) *passim*.

¹³¹ See, for example, William S. Newman, *The sonata since Beethoven* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), as well as other volumes and editions of Newman’s “History of the sonata idea”.

¹³² See Gabriel Josipovici, “Music and literary form”, *Contemporary music review* 5 (1989) 65–75. I write “qualified”, because “Music and literary form” was published in 1989, *Goldberg: Variations* in 2002. Nevertheless, Josipovici seems always to have taken seriously the musical possibilities of fiction. Among other things he explains that Stravinsky was the “presiding genius” over his own (Josipovici’s) first novel, which he constructed out of dialogue and lists instead of narrative prose. Josipovici’s realization that such a thing was possible called to his mind Stravinsky’s “recognition of the musical possibilities” inherent in ignoring conventional Russian syntax when setting Russian verse to music. For Stravinsky, this “was one of the most rejoicing discoveries of my life. I was like a man who suddenly finds that his finger

answers the second question (“If so, how?”) by way of demonstration.¹³³ As Werner Wolf has explained, Josipovici’s novel embodies more than “structural analogies between textual and musical form.”¹³⁴ Instead, it constitutes

one of the most remarkable additions to the field in which fiction attempts to meet music.... [It] not only discusses music, as countless other authors before [Josipovici] have done, mostly on the basis of fictional biographies of musicians and composers... but also aspires to the condition of music... in a much subtler way and moves beyond a merely plot-related concentration on music.¹³⁵

Here is a work of imaginative literature that, at least to some extent, can be “read” (listened to) as if it were a piece of music: Johann Sebastian Bach’s *Aria mit verschiedenen Veraenderungen*, BWV 988,¹³⁶ popularly known as the “Goldberg variations” (after Johann Gottlieb Goldberg, musician to one of Bach’s patrons, Count Keyserling of Dresden).

In its division into thirty chapters, for example, Josipovici’s novel resembles Bach’s composition—itsself made up of 30 variations, as well as a binary theme or “Aria” presented before the variations begin and repeated after they end.¹³⁷ Even the novel’s absence of “theme”—there is no “aria”—is analogous to a musical puzzle pointed out recently by Peter Williams. If Bach’s “thirty movements” are variations on a given theme, Williams asks, “why is [that theme] never heard again or even hinted at... until it is repeated, *sans différence*, at the end” of the entire cycle?¹³⁸ Does Josipovici’s novel even have a theme? If so, what is it? In part paraphrasing Stephen Abell, Wolf insists that “there is not a single chapter [of *Goldberg: Variations*] that cannot in some way be related” to “creative capacity”, and hardly any chapters “in which emotional human relations do not play a role.”¹³⁹ Josipovici, however, does not anywhere identify either of these “themes” (or single two-part theme) as such. Nor are all of his chapters as unmistakably concerned “thematically” with creativity or human relations as Bach’s variations are constructed upon a common fundamental harmonic progression that begins



Example 3: Harmonic foundation of Bach’s “Goldberg variations”, mm. 1–8

can be bent from the second joint as well as from the first” (quoted in “Music and literary form”, 67). Later, Josipovici also explains that other works were influenced by particular compositions, including a performance of Harrison Birtwistle’s *The triumph of time* (ibid., 69–70).

¹³³ Gabriel Josipovici, *Goldberg: Variations* (London: Carcanet, 2002).

¹³⁴ Werner Wolf, “The role of music in Gabriel Josipovici’s *Goldberg: Variations*”, *Style* 37 (2003) 295.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 294–95.

¹³⁶ In full, and in the original German: *Clavier Übung bestehend in einer Aria mit verschiedenen Veränderungen vors Clavicimbal mit 2 Manualen*. See Peter Williams, *Bach: The Goldberg variations* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 3–4. Like Bach’s Count, Josipovici’s Mr. Westfield asks his own Goldberg to “read to him till dawn or else till I am sure he is asleep, whichever is the first”. Josipovici, *Goldberg*, 1.

¹³⁷ For a general discussion of fiction in terms of variations form, see Brown, “Theme and variations as a literary form”, *Yearbook of comparative and general literature* 27 (1978) 35–43. This intriguing article suggests that both Eve’s morning song to Adam in John Milton’s *Paradise lost*, as well as the whole of Robert Browning’s *Ring and the book*, are in certain ways analogous to musical theme-and-variations form. Wolf, on the other hand, compares only Bach’s individual variations to Josipovici’s individual chapters.

¹³⁸ Williams, *Bach: The Goldberg variations*, 35.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Wolf, “The role of music in Gabriel Josipovici’s *Goldberg: Variations*”, 302. See also Stephen Abell, “Scales, trills and runs: Gabriel Josipovici, ‘Goldberg Variations’”, *Times literary supplement* (20 December 2002) 21.

Finally, Bach's variations are arranged in ten groups of three variations each, with every third variation a canon.¹⁴⁰ No such subdivisions are present in Josipovici's novel, even though some of its chapters are called "canons".

On the other hand, aspects of Josipovici's fiction point unmistakably and imaginatively toward certain of Bach's variations. The greater length, stylistic stance, and unusual "sectionality" of chapter 16, for example, suggests the greater length, ceremonial rhythms, and sectional divisions of Bach's sixteenth variation. It is precisely this chapter that alludes in its "plot" to the historical origins of Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer*, BWV 1079. Just as Bach was asked to improvise on a musical theme provided him by Frederick the Great, so Josipovici's protagonist Samuel Goldberg is asked to improvise on a verbal theme: "A man who had enough wanted everything.... As a result he was left with nothing. Treat this not as a morality but as a tragedy."¹⁴¹ Wolf epitomizes this scene as "a *mise en abyme*" that comprises "a complete imitation of the form" of Bach's variation, itself a French overture.¹⁴² Explicit references to appropriate musical materials and processes also occur throughout Josipovici's novel. Among these is a discussion of fugue—itsself, perhaps, a kind of verbal fugue—in chapter 18, which suggests at least something of the contrapuntal structure of Bach's 18th variation. Wolf has argued that a verbal text "can never really be musicalized".¹⁴³ Nevertheless, Josipovici makes numerous gestures toward a kind of fictive "musicalization".

Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag refers to *Don Giovanni* in several places, but Mörike never claimed to have modeled his novella on Mozart's opera. According to Raymond Immerwahr, however, Mörike's "unique achievement"—which in large part resides in a fictional "evocation of creative genius in another art" (i.e., music)—embodies certain "formal principles" evocative of Mozart and his age.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, "in each of the [novella's] two climactic sections, the crux of the narrative is Mozart's creation of music for *Don Giovanni*: in the one the rustic wedding dance, in the other the music of the statue and of infernal retribution."¹⁴⁵ Immerwahr finally insists that a "two-peaked structure was... imposed upon Mörike by the *musical* subject of his novella", modeled upon the four halves of Mozart's two acts.¹⁴⁶

The first two sections of [the novella] present Mozart in his encounter with the rococo, showing how it wastes his human resources but bears splendid fruit in that part of his musical creation which was adaptable to rococo style. The last two sections present the Mozart whose warm humanity transcends the limits of the rococo and whose tragic genius transcends human comprehension. The balance of gaiety and tragedy, harmony and conflict... is symbolized within each part in a pair of thematic images: spilling liquid and spontaneous growth, the artfully nurtured tree and the symmetrically

¹⁴⁰ See Williams, *Bach: The Goldberg variations*, 41–42 and elsewhere for tables and charts of organizational materials and principles in Bach's composition.

¹⁴¹ Josipovici, *Goldberg*, 112.

¹⁴² Wolf, "The role of music in Gabriel Josipovici's *Goldberg: Variations*", 300; italics in the original.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 298. Interestingly enough, Wolf begins his lengthy article with a quotation from Walter Pater: "All art constantly aspires towards the condition of music". *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁴⁴ Raymond Immerwahr, "Narrative and 'musical' structure in *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag*", *Studies in Germanic languages and literatures: In memory of Fred O. Nolte*, ed. by Erich Hofacker and Liselotte Dieckmann (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1963) 103.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; italics added.

ordered fountain, solid handicraft and agrarian cultivation, consuming fire and icy cold.¹⁴⁷

Like other students of “musical” fiction, Immerwahr considers themes and motifs. Unlike many of his colleagues, however, he seems more interested in “spirit and structure”.¹⁴⁸ In other words, he moves from structure and motif (liquid, tree, fountain, and so on) to overall “style” and sensibility. For Wallis Field, on the other hand, particular “colour relationships and symbolism” provide a way of uncovering Mörike’s underlying “symmetry of themes and form”.¹⁴⁹ Field’s discussion suggests a fugal analysis that begins with the locations and harmonic characteristics of the novella’s subjects, counter-subjects, and episodes. Immerwahr’s suggests a Schenkerian reduction from which details have been removed, rather than located, in order to reveal an underlying “line”. Incidentally, no one seems to have read *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag* in terms of musical form *per se*, but Immerwahr himself published another, quite different interpretation of Mörike’s masterpiece.¹⁵⁰

All this aside, can fictions like *Goldberg: Variations* and *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag* actually help us understand *music*? The answer would seem to be no, at least not insofar as Josipovici’s and Mörike’s literary relationships with Bach’s and Mozart’s scores are concerned. If, however, one thinks of music as more or other than “scores”, the answer would seem to be yes. Our perception and reception of music involves a great deal more than music “itself”. As Nicholas Cook has suggested, music and especially (but not exclusively) musical performances should be understood as *scripts* rather than *texts*.¹⁵¹ Scores may exist in splendid isolation from everyday experience, but music heard, felt, and thought about does not and cannot. Cook’s arguments call to mind drama theorist Baz Kershaw’s assertion that “no item in the environment of performance”, even what happens “off-stage”, “can be discounted as irrelevant”.¹⁵² Just as every performance contributes to the reception of a given composer or conductor or soloist, so every reading—and reader—contributes, consciously or unconsciously, to new ways of understanding a given literary device or character or cultural circumstance. Many post-structuralist critics would agree that reading is itself a form of “performance”.¹⁵³

Robert Wallace has argued that Jane Austen’s novels share what he calls “general stylistic achievements” with Mozart’s music, especially with certain piano concertos, and that both kinds of works can better be understood in terms of each other.¹⁵⁴ For Wallace, Mozart and Austen employ the same or similar “essential forms” of expression;

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 120.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 118.

¹⁴⁹ G. Wallis Field, “Silver and oranges: Notes on Mörike’s Mozart-Novelle”, *Seminar: A journal of Germanic studies* 14/4 (1978) 244.

¹⁵⁰ See Raymond Immerwahr, “Apocalyptic trumpets: The inception of *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag*”, *PMLA* 70 (1955) 390–407. Still other scholars have examined Mörike’s novella from a psychological angle in order to foreground issues of creativity. See, for example, Ursula Mahlendorf, “Eduard Mörike’s *Mozart on the Way to Prague*: Stages and outcomes of the creative experience”, *Mörike’s muses: Critical essays on Eduard Mörike*, ed. by Jeffrey Adams (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1990) 95–111.

¹⁵¹ See Nicholas Cook, “Music as performance”, *The cultural study of music*, ed. by Martin Clayton, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2003) 204–14 *passim*.

¹⁵² Baz Kershaw, *The politics of performance: Radical theater as cultural intervention* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 22.

¹⁵³ What is sometimes called “reader-response criticism” has a lengthy history. See, for example, Louise M. Rosenblatt, *Literature as exploration* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938). Nevertheless, such criticism is sometimes claimed by poststructuralist theorists as a method of their own.

¹⁵⁴ Robert K. Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart: Classical equilibrium in fiction and music* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

As a consequence, their compositions and fictions resemble each other as exemplars of “classical equilibrium”.¹⁵⁵ In effect, Wallace postulates a sophisticated pedagogy that uses fiction to “explain” music. And vice versa: Wallace argues that we may be able to learn more about either music or fiction (or particular works of music or fiction, or the epochs in which they were created) if we compare them with one another.

More specifically, Wallace suggests that Mozart’s works tend to remain “within boundaries” and “close” to home keys, just as Austen’s characters tend to “remain indoors, seldom venturing out—or far—for travel”.¹⁵⁶ If “home” and “indoors” are analogous to a “home key”, the shift in locale from Longbourne to Netherfield in chapter 7 of *Pride and prejudice*¹⁵⁷ may be said to resemble (as Wallace suggests) the harmonic transition from tonic to dominant in the opening movement of Mozart’s E-flat major piano concerto, K.271.¹⁵⁸ In presenting and defending these analogies, Wallace pays comparatively little attention either to the music Austen owned and probably played, or to musical references in her novels.¹⁵⁹ He appears less interested in content than in structure, and less interested even in broad-based structural principles than in his readers’ appreciation of “essential” expressive devices and stylistic gestures.

Taken at face value, some of Wallace’s assertions are musicologically problematic. He implies, for example, that Mozart’s harmonies seldom or never wander far from home. But how far is “far”? In Mozart’s C-minor concerto, K.491, the first movement wanders all the way from that key to F-sharp minor, about as far around the circle of fifths as tonal music can go. Again: if chapters 1–10 of *Pride and prejudice* are compared in functional-harmonic terms to the first movement of Mozart’s E-flat concerto, the “modulation” from Longbourne to Netherfield takes place much too late to match the analogous portion of Mozart’s exposition. Wallace, however, readily admits both that Austen “did not consciously model her works on the structure of Mozart’s”, and that “many Mozart concertos would have served about as well as K.271” insofar as his discussion of *Pride and prejudice* is concerned.¹⁶⁰

In other respects, Wallace is perhaps more “musicological” (as well as more interdisciplinary) than many of his colleagues. He does not merely refer to compositions, but reproduces examples from them on his pages and discusses those examples as a professional musicologist might. As a teacher of music *and* fiction, Wallace asks “whether the kind of juxtapositions we often find on parallel time charts of the arts [can] be given more precise meaning” by avoiding “influence studies”; he encourages his students to

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 2, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 45.

¹⁵⁷ Jane Austen, *Pride and prejudice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991). Originally published in 1813, in three volumes.

¹⁵⁸ Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart*, 45–46 and 93.

¹⁵⁹ Information about these subjects may be found in Patrick Piggott, “Music,” *The Jane Austen companion*, ed. by J. David Grey, et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1986) 314–16. For information especially about *Pride and prejudice*, see Patrick Piggott, *The innocent diversion: A study of music in the life and writings of Jane Austen* (London: Clover Hill, 1979) 50–63.

More than a few scholars have devoted themselves to issues associated with music, culture, class, and gender in Austen’s fictions. See, for example, Hélène La Rue, “Music, literature and etiquette: Musical instruments and social identity from Castiglione to Austen,” *Ethnicity, identity and music: The musical construction of place*, ed. by Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg, 1994) 189–205; Kathryn L. Shanks Libin, “Music, character, and social standing in Jane Austen’s *Emma*,” *Persuasions: Journal of the Jane Austen Society of North America* 22 (2000) 15–30; and Mollie Sandock, “‘I burn with contempt for my foes’: Jane Austen’s music collections and women’s lives in regency England,” *Persuasions: Journal of the Jane Austen Society of North America* 23 (2001) 105–17.

¹⁶⁰ Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart*, 5, 83.

compare works “as isolated art objects” even before they turn to “the history of style in the separate arts.”¹⁶¹

Whether Mörike strove in *Mozart auf die Reise nach Prag* to suggest the alternating emotional currents of *Don Giovanni* is uncertain, although his novella is certainly “about” Mozart and his opera. Thomas Mann, on the other hand, openly acknowledged that he modeled—or remodeled—his *Doktor Faustus* on Beethoven’s sonata in C minor, op. 111. Mann’s several musical fictions, including the novellas *Der kleine Herr Friedemann* and *Tonio Kröger*, have several times been examined in light of Wagnerian leitmotif¹⁶² and dodecaphonic compositional techniques.¹⁶³ In his earlier works, “love-deaths” were themselves a kind of leitmotif for Mann. At the climax of his novella *Tristan*, for instance, Gabriele plays fragments of Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*—including the “Liebestod”—on the piano; a day later “her condition worsens, and, like Hanno after the exertions of his improvisation in *Buddenbrooks*, she dies.”¹⁶⁴ Later, Mann sometimes positioned musical modernism in juxtaposition with cultural decline: Much of chapter XXII in *Doktor Faustus*, for example, is devoted to a detailed explanation of Arnold Schoenberg’s twelve-tone technique, while the novel’s concluding chapters chart the catastrophic results of German nationalism under Hitler. At the same time *Faustus* also consists of a series of carefully constructed fictional “themes”, “keys”, and “modulations”, articulated by means of mostly unambiguous sectional divisions, some of which mirror (as well as refer to) both the sonata-allegro form of Beethoven’s op. 111 first movement and the theme-and-variations form of his second.¹⁶⁵

Several kinds of evidence bear witness to Mann’s extraordinary juxtaposition of fictional and musical materials. First, in chapter VIII of *Doktor Faustus*, Mann has Wendell Kretzschmar, one of his minor characters, deliver lectures on Beethoven’s sonata and other late works. So vivid is Kretzschmar’s lecture that portions of it have been reprinted in musicological reference works.¹⁶⁶ Second, fragments from that lecture

¹⁶¹ Robert K. Wallace, “Teaching music and fiction: Austen and Mozart, Brontë and Beethoven”, *Ars lyrica* 6 (1992) 18. See also idem, “Nineteenth-century fiction, music, and painting”, *Teaching literature and the other arts*, ed. by Jeanne-Pierre Barricelli, Joseph Gibaldi, and Estella Lauter (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1990) 103–07.

¹⁶² See, for example, George W. Reinhardt, “Thomas Mann’s *Doctor Faustus*: A Wagnerian novel”, *Mosaic* 18/4 (December 1985) 109–23. Other studies of Mann and Wagner include Erkhart Hefrich, “Richard Wagner in Thomas Manns Joseph-Tetralogie”, *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*. Neue Folge 35 (1994) 275–90; Hans Rudolf Veget, “Im Schatten Wagners: Thomas Mann über Richard Wagner. Texte und Zeugnisse, 1895–1955”, *Thomas Mann*, ed. by Hans Rudolf Veget (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999) 301–36; and Ette Wolfram, “Vom Ursprung weg und in den Ursprung hinein: Zum Mythos bei Wagner und Thomas Mann”, *Richard Wagner: Konstrukteur der Modern*, ed. by Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1999) 227–59. Another of Veget’s essays, this one entitled “Wagner-Kult und nationalsozialistische Herrschaft: Hitler, Wagner, Thomas Mann, und die nationale Erhebung” [published in *Richard Wagner im Dritten Reich: Ein Schloß-Elmau-Symposion*, ed. by Saul Friedländer and Jörn Rüsen (München: Beck, 2000) 264–82], exemplifies recent studies in the conjoined fields of German nationalism, music, and the Nazis.

¹⁶³ Examples include Michael Neumann, “Zwölfontechnik? Adrian Leverkühn zwischen Schönberg und Wagner”, *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft* 43 (2002) 193–211; and H.J. Schaal, “Thomas Manns Musikerroman *Doktor Faustus*: Der Einfluss von Arnold Schönberg und Theodor W. Adorno”, *Das Orchester* 46/1 (January 1998) 2–7. Like the books and articles identified above in note 162, all of these studies appeared in print since the completion, but not necessarily since the publication, of Michael Saffle, “Text as music / Music as text: Thomas Mann’s *Doktor Faustus* and Beethoven’s sonata, op. 111”, *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau* 1993, ed. by Hermann Danuser, et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999) 215–21.

¹⁶⁴ Walter Frisch, *German modernism: Music and the arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 196.

¹⁶⁵ Again, see Saffle, “Text as music / Music as text”, *passim*.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, *The Beethoven companion*, ed. by Thomas K. Scherman and Louis Biancolli (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972) 1051–55. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune refer in passing to Kretzschmar’s lecture (although they misspell the character’s name); they also mention the op. 111 sonata as “provok[ing] a particularly moving passage” in Mann’s novel “that is meant to reveal its effect on the state of mind of the German avant-garde” prior to World War II.

are reproduced not merely “elsewhere” in *Faustus*, but mirror in their locations and uses analogous passages from Beethoven’s sonata. One of these fictive-musical fragments is the German word *Wiesengrün* (“meadow green”), which calls to mind the middle name of Frankfurt School cultural critic and musicologist Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno. We know Adorno helped Mann write *Faustus*, because Mann says so in a second book: his *Story of a novel*.¹⁶⁷ The passage is worth reproducing in its entirety, because Mann rarely revealed his often ironic and subtle aesthetic intentions as straightforwardly as he does here—and because one of his intentions in *Faustus* was, unmistakably, Beethoven’s sonata:

Adorno sat down at the piano and, while I stood by and watched, played for me the entire Sonata opus 111 in a highly instructive fashion. I have never been more attentive. I rose early the following morning and for the next three days immersed myself in a thorough revision and extension of the lecture on the sonata, which became a significant enrichment and embellishment of [chapter 8] and indeed of *the whole book*.¹⁶⁸

Third, Beethoven’s sonata has two movements; the lecture refers to “Wiesengrün” in that the three syllables “Wie-sen-grün” are conjoined with the motif C–G–G in the second movement of Beethoven’s sonata:



Example 4: Beethoven, sonata in C minor, op. 111,
2nd movement, mm. 1–2

This motif, together with its conjoined musical-fictional implications, serves as the “theme” for an interlocked series of “variations” that comprise most of the second half of Mann’s novel. It is here (in chapters XXVI–XLVII and epilogue), too, that most of the references to both the word “Wiesengrün” and Beethoven’s motif appear.

A great many other structural similarities and devices link sonata and novel. Among them is a long-term “modulation” associated with the youth and early manhood of Mann’s protagonist Adrian Leverkühn. This modulation, which mimics the I–V/

The Beethoven companion, ed. by Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London: Faber & Faber, 1971) 146 and 524.

¹⁶⁷ See Thomas Mann, *The story of a novel: The genesis of ‘Doctor Faustus’*, trans. by Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961). Also published in England as *The genesis of a novel* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1961). For a detailed comparison of Mann’s *Faustus* and story (with references to both editions), see Patrick Carnegy, *Faust as musician: A study of Thomas Mann’s novel “Doctor Faustus”* (New York: New Directions, 1975).

¹⁶⁸ Mann, *The story of a novel*, 48; italics added. Adorno’s influence on Mann’s novel was enormous. In addition to Schaal’s essay (cited in note 164), see Hansjörg Dörr, “Thomas Mann und Adorno: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung des *Doktor Faustus*”, *Thomas Manns “Dr. Faustus” und die Wirkung*, ed. by Rudolf Wolff (Bonn: Douvier, 1983) vol. 2, 48–91. Dörr provides matching columns of textual parallels (*ibid.*, 69–83) between *Faustus* and such books and articles by Adorno as *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1949), and “Über den Fetisch-Charakter der Musik und die Regression des Hörens”. The former work has been reprinted as Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of modern music*, trans. by Anne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster (New York: Continuum, 2003); the latter as “On the fetish-character of music and the regression of listening”, in *idem, Essays on music*, ed. by Richard Leppert; trans. by Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 288–317.

X–I harmonic organization of classical sonata movements,¹⁶⁹ takes place in the novel's first half as Leverkühn at first embraces (in chapters III–IX or “exposition”) and then abandons music (in chapters X–XVII or “development”), only to return to it after his university studies in theology are over (in chapters XVIII–XXIV or “recapitulation”). Furthermore, Mann's fictional “first movement” is separated from the second by a “document” (chapter XXV) that stands outside the rest of the novel's unfolding story: an account of Leverkühn's encounter, real or imagined, with the Devil. Interruptions in the opening chapters resemble the breaks in mm. 2 and 4 of Beethoven's first movement, while narrator Serenus Zeitblom's high-flown literary style is suggestive of “antique” (i.e., French overture) gestures in Beethoven's introduction (mm. 1–16). Finally, overlapping stories of lost love and innocence echo aspects of Beethoven's second movement, with its references to “heav-en's blue, lov-ers' pain, fare-thee well.”¹⁷⁰

In conclusion, Toni Morrison's *Jazz*.¹⁷¹ This novel poses special problems, because there is no musical “form” in jazz—at least, not insofar as widely accepted sectional divisions, prescribed modulations, and the like are concerned. There is, however, a *social* form of jazz (or, rather, several such forms), and throughout Morrison's novel they are often expressed in terms of gender as well as class and race. And there are jazz *styles*. As a genre, jazz is widely understood and enjoyed as a collection of variegated and often individualistic gestures and tropes: rhythmic patterns, performance practices, chord progressions, and so on. A talented performer can “jazz” anything, even though that “anything”—a familiar popular song, perhaps, or a chord progression—may not itself “be” jazz. And style is elusive: no question about that. Scholars appreciate Beethoven's contributions to the *sinfonia caratteristica* tradition,¹⁷² but none of them has yet written a second, equally accomplished “Pastoral” symphony. Nor has anyone put Charlie Parker's distinctive spin on a stylistically analogous but otherwise new performance of *Koko*.

According to Tracey Sherard, Morrison's novel is about the blues and black women's narratives.¹⁷³ For Sherard, the medium or form through which the blues as a “specifically female cultural form” of music is disseminated is the phonograph record.¹⁷⁴ Jon Panish emphasizes race rather than (or in addition to) gender. In his discussions of still other jazz novels, including *The horn* by John Clellon Holmes, Panish emphasizes the “primary performer/audience nexus” that comprises “the slowly dissipating [black] saxophone legend Edgar Pool, the ‘horn,’ and two white hipsters.”¹⁷⁵ Jurgen Grandt, on the other hand, argues that Morrison's novel employs narrative strategies of style and structure similar to those in another *Jazz*: a novel by Czech author Hans Janowitz.¹⁷⁶ Finally,

¹⁶⁹ See Leonard Ratner, *Classic music: Expression, form, and style* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1985) 217–47 *passim*. Ratner's emphasis on keys rather than themes as defining 18th- and early-19th-century sonata practices is crucial to understanding both sonata-form traditions and ways in which sonata form may be appropriated in works of imaginative literature.

¹⁷⁰ Mann, *Doctor Faustus*, 54.

¹⁷¹ Toni Morrison, *Jazz* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

¹⁷² See F.E. Kirby, “Beethoven's ‘Pastoral’ symphony as a ‘sinfonia caratteristica,’” *The musical quarterly* 56/4 (October 1970) 605–23.

¹⁷³ Tracy Sherard, “Women's classic blues in Toni Morrison's *Jazz*,” *Genders* 31 (2000). Available at www.genders.org/g3/g31_sherard.html.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Jon Panish, *The color of jazz: Race and representation in postwar American culture* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997) 89. See also John Clellon Holmes, *The horn* (New York: Random House, 1953).

¹⁷⁶ Jurgen E. Grandt, “Kinds of blue: Toni Morrison, Hans Janowitz, and the jazz aesthetic,” *African American review* 38/2 (summer 2004) 303–22. See Hans Janowitz, *Jazz* (Berlin: Verlag die Schmiede, 1927; repr. ed., Bonn: Weidle, 1999). A Czech Jew who turned to pacifism after World War I, Janowitz is best known for his collaboration with Carl Mayer on the script for *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, a film directed by Robert Wiene (1920).

for Dirk Ludigkeit, Morrison's novel is "above all an experiment in narrative designed to reconfigure the relationship between the text and the reader", based on "patterns of adaptation created in black music".¹⁷⁷

Ludigkeit's observations have perhaps the greatest immediate relevance for musicologists, because they examine Morrison's fiction as if it were music. Ludigkeit likens the novel's narrator to a "jazz performer" who him/herself introduces three main characters (the "ensemble"), and he epitomizes "the City in 1926" as a setting that "determines the course of events [in *Jazz*] in much the same way that the harmonic structure of a tonal musical composition proscribes the possibilities for melodic variations."¹⁷⁸ Finally, rather

like the leader of a collectively improvising ensemble, the narrator structures the performance to allow shifts in emphasis, foregrounding first one, then ["than" in the original] another of the voices within the collective.... These shifts in focus are sometimes condensed into subtle variations even within longer passages to highlight different interpretations of the same events ... an extension of improvisational technique ... [recalling] a variation of basic call-and-response techniques ... prominent in African music.¹⁷⁹

In short, Morrison's *Jazz* is not merely multi-formal in that it can be read in terms of musical, social, and technological practices. Nor is it necessarily altogether "original", in that aspects of its dense and lively African-American story may have been adapted from (or, at the very least, resemble those of) a European model. Instead, *Jazz* is metafictional in that it can be read in terms of narratives that enclose other narratives, as a jazz performance encloses—but does not necessarily shape or "standardize"—a wealth of melodies and musical devices. For critics such as Grandt, Ludigkeit, and Sherard—as well as for novelists such as Holmes, Janowitz, and Morrison—jazz music itself provides us with new ways of understanding musical *form*, social as well as musical. Which is to say, it provides us with ways of understanding how musical style functions *outside* music or in addition to it, as well as ways of exploring metastructural issues through musical-fictional representations of race, class, and gender.

¹⁷⁷ Dirk Ludigkeit, "Collective improvisation and narrative structure in Toni Morrison's *Jazz*", *LIT: Literature, interpretation, theory* 12/2 (June 2001) 165–87.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 176–77.

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